

MARTINA JURANOVIĆ TONEJC

INSTITUCIONALNI RAZVOJ ZAŠTITE POKRETNE
UMJETNIČKE BAŠTINE U HRVATSKOJ
OD 1850. DO 1990. GODINE

THE INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROTECTION
OF MOVABLE HERITAGE IN CROATIA
FROM 1850 TO 1990



"...Narod, koji spomenike svoje davne slave neštuje, neštuje ni samog sebe, jerbo zabacuje ono, čim bi se dičiti i slaviti mogao; a koi sam sebe neštuje, može li zahtevati, da ga drugi štiju? ... Slavjanski narode! Prouči u starih razvalinah svoju prošastnost, i iznijet ćeš cèrpiti nauk da dok slogu u svoj dom ne uvedeš, ne ćeš nikada ove uloge igrati, koja tvojoj veličini pripada i tvojem imenu odgovara."

Ivan Filipović Kopačanin, pedagog, književnik, ilirac, 1847.

"...The people, who do not respect monuments in their former glory, do not respect themselves, because they ignore that with which they could boast and celebrate; and those who do not respect themselves, can they ask others to respect them? ... Slavic people! Study your old demigods wisely, and you will see that until you have unity in your home, you will never play this role, which belongs to your stature and matches your name. "

Ivan Filipović Kopačanin, professor, writer and Illyrian, 1847

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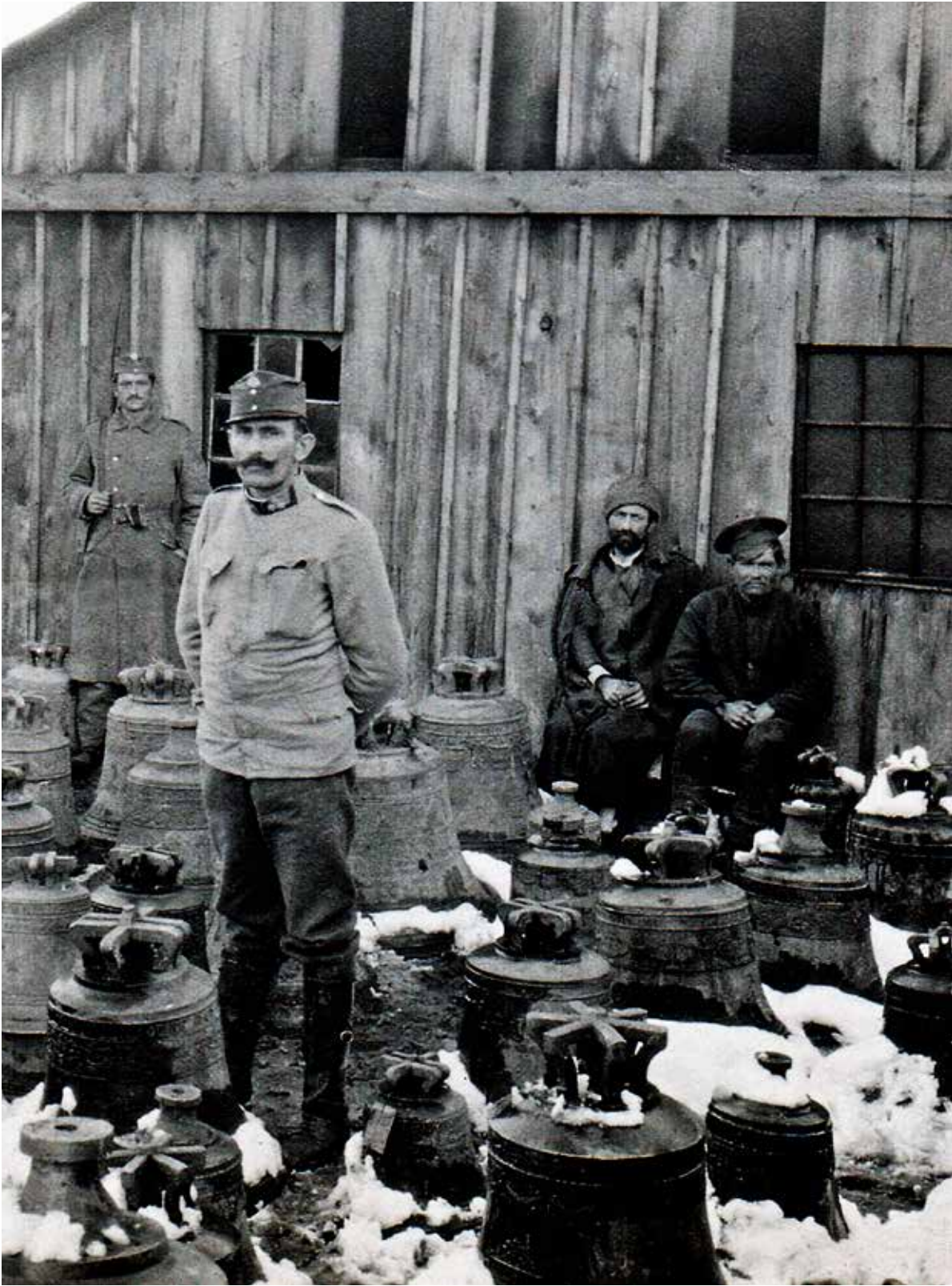
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UVOD

Baština se kao univerzalni pojam javlja u 19. stoljeću, a njezina zaštita započinje se razvijati u nacionalnom kontekstu u svim europskim državama. U njima se razvoj odvija istodobno i prožet je međusobnim utjecajima. Rezultat tog razvoja bilo je uspostavljanje institucija za zaštitu spomenika i zakonske regulative te razvoj teorijskih načela i njihova praktična primjena.

Na razvoj zaštite spomenika utjecala su prije svega društveno-politička zbivanja u Europi. Revolucije koje su zahvatile europski prostor imale su za posljedicu velik broj uništenih, nestalih ili otuđenih pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta. Trenutak spoznaje gubitka „nacionalnih“ spomenika, ne nužno i najvrjednijih, postaje okidač koji će pokrenuti širi društveni sloj da sudjeluje u procesima institucionalizacije spomenika. Osnivaju se društva, ustanove i uredi koji se bave održavanjem, inventarizacijom i restauracijom spomenika te razvojem zakonskih propisa.

Upravo taj slijed povijesnoga razvoja zaštite na primjeru pokretne umjetničke baštine na prostoru Republike Hrvatske tema je ove knjige. Knjiga se zasniva na disertaciji koju sam pod istim naslovom obranila 2018. godine na Sveučilištu u Zadru pod mentorskim vodstvom Zoraide Demori Staničić.

U knjizi je prikazano istraživanje i utvrđivanje institucionalnoga razvoja zaštite pokretne umjetničke baštine, proces definiranja teorijskih postavki koje prate njezin kontinuitet te interakcija teorije i prakse u provedbi teorijskih načela i metodoloških pristupa u Hrvatskoj u

razdoblju od 1850. do 1990. godine. U prvom se redu ovaj rad bavi pokretnom umjetničkom baštinom unutar procesa institucionalnog razvoja sustava zaštite, a odnosi se na pokretnu baštinu u crkvenim inventarima i privatnim zbirkama, koje su mahom nakon 1945. godine pretvarane u muzejske zbirke.

Društveno-političke prilike u 19. i 20. stoljeću koje su utjecale na upravnu i kulturno-povijesnu podijeljenost kontinentalne Hrvatske i Dalmacije pokazale su se ključnima pri/u razumijevanju svih procesa koji su utjecali na institucionalni razvoj zaštite spomenika. U oba dijela započinje proces institucionalnog razvoja gotovo istovremeno, ali razvija se usporedno. Stoga su ti procesi obrađivani prema teritorijalno-kronološkoj podjeli te potom povezani i objedinjeni.

Istraživanjem institucionalnog razvoja zaštite pokretne umjetničke baštine bavili su se fragmentarno konzervatori u službi zaštite, kao i nekolicina stručnjaka usko vezanih uz rad te službe. Dosad je objavljen samo jedan pregled povijesti institucionalne zaštite spomenika u Hrvatskoj koji je davne godine 1944. objavila Anđela Horvat, tadašnja konzervatorica Konzervatorskog ureda u Zagrebu.¹

U novije se vrijeme, tijekom 1980-ih i 1990-ih godina, Stanko Piplović u nizu članaka bavio početcima zaštite u Dalmaciji u 19. stoljeću, napose *Središnjega povjerenstva za proučavanje i održavanje starinskih građevina* (k.

¹ HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1944.

INTRODUCTION

Heritage, as a universal term, appeared in the 19th century and its protection began to develop in a national context in all European countries concurrently, interspersed with mutual influences. The result of this development was the establishment of institutions for monument protection and legal regulations as well as the development of theoretical principles and their practical application.

The development of heritage protection was primarily influenced by socio-political developments in Europe. The revolutions that affected Europe resulted in a large number of destroyed, missing or stolen movable artworks. The moment people realised that they had lost “national” monuments, but not necessarily the most valuable ones, activated more layers of society to participate in the process of institutionalization of monuments. This further led to the establishment of societies, institutions and offices that dealt with the maintenance, inventory and restoration of monuments and the development of legal regulations.

The very course of historical development of the protection of movable heritage in the territory of the Republic of Croatia is the topic of this book. The book is based on the dissertation that I defended in 2018 at the University of Zadar under the mentorship of Zoraida Demori Staničić.

The aim of this book is to research and determine the institutional development of movable heritage protection in Croatia from 1850 to 1990, to determine the the-

oretical basis that follows its continuity as well as the interaction of theory and practice in the implementation of theoretical principles and methodological approaches. First and foremost, this book deals with movable art heritage within the process of the institutional development of the protection system, and refers to the movable heritage in church inventories and private collections, which were largely converted into museum collections after 1945.

Croatian history in the 19th and 20th centuries is extremely complex. Different historical events have influenced territorial divisions of continental Croatia and Dalmatia that are crucial to understanding all of the historical and social processes that affected the development of cultural heritage protection. In both parts, the process of institutional development began almost at the same time, but developed in parallel. Therefore, these processes were processed according to the territorial-chronological division and then connected and unified.

Researching the institutional development of movable art heritage protection was partially dealt with by conservators in the protection service, as well as a few experts closely related to the work of the service. So far, there is only one overview of the history of the institutional protection of monuments in Croatia, published in 1944 by Anđela Horvat, conservator of the Conservation office.¹

¹ HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1944.



Recently, during the 1980s and 1990s, Stanko Piplović wrote a series of articles about the beginnings of monument protection in Dalmatia in the 19th century, especially concerning the *Imperial-Royal Central Commission for Researching and Preserving Monuments* (k. k. *Central-Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*) and the work of its prominent individuals to protect movable monuments². Since 2000, Marko Špikić has published a number of articles and books in which he thoroughly deals with the period and activities of individuals in monument protection in the first half of the 19th century.³

In his doctoral dissertation⁴, Franko Čorić also wrote about the 19th century and work of the Central Commission in Dalmatia.

In continental Croatia, monument protection began in the mid-19th century, with the prominent work of historian Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, who, among other things, founded the *Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities* (*Društvo za jugoslavesnku pověstnicu i starine*) which was an important incentive for the systematic concern for monuments. At the end of the 19th century, Izidor Kršnjavi founded the Art Society, whose work significantly contributed to raising awareness of the importance of heritage preservation. As the head of the Department for Religion and Public Education of the Land Government, he took care of the financing, maintenance, and procurement of church inventory. It is important, albeit less well-known, that Josip Brunšmid, as part of his work at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, for many years, insisted on the establishment of a protection service in continental Croatia in his petitions to the Count⁵; the service did not become operational until 1911 as the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia*.

Dragana Jurman Karaman did research on the work of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski⁶, and Olga Maruševski stud-

ied the Art Society⁷. In recent times, Ivana Mance conducted thorough research of Kukuljević's life and opus, which she published in a series of articles and publications⁸. Libuše Jirsak, Josipa Alviž and Jasmina Nestić studied the work of Izidor Kršnjavi.⁹ Anđela Horvat studied the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments*.¹⁰

In the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia from 1918 to 1941, the protection of movable art was carried out by the *Conservation Office in Split* and *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments* in Zagreb. The head of the office in Dalmatia was Ljubo Karaman, and Gjuro Szabo was the head in continental Croatia. Cooperation between these two offices was established in the area of monument protection regarding the issue of passing the law for monument protection and movable art restoration. The exchange of experiences and professional cooperation with the Slovenian art historian France Stelè was significant. The aforementioned experts Szabo, Karaman and Stelè published their experiences and theoretical reflections in articles and special publications¹¹. Recently, Ivana Nina Unković and Sagita Mirjam Sunara have studied the work of the Conservation Office in Split, and Ivo Viđen has studied the Dubrovnik Institute for Art and Monuments.¹²

During the four-year period of the Independent State of Croatia, the Restoration Institute in Zagreb was the central institution for the protection of monuments. For the first time, the Institute was continuously funded by competent institutions and after many years of work by one person, it became an institution with several employees, including Ljubo Karaman, who came from the Conservation Office in Split, as well as Anđela Horvat and Tihomil Stahuljak. Ljubo Karaman reorgan-

2 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1989; 1992; 1998; 1999; 2002; 200; 2012.

3 ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2006; 2007; 2009; 2010; 2011.

4 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010.

5 Archive of the Archaeological museum in Zagreb.

6 JURMAN KARAMAN, DRAGINJA, 1954.

7 MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2004; 2009.

8 MANCE, IVANA, 2004; 2008; 2012; 2015.

9 JIRSAK, LIBUŠE, 2015; ALVIŽ, JOSIPA; NESTIĆ, JASMINA, 2015.

10 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1977; 1979; 1980.

11 SZABO, ANĐELA, 1912; 1922; 1923; 1924; 1928.; KARAMAN, LJUBO 1952.; STELE, FRANC, 1935.

12 UNKOVIĆ, NINA IVANA, 2011; 2011a; 2012.; SUNARA, MIRJAM, 2011.; VIĐEN, IVO, 2005-2006; 2007; 2009-2010.

k. *Central-Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*) i radom njegovih istaknutih pojedinaca na zaštiti pokretnih spomenika.² Marko Špikić je od godine 2000. objavio niz članaka i knjiga u kojima je temeljito obradio razdoblje i djelovanje pojedinaca u zaštiti spomenika u prvoj polovini 19. stoljeća.³ Devetnaestim stoljećem, radom Središnjega povjerenstva u Dalmaciji bavi se i Franko Ćorić u svojoj doktorskoj disertaciji.⁴

U kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj zaštita spomenika započinje sredinom 19. stoljeća istaknutim zalaganjem povjesničara Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskoga koji, među ostalim, osniva *Društvo za jugoslavesnku pověstnicu i starine* koje je bitan pokretač sustavne brige za spomenike. Potkraj 19. stoljeća Isidor Kršnjavi osniva Društvo umjetnosti, čije djelovanje znatno pridonosi svijesti o važnosti čuvanja baštine, te kao predstojnik Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu Zemaljske vlade brine o financiranju, održavanju i nabavi crkvenog inventara. Važno je, iako manje poznato, da je Josip Brunšmid u sklopu svojega djelovanja u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu kroz čitav niz godina u svojim predstavkama banu inzistirao na osnivanju službe zaštite u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj,⁵ ali će služba započeti s radom tek 1911. kao *Zemaljsko povjerenstvo za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*.

Radom Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog bavila se Draginja Jurman Karaman⁶, a Olga Maruševski djelovanjem Društva umjetnosti⁷. U novije je vrijeme Ivana Mance provela temeljita istraživanja Kukuljevićeva života i opusa, koja je objavila u nizu članaka i publikacija.⁸ Djelovanjem Isidora Kršnjavija bavile su se Libuše Jirsak, Josipa Alviž i Jasmina Nestić.⁹ Radom *Zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika* bavila se Anđela Horvat.¹⁰

U vrijeme Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije od 1918. do 1941. zaštitu pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta provodi

Konservatorijalni ured u Splitu i Zemaljsko povjerenstvo za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u Zagrebu. Voditelj ureda u Dalmaciji bio je Ljubo Karaman, a u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj Gjuro Szabo. Uspostavljena je suradnja tih dvaju ureda na području zaštite spomenika po pitanju donošenja zakona o zaštiti i problema restauriranja pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta. Značajna je bila razmjena iskustva i stručna suradnja sa slovenskim povjesničarom umjetnosti Franceom Stelèom. Navedeni stručnjaci Szabo, Karaman i Stelè svoja su iskustva i teorijska promišljanja objavljivali u stručnim člancima i posebnim publikacijama.¹¹ U novije vrijeme radom Konservatorijalnog ureda u Splitu bave se Nina Ivana Unković i Sagita Mirjam Sunara, a Nadleštvom za spomenike u Dubrovniku Ivo Viđen.¹²

U četverogodišnjem razdoblju postojanja Nezavisne Države Hrvatske Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu imao je ulogu središnje institucije za zaštitu spomenika. Zavod je po prvi put kontinuirano financiran od nadležnih institucija i nakon dugogodišnjega rada koji je počivao na jednoj osobi postaje ustanova s više stalnih zaposlenika. Uz Ljubo Karamana, koji dolazi iz Konzervatorskog ureda u Splitu, to su Anđela Horvat i Tihomil Stahuljak. Ljubo Karaman provodi reorganizaciju službe zaštite, a uspostavlja se i nova zakonska regulativa.¹³ O djelovanju službe u tom razdoblju malo tko se bavio, stoga su podatci crpljeni iz arhivske građe.¹⁴

U poratnom razdoblju, nakon uspostave FNRJ, provodi se temeljita reorganizacija, a nizom uzastopnih akata na saveznoj i republičkoj razini uspostavlja se nova zakonska regulativa. U tom je razdoblju za zaštitu pokretne baštine napose važan rad *Komisije za utvrđivanje štete učinjene po okupatorima na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima Jugoslavije i za njihovo vraćanje u zemlju*, KOMRAT (1945. – 1947.) i *Komisije za sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina na*

2 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1989.; 1992.; 1998.; 1999.; 2002.; 2004.; 2012.

3 ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2006.; 2007.; 2009.; 2010.; 2011.

4 ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010.

5 Arhiv Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu.

6 JURMAN-KARAMAN, DRAGINJA, 1954.

7 MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2004.; 2009.

8 MANCE, IVANA, 2004.; 2008.; 2012.; 2015.

9 JIRSAK, LIBUŠE, 2015.; ALVIŽ, JOSIPA; NESTIĆ, JASMINA, 2015.

10 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1977.; 1979.; 1980.

11 SZABO, GJURO, 1912.; 1922.; 1923.; 1924.; 1928.; KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1952.; STELE, FRANC, 1935.

12 UNKOVIĆ, NINA IVANA, 2011.; 2011a.; 2012.; SUNARA, MIRJAM, 2011.; VIĐEN, IVO, 2005.-2006.; 2007.; 2009.-2010.

13 JURANOVIĆ TONEJC, MARTINA, 2009.-2010.

14 Hrvatski državni arhiv u Zagrebu, Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske, Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Arhiv; MLIKOTA, ANTONIJA, 2012.

ized the protection service, and new legislation was established¹³. Few have studied the work of the service during that period, and the information in this thesis was extracted from archival material.¹⁴

In the post-war period, after the establishment of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, a thorough reorganization was carried out, and a series of successive acts at the federal and republic level introduced new legislation. During this period, the work of the *Commission for determining damage done by occupiers on cultural and historical objects and landmarks of Yugoslavia and their return*, KOMRAT (1945-1947), and the *Commission for the collection and protection of cultural monuments and antiquities in the territory of the Federal Republic of Croatia* KOMZA (1945-1950) were particularly important. At the same time, a new network of conservation offices (Zagreb, Split, Rijeka) were established. Systematic work on the recording, documentation and registration of monuments began in the 1960s. In 1967, a new Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments was introduced which extended the network of conservation institutions (conservation institutes and departments). Based on this law, the service for the protection of cultural monuments operated until the end of the 1990s.

As regards the protection of movable art heritage during the mentioned period, there were notable supplements in the journal *Zborniku zaštite spomenika kulture* from the 1950s to the 1970s that discuss the problems associated with the recording, documentation and registration of monuments¹⁵ and legal regulations¹⁶. The issues of movable heritage protection are discussed in a series of other journals (*Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, *Bulletin*, *Prilozi povijest*

umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, *Peristil*: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti, *Kulturna baština*, *Muzeologija*, etc.) and newspaper articles. Since 1974, the first expert journal *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* was published with a series of reviews and studies on the protection of movable monuments¹⁷.

Between 1945 and 1990, Ljubo Karaman, Franc Stelè, Anđela Horvat, Cvito Fisković, Vlado Mađarić, Danica Božić Bužančić, Tomislav Marasović, Ivo Maroević¹⁸, and many others, published papers that dealt with various aspects pertaining to the protection of movable art heritage within institutions for the protection of monuments.

The theoretical framework for the monument protection was established in the late 19th and early 20th century by Max Dvořák and Alois Riegel¹⁹. In recent times, Margaret Olin, Ján Bakoš, Radovan Ivančević, Tomislav Marasović, Libuše Jirsak and Matthew Rampley studied the Central Commission and the Vienna School of Art History, in particular the work of Dvořák and Riegel.²⁰ The theoretical principles of protection of movable art heritage established from the mid-20th century were studied by Ljubo Karaman, Anđela Horvat, Cvito Fisković, Ivo Maroević and Denis Vokić.²¹

Astrid Swenson's work is especially important for understanding and comparing the development of protection of monuments in the countries of Western Europe and their influence on the development of protection in the Habsburg Monarchy.²²

13 JURANOVIĆ TONEJC, MARTINA, 2009-2010.

14 Croatian State Archives in Zagreb, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, Directorate for the protection of Cultural Heritage, Archive; MLIKOTA, ANTONIJA, 2012.

15 BLAŽIĆ, ZDRAVKO, 1955; ZDRAVKOVIĆ, IVAN, 1958; SKAKIĆ, BRANKA, 1960; 1961.

16 TOMIĆ, STEVAN, 1958; LJUBENKO, JERICA, 1975; WILLIAMS, SHARON ANNE, 1978; NIKOLAJEVIĆ, LJILJANA, 1988-1989; KRSTIĆ, BRANKO, 2006.

17 FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1975; LUČIĆ, BRANKO, 1975; HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1977; 1979; 1980; MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 2000; PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004; VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2008; JURANOVIĆ TONEJC, MARTINA, 2010; VIĐEN, IVO, 2010; SUNARA, MIRJAM, 2011.

18 STELE, FRANC, 1936; 1950; HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1944; FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1946; 1952; MARASOVIĆ, TOMISLAV, 1983, 1985; MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1986, 2000.

19 DVOŘÁK, MAX, 1988.

20 MARASOVIĆ, TOMISLAV, 1983; 1985; OLIN, MARGARET, 1985; IVANČEVIĆ, RADOVAN, 1999; RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2009; 2011; BAKOŠ, JÁN, 2014; JIRSAK, LIBUŠE, 2015.

21 KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1965; HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1961; 1971-1972; FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1951; 1952; MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1975; 1988; 2000; VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2007; 2008.

22 SWENSON, ASTRID, 2013.

području Federalne Hrvatske, KOMZA (1945. – 1950.). Tada se uspostavlja i nova mreža konzervatorskih ureda (Zagreb, Split, Rijeka). Tijekom 1960-ih započinje sustavni rad na evidentiranju, dokumentiranju i registraciji spomenika, a godine 1967. donosi se novi Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture kojim se proširuje mreža konzervatorskih institucija (konzervatorski zavodi i odjeli). Na osnovi toga zakona služba zaštite spomenika kulture djelovat će do kraja 1990-ih godina.

O zaštiti pokretne umjetničke baštine u navedenom razdoblju napose se ističu prilozi u *Zborniku zaštite spomenika kulture* od 1950-ih do 1970-ih godina koji tematiziraju probleme evidentiranja, dokumentiranja i registracije spomenika¹⁵ te zakonske regulative¹⁶. U čitavom nizu drugih časopisa (*Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, *Bulletin*, *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, *Peristil: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti*, *Kulturna baština*, *Muzeologija* i dr.) i novinskih članaka javlja se problematika zaštite pokretne baštine. Od 1974. izlazi prvi stručni časopis službe *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* u kojem je objavljen niz pregleda i studija na temu zaštite pokretnih spomenika¹⁷.

U razdoblju od 1945. do 1990. istaknuti su radovi pojedinaca koji se bave različitim vidovima zaštite pokretne umjetničke baštine unutar institucija zaštite spomenika, kao što su Ljubo Karaman, France Stelè, Anđela Horvat, Cvito Fisković, Vlado Mađarić, Danica Božić Bužančić, Tomislav Marasović i Ivo Maroević.¹⁸

Teorijski okvir za zaštitu spomenika uspostavili su potkraj 19. u prvoj polovini 20. stoljeća Max Dvořak i Alois Riegel.¹⁹ U novije doba Središnjim povjerenstvom i Bečkom školom povijesti umjetnosti, napose radom Dvořaka i Riegela, bavili su se Margaret Olin, Jan Bakoš, Radovan

Ivančević, Tomislav Marasović, Libuše Jirsak i Matthew Rampley.²⁰ Teorijskim principima zaštite pokretne umjetničke baštine uspostavljenim od sredine 20. stoljeća bavili su se Ljubo Karaman, Anđela Horvat, Cvito Fisković, Ivo Maroević i Denis Vokić.²¹

Za razumijevanje i komparaciju razvoja zaštite spomenika u zemljama zapadne Europe i njihov utjecaj na razvoj zaštite u Habsburškoj Monarhiji posebno je značajan rad Astrid Swenson.²²

Pri radu se najvećim dijelom koristila građa iz arhivske dokumentacije i zbirki Uprave za zaštitu kulturne baštine Ministarstva kulture Republike Hrvatske (Arhiva, Planoteka, Biblioteka, Fototeka) te konzervatorskih odjela u Splitu i Zadru. Većina dokumenata iz razdoblja Nezavisne Države Hrvatske te izvješća poratnih komisija za ratne štete i za sakupljanje i očuvanje kulturnih spomenika i starina imala je oznaku „tajno“ pa su u ovom radu ti podatci po prvi put obrađeni i dostupni. U Državnom arhivu u Zagrebu pregledani su dokumenti koji se odnose na rad Kraljevske zemaljske vlade (Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu 1869. – 1921.), Ministarstva bogoštovlja i nastave (1941. – 1945.), Ministarstva prosvjete Narodne Republike Hrvatske (1946. – 1951.) i pojedinih društava i muzeja, odnosno pojedinaca (Josip Brunšmid, Viktor Hoffiller, Ljubo Karaman) s ciljem utvrđivanja međusobnih veza i utjecaja na institucionalni razvoj zaštite pokretne umjetničke baštine. Iz Kaptolskog arhiva u Zagrebu većina je građe koja se odnosi na okružnice izdavane u svrhu zaštite crkvenog inventara, na osnivanje Povjerenstva za crkvenu umjetnost i osnivanje Dijecezanskog muzeja. U Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu obrađena je građa vezana uz konzervatorski rad Josipa Brunšmida i Viktora Hoffilera. U knjižnici Strossmayerove galerije pregledani su fotoalbumi s terenskog rada Artura Schneidera prilikom evidencije pokretnih spomenika.

15 BLAŽIĆ, ZDRAVKO, 1955.; ZDRAVKOVIĆ, IVAN, 1958.; SKAKIĆ, BRANKA, 1960.; 1961.;

16 TOMIĆ, STEVAN, 1958.; LJUBENKO, 1975.; WILLIAMS SHARON ANNE, 1978. NIKOLAJEVIĆ, LIJIANA, 1988.-89.; KRSTIĆ, BRANKO, 2006.

17 FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1975.; LUČIĆ, BRANKO, 1975.; HORVAT, ANDELA, 1977.; 1979.; 1980.; MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 2000.; PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004.; VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2008.; JURANOVIĆ TONEJC, MARTINA, 2010.; VIĐEN, IVO, 2010.; SUNARA, MIRJAM, 2011.

18 STELE, FRANC, 1936.; 1950.; HORVAT, ANDELA, 1944.; FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1946.; 1952.; MARASOVIĆ, TOMISLAV, 1983.; 1985.; MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1986.; 2000.

19 DVORAK, MAX, 1988.

20 MARASOVIĆ, TOMISLAV, 1983.; 1985.; OLIN, MARGARET, 1985.; IVANČEVIĆ, RADOVAN, 1999.; RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2009.; 2011.; BAKOŠ, JAN, 2014.; JIRSAK, LIBUŠE, 2015.

21 KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1965.; HORVAT, ANDELA, 1961.; 1971.-1972.; FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1951.; 1952.; MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1975.; 1988.; 2000.; VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2007.; 2008.

22 SWENSON, ASTRID, 2013.

The material from archival documentation and the collections of the Directorate for the protection of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia (Archive, Plans, Library, Photo Archive), and conservation departments was mostly used for this thesis. Most documents from the Independent State of Croatia and the reports of the commissions for war damage, collection and preservation of cultural monuments and antiquities after the war were marked "confidential", so this was the first time they were available and processed. In the State Archives of Zagreb, the documents related to the work of the Royal Land Government (the Department of Religion and Public Education from 1869 to 1921), the Ministry of Religion and Public Education (1941-1945), the Ministry of Education of the Socialist Republic of Croatia (1946 – 1951) and individual societies and museums, i.e. individuals (Josip Brunšmid, Viktor Hoffiller, Ljubo Karaman) were reviewed with the aim of establishing mutual relationships and influences on the institutional development of the protection of movable art heritage. Most of the material from the Kaptol Archives in Zagreb is related to the circulars issued for the purpose of protecting church inventory, the establishment of the Committee for Church Art and the establishment of the Diocese Museum. The material concerning conservation carried out by Josip Brunšmid and Viktor Hoffler was studied at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Photo albums of field work by Artur Schneider documenting movable monuments were reviewed in the Strossmayer Gallery library.

In the course of research, official gazettes from 1850 to 1990 concerning the protection of movable art heritage were studied at the Croatian State Archives and Library of the Croatian Parliament.²³ Discussions in the records of various commissions that preceded the adoption of

²³ Reviewed documents: *Zemaljsko – vladin list za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju* from 1850 to 1859, *Sbornik zakonah i naredabah za Kraljevinu hrvatsku i Slavoniju* from 1863 to 1926, *Sbornik Ugarsko-hrvatskih skupnih zakona* (during the Croatian–Hungarian Settlement) from 1871 to 1917, *List zakonah i spisah vlade za Krunovinu Dalmaciju* from 1849 to 1916, *Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske* from 1941 to 1945, *Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba* and Laws and other federal government regulations relating to the period of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia/Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia 1945-1990.

laws were also examined, followed by a review of correspondence between competent institutions as well as discussions at congresses and expert articles.

Apart from the aforementioned research, a series of conversations/ interviews with former experts and staff members of conservation departments in Zagreb, Rijeka, Zadar and Split were conducted. The implementation of planned actions and programs was verified, based on the conducted interviews.

In addition, I participated in several conferences dedicated to prominent people throughout the history of monument protection and art history in Croatia and abroad.

This book also uses earlier terms, such as a "movable monument", which does not strictly imply its legal protection as is the case today, with the current term "movable cultural heritage". The original names of associations, institutions, and some specifications within the historical context are in italics.

Which discourses and practices are associated with the protection of movable art heritage and how have they changed over time? In what kind of network of space-time relationships did the protection service develop, and what were the consequences, both desirable and undesirable, for the protection service, especially for movable heritage? Who started the notion to protect movable heritage? These are some of the questions that this book answers in the following chapters.

The first chapter deals with the period from 1850 until the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. The second chapter deals with the period of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS), i.e. the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, from 1918 to 1941. The third chapter refers to the period of the Independent State of Croatia, and the fourth to the period of new Yugoslavia (Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia/Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), from 1945 until the foundation of the Republic of Croatia in 1990.

U tijeku istraživanja u Hrvatskome državnom arhivu i knjižnici Hrvatskoga sabora pregledana su i obrađena službena glasila od 1850. do 1990. godine, koja se odnose na zaštitu pokretne umjetničke baštine.²³ Pregledane su i rasprave u zapisima različitih povjerenstava koje su prethodile donošenju zakonskih akata, pregledana je korespondencija između nadležnih institucija, kao i rasprave na kongresima i u stručnim člancima.

Za potrebe ovog rada osim spomenutih istraživanja obavljen je i niz razgovora s bivšim dugogodišnjim stručnjacima i djelatnicima konzervatorskih odjela u Zagrebu, Rijeci, Zadru i Splitu, a na temelju provedenih razgovora provjerena je realizacija planiranih akcija i programa.

Uz spomenuto, tijekom pisanja rada sudjelovala sam na nekoliko stručnih skupova posvećenih istaknutim osobama iz povijesti zaštite spomenika i povijesti umjetnosti u zemlji i inozemstvu.

Vežano uz terminologiju, važno je naglasiti da se u radu upotrebljavaju i raniji termini korišteni tijekom vremena, kao primjerice „pokretni spomenik“, uz koji se nije strogo podrazumijevala i njegova pravna zaštita kao što je danas slučaj s aktualnim terminom „pokretno kulturno dobro“. Izvorni nazivi društava, institucija i poneke specifikacije unutar povijesnog konteksta u tekstu su navedeni italicom.

Koje diskurse i prakse vežemo uz zaštitu pokretne umjetničke baštine i kako su se oni mijenjali kroz vrijeme? Kakva je mreža prostorno-vremenskih odnosa u kojima je razvijana služba zaštite te koje su posljedice, željene i neželjene, imali za službu zaštite, a napose za pokretnu baštinu? Tko su pokretači razvoja misli o zaštiti pokretne umjetničke baštine? To su pitanja na koja, među ostalim, odgovara ova knjiga u slijedećim poglavljima.

Prvo poglavlje bavi se razdobljem od 1850. do sloma Austro-Ugarske Monarhije 1918. godine. Drugo poglavlje

bavi se razdobljem Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca (SHS), odnosno Kraljevine Jugoslavije, od 1918. do 1941. godine. Treće se poglavlje odnosi na razdoblje Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, a četvrto na razdoblje nove Jugoslavije (FNRJ/SFRJ), od 1945. do utemeljenja Republike Hrvatske 1990. godine.

²³ Pregledani su: Zemaljsko-vladin list za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju od 1850. do 1859., Sbornik zakonah i naredabah za Kraljevinu hrvatsku i Slavoniju od 1863. do 1926., Sbornik Ugarsko-hrvatskih skupnih zakona (u vrijeme Hrvatsko-Ugarske nagodbe) od 1871. do 1917., List zakonah i spisah vlade za Krunovinu Dalmaciju od 1849. do 1916., Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske od 1941. do 1945., Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba i Zakoni i drugi propisi saveznih vlasti koji se odnose na razdoblje FNRJ/SFRJ 1945.-1990.



ZAČETAK INSTITUCIONALNE ZAŠTITE POKRETNIH SPOMENIKA U HRVATSKOJ DO 1918. GODINE

KRATAK POVIJESNI PREGLED DRUŠTVENO-POLITIČKE SITUACIJE U 19. STOLJEĆU U HABSBUŠKOJ MONARHIJI

Potkraj 18. stoljeća u Europi započinju gospodarske i društvene promjene potaknute industrijskom revolucijom i građanskom revolucijom u Francuskoj, što će dovesti do korjenitih društvenih, ekonomskih i kulturnih preobrazbi u sljedećem, 19. stoljeću. Društvene transformacije popraćene su promjenom državnih organizacija, osnivanjem kulturnih, prosvjetnih, znanstvenih i gospodarskih institucija i definiranjem standardnih jezika.

Prostor današnje Republike Hrvatske pripadao je sredinom 19. stoljeća državnom i političkom teritoriju Habsburške Monarhije.²⁴

²⁴ Tijekom 18. stoljeća bio je podijeljen između Habsburške Monarhije, Mletačke Republike i Osmanskog Carstva. Kontinentalna Hrvatska i Slavonija pripadale su zemljama ugarske krune, Vojna krajina kao zaseban teritorij bila je pod izravnom austrijskom vojnom upravom. Središnja i sjeverozapadna Istra pripadala je austrijskom dijelu Monarhije, a zapadna i južna Istra s Dalmacijom Mletačkoj Republici. STANČIĆ, NIKŠA, 1985., 2.

Stoga, sve političke i društvene promjene koje su se događale izravno su zahvatile i „hrvatski prostor“.²⁵

Bečki kongres²⁶, nakon Napoleonovih osvajanja, uspostavio je novu političku kartu Europe i donio određenu stabilnost. U posjed Austrije ušli su Dalmacija, Dubrovačka Republika, Istra i kvarnerski otoci, dok je obnovljena vlast nad Hrvatskom i Slavonijom koje su bile u sklopu Ugarske,

²⁵ Agneza Szabo obrazlaže procese modernizacije u Europi, pritom razlikuje središte Europe i njenu „periferiju“, u smislu korjenitih društveno-političkih zbivanja kojima su prethodile revolucije, a koja su dovela do nastanka kapitalističkog sustava. Proces modernizacije civilne Hrvatske i Slavonije bio je dijelom onemogućen utjecajem Beča i Budimpešte, a dijelom utjecajem tadašnje vladajuće klase koja je željela proces modernizacije usmjeriti u vlastitom interesu. Zapreke ekonomskom razvoju, prema Agnezi Szabo, bile su: uklanjanje feudalnog sustava, nedostatak jedinstvenog tržišta, kredita, modernizacije školstva, demografsko kretanje te porezni sustav. SZABO, AGNEZA, 1992., 14-16. ²⁶ Bečki kongres trajao je od rujna 1814. do lipnja 1815. godine u Beču. Najutjecajniji sudionici, koji su većinom i donijeli odluke, bili su ruski car Aleksandar I., austrijski car Franjo I., Klemens Metternich, pruski kralj Fridrik Vilim III. i ministar vanjskih poslova Velike Britanije Robert Castlereagh. Od ostalih sudionika bili su predsjednik Amerike Thomas Jefferson, 90 ambasadora i opunomoćenika i tri kralja. S obzirom na broj okupljenih smatralo se da se Kongres nikada neće privesti kraju. Kongres je osim važnosti u političkom smislu bio i društveni događaj *par excellence*. Održavani su balovi na kojima su osim političke elite sudjelovale i tada najuglednije obitelji, bila je to izložba nakita, odjeće i *statusa*. Opširnije: MUSULIN, STELLA, 1975., 139-192.

THE BEGINNING OF INSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION OF MOVABLE MONUMENTS IN CROATIA UNTIL 1918

A BRIEF HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE HABSBURG MONARCHY IN THE 19TH CENTURY

Towards the end of the 18th century, economic and social changes in Europe triggered by the industrial revolution and the civil revolution in France led to radical social, economic and cultural changes in the 19th century. Social changes were accompanied by changes in state organizations, the establishment of cultural, educational, scientific and economic institutions and the definition of standard languages.

The territory of the present-day Republic of Croatia was under the rule of the Habsburg Monarchy in the mid-19th century.²⁴ Therefore, all the

²⁴ During the 18th century, the territory was divided among the Habsburg Monarchy, the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire. Continental Croatia and Slavonia belonged to countries under Hungarian rule, the Military Frontier, as a separate territory, was under direct Austrian military administration. Central and northwest Istria belonged to the Austrian part of the Monarchy, and west and south Istria with Dalmatia belonged to the Republic of Venice. STANČIĆ, NIKŠA, 1985, 2.

political and social changes that took place directly affected the “Croatian area”.²⁵

After Napoleon’s conquest, the Congress of Vienna²⁶ established a new political map of Europe and brought some stability. Dalmatia, the Republic of Ragusa, Istria and the Kvarner Islands

²⁵ A. Szabo explains the processes of modernization in Europe, distinguishing the centre of Europe and its “periphery” in view of radical socio-political events preceded by revolutions, which led to the emergence of the capitalist system. The process of modernization of civilian Croatia and Slavonia was partially prevented by the influence of Vienna and Budapest, and partly by the influence of the then ruling class that wanted to direct the modernization process according to its own interest. According to A. Szabo, the challenges to the development of the economy included the removal of the feudal system, the lack of a single market, credit, the modernization of education, demographic trends, and the tax system. SZABO, AGNEZA, 1992, 14-16.

²⁶ The Congress of Vienna was held in Vienna from September 1814 to June 1815. The most influential participants, who mostly made all the decisions, were Russian Emperor Alexander I, Austrian Emperor Francis I, Klemens Metternich, Prussian King Frederick William III, and UK foreign minister Robert Castlereagh. The President of America, Thomas Jefferson, 90 ambassadors and emissaries and three kings were among the other participants. Given the number of people gathered, it was believed that the Congress would never end. The Congress was, besides having political significance, a social event *par excellence*. Balls were held and, apart from the political elite, the most prominent families of the time also participated; there were exhibitions of jewellery, clothing and *status*. Read more: MUSULIN, STELLA, 1975, 139-192.



became a part of Austria, and the Habsburg authority over Croatia and Slavonia was renewed. The territorial organization did not change until the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy in 1918. The conclusions of the congress are contained in the final act made up of 121 provisions.²⁷ In addition to geopolitical relevance, the Congress of Vienna returned works of art that had been stolen during Napoleon's conquest from various European countries, making monuments an important part of political power.²⁸

Although conservative ideas about establishing Europe as it was before Napoleon prevailed, liberal ideas about freedom of religion, speech and equality were slowly spreading after the congress. Equality before the law, introduced during Napoleon's era, and numerous technical inventions in production and traffic (a revolution in communications) were responsible for the drastic social changes that prompted the development of modern nations.²⁹

The process of establishing a modern Croatian nation began in continental Croatia with the Illyrian Movement. During the first phase, there were individuals guided by the idea of nationhood, the desire for territorial integration, the establishment of national cultural institutions and the Croatian standard language.³⁰ A great

contribution to the development of Croatian civic culture was the establishment of the *Public Library* (1838), the National Theatre (1840), the *Croatian-Slavonic Economic Society* (1841), *Matica Ilirska* and the National Museum (1842).³¹

The Illyrian Movement also had an impact on Dalmatia. In 1844, physician and publicist Ante Kuzmanić started the journal *Zora dalmatinska* in Zadar, and it marked the beginning of the revival in Dalmatia.³² The National revival in Dalmatia appeared in the 1860s with the rise of the middle class and the return of educated individuals who were studying in Italy (Milan and Padua).³³ Delighted by the Italian national revival of the *Risorgimento* that advocated for the national unification of Italy, they transferred their ideas in their effort to unify with Croatia. The first sign of success in promoting national consciousness came in 1862 with the launch of the newspaper *Il Nazionale* with a weekly annex *Narodni list* in the Croatian language. The newspaper came out twice a week in Italian. The editor of the newspaper was Natko Nodilo.³⁴ Since the foundation of the newspaper, the idea of introducing the Croatian language into high schools in Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik was launched.³⁵ Reading rooms were founded in Split in 1862, and in Zadar and Dubrovnik in 1863, and the Slavic society

27 MUSULIN, STELLA, 1975, 139.

28 SWENSON, ASTRID, 2013, 198.

29 HOLJEVAC, ŽELJKO, 2012, 67-68.

30 In 1830, the leader of the Croatian National Revival, Croatian politician, linguist, journalist and writer Ljudevit Gaj, published "*Concise Basis for a Croatian-Slavonic Orthography*" ("*Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisanja*"), which dealt with the problem of shaping the ideology of the Illyrian Movement. In 1843, the Austrian court banned the use of the Illyrian name and symbol. After the ban, Gaj withdrew and Kukuljević became the most important person in the People's Party, and, in 1942, defined his program on the introduction of the Croatian language into education and public life. One year later, in 1943, Kukuljević held the first speech in Croatian in the Croatian Parliament in which he proposed to start preparing for the introduction of the national language as the official one. ŠIDAK, JAROSLAV, 1981, 191; KURELAC, MIROSLAV, 1994, 102. According to Mohorovičić, these events were the foundation for a new impetus for social, political, cultural, scientific and artistic life and creation. MOHOROVIČIĆ, ANDRE, 1984-1985, 8.

31 The idea of establishing the National Museum in Zagreb was presented in the program of Ljudevit Gaj from 1829. Because of financial difficulties and problems surrounding the approval of the decision to establish the museum, the museum did not open, but the collection of objects began. In 1841, the Croatian-Slavonic Economic Society was founded, with the aim of improving agricultural production, but also of establishing the museum. Therefore, the Croatian-Slavonic Economic Society undertook the collection of items for collections and organized the first museum exhibition in 1846. As a public institution, the National Museum was established in 1857, and the statute of the museum was confirmed by Emperor Franz Joseph I on March 4, 1866. JURANOVIĆ-TONEJC, MARTINA, 2010, 10.

32 In the 1830s in Dalmatia, there was not a strong enough social background that would encourage a revival. A poor economic basis could not form a civil society; most of the society was a rural population, and such social division did not only mean a lower degree of education, but also less exposure of the entire society to cultural influences. Only the urban population was exposed to Italian cultural influences. STANČIĆ, NIKŠA, 1981, 233-234.

33 STANČIĆ, NIKŠA, 1981, 236.

34 CETNAROWICZ, ANTONI, 2006, 71.

35 CETNAROWICZ, ANTONI, 2006, 79. The Emperor officially approved the introduction of the Croatian language in the Split gymnasium and *real grammar school* in 1800. PERIĆ, IVO, 1982, 61.

a koja je bila pod vlašću Habsburgovaca. Ta se teritorijalna organizacija održala do propasti Habsburške Monarhije 1918. godine. Zaključci kongresa sadržani su u završnom dokumentu od 121 članka.²⁷ Pored geopolitičke važnosti Bečki kongres imao je utjecaj na vraćanje umjetnina koje su bile otuđene u vrijeme Napoleonovih osvajanja iz različitih europskih zemalja, čime su spomenici postali važan dio političke moći.²⁸

Iako su nakon kongresa prevladale konzervativne ideje o uspostavi Europe kakva je bila prije Napoleona, polako su prodirale i liberalne ideje o slobodi vjeroispovijesti, govora i jednakosti pred zakonom. Upravo jednakost pred zakonom, uvedena u vrijeme Napoleonovog razdoblja, te brojni tehnički pronalasci u proizvodnji i prometu (komunikacijska revolucija) zaslužni su za korjenite društvene promjene koje će potaknuti razvoj modernih nacija.²⁹

Proces etabliranja moderne hrvatske nacije započinje u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj Ilirskim narodnim preporodom u čijoj prvoj fazi djeluju pojedinci vođeni nacionalnom idejom, željom za integracijom teritorija, za osnivanjem nacionalnih kulturnih institucija i definiranjem hrvatskoga standardnog jezika.³⁰ Velik doprinos razvoju hrvatske građanske kulture dalo je osnivanje Narodne čitaonice (1838.), Narodnog kazališta (1840.), Hrvatsko-slavonskog

gospodarskog društva (1841.), Matice Ilirske i Narodnog muzeja (1842.).³¹

Ilirski preporod imao je odjeka i u Dalmaciji. Liječnik i publicist Ante Kuzmanić pokrenuo je časopis *Zora dalmatinska* 1844. godine u Zadru, a njegovo izlaženje označilo je početak pripreme faze preporoda u Dalmaciji.³² Narodni preporod u Dalmaciji javlja se 1860-ih godina jačanjem građanskog sloja i povratkom obrazovanih pojedinaca koji su bili na školovanju u Italiji (Milanu i Padovi).³³ Oduševljeni talijanskim narodnim preporodom *Risorgimentom* koji se zalagao za nacionalno ujedinjenje Italije, prenosili su u svoje ideje o sjedinjenju s Hrvatskom. Prvi znak uspjeha u promicanju nacionalne svijesti bilo je 1862. godine pokretanje novina *Il Nazionale* s tjednim prilogom *Narodni list* na hrvatskom jeziku. Novine su izlazile dva puta tjedno na talijanskom jeziku. Urednik novina bio je Natko Nodilo.³⁴ Od početka izlaženja pokrenuta je ideja o uvođenju hrvatskog jezika u gimnazije u Zadru, Splitu i Dubrovniku.³⁵ Osnovane su čitaonice: 1862. u Splitu, a 1863. u Zadru i Dubrovniku te je osnovano slavensko društvo *Slavenska lipa* i *Matica dalmatinska* u Zadru. Arheološki muzej u Splitu na poticaj ravnatelja Šime Ljubića istražuje i prikuplja srednjovjekovne isprave i arhivsku građu, knjige i umjetničke predmete za budući Povijesni muzej.³⁶

27 MUSULIN, STELLA, 1975., 139.

28 SWENSON, ASTRID, 2013., 52.

29 HOLJEVAC, ŽELJKO, 2012., 67-68.

30 Godine 1830. vođa Hrvatskog narodnog preporoda, hrvatski političar, jezikoslovac, novinar i književnik Ljudevit Gaj izdaje *Kratku osnovu horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisanja*, u kojoj iznosi problematiku oblikovanja ideologije Ilirskog pokreta. Godine 1843. odlukom austrijskog dvora zabranjena je upotreba ilirskog imena i simbola. Nakon zabrane imena Gaj se povlači i Kukuljević dolazi na mjesto najvažnijeg čovjeka u Narodnoj stranci te 1942. godine utvrđuje svoj program o uvođenju hrvatskoj jezika u obrazovni i javni život. Godinu dana poslije, 1943., Kukuljević je u Hrvatskom saboru održao prvi govor na hrvatskom jeziku u kojem je predložio da se otpočne s pripremanjima za uvođenje narodnog jezika kao službenog. ŠIDAK, JAROSLAV, 1981., 191; KURELAC, MIROSLAV, 1994., 102. Kako navodi Mohorovičić, ta zbivanja predstavljaju temelj za novi zamah društvenog, političkog, kulturnog, znanstvenog i umjetničkog života i stvaranja. MOHOROVIČIĆ, ANDRE 1984.-1985., 8.

31 U programu Ljudevita Gaja iz godine 1829. iznesena je ideja o osnivanju Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu. Zbog financijskih teškoća i teškoća oko odobrenja odluke o osnivanju do otvorenja muzeja nije došlo, ali počinje skupljanje predmeta. Godine 1841. osnovano je Hrvatsko-slavonsko gospodarsko društvo, sa svrhom unaprjeđenja poljoprivredne proizvodnje, ali i osnivanja muzeja. Stoga Hrvatsko-slavonsko gospodarsko društvo preuzima sakupljanje predmeta za zbirke i organizira prvu muzejsku izložbu 1846. godine. Narodni muzej kao javna institucija uspostavljen je 1857. godine, a statut muzeja potvrđen je od kralja Franje Josipa I. tek 4. ožujka 1866. JURANOVIĆ TONEJC, MARTINA, 2010., 10.

32 U Dalmaciji 1830-ih godina još nije postojala dovoljno jaka društvena podloga koja bi potaknula preporod. Na lošoj gospodarskoj osnovi nije moglo nastati građansko društvo, većinu društva činilo je seosko stanovništvo, a takva socijalna podjela nije označavala samo stupanj obrazovanja, već i izloženost cijelog društva kulturnim utjecajima. Talijanskim kulturnim utjecajima bilo je izloženo samo gradsko stanovništvo. STANČIĆ, NIKŠA, 1981., 233-234.

33 STANČIĆ, NIKŠA, 1981., 236.

34 CETNAROWICZ, ANTONI, 2006., 71.

35 CETNAROWICZ, ANTONI, 2006., 79. Car je službeno odobrio uvođenje hrvatskog jezika u splitsku gimnaziju i *realku* 1800. godine. PERIĆ, IVO, 1982., 61.

36 BEZIĆ-BOŽANIĆ, DANICA, 2007., 508.

Slavenska lipa and *Matica dalmatinska* were established in Zadar. The Archaeological Museum in Split, encouraged by director Šime Ljubić, who was in charge of the Museum from 1858, conducted research and collected medieval documents and archival material, books and art items for the future Historical Museum.³⁶

During the period between the national revival in continental Croatia and the revival in Dalmatia, there were revolutions within the Habsburg Monarchy in 1848 in Vienna, Budapest and Prague. There was no revolution in Croatia, but surrounding events had strong repercussions.³⁷ Social, political, state, economic and cultural systems changed during the course of the revolution in the Monarchy. The feudal system was demolished, and a new civil society was founded on the principles of freedom and equality; parliamentarism was developed together with an acceptance of the division of power in the executive and judicial branches, market freedom and modernization of the economy. All nations within the Monarchy experienced the modernization of education, the opening of universities and the Academy of Sciences, as well as the formation of the most important cultural institutions and national organizations in their national programs.³⁸ Most importantly, the process of developing national states, which overtook Europe, also affected monuments.

After 1850, the Habsburg Monarchy began to denounce “revolutionary successes” by introducing absolutism, and in subsequent years, this led at the same time to the policy of centralization and regionalization.³⁹ Freedom of independent action was only possible in culture, while the process of administrative equalization of different cultural patterns began. In such complex political, social and cultural processes, the protection of monuments on two levels was devel-

oped: at the level of the Monarchy as a multi-national state and at the level of national states.

THE ORIGIN OF THE HERITAGE PROTECTION SYSTEM

The growing awareness of national affiliation increased the interest in national history, and manifested itself in increased research, the identification of monuments important for national history, the trade of antiquities and the establishment of societies. The societies and publications that can be found in almost all European countries in the early 19th century played a crucial role in the development and promotion of awareness of the importance of preserving monuments. In his book *The care of ancient monuments*, Brown divides them into three groups: societies that operate at a national level, local archaeological societies and societies that deal with the promotion of monument protection. All three types of society had a primarily historical and antiquarian role.⁴⁰ Such societies also appeared in the Habsburg Monarchy: *Joanneum* in Graz and the *Society of patriotic art lovers* in Prague. In the 1840s in Vienna, two journals were published: *Oesterreichische Blätter für Literatur und Kunst* and *Sonntagsblätter*, which also discussed exhibitions, artists and newly-built buildings, among other topics from Viennese cultural life.⁴¹ Correspondence and cooperation between various European societies, as well as personal communication and travel played a key role in the exchange of ideas and experiences with respect to monument protection.⁴²

36 BEZIĆ-BOŽANIĆ, DANICA, 2007, 508.

37 Unlike France, where the 1848/49 Revolution happened within the civil society, in 1848/49 there were revolutions in Germany, Italy, France, Austria and Hungary. KORUNIĆ, PETAR, 1998, 10.

38 KORUNIĆ, PETAR, 1998, 12.

39 Telesko mentions centralization and regionalization as a phenomenon that co-existed in the Habsburg Monarchy throughout the 19th century. More in: TELESKO, WERNER, 2015, 35.

40 Brown lists societies that appear in Great Britain: the Society of Antiquaries, the Royal Archaeological Association of Great Britain and Ireland, the British Archaeological Association, the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and the Cambrian Archaeological Association, London. These societies were founded on a national level; while the number of local societies was large, each district had its own society. There was a similar situation in France. The most famous societies were la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France and la Société Française d'Archéologie pour la Conservation et des Description des Monuments Historiques. BROWN, GERARD BALDWIN, 1905, 34.

41 TELESKO, WERNER, 2015, 38.

42 The same applies to art exhibitions and the participation of Croatian artists at exhibitions in Zagreb in 1891 and 1898, Budapest in 1896, Copenhagen in 1897, Saint Petersburg in 1889, and Paris in 1900. More in: KRAŠEVAC, IRENA; TONKOVIĆ, ŽELJKA, 2016, 203.

U periodu između narodnog preporoda u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj i preporoda u Dalmaciji zbile su se revolucije unutar Habsburške Monarhije 1848. godine. Revolucije su buknule u središtima Beču, Budimpešti i Pragu. Revolucija u Hrvatskoj nije izbila, ali je imala snažan odjek.³⁷ U Monarhiji se za vrijeme revolucije mijenjaju društveni, politički, državni, privredni i kulturni sistemi. Srušen je feudalni sistem, a utemeljeno je novo građansko društvo na načelima jednakosti, slobode i ravnopravnosti, razvija se parlamentarizam, podjela vlasti na izvršnu i sudsku, prihvaćena je sloboda tržišta i modernizacija privrede. Svi narodi unutar Monarhije u svoje su nacionalne programe uvrstili modernizaciju školstva, otvaranje sveučilišta i akademija znanosti, formiranje najvažnijih kulturnih institucija i nacionalnih organizacija.³⁸ Proces razvoja nacionalnih država, koji je zahvatio Europu, zahvatio je i spomenike kao jednu od najvažnijih sastavnica.

Nakon 1850. Habsburška Monarhija počinje dokidati „revolucionarne uspjehe“ uvođenjem apsolutizma te u sljedećim godinama vodi u isto vrijeme politiku centralizacije i regionalizacije.³⁹ Sloboda samostalnog djelovanja bila je moguća samo u kulturi, iako započinje proces administrativnog izjednačavanja različitih kulturnih obrazaca. U takvim složenim političkim, društvenim i kulturnim procesima razvija se zaštita spomenika na dvjema razinama: na razini Monarhije kao višenacionalne države i na razini nacionalnih država.

ISHODIŠTA SUSTAVA ZAŠTITE BAŠTINE

Jačanjem svijesti o nacionalnoj pripadnosti pojavio se pojačani interes za nacionalnu povijest, a očitovao se u povećanom proučavanju, prikupljanju spomenika važnih za nacionalnu povijest, trgovini antikvitetima i osnivanju društava. Društva i publikacije koje se javljaju u gotovo svim europskim zemljama početkom 19. stoljeća imali su presudnu ulogu u razvoju i promicanju svijesti o

37 Za razliku od Francuske, gdje se revolucija 1848./49. događala unutar građanskog društva. Revolucije su se odvijale 1848./49. u Njemačkoj, Italiji, Francuskoj, Austriji i Mađarskoj. KORUNIĆ, PETAR, 1998., 10. 38 KORUNIĆ, PETAR, 1998., 12.

39 Telesko navodi centralizaciju i regionalizaciju kao fenomen koji egzistira zajedno u Habsburškoj Monarhiji tijekom 19. stoljeća. Više u: TELESKO, WERNER, 2015., 35.

važnosti čuvanja spomenika. Brown ih u svom pregledu *Briga oko starinskih spomenika (The care of ancient monument)* dijeli na tri tipa: društva koja djeluju na nacionalnom nivou, lokalna arheološka društva i društva koja se bave promocijom zaštite spomenika. Sva ta tri tipa društva imala su prvenstveno povijesnu i antikvarnu ulogu.⁴⁰ Takva društva javljaju se i na prostoru Habsburške Monarhije: *Joanneum* u Grazu i *Društvo domoljubnih ljubitelja umjetnosti* u Pragu. U Beču 1840-ih počinju izlaziti dva časopisa: *Österreichische Blätter für Literatur und Kunst* i *Sonntagsblätter* u kojima se među ostalim temama iz kulturnog života Beča raspravlja o izložbama, umjetnicima i novoizgrađenim građevinama.⁴¹ Korespondencija i suradnja između različitih europskih društava kao i osobna komunikacija te putovanja odigrali će ključnu ulogu u razmjeni ideja i iskustava u zaštiti spomenika.⁴² Štoviše, sredinom stoljeća suradnja se produbljuje, kada se počinju organizirati svjetske izložbe/sajmovi i međunarodni kongresi. Istaknuti intelektualci iz područja filozofije i prava, svećenstvo, diplomati, gradski savjetnici, pisci također ulaze u raspravu o zaštiti spomenika.⁴³

Astrid Swenson u svom pregledu *The Rise of Heritage* smatra da su upravo ti odnosi između civilnih društava, razvijanja i jačanja državne administracije, vlasnika spomenika i širenja historijske kulture tijekom 19. stoljeća doveli do pojma baštine kao univerzalne kategorije modernog doba. Institucionaliziranje zaštite spomenika započinje u svim europskim državama istodobno te se razvija unutar

40 Brown navodi popis društava koja se javljaju u Velikoj Britaniji: Society of Antiquaries, Royal Archeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, British Archeological Association, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland – Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland i Cambrian Archeological Association, London. To su društva osnovana na nacionalnom nivou, dok je broj lokalnih društava bio velik, svaki okrug imao je svoje društvo. Slična situacija bila je u Francuskoj. Najpoznatija društva su bila Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France i Société Française d'Archeologie pour Conservation et la Description des Monuments Historiques. BROWN, GERARD BALDWIN, 1905., 34.

41 TELESKO, WERNER, 2015., 38.

42 Isto se odnosi na umjetničke izložbe i sudjelovanje hrvatskih umjetnika na izložbama u Zagrebu 1891. i 1898., u Budimpešti 1896., Kopenhagenu 1897., Sankt Petersburgu 1889. i Parizu 1900. Više u: KRAŠEVAC, IRENA; TONKOVIĆ, ŽELJKA, 2016., 203.

43 Victor Hugo (1802. – 1885.), djelo *Guerre aux démolisseurs*, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749. – 1832.). Više u: KULTERMAN, UDO, 2002., 79-87.

Moreover, cooperation expanded mid-century with the organization of world-wide exhibitions/fairs and international congresses. Distinguished intellectuals in the fields of philosophy and law, clergy, diplomats, city councillors and writers also become part of the discussion about monument protection.⁴³

In her book *The Rise of Heritage*, Astrid Swenson claims that the relations between civil societies, along with development and strengthening of state administration and monument owners, and the spread of historical culture in the 19th century led to the idea of heritage as a universal feature of modern times. The institutionalization of monument protection began at the same time in all European countries, and developed within its special features and through mutual influence.⁴⁴ In the Habsburg Monarchy, it began with the establishment of the Imperial-Royal Central Commission for Researching and Preserving Monuments (*k.k. Central-Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*) in 1850 in Vienna, and should be understood in the context of the establishment of similar bodies in Europe, primarily France and Prussia.

Within the Habsburg Monarchy, the Central Commission was one of the most important components in creating a unique cultural policy.⁴⁵ By establishing a central governing system for the preservation

of monuments in each kingdom of the Monarchy, a good foundation was created to develop awareness of Austria as “a homeland”, or even the Austrian state.⁴⁶ Moreover, the President of the Central Commission, Josef Alexander von Helfert, considered that opening archives, protecting monuments and researching “Great Austria” could support the idea of Austria as a link between western and eastern Europe, northern and southern customs and Romanesque German and Greek-Slavic elements, by strengthening all these elements from which a strong country would emerge.⁴⁷

The institutionalization of art history began with the establishment of the Central Commission, and continued with the appointment of the first associate professor and later, regular professor of art history at the University of Vienna, Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg. He was appointed later, with the help of Count Leo Thun Hohenstein, minister for religious affairs and education.⁴⁸ Thus began the period of the Vienna School of Art History, which, according to Jan Bakoš, would become an incubator for a large number of museum and gallery experts, institutions for monument protection and art history institutes throughout the Habsburg Monarchy.⁴⁹ To support the idea of art history as a scientific discipline, the *Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* was founded in Vienna in 1854, where art historians originally operated.⁵⁰ All these newly established institutions for art history had the task of contributing to the process of centralizing the Austrian Empire, as well as establishing a balance between the two approaches to culture, the scientific representing civil society, and the elitist representing the nobility.⁵¹ Art historians, as a profession, became an important part of cultural events at the time, by participating in establishing museums, arranging large exhibitions, at-

43 Victor Hugo (1802-1885), *Guerre aux démolisseurs*, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) More in: KULTERMAN, UDO, 2002, 79-87.
44 SWENSON, ASTRID, 2013, 329.

45 The Inspector General for Historic Monuments was appointed in 1830 in France, and, in the 1837, the *Commission de Monuments historiques* was established. It was in charge of the distribution of financial resources and oversaw the restoration of buildings of national importance in the procedure known as *classement*. The headquarters of the Commission was in Paris, and it acted on the basis of reports from inspectors and local correspondents. Prussia and England developed their protection systems and, based on the French system, adapted and developed them. In 1843 in Prussia, Ferdinand von Quast was named the first Conservator for Art Monuments. A questionnaire/inventory form was modelled on the French one, while Prussia developed its own idea of a complete inventory, which would then exclude the most valuable monuments. More on the development and comparison of the institutional development of monument protection of England – France – Germany: SWENSON, ASTRID, 2013, 49-56. Austrian Minister Bruck compared and studied the systems of France and Prussia when establishing the Central Commission. ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 19.

46 TELESKO, WERNER, 2015, 38-39. OLIN, MARGARET, 1985, 184.

47 OLIN, MARGARET, 1985, 185.

48 The *Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* was founded in Vienna in 1954, within which art historians worked. OLIN, MARGARET, 1985, 185.

49 BAKOŠ, JÁN, 2013, 133.

50 RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2009, 449.

51 BAKOŠ, JÁN, 2013, 126.

svojih posebnosti i međusobnim utjecajem.⁴⁴ U Habsburškoj Monarhiji započinje osnivanjem Carskog i kraljevskog Središnjeg povjerenstva za proučavanje i održavanje građevinskih spomenika (k. k. *Central-Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*) 1850. godine u Beču, a treba ga promatrati u kontekstu osnivanja sličnih tijela u Europi, prije svega u Francuskoj i Prusiji.

Unutar Habsburške Monarhije, Središnje povjerenstvo predstavljalo je jednu od važnijih komponenti u stvaranju jedinstvene kulturne politike.⁴⁵ Uspostavljanjem središnjeg sustava upravljanja za očuvanje spomenika u svakoj od krunskih zemalja stvoreno je plodno tlo za stvaranje i razvijanje svijesti o Austriji kao „domovini“, pa čak i austrijskoj državi.⁴⁶ Štoviše, predsjednik Središnjeg povjerenstva Josef Alexander von Helfert smatrao je da se otvaranjem arhiva, zaštitom spomenika te povijesnim istraživanjima „Velike Austrije“ može potkrijepiti ideja Austrije kao poveznice zapadne i istočne Europe, sjevernih i južnih običaja te romansko-germanskih i grčko-slavenskih elemenata u smislu jačanja svih tih dijelova iz kojih bi izrastala jedna snažna država.⁴⁷

Institucionaliziranje povijesti umjetnosti započelo je osnivanjem Središnjeg povjerenstva, a nastavljeno je imenovanjem prvoga izvanrednog, potom redovnog profesora povijesti umjetnosti na Sveučilištu u Beču Rudolfa Eitelbergera von Edelberga. Imenovan je uz pomoć tadašnjeg ministra bogoštovlja i nastave grofa Lea Thuna

Hohensteina.⁴⁸ Time započinje razdoblje Bečke škole povijesti umjetnosti, koja će, kako navodi Ján Bakoš, postati inkubator za velik broj muzejskih i galerijskih stručnjaka, tijela za zaštitu spomenika i instituta za povijest umjetnosti u cijeloj Habsburškoj Monarhiji.⁴⁹ U svrhu podupiranja ideje povijesti umjetnosti kao znanstvene discipline osnovan je u Beču 1854. *Institut za austrijsko povijesno istraživanje* (*Institut für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*) unutar kojega su u početku djelovali povjesničari umjetnosti.⁵⁰ Sve te novoosnovane povijesnoumjetničke institucije imale su zadatak pridonijeti procesu centralizacije Austrijskog carstva, kao i uspostavi ravnoteže između dvaju pristupa kulturi, znanstvenog koji je zastupalo građansko društvo i elitističkog kojemu je težilo plemstvo.⁵¹ Povjesničari umjetnosti, kao struka, postaju važan dio tadašnjih kulturnih zbivanja, sudjeluju u osnivanju muzeja, priređuju velike izložbe, atribuiraju i valoriziraju umjetnička djela, prezentiraju nacionalna umjetnička stvaralaštva te su bili nositelji institucionalnog razvoja zaštite spomenika u srednjoeuropskim zemljama.⁵²

Koliko su svi ti društveno-politički procesi djelovali na institucionaliziranje zaštite spomenika na području Hrvatske razmatrat će se u sljedećim poglavljima.

KRATAK POVIJESNI PREGLED ZAČETKA ZAŠTITE SPOMENIKA U PRVOJ POLOVINI 19. STOLJEĆA U DALMACIJI

Mletačka Republika 1797. godine mirovnim sporazumom između Francuske i Austrije prestaje postojati. Njeni posjedi Istra, kvarnerski otoci, Dalmacija i Boka kotorska dolaze pod habsburšku vlast, čime započinje proces uvođenja Dalmacije u administrativni sustav kakav je postojao u svim ostalim dijelovima pod vlašću Habsburgovaca. Austrija početkom 19. stoljeća još nije imala organiziranu službu zaštite, ali je itekako postojalo zanimanje za proučavanje i prikupljanje antičkih spomenika.

44 SWENSON, ASTRID, 2013., 329.

45 U Francuskoj je 1830. godine postavljen je Glavni inspektor za historijske spomenike, a 1837. osnovana je Komisija za povijesne spomenike (*Commission de Monuments historiques*). U nadležnosti je imala raspodjelu financijskih sredstava te je nadzirala restauriranje građevina od nacionalnog značaja u postupku poznatom kao *classement*. Komisija je imala sjedište u Parizu, a djelovala je na temelju izvještaja inspektora i lokalnih dopisnika. Prusija i Engleska razvijale su svoje sustave zaštite na temelju francuskoga, koji su prilagođavali i razvijali u vlastiti sustav. U Prusiji je 1843. godine prvim konzervatorom za umjetničke spomenike imenovan Ferdinand von Quast. Po uzoru na Francusku izrađen je upitnik/obrazac za inventarizaciju, dok je Prusija razvila svoju vlastitu ideju o sveukupnom inventaru pomoću kojeg bi se onda izuzeli najvrjedniji spomenici. Više o razvoju i usporedbi institucionalnog razvoja zaštite spomenika Engleska – Francuska – Njemačka: SWENSON, ASTRID, 2013., 49-56. Austrijski ministar Bruck prilikom uspostavljanja Središnjeg povjerenstva usporedio je i proučio sustave Francuske i Pruske. ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 19.

46 TELESKO, WERNER, 2015., 38-39. OLIN, MARGARET, 1985., 184.

47 OLIN, MARGARET, 1985., 185.

48 Osnovan Institut za austrijska povijesna istraživanja (*Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*) u Beču, 1954., unutar kojega su djelovali povjesničari umjetnosti. OLIN, MARGARET, 1985., 185.

49 BAKOŠ, JÁN, 2013., 133.

50 RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2009., 449.

51 BAKOŠ, JÁN, 2013., 126.

52 PELC, MILAN, 2009., 235, MAROVIĆ, IVO, 2000., 10.

tributing and highlighting the importance of works of art, presenting national artwork and shouldering the institutional development of monument protection in Central European countries.⁵²

The question as to how much did socio-political processes influence the institutionalization of monument protection in Croatia will be discussed in the following chapters.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL REVIEW OF THE BEGINNING OF MONUMENT PROTECTION IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY IN DALMATIA

The Republic of Venice ceased to exist with the 1797 peace agreement between France and Austria. Istria, the Kvarner Islands, Dalmatia and Boka Kotorska came under Habsburg rule, beginning the process of introducing Dalmatia into the administrative system that existed in all the other parts of the Habsburg Empire. At the beginning of the 19th century, Austria did not yet have an organized protection service, but there was a lot of interest in studying and collecting ancient monuments.

At the beginning of the 19th century, in order to protect classical monuments in Dalmatia, Emperor Franz Joseph I decided to appoint a person who would be responsible for the preservation and excavation of monuments.⁵³ The most valuable monuments were intended to be part of a future collection of the cabinet for Dalmatia, which the Emperor wanted to establish in Vienna at the Imperial Museum.⁵⁴ Ivan Luka Garagnin from Trogir, the member of a prominent family, who was an intellectual and collector of classical monuments, was chosen for the position. On April 5, 1805, he was appointed General Supervisor for all classical monuments and art objects in Dalmatia (*Ispettore generale sopratutti*

g'oggetti d'Antiquaria e delle Belle Arti).⁵⁵ Prior to his nomination, he received *Instructions* with defined guidelines pertaining to his work and authority as well as areas for archaeological excavations, methods for handling found objects, the purchase of objects, the determination of national significance for appraisal purposes, the creation of a catalogue of all classical and art objects in churches and monasteries, a proposal for endangered objects, and a selection of the most valuable items for the Imperial Museum in Vienna. At the same time, objects of lesser artistic value would remain in the city where they were found and, be available to scientists, while military assistance was at their disposal during excavations.⁵⁶ The aforementioned *Instructions* were signed in April 1805 by the civilian and military governor of Dalmatia, Thomas de Brady, in Zadar. He submitted reports on his work every fifteen days. After several archaeological excavations that were carried out in June, Brady sent Garagnin a suspension of further excavations, and thus his work was focused on collecting classical and art objects in public places and private collections for the imperial cabinet. However, only four months after his appointment, Garagnin sought termination of service because of illness.⁵⁷

At the end of 1805, the government in Dalmatia changed again. With the Treaty of Pressburg after the loss at Austerlitz in 1805, Austria conceded the western part of Istria, the Kvarner islands and Dalmatia, along with Boka Kotorska. The entire area came under the administrative authority of the Kingdom of Italy after the Treaty of Schönbrunn in 1808. Directly under the rule of the French Empire, Napoleon founded the Illyrian provinces.⁵⁸ During the French rule, major changes took place in the organization of government, law, education and culture in general.⁵⁹ Significant changes occurred in urban planning in Split and Trogir, road construction and fortification architecture. In 1806, a Lyceum was established

52 PELC, MILAN, 2009, 235; MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 2000, 10.

53 In 1814, Pietro Nobile wrote a document and sent it to the Austrian authorities, in which he advocated the creation of local research communities from Aquileia to cities in Dalmatia with the help of local intellectuals. ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2009, 85.

54 BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, DANICA, 1970, 147.

55 BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, DANICA, 1970, 148.

56 BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, DANICA, 1970, 149.

57 BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, DANICA, 1970, 158.

58 Vincenzo Dandolo was appointed General Provost, and August Marmont military commander of the French Army for Dalmatia. ČUBELA, IVAN, 2007, 83-84.

59 PIPLOVČ, STANKO, 2012, 75-76.

Početak 19. stoljeća car Franjo I. u cilju zaštite antičkih spomenika u Dalmaciji odlučio je imenovati osobu koja bi bila zadužena za čuvanje i iskapanje spomenika.⁵³ Najvrjedniji spomenici trebali su biti dio buduće zbirke, kabineta za Dalmaciju, koji je car želio osnovati u Beču pri Carskom muzeju.⁵⁴ Izabran je Trogirinanin, član ugledne obitelji, intelektualac i sakupljač antičkih spomenika Ivan Luka Garagnin. Imenovan je 5. travnja 1805. godine generalnim nadzornikom za sve antikne spomenike i umjetničke predmete na području Dalmacije (*Ispettore generale sopratutti gl'oggetti d'Antiquaria e delle Belle Arti*).⁵⁵ Prije imenovanja dobio je *Uputstvo* u kojem su bile definirane smjernice rada i ovlasti, područje arheoloških iskapanja, način postupanja s nađenim predmetima, otкуп predmeta, u slučaju procjene određivanje važnosti od nacionalnog značaja, izrada kataloga svih antičkih i umjetničkih predmeta koji se čuvaju u crkvama i samostanima, prijedlog radova za ugrožene predmete, odabir najvrjednijih predmeta za Carski muzej u Beču, dok bi predmeti manje umjetničke vrijednosti ostajali u gradu u kojem su nađeni kako bi bili dostupni znanstvenicima, a pri iskapanjima je mogao računati na pomoć vojske.⁵⁶ Navedeno *Uputstvo* potpisao je u travnju 1805. godine civilni i vojni guverner za Dalmaciju Thomas de Brady u Zadru. Izvještaje o svom radu dostavljao je svakih petnaest dana. Garagnin nakon nekoliko provedenih arheoloških iskapanja u lipnju dobiva od Bradyja obustavu daljnjih iskapanja i njegov rad se usmjerava na prikupljanje antičkih i umjetničkih predmeta na javnim mjestima i privatnim zbirkama za carski kabinet. No, svega četiri mjeseca od stupanja na dužnost Garagnin zbog bolesti traži prekid službe.⁵⁷

Krajem 1805. godine ponovno dolazi do promjene vlasti u Dalmaciji. Austrija Požunskim mirom, sklopljenim nakon poraza u bitki kod Austerlitz 1805. godine gubi zapadni dio Istre, kvarnerske otoke i Dalmaciju s Bokom

kotorskom. Cijelo to područje dolazi pod administrativnu vlast Talijanskog kraljevstva, da bi nakon mira u Schönbrunu 1808. Napoleon izravno pod upravom Francuskog carstva osnovao Ilirske pokrajine.⁵⁸ U vrijeme francuske vladavine dogodile su se velike promjene u organizaciji upravne vlasti, sudstvu, školstvu i kulturi općenito.⁵⁹ Važne promjene zbile su se na planu urbanizma u Splitu i Trogiru, cestovne izgradnje i fortifikacijske arhitekture. U Zadru je 1806. osnovan Licej, koji od 1809. godine prerasta u Centralnu školu u kojoj su se stjecala zvanja liječnika, kirurga, ljekarnika, mjernika, pravnika, teologa i inženjera arhitekture.⁶⁰ Smjer arhitekture polazio je Vicko Andrić, koji će dvadesetak godina kasnije postati jednim od nositelja konzervatorske službe u Dalmaciji. Još jedna osoba koja je vezana uz dolazak francuske vlasti na područje Dalmacije, a kasnije će imati utjecaj na razvoj zaštite spomenika, bio je liječnik Carlo Lanza. Lanza dolazi u Split oko 1806. godine.⁶¹

Kako je ranije spomenuto, odlukom Bečkog kongresa 1815. godine Dalmacija ponovno dolazi u posjed Austrije te je uvedena u administrativni ustroj kakav je postojao u ostalim dijelovima Habsburške Monarhije.⁶² Zemaljska vlada Dalmacije bila je podčinjena izravno središnjoj vladi u Beču.⁶³ Dalmacija time postaje dijelom procesa „unutarnje“ kolonizacije. Postaje dio multikulturalnog carstva u kojem se težilo postići uniformiranost ne samo na političkom i upravnom, nego i na kulturnom

58 Vincenzo Dandolo imenovan je generalnim providurom, a August Marmont vojnim zapovjednikom francuske vojske za Dalmaciju. ČUBELA, IVAN, 2007., 83-84.

59 PIPLOVĆ, STANKO, 2012., 75-76.

60 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2012., 81.

61 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1924., 112; ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2007., 375; DUGAČKI, VLADIMIR, 1998., 224.

62 Ekonomsko i društveno stanje Dalmacije kada ulazi u administrativni sustav Austrije bilo je loše. Poljoprivreda i infrastruktura bile su nerazvijene, stanovništvo se bavilo sitnim obrtima i ribarstvom. Pozivajući se na nedavna historijska istraživanja, Judson smatra da je Austrija u socijalni i ekonomski razvoj Dalmacije investirala više nego u ostale krunske zemlje. Školstvo, religija i ekonomska politika bili su na čekanju dok se nije uspostavio administrativni ustroj. JUDSON, M. PIETER, 2016., 126-130; STANČIĆ, NIKŠA 1981., 232.

63 Službeni naziv bio je Austrijska pokrajina Kraljevina Dalmacija. Dalmacija je bila podijeljena na četiri okruga sa sjedištima u Splitu, Dubrovniku, Kotoru i Zadru. Politički i administrativni centar bio je Zadar. BRALIĆ, ANTE, 2008., 731; BEGONJA, ZLATKO, 2007., 503; VRANDEČIĆ, JOSIP, 2016., 110.

53 Pietro Nobile je izradio 1814. godine dokument koji je uputio austrijskim vlastima, a u kojem se zauzeo za stvaranje lokanih istraživačkih zajednica od Akvileje do dalmatinskih gradova uz pomoć lokalnih intelektualaca. ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2009., 85.

54 BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, DANICA, 1970., 147.

55 BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, DANICA, 1970., 148.

56 BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, DANICA, 1970., 149.

57 BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, DANICA, 1970., 158.

in Zadar, and, in 1809, it was transformed into the Central school for doctors, surgeons, pharmacists, surveyors, lawyers, theologians, and engineers of architecture.⁶⁰ Vicko Andrić, who became the head of the conservation service in Dalmatia twenty years later, went there and studied to become an architect. Another person associated with the arrival of French authorities in Dalmatia, who would later have an impact on the development of monument protection was the physician Carlo Lanza. Lanza arrived in Split around 1806.⁶¹

As mentioned earlier, after the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Dalmatia was again under Austria's rule and was introduced into the administrative structure that existed in other parts of the Habsburg Monarchy.⁶² The territorial authority of Dalmatia was subordinated directly to the central government in Vienna.⁶³ Dalmatia thus became part of the process of "internal" colonization. It became part of a multicultural empire that sought to achieve uniformity not only on the political and administrative level, but also the cultural level.⁶⁴ With this goal, Francis I went to visit his conquered/annexed territories, and visited Pula in 1816.⁶⁵ He started his journey from Rijeka to Kotor on April 10, 1818, and visited all the offices and public institutions.⁶⁶ An important segment of the jour-

ney was a tour of archaeological and art monuments. The Emperor was accompanied by a personal antiquities dealer and future director of the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Antiquities, Anton Steinbüch von Rheinwall. The Emperor arrived in Zadar on May 2, 1818. Besides referring to the architectural elements of the Zadar cathedral, he listed altars, choir seats and cressets "*silver lamps hang in the church in the arches and next to the main altar*".⁶⁷ He also listed the Pelegrini collection with classical stone *statues and busts*, a collection of marine and natural rarities and antiquities, but overall, he stated that it was in poor condition.⁶⁸ In the church of St. Simon, he mentioned a "*gold-plated old-fashioned coffin*".⁶⁹ After Zadar, he visited Pag, Ugljan, Skradin and Šibenik. While visiting the cathedral in Šibenik, he listed altars, reliquaries and pictures that needed restoration.⁷⁰

He arrived in Split on May 12th. One of the "hosts" was Carlo Lanza, who presented his archaeological and numismatic collection to the Emperor and escorted him to visit the monuments.

The Emperor's guide in Salona and Split was the architect Vicko Andrić. After Split, the Emperor visited Klis, Sinj, Metković and Dubrovnik. In the Dominican monastery in Dubrovnik, the Emperor noted Titian's altarpiece "*which, it seems, has already suffered a great deal*" and relics. Then he visited the church of St. Blaise in which he listed the marble altar, choir and organ.⁷¹ After the trip, Steinbüch wrote two reports on monuments in Dalmatia, both of which came out in respected Austrian journals of the time.⁷² Archaeological excavations, the collection and preservation of works of art, the establishment of the Split Museum of Antiquities, the establishment of state subsidies for monument conservation, and official correspondence on the es-

60 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2012, 81.

61 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1924, 112; ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2007, 375; DUGAČKI, VLADIMIR, 1998, 224.

62 The economic and social situation in Dalmatia when it entered the Austrian administrative system was poor. Agriculture and infrastructure were underdeveloped, the population engaged in small crafts and fishing. Referring to recent historical research, Judson believes that Austria invested more in the social and economic development of Dalmatia than in other crown countries. Schooling, religion and economic policy were pending until an administrative structure was established. JUDSON, M. PIETER, 2016, 126-130; STANČIĆ, NIKŠA, 1981, 232.

63 The official title was the Kingdom of Dalmatia Austrian province. Dalmatia was divided into four districts with centres in Split, Dubrovnik, Kotor and Zadar. The political and administrative centre was Zadar. BRALIĆ, ANTE, 2008, 731; BEGONJA, ZLATKO, 2007, 503; VRANDEČIĆ, JOSIP, 2016, 110.

64 TELESKO, WERNER, 2015, 35.

65 KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1979, 62. From 1816 to 1834, Emperor Francis I spent most of his mandate traveling the empire, getting acquainted with and gathering information about individual areas and institutions that operated there. In 1831, Count Wenzel Vetter von Lillienberg became governor of Dalmatia and soon became acquainted with the state of the province. More in: TROGRLIĆ, MARKO; CLEWING, KONRAD, 2015, 12-13.

66 KRMPOTIĆ, LJUDEVIT, 2002, 13.

67 KRMPOTIĆ, LJUDEVIT, 2002, 115.

68 KRMPOTIĆ, LJUDEVIT, 2002, 146.

69 KRMPOTIĆ, LJUDEVIT, 2002, 153.

70 KRMPOTIĆ, LJUDEVIT, 2002, 181.

71 KRMPOTIĆ, LJUDEVIT, 2002, 303-311.

72 The first report was published in the Viennese magazine *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, and the second text was published in *Jarbücher der Literatur*. More in: ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2006, 175; ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2009, 86-87.

planu.⁶⁴ S tim ciljem car Franjo I. 1816. godine kreće u obilazak svojih osvojenih/pripojenih područja te boravi u Puli.⁶⁵ Na putovanje od Rijeke do Kotora kreće 10. travnja 1818., a obišao je sve urede i javne ustanove.⁶⁶ Važan segment puta bio je obilazak arheoloških i umjetničkih spomenika. Car je došao u pratnji osobnog antikvara i budućeg ravnatelja Kabineta za numizmatiku i starine Antona Steinbücha von Rheinwalla. U Zadar car dolazi 2. svibnja 1818., o stolnoj crkvi osim navođenja arhitektonskih elemenata navodi oltare, korske klupe i kandila: „srebrene svjetiljke vise u crkvi u lukovima i uz glavni oltar“.⁶⁷ Bilježi zbirku Pelegrini u kojoj nalazi antičke kamene kipe i poprsja, zbirku morskih i prirodnih rijetkosti te starina, ali u cjelini konstatira njeno loše stanje.⁶⁸ U crkvi sv. Šimuna navodi „pozlaćeni lijes starinske izrade“.⁶⁹ Nakon Zadra obilazi Pag, Ugljan, Skradin i Šibenik. U Šibeniku pri posjetu katedrali bilježi oltare, relikvijare te slike koje je potrebno restaurirati.⁷⁰

U Split dolazi 12. svibnja, jedan od „domaćina“ bio je Carlo Lanza koji je caru prezentirao svoju arheološku i numizmatičku zbirku te mu bio pratnja prilikom obilaska spomenika. Carev vodič po Saloni i Splitu bio je arhitekt Vicko Andrić. Nakon Splita car je obišao Klis, Sinj, Metković i Dubrovnik. U Dubrovniku u dominikanskom samostanu car bilježi oltarnu palu Tiziana „koja je, kako izgleda, već puno propatila“ te relikvije. Potom crkvu sv. Vlahu u kojoj navodi mramorni oltar, pjevalište i orgulje.⁷¹ Steinbuch je nakon puta napisao dva izvješća o spomenicima u Dalmaciji, oba su izašla u tada uglednim austrijskim časopisima.⁷² Nakon carevog posjeta započinju ar-

heološka iskapanja, sabiranje i konzerviranje umjetnina, osnivanje splitskog Muzeja starina, uvođenje državnih dotacija za konzerviranje spomenika te službeni dopisi o osnivanju konzervatorske službe na prostoru Dalmacije, odnosno dolazi do početka institucionalne zaštite spomenika. Važno je napomenuti da su na izradi programa rada buduće ustanove za zaštitu zajedno radili Steinbuch i Lanzpietera.⁷³ Dekretom Dalmatinske vlade osnovan je Arheološki muzej u Splitu 1820. godine. Prvim počasnim ravnateljem imenovan je upravo Lanza, a njegovim pomoćnikom, na dužnosti inspektora starina i kustosa muzeja imenovan je doktor prava i kolekcionar Vicko Solitra.⁷⁴ Vicko Andrić je carskim dekretom u funkciji nadzornika iskapanja bio zadužen za tehničke radove.

Lanza i Solitra, uz svoj primarni poziv, prvenstveno su bili kolekcionari i trgovci umjetninama, a njihove kolekcije činili su većinom predmeti iz Salone. Njihova stručnost pri iskapanjima dovedena je u pitanje još od samog Vicka Andrića, a nadovezuje se i kasnije u osvrtima na iskapanja Frane Bulića.⁷⁵ Solitra je smijenjen godinu dana nakon imenovanja 1821., a na njegovo mjesto imenovan je dubrovački slikar Rafo Martini. Martini je imenovan na preporuku Lanze.⁷⁶ Lanza odlazi s mjesta ravnatelja 1932., a umire 1934. godine.⁷⁷ Lanza na mjestu ravnatelja nasljeđuje Josip Čobarnić, kojega ubrzo zamjenjuje još jedna osoba značajna za povijest konzervatorstva u Dalmaciji od sredine 19. stoljeća, konzervator i antikvar Francesco Carrara.⁷⁸ Carrara nakon školovanja u Beču dolazi u Dalmaciju te sudjeluje u iskapanjima u Saloni i prikupljanju podataka o starinama u Dalmaciji. Godine 1842. imenovan je privremenim počasnim ravnateljem Arheološkog muzeja.⁷⁹ Njegov rad temeljio se na proučavanju Salone i zaštiti gradskih starina. Upravo to studiozno proučava-

64 TELESKO, WERNER, 2015., 35.

65 KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1979., 62. Car Franjo I. je od 1816. do 1834. veći dio svog mandata proveo putujući carstvom, upoznavajući i prikupljajući podatke o pojedinim područjima i institucijama koje u njima djeluju. Godine 1831. dalmatinskim namjesnikom postaje grof Wenzel Vetter von Lilienberg te ubrzo kreće u upoznavanje i pregled stanja pokrajine. Više u: TROGRLIĆ, MARKO; CLEWING, KONRAD, 2015., 12-13.

66 KRMPOTIĆ, LJUDEVIT, 2002., 13.

67 KRMPOTIĆ, LJUDEVIT, 2002., 115.

68 KRMPOTIĆ, LJUDEVIT, 2002., 146.

69 KRMPOTIĆ, LJUDEVIT, 2002., 153.

70 KRMPOTIĆ, LJUDEVIT, 2002., 181.

71 KRMPOTIĆ, LJUDEVIT, 2002., 303-311.

72 Prvo izvješće objavljeno je u bečkom časopisu *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunst, Literatur, Theater und Mode*, a drugi tekst objavljen je u *Jarbücher der Literatur*. Više u: ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2006., 175; ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2009., 86-87.

73 ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2007., 380.

74 KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1993., 49. Zgrada muzeja bila je podignuta 1921. Više u: PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1998., 113.

75 SEDLAR TORLAK, ANA, 2014., 192.

76 FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1975., 25.

77 KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1993., 50.

78 Opširno o životu i radu Francesca Carrare u: ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2010.

79 KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1993., 54. Ravnatelj muzeja bio je od 1842. do 1853. godine. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, DUJE, 1951., 9-10. Ravnatelj Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu od 1853. do 1858. bio je Don S. Giovanizio, od 1858. do 1868. Šime Ljubić, od 1868. do 1872. Frano Lanza, 1872. Ivan Devčić, od 1872. do 1883. Mihovil Glavinčić, a od 1883. Josip Alačević. GRGIN, ANTUN, 1932., 29-30.

tablishment of a conservation service in Dalmatia, i.e. the beginning of the institutional monument protection, began after the Emperor's visit. It is important to note that Steinbuch and Lanza worked together to develop a plan for the future institution for monument protection.⁷³ The Decree of the Dalmatian Government established the Archaeological Museum in Split in 1820. The first Honorary Director was Lanza, and his assistant, collector and Doctor of Law, Vicko Andrić, was appointed inspector for antiquities and curator.⁷⁴ With the royal decree, Vicko Andrić, was in charge of technical work as supervisor of excavations.

Lanza and Solitra, along with their first calling, were primarily collectors and art dealers, and their collections mostly consisted of objects from Salona. Their expertise in excavations was questioned by Vicko Andrić himself, and, in his later reviews, he also mentioned Frane Bulić's excavation.⁷⁵ Solitra was dismissed one year after his nomination in 1821, and he was replaced by Rafo Martini, a painter from Dubrovnik. Martini was recommended by Lanza.⁷⁶ Lanza left the post of director in 1832 and died in 1834.⁷⁷ Lanza was succeeded by Josip Čobarnić, who was soon replaced by another person who was important to the history of conservation in Dalmatia from the mid-19th century, conservator and antique dealer Francesco Carrara.⁷⁸ After graduating in Vienna, Carrara came to Dalmatia and took part in excavations in Salona, collecting information about antiquities in Dalmatia. In 1842, he was appointed temporary honorary director of the Archaeological Museum.⁷⁹ His work was based on the study of Salona and the protection of the city's antiquities. His studious

research and comparison of discovered art and archaeological objects, along with controversies among domestic Dalmatian conservators, were the beginning of a new scientific discipline – art history.⁸⁰

The Central Commission and the principles of movable heritage protection

On December 31, 1850, Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I issued a decree that founded the Imperial Royal Central Commission for the Study and Preservation of Historic Buildings as part of the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Public Works.⁸¹ The first President of the Commission was Karl Freiherr Czoernig von Czernhausen.⁸² The purpose and structure of the Commission was set out in a separate Directive. The aim of the Commission was to collect data and publish research on Austrian historical monuments, as well as monuments of other nations that were part of the Monarchy, and encourage the establishment of local societies that would care for monuments and raise public awareness.⁸³ The objects of interest and protection were all items created before 1800.⁸⁴ In the countries of the Monarchy, the Commission functioned through appointed conservators and

73 ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2007, 380.

74 KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1993, 49. The museum building was built in 1921. More in: PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1998, 113.

75 SEDLAR TORLAK, ANA, 2014, 192.

76 FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1975, 25.

77 KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1993, 50.

78 More on the life and work of Francesco Carrara in: ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2010.

79 KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1993, 54; He was the museum director from 1842 to 1853. RENDIĆ-MIOČEVIĆ, DUJE, 1951, 9-10; Don S. Giovannio was the director of the Archaeological Museum in Split from 1853 to 1858, Šime Ljubić from 1858 to 1868, Frano Lanza from 1868 to 1872, Ivan Devčić in 1872, Mihovil Glavinić from 1872 to 1883, and Josip Alačević from 1883. GRGIN, ANTUN, 1932, 29-30.

80 ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2010, 76, 183. Debates among Franz Lanza, Vicko Andrić and Carraro about the demolition of houses in front of Diocletian's palace and cleaning out the basements, more in: KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1993, 55.

81 *K.k. Central-commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*. More on the foundation and work of the Commission can be found in the doctoral dissertation of Franko Čorić. ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 32. The first official meeting was held on January 10, 1953. TELESKO, WERNER, 2016, 38.

82 JOKILEHTO, JUKKA, 2004, 164.

83 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 30.

84 The Royal decree from 1899 included monuments dating from the first half of the 19th century. BROWN, GERARD BALDWIN, 1905, 19.

nje i uspoređivanje pronađenih umjetničkih i arheoloških predmeta i polemika koja se razvila među domaćim – dalmatinskim konzervatorima bili su početak rađanja nove znanstvene discipline – povijesti umjetnosti.⁸⁰

Središnje povjerenstvo i načela zaštite pokretne baštine

Odlukom austrijskog cara Franje Josipa I, 31. prosinca 1850. osnovano je Carsko i kraljevsko Središnje povjerenstvo za proučavanje i održavanje građevinskih spomenika u Ministarstvu trgovine, obrta i javnih radova.⁸¹ Prvi predsjednik Povjerenstva bio je Karl Freiherr Czoernig von Czernhausen.⁸² Svrha djelovanja i sastav Povjerenstva bili su određeni posebnom Uputom. Cilj Povjerenstva bilo je prikupljanje podataka i objavljivanje istraživanja o austrijskim povijesnim spomenicima, kao i o spomenicima pojedinih naroda u sastavu Monarhije te poticanje osnivanja lokalnih društva koja bi se brinula o spomenicima i razvijala svijest kod građanstva.⁸³ Predmet interesa i zaštite bili su svi predmeti nastali do 1800. godine.⁸⁴ Povjerenstvo je djelovalo u svim krunskim zemljama preko imenovanih konzervatora i dopisnika.⁸⁵ Njihova funkcija je bila počasna i bez materijalne naknade.⁸⁶ Godine 1856. Povjerenstvo je započelo izdavati

stručne publikacije u kojima su objavljivani izvještaji o radu. Tada je započeo izlaziti *Godišnjak C. Kr. Središnjeg povjerenstva za proučavanje i održavanje graditeljskih spomenika*⁸⁷ koji je kasnije nadopunjen *Priopćenjima C. kr. Središnjeg povjerenstva za proučavanje i održavanje graditeljskih spomenika*⁸⁸ za objavljivanje vijesti, bilješki, priopćenja, kraćih znanstvenih radova ili prikaza, te *Izvjestaji*. Navedene su publikacije i danas iscrpan izvor podataka o pokretnim i nepokretnim spomenicima kako u Hrvatskoj tako i na cijelom području tadašnjeg Austrijskog carstva.⁸⁹ Središnje povjerenstvo tijekom godina doživljava niz promjena u organizacijskom, administrativnom dijelu i u članstvu. Godine 1859. prelazi u nadležnost Ministarstva za bogoštovlje i nastavu,⁹⁰ a 1873. izmijenjen je naziv u *Carsko kraljevsko Središnje povjerenstvo za proučavanje i održavanje umjetničkih i historijskih spomenika* te je donesen novi statut prema kojem su Povjerenstvo činila tri odjeljenja: Odjeljenje za prapovijesne, grčke i rimske spomenike, Odjeljenje za spomenike srednjeg vijeka i Odjeljenje za arhive.⁹¹ Statut je ponovno izmijenjen 1897. te 1910. godine.⁹² Predsjednikom Povjerenstva nakon umirovljenja Karla Freiherra Czoerniga, 1863., imenovan je Josef Alexander von Helfert koji će na tom mjestu ostati do 1910. godine.⁹³ Za zaštitu pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta treba spomenuti prijedlog *obrasca za spomeničku statistiku* koji se odnosio na pokretne spomenike iz 1857. godine⁹⁴ i *Odjel za vođenje restauracije slika* koji je osnovan 1874. godine. Neki od članova Odjela djelovali su u Dalmaciji u pregledu i izboru umjetnina za restauriranje: Karl Schellein, Josef Mathias von Trenkwald, Alois Riegel i Max Dvořák.⁹⁵ Izrada umjetničke topografije uključivala je i pokretne

80 ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO, 2010., 76, 183. Međusobne polemike Frane Lanze, Vicka Andrića i Carrare oko rušenja kućica pred Dioklecijanovom palačom i čišćenja podruma, više i u: KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1993., 55.

81 K. k. Central-commission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale. O osnivanju i radu opširnije u doktorskoj disertaciji Franka Čorića. ČORIĆ FRANKO, 2010., 32. Prvi službeni sastanak održan je 10. siječnja 1953. godine. TELESKO, WERNER, 2016., 38.

82 JOKILEHTO, JUKKA, 2004., 164.

83 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 30.

84 Carskim dekretom 1899. uključeni su i spomenici nastali u prvoj polovini 19. stoljeća. BROWN, GERARD BALDWIN, 1905., 19.

85 Konzervatori i dopisnici ispunjavali su inventarizacijski obrazac koji je nastao prema ranijim predlošcima. Sadržavao je osnovne podatke o spomeniku: ime i smještaj, vrijeme gradnje i kasnije intervencije, namjena, dimenzije, da li postoje natpisi, vrijednost s povijesnog ili arhitektonskog stajališta, stanje i klasifikacija. Takvi inventarizacijski obrasci počeli su se koristiti u Francuskoj početkom 19. stoljeća. Tijekom vremena obrasci su mijenjani i prilagođavani. Problem je bio u različitim interesima i obrazovanju osoba koje su ispunjavale obrazac. R. Eitelberger je u prvom broju *Priopćenja* također naglasio važnost obrazovanja kao preduvjet za kvalitetnu zaštitu spomenika. Iako dokumentiranje i inventariziranje nije bilo u potpunosti uspješno, bilo je značajno jer je provedeno uz pomoć standardiziranih obrazaca. ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 51; GREENHALGH, MICHEAL, 2015., 357; RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2011., 67.

86 JOKILEHTO, JUKKA, 2004., 164.

87 *Jahrbuch der k. k. Central-Comission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale.*

88 *Mittheilungen der k. k. Central-Comission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale.*

89 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 19.

90 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 64.

91 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004., 7; ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 118-119.

92 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 294.

93 JOKILEHTO, JUKKA, 2004., 164.

94 Prijedlog je objavljen u *Priopćenjima*. Pitanja su vezana uz sljedeće podatke: smještaj, pismeni/usmeni izvori, tehnika/materijal, monogram umjetnika/datacija, tema, detaljan opis, dimenzije, utjecaji te bibliografija. Opširnije vidi: ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 73.

95 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 128.

correspondents.⁸⁵ Their function was honorary and they did not receive a salary.⁸⁶ In 1856, the Commission began publishing work reports in professional publications. At the time, they started publishing the *Annual of the Imperial Royal Central Commission for the Study and Preservation of Historic Buildings*⁸⁷, which was later supplemented with the *Announcements of the Imperial Royal Central Commission for the Study and Preservation of Historic Buildings*⁸⁸ for publishing news, notes, press releases, short scientific papers or reviews, and reports. The publications are still a comprehensive source of information on movable and immovable monuments both in Croatia and throughout the territory of the former Austrian Empire.⁸⁹ Over the years, the organization, administration and membership of the Central Commission went through a number of changes. In 1859, it became part of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education,⁹⁰ and in 1873, it was renamed the Imperial Royal Central Commission for the Study and Maintenance of Historical and Artistic Monuments with a new statute and divided into three departments: prehistoric and classical archaeology, medieval and modern architecture, sculpture and graphics, and other historical monuments from prehistory to the end of the 18th century.⁹¹ The Statute was changed in 1897, and again in 1910.⁹² Following the retirement of Karl Freiherr

Czoernig in 1863, Josef Alexander von Helfert became President of the Commission and he remained in that position until 1910.⁹³ The proposed *form for monument statistics relating to movable monuments* from 1857,⁹⁴ and the *Department for Painting Restoration* founded in 1874, should be mentioned regarding the protection of movable art objects. Some members of the Department, Karl Schellein, Josef Mathias von Trenkwald, Alois Riegel and Max Dvořák, worked in Dalmatia to review and select artwork for restoration.⁹⁵ The creation of art topography also included movable monuments. The guidelines were formulated during discussions at meetings of the Central Commission and were very precisely defined.⁹⁶

Activities of the Regional Conservation Office for Dalmatia – the Central Commission in Dalmatia on the Protection of Movable Works of Art

The first appointed conservator of the Central Commission in Dalmatia was Vicko Andrić in 1853. He was in charge of the Split and Zadar districts.⁹⁷ The office of the conservator was in Split, officially named the Office for Antiquities, *Ufficio di antichità*.⁹⁸ Andrić did most of his work as conservator on Diocletian's palace; movable monuments were not a subject of interest for him, which is understandable in terms of his vocation. Andrić felt that regulations in the form of instructions and decisions that existed at the time were not adequately respected. His views were connected with the problems he had in protecting Diocletian's palace, especially with private individuals who were building within the palace itself. He believed that valuable monuments belonged to the general public, not individuals.⁹⁹ In

85 Conservators and correspondents completed an inventory form that was created according to earlier templates. It contained basic information about monuments: name and location, time of construction and later interventions, purpose, dimensions, whether there are inscriptions, value from a historical or architectural standpoint, status and classification. This type of inventory form was used in France at the beginning of the 19th century. Over time, the forms were changed and adapted. Different interests and the level of education of the person who filled out the form were the problem. In the first issue of the *Announcements*, R. Eitelberger also emphasized the importance of education as a prerequisite for the quality protection of monuments. Although collecting documents and inventory was not fully successful, they were important because they were implemented with the help of standardized forms. ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 51; GREENHALGH, MICHAEL, 2015, 357; RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2011, 67.

86 JOKILEHTO, JUKKA, 2004, 164.

87 *Jahrbuch der k.k. Central-Comission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*.

88 *Mittheilungen der k.k. Central-Comission zur Erforschung und Erhaltung der Baudenkmale*.

89 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 19.

90 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 64.

91 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004, 7; ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 118-119.

92 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 294.

93 JOKILEHTO, JUKKA, 2004, 164.

94 The proposal was published in the *Announcements*. Questions were related to the following information: location, written/oral sources, technique/material, and monogram of the artist/date, topic, detailed description, dimensions, influences and bibliography. For more information, see ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 73.

95 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 128.

96 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 142-143.

97 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004, 10; ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 19.

98 KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1993, 166.

99 KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1993, 178.

spomenike. Smjernice izrade formulirane su tijekom rasprava na sjednicama Središnjeg povjerenstva i bile su vrlo precizno definirane.⁹⁶

Djelovanje Pokrajinskog konzervatorijalnog ureda za Dalmaciju – Središnje povjerenstvo u Dalmaciji na zaštiti pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta

Prvim konzervatorom Središnjeg povjerenstva u Dalmaciji imenovan je Vicko Andrić 1853. godine. Bio je zadužen za splitski i zadarski okrug.⁹⁷ Ured je bio u Splitu, službenog naziva Ured za starine, *Ufficio di antichita*.⁹⁸ Andrićevo konzervatorsko djelovanje vezano je uz Dioklecijanovu palaču; pokretni spomenici nisu bili predmet interesa, što je i razumljivo s obzirom na njegovu vokaliju. Andrić je smatrao da se premalo poštuju propisi u vidu naputaka i odluka koje su tada postojale. Njegovo mišljenje vezano je uz probleme koje je imao u zaštiti Dioklecijanove palače, napose s privatnim osobama koje su gradile unutar palače. Smatrao je da vrijedni spomenici pripadaju općem dobru, a ne pojedincima.⁹⁹ Andrić je svojim autoritetom sudjelovao i u imenovanju novih konzervatora 1857. godine. Na njegov prijedlog imenovani su Francesco conte Borelli za zadarski, Medo Pucić za dubrovački te Marko Benzon za kotorski okrug. Imenovanja su slijedila tadašnju administrativnu podjelu na četiri okruga: Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik i Kotor. U svakom okrugu nakon 1873. djelovao je konzervator za spomenike starog, srednjeg i novog vijeka te za arhive.¹⁰⁰ Tijekom godina izmjenjivali su se konzervatori koji su bili birani među domaćim intelektualcima različitih zanimanja, npr. gimnazijski profesor i ravnatelj Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu Mihovil Glavinić, profesor na realnoj gimnaziji u Zadru Ivan Smirić, ravnatelj Gimnazije i Državnog arheološkog muzeja u Splitu Frane Bulić, gimnazijski profesor Josip Gelčić, kotorski biskup Tripun Radončić, građevni savjetnik kod Namjesništva u Zadru Bartul Tamino, Carlo Federico Bianchi i drugi.¹⁰¹ Tako i dopisnici: apelacijski

savjetnik u Zadru Josip Alačević, svećenik Ivan Danilo, bilježnik Antun Gavilani, advokat Lovre Monti, načelnik Visa Petar Dojmi i drugi.¹⁰² Konzervatori i dopisnici bili su važna karika između spomenika i Povjerenstva. Njihova uloga u društvu nije bila vezana samo uz rad Povjerenstva. Pratimo li rad najaktivnijih konzervatora, primjećujemo da su oni bili među glavnim akterima u razvoju kulturnih institucija grada/područja na kojem su djelovali. Tako je npr. slikar, likovni pedagog Ivan Smirić, koji je imenovan konzervatorom za spomenike srednjeg vijeka za grad Zadar 1877. i na toj dužnosti ostaje do 1918. godine, ujedno bio osnivač Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru 1880. godine.¹⁰³ Profesor latinskog i talijanskog jezika Mihovil Glavinić bio je ravnatelj Klasične gimnazije u Splitu, ravnatelj Arheološkog muzeja te konzervator za splitski, potom zadarski okrug, te je bio jedan od osnivača časopisa *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata* 1878. godine.¹⁰⁴ Arheolog, povjesničar don Frane Bulić bio je ravnatelj Klasične gimnazije u Splitu, od 1880. godine konzervator za zadarski i benkovački okrug te za splitski okrug, gdje ostaje voditelj ureda do 1925. godine (sl. 1). Osnovao je društvo „Bihać“ u Splitu za proučavanje rane hrvatske povijesti 1894. godine.¹⁰⁵

Izveštaji konzervatora s terena o problemu i stanju spomenika razmatrani su na sjednicama Povjerenstva. Nakon stručne rasprave Povjerenstvo je donosilo prijedlog o mjerama koji je bio upućen Ministarstvu za bogoštovlje i nastavu, koje bi potom osiguravalo financijska sredstva.¹⁰⁶ Na sjednicama Središnjeg povjerenstva raspravljalo se i o pokretnoj građi u Dalmaciji. Konzervatori su predlagali slike i oltare za restauraciju, izvještavali o problemu izmještanja crkvenog inventara, pronađenim

96 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 142-143.

97 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004., 10; ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 19.

98 KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1993., 166.

99 KEČKEMET, DUŠKO, 1993., 178.

100 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004., 7-33.

101 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1989., 245.

102 Vidi u: ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 182-189; PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004., 10.

103 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1992., 132-133.

104 Više u: DUPLANČIĆ, ARSEN, 2008., 11.

105 KATIĆ, LOVRE, 1931./32., 391; ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 15-186.

106 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004., 9.

1857, Andrić used his authority to take part in the appointment of new conservators. Based on his recommendation, Francesco conte Borelli was appointed in Zadar, Medo Pucić in Dubrovnik and Marko Benzon in the Kotor district. The appointments followed the administrative division into four districts: Zadar, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor. After 1873, there was a conservator in each district for monuments from Ancient History, the Middle Ages and Modern History, as well as archives.¹⁰⁰ Over the years, new conservators were appointed among local intellectuals of various professions, such as grammar school professor and director of the Archaeological Museum in Split, Mihovil Glavinić; professor at the grammar school in Zadar, Ivan Smirić; director of the grammar school and the State Archaeological Museum in Split, Frane Bulić; Josip Gelčić, grammar school professor; Kotor bishop, Tripun Radončić; construction consultant from the Zadar office, Bartul Tamino; Carlo Federico Bianchi and others.¹⁰¹ Among notable correspondents were the appellate advisor in Zadar, Josip Alačević; the priest, Ivan Danilo; notary, Antun Gavilani; lawyer, Lovro Monti; mayor of Vis, Petar Dojmi, and others.¹⁰² Conservators and correspondents were an important link between monuments and the Commission. Their role in society was not only connected with the work of the Commission. If we follow the work of the most active conservators, we notice that they were among the most active participants in the development of cultural institutions of the city/area in which they operated. For example, painter and art pedagogue Ivan Smirić (1842 – 1928), appointed conservator for monuments from the Middle Ages for the City of Zadar in 1877, who remained in that position until 1918, also founded the Archaeological Museum in Zadar in 1880.¹⁰³ Mihovil Glavinić, professor of Latin and Italian, was the Director of the Classical Gymnasium in Split, Director of the Archaeological Museum, as well conservator for the districts of Split and later Zadar, and was one of the founders of the journal *Bullettino di*

archeologia dalmatia e storia dalmata in 1878.¹⁰⁴ Archaeologist and historian Frane Bulić was the director of the Classical Gymnasium in Split, and from 1880 was conservator for the Zadar, Benkovac and Split district where he remained head of the office until 1925. In 1894, he founded the “Bihac” Society in Split for the study of early Croatian history¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 1).

Field reports from conservators on the problems and condition of monuments were discussed at Commission meetings. After expert discussions, the Commission would make a proposal on measures that were forwarded to the Ministry of Religion and Education, which would then secure funding.¹⁰⁶ Movable heritage from Dalmatia was also discussed at meetings of the Central Commission. Conservators would suggest which paintings or altars should undergo conservation and restoration, report on problems regarding relocation of church inventory, discovered objects or lists of objects.¹⁰⁷ Appointed conservators would correspond with each other.

In addition to appointed *local* conservators and correspondents, the Commission also worked with experts from Austria, e.g. Alois Hauser, an architect from Vienna and a professor at the School of Decorative Arts in Vienna; Wilhelm Anton Neumann, Rector and a Professor at the University of Vienna; professor Alois Riegel, and Max Dvořák, a professor and director of the Austrian Archaeological Institute. When the work of the Commission began, Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg, the first professor of art history in Vienna, had an important role in documenting monuments in Dalmatia and Istria. His arrival is related to drafting art topography of the

100 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004, 7-33.

101 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1989, 245.

102 See in: ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 182-189; PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004, 10.

103 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1992, 132-133.

104 More in: DUPLANČIĆ, ARSEN, 2008., 11.

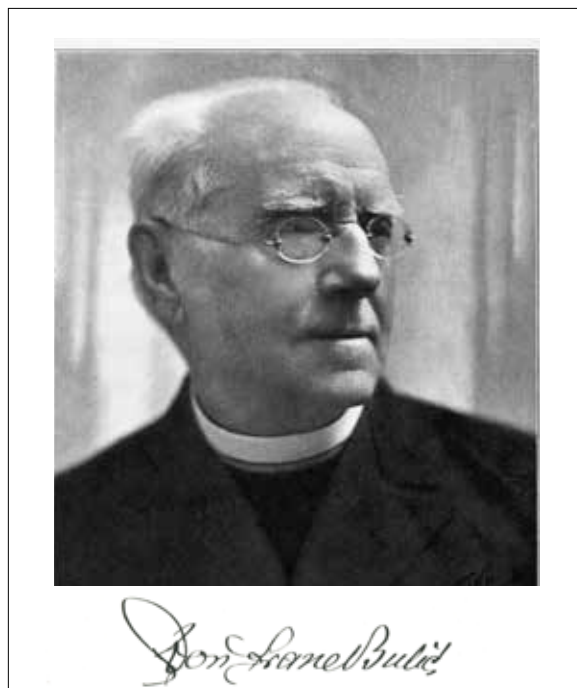
105 KATIĆ, LOVRE, 1931/32, 391; ĆORIĆ, FRANKO 2010, 15-186.

106 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004, 9.

107 Piplović cites the course and subject of the Commission meetings where movable and immovable monuments in Dalmatia were discussed. Regarding movable monuments, for example, in 1890, Glavinić submitted a report on the list of objects in the Archaeological museum situated in the church of St. Donatus in Zadar, Smirić informed the Commission about wood carvings found during the restoration of the choir in the church of St. Francis in Zadar, Gerić informed them about the restoration of the altar painting from the Franciscan church in Slano. PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004, 7-33.

predmetima ili popisima predmeta.¹⁰⁷ Imenovani konzervatori međusobno su korespondirali.

Pored imenovanih *lokalnih* konzervatora i dopisnika Povjerenstvo je djelovalo i pomoću stručnjaka koji su dolazili iz Austrije, kao npr. bečki arhitekt, profesor na Školi za umjetnost i obrt u Beču Alois Hauser, rektor i profesor Sveučilišta u Beču Wilhelm Anton Neumann, profesor Alois Riegel, profesor i ravnatelj Austrijskog arheološkog zavoda Max Dvořák. U početku djelovanja Povjerenstva značajnu ulogu u dokumentiranju spomenika u Dalmaciji i Istri imao je prvi profesor povijesti umjetnosti u Beču Rudolf Eitelberger von Edelberg. Njegov dolazak vezan je uz izradu umjetničke topografije Austrijskog carstva.¹⁰⁸ Nakon pregleda i bilježenja spomenika u Mađarskoj, Eitelberger 1859. godine dolazi u Dalmaciju dokumentirati srednjovjekovnu umjetnost i arhitekturu dalmatinskih gradova u Splitu, Trogiru, Zadru, Ninu, Šibeniku, Rabu i Dubrovniku.¹⁰⁹ Svoja istraživanja objavit će u knjizi *Srednjovjekovni umjetnički spomenici Dalmacije*, 1861., te u ponovljenom izdanju 1884. godine. Bilježio je graditeljske spomenike, ali i umjetničke predmete, predlagao je izradu inventarnih kataloga u muzejima.¹¹⁰ Dotadašnju praksu bilježenja spomenika podigao je na višu, znanstvenu razinu, detaljnijim opisom, crtežom,



1 Frane Bulić, potpis (MKM-KOST)

Frane Bulić, signature (MKM-KOST)

mjerama i poznatom literaturom.¹¹¹ Spomenute je crteže i tlocrte spomenika izradio arhitekt Winfried Zimmermann.¹¹² Iako su neke datacije i arhitektonski opisi kasnije izmijenjeni, njegovo djelo važan je doprinos u povijesti proučavanja dalmatinskih spomenika.¹¹³ Profesor na Školi za umjetnost i obrt i konzervator starina za grad Beč Alois Hauser izradio je 1894. godine elaborat u kojemu je kategorizirao dalmatinske spomenike svrstavajući ih u I. ili II. kategoriju. Kategorizacija je bila jedan od segmenata, tada u izradi, zakona o zaštiti spomenika

107 Piplović navodi tijek i sadržaj sjednica Povjerenstva na kojima se raspravljalo o dalmatinskim spomenicima, pokretnim i nepokretnim. O pokretnim spomenicima npr. Glavinčić je 1890. podnio izvještaj o popisu predmeta koji se nalazi u muzeju sv. Donata u Zadru, Smirnić je obavijestio Povjerenstvo o drvenim rezbarijama pronađenim prilikom restauriranja kora crkve sv. Frane u Zadru, Gerić o restauriranju slike na oltaru u franjevačkoj crkvi u Slanom. PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004., 7-33.

108 Izrada umjetničke topografije temeljena na sistematskom popisivanju spomenika na znanstvenim osnovama bila je važan segment u pozicioniranju povijesti umjetnosti kao znanstvene discipline u 19. stoljeću, a ujedno je služila interesu država u izgradnji nacionalnog identiteta. RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2009., 450.

109 Na putovanju je bio u kolovozu i rujnu 1859. godine. EITELBERGER von EDELBERG, RUDOLF, 2009., 9.

110 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 104. Pored navedenog, Rampley smatra da je povezivanje dalmatinskih spomenika sa zapadnoeuropskim vezano uz smirivanje tadašnjih ilirskih i južnoslavenskih pokreta koji su dovodili do previranja u Austrijskom carstvu. RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2011., 64.

111 Od pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta u Rabu opisuju oltarni ciborij, korska sjedala i dijelove relikvijara. Za relikvijar sv. Kristofora pored povijesti sveca, navodi: mjere, opis („...prekriven je reljefima na poklopcu i na stranicama škrinjice. Reljefi su od pozlaćenog iskucanog lima, izrađeni u tehnici koja je morala cvjetati u cijelom srednjem vijeku ne samo u Veneciji...“). U Zadru opisuju škrinju sv. Šimuna iz crkve sv. Šimuna; u katedrali u Trogiru navodi oltarni ciborij, propovjedaonicu, korska sjedala; u Splitu u katedrali propovjedaonicu i korska sjedala; u Dubrovniku u katedrali spominje krilni oltar i riznicu iz koje izdvaja relikvijar sv. Vlaha, dva relikvijara u obliku krune, dva prijenosna oltara s relikvijama, srebrni križ, kasnogotički ostensorij, desnu ruku sv. Vlaha, srebrnu pliticu, rad dubrovačkog zlatara Ivana Progonovića. EITELBERGER von EDELBERG, RUDOLF, 2009., 37-215.

112 PELC, MILAN, 2009., 237.

113 Više u: VEŽIĆ, PAVUŠA, 2012., 284-285.

Austrian Empire.¹⁰⁸ After reviewing and recording monuments in Hungary, Eitelberger came to Dalmatia in 1859 to document medieval art and architecture in the Dalmatian cities of Split, Trogir, Zadar, Nin, Šibenik, Rab and Dubrovnik.¹⁰⁹ In 1861, he published his research in the book *Medieval Art Monuments of Dalmatia (Die mittelalterlichen Kunstdenkmale Dalmatiens)*, with a reprint in 1884. He recorded architectural monuments as well as art objects, and he proposed making inventory catalogues in museums.¹¹⁰ The previous practice of recording monuments was raised to a higher, scientific level, with a more detailed description, drawing, measurements and known literature.¹¹¹ The aforementioned drawings and floor plans were made by architect Winfried Zimmermann.¹¹² Although some of the dates and architectural descriptions were later altered, his work constituted an important contribution to the history of research of Dalmatian monuments.¹¹³ In 1894, Alois Hauser, professor at the Vienna School of Decorative Arts and conservator for Vienna, categorized Dalmatian monuments by classifying them as category I and II. This categorization was one of the segments of the law on monument protection in

the Austrian Empire, which was drafted at the time.¹¹⁴ In 1899, Wilhelm Anton Neumann, rector and a professor at the University of Vienna, travelled through Dalmatia and the Croatian Littoral to familiarize himself with the monuments. Along with names of movable monuments, he recorded the names of restorers. His views on the protection of movable objects, leaving movable monuments *in situ*, were presented in the program of the diocesan museum in Vienna; he was in favour of relocation only if the monument was in danger of deterioration.¹¹⁵

Important people involved in the protection of movable art objects were Karl Schellein, curator of the painting gallery and director of the art conservation school; Eduard Gerisch, painter and director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna; Karl Lind, restorer from the Fine Arts Academy; and Hermann Ritschl, the first restorer of paintings of the Imperial-Royal Palace Museum in Vienna.¹¹⁶ Increased concern for the protection of movable art, especially the restoration of paintings, began after Emperor Franz Joseph I visited Dalmatia in 1875.¹¹⁷ Because of the poor condition of art in churches, funds were allocated for their conservation and restoration. In order to examine and restore paintings. Karl Schellein, curator of the painting gallery and director of the Vienna School for art conservation, came to Dalmatia in May 1876. Damaged paintings were taken to Vienna for conservation and restoration, and the Emperor financed the project from a special fund. In 1893, the Commission again needed to compile a list of endangered artworks at the request of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education. For this task, by the decision of the Commission, Eduard Gerisch, director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and correspondent of the Central Commission, came to

108 Drafting an art topography based on the systematic cataloguing of monuments on scientific grounds was an important segment in positioning art history as a scientific discipline in the 19th century, and, at the same time, served the interest of states in building a national identity. RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2009, 450.

109 He was in Dalmatia in August and September 1859. EITELBERGER von EDELBERG, RUDOLF, 2009, 9.

110 ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 104. In addition, Rampley believes that linking Dalmatian monuments to monuments in Western Europe is related to the de-escalation of the Illyrian and South Slav movements that led to turmoil in the Austrian Empire. RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2011, 64.

111 Among the movable art objects in Rab, he describes the altar ciborium, choir seats and parts of the reliquary. For the reliquary of St. Christopher, besides the history of the saint, he also lists the dimensions, description ("*...it is covered with reliefs on the lid and the sides of the chest. The figures are beaten in high relief in gilded plates, made using a technique that had to have flourished throughout the Middle Ages, not only in Venice...*"). In Zadar, he describes the chest of St. Simeon from the church of St. Simeon; he lists the altar ciborium, pulpit, and choir seats from the cathedral in Trogir; the pulpit and choir seats from the cathedral in Split; the winged cabinet and the treasury where he highlights the reliquary of St. Blaise, the two crown shaped reliquaries, two portable altars with relics, a silver cross, a Late-Gothic monstrance, the right hand of St. Blaise, a silver bowl, the work of Dubrovnik goldsmith Ivan Progonović, from Dubrovnik. EITELBERGER von EDELBERG, RUDOLF, 2009, 37-215.

112 PELC, MILAN, 2009, 237.

113 More in: VEŽIĆ, PAVUŠA, 2012, 284-285.

114 More in: ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2004, 152.

115 ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 204.

116 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2002, 562-563; PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004, 9-10; MAROVIĆ, MIRJANA, 2009, 149.

117 Franz Joseph first visited Dalmatia in mid-1875. The people in Dalmatian cities had great hopes for his visit as an incentive to solve economic problems. Initiatives to invest foreign capital in the Dalmatian economy only appeared in the late '90s. STRECHA, MARIO, 2002, 382.

u Austrijskom carstvu.¹¹⁴ Rektor i profesor na Sveučilištu u Beču Wilhelm Anton Neumann 1899. putuje Dalmacijom i Primorjem u cilju upoznavanja spomenika. Uz naziv pokretnih spomenika navodio je ime restauratora. Svoje stavove o zaštiti pokretnih predmeta iznio je u programu dijecezanskog muzeja u Beču, a odnose se na ostavljanje pokretnih spomenika *in situ*; samo u slučaju propadanja opravdavao je izmještanje.¹¹⁵

Osobe značajne za zaštitu pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta bili su kustos galerije slika i ravnatelj škole za popravak umjetnina Karl Schellein i ravnatelj Akademije lijepih umjetnosti u Beču slikar Eduard Gerisch, restaurator Akademije lijepih umjetnosti Karl Lind i prvi restaurator slika c. k. Dvorskog muzeja u Beču Hermann Ritschl.¹¹⁶ Pojačana briga za zaštitu pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta, napose restauraciju slika, započinje nakon posjeta cara Franje Josipa I. Dalmaciji 1875. godine.¹¹⁷ Zatečeno loše stanje umjetnina u crkvama bilo je povod za dodjelu sredstava za njihovu obnovu. Stoga je u svrhu pregleda i restauriranja slika u svibnju 1876. u Dalmaciju došao kustos galerije slika i ravnatelj Škole za popravak umjetnina u Beču Karl Schellein. Oštećene slike trebao je odnijeti na restauriranje u Beč, za što je car dodijelio sredstva iz posebnog fonda. Povjerenstvo je 1893. godine ponovno trebalo sastaviti popis ugroženih umjetnina na zahtjev Ministarstva bogoštovlja i nastave. S tim je zadatkom u Dalmaciju 1894. godine, odlukom Povjerenstva, doputovao ravnatelj Akademije lijepih umjetnosti u Beču i dopisni član Središnjeg povjerenstva Eduard Gerisch.¹¹⁸ Gerisch svoje restauratorsko djelovanje u Dalmaciji započinje u Dominikanskom samostanu u Trogiru restauriranjem slike *Obrezivanje Isusovo* Jakopa Palme Mlađeg.¹¹⁹ Veliku pomoć u 38-godišnjem radu u Dalmaciji Gerisch

je imao u voditelju *Pokrajinskog konservatorijalnog ureda za Dalmaciju u Spljetu*¹²⁰, don Frani Buliću.

Dobar primjer te veze između župnika, Bulića i Gerischa jest izvještaj nakon Gerischovog pregleda umjetnina u Starom Gradu na Hvaru. Kada se starješina dominikanskog samostana obratio Buliću za pomoć da se slike doista restauriraju, „kad je već sam Gerisch toli povoljno o njima izrazio“, Bulić je to i učinio, obratio se Središnjem povjerenstvu prosljedivši molbu. Postoje brojni primjeri gdje Bulić pomaže u organizaciji prijenosa ili dopremi umjetnina i traženju financijskih sredstava.¹²¹ Prema dostupnoj literaturi, Gerisch je u Dalmaciji restaurirao oko sedamdeset slika¹²² (sl. 2). Uz Gerischa, slike je u Dalmaciji restaurirao Prvi restaurator slika c. k. Dvorskog muzeja u Beču Hermann Ritschl. U Dalmaciju Ritschl dolazi službeno u listopadu 1911. godine.¹²³ Bilježio je stanje umjetnina, predlagao popravak i izradio troškovnik. Troškovnike je upućivao Središnjem povjerenstvu. U godini 1912. restaurirao je slike *Bogorodica s djetetom, svetcima i donatorom* Palme Mlađega i *Pietà* Giovanniya Savolda d'Asolina iz splitske katedrale, *Obrezivanje* iz dominikanske crkve u Splitu, *Gospu od Ružarija* iz dominikanske crkve u Trogiru te *Sv. Rok ozdravljuje bolesnika* iz crkve sv. Jeronima u Pučišćima.¹²⁴ Navedene slike bile su do Ritschlove restauracije, ranijih godina, također predmet prepiske između Središnjeg povjerenstva, Gerischa i Bulića. Bulić je zbog stupnja oštećenosti, velikih formata i troškova prijenosa slika u Beč inzistirao da se navedene slike restauriraju *in situ*, ali slike su naposljetku prenesene u Beč na restauriranje. Upute za pakiranje slika i transport Buliću je dao Ritschl.¹²⁵ Pored navedenih, postoje brojni spisi *Pokrajinskog konservatorijalnog ureda* koji dokazuju bogati Bulićev rad na zaštiti pokretnih umjetničkih

114 Više u: ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2004., 152.

115 ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 204.

116 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2002., 562-563, PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004., 9-10, MAROVIĆ, MIRJANA, 2009., 149.

117 Franjo Josip I. Dalmaciju je posjetio sredinom 1875. godine. Stanovništvo dalmatinskih gradova polagalo je veliku nadu u posjet, kao poticaj u rješavanju gospodarskih problema. Inicijative za ulaganje stranog kapitala u dalmatinsko gospodarstvo pojavile su se tek krajem devedesetih godina. STRECHA, MARIO, 2002., 382.

118 Gerischu je ovo bio drugi dolazak u Dalmaciju, prvi put je došao dvije godine ranije, 1891. s M. Trenkvaldom. PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2002., 563.

119 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1999., 215.

120 U spisima iz 1884. godine na spisima je pečat *Pokrajinski konservatorijalni ured za Dalmaciju u Spljetu*.

121 MKM-KOST Stari grad 20/10 od 30. listopada 1895., dopis potpisuje Jerko Vlahović. Navedeni dopis s popisom slika navodi: PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2002., 564.

122 Na temelju dostupnih podataka iz dopisa Središnjeg povjerenstva Konzervatorskom uredu u Splitu, radova Stanka Piplovića i *Narodnog lista* pokušala sam napraviti popis slika koje je Gerisch restaurirao u Dalmaciji.

123 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004., 437.

124 MAROVIĆ, MIRJANA, 2009., 149.

125 MAROVIĆ, MIRJANA, 2009., 150-152.

Dalmatia in 1894.¹¹⁸ Gerisch began his restoration career in Dalmatia in the Dominican monastery in Trogir by restoring the painting *Circumcision of Jesus* by Jacopo Palma il Giovane.¹¹⁹ Gerisch had a lot of help during his 38 years in Dalmatia from Frane Bulić, a priest and head of the *Regional Conservation Office in Split*¹²⁰.

A good example of a connection between Bulić and Gerisch is a report issued after Gerisch reviewed the artwork in Stari Grad on Hvar. When the head of the Dominican monastery turned to Bulić for help in restoring the paintings "when Gerisch himself praised them," Bulić contacted the Central Commission and forwarded the request. There are numerous examples where Bulić helped to organize the transfer or return of artwork and the search for funds.¹²¹ According to available literature, Gerisch restored about seventy paintings in Dalmatia¹²² (Fig. 2). Apart from Gerisch, Hermann Ritschl, the first conservator of the Imperial-Royal Palace museum in Vienna, also restored paintings in Dalmatia. Ritschl officially came to Dalmatia in October 1911.¹²³ He recorded the condition of art, suggested repairs and drew up cost estimates. He referred them to the Central Commission. In 1912, he restored the paintings *Virgin and Child, with saints and donor* by Palma Giovane and *Pietà* by Giovanni Savoldi d'Asolin from the Split Cathedral, *Circumcision* from the Dominican Church in Split, *Our Lady of the Rosary* from the Dominican Church in Trogir, and *St. Rocco heals the sick* from the church of St. Jerome from Pučišće.¹²⁴ Before Ritschl restored the above-mentioned paintings, they were the subject of correspondence be-

tween the Central Commission, Gerisch and Bulić. Due to the degree of damage, their large format and the cost of transporting the paintings to Vienna, Bulić insisted that the paintings be restored *in situ*, but in the end, they were transported to Vienna for restoration. Ritschl gave Bulić instructions for packing and transporting the paintings.¹²⁵ In addition, there are numerous records of the *Regional Conservation Office* which prove the scope of Bulić's work on the protection of movable art as well as his work on the development of immovable monument protection.¹²⁶ As previously mentioned, Bulić became the conservator in Split and Head of the Archaeological Museum in Split in 1883.¹²⁷ Conservation in Dalmatia began to develop upon his arrival. Bulić led a correspondence with the Central Commission, local priests and private individuals. In 1884 in Trogir, he began to inventory art, and he listed 165 monuments and works of art under the title *List of monuments and old works of art*. It was a kind of artistic topography of Trogir, because he mentioned sacral, secular and fortification architecture as well as works of art.¹²⁸ Bulić liaised with related institutions and so-

118 This was his second trip to Dalmatia. The first time he visited Dalmatia was in 1891 with M. Trenkvaldo. PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2002, 563.

119 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1999, 215.

120 In the 1884 records, documents have the stamp of the Regional Conservation Office for Dalmatia in Split.

121 MKM-KOST Stari Grad 20/10, October 30, 1895, letter was signed by Jerko Vlahović. The aforementioned letter with a list of pictures was mentioned by PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2002, 564.

122 I tried to make a list of paintings which Gerisch restored in Dalmatia, based on available data from the Central Commission's letter to the Conservation Office in Split, the work of Stanko Piplović and the Narodni list.

123 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004, 437.

124 MAROVIĆ, MIRJANA, 2009, 149.

125 MAROVIĆ, MIRJANA, 2009, 150-152.

126 MKM-KOST-A letter no. 36, 1896, to the Parish office – Kaštel Stari, Kaštel Novi, Kaštel Štafilić, No. 67 (more numbers 19/1896, 66/cons., 4/96), 1896, to the Vrbovska Municipal Administration on Hvar; No. 12, 1897, Bulić wrote to the parish priest in Vranjica; No. 42 (more numbers 27, 29, 45, 56), 1900, Bulić wrote to the Society of the Little Brothers of St. Jerome in Zadar about items from the monastery in Drid on the island of Čiovo for the Vienna exhibition at the Museum of Arts and Crafts, and to enquire whether the Office was willing to sell these items and at what price. Bulić estimates that these items could go for 500 forints; No. 56 Bulić responding to a letter of the Society of the Little Brothers in Dubrovnik from November 18, 1900, about the return of items from the exhibition in Vienna. Bulić informs them that the items would be returned on that day.

127 In 1867, Francesco Lanza, a critic of Andrić's work as a conservator, was appointed conservator for the Split region, and he remained in that position until 1872. Mihovil Glavinić was appointed after him, and he remained there until 1883. After him came don Frane Bulić, who was already a conservator for the Zadar and Benkovac districts from 1880 to 1883. From Zadar, he moved to Split as the Director of the classical gymnasium, head of the Archaeological Museum and conservator for the Split County. ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 185-186.

128 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1999, 216, RADIĆ, DANKA, 2005, 68.

predmeta, kao i rad na razvoju zaštite nepokretnih spomenika.¹²⁶ Kako je ranije spomenuto, Bulić je 1883. godine imenovan splitskim konzervatorom i upraviteljem Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu.¹²⁷ Njegovim dolaskom konzervatorska služba u Dalmaciji počinje se intenzivno razvijati. Bulić je vodio korespondenciju između Središnjeg povjerenstva, lokalnih župnika i privatnih osoba. Inventarizaciju je započeo 1884. godine u Trogiru, gdje popisuje 165 spomenika i umjetničkih predmeta pod naslovom *Popis spomenika i starih umjetničkih predmeta*. To je bila svojevrsna umjetnička topografija Trogira jer u njoj navodi sakralnu, profanu i fortifikacijsku arhitekturu te umjetničke predmete.¹²⁸ Bulić se povezuje sa srodnim institucijama i društvima u Europi.¹²⁹ Sudjeluje na konferencijama, a 1894. u Splitu i Solinu organizira I. međunarodnu konferenciju za starokršćanskoj arheologiju.¹³⁰ Iste godine osniva društvo *Bihać – hrvatsko društvo za istraživanje domaće povijesti*.¹³¹

126 MK-KOST-A dopis br. 36 iz 1896. Župnom uredu – Kaštel Stari, Kaštel Novi, Kaštel Štafilić, Br. 67 (više brojeva 19/1896., 66/konz., 4/96) iz 1896. Općinskoj upravi Vrbovskoj na Hvaru; Br. 12 iz 1897. Bulićev dopis župniku u Vranjicu; Br. 42 (više brojeva 27, 29, 45, 56) iz 1900. Bulić se obraća Provincijalu Družbe Male braće sv. Jeronima u Zadru, u vezi predmeta iz samostana u Dridu na otoku Čiovu za izložbu u Beču u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt, te je li Ured voljan prodati te predmete i za koju cijenu. Bulić procjenjuje da bi navedeni predmeti mogli stajati 500 forinti; Broj 56 odgovor Bulića na dopis Družbe Male braće u Dubrovniku od 18. studenog 1900. o povratku predmeta s izložbe u Beču. Bulić obavještava da će predmeti biti vraćeni tog dana.

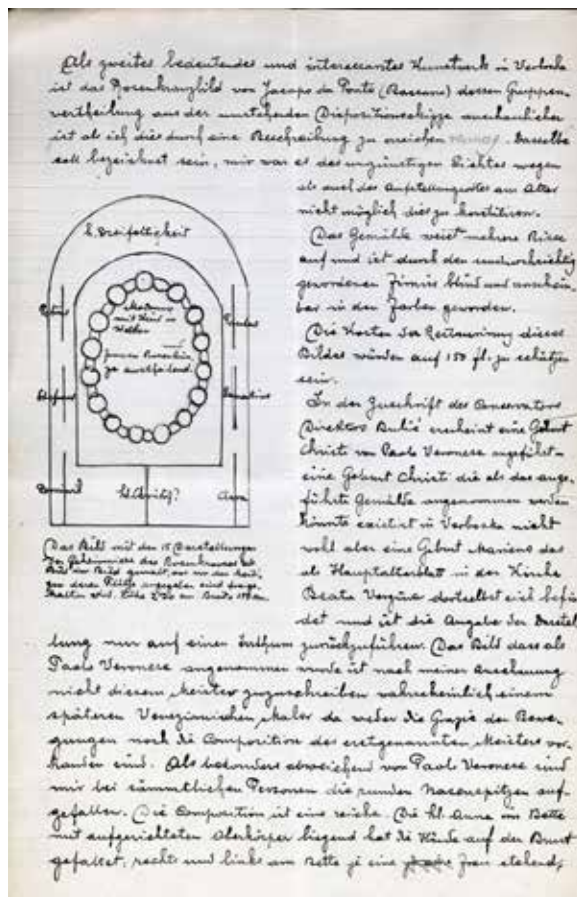
127 Nakon Andrića, konzervatora za Splitski okrug, imenovan je upravo jedan od kritičara njegova konzervatorskog rada Francesco Lanza 1867. godine njegovim nasljednikom, a na toj funkciji ostaje do 1872. godine. Tada je imenovan Mihovil Glavinić koji na tom mjestu ostaje do 1883. godine, kada dolazi don Frane Bulić koji je već tada bio imenovan konzervator zadarskog i benkovačkog okruga od 1880. do 1883. godine. Iz Zadra je premješten u Split na mjesto ravnatelja klasične gimnazije, upravitelja Arheološkog muzeja i konzervatora za splitski okrug. ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 185-186.

128 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1999., 216; RADIĆ, DANKA, 2005., 68.

129 Ostavština don Frane Bulića koja se odnosi na njegovu bogatu korespondenciju s tadašnjim najvažnijim europskim arheolozima čuva se u biblioteci Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu. Inače, u osnivanju zbirke arhivske građe značajnu je ulogu imao Bulić kao dugogodišnji direktor muzeja. Građu za zbirke nabavljao je vlastitim sredstvima. ANZULOVIĆ, NEDA, 1990., 222.

130 MARIN, EMILIO, 1985., 138.

131 ABRAMIĆ, MIHOVIĆ, 1940., X.



2 Eduard Gerisch, izvještaj iz 1896. (MKM-KOST)
Eduard Gerisch, Report from 1876 (MKM-KOST)

Ivan Smirić, voditelj Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru¹³², bio je vrlo aktivan konzervator Središnjeg povjerenstva za zadarski okrug. U Arheološkom muzeju, koji je izdvojio iz Narodnog muzeja, vodio je zbirku srednjeg vijeka i inventar. Crkvu sv. Donata uredio je za izložbeni prostor. Kao konzervator zauzeo se za popravak škrinje sv. Šimuna u Zadru, obnovu drvenog kora katedrale u Hvaru i očuvanje dijelova korskih sjedala pronađenih u franjevačkoj crkvi u Zadru.¹³³ Od ostalih pokretnih spomenika na zadarskom području Središnje povjerenstvo sudjevalo je u obnovi oltara u župnim crkvama u Salima

132 Na inicijativu dalmatinskog namjesnika Wenzela Vettera von Lilienberga koji je izdao proglas 20. studenoga 1832. za prikupljanje arheoloških nalaza u Zadru, što se smatra i njegovim osnutkom. TROGRLIĆ, MARKO; CLEWING, KONRAD, 2015., 214.

133 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1992., 132-135.

cities in Europe.¹²⁹ He participated in conferences, and in 1894, he organized an *International conference for early Christian archaeology* in Split and Solin.¹³⁰ The same year, he founded the society *Bihać – the Croatian Society for the Study of National History*.¹³¹

Ivan Smirić, head of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar¹³², was a very active conservator of the Central Commission for the Zadar district. In the Archaeological Museum, which he separated from the National Museum, he was in charge of the Middle Ages collection and inventory. He adapted the church of St. Donatus to serve as a space for exhibitions. As a conservator, he advocated for the repair of the chest of St. Simeon in Zadar, the conservation and restoration of the wooden choir in the Hvar cathedral, and the preservation of parts of the choir seats found in the Franciscan church in Zadar.¹³³ From other movable monuments in the Zadar area, the Central Commission participated in the restoration of altars in parish churches in Sali and Silba with paintings by Vittore Carpaccio.¹³⁴ From 1877 to 1892, the priest and historian, Carlo Federico Bianchi, worked as a conservator of the III Department of Zadar district.¹³⁵ Bianchi compiled the church history of Zadar and the surrounding parishes.¹³⁶ Along with the history and description of churches, he recorded and described altars, altarpieces, liturgical objects and organs, which resulted in a comprehensive topography of church art *Zara cristiana I and II*.¹³⁷

Josip Gelčić was appointed conservator for the Dubrovnik and Kotor districts from 1881 to 1904.¹³⁸ At the Central Commission, he advocated the protection of movable monuments in addition to immovable ones: conservation and restoration of paintings from the Franciscan monastery in Slano, the altar of the parish church on Lopud, and the wooden choir from the church of St. Mary on Lopud.

Given the frequent damage to the monuments, the Dalmatian government sent a letter to Kotor authorities and political committees, with instructions on the preservation of antiquities calling for reports to authorities or museums on found works of art and a ban on the export of art. The letter was signed by the governor Emil David von Rohmfeld.¹³⁹ On June 17, 1898, Governor David wrote a letter to Bulić about publishing *Monuments of Dalmatia* on Dalmatian art and its history, informing him that it was necessary to fill out the *Register of Monuments* and then submit it to the commission to publish the work. The *Register of Monuments* was a form divided into architecture, paintings, sculpture and houseware. The list needed to include information about the object, place, author, school, time period, and notes.¹⁴⁰

The organization of the Central Commission in Vienna changed in 1913. Conservators Anton Gnirs, E. Dejak, Frane Bulić and Vojeslav Molé became civil servants¹⁴¹, Bulić was placed in charge of the area from Pag to Boka Kotorska.¹⁴² Bulić was assigned a part-time assistant, Molé, from August 1913 to August 1914, when he left to join the military.¹⁴³ The *Imperial-Royal Regional Conservation Office for Dalmatia in Split* continued its work under the Central Commission until the fall

129 Bulić's legacy refers to his extensive correspondence with the most important European archaeologists of the time, which is kept in the library of the Archaeological Museum in Split. As a long-time director of the museum, Bulić had a significant role when the archival material collection was founded. He bought the material for the collection with his own money. ANZULOVIĆ, NEDA, 1990, 222.

130 MARIN, EMILIO, 1985, 138.

131 ABRAMIĆ, MIHOVIĆ, 1940.

132 At the initiative of Count Wenzel Vetter von Lilienberg, Governor of Dalmatia, who issued a proclamation on November 20, 1832 for collecting archaeological finds in Zadar, which is also considered to be its foundation. TROGRLIĆ, MARKO; CLEWING, KONRAD, 2015, 214.

133 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 1992, 132-135.

134 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004, 18-19.

135 ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 185.

136 BIANCHI, CARLO FEDERICO, 2011, 7.

137 STAGLIČIĆ, MARIJA, 2003, 341.

138 ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 188.

139 MKM-KOST-A no. 2, 1895, signed by Governor David May 22, 1894.

140 MKM-KOST-A no. 1578, June 17, 1898. There were forms A and B for registering monuments. Iveković, Glavinčić, Lussata (?) were appointed to the board.

141 ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 445; Molé became Bulić's assistant and remained in that position until the fall of the Monarchy when he transferred to the university. MKM-KOST-A Box 1932 letter number 153, July 2, 1932.

142 UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2011, 345.

143 MKM-KOST-A Box 1919 letter number 16, July 19, 1919.

i Silbi, sa slikama Vittorea Carpaccia.¹³⁴ U Zadru je kao konzervator III. odjeljenja zadarskog okruga djelovao svećenik i povjesničar Carlo Federico Bianchi od 1877. do 1892. godine.¹³⁵ Bianchi je sastavio crkvenu povijest Zadra i okolnih župa.¹³⁶ Uz povijest i opis crkava bilježio je i opisivao oltare, oltarne pale, liturgijske predmete i orgulje, što je rezultiralo iscrpnom topografijom crkvene umjetnosti *Zara cristiana I i II*.¹³⁷

Josip Gelčić bio je imenovani konzervator za dubrovački i kotarski okrug od 1881. do 1904. godine.¹³⁸ Kod Središnjeg povjerenstva zalagao se, pored nepokretnih, i za zaštitu pokretnih spomenika: restauriranje slike u franjevačkom samostanu u Slanom, oltara župne crkve na Lopudu, drvenog pjevališta crkve sv. Marije na Lopudu.

S obzirom na učestalo oštećivanje spomenika, Dalmatinsko je namjesništvo kotarskim poglavarstvima i političkim povjerenstvima pokrajine na terenu poslalo okružnicu s naputcima o čuvanju starina kojom poziva na prijavljivanje nalaza vlastima ili muzejima te zabranu izvoza umjetnina. Okružnicu potpisuje namjesnik Emil David von Rohnfeld.¹³⁹ Namjesnik David obraća se 17. lipnja 1898. Buliću u vezi izdavanja djela *Umjetnički spomenici Dalmacije* o dalmatinskoj umjetnosti i njezinoj povijesti dopisom u kojem ga obavještava da je potrebno ispuniti *Iskaz spomenika* te potom dostaviti imenovanom odboru za izdavanje navedenog djela. *Iskaz spomenika* je obrazac podijeljen na arhitekturu, slike (*slikarije*), skulpturu (*kiparije*), *kućni promet*. Pod rednim brojem trebali su se navesti podatci o predmetu, mjestu, autoru, školi, vremenskom periodu i opaska.¹⁴⁰

Godine 1913. mijenja se organizacija Središnjeg povjerenstva u Beču. Konzervatori Anton Gnirs, E. Dejak, Frane Bulić i Vojeslav Molé dobili su status državnih

službenika.¹⁴¹ Bulić je od Središnjeg povjerenstva imenovan za područje od Paga do Boke kotorske.¹⁴² Buliću je dodijeljen honorarni asistent Molé od kolovoza 1913. do kolovoza 1914., kada odlazi u vojnu službu.¹⁴³ *C. kr. Pokrajinski konservatorijalni ured za Dalmaciju u Splitu* nastavio je sa svojim djelovanjem pod Središnjim povjerenstvom sve do sloma Monarhije 1918. godine. Prvi svjetski rat nije prekinuo djelovanje Pokrajinskog ureda pod Središnjim povjerenstvom, ali rad se od 1916. godine preusmjerava na zaštitu metalnih predmeta od rekvizicije koja se provodila na području cijele Monarhije.

Rekvizicija metalnih predmeta u vrijeme Prvoga svjetskog rata u Dalmaciji

U Dalmaciji je rekviziciju zvona provodila carska i kraljevska Vojna komanda u Mostaru. Preko Sarajeva su zvona dopremana u tvornice u Mađarsku, *E. Lossinszky* u Nagy-Teteny-Diodsu i *Manfred Weiss* u Budimpešti. Od 1915. počeli su pristizati dopisi o rekviziciji metalnih predmeta u ratne svrhe biskupskim ordinarijatima od tadašnjeg namjesnika Dalmacije grofa Maria Attems.¹⁴⁴ Zatražen je popis zvona koja nisu više u upotrebi, a koja bi mogla biti ustupljena za ratne svrhe. Rekvizicijom su trebala biti obuhvaćena sva zvona promjera većeg od 25 cm, s time da se trebala obratiti pažnja na uputu Ministarstva bogoštovlja i nastave prema kojoj su trebala biti izuzeta od rekvizicije zvona historijske i umjetničke vrijednosti.¹⁴⁵ Nakon prvih prikupljenih zvona uslijedila su daljnja potraživanja te Attems ponovno upućuje dopis o rekviziciji metalnih predmeta uz koji je priložio Obrazac I i Obrazac II. Obrazac I, pod naslovom *Iskaz zvona*, trebale su popunjavati sve župe, a traženi su slijedeći podatci: *crkva, najveći promjer, težina u kg, doba, na zvonu je vidljiv – godina, jedan napis, plahorezba te opaska*. U Obrazac II upisivana su zvona koja nisu tre-

134 PIPLOVIĆ, STANKO, 2004., 18-19.

135 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 185.

136 BIANCHI, CARLO FEDERICO, 2011., 7.

137 STAGLIČIĆ, MARIJA, 2003., 341.

138 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 188.

139 MKM-KOST-A broj 2 od 1895., potpisuje namjesnik David 22. svibnja 1894.

140 MKM-KOST-A br. 1578 od 17. lipnja 1898. Za iskaz spomenika postojali su obrasci A i B. U odbor su imenovani: Iveković, Glavinić, Lussata (?).

141 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 445. Molé bio je dodijeljen kao asistent Buliću te ostaje na tom mjestu do sloma Monarhije, kada prelazi na sveučilište. MK-KOST-A Kutija 1932 dopis broj 153 od 2. srpnja 1932.

142 UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2011., 345.

143 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1919 dopis broj 16 od 19. srpnja 1919.

144 Grof Mario Attems bio je postavljen za namjesnika Dalmacije 1912. godine te na toj funkciji ostaje do kraja Prvoga svjetskog rata. BRALIĆ, ANTE, 2007., 731.

145 Više o rekviziciji zvona u Dubrovačkoj biskupiji vidi: SJEKAVICA, ĐIVO, 2013., 544-545.

of the Monarchy in 1918. World War I did not interrupt the work of the Regional Conservation Office under the Central Commission, but from 1916, the work was redirected to the protection of metal objects by requisitions carried out throughout the Monarchy.

The requisition of metal objects during World War I in Dalmatia

In Dalmatia, the requisition of bells was carried out by the Imperial and Royal Military Command in Mostar. Through Sarajevo, the bells were delivered to factories in Hungary, *E. Lossinszky* in Nagy-Teteny-Diods, and *Manfred Weiss* in Budapest.

From 1915, Count Mario Attems, Governor of Dalmatia, began sending letters to Bishops Ordinary about the requisition of metal objects for war purposes.¹⁴⁴ A list of bells that were no longer in use and which could be reassigned for war purposes was requested. The requisition needed to include all bells with a diameter larger than 25 cm, however, special attention needed to be paid to the instructions from the Ministry of Religion and Public Education that the list should not include bells of historic or artistic value.¹⁴⁵ After the first bells were collected, further claims were made, and Attems again sent a letter about the requisition of metal objects, accompanied by Forms I and II. All parishes needed to fill out Form I, *Bell register*, with the following information: *church, largest diameter, weight in kg, age, on the bell – year, one inscription, relief, and comments*. Bells that were not meant for requisition were recorded in Form II.¹⁴⁶ The bells could be exempt from requisition only with the approval of Bulić, head of the Regional Conservation Office for Dalmatia, who conducted the rescue operation of the bells in Dalmatia. Bulić was in charge of the collection centres in Split, Šibenik, Knin and Slavonski Brod, and conservator Josip Bersa was in

charge of the operation in the Zadar area.¹⁴⁷

Detailed instructions were drawn up about taking imprints of inscriptions on the requisitioned bells. These instructions were printed in the journal of the Diocese. If permission for the return of bells that had already been removed was granted, the church was supposed to reimburse the costs of transportation and removal of the bells to the Military. If the cost was not reimbursed, the bells were sent to the Museum of Military History in Vienna. The bells could be given as a *patriotic act* with compensation, four krone per kilo, but as Bulić points out in his report, the compensation was rarely paid.¹⁴⁸ The second requisition began in April 1917 under the Provisions issued by the Central Commission in Vienna; only those bells that the Regional Conservation Office for Dalmatia considered valuable were not requisitioned. The bells cast before 1600 or those of great artistic and historical value that were of any significance to the historical event, inscription or person were excluded from the requisition.¹⁴⁹ Therefore, Bulić again sent a letter to all parishes to provide an accurate list of bells. The problem was that the priests did not provide accurate data, i.e. bells of artistic and historical value were not put on the lists (Fig. 3).

Although the requisition was conducted throughout the Monarchy, the Regional Conservation Office for Dalmatia in Split operated separately as regards the rescue of metal objects from continental Croatia; only when pewter organ pipes were endangered did Bulić inform the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia* in Zagreb about actions he took to save copper objects. He sent a letter to all Bishops Ordinary in Dalmatia in which he pledged to preserve organs built before 1800. In addition to their artistic value, the value of organs to produce music also had to be taken into

144 Count Mario Attems was appointed Governor of Dalmatia in 1912, and remained in that position until the end of World War I. BRALIĆ, ANTE, 2007, 731.

145 For more information on the requisition of bells in the Diocese of Dubrovnik see: SJEKAVICA, ĐIVO, 2013, 544-545.

146 SJEKAVICA, ĐIVO, 2013, 607.

147 SJEKAVICA, ĐIVO, 2013, 543; Josip Bersa was a conservator of the I division appointed by the Central Commission for the city of Zadar, Zadar district, Šibenik, Benkovac, Knin from 1900 to 1909. ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2004, 364-365.

148 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 16, October 8, 1919; SJEKAVICA, ĐIVO, 2013, 556.

149 SJEKAVICA, ĐIVO, 2013, 564.

bala biti rekvirirana.¹⁴⁶ Zvona su mogla biti oslobođena od rekvizicije jedino uz suglasnost Bulića, voditelja *Pokrajinskog konservatorijalnog ureda za Dalmaciju*, koji je vodio akciju spašavanja zvona u Dalmaciji. Bulić je bio zadužen za sabirališta u Splitu, Šibeniku, Kninu i Slavonском Brodu, dok je na području Zadra spašavanje zvona vodio konzervator Josip Bersa.¹⁴⁷

Donijete su detaljne upute o uzimanju otisaka natpisa onih zvona koja su trebala biti rekvirirana. Navedene upute tiskane su u glasilima Biskupije. Ako se uspjelo dobiti odobrenje za vraćanje već skinutih zvona, crkva je trebala nadoknaditi troškove prijevoza i skidanja zvona Vojnoj vlasti. U slučaju nepodmirenja troškova zvona su bila otpremljena u Vojni muzej u Beču. Zvona su mogla biti ustupljena kao *patriotski čin* uz naknadu, četiri krune po kilogramu, ali kako navodi Bulić u svom izvješću, naknada je rijetko bila stvarno isplaćena.¹⁴⁸

Druga rekvizicija započela je u travnju 1917. godine prema Odredbi, koja je donesena od Središnjeg povjerenstva u Beču; samo ona zvona koja je *Pokrajinski konservatorijalni ured za Dalmaciju* ocijenio kao vrijedna bila su oslobođena rekvizicije. Odnosno, zvona lijevana prije 1600. ili ona velike umjetničke i historijske vrijednosti koja su iz bilo kojeg razdoblja značajna za povijesni događaj, natpis ili osobu, bila su isključena iz rekvizicije.¹⁴⁹ Stoga je Bulić ponovno uputio dopis svim župama da dostave točan popis zvona. Problem je bio u tome što župnici prilikom izrade popisa zvona nisu predavali točne podatke, odnosno zvona od umjetničke i povijesne vrijednosti nisu bila unesena u popise (sl. 3).

Iako se rekvizicija provodila na području cijele Monarhije, *Pokrajinski konservatorijalni ured za Dalmaciju* u Splitu djelovao je potpuno odvojeno od kontinentalnog djela Hrvatske u spašavanju metalnih predmeta; tek kada su bile ugrožene kositrene cijevi orgulja, Bulić je obavijestio

Zemaljsko povjerenstvo za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji u Zagrebu što je poduzeo u vezi spašavanja predmeta od bakra. Razaslao je okružnicu svim biskupskim ordinarijatima u Dalmaciji u kojoj se založio za čuvanje orgulja izgrađenih do 1800. godine. Osim umjetničke vrijednosti, trebalo je uzeti u obzir i muzičku vrijednost orgulja. Tražio je kratak opis orgulja, godinu gradnje, ime graditelja, eventualne popravke, podatke o glazbalu (dispozicija, broj registra, materijal) te opis kućišta orgulja uz slike ili fotografije.¹⁵⁰ Konzervatorski ured sastavio je obrazac *Popis orgulja* koji je razaslan svim crkvama (župnim, filijalnim i samostanskim). Uz obrazac prosljeđena je i uputa.¹⁵¹

U rekvizicijama je prema izvještaju Bulića iz Dalmacije odneseno oko 1500 zvona.¹⁵²

POČETCI RAZVOJA ZAŠTITE POKRETNE UMJETNIČKE BAŠTINE U KONTINENTALNOJ HRVATSKOJ

U kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj zaštita spomenika nastavlja se na „dostignuća“ Ilirskog preporoda. Istodobno s istraživanjem hrvatske povijesti širio se interes za prikupljanje starina. Pedagog, književnik i ilirac Ivan Filipović Kopačanin godine 1847. objavljuje članak u *Novinama dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonskim* o čuvanju spomenika: „...*Narod, koji spomenike svoje davne slave neštuje, neštuje ni samog sebe, jerbo zabacuje ono, čim bi se dičiti i slaviti mogao; a koi sam sebe neštuje, može li zahtevati, da ga drugi štiju? ... Slavjanski narode! Prouči u starih razvalinah svoju prošastnost, i iznijet ćeš čèrpiti nauk da dok*

146 SJEKAVICA, ĐIVO, 2013., 607.

147 SJEKAVICA, ĐIVO, 2013., 543. Josip Bersa bio je konzervator I. odjeljenja imenovan od Središnjeg povjerenstva za grad Zadar, Zadarski okrug, Šibenik, Benkovac, Knin od 1900. do 1909. ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2004., 364-365.

148 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 16 od 8. listopada 1919.; SJEKAVICA, ĐIVO, 2013., 556.

149 SJEKAVICA, ĐIVO, 2013., 564.

150 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 157/917 od 9. listopada 1917.

151 Pod naslovom „Štovanom Župskom Uredu“ Bulić šalje Upute: 1. *Pošto će se rekvirirati orgulje i sa manje od osam registara, moli se, da se dostavi popis i manjih i novijih orgulja* 2. *Osim orgulja u župsko crkvi, neka se popišu i orgulje u filijanim crkvama i kapelama* 3. *Gornja i donja skrižaljka popisa neka se bezuvetno popune, a srednja (glazbeno-tehnička dispozicija) po mogućnosti i u sporazumu sa orguljašem ili na temelju dotičnog računa, koji je bio poslan kad su orgulje bile nabavljene* 4. *Ako se želi da budu isključene cijevi koje su u prospektu radi umjetnosne ili povijesne vrijednosti neka se priloži fotografija, naris ili prosta slika orgulja ili neka se to naknadno dostavi ovom Uredu*. Popis se trebao poslati do 5. studenoga 1917. MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 111/K 1917. Split, 28. listopada 1917.

152 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 16 od 8. listopada 1919.



3 Zvano (crtež: Parohija Klinačka, 1917., MKM-KOST dopis broj 49 od 8. srpnja 1917., Eparhija Boka Kotarska i Dubrovačka)

Bell (drawing: Parohija Klinačka, 1917, MKM-KOST letter No. 49 from July 8, 1917 Diocese of Boka Kotarska and Dubrovnik)

consideration. He wanted a short description of organs, year of construction, builder's name, any repairs that had been made, information on the instrument (disposition, registry number, material), and a description of the organ body with pictures or photographs.¹⁵⁰ The Conservation Office drew up the *List of pipe organs* form, which was circulated to all churches (parish, branch and monastery). Instructions accompanied the

¹⁵⁰ MKM-SDKB-A letter number 157/917, October 9, 1917.

form.¹⁵¹ According to Bulić, approximately 1500 bells were taken from Dalmatia during the requisition.¹⁵²

THE START OF DEVELOPMENT OF MOVABLE ART HERITAGE PROTECTION IN CONTINENTAL CROATIA

In Continental Croatia, the protection of monuments continued further to the "achievements" of the Illyrian Movement. Interest in collecting antiquities developed at the same time as the research into Croatian history. In 1847, Ivan Filipović Kopačanin, professor, writer and Illyrian, published an article in the newspaper *Novine dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonske* on the protection of monuments "...The people, who do not respect monuments in their former glory, do not respect themselves, because they ignore that with which they could boast and celebrate; and those who do not respect themselves, can they ask others to respect them? ... Slav-ic people! Study your old demigods wisely, and you will see that until you have unity in your home, you will never play this role, which belongs to your stature and matches your name."¹⁵³

For this purpose, on October 25, 1847, the Croatian Parliament issued a decision that encouraged the recording and collection of monuments, and entrusted the organization to Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski.¹⁵⁴ Kukuljević travelled to Vienna and Budapest where he visited libraries and collections and gathered lit-

¹⁵¹ Bulić sent instructions titled "Distinguished Parish Office": 1. Since organs with less than eight registers will be requisitioned, a list of smaller and newer organs is kindly requested; 2. In addition to the organs in parish churches, list the organs in subsidiary churches and chapels; 3. The top and bottom table on the list must be filled out, and the one in the middle (musical and technical disposition), preferably in agreement with the organist or based on the receipt in question, which was sent when the organ was purchased; 4. If pipes that are to be excluded because of their artistic or historical value, a photograph, drawing or picture of the organ should be included or subsequently delivered to this Office. The list needed to be sent by November 5, 1917. MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 111/K 1917 Split, October 28, 1917.

¹⁵² MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 16, October 8, 1919.

¹⁵³ KOPAČANIN FILIPOVIĆ, IVAN, 1922, 84.

¹⁵⁴ At the aforementioned session of the Croatian Parliament, the Croatian language became the official language of diplomacy. Fearing Hungarian resistance, the Parliament decided to gather historical and documented material for *codex diplomaticus*. BRATULIĆ, JOSIP, 1985, 36.

*slogu u svoj dom ne uvedeš, ne ćeš nikada ove uloge igrati, koja tvojoj veličini pripada i tvojem imenu odgovara.*¹⁵³

U tu je svrhu Hrvatski sabor 25. listopada 1847. donio odluku kojom je potaknuo evidentiranje i sakupljanje spomenika, a organizaciju povjerio Ivanu Kukuljeviću Sakcinskom.¹⁵⁴ Kukuljević odlazi na putovanja u Beč i Budimpeštu gdje obilazi knjižnice i zbirke te prikuplja povijesnoumjetničku literaturu,¹⁵⁵ čime započinje njegov rad na prikupljanju i sastavljanju prve bibliografije za nacionalnu povijest umjetnosti – *Slovnika*.¹⁵⁶

Stoga i ne čudi što je Kukuljević, uz zagrebačke književnike Vjekoslava Babukića, Mijata Sabljara, Mirka Bogovića, Nikolu Vakanovića, Dragutina Rakovca i Ferdinanda Žerjavića bio pozvan u Odsjek prosvjete Banskog vijeća 21. travnja 1850. na razgovor „...kako da se najlagljim putem znanost domaće povestnice kod našeg naroda razpostrani. Ovi književnici zaključče jednodušno, da se na tu svrhu utemelji u Zagrebu društvo za jugoslavensku povestnicu i starine.“¹⁵⁷ Stoga je u duhu nacionalnoga građanskog pokreta i želje za potvrdom povijesnog kontinuiteta i identiteta hrvatskog naroda osnovano prvo stručno društvo za prikupljanje povijesnih izvora u našim krajevima, *Društvo za jugoslavensku povestnicu i starine*.

Društvo za jugoslavensku povestnicu i starine

Prva konstituirajuća skupština Društva za jugoslavensku povestnicu i starine (dalje u tekstu: Društvo) održana je 1. listopada 1850., na kojoj je Kukuljević održao

uvodni govor: „*Moja Gospodo! Prije pet mesecih sastalo se je na poziv bivšeg odseka prosvete nekoliko ljubiteljah domaće književnosti, da veća o tom, na kakav način bi se mogao prokrčiti put do jedne nauke, koja bi našem narodu od neizmerne koristi bila, no koja ipak kod nas tako zanemarena stoji kao kod nijednog drugog naroda u Europi. Ta nauka je povestnica naroda našeg jugoslavenskog.*“¹⁵⁸ Društvo je osnovano pod pokroviteljstvom bana Josipa Jelačića Bužimskog.¹⁵⁹ Iako je osnivanje bilo najavljeno još u svibnju 1850., konstituirano je tek na skupštini 1. listopada, a službeno je potvrđeno objavom Privremenog zakona o pravu udruživanja 21. studenoga 1850.¹⁶⁰

Nacrt pravilnika Društva za jugoslavensku povestnicu i starine donesen je na prvoj skupštini i izabrano je vodstvo Društva.¹⁶¹ No, već dvije godine nakon toga Društvo mijenja svoja pravila kao i sva ostala udruženja, a u skladu s apsolutističkim zakonom o udruživanju donesenim 26. studenoga 1852. godine. Tadašnji ministar unutarnjih poslova Alexander Freiherr von Bach¹⁶² predložio je caru Franji Josipu I. prihvaćanje novog pravilnika Društva (u suglasnosti s ministrom za bogoštovlje i nastavu i odobrenjem Vrhovne policijske uprave) uz izjavu o „korisnosti društva i besprijekornom držanju Društva“, pod uvjetom da se unesu neke izmjene kao na primjer: izraz „naš narod“ svuda se mijenja prikladnijim pojmovima, izbacuje se riječ „trojedna“, ograničava se Jelačićevo pokroviteljstvo, te je bilo zabranjeno osnivanje „nepotrebnih“ podružnica, jer bi one imale „nacionalne tendencije“. Uz spomenute uvjete car Franjo Josip I. potvrdio je Društvo 9. srpnja 1853. godine. Društvo je poslalo Pravilnik

153 KOPAČANIN FILIPOVIĆ, IVAN, 1922., 84.

154 Na spomenutom saboru usvojen je hrvatski jezik kao službeni diplomatski jezik. Pribojavajući se mađarskog otpora, na Saboru je odlučeno da se prikupi povijesna i dokumentirana građa za *codex diplomaticus*. BRATULIĆ, JOSIP, 1985., 36.

155 U *Danici horvatskoj, slavonskoj i dalmatinskoj* objavljuje 1947. godine članak *Pogled na Štajersku Beč, Peštu i Požun* u kojem iznosi svoje doživljaje s puta i upoznavanje s književnicima prvenstveno naglašavajući *Slavensku ideju*. MANČE, IVANA, 2008., 286; N. N. 1947. *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska*, br. 9, 1947.

156 Više: MANČE, IVANA, 2008., 285-296. Njegov prvi članak objavljen u *Danici* bio je o slikaru Juliju Kloviću. N. N. 1947. *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska*, br. 3, 1847. *Slovník* je izdan u Zagrebu 1858. godine, u njemu su obrađeni graditelji, kipari, slikari, orguljari, zvonari, zlatari, kamenoklesari, bakroresci, drvoresci. ZGAGA, VIŠNJA, 1995., 11.

157 DESPOT, MIROSLAVA, 1965., 3-4; SZABO, AGNEZA, 1988., 79-82.

158 Hrvatski povijesni muzej, nadalje HPM, Zapisnik sjednica Društva za povestnicu i starine pod brojem 11937.

159 Josip Jelačić (1801. – 1859.), ban.

160 Ministarstvo unutarnjih poslova u Beču, a na temelju prethodnog upita bečkog ministarstva rata o legalnosti Društva, zatražilo je 7. ožujka 1851. od bana Hrvatske i Slavonije te građanskog i vojničkog guvernera Dalmacije baruna Josipa Jelačića očitovanje o osnivanju Društva, odnosno je li Društvo osnovano prema zakonskoj regulativi. Jelačić se očitovao istaknuvši da je Društvo utemeljeno na Privremenom zakonu o pravu udruživanja sa znanstvenom svrhom. HOLJEVAC, ŽELJKO, 2001., 192.

161 Nacrt pravilnika Društva tiskan u posebnom dodatku prvog sveska *Arkiva za povestnicu jugoslavensku*. N. N. 1851., 237-240.

162 Alexander Freiherr von Bach (1813. – 1893.), pravnik i političar.

erature on art history,¹⁵⁵ thus commencing his work on collecting and compiling the first bibliography for national art history – *Slovník*.¹⁵⁶ It is no wonder that on April 21, 1850, Kukuljević and Zagreb writers Vjekoslav Babukić, Mijat Sabljar, Mirko Bogović, Nikola Vakanović, Dragutin Rakovac and Ferdinand Žerjavić were invited to the Council of Ban to talk about “... *what is the easiest way to spread the knowledge of our history among our people. These writers concluded unanimously that for this purpose, the Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities will be founded in Zagreb.*”¹⁵⁷ Thus, in the spirit of the national civic movement and the desire to confirm the historical continuity and identity of the Croatian people, the first expert society for the collection of historical sources in our region, the *Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities*, was established¹⁵⁸.

The Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities

The first constituent assembly of the *Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities* was held on October 1, 1850, and Kukuljević gave an introductory speech: “*My Lords! Five months ago, several admirers of national literature met at the invitation of the former education department, to deliberate on how to make possible a science which would greatly benefit our people, but which is so neglected by us unlike any other nation in Europe. That science is the history of the South Slavic people.*”¹⁵⁹ The Society was

founded under the auspices of Ban Josip Jelačić von Bužim.¹⁶⁰ Although the establishment of the Society was announced in May, 1850, it was constituted only at the assembly on October 1, and it was officially confirmed by the announcement of the Provisional Law on the right of association of November 21, 1850.¹⁶¹

At the first assembly, the draft of the bylaws of the *Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities* was adopted and the leadership of the Society was chosen.¹⁶²

However, two years later, the Society changed its rules, like all other associations, in accordance with the Absolute Law of Associations adopted on November 26, 1852. Alexander Freiherr von Bach¹⁶³, Minister of the Interior, proposed to Emperor Franz Joseph I the adoption of the new bylaws of the Society (in agreement with the Minister of Religion and Public Education and the approval of the Supreme Police Administration) with a statement about “the usefulness of the Society and the incorruptibility of the Society”, under the condition that some changes were introduced. For example, the term “our people” was replaced with more appropriate terms, the word “trilateral” was removed, Jelačić’s patronage was limited, and the establishment of “unnecessary” branches was forbidden because they would have “national tendencies”. With the aforementioned conditions, Franz Joseph I confirmed the Society on July 9, 1853. The Society sent the revised version Bylaws in accordance with the instructions for the final confirmation in autumn 1856, and the confirmation was issued on July 12, 1857.¹⁶⁴ Waiting for the confir-

155 In 1947, he published the article *View of Styria, Vienna, Pest and Bratislava (Pogled na Štajersku, Beč, Peštu i Požun)* in the journal *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska* where he described his journey and meeting writers emphasizing the *Slavic idea*. MANČE, IVANA, 2008, 286., N. N. 1947. *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska*, no. 9 (1947).

156 More: MANČE, IVANA, 2008, 285-296. His first article published in *Danica* was about painter Julije Klović. N. N. 1947. *Danica horvatska, slavonska i dalmatinska*, no. 3 (1847). *Slovník* was published in Zagreb in 1858 and it featured builders, sculptors, painters, organists, bell-ringers, goldsmiths, stonemasons, engravers, woodcarvers. ZGA-GA, VIŠNJA, 1995, 11.

157 DESPOT, MIROSLAVA, 1965, 3-4. SZABO, AGNEZA, 1988, 79-82.

158 Društvo za jugoslavensku povjestnicu i starine - The word “Yugoslav” refers to south Slavic idea of cultural, national and political integration of all south Slavic nations which was represented among the part of politicians in the 19th century

159 Croatian History Museum (*Hrvatski povijesni muzej*, HPM), Minutes of the *Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities* (Društvo za povjestnicu i starine Jugoslavenah) meeting number 11937.

160 Josip Jelačić (1801–1859), ban.

161 On March 7, 1851, the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Vienna, based on a preliminary inquiry by the Vienna Ministry of War on the legality of the Society, requested a statement from the Ban of Croatia and Slavonia, and the Civil and Military Governor of Dalmatia, Count Josip Jelačić, about the foundation of the Society, i.e. whether the Society was established according to legal regulations. Jelačić submitted a statement pointing out that the Society was founded on the Provisional Law on the Right of Associations for Scientific Purpose. HOLJEVAC, ŽELJKO, 2001, 192.

162 Draft of the regulations of the Society was published in the special annex of the first volume of the *Archive for the History of Yugoslavia*. N. N. 1851, 237-240.

163 Alexander Freiherr von Bach (1813–1893), lawyer and politician.
164 Confirmed regulations were published in Croatian in Zagreb on October 26, 1857. HOLJEVAC, ŽELJKO, 2001, 195.

korigiran u skladu s uputama na konačnu potvrdu tek ujesen 1856., a potvrda je dobivena 12. srpnja 1857. godine.¹⁶³ Čekanje potvrde nije usporilo djelovanje Društva: radilo se na nizu poslova vezanih uz proučavanje povijesti i spomenika te prikupljanju umjetničkih i arhivskih predmeta. Prikupljanjem različitih izvora važnih za hrvatsku povijest pokušala se stvoriti osnova za pisanje cjelovitoga povijesnog pregleda kojim bi se dokazala hrvatska opstojnost.¹⁶⁴

Društvo se redovito sastajalo na sjednicama i velikim skupštinama. Do godine 1864. održano je 85 sjednica i deset „velikih“ skupština.¹⁶⁵ Tek se od 1866. smanjio broj redovitih sjednica.¹⁶⁶ Od samog osnutka godine 1851. Društvo je izdavalo *Arkiv za pověstnicu jugoslavensku* u kojem su objavljivana izvješća o aktivnostima vezanim uz evidentiranje spomenika i stručna putovanja te zadaće i preporuke.

Prva knjiga *Arkiva* sadržavala je sljedeća poglavlja: *Politička povestnica, Bajoslovlje i crkva, Književnost i umjetnost i Dodatak*. Dodatak prvom izdanju *Arkiva* čine: *Pravila društva za Jugoslavensku povestnicu i starine, Pitanja na sve prijatelje domaćih starinah i jugoslavenske povestnice i Popis gospode članovah društva*. Takav koncept *Arkiv* je više-manje zadržao do godine 1875., kada je objavljen posljednji, dvanaesti svezak, s posebnim poglavljem u kojemu je ponovljen sadržaj svih dvanaest svezaka.

U spomenutim *Pravilima* Društva za jugoslavensku povestnicu i starine definirana je svrha i način djelovanja, navedena su prava i dužnosti članova i pokrovitelja, imenovano je ravnateljstvo, navedene su podružnice i određen je opći program. Svrha i djelatnost društva bilo je istraživanje, pronalaženje, sakupljanje

i čuvanje starina, koje se na „... život i historiju našeg naroda protežu“.¹⁶⁷ U pravilima Društva navode se pokretni umjetnički spomenici na koje treba obratiti pozornost, „... Sve plastičke umotvore koje se nalaze u našoj domovini, naime na starinske grčke, rimske i slavenske napise, spomenike, oruđe, novce, oružje, posude, kipove, stupove, slike, pečate itd...“ i „... Na proizvode srednjega vijeka, po omenu na proizvode umetne lijevane i rezane, kao što se nalaze u starinskih crkva i gradova, zatim oružje, barjake, pokućstvo, grbove, različite urese itd.“¹⁶⁸ Zatim je izložena djelatnost Društva koje se trebalo baviti istraživanjem i opisivanjem, nabavom i čuvanjem te izdavanjem časopisa. U dijelu pravila o pravima i dužnostima članova objašnjeni su uvjeti, dužnosti, članarine.¹⁶⁹

Društvo je prikupljene zbirke umjetnina namjeravalo darovati Narodnom muzeju. Ravnatelj Društva bio je Kukuljević, a savjetnici (prvi odbornici) bili su: Mijat Sabljar, Ferdinand Žerjavić, Mirko Bogović, Petar Preradović, Vjekoslav Babukić (blagajnik), Nikola Vakanović i tajnik Andrija Torkvat Brlić. Na drugoj velikoj skupštini Društva u lipnju 1851. odlučeno je da se broj savjetnika ravnateljstva povisi sa šest na osam, te su jednoglasno izabrani Dimitrija Demeter i Antun Mažuranić.¹⁷⁰ Prema prvom popisu iz 1851. Društvo je brojilo 225 članova tzv. „poslujućih i pomagajućih“, počasnih članova bilo je 26 (među njima član C. kr. akademije znanosti u Dalmaciji Francesco Carrara, C. kr. savjetnik i arhivar C. kr. dvora i kuće austrijske u

167 N. N. 1851., 237.

168 Ibid.

169 Tko je želio postati članom, trebao je dati pisanu izjavu ravnateljstvu obvezujući se na daljnje obavljanje svoje dužnosti. U slučaju da je netko želio napustiti Društvo bila je potrebna pismena izjava. Godišnja članarina (*prinesak*) za članove iznosila je 2 srebrne forinte, a prilikom upisa svaki je član plaćao 1 srebrnu forintu. Nadalje, svaki član bio je dužan na pitanje ravnateljstva odgovarati u pisanoj obliku. Članovi su prema pravilima, osim plaćanja članarine, bili dužni pisati članke. Osobe koje su bile „znamenitih zasluga“ mogle su biti izabrane za počasne članove. Svaki član imao je pravo dolaska, držanja govora i glasovanja na glavnoj skupštini; prijedlozi skupštini dostavljani su ravnateljstvu u pisanoj obliku osam dana prije skupštine. Ravnateljstvo se sastojalo od načelnika i šest savjetnika, od kojih je jedan bio blagajnik. Za donošenje odluka na sjednici su trebala biti prisutna najmanje četiri savjetnika. Ravnateljstvo je odgovaralo za sve svoje radne skupštine. Sjedište Društva bilo je u Zagrebu. N. N. 1851., 237-240.

170 HPM, Zapisnici Društva za pověstnicu i starine pod brojem 11937.

163 Potvrđena pravila tiskana su na hrvatskom jeziku u Zagrebu 26. listopada 1857. HOLJEVAC, ŽELJKO, 2001., 195.

164 STRECHA, MARIO, 2005., 105-106.

165 Uvidom u zapisnike sjednica Društva uočeno je da su sjednice održavane jednom mjesečno, po potrebi i češće, a velike skupštine, kako ih nazivaju u zapisnicima, svaka tri mjeseca, iako treba napomenuti da je pri odobravanju Pravila ministar Bach Društvo propisao jednu glavnu skupštinu na godinu. Društvo je 1864. godine zamolilo Namjesničko vijeće dopuštenje za promjenu Pravila, što je uključivalo i održavanje „velikih“ skupština četiri puta godišnje. HOLJEVAC, ŽELJKO, 2001., 193-199.

166 HPM Zapisnici sjednica Društva pod brojem 11937.

mation did not slow down the activities of the Society: they worked on a series of activities related to the study of history and monuments, as well as the collection of art and archival objects. By collecting various sources relevant to Croatian history, the Society tried to create the basis for writing a complete historical review that would confirm the existence of Croatia.¹⁶⁵

The Society regularly met at sessions and large assemblies. By 1864, 85 sessions and ten "large" assemblies were held.¹⁶⁶ It was not until 1866 that the number of regular sessions was reduced.¹⁶⁷ Since the formation of the Society in 1851, the *Archive for the Yugoslav History* was published with reports on activities related to recording monuments, expert journeys, tasks and recommendations.

The first book of the Archive contained the following chapters: *Political History, Mythology and Church, Literature and Art*, and *Appendix*. The Appendix to the first edition of the Archive consists of: *Rules of the Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities, Questions for all Friends of Domestic Antiquities and Yugoslav History and List of the Honourable Members of the Society*. The Archive retained this concept more or less until 1875 when the twelfth and last volume was published with a special chapter in which the contents of all twelve volumes were repeated.

The above mentioned Rules of the Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities defined the purpose and mode of operation, listed the rights and duties of the members and sponsors, named the Directorate, listed subsidiaries and defined the general program. The purpose and function of the Society was to research,

find, collect and preserve antiquities, which "... extend to the life and history of our people".¹⁶⁸ The rules of the Society mention movable art monuments to which special attention should be paid, "...All plastic mouldings that are found in our homeland, especially ancient Greek, Roman and Slavic inscriptions, monuments, tools, coins, weapons, ceramics, statues, pillars, paintings, seals, etc ..." and "...On products from the Middle Ages, especially cast and cut items, such as those found in old churches and cities, also arms, banners, furniture, coats of arms, various ornaments, etc."¹⁶⁹ Next, the function of the Society to investigate and describe, procure and issue magazines, was presented. The terms, duties and membership were explained in the section of the rules on the rights and duties of members.¹⁷⁰

The Society intended to donate the collected art collections to the National Museum. Kukuljević was the head of the Society, and the advisors (first members) were Mijat Sabljar, Ferdinand Žerjavić, Mirko Bogović, Petar Preradović, Vjekoslav Babukić (treasurer), Nikola Vakanović and secretary Andrija Torkvat Brlić. In June 1851, at the second general assembly of the Society, it was decided that the number of advisors to the director should be increased from six to eight, and Dimitrije Demeter and Antun Mažuranić were unanimously elected.¹⁷¹ According to the first census list from 1851, the Society had 225 so-called "working and helping"

165 STRECHA, ŽELJKO, 2005, 105-106.

166 By inspecting the minutes of the Society's meetings, it was noted that the sessions were held once a month, more frequently if necessary, and large assemblies, as they are called in the minutes, every three months, although it should be noted that when approving the Rules, Minister Bach prescribed one general assembly per year for the Society. In 1864, the Society asked the Legislative Council for permission to change the Rules, which included holding "large" assemblies four times a year. HOLJEVAC, ŽELJKO, 2001, 193-199.

167 HPM Minutes of the Society for History and Antiquities (*Društvo za pověstnicu i starine*) meeting number 11937.

168 N. N. 1851., 237

169 *ibid*

170 Whoever wanted to become a member, needed to give a written statement to the Directorate committing themselves to performing their duties. In case someone wanted to leave the Society, a written statement was needed. The annual membership fee (*prinesak*) for members was two silver forints, and every member paid one silver forint when registering. Furthermore, each member was required to reply to the board's question in writing. According to the rules, apart from paying membership fees, members were obliged to write articles. People who were "worthy of merit" could be chosen as honorary members. At the general assembly, each member had the right to come, speak and vote; proposals to the Assembly were submitted to the Directorate in writing, eight days before the Assembly. The Directorate consisted of a chairman and six advisors, one of whom was a treasurer. At least four advisers needed to be present at the meetings to make decisions. The Directorate was responsible for all its activities in the assembly. The headquarters of the Society was in Zagreb. N. N. 1851, 237-240.

171 HPM Minutes of the Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities meeting number 11937.

Beču Josef Chmel, kustos češkog Narodnog muzeja u Pragu Vaclav Hanka i drugi).¹⁷¹ Već 1852. Društvo je brojilo 400 članova. Brojnost Društva povezana je s političkom situacijom, s obzirom na to da je uvođenjem neoapsolutizma politički život gotovo zamro pa su dotadašnji političari svoje djelovanje nastojali nastaviti u radu Društva.¹⁷² Na terenu je Društvo djelovalo putem povjerenika. Jedna od prvih značajnijih akcija bila je prikupljanje građe za Narodni muzej i upoznavanje s poviješću i *starinama*.¹⁷³ U tu je svrhu Društvo uputilo svojim članovima 26 pitanja za prikupljanje građe: *Pitanja na sve prijatelje domaćih starinah i jugoslavenske povestnice*.¹⁷⁴ Od dvadeset i šest pitanja šest ih se odnosi na povijest, evidenciju, očuvanje i prikupljanje pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta.¹⁷⁵

Odgovori na pitanja Društva kao i izvještaji članova objavljivani su kontinuirano u *Arkivu*.

Na trećoj velikoj skupštini održanoj 2. veljače 1852. Kukuljević je kao načelnik Društva u svom izlaganju

171 N. N. 1852.

172 Car Franjo Josip po dolasku na vlast raspušta austrijski parlament i donosi Oktroirani ustav 4. ožujka 1849., u kojem se ističe jednakost svih državljana Monarhije pred zakonom, ravnopravnost i „prava sloboda“ svih nacija Carevine, te čuvanje i jačanje narodnosti i narodnog jezika. Prema Oktroiranom ustavu jedinstvena austrijska carevina sastojala bi se od „krunovina“ koje bi imale usku autonomiju s posebnim zakonodavnim tijelima. Posebnim propisom Kraljevini Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji dana je nezavisnost od Ugarske iz 1850. na temelju Oktroiranog ustava iz 1849., a predviđen je i dogovor zastupnika dalmatinskog i hrvatsko-slavonskog sabora o uvjetima ujedinjenja uz carevu potvrdu. No, proglašenjem Oktroiranog ustava poništena je autonomija Banskog vijeća kao samostalne vlade, a Hrvatska i Slavonija podvrgnute su jednoobraznoj upravi koja je vrijedila za cijelu Monarhiju. Silvestarskim patentom posljednjeg dana 1851. povučen je Oktroirani ustav i uveden izravni apsolutizam, u kojem car donosi patente, a izvršavaju ih zemaljske vlade koje postaju carska i kraljevska namjesništva. GROSS, MIRJANA, 1985., 62-71.

173 ŠIDAK, JAROSLAV, 1974., 10.

174 N. N. 1851., 241-243. U Prvoj knjizi Arhiva navedeno je 26 pitanja, dok su u Sedmoj knjizi Arhiva iz 1863. godine pitanja nadopunjena na konačnih 30. Gore citirana pitanja su iz 1851. godine. Godine 1863. pitanja su nadopunjena od broja 17. Već pod brojem 18. uvršteno je novo pitanje koje se odnosi na pokretne spomenike: „Kakove se nalaze u vašoj župi ili u glavnoj i područnoj crkvi umjetni predmet? Ima li tu kamenitah ili drvenih liepih kipotvorah? Ima li boljih slikah i slikanih na drvu, mjeđu, platnu ili stieni itd., od kojih se znade ime sačinitelja? Ima li krasno i umjetno izdjalanih crkvenih ikonostasah, posudaħ i odjeće, krstovah, štapovah, krsionicah, propovedaonicah, klupih sa drvorezi itd.? Znade li se ime onoga, koj ih je načinio ili poklonio, i u koje vrieme?“ N. N. 1863., 348-351.

175 Prijepis pitanja nalazi se u *Dodatku* str. 387.

napomenuo da se društvo razvijalo i po svojem radu i značaju postalo prepoznatljivo u europskim pokrajinama, te da su ravnateljstvu neprestano pristizali svakoja-ki upiti vezani uz rad, a Društvo se povezalo sa srodnim društvima u Europi. „... *Te tako doterasmo do toga, da već sada u carstvu austrijskome nema ni jednog s našom svrhom srodnog društva, s kojim se dopisivali nebi, a malo ih ima i po ostalih državah europejskih, osim jedne englezke, s kojim nebi stajali u savezu duševnom.*“¹⁷⁶

U svrhu prikupljanja umjetnina za Narodni muzej na terenska putovanja odlazili su predsjednik Društva Kukuljević i odbornik ravnateljskog odbora, tajnik i blagajnik Mijat Sabljar. Pri povratku su izvješća podnosili Društvu, državnim tijelima (Carskom i kraljevskom Namjesništvu u Zagrebu i županijskim predstojništvima) i Središnjem povjerenstvu za proučavanje i održavanje graditeljskih spomenika u Beču.¹⁷⁷

Kukuljević je putovao po Kranjskoj, Štajerskoj, Veneciji, Istri i otoku Krku. Putujući po Istri upoznao je Pietra Kandlera koji je Društvu posudio veliku zbirku pisanih povelja te je postao počasni član.¹⁷⁸ Nakon putovanja po Veneciji, Beču i Ljubljani Kukuljević je podnio izvješće. Na putovanje po Dalmaciji Kukuljević je otišao godine 1854. zahvaljujući podršci biskupa Strossmayera.¹⁷⁹ Kukuljevićevom terenskom radu po Dalmaciji prethodio je istraživački rad u arhivima i proučavanje tada dostupne literature, kao i korespondencija s tadašnjim istaknutim

176 Skupština je održana u dvorani Narodnog doma, a pozdravni govor održao je ban Josip Jelačić Bužimski.

177 U zapisniku s pete velike skupštine Društva tajnik društva Mirko Bogović podnio je izvještaj o radu u kojem napominje da se sa *Središnjim povjerenstvom za proučavanje i održavanje graditeljskih spomenika u Beču* uspostavila suradnja te da je Kukuljević imenovan „čuvarom starinah za Hrvatsku“. N. N. 1857., 396. Kukuljević je imenovan rješenjem Centralne komisije br. 43 od 19. veljače 1855., te je stoga izvještaj o svom konzervatorskom radu podnosio i Središnjem povjerenstvu u Beču. Draginja Jurman-Karaman konstatirala je da se Kukuljević redovno obraćao tijelima državne uprave u vezi zaštite i popravaka spomenika, a manje vlasnicima i posjednicima, započevši time institucionalni razvoj organizacije zaštite spomenika. JURMAN-KARAMAN, DRAGINJA, 1953.-1954., 149.

178 HPM Zapisnici sjednica Društva pod brojem 11937.

179 „... *Novce koje od mene dobiste, upotrebite kako najbolje znate. Sve što šnjimi uradite, odobravam unapried, jerbo sam uvjeren, da Vam stvar dobra takodjer na serdcu leži kao i meni.*“ SMIČIKLAS, TADIJA, 1892., 154.

members, 26 honorary members (among them was a member of the Imperial Royal Academy of Sciences in Dalmatia, Francesco Carrara; Imperial Royal Advisor and Archivist of the Imperial Royal Court and Austrian House in Vienna, Josef Chmel; and curator of the Czech National Museum in Prague, Vaclav Hanka, etc.).¹⁷² By 1852, the Society already had 400 members. The large number of members of the Society is linked to the political situation, since the introduction of neo-absolutism had nearly paralyzed political life, so former politicians sought to continue their work as part of the Society.¹⁷³ In the field, the Society operated through commissioners. One of the first significant operations was to collect the material for the National Museum and to get acquainted with history and *antiquities*.¹⁷⁴ For this purpose, the Society sent its members 26 questions for the collection of material: "Questions for all friends of local antiquities and South Slavic history."¹⁷⁵ From those 26 Questions, six of them referred to the history, recording,

172 N. N. 1852.

173 When Emperor Franz Joseph came to power, he dissolved the Austrian parliament and adopted the March Constitution on October 4, 1849, which emphasized the equality of all citizens of the Monarchy before the law, equality and the "real freedom" of all nations of the Empire, and the preservation and strengthening of nationality and national language. According to the March Constitution, the unique Austrian empire would consist of "kingdoms" that would have a limited autonomy with special legislative bodies. A special statute from 1850, based on the March Constitution from 1849, granted the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia independence from Hungary, and an agreement between the representatives of the parliaments of Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia was expected on the conditions of unification with the Emperor's approval. But, the proclamation of the March Constitution abolished the autonomy of the Council of Ban (*Bansko vijeće*) as an autonomous government, and Croatia and Slavonia were subjected to a uniform administration that applied to the entire Monarchy. The New Year's Eve Patent on the last day in 1851 revoked the March Constitution and absolutism was introduced, in which the Emperor issued patents executed by land governments which became imperial and royal authorities. GROSS, MIRJANA, 1985, 62-71.

174 ŠIDAK, JAROSLAV, 1974, 10.

175 N. N. 1851, 241-243. In the First volume of the Archive, 26 questions were listed, and in the Seventh volume from 1863, additional questions were added to make the final 30. In 1863, the questions were supplemented from number 17. A new question concerning movable monuments was added under number 18: "What artwork can be found in your parish or in the main and regional church? Are there beautiful stone or wooden sculptures? Are there good quality paintings and paintings on wood, brass, canvas or stone, etc. for which you know who the author is? Are there any beautiful and artistically crafted ecclesiastical icons, sacred vessels and vestments, crosses, croziers, baptisteries, pulpits, benches with woodcarvings, etc? Do you know the name of the person who made or gifted them, and when?" N. N. 1863, 348-351.

protection and collection of movable art objects.¹⁷⁶

Answers to the Society's questions, as well as member reports, were continuously published in the Archive. At the Third General Assembly held on February 2, 1852, Kukuljević, as head of the Society, noted in his presentation that the Society was developing and because of its work and significance, had become recognizable in European provinces, that various inquiries concerning the work of the Society were constantly received by the Directorate, and it was connected with similar societies across Europe. "...So, we came to this, that even now in the Austrian kingdom, there is no one society with a purpose similar to ours with which we would not correspond, and there are few in other European countries, except for one in England, with which we would not form an alliance."¹⁷⁷

To collect artwork for the National Museum, Kukuljević, the head of the Society, and Mijat Sabljar, an alderman on the board of directors, as well as secretary and treasurer, travelled extensively. When they returned, they submitted their reports to the Society, state authorities (the Imperial Royal Governorship in Zagreb and county prefectures) and the Imperial Royal Central Commission for the Study and Preservation of Historic Buildings in Vienna.¹⁷⁸

Kukuljević travelled through Carniola, Styria, Venice, Istria and the island of Krk. Traveling through Istria, he met Pieter Kandler, who lent a large collection of writ-

176 A transcript of the questionnaire is provided in the p.388, Appendix.

177 The Assembly was held in the hall of Narodni dom, and Ban Josip Jelačić Bužimski gave the introduction speech.

178 Minutes from the fifth great assembly of the Society, secretary of the Society, Mirko Bogović, submitted a report on the work in which he notes that they established cooperation with the Central Commission for the Study and Maintenance of Monuments in Vienna, and that Kukuljević was appointed "guardian of antiquities for Croatia". N. N., 1857, 396. Kukuljević was appointed by the Central Commission Decision no. 43 on February 19, 1855, and therefore submitted a report on his conservation work to the Central Commission in Vienna. JURMAN-KARAMAN, DRAGINJA, 1953-1954, 149. stated that Kukuljević regularly addressed state administration bodies regarding the protection and repair of monuments, and to a lesser extent, owners and landlords, thus commencing the institutional development of the organization for the protection of monuments.

pojedincima. Neki od njih bili su Francesco Carrara, Carlo Lanza, Salghetti Drioli i drugi.¹⁸⁰

U njegovom terenskom obilasku Dalmacije srednjovjekovna umjetnost, tada smatrana ishodištem povijesnog identiteta svake nacije, dobiva prednost nad antičkom umjetnošću. Kukuljevićevo prikupljanje i proučavanje izvora te otkrivanje i upoznavanje spomenika po Dalmaciji bilo je, među ostalim, vezano uz potvrdu njihove pripadnosti hrvatskom nacionalnom identitetu.¹⁸¹ U svim gradovima upoznaje se i povezuje s istaknutim pojedincima duhovne i svjetovne inteligencije, s kojima će tijekom godina voditi bogatu korespondenciju. Velik broj knjiga i časopisa na hrvatskom jeziku Kukuljević šalje u Dalmaciju, i to ne samo u gradove, već i u sela, s tim da je razmjena knjiga, prijepisa rukopisa i dokumenata bila obostrana. Ne treba zanemariti ni vrijeme njegova obilaska koje se poklapa s razdobljem pripremne faze narodnog preporoda u Dalmaciji. Nedvojbeno je Kukuljević svojim rasvjetljavanjem političke i kulturne povijesti potaknuo i pobudio hrvatsku nacionalnu svijest u Dalmaciji, barem među onima s kojima je korespondirao.¹⁸²

Kukuljević u izvještajima s putovanja opisuje crkve te gdje se i što u njima nalazi, koji su dokumenti prikupljeni, popisuje crkvene ili svjetovne predmete s kratkim opisom materijala i točnim natpisima (sl. 4).

Na drugo studijsko putovanje odlazi 1856. godine, a započinje ga u Zadru. U Zadru uz spomenike vezane za hrvatsku povijest naglašava vrijednost i značaj zlatarskih radova. Osobitu pažnju poklanja škrinji sv. Šimuna. Bilježenje spomenika, običaja, narodnih nošnji nastavlja u Šibeniku, Trogiru, Omišu, Splitu, Hvaru, Dubrovniku i Boki kotorskoj.¹⁸³ Nakon Dalmacije svoje putovanje nastavlja u Italiji.

U svrhu prikupljanja građe Mijat Sabljar svoje prvo „službeno“ putovanje po Vojnoj krajini, Hrvatskom primorju i dijelu Dalmacije obavlja od 15. lipnja do 11. studenoga

1852.¹⁸⁴ Po povratku s putovanja podnio je izvještaj Društvu, u kojem je nabrojio darovatelje za Narodni muzej prema vrsti građe, a potom predmete koje je kupio za muzej.¹⁸⁵ Svoje drugo putovanje, od 27. rujna 1853. do 9. svibnja 1854., započeo je u Zadru i okolici te nastavio na području Crne Gore, odakle se vratio obalom i završio u Senju.¹⁸⁶ Uz osnovne podatke o predmetu (dimenzija, smještaj, materijal/tehnika, opis, signatura/žig), Sabljar bilježi i stanje predmeta te navodi uzrok propadanja (sl. 5). Ponukan manjkom brige i lošim stanjem spomenika, vrativši se s putovanja po Dalmaciji 1853./54. piše seriju članaka koji izlaze u *Danici Ilirskoj*: „*Mane koje smetaju razvitku književnosti, i sačuvanju umjetnostnih i starinarskih predmeta*“.¹⁸⁷ Uz nabranje problema kao što su različita mehanička oštećenja, smještaj u vlažnim prostorijama, prekrajanje slika, Sabljar je bilježio opaske u svrhu bolje brige za spomenike.¹⁸⁸ U bilježenju predmeta imao je istančan osjećaj za vrijednost pojedinog djela, zapisujući osnovne podatke osobito vrijedne za očuvanje crkvenog inventara koji su korisni i danas. Zapravo se Sabljarev rad, odnosno njegov način evidentiranja građe i pogleda na cjelokupnu problematiku čuvanja umjetnina ne razlikuje bitno od današnje prakse.

Kukuljević je godine 1860. postao Veliki župan zagrebački, što je možda bio jedan od razloga da se sjednice Društva nisu održavale skoro dvije godine, pa je tek 1862. održana 9. glavna skupština. Glavne teme bile su dvogodišnje izvješće o djelovanju Društva, odnos prema Jugoslavenskoj akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti i izbori:

„... *Glavna zadaća današnje skupštine bit će osim saslušanja dvogodišnjega izvješća društvenoga djelovanja pregledanja računah, te dotičnih izborah, takodjer opredjeljenje budućega odnošaja ovog društva naprema jugoslavenskoj akademiji naukah koja će ako bog da za veoma kratko vrijeme konačno u život stupiti. O tom važnom predmetu molit ću skupljenu gospodu da kasnije svoje mnenje izjave,*

180 Više o korespondenciji: MACAN, TRPIMIR, 1974/75., 77.

181 Kako navodi Mance, *Kukuljević odlazi u Dalmaciju s jasnim ciljem njezina preimenovanja u povijesni zavičaj hrvatskog naroda*. MANCE, IVANA, 2015., 238.

182 MACAN, TRPIMIR, 1974.-1975., 77

183 ŠENOVA, ZDENKO, 1967., 228-233.

184 SABLJAR, MIJAT, 1854., 46.

185 SABLJAR, MIJAT, 1854., 339-342.

186 MIRNIK, IVAN, 1981., 211.

187 JURANOVIĆ TONEJC, MARTINA, 2010., 15.

188 SABLJAR, MIJAT, 1863., 49.

ten charters to the Society, and became an honorary member.¹⁷⁹ After traveling to Venice, Vienna and Ljubljana, Kukuljević submitted a report. In 1854, thanks to the support of Bishop Strossmayer, Kukuljević left for Dalmatia.¹⁸⁰ Before Kukuljević travelled to Dalmatia, he did extensive research in archives, studied references available at the time, and corresponded with distinguished individuals. Some of them were Francesco Carrara, Carlo Lanza, Salghetti Drioli and others.¹⁸¹

During Kukuljević's tour of Dalmatia, medieval art, considered as the starting point for the historical identity of every nation at the time, gained advantage over art from the classical period. Kukuljević's collection and study of sources, as well as the discovery and recognition of monuments in Dalmatia were, among other things, connected with confirming their affiliation to the Croatian national identity.¹⁸² In every city, he met and connected with prominent individuals, with whom he corresponded over the years. Kukuljević sent a large number of books and journals written in the Croatian language to Dalmatia, not only to cities, but also villages. The exchange of books, transcripts of manuscripts and documents was reciprocal. The fact that his visits coincided with the preparatory phase of the National Revival in Dalmatia should not be ignored. Kukuljević undoubtedly encouraged and promoted Croatian national awareness in Dalmatia, at least among those with whom he corresponded.¹⁸³

In his travel reports, Kukuljević described churches, what could be found in them and where, and which documents were collected; he also listed religious or secular objects with a brief description of the material and the correct inscriptions (Fig. 4).

He started his second tour in 1856 in Zadar. There,

along with monuments related to Croatian history, he emphasized the value and importance of the work of goldsmiths. He paid particular attention to the chest of St. Simeon. He continued recording monuments, customs, folk costumes in Šibenik, Trogir, Omiš, Split, Hvar, Dubrovnik and Boka Kotorska.¹⁸⁴ After Dalmatia, he continued his journey in Italy.

For the purpose of collecting material, Mijat Sabljar went on his first "official trip" through the Military Frontier, the Croatian Littoral and part of Dalmatia from June 15 to November 11, 1852.¹⁸⁵ On his return, he submitted a report to the Society, listing the donors to the National Museum based on the type of material and objects he purchased for the museum.¹⁸⁶ His second trip, from September 27, 1853 to May 9, 1854, began in Zadar and its surroundings and continued in Montenegro. He returned, travelling along the coast, and ended his trip in Senj.¹⁸⁷ Along with basic data about the objects (dimensions, location, material/technique, description, signature/stamp), Sabljar recorded the condition of the objects and indicated the cause of decay (Fig. 5). Prompted by the lack of care for monuments and their poor condition, when he returned to Dalmatia in 1853/54, he wrote a series of articles published in the journal *Danica Ilirska*: *"Shortcomings that prevent the development of literature, and the preservation of artistic and antiquarian objects."*¹⁸⁸ Along with listing the problems, such as a variety of mechanical damages, storage in damp rooms, and altered dimensions of the paintings, Sabljar made remarks about how to take better care of monuments.¹⁸⁹ When recording items, he had a remarkable sense in terms of recognizing the value of a particular piece and recording the basic data, which is especially valuable for the preservation of ecclesiastical inventory and still useful today. In fact, Sabljar's work, his way of documenting objects and looking at the whole issue of art conservation do not differ significantly from today's practices.

179 HPM Minutes of the Society meeting number 11937.

180 "...The money you get from me, use as best you can. Everything you do with it, I approve in advance, because I'm confident that your heart is as good as is mine..." SMIČIKLAS, TADIJA, 1892, 154.

181 More on the correspondence: MACAN, TRPIMIR, 1974/75, 77.

182 According to Mance, *Kukuljević went to Dalmatia with the clear purpose of renaming it as the historical homeland of the Croatian people*. MANCE, IVANA, 2015, 238.

183 MACAN, TRPIMIR, 1974/75, 77.

184 ŠENOVA, ZDENKO, 1967, 228-233.

185 SABLJAR, MIJAT, 1854, 46.

186 SABLJAR, MIJAT, 1854, 339-342.

187 MIRNIK, IVAN, 1981, 211.

188 JURANOVIĆ TONEJC, MARTINA, 2010, 15.

189 SABLJAR, MIJAT, 1863, 49.



4 Crtež s terenskog obilaska (crtež: Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, MKM-SDKB-GZ)

Drawing from a field trip (drawing: Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, MKM-SDKB-GZ)

da ga može za tim upravljajući odbor rečenoj akademiji priobćiti...¹⁸⁹

Kukuljević je bio mišljenja da je širenje interesa za povijest, čuvanje i obnavljanje spomenika, ključno za razumijevanje: „...samo po historiji znanosti i umjetnosti sudi se izobraženje i prosvjeta svakoga naroda“.¹⁹⁰ U skladu s takvim poimanjem, na sedmoj je sjednici Društva godine 1874. upozorio da povijesni spomenici i starine propadaju te se na nekim mjestima barbarski postupaju prema hrvatskoj prošlosti.¹⁹¹ Zaključeno je da će Društvo Kraljevskoj zemaljskoj vladi u Zagrebu, krajiškom zapovjedništvu u Zagrebu i namjesništvu u Zadru podnijeti *Naputak o tome kako se trebaju istraživati, sakupljati i čuvati starine u Hrvatskoj, Dalmaciji i Slavoniji*. *Naputku* je dodana i *Promemorija o starinama u Hrvatskoj*.¹⁹²

U spomenutom *Naputku* dane su upute za određivanje povijesne ili umjetničke vrijednosti nepokretnih spomenika, dok je u prilogu razaslana *Promemorija o starinama u Hrvatskoj, Dalmaciji i Slavoniji* na osnovi koje su

189 HPM Zapisnik sjednica Društva pod brojem 30005.

190 SMIČIKLAS, TADIJA, 1892., 154.

191 HPM Zapisnik sjednica Društva pod brojem 30005.

192 N. N. 1875., 160-165.



5 Preslika putne bilježnice, 1853./54. (crtež: Mijat Sabljar, bilježnica br. 7, MKM-SDKB-MS)

Copy of travel notebook, 1853-1854 (drawing: Mijat Sabljar, Notebook No. 7, MKM-SDKB-MS)

se kotarske oblasti trebale upoznati o raznim vrstama starina, odnosno pokretnih spomenika koji se nalaze u Hrvatskoj, Dalmaciji i Slavoniji, a na osnovi kojih su izvještavali o stanju tih starina.

U dokumentu *Promemorija kako se imaju istraživati, sakupljati i čuvati starine u Hrvatskoj, Dalmaciji i Slavoniji* uz dodatna objašnjenja nabrojene su vrste spomenika od 1 do 10: *grobovi, gradine i gradovi, mostovi, vodovodi i zdenci, crkve, zvona, slike, kipovi, oružje i posuđe te meda-lje i stari pečati*. Uz svaku vrstu dana je uputa o važnosti domaćih umjetnika i tema iz hrvatske povijesti. Posebno je kod *kipova i slika* istaknuto da su vrijedni samo ako su od domaćeg umjetnika. Pokretni umjetnički predmeti spomenuti su uz crkve („bizantskog, romanskog i gotičkog sloga“), u kojima se pri pregledu trebala obratiti pozornost na slike na drvu, platnu ili bakru, oltare i zidne slike te na drvene crkve i kapele. Dane su upute i na što se treba obratiti pozornost pri pregledu zvona:

In 1860, Kukuljević became the prefect of the Zagreb District, which may have been one of the reasons why the sessions of the Society were not held for almost two years, and the 9th General Assembly was not held until 1862. The main topics were the two-year report on the activities of the Society, the relationship towards the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art and the elections:

*"...The main task of today's assembly will be, besides the hearing of the two-year report on the social activities, to review the finances and the current elections, as well as to determine the future position of this society to the Yugoslav Academy of Science which, God willing, will be established soon. I will ask the assembled gentlemen to give their opinions on this important subject, so the board can later inform the academy..."*¹⁹⁰

Kukuljević believed that raising the public's awareness about the history, preservation and restoration of monuments was crucial to gaining an understanding: "... only through the history of science and art can one judge the education and enlightenment of a people."¹⁹¹ According to such a view, at the seventh session of the Society in 1874, he warned that historical monuments and antiques were deteriorating, and that in some places, Croatian history was treated in a poor manner.¹⁹² It was concluded that the Society would send the *Guide on how to investigate, collect and preserve antiquities in Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia* to the Royal Land Government in Zagreb, the Military Frontier Command in Zagreb and the Provincial Office in Zadar. The *Pro memoria on antiques in Croatia* was added to the *Guide*.¹⁹³

The above-mentioned *Guide* included instructions for determining the historical or artistic value of immovable monuments, and the *Pro memoria on antiques in Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia* was supposed to aid districts to learn about various types of antiquities, i.e. movable monuments located in Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, and used to report on the condition of these antiques.

In the document *Pro memoria on how to explore, collect and preserve antiquities in Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia*, with additional explanations, types of monuments from 1 to 10 were listed: *graves, forts and cities, bridges, aqueducts and wells, churches, bells, paintings, statues, weapons and pottery, medals and old seals*. For each type, there was also a guide about the importance of local artists and themes from Croatian history. Especially with *statues and paintings*, it was emphasized that they were valuable only if they were made by local artists. Movable art objects were mentioned along with churches ("Byzantine, Romanesque and Gothic style"), where special attention should have been paid to paintings on wood, canvas or copper, altars and wall paintings, as well as wooden churches and chapels. Instructions were given and what to look for when inspecting bells:

*"...The shape of a bell can often indicate when it was cast, if there is an inscription that can accurately discern the year it was cast, who cast it, whether it was a local or a foreign artist, in the country or abroad, and this is the most important circumstance."*¹⁹⁴

In addition to the artistic value of objects and churches to be explored, the *Pro memoria* also applied to regions or individual cities, places, customs, costumes, etc.

When the twelfth book of the *Archive* was published in 1875, Kukuljević stopped working as an editor, and at the same time, it was the last issue of the *Archive*.

Due to financial and organizational difficulties, the Society for South Slavic History and Antiquities was shut down. Consequently, on June 13, 1878, it was transformed into the Croatian Archaeological Society, headed by Kukuljević.¹⁹⁵

From 1851 to 1878, the work of the Society for History was connected with the start of research, knowledge, preservation, collection and storage of art objects in the National Museum and other cultural institutions.¹⁹⁶

190 HPM Minutes of the Society meeting number 30005.

191 SMIČIKLAS, TADIJA, 1892, 154.

192 HPM Minutes of the Society meeting number 30005.

193 N. N. 1875, 160-165.

194 N. N. 1875, 164.

195 GROSS, MIRJANA, 1992, 534.

196 MANCE, IVANA, 2012, 94.

„...Po obliku zvona može se često saznati kada je lijevano, ima li kakav natpis po kojem se točno može razaznati godina lijevanja, tko ga je lijevao, da li domaći ili strani umjetnik, da li u zemlji ili inozemstvu i baš je to najvažnija okolnost.“¹⁹³

Osim na umjetničke vrijednosti predmeta i crkava koje je trebalo istražiti, *Promemorija* se odnosila i na predjele ili pojedine gradove, mjesta, običaje, nošnje i drugo.

S izlaskom dvanaeste knjige *Arkiva* godine 1875. pre-
stao je rad Kukuljevića kao urednika, a ujedno je to bio i posljednji broj *Arkiva*.

Društvo za pověstnicu i starine prestalo je s djelovanjem zbog financijskih i organizacijskih poteškoća. Stoga je 13. lipnja 1878. pretvoreno u *Hrvatsko arheološko društvo*, na čelu kojega je opet bio Kukuljević.¹⁹⁴

Rad Društva za pověstnicu od 1851. do 1878. godine vezan je uz početak istraživanja, upoznavanja, čuvanja, prikupljanja i pohranu umjetničkih predmeta u Narodni muzej i ostale kulturne institucije.¹⁹⁵ Zbog uvođenja apsolutizma te nemogućnosti političkog djelovanja Društvo okuplja velik broj intelektualaca koji su do tada sudjelovali u političkom životu. Iako se još ne može govoriti o organiziranoj službi zaštite, odgovori na dobro osmišljene upitnike koje su slali članovi i prijatelji Društva važan su izvor informacija o postojanju i stanju pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta. *Pravila* Društva jasno su dala do znanja koji se spomenici moraju čuvati, a Naputak kojim se objašnjava kako se trebaju istraživati, sakupljati i čuvati starine može se smatrati prethodnicom organizirane, zakonske zaštite kulturne baštine. Mnogi članovi vezani uz Društvo, kao npr. Matija Mesić, Franjo Rački, Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, imat će istaknutu ulogu i u sljedećim godinama kad započinje s radom čitav niz institucija važnih za napredak znanosti, obrazovanja i kulture: *Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti* (1866.), *Sveučilište u Zagrebu* (1874.), *Društvo umjetnosti* (1868.) i *Klub inženirah i arhitektah* (1878.).¹⁹⁶

193 N. N. 1875., 164.

194 GROSS, MIRJANA, 1992., 534.

195 MANČE, IVANA, 2012., 94.

196 STRECHA, MARIO, 2005., 110; GALOVIĆ, KREŠIMIR, 2010., 8.

Djelovanje Središnjeg povjerenstva u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji

Djelovanje Središnjeg povjerenstva bilo je relativno kratko, od 1855. do 1868., a vezano je uz rad Ivana Kukuljevića Sackinskog koji je godine 1855. imenovan pokrajinskim konzervatorom za Hrvatsku i Slavoniju.¹⁹⁷ Njegov rad za Središnje povjerenstvo poklapa se s njegovim radom u Društvu za pověstnicu. Kukuljević se kao pokrajinski konzervator Središnjeg povjerenstva bavio prijedlozima za restauriranje crkve u Glogovnici, potom zbirkom Dierich, preseljenjem nadgrobnih ploča iz Podgajca u Narodni muzej, zagrebačkom katedralom i očuvanjem Cetingrada.¹⁹⁸ U *Priopćenjima* su izlazili njegovi tekstovi o terenskim obilascima u kojima je nastojao čitatelje upoznati sa spomenicima u svojoj nadležnosti.¹⁹⁹ Promjenom političke i administrativne uprave nakon Hrvatsko-ugarske nagodbe Središnje je povjerenstvo izgubilo nadležnost nad organizacijom čuvanja spomenika u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji.²⁰⁰ Nakon promjene nadležnosti u ugarskom dijelu Monarhije više nisu bili imenovani u počasnu službu konzervatori, nego dopisnici. Kukuljević je proglašen dopisnikom 1869. i ostaje do 1893. godine.²⁰¹

Društvo umjetnosti i Isidor Kršnjavi

Društvo umjetnosti utemeljeno je godine 1868. pod okriljem Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, a osnovano je na poticaj Isidora Kršnjavija po uzoru na bečko Društvo umjetnosti.²⁰² Naime, Društvo je osnovano s ciljem promicanja umjetnosti, odnosno upoznavanja širih društvenih slojeva s umjetnošću, organiziranjem

197 Imenovao ga je bečki ministar za trgovinu i obrt i javne zgrade na prijedlog Središnjeg povjerenstva, pod brojem 43/1855. od 19. veljače 1955. JURMAN-KARAMAN, DRAGINJA, 1953.-1954., 149.

198 Svu dokumentaciju koja se čuva u Državnom arhivu u Zagrebu vezanu uz Kukuljevića i Središnje povjerenstvo obradili su: JURMAN-KARAMAN, DRAGINJA, 1953.-1953., 147-162; ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 1-525. 199 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 88.

200 JURMAN-KARAMAN, DRAGINJA, 1953.-1954., 149.

201 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 190.

202 Društvo umjetnosti osnovano je u vrijeme sklapanja Hrvatsko-ugarske nagodbe 1868. godine. Temeljem Nagodbe državna je zajednica bila ugovorena tako da hrvatski i ugarski državni teritorij imaju zajednički sabor i zajedničku vladu. Poslove koji Nagodbom nisu proglašeni zajedničkim svaka je država vodila samostalno. Državna tijela za područje Hrvatske i Slavonije bili su Sabor i Zemaljska vlada. Poslovi u kojima je Hrvatska zadržala samoupravu bili su unutarnji poslovi (osim pitanja državljanstva), pravosuđe, bogoštovlje i školstvo. GOLDSTEIN, IVO, 2003., 189-191; MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2004., 59.

Due to the introduction of absolutism and the impossibility of political action, the Society gathered a large number of intellectuals who had previously participated in politics. Although we still cannot say that an organized protection service existed, responses to the well-designed questionnaires sent by members and friends of the Society are an important source of information on the existence and status of movable arts. The Society's *Rules* made clear which monuments had to be preserved, and the *Guide* that explained how to research, collect and preserve antiquities can be considered the forerunner of organized, legal protection of cultural heritage. Many members of the Society, such as Matija Mesić, Franjo Rački and Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, also had a prominent role in the coming years when a number of institutions important for the advancement of science, education and culture were founded: the *Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts* (1866), the *University of Zagreb* (1874), the *Society of Art* (1868) and the *Club of engineers and architects (Klub inženirah i arhitekatah, 1878)*.¹⁹⁷

The work of the Central Commission in Croatia and Slavonia

The work of the Central Commission was relatively short, from 1855 to 1868, and it is connected with the work of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, who was appointed Regional Conservator for Croatia and Slavonia in 1855.¹⁹⁸ His work for the Central Commission coincides with his work for the Society for History. As a Regional Conservator of the Central Commission, Kukuljević dealt with proposals for the restoration of the church in Glogovnica, then the Dierich collection, the relocation of tombstones from Podgajac to the National Museum, the Zagreb Cathedral and the preservation of Cetingrad.¹⁹⁹ His articles on field tours were published in the Announcements, in which

he tried to familiarize readers with monuments within his jurisdiction.²⁰⁰ With the changing of the political and administrative authority after the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement, the Central Commission lost its authority to organize monument protection in Croatia and Slavonia.²⁰¹ After the change of jurisdiction in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy in 1868, conservationists were no longer appointed to the honorary service, but were appointed as correspondents. Kukuljević was appointed a correspondent in 1869, and he remained in that position until 1893.²⁰²

The Art Society and Isidor Kršnjavi

The Art Society was founded in 1868 under the auspices of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts. It was founded on the initiative of Izidor Kršnjavi and modelled on the Vienna Art Society.²⁰³ The Society was established to promote art, i.e. familiarizing the general public with art, organizing exhibitions, supporting artistic crafts and artists.²⁰⁴ The first president of the Society was conte Ivan Buratti, and the first members were Josip Ferdinand Devidé, Franjo Rački, M. Höngisberg, Janko Jurković, Ferdinand Quiquerez, Canon Josip Lehpamer, Antun Lobmayer, Lacko Mrazović, A. Rendić, and Izidor Kršnjavi became secretary.²⁰⁵ The

197 STRECHA, MARIO, 2005, 110; GALOVIĆ, KREŠIMIR, 2010, 8.

198 He was appointed by the Viennese Minister of Trade and Crafts and Public Buildings at the suggestion of the Central Commission, under number 43/1855 on February 19, 1955. JURMAN-KARAMAN, DRAGINJA, 1953-1954, 149.

199 All the documentation kept at the State Archives in Zagreb related to Kukuljević and the Central Commission was covered by JURMAN KARAMAN, DRAGINJA, 1953-1953, 147-162 and ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 1-525.

200 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 88.

201 JURMAN-KARAMAN, DRAGINJA, 1953-1954., 149.

202 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 190.

203 The Art Society was founded around the time the Croatian-Hungarian Settlement was signed in 1868. On the basis of the Settlement, the state union was organised so that the Croatian and Hungarian national territories had a joint parliament and a joint government. As regards the parts that were not joined by the Settlement, each country governed independently. The government bodies for the territory of Croatia and Slavonia were the Parliament and the Land Government. The areas in which Croatia retained self-management were internal affairs (apart from citizenship issues), justice, religion and education. GOLDSTEIN, IVO, 2003, 189-191; MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2004, 59.

204 Izidor Kršnjavi presented the idea to establish the Art Society at a meeting with other dignitaries: Ljudevit Vukotinović, Franjo Rački, August Šenoa, Gjuro Deželić, Mato Mrazović, Ivan Kukuljević, et. On that occasion, the rules of the Society were also adopted, which were confirmed by a decision on April 21, 1870, KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1905, 236.

205 The first meeting that Kršnjavi called to establish the Society was held at the *Narodni dom*. Other dignitaries were invited, including Gjuro Deželić, Franjo Rački, the president of the Academy, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Dragutin Albrecht, Aleksandar Brdarić and others. The Art Society Rules were read and adopted at the second meeting on August 29. MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2004, 59.

izložbi, potporom umjetničkog obrta i umjetnika.²⁰³ Prvi predsjednik Društva bio je Ivan Buratti, a prvi članovi: Josip Ferdinand Devidé, Franjo Rački, M. Höngisberg, Janko Jurković, Ferdinand Quiquerez, kanonik Josip Lehpamer, Antun Lobmayer, Lacko Mrazović, A. Šanta, Rendić, a posao tajnika je preuzeo Isidor Kršnjavi.²⁰⁴ Društvo nije odmah po osnutku započelo s radom, nego nakon povratka Kršnjavija iz Italije u Zagreb 1878. godine.²⁰⁵ Jedna od prvih inicijativa Društva bilo je osnivanje Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt sa školom u kojoj bi se razvijao umjetnički obrt.²⁰⁶ Iste godine Kršnjavi započinje s predavanjima povijesti umjetnosti na Mudroslovnom fakultetu u Zagrebu u svojstvu izvanrednog profesora. Svoja predavanja koncipirao je po uzoru na svog profesora Rudolfa Eitelbergera, povezujući teoriju s terenskom praksom u muzejima i galerijama.²⁰⁷

U svrhu promicanja te ideje organizirana je izložba posvećena upoznavanju obrta. Izložba je otvorena 15. prosinca 1879. u Vranczyanyjevoj palači, a izložci su bili grupirani u osam tema: „*Graditeljske osnove, nacrti i modeli, Kiparske umjetnine, Slike i reprodukcije (oleografija, litografija, bakrorez, drvorez, fotografija, tiskovina, plastični uzorci za risanje i modeliranje), Tekstilna umjetnost (tkanine, veziva, čipke i nacrti), Umjetnine od kovine (željezo, bronca, srebro i zlato), Proizvodi lončarstva (majolika, fajansa, terakota, porculan, staklo), Proizvodi umjetnog stolarstva, tokarstva i rezbarstva, te Predmeti hrvatskog domaćeg obrta (Hrvatska, Slavonija, ponešto iz Dalmacije i Bosne)*“.²⁰⁸ Ubrzo nakon izložbe osno-

vani su Muzej za umjetnost i obrt (1880.) i Obrtna škola (1882.) s jasno definiranom svrhom očuvanja tradicionalnih vrijednosti narodnog obrta i senzibiliziranja građanskog društva prema kulturno-povijesnim vrijednostima i likovnoj kulturi.²⁰⁹

Društvo umjetnosti najavilo je godine 1887. da će se baviti istraživanjem spomenika i umjetničkog obrta te ih sakupljati za Muzej za umjetnost i obrt.²¹⁰ Biskup Strossmayer također je podržao Društvo i savjetovao svećenstvu da se oko restauriranja i nabave crkvenih umjetnina obrati Društvu.²¹¹

Dokaz povjerenja Društvu u vezi s brigom za spomenike daje godine 1880. i zagrebački nadbiskup Josip Mihalović koji je preporučio svećenicima da se učlane u Društvo umjetnosti jer je ono obećalo pomoć pri narudžbama i izvedbi crkvenih predmeta od umjetničke vrijednosti.²¹² Tajnik Društva i arhivist Ivan Bojničić predlagao je godine 1885. osnivanje crkvenog muzeja i proučavanje crkvene umjetnosti. Isticao je potrebu uzdržavanja, obnavljanja i čuvanja crkvenih umjetničkih spomenika u zbirkama.²¹³ Kršnjavi je od strane Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti sudjelovao u prijenosu zbirke umjetnina biskupa Strossmayera iz Đakova u Zagreb 1882., a od 1883. do 1886. godine obnašao je dužnost „*ravnatelja Akademijih sbirka slika i umjetnina*“.²¹⁴

Na svojim putovanjima Kršnjavi je pisao o potrebi obnove spomenika i zaštiti umjetnina, umjetničkih obrta kao i samih crkava, iako je primarni zadatak putovanja bilo sakupljanje umjetnina za obrtni muzej. U *Listovima iz Slavonije*²¹⁵ Kršnjavi bilježi spomenike s područja Slavonije, navodeći stanje crkava u Đakovu, Novoj Gradiški i Iloku. Pri obilasku Đakovačke katedrale bilježi:

„... *Biskupska i kanonička stolica izradjuju se od liepog hrastovog drva u samom Djakovu, dakako po nacrtih Schmidtovih.*

203 Isidor Kršnjavi iznio je ideju o osnivanju Društva umjetnosti na sastanku na koji su bili pozvani tadašnji uglednici: Ljudevit Vukotinić, Franjo Rački, August Šenoa, Gjuro Deželić, Mato Mrazović, Ivan Kukuljević i drugi. Tom prilikom su usvojena i pravila Društva koja su potvrđena rješenjem od 21. travnja 1870. KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1905., 236.

204 Prvi sastanak kojim Kršnjavi poziva na dogovor o osnivanju Društva održan je u Narodnom domu. Pozvani su tadašnji uglednici među kojima i Gjuro Deželić, predsjednik Akademije Franjo Rački, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Dragutin Albrecht, Aleksandar Brdarić i drugi. Pravila Društva umjetnosti pročitana su i usvojena na drugom sastanku 29. kolovoza. MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2004., 59.

205 I. Kršnjavi od 1872. do 1877. boravi u Italiji i bavi se slikarstvom. U Zagrebu je imenovan 1. studenom 1877. za sveučilišnog profesora te dolazi ubrzo nakon imenovanja. Nakon prvog predavanja započinje s inicijativom za pokretanje rada Društva. MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2004., 81; KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1905., 227.

206 Muzej za umjetnost i obrt utemeljen je po uzoru na Austrijski muzej za umjetnost i industriju; Kršnjavi ga osniva uz konzultacije s Eitelbergerom. JIRSAK, LIBUŠE, 2015., 295.

207 Više o tome: ALVIŽ, JOSIPA; NESTIĆ, JASMINA, 2015., 154.

208 MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009., 83.

209 MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009., 157. O Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt, osvrt više u: BACH, IVAN, 1939., 19.

210 MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009., 195.

211 VUJIĆ, ŽARKA, 1991.-1992., 46.

212 DOČKAL, KAMILO, 1944., 7.

213 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 1988., 211-212.

214 Više u: DULIBIĆ, LJERKA; PASINI TRŽEC, IVA, 2015., 170; Kršnjavi je uredio Strossmayerovu galeriju slika, a na trošak vlade nastavio je kupovati umjetnine. N. N. 1927.

215 KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1882.



6 Inauguracija biskupa Haulika, 1853. (MKM-SDKB-OGS)
Inauguration of the bishop Haulik, 1853 (MKM-SDKB-OGS)

Society did not become operational immediately after it was founded, but after Kršnjavi returned to Zagreb from Italy in 1878.²⁰⁶ One of the first initiatives of the Society was the establishment of the Museum of Arts and Crafts with a school in which artistic craftsmanship would be developed.²⁰⁷ In the same year, Kršnjavi began teaching art history at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb as an associate professor. He was influenced by his own professor Rudolf Eitelberger, who linked theory with field practice in museums and galleries.²⁰⁸

An exhibition devoted to introducing crafts was organized in order to promote this idea. The exhibition was opened on December 15, 1879 in the Vranyczany's Palace, and the exhibitions were divided into eight groups: "Building basics, sketches and models, sculptures, paintings and reproductions (oleography, lithography,

chalcography, woodcut, photography, prints, plastic samples for drawing and making models), Textile art (fabrics, binders, lace and designs), Metal art (iron, bronze, silver and gold), Pottery (majolica, faience, terracotta, porcelain, glass), Carpentry, turnery and carving art, and Local Croatian craftsmanship (Croatia, Slavonia, some items from Dalmatia and Bosnia).²⁰⁹ Shortly after the exhibition, the Museum of Arts and Crafts (1880) and the Crafts School (1882) were founded with a clearly defined purpose for preserving traditional values of folk craftsmanship and familiarising the general public with cultural and historic values, and visual culture.²¹⁰

In 1887, the Art Society announced that it would research monuments and art crafts, and collect them for the Museum of Arts and Crafts.²¹¹ Bishop Strossmayer also supported the Society, and advised the clergy to contact them regarding the restoration and procurement of church art.²¹²

Proof of trust in the Society regarding the care of monuments was also given in 1880 by Zagreb Archbishop Josip Mihalović, who recommended that the priests join the Art Society because it promised to assist them in the ordering and the production of church objects of artistic value.²¹³ In 1885, Ivan Bojničić, secretary and archivist of the Society, proposed the establishment of a church museum and the study of church art. He emphasized the need for maintenance, restoration and preservation of church art monuments in collections.²¹⁴ Kršnjavi, representing the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, participated in the transfer of Bishop Strossmayer's Art Collection from Đakovo to Zagreb in 1882, and from 1883 to 1886, performed the duty of "director of the Academy's collections of paintings and artworks".²¹⁵

206 From 1872 to 1877, I. Kršnjavi resided in Italy and painted. Soon after he was appointed a university professor in Zagreb on November 1, 1877, he returned. After the first lecture, he began the initiative to start the Society. MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2004, 81; KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1905, 227.

207 The Museum of Arts and Crafts is based on the Austrian Museum of Art and Industry, Kršnjavi founded it in consultation with Eitelberger. JIRSAK, LIBUŠE, 2015, 295.

208 More in: ALVIŽ, JOSIPA; NESTIĆ, JASMINA, 2015, 154.

209 MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009, 83.

210 MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009, 157; More on the Museum of Arts and Crafts in: BACH, IVAN, 1939, 19.

211 MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009, 195.

212 VUJIĆ, ŽARKA, 1991-1992, 46.

213 DOČKAL, KAMILO, 1944, 7.

214 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 1988, 211-212.

215 More in: DULIBIĆ, LJERKA; PASINI TRŽEC, IVA, 2015, 170; Kršnjavi organised Strossmayer's art gallery and continued to buy artwork at the expense of the government. N. N 1927.



7 Zagrebačka katedrala nakon potresa, 1880. (MKM-SDKB-OGS)
Zagreb Cathedral after the earthquake, 1880 (MKM-SDKB-OGS)

Nekoje su klupe već gotove. Velikim veseljem izričemo vriednim stolarom djakovačkim naše iskreno priznanje, još većim veseljem bilježimo, da se već sada mogu opaziti praktične posljedice takove gradnje na obrt, koji se najbolje razvija ondje, gdje se umjetnost goji. Vrata od hrastova drva također su u Djakovu načinjena...²¹⁶ Zatim u Novoj Gradiški: „... Razgledah crkvu u Gradištu, kao dosad svagdje, tražeć nebi li našao koju zanimivu starinu, ali je riedko gdje po crkvah u Krajini starinah...“²¹⁷ O crkvi u Iloku je napisao: „...Ovako važan spomenik, kakav je crkva u Iloku morao bi se spasiti, pa primjereno stilu crkve od vještačke ruke popraviti. U nas nema komisije za uzdržavanje i popravljanje starih spomenika, a morala bi se za ovo zemlja pobrinuti, jer se, što još imamo starih spomenikah, mora čuvati kao jedina baština iz prošlih vremena, kao narodno blago...“²¹⁸

Na putovanju po Dalmaciji Kršnjavi je također pregledavao i zapisivao umjetnine pa je u Dubrovniku zabilježio svoje impresije o skulpturi sv. Vlahu:

216 KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1882., 38.

217 KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1882., 64.

218 KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1882., 82.



8 Zagrebačka katedrala nakon restauracije (MKM-SDKB-OGS)
Zagreb Cathedral after restoration (MKM-SDKB-OGS)

„U crkvi sv. Vlahu doživio sam malo razočaranje. Po razpravama i ilustracijama držao sam uvijek, da je srebrna statua sv. Vlahu bar u životnoj veličini, kao srebrna statua sv. Ignatije Lojolskoga u Rimu. Radovao sam se, da ću iz bliza moći razgledati model grada Dubrovnika iz godine 1350., što ga taj svetac u ruci drži; a kad tamo, to je mala statueta, koja stoji tako visoko na oltaru, da se od tog modela nije moglo vidjeti baš ništa...“²¹⁹

Kršnjavi je imenovan izvanrednim profesorom Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, gdje je na Katedri za povijest umjetnosti predavao do 1896. godine.²²⁰ Svoju teoretsku raspravu Kršnjavi objavljuje u *Glavnim načelima gradjevne ljepote* u kojoj raspravlja o estetici i podrijetlu stila²²¹, polemizirajući s tada najpoznatijim europskim teoretičarom

219 KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1900., 46.

220 Kršnjavi je svoje prvo predavanje imao 11. ožujka 1878. pod nazivom *Znamenovanje poviesti i arkeologije umjetnosti*. ALVIŽ, JOSIPA; NESTIĆ, JASMINA, 2015., 157.

221 KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1883., 155-178.

On his travels, Kršnjavi wrote about the need for the restoration of monuments and the protection of works of art, crafts and churches, although his primary task was to collect art for the craft museum. In the book *Pages from Slavonia*²¹⁶, Kršnjavi lists monuments from Slavonia, citing the state of churches in Đakovo, Nova Gradiška and Ilok. While visiting the cathedral in Đakovo, he wrote:

*"...The bishop's and canonical chair are made out of fine oak wood in Đakovo, of course according to Schmidt's design. Some of the benches have already been made. With great joy, we express our sincere acknowledgment to the carpenters in Đakovo, and we are even more pleased to note that we can already see the practical consequences of this type of construction on crafts, which is best developed where art matures. The oak wood doors were also made in Đakovo..."*²¹⁷ In Nova Gradiška he wrote: *"...I inspected the church in Gradište, as before, looking for an interesting antique, but antiques are rare in churches in Krajina..."*²¹⁸ About the church in Ilok, he wrote: *"...Such an important monument like the church in Ilok should be saved, and based on the style of the church, it should be repaired by experts. We do not have a commission to maintain and repair old monuments, and the country should take care of it, because the old monuments that we still have, need to be protected, as the only heritage from the past, as national treasures..."*²¹⁹

During his trip to Dalmatia, Kršnjavi also inspected and recorded works of art, so in Dubrovnik he wrote about his impressions on the sculpture of St. Blaise: *"In the Church of St. Blaise, I was a little bit disappointed. Based on discussions and illustrations, I always thought that the silver statue of St. Blaise was at least life size like the silver statue of St. Ignatius of Loyola in Rome. I was looking forward to see up close the model of Dubrovnik from 1350, held by the saint in his hand; but it is a small statuette that is so high on the altar that nothing can be seen..."*²²⁰

216 Listovi iz Slavonije, KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1882.

217 KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1882, 38.

218 KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1882, 64.

219 KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1882, 82.

220 KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1900, 46.

Kršnjavi was appointed associate professor at the University of Zagreb, where he taught at the Department of Art History until 1896.²²¹ He published his theoretical discussion in the *Main Principles of Construction Aesthetics* in which he discussed the beauty and the origin of style²²², arguing with the most famous European art theoretician, Gottfried Semper. It should be noted that Kršnjavi accepted stylistic purist principles concerning the relationship to heritage, and supported the removal of Baroque inventory during the restoration of the Zagreb cathedral after the earthquake in 1880. Out of a total of 26 baroque altars, 16 were partly destroyed.²²³ Some altars were moved to other churches, and most paintings, sculptures and altars were lost (Fig. 6-8).

Monument protection in Croatia at the turn of the century

When the Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities ceased operations, the Art Society took over monument protection; however, there were also other initiatives related to the protection of movable art heritage and the establishment of the protection service in continental Croatia. One of the initiatives was taken after the earthquake in 1880, when Ljudevit Vukotinić and Josip Torbar²²⁴ were appointed by the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts to an expert committee to record the effects and consequences of the earthquake. Based on the location of items and damage, a questionnaire with eight questions was prepared, and the fourth question concerned damage to buildings. In answering this question, the respondents often provided information about the damage to the inventory and the equipment of castles, churches and the like. The description of the damage to the church in Remete stated: *"...The entire vault of the church collapsed and smashed the altars, benches and the organ..."*²²⁵ A detailed description

221 Kršnjavi had his first lecture, *Crossing History and Archaeology of Art (Znamenovanje poviesti i arkeologije umjetnosti)*, on March 11, 1878, ALVIŽ, JOSIPA; NESTIĆ, JASMINA, 2015, 157.

222 Glavna načela gradjevne ljepote, KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1883, 155-178.

223 DOČKAL, KAMILO, 1940, 11-20; MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009, 252.

224 Josip Torbar (1824-1900) naturalist, member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts.

225 TORBAR, JOSIP, 1882, 32.

umjetnosti Gottfriedom Semperom. Treba napomenuti da Kršnjavi prihvaća tadašnje stilski purističke principe odnosa prema baštini te prilikom restauriranja zagrebačke katedrale nakon potresa 1880. podržava uklanjanje baroknog inventara. Od ukupno 26 baroknih oltara 16 ih je dijelom uništeno.²²² Dio oltara bio je prenesen u druge crkve, a većina slika, skulptura i oltarnih pala je zagubljena (sl. 6-8).

Zaštita spomenika u Hrvatskoj na prijelazu stoljeća

Prestankom djelovanja Društva za pověstnicu, Društvo umjetnosti djelomično je preuzelo brigu oko zaštite spomenika, no postojale su i druge inicijative vezane uz zaštitu pokretne umjetničke baštine i uspostavu službe zaštite u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj. Jedna od inicijativa bila je nakon potresa 1880. godine kada su Ljudevit Vukotinović i Josip Torbar²²³ imenovani od JAZU-a u posebno stručno povjerenstvo u svrhu *zabilježbe* djelovanja i posljedica potresa. Na osnovi pozicije predmeta i oštećenja izrađena je anketa od osam pitanja, a četvrto se pitanje odnosilo na oštećenje zgrada. U odgovorima na to pitanje anketirani su često davali podatke i o štetama na inventaru i opremi dvoraca, crkava i drugom. U opisu štete na crkvi u Remetama navodi se: „... Čitav svod crkve srušio se i polupao oltare, klupe i orgulje...“²²⁴ Daje se i detaljan opis štete u crkvi sv. Katarine u Zagrebu: „... Do velikog oltara s desna (evangj. strana) bila na sjevernom zidu pribita slika sv. trojice do dva metra visoka i 1½ metra široka; ova je iztrgnuta i bačena pred veliki oltar do dva metra od zida. Dvie relikvije u monstrancijah do 40 cm visokih bačene s vel. oltara predanja zapadnim smjerom...“²²⁵ Kao rezultat rada povjerenstva godine 1882. objavljena je knjiga *Izvjješće o zagrebačkom potresu* Josipa Torbara.

Na Saborskoj sjednici održanoj 4. srpnja 1884. političar i književnik Franjo Arnold²²⁶ replicirao je u vezi prijedloga

o dodjeli izvanrednih sredstava za obnovu zagrebačke katedrale: „U drugim državama ne samo da postoje društva koja rade oko konserviranja i restauriranja spomenika nego ima i stalno namještenih činovnika za konserviranje historičkih spomenika, te je uvrštena stalna svota za restauriranje istih. To je učinjeno stoga, jer se konserviranje nemože uspješno unaprijediti, ako nije određen način i potrebna svota za konserviranje.“²²⁷ Iz govora može se uvidjeti upućenost u praksu zaštite spomenika drugih zemalja te da je postojao vrlo jasan stav o potrebi osnivanja službe zaštite kao i financiranja obnove spomenika. U to vrijeme jedino tijelo kojem su se župnici mogli obratiti za pomoć bio je Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu kr. Zemaljske vlade. Odjel je u nadležnosti imao izgradnju, popravke, adaptaciju i unutrašnje opremanje sakralnih građevina i nastavnih zavoda.²²⁸

Od 1891. do 1896. Kršnjavi je imenovan predstojnikom *Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu kr. Zemaljske vlade* te je osiguravao izvanredna sredstva za obnovu crkvenih spomenika. Zalagao se da crkve opremaju umjetnici i dobri majstori, a ne da se poslovi daju nestručnim majstorima. Njegovo djelovanje pretežno je bilo usmjereno na baštinu u cjelini, s naglaskom na obrtničke predmete. Tijekom rada nije bio usmjeren na zaštitu spomenika u smislu sustavne inventarizacije, nego je svojim zalaganjem za očuvanje i razvoj obrta pridonio i zaštiti pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta. Ipak, u njegovom djelu *Pogled na razvoj hrvatske umjetnosti u moje doba* nailazimo na nekoliko primjera pokušaja zaštite pokretnog inventara crkve u Vrbovcu ili predmeta iz Riznice zagrebačke katedrale.²²⁹

Utjecaj Obrtne škole i Kršnjavija nastavlja se i nakon odlaska Kršnjavija iz *Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu*, a većina odgovora na pristigle dopise župnika usmjerena je na zaštitu dotrajalog crkvenog inventara ili pomoć domaćih obrtnika u izradi novih. Jedan je od takvih primjera zahtjev crkve iz Požege o dodjeli financijskih sredstava za nabavu glavnog i dvaju bočnih oltara iz Tirola (Ulrich-Gröden). Zemaljska vlada nije odobrila sredstva te je preporučila narudžbu kod domaćih obrtnika. Tlocrt

222 DOČKAL, KAMILO, 1940., 11-20; MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009., 252.

223 Josip Torbar (1824. – 1900.), prirodoslovac, član JAZU-a.

224 TORBAR, JOSIP, 1882., 32.

225 TORBAR, JOSIP, 1882., 4.

226 Franjo Arnold bio je jedan od glavnih suradnika Jubilarne gospodarsko-šumarske izložbe u Zagrebu 1891. godine. ARČABIĆ, GORAN, 2007., 28.

227 Kronološki i alfabetski našastari k stenografskim zapisnicima sabora 1881. – 1884., str. 1460.

228 MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009., 192.

229 KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1905.

of the damage in the church of St. Catherine in Zagreb was provided: "...Next to the high altar on the right (Evangelist side), on the north wall, there was a nailed painting of the Holy Trinity 2 m tall and 1,5 m wide; it was ripped out and thrown in front of the high altar 2 meters from the wall. Two relics in monstrance up to 40 cm tall were thrown from the high altar to the west..."²²⁶ In 1882, as a result of the committee's work, the book *Report on the Zagreb Earthquake* by Josip Torbar was published in Zagreb.

At the Parliamentary session held on July 4, 1884, in connection with the proposal for granting emergency funding for the reconstruction of the cathedral in Zagreb, politician and writer Franjo Arnold²²⁷ replied: "In other countries, not only are there societies that work on the conservation and restoration of monuments, but there are permanently employed clerks for the conservation of historical monuments, and a set of funds for their restoration is included. This is done because conservation can only be successfully improved if the means and necessary funds are defined."²²⁸ From this speech, it is clear that he was informed about the practice of monument protection in other countries, and that there was a very clear opinion about the need to establish a protection service and funding for monument restoration. At the time, the only institution that parishioners could turn to for help was the Department of Religion and Education of the Royal Land Government. The Department was in charge of building, repairing, adapting and providing furnishings for sacral buildings and educational institutions.²²⁹

From 1891 to 1896, Kršnjavi was appointed head of the *Department of Religion and Education of the Royal Land Government* and provided emergency funds for the reconstruction of church monuments. He advocated the idea that churches should be furnished by artists and good craftsmen, and not by unskilled workers. His activity was mainly directed at heritage as a whole, with

an emphasis on craftsmanship. During his work, he did not focus on monument protection in terms of systematic inventory, but through his advocacy for the preservation and development of crafts, he thereby contributed to the protection of movable art. Nevertheless, in his book, *Review of the Development of Croatia Art in my Time*, there are several examples of attempts to protect inventory from the church in Vrbovec, or the objects from the treasury of the Zagreb cathedral.²³⁰

The influence of the Crafts School and Kršnjavi continued after he left the Department of Religion and Education, and most responses to the correspondence of the parish priests were focused on the protection of worn out church inventory or the assistance of local craftsmen in the creation of new ones. One of these examples is the request from the Požega church for funding for the main and two side altars from Tyrol (Ulrich-Gröden). The Land Government did not approve the funds and recommended the altar be made by local craftsmen. The ground plan was to be made by the Construction Department of the Royal Land Government, *civilian* architect V. Kraster (?), who needed to consult with parishioners and the parish priest regarding figural ornaments, and to which saints in the paintings and statues they should be dedicated.²³¹

Josip Brunšmid, director of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, had a significant role in the institutional development of monument protection at the end of the 19th century. First as a curator, then as a director, he travelled to explore archaeological sites. At the same time, he recorded immovable and movable monuments and wrote down interesting facts about the regions he visited. He bought some items for the museum. In 1894, he inspected museums in Pula and Zadar. In the Trsat Museum, he reviewed and evaluated Laval Nugent's collection. He travelled to the Croatian Littoral and Dalmatia. He met with Frane Bulić in Split, and participated in the evaluation of the numismatic col-

226 TORBAR, JOSIP, 1882, 4.

227 Franjo Arnold was one of the main associates of the Jubilee Exhibition of Economy and Forestry, in Zagreb in 1891. ARČABIĆ, GORAN, 2007, 28.

228 „Kronološki i alfabetički našastari k stenografičkim zapisnicima sabora“, 1881-1884, p 1460.

229 MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009, 192.

230 Pogled na razvoj hrvatske umjetnosti u moje doba, KRŠNJAVI, ISIDOR, 1905.

231 Croatian – State Archives in Zagreb, Box 1898, 1-35, no. 31/1898.

je trebao izraditi Građevni odjel kr. zemaljske vlade, *civilni* arhitekt V. Kraster (?), s tim da se trebao raspitati kod župljana i župnika u pogledu figuralnih ukrasa te kojim je svetcima oltar trebao biti posvećen zbog slika i kipova.²³⁰

Značajnu ulogu u institucionalnom razvoju zaštite spomenika krajem 19. stoljeća imao je ravnatelj Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu Josip Brunšmid. Prvo kao kustos, potom kao ravnatelj odlazio je na putovanja u svrhu istraživanja arheoloških lokaliteta, a ujedno je popisivao nepokretne i pokretne spomenike te zapisivao zanimljivosti određenog kraja. Neke predmete otkupljivao je za muzej. Pregledavao je muzeje u Puli i Zadru 1894. godine. U Trsatskom muzeju pregledao je i procijenio zbirku Lavala Nugenta. Na putovanja odlazi u Primorje i Dalmaciju. U Splitu se susreće s Franom Bulićem i sudjeluje u procjeni numizmatičke zbirke.²³¹ Pokretne je predmete (većinom liturgijske) opisivao, datirao, mjerio, skicirao i procjenjivao njihovu vrijednost. Brunšmid piše 1907. godine dopis pod naslovom *Spomenika historijskih čuvanje* upućen Kraljevskoj zemaljskoj vladi, Odjelu za bogoštovlje i nastavu.²³² Navedeni dopis bio je ustvari proglas za osnivanje budućeg *Zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*. U njemu su navedeni svi dopisi koji su upućeni od strane *Ravnateljstva Arheološkog odjela narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu* Kraljevskoj zemaljskoj vladi, Odjelu za bogoštovlje i nastavu od 1884. do 1907. godine, a odnose se na uspostavu službe zaštite spomenika i izvještaje o uništavanju spomenika. U ovom radu izdvojeni su dopisi koji se odnose na pokušaj uspostavljanja službe zaštite; Ravnateljstvo upućuje dopis od 29. svibnja 1898. u kojem preporučuje da se u svrhu *sačuvanja* historijskih spomenika ustanovi *permanentna komisija* i da se izdaju shodne odredbe.²³³ U dopisu od 26. lipnja 1899. dostavljaju se međunarodne odredbe o čuvanju historijskih spomenika i pravila Hrvatskoga arheološkog

društva uz uvjet kako bi to društvo moglo preuzeti *brigu oko čuvanja starih spomenika*.²³⁴ Nadalje, u dopisu od 14. studenoga 1904. na traženi popis spomenika u županiji Ravnateljstvo odgovara da se popis ne može dati jer ne postoje *predradnje iz kojih bi se moglo crpiti*. Ponovno se naglašava da se treba izdati *zakon o zaštiti i čuvanju domaćih spomenika i da se osnuje permanentna komisija za istraživanje i njihovo čuvanje*.²³⁵ Zatim se navodi dopis Kraljevske zemaljske vlade od 21. prosinca 1906. u kojem se dostavlja popis *starinskih spomenika* sastavljen od županijskih oblasti od kojih bi trebalo izabrati one koji zahtijevaju posebnu brigu i da se *opiše njihova historijska vrijednost*.²³⁶ Kraljevska zemaljska vlada u dopisu od 3. ožujka 1907. traži popis spomenika kulturne, historijske i druge vrijednosti koje bi trebao pregledati stručnjak da se može ustanoviti treba li se čuvati ili ne.

Brunšmid na posljednji navedeni dopis iznosi svoje mišljenje o ulozi uprave zemaljskog muzeja u zaštiti spomenika, navodeći da jedino Hrvatska i Slavonija u cijeloj Habsburškoj Monarhiji ne posjeduju komisiju za čuvanje spomenika (kao primjer navodi Središnje povjerenstvo u Beču i Zemaljski odbor za umjetničke spomenike u Budimpešti). Osvrće se i na županijske popise spomenika koji bi se, po njegovom mišljenju, mogli razvrstati u četiri kategorije. Smatra da je jedini preduvjet za *koristan rad oko čuvanja (nepomičnih i pomičnih) historičkih spomenika* osnivanje od *vlade ovisne permanentne komisije* koja bi radila na *modernim načelima „Denkmalpflege“* te navodi da će se rado *podvrći zadaći da koncipira osnovu statuta za komisiju i za zakon o čuvanju spomenika koji pravnički stručnjaci onda mogu revidirati*.²³⁷ Navedeni dopis Kr. zemaljskoj vladi važan je iz nekoliko razloga; prije svega, zalaže se za osnivanje komisije kao zasebnog tijela, ali neposredno pod ingerencijom vlade, što govori o Brunšmidovoj svjesnosti da jedino komisija osnovana uz potporu države i u njenoj nadležnosti može imati potrebni autoritet, a time i financijska sredstva. Rad komisije obuhvatio je zaštitu pokretnih i nepokretnih spomenika i to na principima tadašnje suvremene prakse Dvořáka

230 Hrvatski (dalje HR)-Državni arhiv u Zagrebu (dalje DAZG) Kutija 1898, 1-35, pod brojem 31/1898.

231 SOLTER, ANA, 2016., 87-94.

232 Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu (dalje: AMZ) Broj 34/1907. od 18. ožujka 1907. Na navedeni dokument uputila me voditeljica dokumentacije Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu Ana Solter te joj ovom prilikom zahvaljujem.

233 AMZ Broj 207 od 29. svibnja 1898.

234 AMZ Broj 247 od 26. lipnja 1899.

235 AMZ Broj 480 od 14. studenoga 1904.

236 AMZ Broj 11-572/1906-2 od 21. prosinca 1906.

237 AMZ Broj 34/1907. od 18. ožujka 1907.

lection.²³² He described, dated, measured, sketched and evaluated the value of (mostly liturgical) movable items. In 1907, Brunšmid wrote a letter *Protection of historical monuments* to the Royal Land Government, Department of Religion and Education.²³³ The aforementioned letter was in fact a decree for the establishment of a future *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia*. It listed all the letters sent by the Directorate of the Archaeological Department of the National Museum in Zagreb to the Royal Land Government, Department of Religion and Education from 1884 to 1907, concerning the establishment of a monument protection service and reports on the destruction of monuments. It singled out all letters concerning the attempt to establish a protection service; the Directorate sent letter number 207 on May 29, 1898, in which it recommended that a *permanent commission* should be established for the purpose of *preserving* historical monuments and to issue relevant provisions. In letter 247 from June 26, 1899, international provisions on the preservation of historical monuments and rules of the Croatian Archaeological Society were delivered with the condition that the society take over the *preservation of the old monuments*. In letter number 480 from November 14, 1904, the Directorate replied to the request for a list of monuments in the county that it could not provide a list because there were no *preliminary actions to draw it from*. It was further emphasized that there should be *a law on the protection and preservation of national monuments and that a permanent commission for research and their preservation should be established*. The Royal Land Government's letter from December 21, 1906, which contained a list of *ancient monuments* drawn up by *county governments* to choose the ones that required special care and *describe their historical value* is also mentioned. The Royal Land Government, in a letter dated March 3, 1907, asked for a list of monuments of cultural, historical and other value to be reviewed by an expert to determine if they should be protected or not.

232 SOLTER, ANA, 2016, 87-94.

233 Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (AMZ) Number 34/1907, March 18, 1907. I was told about the document by Ana Solter, Head of the Documentation Department at the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, and I would like to use this occasion to thank her.

Brunšmid gave his opinion on the last letter regarding the role of the national museum in protecting monuments, stating that Croatia and Slavonia were the only ones in the entire Habsburg Monarchy without a commission to preserve monuments (as cited by the Central Commission in Vienna and the National Committee for Art Monuments in Budapest). He also referred to the county's list of monuments which, in his opinion, could be divided into four categories. He thought that the only precondition for the *useful work of preserving (immovable and movable) historical monuments was the establishment of a government-dependent permanent committee* that would work on *modern principles of "Denkmalpflege"* and stated that he would be happy to *undertake the task of drawing up the basis of the bylaws for the commission and the law on monument protection which legal professionals could then revise*.²³⁴ The aforementioned letter to the Land Government is important for several reasons. First of all, it was committed to establishing the commission as a separate body, but directly under the government's control, signifying Brunšmid was aware that only a commission established with the support of the government and within its competencies could have the necessary authority and funding. The work of the commission included the protection of movable and immovable monuments on the principles of contemporary practices of Dvořák and Riegl. And lastly, adopting a law on monument protection that would be based on professional basis/experience, but handled with legal aid.

In Zagreb, in 1906, the controversy surrounding the collapse of Lotrščak Tower and the Tower above the *Stone Gate* also encouraged the development of conservation to preserve historical monuments in Croatia and Slavonia. On March 20, 1907, encouraged by these events, Emil Laszowski²³⁵ and the Brethren of the Croatian Dragon concluded that it was necessary to adopt a law on monument protection: *"The Grand Master reminds us of the sad fact that more and more of our old historic fortresses, silent witnesses to the glorious past of the Cro-*

234 AMZ No. 34/1907, March 18, 1907.

235 Emil Laszowski (1868-1949), historian and archivist.

i Riegla. I posljednje, donošenje zakona o zaštiti koji bi počivao na stručnim osnovama/iskustvima, ali dorađen uz pravnu pomoć.

Polemika koja se razvila oko rušenja Kule Lotršćak i Kule nad Kamenitim vratima također je potakla razvoj konzervatorske misli za očuvanje povijesnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji 1906. godine. Potaknuti navedenim događajima Emil Laszowski²³⁸ i Družba Braće hrvatskog Zmaja 20. ožujka 1907. zaključili su da je nužno donošenje zakona o zaštiti: „*Vel. Meštar napominje žalosnu činjenicu, kako sve više iščezavaju i nestaju s lica zemlje stare historijske naše gradine, ti nijemi svjedoci slavne prošlosti hrvatskog naroda. U drugim kulturnim zemljama postoje zakoni o čuvanju historijskih spomenika, a kod nas postoje za to tek nekoje manjkave naredbe. Drži, da bi si u tome radu zmajska družba mogla osvjetlati lice, kada bi sporazumno sa arheološkim društvom podnijela hrvat. Saboru peticiju, da se za Hrvatsku i Slavoniju izda posebni zakon za čuvanje historijskih spomenika! Predlaže stoga, da se iz družbe izabere za to posebni odbor i to braća: Senjski, Kninski, Brloški, Klokočki, Budnjanski i Jadranski (dr. Gruber, dr. Bojničić, Laszowski, dr. Deželić, Barle i Širola), kojim bi predsjedao poznati arheolog dr. Josip Brunšmid.*“²³⁹ Laszowski je svoju zamisao ostvario tri godine kasnije u vrijeme banovanja Nikole Tomašića.

Zemaljsko povjerenstvo za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji od 1910. do 1918.

Dana 16. veljače 1910. Emil Laszowski je bio u audijenciji kod bana, kojemu je skrenuo pozornost na potrebu donošenja zakona i osnivanja državne ustanove za zaštitu povijesnih spomenika. Ban Nikola Tomašić prihvatio je prijedlog te ga je već sutradan Laszowski posjetio s Tadijom Smičiklasom²⁴⁰ i Josipom Brunšmidom. Ban je predložio da sastave i upute Vladi prijedlog zakona. Zakon nije donio Hrvatski sabor, nego Zemaljska vlada, Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu na temelju rješenja Franje

Josipa I.²⁴¹ od 20. srpnja 1910. Vlada je donijela naredbu br. 18.936 od 30. kolovoza 1910. kojom je proglasila osnivanje i statut *Zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji* (u daljnjem tekstu Povjerenstvo).²⁴²

U Statutu Povjerenstva bili su zacrtani ciljevi, dužnosti i svrha Povjerenstva. Prema statutu Povjerenstvo je trebalo poticati zanimanje, proučavanje i čuvanje umjetničkih i historijskih spomenika u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji. Zemaljsko je povjerenstvo bilo pod neposrednim nadzorom i pokroviteljstvom bana Kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije. Povjerenstvo se prema Statutu trebalo baviti arhitektonskim i umjetničkim predmetima od prapovijesti do kraja 18. stoljeća. Sastojalo se od predsjednika i devet članova podijeljenih u tri odsjeka. Korespondencija odsjeka i konzervatora odvijala se samo preko Povjerenstva. U posebnim slučajevima na prijedlog predsjednika ili člana Povjerenstvo se moglo proširiti s jednim stručnjakom ili s više njih. Članovi povjerenstva mogli su biti stručnjaci u područjima likovnih umjetnosti, arheologije i povijesti. Imenovao ih je ban na prijedlog predsjednika na pet godina, no nisu primali ni plaću ni nagradu. Predsjednika je imenovalo *Njegovo cesarsko i kraljevsko apostolsko Veličanstvo kralj na prijedlog bana*. Predsjednik je predsjedavao svim sjednicama, a ako je bio spriječen zastupao ga je član povjerenstva kojega je on odredio. U slučaju jednakog broja glasova pri izglasavanju odlučivao je predsjednik. Banu je podastirao prijedloge Povjerenstva, a ban ga je obavještavao o odredbama donesenim temeljem tih prijedloga. Povjerenstvo je na terenu djelovalo pomoću konzervatora koje je imenovao ban na prijedlog predsjednika na razdoblje od pet godina. Krajem svake godine povjerenstvo je podnosilo banu izvještaj koji se morao publicirati. Imenovani konzervator dobivao je iskaznicu s navedenim područjem za koje je bio nadležan i pečat²⁴³ (sl. 9, 10).

238 Emil Laszowski (1868. – 1949.), povjesničar i arhivist.

239 PETKOVIĆ, MILOVAN, 2000., 166-167.

240 Tadija Smičiklas (1843. – 1914.), političar i povjesničar.

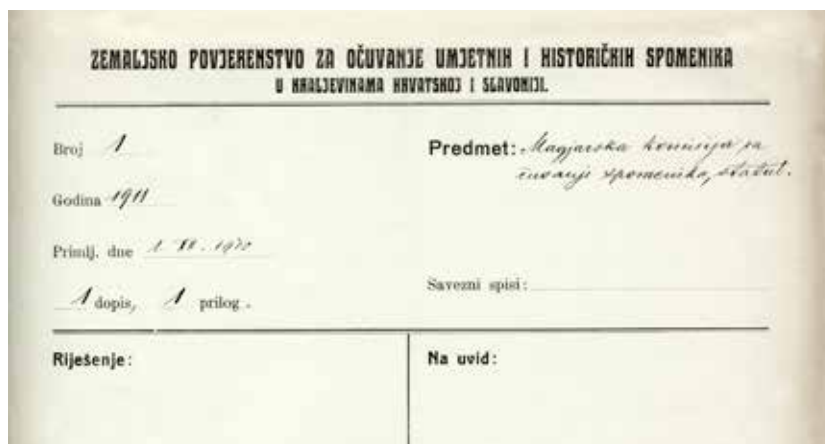
241 Franjo Josip I. (1830. – 1916.), austrijski car, ugarsko-hrvatski i češki kralj.

242 PETKOVIĆ, MILOVAN, 2000., 166-167.

243 Objavljeno: Sbornik zakona i naredba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, 1910., komad XI, broj 77., od 30. kolovoza 1910. pod brojem 18.936, str. 1137.



9 Pečat Zemaljskog povjerenstva (MKM-SDKB-ZP s.a.)
Signet of The Land Office (MKM-SDKB-ZP s.a.)



10 Uruđbena košuljica Zemaljskog povjerenstva (MKM-SDKB-ZP)
Official file of The Land Office (MKM-SDKB-ZP)

tian people, vanish and disappear from the face of the earth. In other cultural countries, there are laws for the protection of historical monuments, and we have only some inefficient orders. Keep in mind that in this work, the Dragon Brethren could prove themselves, if they would submit, together with the archaeological society, a petition to the Parliament to issue a special law for the protection of historical monuments for Croatia and Slavonia! He suggests, therefore, a special committee to be elected with brethren Senjski, Kninski, Brloški, Klokočki, Budjan and Jadranski (Dr. Gruber, Dr. Bojničić, Laszowski, Dr. Deželić, Barle and Širola) presided over by the famous archeologist Dr. Josip Brunšmid.²³⁶ Laszowski formulated his idea three years later at the time of Ban Nikola Tomašić.

The Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in Croatia and Slavonia from 1910 to 1918

On February 16, 1910, Laszowski visited Ban Tomašić and drew his attention to the need for a law and a state institution for the protection of historical monuments. Ban Nikola Tomašić accepted the proposal, and Laszowski returned the next day with Tadija Smičiklas²³⁷ and Josip Brunšmid. Ban suggested they

formulate and send the Government a proposal for the law. The law was not passed by the Croatian Parliament, but by the Land Government, Department of Religion and Education, based on the decision of Franz Joseph I²³⁸ on July 20, 1910. The Government issued an order on August 30, 1910, declaring the establishment and statute of the Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia (hereinafter: The Land Office).²³⁹

The Statute contained the goals, duties and purpose of the Office. According to the Statute, the Land Office was supposed to encourage the interest, study and protection of art and historical monuments in Croatia and Slavonia. The Land Office was under the direct supervision and sponsorship of the Ban of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. According to the Statute, the Land Office needed to deal with architectural and artistic items from prehistory until the end of the 18th century. It had a president and nine members divided into three departments.

²³⁶ PETKOVIĆ, MILOVAN, 2000, 166-167.

²³⁷ Tadija Smičiklas (1843-1914), politician and historian.

²³⁸ Franz Joseph I (1830 – 1916), Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia.

²³⁹ Order no. 18936 on August 30, 1910; PETKOVIĆ, MILOVAN, 2000, 166-167.



11 Tadija Smičiklas, predsjednik Povjerenstva, 1866. (foto: Pommer, MKM-SDKB-F, br. neg. 1732)

Tadija Smičiklas, President of The Land Office, 1866 (photo: Pommer, MKM-SDKB-F, No. 1732)



12 Gjuro Szabo, tajnik Povjerenstva (MKM-SDKB-ZP)

Gjuro Szabo, Secretary of The Land Office (MKM-SDKB-ZP)

Uz Statut, osnovu za rad Povjerenstva za područje Hrvatske²⁴⁴ i Slavonije činio je *Naputak za konzervatore zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje umjetnih i historijskih spomenika u kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*.²⁴⁵ *Naputak* ima šesnaest točaka kojima se određuje djelokrug Povjerenstva prema kotarevima i po strukama. Predsjednik potpisuje svu korespondenciju koju obavlja tajnik. Ujedno je *Naputkom* i potvrđena dužnost tajnika. Prema *Naputku* dužnost konzervatora bila je sprječavanje oštećenja, pregradnje i raznošenja spomenika. U slučaju uništavanja spomenika konzervator je bio dužan dokumentirati oštećenje (fotografirati, precrtati i izmjeriti) te o njemu izvijestiti Povjerenstvo. U hitnim slučajevima trebalo je izravno obavijestiti Kr. zemaljsku vladu.²⁴⁶

244 Područje Hrvatske bez Dalmacije i Istre, koje su bile u sastavu Austrije.

245 Ministarstvo kulture – Uprava za zaštitu kulturne baštine – Zemaljsko povjerenstvo (dalje: MKM-SDKB-ZP). *Naputak* je ban potvrdio 24. lipnja 1911. pod brojem 12.896.

246 Povjerenstvo nije bilo u mogućnosti imenovati konzervatore u svim mjestima; stoga je *Naputak* prosljeđen *pučkim učiteljima* i za tu priliku je tiskan uz obrazloženje u 1400 primjeraka. U obrazloženju je navedena i svrha: „...da gospoda pučki učitelji budu upućeni u zadaću i ciljeve povjerenstva, jer će oni ne samo moći u školi upozoravati na to, da narodni muzej sabire i kupuje starine, nego će i po neprestanom doticaju s narodom moći lakše saznati za koji nalaz i o tom podnijeti izvještaj...“

MKM-SDKB-ZP pod brojem 35 od 10. kolovoza 1911., dopis potpisuje Josip Brunšmid.

Ban Nikola Tomašić je na prijedlog Povjerenstva od 8. prosinca 1910., a na temelju članka 6. statuta, imenovao devet članova Povjerenstva za razdoblje od 1911. do 1915.: prebendara prvostolne crkve Janka Barlèa, povjesničara i arhivista Ivana Bojničića, sveučilišnog profesora i ravnatelja Arheološkog muzeja Josipa Brunšmida, arheologa Viktora Hoffillera, sveučilišnog profesora povjesničara Vjekoslava Klaića, tajnika Kraljevske zemaljske vlade Emila Laszowskog, sveučilišnog profesora i tajnika Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti Gavru Manojlovića, arhitekta Ivu Pilara i plaškog episkopa Ilariona Zeremskog, a Tadija Smičiklas bio je prvi predsjednik²⁴⁷ (sl. 11). Tajnikom Povjerenstva imenovan je Gjuro Szabo²⁴⁸ (sl. 12), profesor Kraljevske gornjogradske gimnazije u Zagrebu. Arheološki odjel Narodnog muzeja ustupio je prostoriju za održavanje sjednica Povjerenstva i za obavljanje tajničkih poslova.

Povjerenstvo je za konzervatore predložilo 19 stručnjaka iz vjerskih zajednica, muzeja, arhiva i sveučilišta. Ban Nikola Tomašić je 11. srpnja 1911. umjesto predloženih stručnjaka imenovao režimске ljude. Smičiklas je pisanim

247 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis od 10. prosinca 1910.

248 Gjuro Szabo (1875. – 1943.), germanist, muzeolog, konzervator.

The correspondence between the department and conservators went through the Land Office. In special cases, at the proposal of the President or a member, the Land Office could be supplemented with one or more experts. Land Office members could be experts in the fields of art, archaeology and history. They were appointed by the Ban for a period of five years, but they did not receive a salary or compensation. The President was appointed by *His Royal Imperial Apostolic Majesty the King, based on the recommendation of the Ban*. The President presided over all sessions, and if he could not attend, he was represented by a member of the Land Office he had appointed. In case of an equal number of votes, the President decided. He submitted proposals of the Land Office to the Ban, who informed him of the provisions made, based on those proposals. In the field, the Land Office operated through conservators appointed by the Ban on the President's suggestion for a five-year term. At the end of each year, the Land Office submitted a report to the Ban that had to be published. Appointed conservators received an identity card with the area they were in charge of, and a stamp²⁴⁰ (Fig. 9, 10).

Along with the Statute, the basis for the work of the Land Office for the territory of Croatia²⁴¹ and Slavonia was the *Instruction for Conservators of the Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia*.²⁴² It had sixteen points to determine the purview of the Land Office towards districts, and by profession. The President signed all correspondence carried out by the secretary. The Instruction also listed the duties of the secretary. The duty of conservators was to prevent damage, remodelling and removal of monuments. In the case of destruction of a monument, conservators were obliged to document the damage (take photographs,

draw and measure), and inform the Land Office thereof. In urgent cases, it was necessary to inform the Royal Land Government.²⁴³

At the proposal of the Land Office dated December 8, 1910, based on article 6 of the Statute, Ban Nikola Tomašić nominated nine members of the Land Office for the period from 1911 to 1915: Janko Barlè, prebendary of the cathedral; Ivan Bojničić, historian and archivist; Josip Brunšmid, university professor and director of the Archaeological Museum; archaeologist Viktor Hof-filler; Vjekoslav Klaić, university professor and historian; Emil Laszowski, secretary of the Royal Land Government; Gavro Manojlović, university professor and secretary of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts; architect Ivo Pilar and Ilarion Zeremski, bishop of Plaški; and Tadija Smičiklas was the first president²⁴⁴ (Fig. 11). Professor at the Royal Upper Town Grammar School in Zagreb, Gjuro Szabo, was appointed secretary of the Land office²⁴⁵ (Fig. 12). The Archaeological Department of the National Museum gave the Land Office a room for holding sessions and performing secretarial duties.

For conservators, the Land Office suggested 19 experts from religious communities, museums, archives and universities. On July 11, 1911, Ban Nikola Tomašić appointed people from the regime instead of the proposed experts. Smičiklas warned Ban Tamašević in writing that he had violated point 9 of the statute:

"The Ban appoints the conservators based on the suggestion of the Land Office for a five-year term. Based on one point of the statute, the president should be notified of the change of proposal, and who in this case, was as surprised

240 Published: *Sbornik zakona i naredba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, 1910, komad XI, no 77, August 30, 1910, under number 18.936, p. 1137.

241 The area of Croatia without Dalmatia and Istria, which was part of Austria.

242 Ministry of Culture – Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage – National Commission (hereinafter: MKM-SDKB-ZP), Instruction confirmed by the Ban on June 24, 1911 number 12.896.

243 The Land Office was not able to appoint conservators in every area; hence the Instruction was passed on to the local teachers and for that occasion, it was printed with an explanation in 1400 copies. The explanation also stated the purpose: "... that gentlemen teachers were informed about the mission and objectives of the land office, because they will not only be able to alert people about it in school that the national museum is collecting and purchasing antiquities, but by being in constant contact with the people, will be able to more easily find out about possible finds and submit a report ..." MKM-SDKB-ZP under number 35, August 10, 1911, signed by Josip Brunšmid.

244 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter, December 10, 1910.

245 Gjuro Szabo (1875-1943), German language scholar, museologist, conservator.



13 Putni račun Gjure Szaba za putovanje u Beč, Prag i Budimpeštu, 1911. (MKM-SDKB-ZP)

Gjuro Szabo's travel bill for trip to Vienna, Prague and Budapest, 1911 (KMK-SDKB-ZP)

podneskom upozorio bana Tomaševića da je povrijedio točku 9 statuta:

„konzervatore imenuje ban na prijedlog povjerenstva na vrijeme od 5 godina. Jer prema točki 7. statuta da se o promjeni prijedloga ima obavijestiti predsjednik koji je u ovom slučaju bio iznenađen jednako kao i svaki drugi član komisije. Vaša preuzvišenost nije imenovala sedmoricu od naših devetnaest predložnika.“²⁴⁹

Povjerenstvo se uspjelo izboriti za svoje kandidate 11. ožujka 1912. U srpnju 1911. konzervatorima Povjerenstva imenovani su: Nikola Abaffy, Giga Avakumović, Stjepan pl. Belošević, Dimitrija Branković, Antun Bukvić,

²⁴⁹ MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 43 od 16. srpnja 1911.

Vjekoslav Celestin, Gustav Fleischer, Robert Frangeš i Radoslav Franjetić.

Gjuro Szabo je od 1. veljače 1911. obnašao dužnost *tajnika* u Povjerenstvu koja je prema statutu uključivala uredsko i novčano poslovanje Povjerenstva, korespondenciju, vođenje urudžbenog zapisnika i blagajničkih dnevnika Povjerenstva, sastavljanje službenih izvještaja te stručna putovanja. Izvještaji s putovanja publicirani su u *Vjesniku Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*. Tajnik je bio dužan svake godine sastaviti glavni godišnji izvještaj o cjelokupnom djelovanju Povjerenstva.²⁵⁰ U početku je rad bio intenzivan, svakih nekoliko dana.²⁵¹ Povjerenstvo je uspjelo ishoditi od ugarskog Ministra trgovine oslobođenje od plaćanja poštarine, a članovi su imali besplatan prijevoz željeznicom.²⁵²

S namjerom da se upozna s djelatnošću čuvanja spomenika Szabo je otputovao u Beč i Budimpeštu prema nalogu predsjednika Povjerenstva Smičiklase²⁵³ (sl. 13). U Beč je otputovao 6. veljače 1911., gdje je posjetio *Središnje povjerenstvo*, zatim Dvorsku knjižnicu, Društvo arhitekata, a na kraju vladinog savjetnika, profesora i ravnatelja Akademije lijepih umjetnosti u Beču Eduarda Gerischa. U vrijeme Szabovog posjeta Gerisch se bavio restauriranjem slika za gradski muzej. O Središnjem povjerenstvu Szabo je napisao: „...nu kako je ondje pred kratko vrijeme uvedeno novo poslovanje, koje još nije ni odobreno ni pokušano, to mu se nije mogao dati ondje uvid u to novo poslovanje. Nu uza sve to zavirio je potpisani i pravi vjerojatni razlog otklona. Bečka je komisija skroz na skroz birokratski uređjena: predsjednik i dva pol predsjednika upravljaju po

²⁵⁰ MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 30.215./1910., od 15. prosinca 1910. Dio teksta koji se odnosi na rad Gjure Szaba na zaštiti pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta prezentiran je na stručno-znanstvenom skupu 2015. godine i objavljen u Zborniku radova sa stručno-znanstvenog skupa *Gjuro Szabo 1875.-1943. godine* nakon službene predaje doktorske disertacije u postupak obrane. JURANOVIĆ-TONEJC, MARTINA, 2018., 77-88.

²⁵¹ Prva sjednica Povjerenstva održana je 11. siječnja 1911., a već 12. siječnja 1911. i druga.

²⁵² MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 15 od 30. studenog 1911. Povjerenstvo je od Kr. ugarskog Ministra trgovine bilo oslobođeno od plaćanja poštarine: „U poslu umjetnina prosto od poštarine“.

²⁵³ MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 10 od 31. siječnja 1911.

as every other member of the commission. Your Eminence did not appoint seven of our nineteen suggested candidates."²⁴⁶

The Land Office made a case for its candidates on March 11, 1912. In July 1911, Nikola Abaffy, Giga Avakumović, Stjepan Belošević, Dimitrija Branković, Antun Bukvić, Vjekoslav Celestin, Gustav Fleischer, Robert Frangeš and Radoslav Franjetić were appointed conservators of the Land Office.

From February 1, 1911, Gjuro Szabo performed the duties of the *secretary* of the Land Office, which, according to the statute, included the office and financial operations of the Land Office, correspondence, keeping the registry book and cash book, compiling official reports and organising trips. Travel reports were published in the *Vjesnik Hrvatskog arheološkog društva*. Every year, the secretary needed to prepare the main annual report on the overall work of the Land Office.²⁴⁷ Initially, the work was intense, every few days.²⁴⁸

In order to get acquainted with the activity of monument protection, Smičiklas, the president of the Land Office, sent Szabo to Vienna and Budapest²⁴⁹ (Fig. 13). He travelled to Vienna on February 6, 1911, where he visited the *Central Commission*, then the Royal Library, the Architects Society, and Eduardo Gerisch, government advisor, professor and director of the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. At the time of Szabo's visit, Gerisch was dealing with the restoration of paintings for the city museum. Regarding the Central Commission, Szabo wrote: "...as a new way of doing business was introduced shortly before, which had not yet been approved or tested, he could not gain an overview of this new way of doing business. But with all that, he managed to see the real probable reason for the elimination. The Vienna Commission is fully bureaucratically organized: the president and two co-presidents manage the commission for

four months each, so to each his own and we cannot talk about the uniqueness of administration..."²⁵⁰

In the Royal Library and the War Archives, Szabo looked for material (drafts, documents) that could help the study of the history of monuments in Croatia. Since he could not achieve his purpose in Vienna, he subsequently received permission to go to Prague, where he stayed from February 24 to 27. In the report on the Czech method of protection, Szabo wrote:

*"It is particularly important to point out the inventory in the Czech Republic, where a third of the country has been examined and presented, and it should be emphasized, therefore, because it is where I achieved the most, with the least amount of funds."*²⁵¹

After Prague, Szabo travelled to Budapest, where he stayed from February 28 to March 31. He was received by Laszlo Eber and told about the work of the Hungarian heritage committee (*Müemlekek bizzotsag*). After returning from a 26-day-long trip, Szabo submitted a report on March 6, 1911.²⁵²

At the first session of the Land Office on January 11, 1911, the proposal for the protection of church monuments and their possible replacement with the products by artists and craftsmen was adopted for consideration.²⁵³ The problem was in a large number of middlemen who visited churches, offering new items mostly without artistic value in exchange for "antiquities". The Land Office therefore invited Robert Frangeš²⁵⁴ and Tomislav Krizman²⁵⁵, as representatives of artists, and the secretary of the Association of Croatian Craftsmen, Ivan Čupko, to discuss this problem. The position of the Land Office

246 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 43, July 16, 1911.

247 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 30.215./1910, December 15, 1910.

248 The first session of the Land Office was held on January 11, 1911, and the second on January 12, 1911.

249 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 10, January 31, 1911.

250 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 14, March 12, 1911. Travel Report of Gjuro Szabo.

251 SZABO, GJURO, 1912, 206.

252 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 14, March 12, 1911.

253 At the first meeting of the Land Office held on January 8, 1911, Tadija Smičiklas referred to the church proposal for the establishment of a special committee for the protection of *church antiquities*. However, he rejected the church proposal, and decided that the *Land Office* will give suggestions on the protection of ecclesiastical art to be proposed to the Royal Land Government. (MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 7, January 8, 1911)

254 Robert Frangeš-Mihanović (1872-1940), sculptor.

255 Tomislav Krizman (1882-1955), graphic artist and painter.

četir mjeseca samostalno komisijom, pa koliko ljudi toliko čudi i o jedinstvenosti uprave ne može biti govora...²⁵⁴

U Dvorskoj knjižnici i u Ratnom arhivu Szabo je tražio materijal (nacрте, dokumente) koji bi mogao poslužiti u proučavanju povijesti spomenika u Hrvatskoj. Budući da u Beču nije mogao ostvariti svoj naum, naknadno je dobio dopuštenje da ode u Prag, gdje je boravio od 24. do 27. veljače. Kasnije je u izvještaju o češkom načinu zaštite Szabo napisao:

„Naročito treba istaknuti inventarizaciju u Češkoj, gdje je već trećina zemlje ispitana i prikazana, a treba je istaknuti i zato, jer se je tamo s najmanjim sredstvima najveći uspjeh postigao.“²⁵⁵

Nakon Praga Szabo je otputovao u Budimpeštu, gdje je boravio od 28. veljače do 31. ožujka. U Budimpešti ga je primio Laszlo Eber i uputio u rad ugarskog povjerenstva za baštinu (*Müemlekek bizzotsag*). Szabo je po povratku s 26 dana dugog putovanja podnio izvještaj 6. ožujka 1911.²⁵⁶

Na prvoj sjednici Povjerenstva 11. siječnja 1911. usvojen je na razmatranje prijedlog o zaštiti crkvenih spomenika i njihovoj eventualnoj zamjeni s proizvodima domaćih umjetnika i obrtnika.²⁵⁷ Problem je bio u velikom broju prekupaca koji su obilazili crkve nudeći nove predmete, većinom bez umjetničke vrijednosti, u zamjenu za „starine“. Povjerenstvo je stoga pozvalo Roberta Frangeša²⁵⁸ i Tomislava Krizmana²⁵⁹, kao zastupnike umjetnika, i tajnika Saveza hrvatskih obrtnika Ivana Čupka na raspravu o tom problemu. Stav Povjerenstva bio je da u slučaju popravka, pregradnji i zamjene namještaja (npr. klecala, oltari, propovjedaonice ili pokretnine kao kaleži, kandila,

misno ruho), Povjerenstvo treba biti pravovremeno obaviješteno od strane župnih ili parohijalnih ureda:

„...Samo se tako može zapriječiti, da n. pr. umjetni stari oltar ne bude naprosto izbačen i novom bezvrijednom stvari zamijenjen. Povjerenstvo će nastojati, da sve učini, kako bi se takav objekt konzervirao, a pokaže li se izmjena absolutno nužna, ono će se pobrinuti da se predmet dostojno pohrani i sačuva, a ne u bescjenu proda...“²⁶⁰

Nadalje, popravak umjetnina trebao je biti povjeren domaćim obrtnicima i umjetnicima, te je iznesen prijedlog da se u Školi za umjetnost i obrt podučava, a u praksi razvijaju oni obrti kojih nema. Povjerenstvo je predlagalo osnivanje odbora s članovima iz umjetničkih i obrtničkih krugova koji bi pri gradnji i uređenju javnih zgrada i nabavi takvih predmeta zastupao domaću umjetnost i umjetnički obrt.

Stoga je Povjerenstvo 3. lipnja 1911. uputilo dopis Nadbiskupiji zagrebačkoj da izda nalog svim župama da:

„• ni u kojem slučaju ne prodaju ili zamjenjuju staro zlato za novo kakovim gov. agentima ili oblasnim trgovcima, već se u svakom slučaju obrate na povjerenstvo koje će im pravu vrijednost stvari označiti

- nikakve popravke ni dozidavanja, a da se ovo povjerenstvo ne obavijesti
- oltare, rezbarene klupe, propovjedaonice i drugi namještaj ako i jest trošan nego nekne bacaju na smetlište
- zvona kako bi se načinili otisci napisa i ornamenata
- stare slike i kipovi nek se ne bacaju na tavan ili daju po kom gore premazati.“²⁶¹

Posebnom predstavkom Povjerenstvo se obratilo svim biskupima i episkopima te je zagrebački nadbiskup izdao *Okružnicu velečasnom svećenstvu glede čuvanja crkvenih spomenika i starina*.²⁶² U Okružnici se spominju „trgovci crkvenih paramenata“ koji su kupovali ili mijenjali stara misna ruha velike umjetničke vrijednosti za manje vrijed-

254 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 14 od 12. ožujka 1911. Izvještaj s putovanja Gjura Szaba.

255 SZABO, GJURO, 1912., 206.

256 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 14 od 12. ožujka 1911.

257 Na prvoj *pretkonferenciji* povjerenstva održanoj 8. siječnja 1911. Tadija Smičklas se osvrnuo na crkveni prijedlog o osnivanju posebnog povjerenstva za zaštitu *crkvenih starina*. No, odbija crkveni prijedlog o osnivanju te odlučuje da će *Zemaljsko povjerenstvo* davati prijedloge o zaštiti crkvenih umjetnina koje će predložiti Kr. zemaljskoj vladi. (MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 7 od 8. siječnja 1911.)

258 Robert Frangeš-Mihanović (1872. – 1940.), kipar.

259 Tomislav Krizman (1882. – 1955.), grafičar i slikar.

260 MKM-SDKB-ZP Zapisnik prve sjednice povjerenstva pod brojem 8 od 11. siječnja 1911.

261 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 27 od 3. lipnja 1911.

262 Službeni vjesnik nadbiskupije zagrebačke, komad IV, od 5. listopada 1911.

was that it should be promptly informed by parish or rectory offices in the event of repairs, remodelling and replacements of furniture (e.g. pews, altars, pulpits or movables such as chalices, cressets, liturgical vestments):

*"...This is the only way to prevent that, for example, an old altar is not simply thrown out and replaced with a new and worthless thing. The Land Office will endeavour to do everything in order to conserve such an object, and if the change is absolutely necessary, it will ensure that the object is stored and preserved in a respectable manner, and not sold cheaply..."*²⁵⁶

Furthermore, the repair of works of art was to be entrusted to local craftsmen and artists, and there was a proposal to teach this at the school of arts and crafts, and in effect, develop the crafts that were missing. The Land Office proposed the establishment of a board with people from arts and crafts circles that would represent domestic art and crafts in the construction and decoration of public buildings and the procurement of such items.

Therefore, on June 3, 1911, the Land Office sent a letter to the Archdiocese of Zagreb to issue an order to all parishes:

- *in no case to sell or replace old gold for new with some kind of gov. agents or local merchants, but to turn to the Land Office that will tell them the real value*
- *no repairs or reconstructions without notifying the Land Office*
- *if the altars, carved benches, pulpits, and other furniture are worn out, they should not be thrown out*
- *bells to make imprints of the inscriptions and ornaments*
- *old paintings and sculptures should not be thrown in attics or given to anybody to be repainted."*²⁵⁷

By special request, the Land Office addressed all Catholic or Orthodox bishops, and the Archbishop of Zagreb

issued the *Circular to the revered clergy regarding the protection of church monuments and antiques*.²⁵⁸ The Circular mentioned "merchants of church paraments" who bought or exchanged old liturgical vestments of great artistic value for less valuable items, and the clergy were warned that prior to removing vestments from the inventory, they should contact a specialist, i.e. the Land Office. Archbishop Bauer²⁵⁹ wrote:

*"...as I myself realize the cultural importance of this Land Office, I stipulate that the revered clergy should notify the Land Office about important repairs and alterations in churches and chapels."*²⁶⁰

Furthermore, the Circular referred to preserving church inventory (altar, pulpit, benches), which was often worn out, but not so much that in many cases, if it had artistic value, it could be preserved. In the case of replacing old church furniture and liturgical vestments with new ones, the Land Office was to be notified in order to ensure the preservation of old items. An inventory of all bells needed to be made with descriptions, copies of any inscriptions and ornaments, and if they were older than the 17th century, the Land Office needed to be notified of their existence and location.

The Department of Religion of the Royal Land Government was involved in solving the problem of procuring church inventory and made a proposal to the Order for the purchase of church furniture and its preservation as well as the preservation of buildings of artistic and historical value.²⁶¹ The above-mentioned proposal was given to the Land Office for review. The Order banned the sale of church inventory. If the items were no longer in use, they were to be offered, either directly or through the Royal Land Government, Department of Religion and Education, to the National Museum in Zagreb for purchase. If the National Museum was not interested in buying the items, the Land Government, Department of Religion and

256 MKM-SDKB-ZP Minutes from the first session of the Land Office number 8, January 11, 1911.

257 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 27, June 3, 1911.

258 Official Gazette of Zagreb Archdiocese, piece IV, October 5, 1911.
259 Antun Bauer (1856-1937), theological and philological writer, Zagreb Archbishop.

260 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 78/1911, December 2, 1911.

261 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 78/1911, December 2, 1911.

na ruha te je svećenstvo upozoreno da se prije brisanja ruha iz inventara treba obratiti stručnjaku, odnosno Povjerenstvu. Nadbiskup Bauer²⁶³ navodi u pismu:

„...kako i sam uvidjam kulturnu važnost toga povjerenstva, određujem da velečasno dušebrižno svećenstvo kod važnijih popravaka i preinaka crkvi i kapela obavijesti o tom povjerenstvu.“²⁶⁴

Nadalje, Okružnica se odnosila na čuvanje crkvenog inventara (žrtvenik, propovjedaonica, klupe) koji je često bio dosta trošan, ali ipak ne toliko da se u mnogo slučajeva, ako je od umjetničke vrijednosti, ne bi mogao sačuvati. U slučaju zamjene staroga crkvenog namještaja i misnog ruha novim, Povjerenstvo je trebalo biti obaviješteno, kako bi se pobrinulo za čuvanje starih predmeta. Za sva zvana trebalo je izraditi inventar u kojem su bila opisana, prepisani eventualni natpisi, ukrasi, a ako su bila starija od 17. stoljeća o njihovom je postojanju i lokaciji trebalo obavijestiti Povjerenstvo.

Odjel za bogoštovlje Kraljevske zemaljske vlade uključio se u rješavanje problema oko nabave crkvenog inventara te je izradio prijedlog Naredbe o nabavi crkvenog namještaja i o njegovom čuvanju kao i o čuvanju građevina umjetničke i historijske vrijednosti.²⁶⁵ Navedeni prijedlog Naredbe dao je Povjerenstvu na mišljenje. Naredbom je bila zabranjena prodaja crkvenog inventara. Ako predmeti više nisu bili u upotrebi, trebalo ih je neposredno ili putem Kr. zemaljske vlade Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu ponuditi na otkup Narodnom muzeju u Zagrebu. U slučaju da Narodni muzej nije zainteresiran za otkup, Kr. zemaljska vlada, Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu trebalo je izdati dozvolu na temelju mišljenja vještaka kojemu će od postojećih zavoda, muzeja ili zbirke ponuditi predmet na otkup prije nego što se može prodati u inozemstvo.²⁶⁶

Povjerenstvo je podnijelo primjedbe na navedeni nacrt Naredbe, tražeći da se briše kategorija „gdje je to moguće“ jer kod grčko-istočne crkve traže uvijek domaće obrtnike. U članku 3. trebalo je izostaviti „ukoliko ih ne

bi mogli izraditi tehnički izvjestitelji kr. kot. oblasti“, „jer svaki takav sastav traži absolutno nužno posebnu spremu, te posebno stručnjake, a od kotarskih izvjestitelja ne može nitko to sasvim posebne spreme zatražiti.“ U slučaju da Narodni muzej ne bi bio zainteresiran za otkup, za daljnju prodaju trebalo je ishoditi dozvolu Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu Kraljevske zemaljske vlade, koji je prije izdavanja dozvole na temelju mišljenja vještaka trebao odlučiti kojem će od postojećih zavoda, muzeja ili zbirke ponuditi predmet na otkup prije prodaje izvan granica zemlje.²⁶⁷

Kraljevski povjerenik u Kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji Slavko Cuvaj²⁶⁸ obrazlagao je da se nisu mogle uvažiti sve primjedbe Povjerenstva na predloženi nacrt Naredbe: isključivanje tehničkih izvjestitelja od izrade nacrtu za crkveni namještaj, jer se ne može *a priori* poreći svakom tehničkom izvjestitelju sposobnost da i sastavlja takve nacрте, posebno ako se radi o jednostavnim predmetima čija bi izradba nacrtu od strane stručnjaka bila skupa. Odredba koja se odnosila na odluke vještaka kojemu je muzeju ili zavodu trebalo ponuditi pravo prvokupa crkvenih predmeta historijske ili umjetničke vrijednosti (namještaj, slika, kip i sl.), odnosila se na pronalazak odgovarajućeg mjesta u zbirci prema vrsti predmeta. Stoga primjedba Povjerenstva nije bila uvažena.²⁶⁹ Nakon nekoliko prijedloga i primjedbi Povjerenstva, Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu donio je na temelju zakonskog članka o promicanju domaćeg obrta *Naredbu o nabavi novog crkvenog namještaja te sačuvanju crkvenog namještaja i građevina historičke i umjetničke vrijednosti*.²⁷⁰

Vezano uz donošenje *Naredbe* nadbiskup Bauer se ponovno obratio svećenstvu, naglašavajući da sve promjene u svojim crkvama trebaju prijaviti Zemaljskom povjerenstvu ili Zemaljskoj vladi, Odjelu za bogoštovlje i nastavu. Isto tako se strogo zabranilo prodavanje i zamjenjivanje staroga crkvenog posuđa izvan zemlje ili trgovcima, dok o tome nije mišljenje dalo Povjerenstvo. Za crkvene

263 Antun Bauer (1856. – 1937.), teološki i filološki pisac, zagrebački nadbiskup.

264 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 78/1911. od 2. prosinca 1911.

265 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 78/1911. od 2. prosinca 1911.

266 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 78/1911. od 13. listopada 1911.

267 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 78/1911. od 2. prosinca 1911.

268 Slavko Cuvaj (1851. – 1931.), hrvatski ban i komesar.

269 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 16.022/1.912 od 16. studenoga 1912. potpisuje Slavko Cuvaj.

270 MKM-SDKB-ZP Naredba pod brojem 16.022 od 16. studenoga 1912. potpisuje Slavko Cuvaj.

Education, was to issue a permit based on the opinion of an expert to the existing institutes, museums or collections to which the item would be offered for purchase before it could be sold abroad.²⁶²

The Land Office commented on the above-mentioned proposal for the Order and requested the removal of the category "where possible", since Eastern Orthodox churches always look for local craftsmen. This needed to be omitted from Article 3 if they could not be made by technical reporters from Royal county districts "because each such constitution requires absolutely necessary special training, and experts, in particular, and from the district reporters no one can ask for this particular specialty." In the case that the National Museum was not interested in the purchase, a sales permit needed to be obtained from the Department of Religion and Education of the Royal Land Government that, prior to issuing the permit, had to decide, based on expert opinion, to which of the existing bureaus, museums or collections the object would be offered for purchase prior to its sale abroad.²⁶³

The Royal Commissioner in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, Slavko Cuvaj²⁶⁴ argued that not all of the comments of the Land Office on the proposed draft of the Order could be accepted: the exclusion of technical reporters from making church furniture designs because it cannot *a priori* deny the ability to compose such drafts of any technical reporter, especially when it comes to simple objects whose drafting by experts would be expensive. The provision relating to experts' decisions on which museum or institutes should be offered the purchase of church items of historical or artistic value (furniture, paintings, statues, etc.) referred to finding the appropriate place in the collection, according to the type of item. Consequently, the objection of the Land Office was not taken into consideration.²⁶⁵ After several proposals and objections from the Land Office, the Department of Religion and Education issued an "Order to procure new

church furniture and the preservation of church furniture and buildings of historical and artistic value" based on the law for the promotion of local crafts.²⁶⁶

Concerning the adoption of the Order, Archbishop Bauer again addressed the clergy, pointing out that all changes in their churches should be reported to the Land Office or the Land Government, Department of Religion and Education. Also, selling and replacing liturgical vessels abroad or with merchants was strictly forbidden, until the Land Office gave its opinion. For objects that could not be used for ecclesiastical purposes, but were of cultural and historical value, such as furniture, paintings, statues, ornaments, valuables, vestments, missals and reliquaries could only be sold abroad with the permission of the Department of Religion and Education of the Royal Land Government, if they were not purchased for an institute with full compensation.

The Land Office intervened several times to save church inventory, while following the principle of "conserving and not restoring"²⁶⁷. For example, in the church of St. Michael in Samobor, where the Land Office managed to preserve the Baroque altar. In the parish church of the Holy Cross in Sisak, the Land Office attempted to prevent the removal of the high altar and four side altars, and in-

262 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 78/1911, October 13, 1911.

263 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 78/1911, December 2, 1911.

264 Slavko Cuvaj (1851-1931), Croatian Ban and commissioner.

265 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 16.022/1.912, November 16, 1912, signed by Slavko Cuvaj.

266 MKM-SDKB-ZP Order number 16.022, November 16, 1912, signed by Slavko Cuvaj.

267 Writing about the work of the Land Office in the publication *Kolo*, Gjuro Szabo explains their position regarding restoration: "The Land Office will be committed to truly restore monuments that can be restored. Every period has its view on restoration, so it is the duty to question that opinion and, if it proves valid, to use it. And every restoration is a tough thing: even with the best intentions, something can be destroyed, something that cannot be remedied, note that: the mark that time has left on a monument must not be removed, as patina must not be removed from old metal objects..." Based on this quote, it is obvious Szabo followed the theory to "conserve". SZABO, GJURO, 1912, 462; Anđela Horvat, also writing about the work of the Land Office for the preservation of monuments, mentions that the Land Office adopted the modern "conservation" principle, supported by the Club of Croatian Architects founded in 1905 at the initiative of Stjepan Podhorsky, Vjekoslav Bastl, Viktor Kovačić and Edo Schön. One of the most important goals of the Club of Croatian Architects program was the protection of artistic and historical sites and monuments. In 1910, Podhorsky worked on the reconstruction of the Holy Cross church in Križevci, according to the instructions of the Land Office. The methodology of his work, based on research and documentation of monuments, coincides with the basic idea of the Land Office. HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1978/79, 21; GALOVIĆ, KREŠIMIR, 2010, 11.

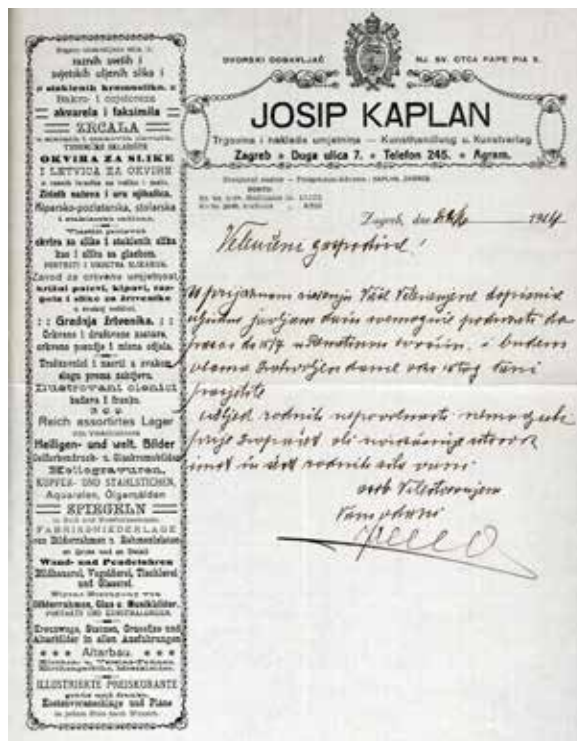


14 Sisak, glavni oltar župne crkve uklonjen 1911. godine (MKM-SDKB-ZP s.a.)

Sisak, the main altar of the parish church removed in 1911 (MKM-SDKB-ZP s.a.)

svrhe neupotreblijvi predmeti kulturno-historijske vrijednosti kao što su namještaj, slike, kipovi, ornamenti, dragocjenosti, odijela, misali, relikvijari mogli su se samo s dozvolom Kr. zemaljske vlade Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu izvan granica zemlje prodati, ako uz potpunu odštetu vrijednosti ne bi bili dokupljeni za koji zavod.

Povjerenstvo je u nekoliko navrata interveniralo u spašavanju crkvenog inventara, pritom slijedeći načelo



15 Josip Kaplan, Remetinec – izjava o završetku posla do 15. srpnja 1914. (MKM-SDKB-ZP)

Josip Kaplan, Remetinec - statement of completion of work by July 15, 1914 (MKM-SDKB-ZP)

„konzervirati, a ne restaurirati“²⁷¹; kao npr. u crkvi sv. Mihovila u Samoboru, gdje je Povjerenstvo uspjelo sačuvati barokni oltar. Potom je u župnoj crkvi sv. Križa u Sisku

271 Gjuro Szabo u zborniku *Kolo* pišući o radu Povjerenstva objašnjava stav u vezi restauriranja: „Povjerenstvo će se zauzeti da se istinski restauriraju spomenici, koji se mogu restaurirati. Svako vrijeme ima o načinu restauracije svoje mišljenje, pa je dužnost, da se to mišljenje ispita i ako se pokaže valjanim, upotrijebi. A svaka je restauracija teška stvar: i uz najbolju volju može se nešto uništiti, što se nikako naknaditi ne da: onaj biljeg, što ga je vrijeme udarilo spomeniku, ne smije se izbrisati, kao što se starim kovnim predmetima ne smije patina uzeti...“ Prema navedenom citatu jasno je da je Szabo slijedio teoriju „konzervirati“. SZABO, GJURO, 1912., 462. Anđela Horvat, također pišući o djelovanju Povjerenstva za čuvanje spomenika u Zagrebu spominje da je Povjerenstvo usvojilo suvremeno načelo „konzervirati“, koje je zastupao i Klub hrvatskih arhitekata, nasuprot dobu historicizma kad je jedino logično rješenje bilo restaurirati. Klub hrvatskih arhitekata osnovan je godine 1905. na inicijativu Stjepana Podhorskog, Vjekoslava Bastla, Viktora Kovačića i Ede Schöna. Jedan od važnijih ciljeva programa KHA bila je zaštita umjetničkih i historijskih mjesta i spomenika. Podhorsky je 1910. radio na obnovi crkve sv. Križa u Križevcima prema nuputcima Povjerenstva. Metodologija njegova rada temeljena na istraživanju i dokumentiranju spomenika poklapa se s osnovnom idejom Povjerenstva. HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1978.-1979.; GALOVIĆ, KREŠIMIR, 2010., 11.

structions were given on the restoration: "...In this case, it would be necessary to replace the unseemly altar gilding with new gilding worthy of the altar..."²⁶⁸ In the end, the high altar was not saved because the parish priest removed it and transported it to the church in Jasenovac²⁶⁹ (Fig. 14).

In the parish church in Remetinac near Novi Marof, the Land Office managed to save the valuable Baroque inventory, but not the high altar. In the report on the condition in Remetinec, the Land Office wrote: "*The high altar, 1669. We did not find the upper part of the altar, it was thrown out and destroyed during restoration. This altar is interesting because its centre is an old Gothic winged altar, which is somewhat damaged, but since it is probably the only one of its kind in Croatia, it is worth preserving.*"

*The main concern of the Land Office was to save the high altar in the sanctuary. The Land Government, believing the altar to be old and beyond repair – which it was not, had already made a new altar for the church it was the patron of, by a carpenter in Zagreb in the so called Gothic style; thus, the old altar had to be removed from the church it was made for and where it belonged. Just by looking at the altar, while it was still in place, clearly showed that it most certainly belonged there. But since the entire altar was not made in the Gothic style, it had to be moved for the sake of some unfortunate idea of the necessity for a uniform style that has already destroyed thousands of works of art, and there is little hope it will not destroy a thousand more. In the more advanced world, this idea has lost its absolute power, but in our country, those who see that every pretty thing can remain in a place where not all objects are in the same style, are few and far between. Therefore, with the permission of the Land Government, the altar was transported to the archaeological museum in Zagreb where it was respectfully restored, and the unsightly colour it was painted was removed, and a new, modern – Gothic altar from a Zagreb cabinetry arrived in Remetinec."*²⁷⁰ Josip Kaplan's company, recommended by the Land

Office²⁷¹ and supervised by Viktor Hoffiller, repaired the pulpit, side altar and baptistery in Remetinec²⁷² (Fig. 15).

The Land Office also participated in the relocation of artwork that was in danger to museums:

*"... six busts from wooden Baroque altars from Remete, the Gothic statue of the Madonna from Remetinac, sixteen stone architectural sculptures from the Gothic church in Ilok..."*²⁷³ During the visit to Senj, Pilar and Szabó, representatives of the Land Office, suggested the relocation and restoration of inadequately housed portraits from the 17th and 18th centuries, from the Nehaj Fortress to the archaeological department of the National Museum in Zagreb.²⁷⁴ The Land Office's attempt failed because the representatives of the city of Senj unambiguously rejected the proposal for the transfer of art, leaving the possibility of restoring the portraits and their accommodation in the city hall in Senj.²⁷⁵

In October 1915, the parish priest from Lonja addressed the Department of Religion and Education with the request to replace the altar of St. Ladislaus, transported in 1882 from the Zagreb cathedral, with a new one. The Department of Religion and Education informed the Land Government about the altar in Lonja, whereby the Land Office ascertained the condition and gave its opinion on the inventory in the church. Only the central part with sculptures of St. Mary, St. Stephen and St. Ladislaus remained from the altar of St. Ladislaus, and there were two paintings and four sculptures of saints in the attic. The lower part of the altar with the four evangelists was preserved, but a tabernacle was inserted in the central part where the statue of St. John used to be. The recommendation of the Land Office was: "...that the altar not be restored, it especially should not be gilded again, because the old gilding is well preserved, that a new altar should be brought to the church in Lonja and this should be given to

268 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 58, October 13, 1911.

269 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 81, December 5, 1911. Mayor of Sisak sent the letter to the Land Office.

270 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 6/1912, January 23, 1912.

271 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 83, August 25, 1913.

272 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 26, May 14, 1914, and May 16, 1914.

273 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1978/79, 21.

274 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 27, February 17, 1913.

275 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 796, February 20, 1913.

Povjerenstvo pokušalo spriječiti uklanjanje glavnog i četiriju bočnih oltara te su date upute o načinu restauriranja: „... U ovom slučaju trebalo bi nezgrapnu pozlatu oltara zamijeniti dostojnom, novom pozlatom...“²⁷² No, glavni oltar naposljetku nije bio spašen, župnik ga je uklonio i premjestio u crkvu u Jasenovcu²⁷³ (sl. 14).

Povjerenstvo je u župnoj crkvi u Remetincu kod Novog Marofa uspjelo spasiti vrijedni barokni inventar, ali ne i glavni oltar. U izvještaju o stanju u Remetincu Povjerenstvo navodi: „Glavni oltar, 1669. g. Gornjeg dijela oltara nijesmo više našli taj je kod restauracije zabačen i uništen. Nu taj je oltar zanimljiv zato jer je njegova sredina stari gotski krilni oltar, koji je doduše nešto oštećen, nu budući valjda jedini te vrsti u cijeloj Hrvatskoj, svakog sačuvanja vrijedan.

Glavna je briga povjerenstva bila, da se spase glavni oltar u svetištu. Već je kr. zemaljska vlada, vjerujući, da je oltar trošan i nepopraviv – a to nije nikako bio, dala načiniti za tu crkvu, kojoj je on kolatorom, nov oltar kod jednog zagrebačkog stolara, u tobože gotskom slogu, pa je tako stari morao van s onog mjesta, za koje je bio načinjen i kamo je i te kako pristajao. Samo pogled na oltar, dok je još bio na svom mjestu, pokazuje jasno, da je i te kako tamo spadao. Ali budući nije bio sav u gotskom stilu, morao je seliti, za volju neke nesretne ideje o tobože absolutno nužnom jedinstvu stila, koja je već tisuće umjetnina uništila, a nažalost ima slabo nade, da neće još tisuće uništiti. U naprednijem je svijetu ta ideja izgubila svoju apsolutnu premoć, nu kod nas su još prerijetki oni, koji uviđaju, da svaka lijepa stvar može i tamo biti, gdje nije sve u onom stilu, u kojem je ona. Tako je dozvolom kr. zemaljske vlade, prevežen oltar u zagrebački arheološki muzej, gdje je s pijetetom opravljen, ružna boja, s kojom je oličen, skinuta, a u Remetinec došao je moderan – gotski novi žrtvenik iz zagrebačke stolarnice.“²⁷⁴ Popravak propovjedaonice, bočnog oltara i krstionice u Remetincu radila je tvrtka Josipa Kaplana na preporuku Povjerenstva,²⁷⁵ pod nadzorom Viktora Hoffillera²⁷⁶ (sl. 15).

Povjerenstvo je sudjelovalo i u premještanju ugroženih umjetnina u muzejske ustanove:

„... 6 poprsja drvenih baroknih oltara iz Remeta, gotički kip Madone iz Remetinca, 16 kamenih arhitektonskih plastika iz gotičke crkve u Iloku...“²⁷⁷ Prilikom obilaska Senja izaslanici Povjerenstva Pilar i Szabo predlagali su, zbog neprimjerenog smještaja, premještanje portreta iz 17. i 18. stoljeća iz kule Nehaj u arheološki odjel Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu, gdje bi bili i restaurirani.²⁷⁸ Pokušaj Povjerenstva je propao jer su zastupnici grada Senja jednoglasno odbili prijedlog o premještanju umjetnina, ostavljajući mogućnost obnove portreta i njihov smještaj u gradskoj vijećnici u Senju.²⁷⁹

U listopadu 1915. župnik iz Lonje obratio se Odjelu za bogoštovlje i nastavu s molbom da se oltar sv. Ladislava koji je prenesen godine 1882. iz zagrebačke katedrale zamijeni novim. Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu izvijestio je Zemaljsko povjerenstvo o oltaru u Lonji, na što je Povjerenstvo utvrdilo stanje i dalo mišljenje o inventaru u crkvi. Od oltara sv. Ladislava ostao je središnji dio sa skulpturama sv. Marije, sv. Stjepana i sv. Ladislava, na tavanu su se nalazile dvije slike i četiri svetačke skulpture. Donji dio oltara s četiri evanđelista bio je sačuvan, ali je u središnji dio na kojem se prije nalazio kip sv. Ivana umetnut tabernakul. Preporuka Povjerenstva bila je: „... da se oltar ne renovira, naročito ne pozlaćivati jer je stara pozlata dobro sačuvana, da se za crkvu u Lonji novi oltar postavi, a ovaj da se preda arheološkom odjelu, dok se u novoj muzejskoj zgradi ne učini poseban odio za crkvene starine.“²⁸⁰

Povjerenstvo je također usmjerilo svoj rad na inventarizaciju i izradu topografskih prikaza spomenika po kotarevima. Osim grada Zagreba i riznice katedrale, početak inventarizacije obuhvatio je i Varaždinsku županiju (Pregradu, Klanjec, Krapinu, Zlatar i Ivanec).²⁸¹

272 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 58 od 13. listopada 1911.

273 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 81 od 5. prosinca 1911. Dopis Povjerenstvu upućuje gradonačelnik Siska.

274 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis pod brojem 6/1912. od 23. siječnja 1912.

275 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis pod brojem 83 od 25. kolovoza 1913.

276 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis pod brojem 26 od 14. svibnja 1914. i od 16. svibnja 1914.

277 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1978.-1979., 21.

278 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 27 od 17. veljače 1913.

279 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 796 od 20. veljače 1913.

280 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis 28 od 25. listopada 1915.

281 Važne informacije o spomenicima i prostoru konzervatori su crpili iz nabožnih sličica koje su intenzivno sakupljali. Danas je velik broj ovih sličica arhiviran u Planoteci Uprave za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Ministarstvu kulture.



16 Snimka predmeta iz Riznice zagrebačke katedrale, 1913. (foto: Vladimir Tkalčić, inv. br. 717, br. neg. VII-84, MKM-SDKB-F)

Objects from the Treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral, 1913 (photo: Vladimir Tkalčić, MKM-SDKB-F Inv. No. 717, No.VII-84)

*the archaeological department until a separate area is made in the museum building for ecclesiastical antiquities...*²⁷⁶

The Land Office was also focused on conducting an inventory and making topographic maps of monuments in the districts. Apart from the city of Zagreb and the cathedral treasury, the beginning of the inventory system included Varaždin County (Pregrada, Klanjec, Krapina, Zlatar and Ivanec).²⁷⁷

Zagreb Archbishop Antun Bauer assisted the Land

Office to do the inventory, asking the parishioner to provide representatives of the Land Office with the necessary help.²⁷⁸ As Szabo was supposed to visit the Klanjec, Krapina and Ivanec districts in the summer of 1911, Bauer wrote:

*"...This gentleman will arrive and ask the revered gentlemen parishioners, to show him church vessels, which he will describe and photograph based on their value (monstrances, reliquary, chalices, ciboria, liturgical vestments; he will inspect the church, altars, paintings, benches, pulpits, bells, furniture, monuments on graveyards, and photograph everything he finds that is worth photographing. As the work of this Land Office is in the interest of the church, it is my wish that the revered clergy support the aforementioned gentleman in his work, to show him all items, allow for a description to be prepared and photographs taken, and allow him access to church records if there is a record of a purchase or change of an item..."*²⁷⁹ One piece of interesting information in Smičiklas' letter, in which he sends Szabo to the aforementioned districts, is to review and keep notes of historical and art monuments, and if he comes across valuable church inventory, to buy it for the Archaeological Museum, with the permission of Archbishop Bauer.²⁸⁰ Considering the Land Office was in favour of preserving church inventory and opposed to relocation, I assume it was discarded inventory.

In 1911, an inventory of monuments that have artistic or historical value was mentioned in the report on the work of the Land Office as one of the most important segments in the process of monument preservation. The Land Office was planning to make an *archive of our monuments* that would contain information on all historians, geographers, painters, builders, and *antiquities* (publications, drawings, paintings, photographs and maps).²⁸¹ Regarding movable monuments, the report mentioned altars, *"...mostly bad examples of Baroque art..."*, liturgical vessels older than the 17th century, and there

276 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 28, October 25, 1915.

277 Conservators gathered important information about monuments and locations from religious images that were intensively collected. Today, a large number of these images have been archived in the Plans Archive of the Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage at the Ministry of Culture.

278 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 10, June 19, 1911.

279 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 27/1911, June 19, 1911.

280 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 56, April 30, 1912.

281 SZABO, GJURO, 1912, 204.



17 Snimka predmeta iz Riznice zagrebačke katedrale, 1913. (foto: Vladimir Tkalčić, inv. br. 686, br. neg. VI-53, MKM-SDKB-F)

Objects from the Treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral, 1913 (photo: Vladimir Tkalčić, MKM-SDKB-F Inv. No. 686, No. VI-53)



18 Snimka predmeta iz Riznice zagrebačke katedrale, 1913. (foto: Vladimir Tkalčić, inv. br. 716, br. Neg. VII-83, MKM-SDKB-F)

Objects from the Treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral, 1913 (photo: Vladimir Tkalčić, MKM-SDKB-F Inv. No. 716, No. VII-83)

Zagrebački nadbiskup Antun Bauer pomagao je Povjerenstvu i u provođenju inventarizacije, tražeći od župnika da izaslanicima Povjerenstva pruže potrebnu pomoć.²⁸² Kako je tijekom ljeta 1911. godine Szabo trebao obići kotare (Klanjec, Krapina, Ivanec), Bauer je pisao:

„...Ovaj će se gospodin navratiti i velečasnoj gospodi župnicima zamoliti ih, da mu pokažu crkveno posuđe, koje će on prema vrijednosti opisati i fotografisati (monstrance, relikvijare, kaleže, ciborije, misna odiela, razgledati će crkvu, oltare, slike, klupe, propovjedaonice, zvona, namještaj ini, spomenike na grobljima i snimati sve, što bude držao vrijednim snimanja. Kako je ovaj rad povjerenstva i u interesu crkve, to je moja želja, da velečasno svećenstvo spomenutog gospodina

282 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 10 od 19. lipnja 1911.; Ibid., 246.

*u njegovom radu podupre, da mu pokaže sve predmete, dozvoli opis i fotografisanje i dozvoli uvid i u crkvene spomenice, ako je u njima što zabilježeno o nabavi i promjeni kojeg predmeta...“*²⁸³ Zanimljiv je podatak u dopisu Smičiklasa, koji upućuje Szaba u spomenute kotare, da pregleda i vodi bilješke o historijskim i umjetničkim spomenicima, a ukoliko naiđe na vrijedan crkveni inventar, da ga otkupi za arheološki muzej uz dozvolu nadbiskupa Bauera. S obzirom na to da se Povjerenstvo zalagalo za očuvanje crkvenog inventara i protivilo se premještanju, pretpostavljam da se radi o odbačenom inventaru.²⁸⁴

283 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 27/1911 od 19. lipnja 1911.; Ibid., 246.

284 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 56 od 30. travnja 1912.

are almost no liturgical vestments.²⁸² The thinking behind the definition of the term *monument* is quite interesting:²⁸³

*"... We should now precisely define the term monument, because it must include various items, and it can hardly be done in a few words. We must consider every item inherently related to the life and work of previous generations that lived in this area as a monument; every object that at least gives a little bit of information about these past generations. Thus, the remains of wooden buildings, which were used for defence or living or both, the remains of temples, churches, monasteries; old graveyards and graves; weapons and tools; clothes; works of art and written sources, etc. must be considered monuments..."*²⁸⁴

In 1912 in the publication *Kolo*, Szabo wrote about the work of the Land Office and reiterated the previously mentioned idea of creating an archive containing all of the information on monuments, noting the role of the clergy, teachers/professors and rangers who needed to collect information about the condition of monuments in the field, as well as finding "new" monuments (forts, churches, etc.), citing how Kukuljević collected reports for the Society for History and Antiquities. Although he was aware that it was not the right time to collect the reports, he believed the Land Office should try again.

Tadija Smičiklas, president of the Land Office, founded the *Committee for the Inventory of the Zagreb Cathedral*. The first session of the Committee was held on March 28, 1912. Brunšmid was appointed director, and Szabo became the secretary. The members of the committee were: Barlè, Pilar and conservator Janko Holjac²⁸⁵ (mayor of Zagreb at the time). They were in charge of research, based on their professions: Barlè

for the history of the cathedral, Pilar for architecture, and Brunšmid for the study of the treasury. Hollac was supposed to use his reputation to support the work of the Committee. In 1913, Tkalčić began photographing the monuments in the treasury of the Zagreb cathedral (Fig. 16-18). By 1915, more than 200 items were photographed and described,²⁸⁶ but the work was not published because of the war.²⁸⁷

After Tadija Smičiklas died on June 8, 1914, the acts of the Land Office were taken over by Josip Brunšmid. Therefore, on February 13, 1916, the Land Office suggested that the King appoint Brunšmid as president of the Land Office and confirm all former members for the period from 1916 to 1920. On that occasion, 30 conservationists in charge of the entire country were appointed, with ten conservators operating in Zagreb alone: Bela Csikos Sessia (Fig. 19), Robert Frangeš, Janko Holjac, Ljudevit Ivančan, Dominik Premuš, Fran Šaban, Branko Šenoa (Fig. 20) and Vladimir Tkalčić. Szabo and the appointed conservators visited monuments, and, based on these on-site visits, a number of drawings and sketches were created that recorded the condition of monuments. In the report on the five years of the Land Office, Szabo wrote: *"...all the more notable objects that could not be recorded in a photograph were recorded by artists in painted or copper engravings; so on the one hand, we have collected a very nice collection of artistic portrayals of monuments, and on the other, it encourages artists to go in a different direction, as shown by the latest exhibition"*²⁸⁸

282 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 8, 1912.

283 In defining the term *monument* (*spomenik*), G. Szabo probably relied on the theory of Alois Riegl on the value of monuments; as an antique, Riegl denoted the content and set of those characteristics of the past that appear on a monument during a long period under natural influences.

284 SZABO, GJURO, 1912, 206, MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 8/1912.

285 Janko Holjac (1865-1939), architect.

286 Tkalčić photographed the items in their original size. Agfa Chromo-Isolar glass panels measuring 13 x 18, 18 x 24, 24 x 30 cm, are kept in the Photo Archives of the Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture.

287 Concerning the inventory of monuments from the Zagreb cathedral, at the session of the Land Office on August 3, 1915, it was planned to tour and record all of the altars that had been removed during the restoration of the cathedral, but the program was partially carried out.

288 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 2, January 16, 1916. Report on the work carried out in 1915, and a review of the work in the first five years.



19 Omišalj (crtež: Bela Čikoš Sesija, 1913., 475 MKM-SDKB-GZ)

Omišalj (drawing: Bela Čikoš Sesija, 1913, MKM-SDKB-GZ)

U izvještaju o radu Zemaljskog povjerenstva za godinu 1911. spomenuta je inventarizacija spomenika koji imaju umjetničku ili historijsku vrijednost kao jedan od najvažnijih segmenata u procesu čuvanja spomenika. Povjerenstvo je planiralo izraditi *arkiv naših spomenika* koji bi sadržavao podatke o svim povjesničarima, geografima, slikarima, graditeljima i *starinama* (publikacije, nacrti, slike, fotografije i karte).²⁸⁵ U izvještaju su od pokretnih spomenika spomenuti oltari: „... većinom su to slaba djela baroka...“, crkveno posuđe starije od 17. stoljeća, a misnog ruha gotovo da nema.²⁸⁶ Zanimljivo je razmišljanje vezano uz definiranje pojma *spomenik*.²⁸⁷

„... Trebalo bi sada precizirati pojam spomenika, jer se pod tim nazivom moraju razumijevati najraznoličniji predmeti, a to se može sa nekoliko riječi jedva učiniti. Mi moramo svaki predmet bitno vezan o život i rad minulih generacija, što su na ovom tlu prebivali, smatrati spomenikom; svaki predmet, koji nam može barem nešto o tim iščezlim pokoljenjima kazati. Pa tako se ostaci drvenih građevina, koji su budi za obranu budi za stanovanje ili za jedno i drugo služili, ostaci hramova, crkava, samostana; stara groblja i grobovi; oružje i oruđe, odijelo; djela umjetnosti i pisani spomenici i t.d. moraju smatrati spomenicima...“²⁸⁸

285 SZABO, GJURO, 1912., 204.

286 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 8 od 1912.

287 Gjuro Szabo se u definiranju pojma *spomenik* vjerojatno oslanja na teoriju Aloisa Riegla o vrijednosti spomenika; Riegl kao starinu označava sadržaj i skup onih obilježja prošlosti koja se javljaju na spomeniku za vrijeme dužeg perioda pod djelovanjem prirodnih utjecaja.

288 SZABO, GJURO, 1912., 206., MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 8/1912.



20 Zvono (crtež: Branko Šenoa, MKM-SDKB-GZ)

Bell (drawing: Branko Šenoa, MKM-SDKB-GZ)

U zborniku *Kolo Szabo* je 1912. godine pisao o radu Povjerenstva u kojem ponavlja ranije spomenutu ideju stvaranja arhiva koji bi sadržavao sve podatke o spomenicima, napominjući pritom ulogu svećenstva, nastavnika/profesora i šumara, koji su trebali prikupljati podatke o stanju spomenika na terenu, kao i o pronalasku „novih“ spomenika (gradina, crkava i dr.), navodeći Kukuljevićevu prikupljanje izvještaja za Društvo za povjestnicu i starine. Iako je bio svjestan da nisu povoljna vremena za prikupljanje izvještaja, smatrao je da Povjerenstvo treba ponovno pokušati.

Predsjednik Povjerenstva Tadija Smičiklas osnovao je Odbor za inventarizaciju Stolne crkve zagrebačke. Prva sjednica Odbora održana je 28. ožujka 1912. Za pročelnika je postavljen Brunšmid, a za tajnika Szabo. Članovi odbora bili su: Barlè, Pilar i konzervator Janko Holjac²⁸⁹ (tadašnji načelnik grada Zagreba). Oni su prema svojim strukama bili zaduženi za istraživanje: Barlè za povijest katedrale, Pilar za arhitekturu, a za proučavanje riznice Brunšmid. Holjac je svojim ugledom trebao podupirati rad Odbora. Godine 1913. Tkalčić je počeo fotografirati spomenike u riznici zagrebačke katedrale (sl. 16-18). Ukupno je do

289 Janko Holjac (1865. – 1939.), arhitekt.

The requisition of metal objects during World War I in continental Croatia

At the beginning of World War I, there was a need for precious metals such as copper, pewter and bronze that posed a danger for movable monuments. Consequently, the work of the Land Office was focused on the protection of items like bells, copper roofs, fittings and organs, and the prevention of such items from being requisitioned. In fact, the military administration warned civilians in the fall of 1915 that they would use church bells for the war. With their representatives, they made a list of bells in every county. Each bell had its own number and weight mark determined by the bottom diameter of the bell. Unfortunately, the Land Office was not informed about the intention to requisition metal objects, and they learned about it from the Viennese press. After that, they tried to locate all the bells in the country that had artistic or historical value.²⁸⁹

On February 11, 1916, the Land Office wrote a letter to Archbishop Antun Bauer asking him to inform the clergy which bells should be kept safe for as long as possible, with short instructions on how to recognize these bells:

- *record all the bells, write down inscriptions, measure their height and width,*
- *preserve those that are taller than they are wide,*
- *preserve bells with a Gothic inscription or an inscription that cannot be read,*
- *preserve bells of cultural and historical significance,*
- *preserve bells that even a layman can see are valuable, based on their ornaments.*²⁹⁰

289 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 35, June 11, 1916. Hoffiller wrote to baron Ivan Skerlec.

290 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 8, February 11, 1916. The aforementioned instructions for the rescue of bells were probably made on the basis of the instructions that were compiled, as Hoffiller states, in the *Austrian Office for Monument Preservation*. In Austria, it was not permitted to remove bells made before 1700, and a list was made of the most valuable bells. All of those bells were included in one third of the bells that were supposed to be preserved. The recording and rescue of bells was started in Hungary. One circular was issued in the form of a recommendation for saving the bells of artistic or historical value. HOFFILLER, VIKTOR, 1919, 8.

On March 10, 1916, the aforementioned letter sent to the archbishop was published in the official gazette of the Zagreb Archdiocese titled "*Church bells of historical value*". Along with the letter of the Land Office, Archbishop Bauer addressed the clergy, asking them to send information about all bells in each parish as soon as possible, with even more detailed instructions (measure their height and weight, describe decorations along the edge, whether or not the bell is decorated with the characters of saints and which ones).²⁹¹ Viktor Hoffiller, the curator of the Archaeological Department at the National Museum in Zagreb, within the Department for Prehistory and Archaeology, led the rescue operation. It should be noted that Hoffiller was the curator and head of the Land Office. The lists used to remove the first bells, at the beginning of July 1916, were made without the input of the Land Office and enumerated many valuable bells. The lists were compiled by the Imperial and Royal Military Command in Zagreb in agreement with the church and land districts. Hence, Hoffiller sent a letter to the Archbishop spiritual table²⁹² on behalf of the Land Office in which he asked district parish offices to inform the Land Office if they had a bell of historical or artistic value so that they could try and protect it from requisition. The *Order regarding the requisition of metal objects*²⁹³ with artistic and historical (archaeological) value was soon adopted. Based on the order, a *Committee for the evaluation of metal objects* (hereinafter Committee), appointed by the Royal Land Government, was to be established. The Committee consisted of Josip Brunšmid, president, Viktor Hoffiller, secretary, and members Vladimir Tkalčić and Ivan Kerdić.²⁹⁴

The emergency intervention of the Land Office enabled the supervision of collection centres and expert reviews of all bells before they were brought to the factory. In addition to the church authorities who issued a few circulars,²⁹⁵

291 N.N. a 1916, 27.

292 N.N. b 1916, MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 35, June 11, 1916. Hoffiller wrote to baron Ivan Skerlec.

293 NN no. 162, July 18, 1916.

294 SOLTER, ANA, 2016, 415.

295 Circular no. 15303-1916, in *Glasnik biskupije bosanske i srijemske*, No. 13, Đakovo, June 25, 1916. Circular no. 5238, *Crkvene vijesti*, Zagreb, August 16, 1916. Circular no. 21335-1916 in *Glasnik biskupije bosanske and srijemske*, No. 13, Đakovo, August 31, 1916.



21 Sabiralište zvona u Osijeku (foto: Vladimir Tkalčić, broj 35/1916, MKM-SDKB-ZP)

Bell collection point in Osijek (photo: Vladimir Tkalčić, No. 35/1916, MK-UZK-ZP)

godine 1915. snimljeno i opisano više od 200 predmeta,²⁹⁰ ali je rat onemogućio izdavanje publikacije.²⁹¹

Nakon smrti Tadije Smičiklase 8. lipnja 1914. akte Povjerenstva preuzeo je Josip Brunšmid. Stoga je Povjerenstvo 13. veljače 1916. predložilo kralju imenovanje Brunšmida za predsjednika Povjerenstva i potvrdu svih dotadašnjih članova za razdoblje od 1916. do 1920. godine. Tom je prigodom proglašeno 30 konzervatora nadležnih za cijelu zemlju; od toga je samo u Zagrebu djelovalo deset konzervatora: Bela Čikoš Sesija (sl. 19), Robert Frangeš, Janko Holjac, Ljudevit Ivančan, Dominik Premuš, Fran Šaban, Branko Šenoa (sl. 20) i Vladimir Tkalčić. Imenovani konzervatori zajedno sa Szabom obilazili su spomenike te su temeljem očevida nastali brojni crteži i skice kojima je zabilježeno tadašnje stanje spomenika. Szabo je u izvješčaju o petogodišnjem radu Povjerenstva napisao: „...sve znatnije objekte, koji se nisu dali fotografijom prikazati, dalo je od umjetnika budi bojom budi u bakrorezu snimiti, pa je u jednu ruku pribralo veoma lijepu sbirku umjetničkih prikaza

²⁹⁰ Tkalčić je snimio predmete u originalnoj veličini. *Agfa Chromo-Isolar* staklene ploče veličine 13 x 18, 18 x 24, 24 x 30 cm čuvaju se u Fototeci Uprave za zaštitu kulturne baštine Ministarstva kulture.

²⁹¹ Vežano za inventarizaciju spomenika zagrebačke katedrale, na sjednici Povjerenstva od 3. kolovoza 1915. predviđen je obilazak i snimanje svih oltara koji su bili uklonjeni prigodom restauriranja katedrale, no program je samo djelomično izveden.

spomenika, a u drugu potaklo je umjetnike, da prodju smjerom, što oni i čine, kako pokazuju novije izložbe...“²⁹²

Rekvizicija metalnih predmeta u vrijeme Prvoga svjetskog rata u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj

Početak Prvoga svjetskog rata uslijed ratnih zbivanja javila se potreba za plemenitim metalima kao što su bakar, kositar i bronca, zbog čega su pokretni spomenici bili osobito ugroženi. Stoga je rad Zemaljskog povjerenstva bio usmjeren na zaštitu predmeta kao što su zvona, bakreni krovovi, okovi i orgulje, odnosno na sprječavanje rekvizicije. Naime, vojna uprava upozorila je civilna područja u jesen 1915. godine da će u ratne svrhe upotrijebiti crkvena zvona. Pomoću vojnih izaslanika napravljeni su popisi zvona po svim županijama. Svako je zvono imalo svoj broj i oznaku težine određenu prema donjem promjeru zvona. Nažalost, Zemaljsko povjerenstvo nije bilo obaviješteno o namjeri rekviriranja predmeta od metala, nego je o tome doznalo iz bečkog tiska. Nakon toga je pokušalo locirati sva zvona u zemlji koja su imala umjetničku ili historijsku vrijednost.²⁹³

Zemaljsko povjerenstvo je 11. veljače 1916. sastavilo dopis koji je poslalo nadbiskupu Antunu Baueru moleći da obavijesti svećenstvo koja se zvona trebaju što duže sačuvati s kratkim uputama kako prepoznati ta zvona:

- *sva zvona popisati, zapisati natpise, izmjeriti visinu i širinu,*
- *sačuvati ona koja su viša no šira,*
- *sačuvati zvona s gotskim natpisom ili s natpisom koji se ne može čitati,*
- *sačuvati zvona od kulturno-povijesnog značenja,*

²⁹² MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 2 od 16. siječnja 1916. Izvješčaj o radu u godini 1915. i pregled rada u prvom petogodištu.

²⁹³ MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 35 od 11. lipnja 1916. Hoffiller piše barunu Ivanu Skerlecu.

the imperial Royal Military Command in Zagreb provided assistance by informing the Land Office about where the bells were sent for an expert review. Hoffiller repeatedly travelled to Vienna to the Imperial Royal Ministry of War, or to Budapest to weapons factories, for permission to exempt bells in order to save the most important ones. Tkalčić was in charge of the inspection, description and photographing of bells in the collection centre at the railway station in Zagreb (Fig. 21). The Committee attempted to rescue bells made before 1750 with an inscription in Croatian that was connected with an important historical event or which was linguistically interesting. It is obvious from the reports and letters that Josip Matasović assisted the *Committee for the evaluation of metal objects* in Vinkovci.²⁹⁶

Collection centres for bells were located in Vinkovci, Karlovac, Slavonski Brod, Osijek, Rijeka, Sisak, Čakovec, Zagreb, Gyekenyes, and Inđija. During the requisition, the Land Office described and photographed more than 2000 bells.²⁹⁷

The authority of the Land Office is obvious in the letter sent by Ivan Skerlec²⁹⁸ to the Archbishop spiritual table on June 12, 1917, along with the *Order on the use of bells for war purposes*:

*"Regarding §. 2 of the order of the Royal Hungarian minister for defence, all bells of historical or artistic value will be exempt from use for war purposes; and the decision as to which bells will be considered exempt will be made after the hearing of the Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia and outside of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia."*²⁹⁹

On June 22, 1917, Archbishop Antun Bauer addressed the clergy with a request for a detailed list of bells with regard to the circulars dated April 6 and May 25, 1917. Reports

with the lists of bells were supposed to be completed before the implementation of the requisition, so they could be handed in on time, before the removal of the bells had begun. Brunšmid managed to secure the permission from the Ministry of War to move the most valuable bells found in the collection centres. Some of the bells were returned, and some were bought for the National Museum. Apart from the bells, Brunšmid also tried to rescue rooftops of artistic significance.³⁰⁰ Organs, pewter organ pipes or pewter alloys were not exempt from the requisition, but organs with historical, artistic and musical value were.³⁰¹

Private individuals were not exempt from the requisition and had to hand over objects of artistic or craft value. Some of these items were still spared. According to the records of the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb from 1916, there were 28 private requests for exemption from the requisition. With the help of the Land Office, Rudolf H. Cerny managed to save his collection of metal objects (bowls, thuribles, plates) all of which were measured and dated.³⁰² Levin Horvath reported items that were requested for exemption: fittings on the tabernacle, chandeliers and clocks.³⁰³

The second requisition was carried out from August 16 to December 31, 1917. Since mostly smaller, but more valuable bells were saved during the first requisition, they were in jeopardy during the second one.

With the end of World War I, the first phase of the Land Office also ended. From 1911 to 1918, the work of the Land Office was quite intense. It began to prepare an inventory of mainly ecclesiastical material and a bibliography regarding monuments. It also participated in the adoption of orders and directives, and providing various recommendations for reconstruction. Zagreb Archbishop Antun

296 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 48-4, October 5, 1916.

297 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 48-30/1916, January 9, 1917.

298 Ivan Skerlec (1873-1951), Croatian politician, lawyer, Ban.

299 It should be noted that one part of archival records is located in the Archives of the Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, and the other part is in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb. Given that Hoffiller was the head of the Land Office during the requisition of bells, and participated in the work of the Land Office for evaluating metal objects, some of the letters were supplemented, although there were two separate commissions during this period.

300 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number IX. 58/82.-1917, letter was sent to the Royal Hungarian Minister for Defence.

301 MAROSLAVAC, STJEPAN, 2016, 73. In Slavonia, there were preserved organs in Đakovo in the church, in the Franciscan church in Vukovar, the parish church in Čerević, the parish church in Trnava, the work of Joh. Pump., and three organs were preserved in the parish church in Osijek and in the parish church in Vrpolje, the work of M. Heferer. 2011:126.

302 AMZ no. 6-1 1918, January 11, 1918.

303 AMZ no. 6-4 1918, February 11, 1918.

sačuvati zvona, koja i laik može prepoznati po ornamentima da su vrijedna.²⁹⁴

Navedeni dopis upućen nadbiskupu u cijelosti je objavljen u *Službenom vjesniku nadbiskupije Zagrebačke* 10. ožujka 1916. pod naslovom *Crkvena zvona historičke vrijednosti*. Nadbiskup Bauer se uz dopis Zemaljskog povjerenstva obratio svećenstvu pozivajući ih da što prije pošalju podatke o svim zvonima koja se nalaze u pojedinim župama s još detaljnijim uputama (*mjerjenja visine, težine, ukrašeno kod kape na rubu, je li ukrašeno likovima svetaca i kojima*).²⁹⁵ Viktor Hoffiller, tadašnji kustos Arheološkog odjela Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu u pretpovijesnom i arheološkom odjelu, bio je voditelj akcije spašavanja. Treba napomenuti da je u to vrijeme Hoffiller, uz spomenutu dužnost kustosa, bio i voditelj Zemaljskog povjerenstva. Popisi na osnovi kojih je započelo prvo skidanje zvona početkom srpnja 1916. sastavljeni su bez utjecaja Zemaljskog povjerenstva te su sadržavali mnoga vrijedna zvona. Popise je sastavilo carsko i kraljevsko vojno zapovjedništvo u Zagrebu u dogovoru s crkvenim i zemaljskim oblastima. Stoga je Hoffiller u ime Zemaljskog povjerenstva uputio pismo Biskupskom duhovnom stolu²⁹⁶ u kojem je molio područne župne urede da obavijeste Povjerenstvo ako posjeduju zvono od historijske ili umjetničke vrijednosti kako bi se ono pokušalo zaštititi od rekvizicije. Ubrzo je donesena *Naredba glede preuzimanja kovnih predmeta*,²⁹⁷ koja se odnosila na predmete koji imaju umjetničku i historijsku (arheološku) vrijednost po kojoj se trebalo osnovati *Povjerenstvo za prosuđivanje kovnih predmeta* (dalje *Povjerenstvo*) imenovano od kr. Zemaljske vlade. U *Povjerenstvo* su imenovani: Josip Brunšmid, predsjednik, Viktor Hoffiller, tajnik te članovi Vladimir Tkalčić i Ivan Kerdić.²⁹⁸

294 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 8 od 11. veljače 1916. Navedene upute za spašavanje zvona vjerojatno su nastale na temelju uputa koje je sastavio, kako navodi Hoffiller, *Austrijski ured za čuvanje spomenika*. U Austriji nije bilo dopušteno skidanje zvona starijih od 1700. godine te su napravljeni popisi najvrjednijih zvona. Sva ta zvona bila su uvrštena u trećinu zvona koja su trebala biti sačuvana. U Ugarskoj nije pokrenuta akcija popisivanja i spašavanja zvona. Izdana je jedna okružnica u vidu preporuke za spašavanje zvona od umjetničke ili historijske vrijednosti. HOFFILLER, VIKTOR, 1919., 8.

295 N.N.a 1916., 27.

296 N.N.b 1916., MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 35 od 11. lipnja 1916. Hoffiller piše barunu Ivanu Skerlecu.

297 N. N. br. 162 od 18. srpnja 1916.

298 SOLTER, ANA, 2016., 415.

Hitnom intervencijom Povjerenstva bio je omogućen nadzor sabirnih centara i stručni pregledi svih zvona prije odvoza u tvornicu. Osim crkvenih vlasti, koje su izdale nekoliko okružnica,²⁹⁹ pomoć je pružalo i c. kr. vojničko zapovjedništvo u Zagrebu, koje je obavještavalo Povjerenstvo u koji su sabirni centar zvona stizala da sačekaju stručni pregled. Hoffiller je više puta odlazio u Beč u C. i kr. Ministarstvo rata ili u Budimpeštu u tvornice oružja po dopuštenje za izuzeće zvona od prelijevanja kako bi spasio važnija zvona. Tkalčić je vodio pregled, opis i fotografsko snimanje zvona na kolodvorskom sabiralištu u Zagrebu (sl. 21). Povjerenstvo je pokušavalo spašavati zvona izrađena prije godine 1750., koja su imala natpis na hrvatskom jeziku vezan za neki historijski događaj ili je bio jezično zanimljiv. Iz izvještaja i dopisa se uočava da je *Povjerenstvu za prosuđivanje kovnih predmeta* u Vinkovcima pomagao Josip Matasović.³⁰⁰

Sabirni centri za zvona nalazili su se u Vinkovcima, Karlovcu, Slavanskom Brodu, Osijeku, Rijeci, Sisku, Čakovcu, Zagrebu, Gyekenyesu i Inđiji. Povjerenstvo je za vrijeme trajanja rekvizicije opisalo i fotografiralo više od 2000 zvona.³⁰¹

Autoritet Povjerenstva očituje se u dopisu koji je ban Ivan Skerlec³⁰² uputio Nadbiskupskom duhovnom stolu 12. lipnja 1917. uz *Naredbu u predmetu upotrebe zvonova u ratne svrhe*:

*„U smislu §. 2. te naredbe kr. ug. Ministra za zem. obranu biti će izuzeta od upotrebe u ratne svrhe zvona historičke ili umjetničke vrijednosti, a o tom, koja se zvona imadu smatrati takovima, odlučit će nakon saslušanja Zemaljskog povjerenstva za čuvanje historičkih i umjetničkih spomenika za područje kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije izvan kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije.”*³⁰³

299 Okružnica br. 15303.-1916. u Glasniku biskupije bosanske i srijemske, broj 13., Đakovo 25. lipnja 1916. Okružnica br. 5238., Crkvene vijesti, Zagreb 16. kolovoza 1916. Okružnica br. 21335.-1916. u Glasniku biskupije bosanske i srijemske, broj 16., Đakovo 31. kolovoza 1916.

300 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 48-4, od 5. listopada 1916.

301 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis od 48-30/1916., od 9. siječnja 1917.

302 Ivan Skerlec (1873. – 1951.), hrvatski političar, pravnik, ban.

303 Treba napomenuti da se dio arhivskih spisa nalazi u Arhivu Uprave za zaštitu kulturne baštine, a dio u Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu. S obzirom na to da je Hoffiller u vrijeme rekvizicije zvona vodio Zemaljsko povjerenstvo i sudjelovao u radu Povjerenstva za prosuđivanje kovnih predmeta, neki dopisi se nadovezuju i nadopunjuju iako se u to vrijeme radi o dvama odvojenim povjerenstvima.

Bauer was a great help in the work of the Land Office and assisted in the protection of church monuments through a series of circulars. The work of the Land Office during the war was aimed at rescuing bells from requisition by co-operating with the military and political authorities. With the end of the war, the work of the Land Office focused on the return of art and extensive work to claim war damages.

THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN THEORY AND PRACTICE ON MONUMENT PROTECTION IN CROATIA AND DALMATIA – SELECTED EXAMPLES

In Austria, since the mid-19th century, there were a number of important people who contributed to the development of art history and the theoretical basis for monument protection, such as Rudolf Eitelberger, Alois Riegl, Georg Gottfried Dehio³⁰⁴ and Max Dvořák. All except Dehio were representatives of the Vienna School of Art History. Their research, reviews and discussions were influenced by the cultural and political complexities that took place in Austria-Hungary in the second half of the 19th century. In their work, they looked for links between the late period of the Roman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy, which later provided the basis for further research.³⁰⁵ Their theories and debates were covered by experts from Croatia and abroad. Since they actively participated in monument protection in Dalmatia or continental Croatia as conservators of the Central Commission and as professors of art history, and also actively participated in the development of institutions in Austria, their influence was important for institutional development in Croatia. One should not ignore the fact that the champions of monument protection in the second half of the 19th century were educated in Vienna (Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Isidor Kršnjavi, Viktor Hoffiller, Josip Brunšmid,

Gjuro Szabo), and that practice continued in the first half of the 20th century (Artur Schneider, Ljubo Karaman).

One of the first was Rudolf Eitelberger, the first professor of art history at the University of Vienna.³⁰⁶ Eitelberger had a lot of influence on Kršnjavi, first as his professor and later as an associate. In addition to the previously mentioned foundation of the museum and chair for art history, he encouraged Kršnjavi to take part in the Austro-Hungarian industrial exhibition in Trieste in 1881.³⁰⁷ Croatian artistic craftsmanship was present in the Croatian pavilion. Kršnjavi expanded his study of folk traditions to the study of national economics, bringing him closer to Alois Riegl.³⁰⁸ As *Head conservator (Generalkonservator)*, Alois Riegl travelled throughout the Habsburg Monarchy, he knew about all the issues concerning contemporary monument protection in Austria, and participated in the reconstruction of monuments in Dalmatia. When he started studying artistic craftsmanship, Riegl consulted Kršnjavi's work about the origins of ornaments and a "*home industry*", and thus began their collaboration. According to Jirsak, at the time of their collaboration, Riegl published *Folk Art, Handicrafts and Home Industry*, in which the "achievements" of the 19th century in terms of productivity, mobility and economic development were listed as the cause of the decline of traditional handicrafts in Eastern Europe.³⁰⁹ Riegl did not adopt Riegl's term *Kunstwollen*³¹⁰, he believed it was "not wanting not to know."³¹¹ With *The modern cult of monuments, its essence, its origin (Der Moderne Denkmalkultus, sein Wesen, seine Entstehung)*, Riegl established a new relationship towards monuments, preserving the value of age,

304 Georg Dehio – his *Emperor's speech (Kaiserrede)* from 1905 at the University of Strasbourg is best known. During the lecture on *Protection of Monuments and Care in the 19th century*, Wilhelm II was present, and the speech was held on the Emperor's birthday (27. 1. 1905). In a very simple way, he explained his thoughts about monument protection. He felt that we do not conserve monuments because they are beautiful, but because they are part of our national existence; when it comes to monument protection, it is not a matter of pleasure but of piety/devoutness. Memory significantly dominated the entire period of historicism. LEHNE, ANDREAS, 2008, 72-74; MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 2002, 9. 305 RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2009, 446.

306 He based *Oesterreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie* (1864) and *Kunstgewerbeschule des Oesterreichs Museums* (1868) on the Kensington Museum and the School of Art – research, use and study of works and technologies from the past. MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009, 74.

307 The Austro-Hungarian Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition in Trieste was held from August 1 to November 15, 1882. The two-storey Croatian pavilion, made out of oak, was the work of architect Bollé. *Carpets, folk costumes, furs, traditional shoes, wine and mineral water were exhibited*. MESSINA, MICHELA. 2007, 102.

308 JIRSAK, LIBUŠE, 2015, 296.

309 JIRSAK, LIBUŠE, 2015, 299.

310 Riegl first formulated *Kunstwollen* in the context of decorative art, the origin of ornamental motifs, which he published in his first book *Stilfragen: Grundlegen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* in 1893. 311 MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009, 132.

Nadbiskup Antun Bauer obratio se svećenstvu s molbom za detaljno popisivanje zvona 22. lipnja 1917., a vezano uz okružnice od 6. travnja i 25. svibnja 1917. godine. Izvještaji s popisima zvona trebali su biti gotovi prije početka provedbe rekvizicije, kako bi na vrijeme predali izvještaje prije nego počne skidanje zvona. Brunšmid je uspio od Ratnog ministarstva dobiti pristanak o premještanju vrijednijih zvona, nađenih na sabirnim mjestima. Dio je vraćen na mjesta, a dio je otkupljen za Narodni muzej. Osim za zvona, Brunšmid se zalagao i za spašavanje krovova od umjetničkog značaja.³⁰⁴ Rekvizicije nisu bile pošteđene ni orgulje, orguljske cijevi od kositra ili kositrenih legura, s time da su izuzimane orgulje koje imaju povijesno-umjetničku i glazbenu vrijednost.³⁰⁵

Rekvizicijom nisu bile pošteđene ni privatne osobe koje su predavale predmete umjetničke ili obrtne vrijednosti. Dio tih predmeta ipak je bio izdvojen. Prema urudžbenom zapisniku Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu iz 1916. godine bilo je 28 privatnih molbi za oprost od rekvizicije. Tako je Rudolf H. Cerny uspio uz pomoć Povjerenstva spasiti svoju zbirku metalnih predmeta (zdjela, kadionica, tanjura, škropionica) koji su svi izmjereni i datirani.³⁰⁶ Levin Horvath prijavio je predmete s molbom za izuzeće: okove na tabernakulu, lustere i satove.³⁰⁷

Druga rekvizicija provođena je od 16. kolovoza do 31. prosinca 1917. godine. S obzirom na to da su nakon prve rekvizicije sačuvana većinom samo manja, ali vrijednija zvona, kod druge rekvizicije bila su ugrožena.

Završetkom Prvoga svjetskog rata završava i prva faza rada Povjerenstva. Od 1911. do 1918. godine rad Povjerenstva bio je vrlo intenzivan. Ono je započelo inventarizaciju pretežno sakralnog materijala i prikupljalo literaturu o spomenicima, sudjelovalo je u donošenju pravilnika i naredaba te su davane razne preporuke za obnovu. Veliku pomoć u radu Povjerenstva pružao je zagrebački nadbiskup

Antun Bauer koji je putem niza okružnica pomagao u zaštiti crkvenih spomenika. Rad Povjerenstva u vrijeme rata bio je usmjeren na spašavanje zvona od rekvizicije, uz dobru suradnju s vojnim i političkim vlastima. Završetkom rata zalaganje Povjerenstva kreće u smjeru povrata umjetnina i opsežnog rada na potraživanju ratne odštete.

UTJECAJ EUROPSKE TEORIJE I PRAKSE NA ZAŠTITU SPOMENIKA U HRVATSKOJ I DALMACIJI – IZABRANI PRIMJERI

U Austriji od sredine 19. stoljeća djeluje niz značajnih imena koja su doprinijela razvoju povijesti umjetnosti i teorijskih postavki u zaštiti spomenika, to su Rudolf Eitelberger, Alois Riegel, Georg Gottfried Dehio³⁰⁸ i Max Dvořák. Svi, osim Dehia, predstavnici su Bečke škole povijesti umjetnosti. Njihove studije, pregledi i rasprave bile su pod utjecajem kulturnih i političkih složenosti koje su se zbivale u Austro-Ugarskoj u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća. U svojim djelima tražili su poveznice između kasnoga rimskog carstva i Habsburške Monarhije, koje su kasnije bile podloga za njihova daljnja istraživanja.³⁰⁹ Njihove teorije i rasprave obrađene su u stranoj i domaćoj stručnoj literaturi. S obzirom na to da su sami aktivno sudjelovali u zaštiti spomenika u Dalmaciji ili u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj kao konzervatori Središnjeg povjerenstva i profesori povijesti umjetnosti, a ujedno su aktivno sudjelovali na razvoju institucija u Austriji, njihov utjecaj bio je važan i u institucionalnom razvoju u Hrvatskoj. Ne treba zanemariti ni činjenicu da su glavni nositelji zaštite spomenika druge polovine 19. stoljeća školovani u Beču (Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Isidor Kršnjavi, Viktor Hoffiller, Josip Brunšmid, Gjur Szabo) i da će se ta praksa nastaviti i u prvoj polovini 20. stoljeća (Artur Schneider, Ljubo Karaman).

304 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj IX. 58/82.-1917. dopis je upućen Kr. ug. ministru za zemaljsku obranu.

305 MAROSLAVAC, STJEPAN, 2016., 73. U Slavoniji su sačuvane orgulje u Đakovu u stolnoj crkvi, u Vukovaru u franjevačkoj crkvi, u Čereviću u župnoj crkvi, u Trnavi u župnoj crkvi, djelo Joh. Pump., troje orgulja sačuvano je u Osijeku u župnoj crkvi te u Vrpolju u župnoj crkvi, djelo M. Heferera.

306 AMZ br. 6-1 1918. od 11. siječnja 1918.

307 AMZ br. 6-4 1918. Od 11. veljače 1918.

308 Georg Dehio – najpoznatiji je njegov *Carev govor (Kaiserrede)* iz 1905. godine na sveučilištu u Strasbourgu. Na predavanju o *Zaštiti spomenika i brizi u 19. stoljeću* bio je prisutan car Wilhelm II., a govor je održan na carev rođendan (27. 1. 1905.). Na vrlo jednostavan način objasnio je svoja razmišljanja o zaštiti spomenika. Smatrao je da ne konzerviramo spomenike zato što su lijepi, nego zato što su dio našega nacionalnog postojanja, kad se zaštićuju spomenici ne gleda se zadovoljstvo, nego pijetet/pobožnost. Taj memorijski značaj dominirao je čitavim razdobljem historizma. LEHNE, ANDREAS, 2008., 72-74; MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 2002., 9.

309 RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2009., 446.

layers and the ambience.³¹² Bulić often used the value of age as an argument for preserving old church inventory in correspondence with priests who wanted to replace old items with the new pieces.

Max Dvořák, professor of art history at the University of Vienna, continued the idea of preserving the condition in which objects were found as opposed to their stylistic restoration.³¹³ He followed this position in the project to restore the protection of the Bishop's Palace in Split.³¹⁴ In 1916 in Vienna, Dvořák published the *Catechism of Monument Protection*. In it, he identified and explained the dangers threatening monuments, the value of old artwork, the scope of monument protection, unskilled restoration and general duties, and he gave advice to preserve the monuments. Concerning movable monuments, Dvořák emphasized the importance of preserving and maintaining monuments and giving priority to minor interventions (cleaning, consolidation). In the event of more extensive damage to artwork, restoration to preserve the artistic value, or exclusion of objects from use and their adequate storage, was proposed.³¹⁵

During the requisition of bells, Bulić sent a letter to the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in Croatia and Slavonia* in which he proposed translating Dvořák's aforementioned book. As the reason for publication, he wrote: "...*Since there were a lot of mistakes made in Dalmatia and in Croatia during the last decades in terms of monument restoration, it would be helpful and useful to translate this Catechism into Cro-*

atian and print as many books as possible for all sectors of the population and that they be adapted for our needs..."³¹⁶

Bulić suggested that when translating the *Catechism*, illustrations of buildings from provinces in Austrian countries should be replaced with examples from our regions. To obtain permission to replace the illustrations, he contacted Dvořák directly. Unfortunately, the response of the Land Office was negative, but Bulić's proposal, given that this book was published only one year earlier in 1916, is evidence of how involved he was in the events and the development of conservation in Europe.³¹⁷

The end of World War I and the collapse of the Habsburg Empire did not stop the progress and the development of modern principles of monument protection, and new theories were challenged and developed, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

THE LEGAL REGULATIONS FROM 1850 TO 1918 IN CROATIA AND DALMATIA

The adoption of a Monument Protection Act was a relatively long process in all European countries. Over the centuries, decrees, regulations and instructions, mostly related to movable art, were adopted to prevent their theft and export (principally for archaeological material). The adoption of the Monument Protection Act was preceded, on the one hand, by their destruction, theft and sale, and on the other hand, by many years during which individuals and various societies studied monuments in archival material, literature and in the field. The development of nations and the establishment of cultural institutions enabled the transition from *caring* for monuments to their protection under the law. The height of this process was at the end of the 19th cen-

312 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2012, 343; LEHNE, ANDREAS, 2008, 70, OLIN, MARGARET, 1985, 193.

313 Snješka Knežević states that Dvořák developed Riegl's concept of art history as history of style in the history of spirit, i.e. "that all changes, interference, and different movements can be interpreted from the spirit of a certain period of time that is equally expressed in all cultural creations and that unites them." More in: KNEŽEVIĆ, SNJEŠKA, 1976, 110.

314 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2012, 145.

315 In it, he identifies and explains the dangers threatening the monuments, the value of antiquities, the scope of monument protection, unskilled restoration, general duties, and, at the end, he gives advice in order to preserve monuments. Regarding movable monuments, Dvořák emphasizes the importance of preserving and maintaining monuments, giving priority to minor interventions (cleaning, consolidation). In the event of more extensive damage to art, he proposes restoration that would preserve the artistic value or removal of the item from use and its adequate storage. DVOŘÁK, MAX, 1988, 810-813.

316 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter number 157, October 9, 1917.

317 In the *Catechism*, Dvořák defines and explains the dangers threatening monuments, the value of old art, the scope of monument protection, unskilled restoration, general duties, and recommendations for preserving monuments. Concerning movable monuments, Dvořák emphasizes the importance of preserving and maintaining monuments, and giving priority to minor interventions (cleaning, consolidation). In the event of more extensive damage to art, he proposes restoration that would preserve the artistic value or removal of the item from use and its adequate storage. DVOŘÁK, MAX, 1988, 810-813.

Jedan od prvih bio je Rudolf Eitelberger, prvi profesor povijesti umjetnosti na Sveučilištu u Beču.³¹⁰ Eitelberger je imao velik utjecaj na Kršnjavija, prvo kao njegov profesor, a kasnije kao suradnik. Pored ranije spomenutog osnivanja muzeja i katedre za povijest umjetnosti, Kršnjavija je potaknuo na sudjelovanje na Austrougarskoj industrijskoj izložbi u Trstu 1881. godine.³¹¹ Hrvatska je predstavljala u svom paviljonu hrvatski umjetnički obrt. Kršnjavi je svoja proučavanja narodnog obrta proširio i na proučavanje narodnoga gospodarstva, što ga je približilo Aloisu Rieglu.³¹² Alois Riegl je u ulozi *glavnog konzervatora (Generalkonservator)* putovao cijelom Habsburškom Monarhijom, bio je upućen u sve problematične slučajeve suvremene zaštite spomenika u Austriji te je sudjelovao na obnovi spomenika u Dalmaciji. Riegl je u početcima svog proučavanja umjetničkog obrta konzultirao djela Kršnjavija o podrijetlu ornamentike i „kućne industrije“ te dolazi do njihove suradnje. Kako navodi Jirsak, upravo u vrijeme njihove suradnje Riegl izdaje djelo *Pučka umjetnost, kućna radinost i kućna industrija* u kojem su „dostignuća“ 19. stoljeća u vidu produktivnosti, mobilnosti i ekonomskog razvoja navedeni kao razlog propadanja tradicionalnog rukotvorstva u Istočnoj Europi.³¹³ Kršnjavi nije prihvatio Rieglov termin *Kunstwollen*³¹⁴ već je smatrao da je *ne htjeti ne znati*.³¹⁵ Riegl će svojim djelom *Moderni kult spomenika, njegova bit, njegov postanak (Der Moderne Denkmalkultus, sein Wesen, seine Entstehung)* donijeti novi odnos prema spomenicima, čuvanju starosne vrijednosti, slojevitosti i ambijenta.³¹⁶ Tu *starosnu vrijednost* Bulić je često koristio kao argument očuvanja staroga crkvenog inventara u dopisima svećenicima koji su ga željeli zamijeniti novim.

310 Oesterreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie (1864.) i Kunstgewerbeschule des Oesterreiches Museums (1868.) uredio je prema muzeju Kensington i School of Art – proučavanje, upotreba i studiranje djela i tehnologije iz prošlosti. MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009., 74.

311 Austrougarska industrijsko-poljoprivredna izložba u Trstu održavala se od 1. kolovoza do 15. studenog 1882. Hrvatski paviljon na dva kata, izrađen od hrastovine, bio je djelo arhitekta Bolléa. Izloženi su *tepisi, narodne nošnje, krzna, opanke, vino i mineralna voda*. MESSINA, MICHELA, 2007., 102.

312 JIRSAK, LIBUŠE, 2015., 296.

313 JIRSAK, LIBUŠE, 2015., 299.

314 *Kunstwollen* je Riegl prvi put formulirao u kontekstu dekorativnih umjetnosti, podrijetla ornamentalnih motiva, koje je objavio u svojoj prvoj knjizi *Stilfragen: Grundlegen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik* 1893. godine.

315 MARUŠEVSKI, OLGA, 2009., 132.

316 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2012., 343; LEHNE, ANDREAS, 2008., 70; OLIN, MARGARET, 1985., 193.

Ideju očuvanja zatečenog stanja u zamjenu za stilsko restauriranje nastavit će Max Dvořák, profesor povijesti umjetnosti na Sveučilištu u Beču.³¹⁷ Tog postulata držao se na projektu obnove zaštite Biskupske palače u Splitu.³¹⁸ Dvořák je u Beču 1916. godine objavio djelo *Katekizam zaštite spomenika*. U njemu utvrđuje i obrazlaže opasnosti koje prijete spomenicima, vrijednost staroga umjetničkog djela, opseg zaštite spomenika, pogrešna restauriranja, opće dužnosti i na kraju daje savjete kako bi se spomenici mogli očuvati. Vezano za pokretne spomenike Dvořák naglašava važnost čuvanja i održavanja spomenika, dajući prvenstvo manjim intervencijama (čišćenje, učvršćivanje). U slučaju veće oštećenosti umjetničkih predmeta predlaže restauriranje kojim bi bila očuvana umjetnička vrijednost ili izuzimanje predmeta iz upotrebe i njihovu adekvatnu pohranu.³¹⁹

U vrijeme rekvizicije zvona Bulić je poslao dopis *Zemaljskom povjerenstvu za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji* u kojem je predložio prevođenje navedenog djela Dvořáka. Kao razlog publiciranja predloženog djela navodi: „...Pošto se je ovo zadnjih decenija dosta pogrešilo i u Dalmaciji i u Hrvatskoj u pogledu restauriranja spomenika, bilo bi shodno i korisno, kada bi se ovaj Katekizam preveo na hrvatski jezik i u što većem broju tiskao za sve slojeve pučanstva udešen za naše potrebe...“³²⁰ Bulić je predložio da se pri prevođenju *Katekizma*, u kojemu postoje ilustracije zgrada iz pokrajina austrijskih zemalja, one zamijene primjerima iz naših krajeva. Za dobivanje dopuštenja u vezi mijenjanja primjera za ilustracije izravno se obratio Dvořáku. Nažalost, odgovor Zemaljskog povjerenstva bio je negativan, no prijedlog Bulića, s obzirom na to da je navedena knjiga izdana svega godinu dana ranije, 1916., svakako govori o njegovoj uključenosti u zbivanja i razvoj konzervatorske misli tadašnje Europe.³²¹

Završetak Prvoga svjetskog rata i raspad Habsburškog carstva nisu prekinuli prodiranje i širenje *modernih principa*

317 Snješka Knežević navodi da je Dvořák razvio Rieglov pojam povijesti umjetnosti kao povijesti stila u povijest duha, odnosno „da se sve promjene, antagonizmi, različiti tokovi, mogu protumačiti iz duha određenog vremena koji se jednakovrijedno izražava u svim tvorevinama kulture i povezuje ih u jedinstvo“. Više u: KNEŽEVIĆ, SNJEŠKA, 1976., 110.

318 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2012., 145.

319 DVOŘÁK, MAX, 1988., 810-813.

320 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 157 od 9. listopada 1917.

321 DVOŘÁK, MAX, 1988., 810-813.

ture, when laws were introduced throughout European countries.³¹⁸

In the entire Habsburg Monarchy, no law on monument protection was adopted until its collapse in 1918. Of all the crown countries, only Hungary adopted a law on protection in 1881.³¹⁹ Austria did not adopt a law on protection even though it worked intensively on it. In Austria, the first proposal of six articles was filed by Baron Wilhelm von Weckbecker in 1894. The bill was written, based on a survey conducted by the Ministry of Religion and Education.³²⁰ The second bill from 1896 was based on the Hungarian law from 1881, but it was not adopted.³²¹ Helfert, Riegl, Karl von Czyhlarz and Maximilian Bauer wrote proposals that were discussed at sessions, amended and supplemented, but not passed.³²² The most famous is Riegl's bill from 1903.

The proposal begins with the foreword, and continues with the famous essay *The modern cult of monuments, its essence, its origin (Der Moderne Denkmalkultus, sein Wesen, seine Entstehung)*³²³ and, at the end, the introduction to the law.³²⁴ It should be noted that the law included taking inventory and the classification of monuments.³²⁵

318 Laws were adopted in the following order: Greece 1834, Denmark 1861, Sweden 1867, Italy 1870, Hungary 1881, Great Britain 1882, Finland 1883, Turkey 1884, Norway 1886, France and Spain 1887, Bulgaria 1889, Romania 1892, Switzerland 1898, Prussia 1907, Belgium 1912, Austria 1923, Poland 1928. BROWN, GERARD BALDWIN, 1905, 44-45; TOMIĆ, STEVAN, 1958, 8; in his review *Legislature of Architectural Heritage (Zakonodavstvo arhitektonske baštine)*, Krstić lists four basic principles that are the basis of the first and subsequent laws on monument protection. They are: *Old buildings are protected by law as cultural monuments; the establishment of protection services through which the state monitors their protection; conservation and restoration methods are applied for the purpose of their preservation; and the possibility of expropriation as protection.* KRSTIĆ, BRANKO, 2006: 492-493; Defining monument protection in private property in the event of a threat of destruction was a matter of concern in all European countries when drafting the law. The possibility of expropriation was introduced into the laws in various ways and measures. BROWN, GERARD BALDWIN, 1905, 9. 319 1881. ÉVI XXXIX. TÖRVÉNY-CZIKK A MŰEMLÉKEK FENTARTÁSÁRŐL. 320 ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 308-309.

321 ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 314.

322 More on the aforementioned suggestions: ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 326-334.

323 More in: *Anatomija povijesnog spomenika*, p. 351 – 411, translation Libuša Jirsak, edited by Marko Špikić.

324 OLIN, MARGARET, 1985, 193.

325 ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 335.

In Dalmatia, since the second half of the 19th century, legal regulations were applied in the entire Austrian Empire. The Royal Order from 1852 that declared the Law on Trade which prohibited, among other items, the sale of art items (liturgical vessels, paintings and statues), as well as the Governor's regulation from 1855 that included items which passed from state collections into private possession, were important for the protection of movable art.³²⁶

The *Circular* of governor Emil David von Rohnfeld was of great importance, and, on May 22, 1894, he sent it to all the Imperial and Royal County Councils. The *Circular* warned about the sale and export of *historical and artistic items* from the province. He encouraged keeping these items with the local people, and their education and cooperation with local conservators. The *Circular* mentioned all levels of government, from municipalities and the Imperial and Royal Armed Forces, the Provincial Financial Directorate, the honorary conservators of the Central Commission, the clergy and the public, Governorship, all to protect movable art.³²⁷

In the 19th century, the legal protection of monuments in Croatia and Slavonia as well as Dalmatia was based on circulars and orders. After the Croatian-Hungarian settlement in 1867, continental Croatia and Slavonia were no longer part of administrative Austria or under the authority of the Central Commission. In 1869, the Land Government was established with, among others, the Department of Internal Affairs, the Department of Civil Engineering, and the Department of Religion and Education, that were responsible for monument protection. As part of its operation, the Department of Religion and Education suggested instructions, circulars and legal articles concerning monument protection. As mentioned above, the Department also decided on the allocation of funds for the repair of churches and the procurement of inventory.³²⁸ The practice of having monument protection incorporated within one of the Ministry's departments was present in all Euro-

326 More on processes against offenders in: ČAPETA RAKIĆ, IVANA, 2016, 7.

327 MKM-KOST Order no. 11638, *Bulletino* 1895:3-4, ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010.

328 NIKOLAJEVIĆ, LJILJANA, 1988-1989, 56.

zaštite spomenika, već dolazi do propitivanja i razvijanja novih teoretskih postavki u kojima će sudjelovati i domaći stručnjaci, o čemu će biti riječi u sljedećim poglavljima.

ZAKONSKA REGULATIVA OD 1850. DO 1918. GODINE U HRVATSKOJ I DALMACIJI

Donošenje zakona o zaštiti spomenika bilo je relativno dug proces na razini svih europskih država. Tijekom stoljeća donošeni su dekreti, uredbe, naputci, ponajviše za pokretne umjetničke predmete, kako bi se spriječila njihova krađa i izvoz (većinom su se odnosili na arheološki materijal). Donošenju Zakona o zaštiti spomenika prethodilo je s jedne strane njihovo uništavanje, otuđivanje i trgovina, a s druge strane višegodišnje iskustvo pojedinaca i različitih društava na proučavanju spomenika u arhivskim materijalima, literaturi i terenskoj obradi. Nacionalno sazrijevanje i uspostavljanje kulturnih institucija omogućit će prelazak s *brige* za spomenike na njihovu zakonsku zaštitu. Vrhunac je bio krajem 19. stoljeća, kada se lančano počinju donositi zakoni u svim europskim državama.³²²

Na razini cijele Habsburške Monarhije nije donesen zakon o zaštiti spomenika sve do kraja njezinog postojanja 1918. godine. Od svih krunskih zemalja samo je Ugarska 1881. godine donijela svoj zakon o zaštiti.³²³ Austrija nije donijela zakon o zaštiti iako je intenzivno radila na njemu. U Austriji je prvi prijedlog zakona od šest članaka podnio barun Wilhelm von Weckbecker 1894. godine. Prijedlog je napisan na osnovi ankete koju je provelo Ministarstvo bogoštovlja i nastave.³²⁴ Drugi prijedlog zakona iz 1896. bio je napisan

po uzoru na ugarski zakon iz 1881., ali nije usvojen.³²⁵ Potom Helfert, Riegl, Karl von Czyhlarz i Maximilian Bauer donose prijedloge zakona koji su na sjednicama bili razmatrani, mijenjani i dopunjavani, ali nisu doneseni.³²⁶ Najpoznatiji od svih prijedloga jest onaj Riegllov iz 1903. godine. Prijedlog započinje predgovorom, nastavlja se slavnim esejom *Moderni kult spomenika, njegova bit, njegov postanak (Der moderne Denkmalkultus, sein Wesen, seine Entstehung)*³²⁷ te na kraju uvod u sam zakon.³²⁸ Treba napomenuti da je zakonom bila predviđena inventarizacija i klasifikacija spomenika.³²⁹

U Dalmaciji su se od druge polovine 19. stoljeća primjenjivale zakonske odredbe na razini Austrijskog carstva. Za zaštitu pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta važna je bila Carska naredba iz 1852. kojom je proglašen zakon o trgovini, koji je, među ostalim, zabranio trgovanje umjetničkim predmetima: crkvenim posuđem, slikama i kipovima, te Namjesnička uredba iz 1955. kojom su bili obuhvaćeni predmeti koji su iz državnih kolekcija došli u privatni posjed.³³⁰

Velik značaj imala je *Okružnica* namjesnika Emila Davida von Rohnfelda koju je uputio na sva carska i kraljevska kotarska poglavarstva 22. svibnja 1894. godine. Okružnicom se upozorava na prodaju i izvoz *historičkih i umjetničkih predmeta* iz Pokrajine. Potiče čuvanje tih predmeta kod lokalnog pučanstva te njihovu edukaciju i suradnju s lokalnim konzervatorima. Okružnicom su spomenute sve razine upravljanja, od općina i carskog i kraljevskog Oružništva, Pokrajinskog financijskog ravnateljstva, počasnih konzervatora Središnjeg povjerenstva, svećenstva i pučanstva te samog Namjesništva, a sve u cilju zaštite pokretnih predmeta.³³¹

U 19. stoljeću pravna zaštita spomenika za područje Hrvatske i Slavonije kao i u Dalmaciji temeljila se na okružnicama i naredbama. Nakon Hrvatsko-ugarske nagodbe 1867. kontinentalna Hrvatska sa Slavonijom prestala je biti

322 Zakoni su doneseni sljedećim redom: Grčka 1834., Danska 1861., Švedska 1867., Italija 1870., Mađarska 1881., Velika Britanija 1882., Finska 1883., Turska 1884., Norveška 1886., Francuska i Španjolska 1887., Bugarska 1889., Rumunjska 1892., Švicarska 1898., Pruska 1907., Belgija 1912., Austrija 1923., Poljska 1928. BROWN, GERARD BALDWIN, 1905., 44-45; TOMIĆ, STEVAN, 1958., 8. Krstić u svom pregledu *Zakonodavstvo arhitektonске baštine* navodi četiri osnovna načela na kojima počivaju prvi i kasniji zakoni o zaštiti spomenika. To su: *Stare građevine zaštićuju se zakonom kao spomenici kulture, uspostavljanje službe zaštite pomoću koje države nadzire njihovu zaštitu, primjenjuje se konzervatorske i restauratorske metode u cilju njihovog očuvanja te mogućnost eksproprijacije kao zaštite*. KRSTIĆ, BRANKO, 2006., 492-493. Definiranje zaštite spomenika u privatnom vlasništvu u slučaju opasnosti od uništenja bilo je pitanje nad pitanjima u svim europskim zemljama prilikom izrade zakona. Mogućnost eksproprijacije bila je na različite načine i mjere uvedena u tadašnje zakone. BROWN, 1905., 9.

323 1881. ÉVI XXXIX. TÖRVÉNY-CZIKK A MŰEMLÉKEK FENTARTÁSÁRÓL.

324 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 308-309.

325 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 314.

326 Više o navedenim prijedlozima: ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 326-334.

327 Više u: *Anatomija povijesnog spomenika*, str. 351 – 411, prijevod Libuše Jirsak, ur. Marko Špikić.

328 OLIN, MARGARET, 1985., 193.

329 ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 335.

330 Više o procesima vođenim protiv prekršitelja u: ČAPETA RAKIĆ, IVANA, 2016., 7.

331 MKM-KOST Naredba pod brojem 11638, *Bulletino* 1895., 3-4, ČORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010.

pean countries at the time.³²⁹

In 1881, the first Hungarian *Law on the Protection of Art Monuments* was adopted. The law had four chapters: heritage sites and their maintenance; expropriation for the purpose of maintaining monuments; directives on penalisation; and final provisions. According to the *Law*, monuments were under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Religion and Education.³³⁰

Croatia and Slavonia did not directly enforce the law, but when the Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia was founded, they used the Hungarian Statute of the Land Office for art monuments in Budapest passed under Article XXXIX: 1881 (IV Chapter 19 – 24 §).³³¹ Gjuro Szabo, secretary of the Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, emphasized in his reports that the aforementioned Hungarian law was never applied in Croatia.³³²

When the Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia was founded at the beginning of the 20th century, intense efforts to draft and pass the law on monument protection in continental Croatia began. The regulations that had existed before were still enforced. During the day-to-day work, the Land Office saw flaws or failures to comply with previous decrees, orders, instructions and circulars that were announced by church and political authorities. The start of the Land Office is connected with the establishment and adoption of the Statute of the Land Office and

the Instructions for conservators. The *Order for the provision of new church furniture and the preservation of church furniture and historical buildings of artistic value* was passed in 1912; and the *Order forbidding heads (directors) and clerks of national museums and similar institutions in the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia from ownership, compiling private collections and selling antiquities* in 1913.³³³ When World War I began, the Land Office focused on preserving items made out of copper, which primarily involved bells, and rescuing endangered historic buildings, churches and their inventory from war destruction. Hence, guidelines and regulations regarding the protection of bells, especially those created before 1600, were issued.

In addition to the development of legislation related to monument protection during peace time, international co-operation also began with respect to drafting rules during war conflicts. The start was a conference held in Brussels on August 27, 1874, at the invitation of Russian Emperor Alexander II, where the development of a code of recognized rules and the “use” of war on land was discussed. Articles 8 and 17 of the declaration referred to movable art objects. The Declaration passed at the conference was not ratified, but it was taken into account when drafting the Hague Convention in 1899.³³⁴ In 1889, during the Exposition universelle in Paris and under the auspices of the International Law Institute, the “international congress on the protection of artwork and monuments” was held. It was attended by experts and artists from many countries around the world. The Congress determined that all monuments belong to all of mankind, and asked the governments of individual countries to designate representatives who would examine and mark those monuments that should, in the case of war, be protected by an international convention.³³⁵ These are the conclusions that can be found in the First Hague Peace Conference held in 1899. The program only included issues regarding international war law. Several articles dealt with the protection of movable art. For example, Article 23 referred to

329 BROWN, GERARD BALDWIN, 1905, 8.

330 1881, ÉVI XXXIX. TÖRVÉNY-CZIKK A MŰEMLÉKEK FENTARTÁSÁRÓL. I would like to thank Eszter Petkovic for the translation of the Law.

331 Specifically, this refers to Article 21, which stipulates that the president and board members are not remunerated, and the secretary, who is in charge of administrative and archival duties, is paid from the budget. The office work of the Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia was regulated in the same way. 1881, ÉVI XXXIX.

332 Ivo Maroević states that the aforementioned Hungarian law on the protection of cultural monuments was applied in the northern and eastern parts of Croatia from the Croatian-Hungarian settlement in 1868. MAROEVIC, IVO, 2000, 139. In my research, I reviewed *Zbornik zakona* from 1850 to 1990, as well as stenographic notes of Parliament sessions, and I did not find a provision, order or law that would enforce the said law for the territory of Croatia and Slavonia.

333 Published: *Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, 1913, Part I-X, No. 1.-122., Order no. 5., Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, Zagreb 1913, 103.

334 WILLIAMS, SHARON ANNE, 1978, 16-17.

335 STULLI, BERNARD, 1974-1975, 322.

u administrativnom sklopu Austrije te time i u nadležnosti Središnjeg povjerenstva. Godine 1869. ustanovljena je Zemaljska vlada unutar koje su, među ostalim, bili Odjel za unutrašnje poslove s Odsjekom za građevinarstvo i Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu koji su u svojoj nadležnosti imali poslove vezane uz zaštitu spomenika. Odjel za bogoštovlje i nastavu predložio je unutar svojeg djelovanja naputke, okružnice i zakonske članke koji su se odnosili na zaštitu spomenika. Odjel je, kao što je ranije spomenuto, odlučivao i o dodjeli financijskih sredstava za popravak crkava i nabavu inventara.³³² Takva praksa da je zaštita spomenika inkorporirana unutar jednog od odjela Ministarstva prisutna je tada u svim europskim državama.³³³

Godine 1881. donosi se prvi ugarski *Zakon o zaštiti umjetničkih spomenika*. Zakon ima četiri poglavlja: o spomenicima kulture i njihovom održavanju, o izvlaštenju u cilju održavanja spomenika, odluke o kažnjavanju i završne odredbe. Prema *Zakonu* spomenici su u nadležnosti Ministarstva bogoštovlja i nastave.³³⁴

Hrvatska i Slavonija nisu primjenjivale izravno navedeni zakon, ali su se pri osnivanju Zemaljskog povjerenstva za čuvanje umjetničkih i historičkih spomenika u kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji služile ugarskim Statutom Zemaljskog povjerenstva za spomenike umjetnosti u Budimpešti koji je donesen prema zakonskom članku XXXIX:1881 (IV glava 19-24 §).³³⁵ U izvještajima Gjüre Szaba, tajnika Zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, ističe se da se u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji nikada nije primjenjivao navedeni ugarski zakon.³³⁶

332 NIKOLAJEVIĆ, LJILJANA, 1988.-1989., 56.

333 BROWN, GERARD BALDWIN, 1905., 8.

334 1881. ÉVI XXXIX. TÖRVÉNY-CZIKK A MŰEMLÉKEK FENTARTÁSÁRÓL. Na prijevodu Zakona najljubaznije zahvaljujem Eszter Petković.

335 Posebno se to odnosi na članak 21. kojim se određuje da predsjednik i članovi odbora ne dobivaju naknadu, a tajnik u čijoj su nadležnosti administrativni i arhivski poslovi dobiva primanja iz proračuna. Na taj način bilo je uređeno i uredsko poslovanje Zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji. 1881. ÉVI XXXIX.

336 Ivo Maroević navodi da se od Hrvatsko-ugarske nagodbe 1868. godine u sjevernom i istočnom dijelu Hrvatske počinje primjenjivati navedeni mađarski zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture. MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 2000., 139. U svom istraživanju pregledala sam Zbornike zakona od 1850. do 1990. i stenografske bilješke sjednica sabora i nisam pronašla odredbu, naredbu ili zakon kojim bi navedeni zakon stupio na snagu za područje Hrvatske i Slavonije.

Osnivanjem Zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji početkom 20. stoljeća započeo je intenzivan rad na izradi i donošenju zakona o zaštiti spomenika u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj. Uredbe koje su do tada postojale i dalje su bile na snazi. U svakodnevnom radu Povjerenstvo je uvidalo manjkavosti ili neprovođenje dotadašnjih uredbi, naredbi, naputaka i okružnica koje su ranije proglašavale crkvene i političke vlasti. Početak rada Povjerenstva bio je vezan uz ustrojenje i donošenje statuta Povjerenstva i Naputka za konzervatore. Godine 1912. donesena je *Naredba kojom se izdaju odredbe o nabavi novog crkvenog namještaja te čuvanju crkvenog namještaja i povijesnih građevina umjetničke vrijednosti*, a godine 1913. *Naredba kojom se predstojnicima (ravnateljima) i činovnicima zemaljskih muzeja i sličnih zavoda u kraljevini Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji zabranjuje posjedovanje i sastavljanje privatnih zbirki i trgovanje starinama*.³³⁷

Početak Prvoga svjetskog rata usmjerio je rad Povjerenstva na očuvanje predmeta od bakra, u prvom redu zvona, i spašavanje ugroženih historijskih građevina i crkava s inventarom od ratnih razaranja. Stoga su donesene upute, uredbe vezane uz zaštitu zvona, posebno onih nastalih prije 1600. godine.

Pored razvoja zakonske regulative vezane uz zaštitu spomenika u mirnodopsko vrijeme, započinje i međunarodna suradnja na izradi pravila u vrijeme ratnih sukoba. Začetak takve suradnje je konferencija održana u Bruxellesu 27. kolovoza 1874. godine na poziv ruskog cara Aleksandra II., na kojoj se raspravljalo o izradi koda priznatih pravila i „upotrebe“ rata na kopnu. U deklaraciji se članci 8. i 17. odnose na pokretne umjetničke predmete. Deklaracija donesena na konferenciji nije bila ratificirana, ali je bila uzeta u obzir prilikom izrade Haške konvencije 1899. godine.³³⁸ Pod pokroviteljstvom Instituta za međunarodno pravo, godine 1889., u vrijeme trajanja Svjetske izložbe u Parizu, održan je „međunarodni kongres za zaštitu umjetničkih djela i spomenika“, na kojem su sudjelovali stručnjaci i umjetnici iz mnogih država svijeta. Na Kongresu je utvrđeno da svi spomenici pripadaju cijelom

337 Objavljeno: Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1913., Komad I-X, Broj 1.-122., Naredba br. 5., Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, Zagreb, 1913., 103.

338 WILLIAMS, SHARON ANNE, 1978., 16-17.

the ban on the destruction or seizure of enemy property, except in cases where destruction or seizure were of military necessity; Article 27 stipulated that, in the event of siege and bombing, all necessary measures must be taken to protect, as much as possible, buildings dedicated to religious ceremonies, art, science and charitable purposes, historical monuments, hospitals and collection centres for patients and the wounded, under the condition that they were not used for military purposes at the same time. It is the responsibility of those who are attacked to mark these buildings and collection centres with special visible signs, and they will be notified about the signs in advance. Article 56 defined the treatment of goods: municipal goods, goods of institutions dedicated to religious ceremonies, charity, teaching, science and art, even if they belonged to the state, must be treated as private property. Any seizure, destruction or deliberate damage to similar institutions, historical monuments, art and scholarly works was forbidden and must be subject to the law.³³⁶ The Second Hague Peace Conference in 1907 largely confirmed the text of the 1899 Convention. The differences in provisions that directly or indirectly relate to monument protection are insignificant, except for expanding the number of countries that accepted the described protection.³³⁷

In order to get a clear picture of the legislation related to the protection of cultural monuments, the following section contains the most important legal decisions:

The Imperial Patent of November 26, 1852, which orders new conditions for establishing various societies.³³⁸

A permit from the state administration was required to establish various societies. According to the Imperial Patent, societies were supposed to be organized according to a social, pre-arranged rule, and to allow access to everyone. The permit was needed to establish a society for public and general use, such as the promotion of science and art, for settlements, for savings banks, and for *mining companies*. To establish a society, it was necessary to describe the

foundation, collect necessary documents and rules outlining the purpose of the society's activities and the means necessary to achieve it, the way to assemble and renew the society, as well as the rights and duties of members.

All societies had to be approved by Emperor Franz Joseph because of the danger of highlighting national and other tendencies important for the survival of the Monarchy.³³⁹

This Imperial Patent was particularly important in the process of approving the establishment and further operation of the Society for History and Antiquities of Yugoslavia, one of the first to point to the importance of collecting material and the need to organize new institutions and associations.

The Order issuing a regulation for the protection of the private sector of public scientific and artistic collections and other capable institutions³⁴⁰

The Order stipulated that public collections of scientific and artistic works needed to be protected, and items could not be removed or stolen from collections. "... *If any public authorities, offices or bodies realize or are warned that certain items were the property of private individuals or intended for sale, originating from public archives, registries, libraries, museums, natural history collections, astronomical, geognostic, scientific and art collections, treasuries, painting galleries, etc., and which, by their nature, from the outside or by virtue of their circumstances, it can clearly be seen that they really come from there, but it cannot immediately be proven how the objects came legally into private hands: the government, office or body shall immediately take these objects, and store them, and take legal action, to return the items to the public institution to which they belong.*"

If they had artistic value, and ownership could not be proven, individual items were returned to the competent institutions.

336 First Hague Convention, 1899.

337 STULLI, BERNARD, 1974-1975, 330.

338 Published: Zemaljsko-vladin kist za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju 1853, Razdjel I, No. 4, Royal patent from November 26, 1852 which orders new lawful institutions of society.

339 The Society for the History and Antiquities of Yugoslavia had to comply with the above-mentioned Royal patent.

340 Published: Zemaljsko-vladin list za Kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju 1858, Razdjel I, Komad XXIX, No. 229, The Order of the Ministry of External Affairs, Internal Affairs, Justice, Finance, Religion and Education, Trade, Crafts and Public Buildings, Supreme Army Command and Supreme Regulatory Authority from December 16, 1858.

čovječanstvu te je zatraženo da vlade pojedinih zemalja odrede predstavnike koji će ispitati i označiti one spomenike koji bi po svom značaju u slučaju rata trebali biti zaštićeni jednom međunarodnom konvencijom.³³⁹ Takve zaključke nalazimo u Prvoj haškoj mirovnoj konferenciji održanoj 1899. godine. Program je obuhvaćao isključivo pitanja međunarodnoga ratnog prava. U nekoliko svojih članaka bavi se zaštitom pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta. Tako se npr. članak 23. odnosi na zabranu uništavanja ili plijenjenja neprijateljske imovine, osim slučajeva kad bi ta uništavanja ili zapljene imperativno nalagala vojna potreba; članak 27. nalaže da se prilikom opsada i bombardiranja moraju poduzeti sve potrebne mjere da se poštede, koliko je god to moguće, zgrade posvećene vjerskim obredima, umjetnosti, znanosti i dobrotvornim svrhama, historijski spomenici, bolnice i sabirališta bolesnika i ranjenika, pod uvjetom da nisu u isto vrijeme upotrijebljeni u vojne svrhe. Dužnost je napadnutih da označe te zgrade i sabirališta specijalnim vidnim znacima o kojima će biti unaprijed obaviješten napadač. Članak 56. definira postupanje s dobrima: s općinskim dobrima, dobrima ustanova posvećenih vjerskim obredima, dobročinstvu, nastavi, nauci i umjetnosti, čak i kad pripadaju državi, postupaju se kao s privatnom svojinom. Svaka zapljena, uništenje ili namjerno oštećenje sličnih ustanova, historijskih spomenika, umjetničkih i znanstvenih djela zabranjeno je i mora biti predmet postupanja po zakonu.³⁴⁰ Druga haška mirovna konferencija iz 1907. uglavnom je potvrdila tekst Konvencije iz 1899. godine. Razlike su neznatne u onim odredbama koje se neposredno ili posredno odnose na zaštitu spomenika, osim širenja kruga država koje su opisane zaštitu prihvatile.³⁴¹

Kako bismo dobili jasnu sliku o zakonodavstvu vezanom uz zaštitu spomenika kulture, u idućem odlomku navedene su najvažnije zakonske odluke:

Carski patent od 26. studenoga 1852. godine kojim se naređuju novi uvjeti za utemeljivanje raznih društava³⁴²

Za utemeljivanje raznih društava bila je potrebna dozvola državne uprave. Prema Carskom patentu društva su trebala biti organizirana prema društvenom, unaprijed dogovorenom pravilu, te da se svakom dopusti pristup društvu. Dozvola je bila potrebna za osnivanje društva za javne i opće korisne svrhe, kao npr. za promicanje znanosti i umjetnosti, za naseljavanje, za štedionice, za *rudnička poduzeća*. Za utemeljenje društva bilo je potrebno obrazložiti osnovu, prikupiti potrebne spise i pravila iz kojih je navedena svrha djelovanja društva i potrebna sredstva kako to postići, način sastavljanja i obnavljanja društva te prava i dužnosti članova društva.

Zbog opasnosti od isticanja nacionalnih i drugih tendencija važnih za opstanak Monarhije sva je društva morao odobriti car Franjo Josip.³⁴³

Ovaj Carski patent osobito je bio važan u procesu odobravanja osnivanja te daljnjeg djelovanja Društva za povjesticu jugoslavensku, koje je među prvima ukazalo na važnost prikupljanja građe i potrebu organiziranja novih institucija i udruženja.

Naredba kojom se izdaje propis za zaštitu vlastine javnih znanstvenih i umjetničkih sbiraka i drugih sposobnih zavoda³⁴⁴

Ovom Naredbom bilo je određeno da se javne zbirke znanstvenih i umjetničkih djela trebaju zaštititi, a predmeti iz zbirki nisu se smjeli iznositi ili otuđiti. „... *Ako se kojoj javnoj vlasti, uredu ili organu prigodom uredovnog djelovanja dese ili naznačeni predmeti budu, kao vlasništvo kojega privatnog čovjeka ili namijenjeni za trgovinu, kojima je porijeklo iz nekih javnih arhiva, registratura, biblioteka,*

339 STULLI, BERNARD, 1974.-1975., 322.

340 Prva haška konvencija, 1899.

341 STULLI, BERNARD, 1974.-1975., 330.

342 Objavljeno: Zemaljsko-vladin list za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju 1853, Razdjel I, broj 4., Carski patent od 26. studenog 1852. godine kojim se naređuju nove zakonite ustanove društvi.

343 Društvo za jugoslavensku povjesticu moralo se uskladiti prema navedenom Carskom patentu.

344 Objavljeno: Zemaljsko-vladin list za Kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju 1858, Razdjel I, Komad XXIX, broj 229, Naredba ministarstva izvanjskih djela, unutarnjih djela, pravosuđa, financija, za bogoštovje i nastavu, za trgovinu, obrte i javne gradjevine, vrhovnoga zapovjedništva vojske i vrhovne vlasti redarstvene od 16. prosinca 1858.

The Legislative Article XXIV: 1872, on the temporary protection of items to be exhibited at the Vienna World Exposition in 1873³⁴¹

The law consists of six articles. Article 1 stipulates that items protected by benefits, a duty stamp or a duty form through regulations, are also protected from the main director of the World Exposition. It is necessary to enclose the application, at the latest before the exhibition opens and include a list of items (sometimes with a sketch) in two sets, in two envelopes with a duty stamp or a duty form added to the application. If the application was delivered by an authorized person, power of attorney was also required. The protection certificate was issued by the main director of the World Exposition with the signature of the competent authority from the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Agriculture, Crafts and Trade. The date the protection began had to be recorded on the receipt every time. The main director of the World Exposition was in charge of the two identical copies of the register of appeals and issued a protection certificate, one copy with the request, a description and a duty stamp at the Austrian Ministry of Trade, and the other at the Royal Ministry of Agriculture, Crafts and Trade. According to the 2nd article, issued protection certificates were published in the official Austrian and Hungarian papers. The protection certificate was public and could be inspected, while the forms, if requested in the application, had to be kept confidential.

World exhibitions were places to exchange information and present the breadth and depth of cultural and economic reach.³⁴² The topic of historic monuments, as part of the exhibition, was present from the first exhibition in Paris – *World Exhibition of Agricultural Products and Fine Arts (Exposition universelle des produits de l'agriculture et des beaux-arts)* in 1855. In addition to their achievements in architecture and crafts, countries presented their restoration practices and monument protection.³⁴³ Following Par-

is (1855, 1867) and London (1862, 1871, 1872, 1873), the fifth World Exposition was held in Vienna in 1873.³⁴⁴ The exhibition was held from May 1 until November 2, 1873. For the first time, there were pavilions for Japan, China and the Ottoman Empire. The *Croatian Pavilion* was exhibited as part of the presentation of traditional architecture of the Habsburg Monarchy. The first international congress on art history was organized by Eitelberger and held during the exhibition.³⁴⁵

The Law on the Design of the National Museum in Zagreb from September 14, 1878³⁴⁶

According to this Law, the National Museum is the institute of the kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, under the supreme administration of the Department of Religion and Education of the Royal Land Government. Each department of the National Museum had a director, an assistant and a contractor, along with a taxidermist for the zoological department. According to the Law, the purpose of the Museum was to present the fauna, the land and antiquities from the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, and serve the purposes and needs of practical training in natural history and antiquity at the Franz Joseph I University in Zagreb, as well as the education of districts. Under the law, each department of the National Museum received an annual grant/assistance: *for the vocational library, for the purchase of instruments and machinery, for the scientific research of the land and the acquisition of products from nature, antiquities and furniture. The departments received an advance for small expenses for which there were no receipts.*

The Order of the Department of Religion and Education of the Royal Land Government dated October 9, 1882, no. 10034.³⁴⁷

The Order established the Crafts School at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb.

344 SWENSON, ASTRID, 2013, 156.

345 RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2009, 447-449.

346 Published: Sbornik zakonah i naredabah 1878, komad XXVI, No. 59, p. 384.

347 Published: Sbornik zakonah i naredabah 1883, komad VII, No. 28, p. 252.

341 Published: Sbornik zakonah i naredabah 1873, komad I-XXI, No. 1-61, Zakonski članak XXIV, p. 29.

342 ARČABIĆ, GORAN, 2007, 14.

343 More in: SWENSON, ASTRID, 2013, 155-156.

muzeja, prirodoslovnih kabineta, fizikalnih kabineta, astronomičkih, geognostičkih, iz znanstvenih i umjetničkih zbirki, iz riznica, galerija slika itd., i glede kojih po njihovoj naravi, po vanjskom slici, ili po inim okolnosti očito se vidi, da stvarno od tamo proishode, a ne može se odmah dokazati, kako su predmeti zakonitim putem došli u privatne ruke: vlast, ured ili organ od istih predmete odmah će uzeti te pohraniti i provesti zakoniti postupak, da kao vlasništvo se vrate onomu javnom zavodu gdje su bili i prije.“

Ukoliko imaju umjetničku vrijednost, a ne može im se dokazati vlasništvo, pojedinačni predmeti morali su biti vraćeni u nadležne institucije.

Zakonski članak XXIV:1872., o privremenoj zaštiti predmeta, što će izloženi biti na bečkoj Svjetskoj izložbi god. 1873.³⁴⁵

Zakon se sastoji od 6 članaka. U članku 1. određeno je da su predmeti koji su propisima zaštićeni povlasticama, biljgom na robu ili obrascem, zaštićeni i od glavnog ravnatelja svjetske izložbe. Potrebno je priložiti molbu, najkasnije prije otvorenja izložbe; uz molbu se prilaže opis predmeta (ponekad i skica) u dva jednaka primjerka, u dvije kuverte s biljgom ili obrascem. Ako molbu predaje opunomoćenik, potrebno je priložiti i punomoć. Zaštitnu priznanicu izdaje glavni ravnatelj Svjetske izložbe uz potpis nadležnog tijela Kraljevsko-ugarskom ministarstvu za poljodjelstvo, obrt i trgovinu. Datum kojim počinje zaštita potrebno je zabilježiti svaki put na priznanicu. Upisnik o molbama i izdanim zaštitnim priznamicama vodi glavni ravnatelj Svjetske izložbe u dva jednaka primjerka, po jedan primjerak zajedno s molbom, opisom, biljgom u austrijskom ministarstvu za trgovinu, a drugi u kraljevsko-ugarskom ministarstvu za poljodjelstvo, obrt i trgovinu. Prema 2. članku izdane zaštitne potvrde objavljuju se u službenom austrijskom i ugarskom listu. Zaštitna potvrda je javna i može se tražiti uvid, dok su se obrasci, ako ih se zatražilo u molbi, trebali držati u tajnosti.

Svjetske izložbe bile su mjesta razmjene informacija, prezentacije životnog stila kulturnog i gospodarskog doseg.³⁴⁶

345 Objavljeno: Sbornik zakonah i naredabah 1873., komad I-XXI, br. 1-61, Zakonski članak XXIV, str. 29.

346 ARČABIĆ, GORAN, 2007., 14.

Tema povijesnih spomenika, kao dio izložbe, bila je prisutna od prve izložbe u Parizu, *Univerzalne izložbe poljoprivrednih proizvoda i likovne umjetnosti (Exposition universelle des produits de l'agriculture et des beaux-arts)* 1855. godine. Zemlje sudionice izložbe uz svoja su dostignuća u arhitekturi i obrtu predstavljale svoju restauratorsku praksu i zaštitu spomenika.³⁴⁷ Nakon Pariza (1855., 1867.) i Londona (1862.), Svjetska izložba održana je u Beču 1873. godine.³⁴⁸ Izložba je otvorena 1. svibnja, trajala je do 2. studenoga 1873. Prvi put su postojali paviljoni za Japan, Kinu i Otomansko carstvo. Na izložbi je bila izložena *Hrvatska kuća* kao dio prezentacije tradicijskog graditeljstva zemalja Habsburške Monarhije. U vrijeme izložbe održan je i prvi međunarodni kongres povijesti umjetnosti koji je organizirao Eitelberger.³⁴⁹

Zakon o uređenju Narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu od 14. rujna 1878.³⁵⁰

Prema ovome Zakonu Narodni muzej je zavod zemaljskih kraljevina Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije, pod vrhovnom upravom Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu Kr. zemaljske vlade. Svaki odjel Narodnog muzeja trebao je imati ravnatelja, pomoćnika i poduzetnika, a zooološki odjel osim toga još i preparatora. Prema Zakonu svrha Muzeja je predstavljanje faune, *gee* i starina Kraljevine Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije, te je trebao služiti za svrhe i potrebe praktične *obuke u „prirodopisu i starinarstvu“* na sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu, te služiti samom školovanju općina. Svaki odjel Narodnog muzeja prema zakonu je trebao dobivati godišnju dotaciju/pripomoć:

- za strukovnu knjižnicu
- za nabavu sprava i strojeva
- za znanstveno istraživanje zemlje i nabavu prirodnina i starina
- za pokušstvo dotle, dok bude sve gotovo
- paušal za malene izdatke, o kojem se ne polaže račun.

347 Više u: SWENSON, ASTRID, 2013., 155-156.

348 SWENSON, ASTRID, 2013., 156.

349 RAMPLEY, MATTHEW, 2009., 447-449.

350 Objavljeno: Sbornik zakonah i naredabah 1878., komad XXVI, br. 59, str. 384.

The administration of the Crafts school was entrusted to the Art Society.

The Order established the Crafts School that was of paramount importance for the development of craftsmanship and making movable art, as well as the Museum of Arts and Crafts. The idea of a close link between transferring knowledge and preserving it has been preserved to this day.

The Order of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia on February 2, 1884, no. 1584 regarding the organisation of the Croatian-Slavonian Land Office for the year 1885 in Budapest, and holding of an exhibition³⁴⁸

The main objective of the Land Office at the exhibition was that the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia was adequately represented, and that participation encouraged interest in the exhibition among the *population, tradesmen and gentlemen*.

The Order was made to highlight the importance of organizing such an event as well as the presentation of Croatia and Slavonia at the aforementioned exhibition, and the inclusion of all interested strata of society. At the exhibition in Budapest, Iso Kršnjavi designed and organized the Croatian Pavilion.³⁴⁹

The Decision of the Minister of Religion and Education dated March 14, 1899 amending the Statute of the Central Commission for the Study and Maintenance of Historic and Artistic Monuments.³⁵⁰

The decision amended the Statute of the Central Commission for the Study and Maintenance of Historic and Artistic Monuments. Article 1 defined the mission of the Central Commission: to research and maintain monuments, to draft measures for their preservation as well as to carry out everything in agreement with the newly established Austrian Archaeological Institute.³⁵¹ Article 3 defined the work of the Central Commission on: *items from prehistory and antiquities, architecture, plastic, paintings and drawings from the Middle Ages and later times until the mid-19th century, and historical monuments of various kinds from the earliest times until the mid-19th century*. According to this division, the work of the Central Commission was divided into three departments. Article 4 stipulated the number of members of the Central Commission to consist of twenty-one presidents. The Presidents are appointed by the Emperor, based on the suggestion of the Minister of Religion and Education. Article 9 listed conservators as auxiliary bodies who *defend and promote the goals* of the Central Commission; they are appointed for all or individual departments, and their residence should be in the district for which they are in charge. They are appointed by the Minister of Religion and Education, based on the suggestion of the Central Commission, for a period of five years. Articles 11 to 14 outlined the roles of correspondents, honorary members and the employment of *"appropriate persons for the particular purposes of their work"* for photographing items or expert opinions.

348 Published: Sbornik zakonah i naredabah 1884., komad III, No. 7, p.15.

349 VUJIĆ, ŽARKA, 1991-1992, 50, Fifteen years later at the exhibition in Rome, Dalmatia exhibited in the Pavilion of the Kingdom of Serbia, refusing to exhibit in the pavilions of Hungary and Austria because it could not display its nationality. Croatian Ban Tomašić and Milan Ambrose, head of the Department of Religion and Education, tried to persuade the "Medulić" Society to exhibit in these pavilions, but they were unsuccessful. According to Sandi Bulimbašić, because of the above-mentioned event, Kršnjavi, or the Art Society, was blamed for the lack of involvement of Croatian artists in Rome. The Art Society also refused to exhibit in the Hungarian and Austrian pavilions, i.e. they wanted a separate area with a sign *Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia*. The Hungarian government did not approve the request. More in: BULIMBAŠIĆ, SANDI, 2016, 234-237.

350 The decision was made on February 19, 1899. Published: List državnijeh zakona, *Izdan i razaslan 29. marta 1899*, 1899, Komad XXI, p. 81-83.

351 Founded on March 15, 1897. ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010, 294.

Naredba Kraljevsko-zemaljskog vladinog Odjela za bogoštovje i nastavu od 9. listopada 1882. br. 10034.³⁵¹

Naredbom se ustrojava Obrtna škola povezana s Muzejom za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu. Uprava Obrtne škole povjerena je Društvu umjetnosti.

Naredba ustrojava Obrtnu školu koja je bila od iznimnog značaja za razvoj obrtničkih znanja i izradu pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta kao i Muzej za umjetnost i obrt. Do danas je očuvana ideja o uskoj povezanosti prenošenja potrebnih znanja i njihova očuvanja.

Naredba Kraljevske hrvatsko-slavonske-dalmatinske vladine Odjela za unutarnje poslove od 2. veljače 1884., br. 1584. glede ustrojstva Hrvatsko-slavonskog zemaljskog povjerenstva za obćenitu godinu 1885. u Budimpešti održavat se imajući izložbu³⁵²

Glavni zadatak povjerenstva na izložbi bio je da kraljevine Hrvatska i Slavonija budu dostojno zastupane na izložbi, te da se sudjelovanjem na izložbi potiče interes za izložbu kod pučanstva, obrtnika i gospode.

Ovom Naredbom željela se istaknuti važnost organizacije, a ujedno prezentacije Hrvatske i Slavonije na navedenoj izložbi te uključivanje svih zainteresiranih društvenih slojeva. Na navedenoj izložbi u Budimpešti Iso Kršnjavi je uredio i organizirao hrvatski paviljon.³⁵³

Odluka ministra za bogoštovlje i nastavu od 14. ožujka 1899. kojom se mijenja statut centralne komisije za

istraživanje i uzdržavanje umjetničkih i historičkih spomenika³⁵⁴

Odukom je promijenjen statut c. kr. centralne komisije za istraživanje i uzdržavanje *umjetničkih i historičkih* spomenika (u tekstu Središnje povjerenstvo). U 1. članku definirana je zadaća Središnjeg povjerenstva: istraživanje i uzdržavanje spomenika te izrada prijedloga mjera za njihovo očuvanje uz novinu da se postupa u dogovoru s novoosnovanim Austrijskim arheološkim institutom.³⁵⁵ U članku 3. definiran je rad Središnjeg povjerenstva na: *predmete prethistorijskog doba i stare umjetnosti, predmete arhitekture, plastike, slikarstva i crtačih umjetnosti srednjeg vijeka i novijeg doba do polovine 19. stoljeća i historijske spomenike razne vrste od najstarijeg vremena do polovine 19. stoljeća*. Prema navedenoj podjeli dijelio se rad Središnjeg povjerenstva na tri odsjeka. U članku 4. određen je broj članova Središnjeg povjerenstva na dvadeset, i jednog predsjednika. Predsjednika imenuje car na prijedlog ministra za bogoštovlje i nastavu. U članku 9. navedeni su konzervatori kao pomoćna tijela koja *brane i promiču ciljeve* Središnjeg povjerenstva, imenuju se za sve ili za pojedine odsjeke i prebivalište bi im trebalo biti u kotaru u kojem su nadležni. Imenovani su od ministra bogoštovlja i nastave na prijedlog Središnjeg povjerenstva na pet godina. U člancima od 11. do 14. obrazložene su uloge dopisnika, počasnih članova i angažiranja „*zgodne ličnosti za osobite svrhe njenog rada*“ za snimanje predmeta ili stručnog mišljenja.

Naredba kojom se određuje redovito sabiranje podataka za statistiku knjižnica i zbirka, koje su vlasnost pravnih osoba, 1905.³⁵⁶

Naredba se odnosila na knjižnice i zbirke na području kraljevina Hrvatske i Slavonije koje su bile u vlasništvu pravnih osoba, a stajale su na raspolaganju širem općinstvu ili stanovitim krugovima. Prikupljanje podataka odnosilo se na zbirke u svim vrstama muzeja: gospodarskim, obrtnim,

351 Objavljeno: Sbornik zakonah i naredabah 1883, komad VII, br. 28, str. 252.

352 Objavljeno: Sbornik zakonah i naredabah 1884., komad III, broj 7, str. 15.

353 VUJIĆ, ŽARKA, 1991.-1992., 50. Petnaest godina kasnije, na izložbi u Rimu, Dalmacija izlaže u paviljonu Kraljevine Srbije odbivši izlaganje u paviljonu Ugarske i Austrije zbog nemogućnosti izlaganja narodnosti. Hrvatski ban Tomašić zajedno s Milanom Amrušom, predstojnikom Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu, pokušao je nagovoriti Društvo „Medulić“ da izlažu u navedenim paviljonima, ali bezuspješno. Kako navodi Sandi Bulimbašić, zbog navedenog događaja Kršnjavi, odnosno Društvo umjetnosti našli su se prozvanim zbog nesudjelovanja hrvatskih umjetnika u Rimu. Društvo umjetnosti također je odbilo izlagati u ugarskom i austrijskom paviljonu, odnosno željeli su odijeljeni zasebni prostor s natpisom *Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija*. Mađarska vlada nije im udovoljila. Više u: BULIMBAŠIĆ, SANDI, 2016., 234-237.

354 Odluka je donesena 19. veljače 1899. Objavljeno: List državnih zakona, *Izdan i razaslan 29. marta 1899.*, Godina 1899., Komad XXI, str. 81-83.

355 Osnovan je 15. ožujka 1897. ĆORIĆ, FRANKO, 2010., 94.

356 Objavljeno: Sbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1905., Komad IV, Broj 9., Kralj. Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinske zemaljske vladine odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu u sporazumu s kralj. zemaljsko-vladinim odjelom za unutarnje poslove, od 30. ožujka 1905. br. 5382.

The Order that determines the regular collection of data for statistics of libraries and collections owned by legal persons, 1905.³⁵²

The order referred to libraries and collections on the territory of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, which were owned by legal persons, and were available to a wider public or to specific circles. The collection of data referred to collections in all types of museums: economic, craft, technical, trade, traffic, geological, archaeological and historical museums, art galleries, permanent painting exhibitions, mineralogical, botanical, zoological, ethnographic independent collections, coins, antiquities and weapons collections. All collections and libraries owned by private individuals were excluded from the list.

Two forms, Form A for all libraries, and Form B for all collections owned by legal persons, were used for data collection. The management of all libraries and museums were required to fill out the forms each year. The collected questionnaires were submitted to the royal districts or the city government to submit to the Royal Land Statistics Office in Zagreb.

This Order took charge of collecting and processing library materials or collections through organized data collection, using the proposed forms.

The Circular that warns of irregularities in the application of regulations on church building activity and procedure for church buildings, 1909.³⁵³

The Circular referred to requests for assistance in the reconstruction of church buildings from the state budget, although there were regulations on "the church building of contributed duty" (*crkvenoj gradjevnoj iliti doprinozenoj dužnosti*, April 25, 1880, No. 499, Department for Religion).

352 Published: Sbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1905, Komad IV, No. 9., Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, Land Government, Department of Religion and Education in agreement with the Department for internal affairs of the Royal Land Government, March 30, 1905, No. 5382.

353 Published: Sbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, 1909, No. 53., Circular of the Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, Land Government, Department of Religion and Education, June 9, 1909, No. 12371 for all royal county districts.

According to the regulations, parish priests had to regularly maintain the church and rectory, repair and make minor repairs at their own expense or that were paid from the church treasury. Technical bodies carried out a survey of the condition of the construction, based upon which they prepared cost estimates for the repairs. The head of the "contributory discussion" examined each item of the cost estimate and at the hearing, tried to compel the church administration or parish priest to pay for smaller repairs from the church coffers. There were also requests for state funds for the building or repair of churches or chapels, and the interior decorations of churches (purchase of tabernacles, benches, organs, bells). Parishes under the patronage of the "Croatian – Slavonian National Religious Foundation" regularly proposed new repairs, although they were completely rebuilt. The Circular was forwarded to all parish priests.

This Circular was intended to organize the reconstruction of both church buildings and inventories, which exposed the problems with reconstruction or non-compliance with conservation guidelines.

The Order that gives directives about the provision of new church furniture and the preservation of church furniture and buildings of historical and artistic value, 1913.³⁵⁴

The order had seven articles. The introductory part of the Order explained the reason for the proclamation. Each year, churches (Catholic, Greek Catholic, Orthodox) commissioned new altars, pulpits, iconostases, and other church inventory, which required large financial resources. The problem with the ordered items was that they were ordered abroad, and not from local craftsmen, so the development of local crafts was not encouraged. In addition to expensive purchases, repairing, restoring or replacing old art with new art was also the problem. Thus, the first article stipulated that churches that procure new church inventory with the help of public funds must use the services of local craftsmen. In case the requested church furniture

354 Published: Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1913, Komad I-X, No. 1.-122., Order no. 5., Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, Zagreb 1913:103.

tehničkim, trgovačkim, prometnim, geološkim, arheološkim i povijesnim muzejima, zatim galerije slika, stalne izložbe slika, samostalne zbirke mineraloške, botaničke, zoološke, etnografske, te zbirke novca, starina i oružja. Iz popisa su izuzete sve zbirke i knjižnice koje su bile u vlasništvu privatnih osoba.

Za prikupljanje podataka služila su dva obrasca, A-obrazac za sve knjižnice i B-obrazac za sve zbirke koje su bile u vlasništvu pravnih osoba. Uprave svih knjižnica i muzeja bile su dužne ispuniti obrasce svake godine. Prikupljeni upitnici dostavljeni su kraljevskoj kotarskoj oblasti ili gradskom poglavarstvu koji su ih trebali dostaviti Kraljevskom zemaljskom statističkom uredu u Zagrebu.

Ovom Naredbom počela se voditi briga o prikupljanju i obradi knjižnične građe odnosno zbirki kroz provođenje organiziranog prikupljanja podataka pomoću za tu svrhu predloženih obrazaca.

Okružnica kojom se upozorava na nepravilnosti u primjenjivanju propisa o crkvenoj građevnoj djelatnosti i o postupku kod crkvenih građevina, 1909.³⁵⁷

Okružnica se odnosila na zahtjeve upućene za pomoć pri obnovi crkvenih građevina iz državnog proračuna, iako su postojali propisi o „*crkvenoj građevnoj iliti doprinozbenoj dužnosti*“ (od 25. travnja 1880. br. 499. odj. Bogošt.). Prema propisima župnik je bio dužan redovito uzdržavati crkvu i župni dvor, popravljati i obavljati manje popravke o vlastitom trošku, odnosno iz crkvene blagajne. Tehnički organi obavljali su očevid građevinskog stanja na temelju kojeg su izrađivali troškovnike za popravke. Voditelj „*doprinozbene rasprave*“ pregledavao je svaku stavku troškovnika i na samoj raspravi nastojao crkvenu upravu ili župnika obvezati da o trošku crkvene blagajne odnosno o trošku župnika poprave manja oštećenja. Učestale su bile i molbe za državna sredstva u svrhu gradnje ili popravaka crkava ili kapela i unutrašnjeg uređenja crkava (nabava svetohraništa, klupa, orgulja, zvona). Župe patronata „*hrv.-slav. zem. vjerozakonske zaklade*“ redovito su predlagale nove popravke, iako su

357 Objavljeno: Sbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1909., Broj 53., Okružnica kralj. Hrv.-slav.-dalm. Zemalj. Vlade, Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu, od 9. lipnja 1909. br. 12371. na sve kr. županijske oblasti.

bile u cijelosti obnovljene. Okružnica se prosljeđivala svim župnicima.

Ovom Okružnicom pokušava se urediti obnova kako samih crkvenih građevina tako i inventara, što nam govori o postojanju problema pri obnovi, odnosno nepoštivanja smjernica konzervatorskih uputa.

Naredba kojom se izdaju odredbe o nabavi novog crkvenog namještaja te sačuvanju crkvenog namještaja i građevina historičke i umjetničke vrijednosti, 1913.³⁵⁸

Naredba ima sedam članaka. U uvodnom dijelu Naredbe obrazlaže se razlog proglašenja. Crkve (katoličke, grkokatoličke, pravoslavne) svake godine naručuju nove oltare, propovjedaonice, ikonostase i drugi crkveni inventar, što je iziskivalo velika financijska sredstva. Problem je bio u narudžbi navedenih predmeta jer su se naručivali u inozemstvu, a ne kod domaćih obrtnika, i na taj način nije se poticao razvoj domaćeg obrta. Pored skupih nabava, problem je bio i u popravku, restauriranju ili zamjeni starih umjetničkih predmeta novim. Stoga je prvi članak određivao da crkve koje uz pomoć javnih financijskih sredstava nabavljaju novi crkveni inventar moraju koristiti usluge domaćih obrtnika. U slučaju da se traženi crkveni namještaj ne može naći kod domaćih obrtnika, mogla se zatražiti dozvola za izuzeće od ovog propisa od Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu. Člankom 4. određeno je da ako se radi o popravku ili zamjeni crkvenog inventara koji ima historijsku ili umjetničku vrijednost, treba se tražiti mišljenje Zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje historičkih i umjetnih spomenika iz Zagreba. U članku 5. propisana je zabrana izvoza predmeta umjetničke ili historijske vrijednosti u inozemstvo bez dozvole Kraljevske zemaljske vlade, Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu. Ako se takvi predmeti više ne upotrebljavaju, prije izvoza su trebali biti ponuđeni na otkup domaćem muzeju ili zbirci. U članku 6. određeno je da se u slučaju pregradnje, dogradnje, nabave novog crkvenog namještaja navedeni postupak može provesti samo uz dozvolu Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu.

Navedena Naredba upućivala je na postojanje problema u očuvanju crkvenog inventara već početkom 20. stoljeća

358 Objavljeno: Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1913., Komad I-X, Broj 1.-122., Naredba br. 5., Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, Zagreb 1913., 103.

could not be acquired from local craftsmen, a permit for exemption from this regulation could be requested from the Department of Religion and Education. Article 4 stipulated that if it was a matter of repairing or replacing church inventory of historical or artistic value, they should ask for the opinion of the Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in Zagreb. Article 5 prohibited the export of objects of artistic or historical value abroad, without the permission of the Royal Land Government, Department of Religion and Education. If items were no longer used, they should have been offered for purchase to a local museum or collection before export. Article 6 stipulated that in the case of reconstruction, extension or purchase of new church furniture, the above-mentioned procedure could only be carried out with the permission of the Department of Religion and Education.

The above Order referred to the existence of issues related to the preservation of church inventory at the beginning of the 20th century and the desire to rectify the situation. Max Dvořák, who discussed the problem of protection of church inventory in his work *Catechism of Monument Protection*, was in favour of its preservation.³⁵⁵

The Order forbidding the possession and creation of private collections and trading in antiques for heads (directors) and clerks of national museums and similar institutes in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, 1913.³⁵⁶

The order referred to heads (directors) and officials (clerks) of museums and institutes in the fields of archaeology, history, art, ethnology and natural sciences. The aforementioned heads and officials could not own or collect their own private collections from areas represented in the collections of the department in which they worked. Art trade was only allowed when it was in favour of institutes. All officials and directors had to commit to not collect items for their own collection.

This order was a forerunner of the provision of the Law on

the Protection of Cultural Monuments, which prevented conflicts of interest within museum institutions.

The Law on the organisation of the Croatian National Museum in Zagreb dated June 26, 1918.³⁵⁷

The law had a total of 21 articles. According to the first article, the Croatian National Museum in Zagreb was a state institution governed by the Department of Religion and Teaching of the Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Land Government. The second article dealt with the purpose of the museum: the organization, preservation and multiplication of collections which serve scientific research, and for the purpose of practical exercises with natural, archaeological and cultural-historical objects in the kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. The museum collection was organized and expanded with gifts and purchases, and they were enhanced with substitutions. A museum consisted of four independent departments: zoological, mineralogical and petrographic; geological and paleontological; archaeological; and historical. The establishment of new departments was placed under the authority of the Government. Legislative Articles 5 to 20 related to the election and the rights of director and museum staff. The heads of individual museum departments were appointed by the Government, who selected them from regular or associate professors of the relevant profession at the Imperial-Royal University of Franz Joseph I in Zagreb. Museum staff could not own or collect their own private collections, or privately purchase or sell items from the areas represented in the collections of the department in which they worked. Curators (attendants or guardians) of the museum had to belong to the relevant profession in relation to the museum department where they worked.

355 DVOŘÁK, MAX, 1988, 806.

356 Published: Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1913, Komad III, No. 31., Order no. 5., Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, Zagreb 1913:103.

357 Published: Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1918, Komad IX, No. 1.-136., Order no. 58, Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, Zagreb 1918:209.

te htijenja da se navedena situacija uredi. Max Dvořák, koji je u svom djelu *Katekizam zaštite spomenika* razmotrio problem očuvanja crkvenog inventara, zalaže se za njihovo očuvanje.³⁵⁹

Naredba kojom se predstojnicima (ravnateljima) i činovnicima zemaljskih muzeja i sličnih zavoda u kraljevini Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji zabranjuje posjedovanje i sastavljanje privatnih zbirka i trgovanje starinama, 1913.³⁶⁰

Naredba se odnosi na predstojnike (ravnatelje) i službenike (činovnike) muzeja i zavoda s područja arheologije, povijesti, umjetničkog obrta, etnologije i prirodnih znanosti. Navedeni ravnatelji i službenici ne smiju posjedovati ili sakupljati vlastite privatne zbirke iz područja koje je zastupano u zbirkama odjela u kojem radi. Trgovina umjetninama dozvoljena je jedino kada je u korist zavoda. Svi službenici i ravnatelji morali su se obvezati da se neće baviti prikupljanjem predmeta za vlastitu zbirku.

Ova naredba bila je svojevrsna preteča odredbe današnjeg Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture, kojom se onemogućavao sukob interesa unutar muzejskih institucija.

Zakon o uredjenju Hrvatskog narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu od 26. lipnja 1918.³⁶¹

Zakon ima ukupno 21 članak. Prema 1. članku Hrvatski narodni muzej u Zagrebu je državna institucija pod upravom Kraljevske hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinske zemaljske vlade, Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu. U 2. članku navedena je svrha muzeja: ustrojavanje, čuvanje i umnožavanje zbirke, koje služe za znanstveno proučavanje i za potrebe praktičnih vježbi kod prirodoslovnih, arheoloških i kulturno-historijskih predmeta u kraljevinama Hrvatskoj, Slavoniji i Dalmaciji. Zbirke muzeja se ustrojavaju i proširuju darovima i otkupima, a usavršavaju zamjenama. Muzej se imao sastojati od četiriju međusobno neovisnih odjela: zoološkog, mineraloško-petrografskog, geološko-paleontološkog i arheološko-historičkog odjela. Osnivanje novih odjela stavljeno je u

nadležnost Vlade. Zakonski članci od 5. do 20. odnosili su se na izbor i prava ravnatelja i muzejskog osoblja. Ravnatelj pojedinih muzejskih odjela imenovala je Vlada, birajući ih među redovnim ili izvanrednim profesorima dotičnih struka na C. kr. sveučilištu Franje Josipa I. u Zagrebu. Muzejsko osoblje nije smjelo posjedovati, prikupljati vlastite privatne zbirke niti u privatne svrhe kupovati ili prodavati predmete iz područja koje je zastupano u zbirkama odjela u kojem radi. Kustos (pristav ili čuvar) muzeja morao je pripadati odgovarajućoj struci u odnosu na muzejski odjel na kojem je djelovao.

359 DVOŘÁK, MAX, 1988., 806.

360 Objavljeno: Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1913., Komad III, Broj 31., Naredba br. 5., Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, Zagreb 1913., 103.

361 Objavljeno: Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1918., Komad IX, Broj 1.-136., Naredba br. 58., Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, Zagreb 1918., 209.



INSTITUCIONALNA ZAŠTITA POKRETNE UMJETNIČKE BAŠTINE U HRVATSKOJ OD 1918. DO 1941. GODINE

Kraj Prvoga svjetskog rata, raspad Austro-Ugarske Monarhije i proglašenje Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca doveli do nove geopolitičke podjele.³⁶² Uspostavljanjem Kraljevine SHS težilo se stvaranju ideologije integralnog jugoslavenstva. No, neravnomerni politički položaj, stupanj razvijenosti pojedinih zemalja i povijesna pripadnost različitim kulturnim krugovima nisu doveli do oblikovanja jedinstvene jugoslavenske kulture.³⁶³ Svaka nacija koja je ušla u novu državu željela je zadržati svoj nacionalni identitet koji je ranijih godina stvarala i razvijala i nije ga se htjela odreći.³⁶⁴

Uspostavljanjem monarhije uvedeno je centralističko uređenje države. Centralizacija uprave oduzela je pokrajinskim vladama političko djelovanje podčinjujući ih vladi u Beogradu, što je od početka izazivalo nezadovoljstvo.³⁶⁵ Dvije godine nakon proglašenja Kraljevine SHS donesen je Vi-

dovdanski ustav, čime je ozakonjen dotadašnji centralizam i unitarizam koji se, među ostalim, želio provesti i u kulturi i umjetnosti.³⁶⁶ Permanentno nezadovoljstvo i stalni sukobi na nacionalnoj razini vezani uz represivni sustav posredstvom zakona, cenzura i propagande koje je provodila vlada u Beogradu svoj vrhunac doživjet će proglašenjem osobne diktature kralja Aleksandra 1929. godine. Država je dobila novo ime Kraljevina Jugoslavija te je provedena nova upravna podjela zemlje na devet banovina. Hrvatski teritorij bio je podijeljen na dvije banovine: Savsku i Primorsku. Zabranjen je rad svih političkih stranaka i udruga s

362 Odluka kojom se proglašavaju Dalmacija, Hrvatska i Slavonija nezavisnima od Ugarske i Austrije i pristupaju u Državu Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba donesena je na zasjedanju Sabora 29. listopada 1918. BILANDŽIĆ, DUŠAN, 1999., 61.

363 MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003., 215-216.

364 BILANDŽIĆ, DUŠAN, 1999., 112.

365 Pokrajinskim vladama ukinuti su odjeli, odnosno Zemaljskoj vladi za Hrvatsku i Slavoniju ostala su samo tri: za unutarnje poslove, pravosuđe i bogoštovlje. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003., 87.

366 Osobito je to bilo izraženo u jeziku i pismu: uvođenje ekavice kao književnog jezika i latiničnog pisma. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003., 215-216.

THE INSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION OF MOVABLE HERITAGE IN CROATIA FROM 1918 TO 1941

The end of World War I, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the proclamation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes led to a new geopolitical division.³⁵⁸ The goal of establishing the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was to create an ideology of integral Yugoslavism. However, because individual countries did not have an equal political position or degree of development, and they were connected to different cultural circles, it did not lead to the formation of a unique Yugoslav culture.³⁵⁹ Every nation entering the new state wanted to retain the national identity it had created and developed, and was reluctant to give it up.³⁶⁰

When the monarchy was established, a central government system was introduced. It deprived regional governments of authority by subjugating them to the government in Belgrade which led to dissatisfaction from the very start.³⁶¹ Two years after the proclamation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the Vidovdan constitution was adopted, legalizing cen-

tralism and unitarism (among other things, the plan was to implement it in the field of culture and art).³⁶² Permanent dissatisfaction and constant conflicts on a national level, because of the repressive system carried out by the government in Belgrade through laws, censorship and propaganda, culminated in the dictatorship of King Alexander in 1929. The country was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and a new administrative division with nine regions (*banovina*) was established. The territory of Croatia was divided into two: Sava Banovina and Littoral Banovina. The work of all political parties and associations with national characteristics was forbidden, and all political action was severely punished.³⁶³

358 The decision that made Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia independent from Hungary and Austria and join the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was made at a session of Parliament on October 29, 1918. BILANDŽIĆ, DUŠAN, 1999, 61.

359 MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003, 215-216.

360 BILANDŽIĆ, DUŠAN, 1999, 112.

361 Divisions of Provincial Governments were closed, i.e. only three remained for the Land Government for Croatia and Slavonia: Internal Affairs, Justice and Religion. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003, 87.

362 This was especially evident in language and writing: the introduction of Latin script and the Ekavian dialect as a literary language. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003, 215-216.

363 The political parties known as the Croatian Peasant Party (*Hrvatska seljačka stranka*) and the Independent Democratic Party (*Samostalna demokratska stranka*), which formed the Peasant-Democratic Coalition (*Seljačko-demokratska koalicija*), were in favour of the Yugoslav state framework, but as a federation. The Croatian Peasant Party was trying to solve the Croatian issue through diplomatic channels. Dissatisfaction with such a situation led to the emergence of fascist and Nazi aspirations which were built on similar trends in Europe. Croatian nationalist individuals and groups who emigrated to Hungary, Austria and Italy were in favour of establishing an independent and autonomous Croatia. The main initiator and advocate was Ante Pavelić, who founded *Ustaša* – the Croatian Revolutionary Movement for Liberation. BILANDŽIĆ, DUŠAN, 1999, 107; MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003, 181-183.



After it was recognized on an international level, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes established its boundaries with treaties. Territorial changes were the result of international military, political and peace agreements in London, Paris, Saint-Germain, Trianon and Rapallo.³⁶⁴ In 1920, the Treaty of Rapallo resolved the border issue (the so-called Adriatic question) between Italy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Italy annexed Istria, the islands of Cres, Lošinj, Lastovo, Palagruža and the city of Zadar. Thus, Zadar was no longer the administrative centre of Dalmatia.³⁶⁵ Rijeka became an independent state, but it was annexed with the Treaty of Rome in 1924.³⁶⁶

In addition to political problems, the state of the country worsened because of the world economic crisis which further deteriorated the country's economic situation. King Alexander, wanting to alleviate the accumulated dissatisfaction, introduced limited parliamentarism by proclaiming the Octroic Constitution in 1931. The Constitution reinstated the Assembly, while the government still answered directly to the King.³⁶⁷ The assassination of King Alexander in March 1934 in Marseilles led to changes in domestic and foreign policy.³⁶⁸ Elections were carried out and the *issue of Croatia*

was addressed.³⁶⁹ After several months of negotiations, the Banovina of Croatia was created in 1939.³⁷⁰ Though Croatia was given certain concessions, the state's reorganization process was not implemented.³⁷¹

Regarding foreign policy, the country distanced itself from France and gradually started to approach Germany and Italy, both politically and economically.³⁷²

Turbulent political events had an impact on the further development of the institutionalization of monument protection. Monument protection was not equally developed in all parts of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia, primarily because of different historical developments and influences to which it was exposed. While monument protection was institutionalized in continental Croatia, Dalmatia, Slovenia and Bosnia under Austrian rule and influence, in Serbia, it was still limited to the work of various societies.³⁷³ At the time, the *Regional Conservation Office for Dalmatia in Split* and the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments*³⁷⁴ in Zagreb were still the main *protection services* in the newly established country on the territory of Croatia. The work of the aforementioned offices was joined by the Institute for Art and

364 The Treaty of Trianon set the demarcation line with Hungary. The issue of demarcation with Austria was resolved at a peace conference in Paris. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003, 78.

365 Zadar was the seat of the City Council, the Land Assembly, the Land Committee, the Provincial School Council, the Provincial Financial Directorate, the Gendarmerie Command, the Post Office, the Austro-Hungarian Bank.

366 BILANDŽIĆ, DUŠAN, 1999, 79, ŠUTE, IVICA, 2011, 35, MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003, 135.

367 The work of political parties was possible only with the presence of a police commissioner.

368 After the assassination of King Alexander, Peter II was supposed to become king, but since he was a minor, a regency was set up consisting of Prince Peter, senator and court doctor Radenko Stanković, and the Ban of Sava Banovina, Ivo Perović. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003, 185.

369 The elections were held in May 1935. The election allowed the participation of the opposition. Although the government had 60.6% and the united opposition 37.4% of votes, according to the election law, 3/5 went to the majority. Ljubo Karaman made an interesting comment in a letter he sent to the director of the Belgrade Museum of Contemporary Art, Milan Kašanin, asking him to return his copy of the 1931 Building Law "if he no longer has use of it" with the comment: "...I do not ask you what is the situation with our law, because certainly no one is thinking about it in today's election fever." MKM-KOST-A, letter dated February 28, 1935.

370 It was composed of Sava and Littoral Banovina, Dubrovnik, Travnik, Fojnica, Brčko, Gradačac, Derвента, Šid and Ilok. Ivan Šubašić was named Ban. The Banovina had autonomy in internal affairs, while they shared traffic, foreign trade, the army and the gendarmerie. The fact it was formed mere days before Germany invaded Poland should not be ignored. We can assume that they could already feel the war approaching, especially since Austria had already been annexed by Germany. ŠUTE, IVICA, 2011, 126.

371 ŠUTE, IVICA, 2011, 120, MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003, 202-207.

372 According to Šute, Germany and Italy had complex economic interests in the territory of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Factories that made semi-raw materials for Germany were doing well, while other industries were failing. ŠUTE, IVICA, 2011, 126.

373 In Bosnia and Serbia, there were two societies: *Srpsko učeno društvo* and *Društvo srpske slovesnosti*, along with the Ministry of Education. 374 From 1929, Conservation Office in Zagreb.

nacionalnim obilježjima, a svako političko djelovanje strogo se kažnjavalo.³⁶⁷

U vanjskoj politici, nakon međunarodnog priznanja, Kraljevina SHS je svoje granice utvrdila ugovorima. Teritorijalne promjene bile su posljedica međunarodnih vojno-političkih i mirovnih sporazuma u Londonu, Parizu, Saint-Germainu, Trianonu i Rapallu.³⁶⁸ Sporazumom u Rapallu 1920. godine riješeno je pitanje granice (tzv. jadransko pitanje) između Italije i Kraljevine SHS. Ugovorom je Italija dobila cijelu Istru, otoke Cres, Lošinj, Lastovo, Palagružu i grad Zadar. Time Zadar prestaje biti administrativnim središtem za Dalmaciju.³⁶⁹ Rijeka je dobila status nezavisne države, da bi Rimskim paktom 1924. bila anektirana.³⁷⁰

Uz političke probleme dodatno je stanje u zemlji pogoršala svjetska gospodarska kriza koja je samo produbila dotadašnje loše gospodarsko stanje u zemlji. Kralj Aleksandar, želeći ublažiti nakupljeno nezadovoljstvo, uveo je ograničeni parlamentarizam proglašenjem Oktroiranog ustava 1931. godine. Ustavom je ponovno uspostavljen rad Skupštine, dok je vlada i dalje bila izravno odgovorna kralju.³⁷¹ Ubojstvo kralja Aleksandra 1934. godine u Marseilleu dovodi do promjena u unutrašnjoj i vanjskoj politici.³⁷² U unutrašnjoj politici provedeni su izbori te se pristupilo rješavanju

hrvatskog pitanja.³⁷³ Nakon višemjesečnih pregovora 1939. godine stvorena je Banovina Hrvatska.³⁷⁴ Iako je time Hrvatska dobila određene ustupke, proces preuređenja države nije proveden.³⁷⁵

U vanjskoj politici to je udaljavanje od Francuske i postupno približavanje Njemačkoj i Italiji. I to na političkom i na gospodarskom planu.³⁷⁶

Turbulentna politička zbivanja imala su utjecaja i na daljnji razvoj institucionalizacije zaštite spomenika. Zaštita spomenika nije bila jednako razvijena u svim dijelovima Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije. Prije svega, radilo se o različitom povijesnom razvoju i utjecajima kojima je bio izložen. Dok se zaštita spomenika institucionalizirala u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj, Dalmaciji, Sloveniji i Bosni pod austrijskom upravom i utjecajem, u Srbiji se briga za spomenike tada svodila još uvijek samo na rad društva.³⁷⁷ U novonastaloj državi na hrvatskom području tada kao nositelji *službe zaštite* i dalje djeluju *Pokrajinski Konservatorijalni ured za Dalmaciju* u Splitu i *Zemaljsko povjerenstvo za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika*³⁷⁸ u Zagrebu. Radu spomenutih ureda pridružuje se Nadležstvo za umjetnost i spomenike osnovano u Dubrovniku 1919. godine.³⁷⁹ Zaštita spomenika *Uredbom*

367 Tadašnje stranke Hrvatska seljačka stranka i Samostalna demokratska stranka koje su činile Seljačko-demokratsku koaliciju bile su za jugoslavenski državni okvir, ali na principu federacije. Hrvatska seljačka stranka pokušavala je diplomatskim putem rješavati problem hrvatskog pitanja. Nezadovoljstvo takvim stanjem dovest će do pojave fašističkih i nacističkih težnji koje će se nadovezati na slična strujanja u Europi. Pojedinci i skupine hrvatskih nacionalista koji su emigrirali većinom u Mađarsku, Austriju i Italiju bili su za uspostavu samostalne i neovisne Hrvatske. Glavni pokretač i zagovornik bio je Ante Pavelić koji osniva emigrantsku opoziciju *Ustaša*, novoosnovani ustaški oslobodilački pokret. BILANDŽIĆ, DUŠAN, 1999., 107; MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003., 181-183.

368 Razgraničenje s Mađarskom utvrđeno je Trianonskim ugovorom. Na mirovnoj konferenciji u Parizu dogovoreno je pitanje razgraničenja s Austrijom. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003., 78.

369 Zadar je bio sjedište: Namjesništva, Zemaljskog sabora, Zemaljskog odbora, Pokrajinskog školskog vijeća, Pokrajinskog financijskog ravnateljstva, Zapovjedništva žandarmerije, Pošte, Austrougarske banke. 370 BILANDŽIĆ, DUŠAN, 1999., 79; ŠUTE, IVICA, 2011., 35; MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003., 135.

371 Rad političkih stranaka bio je omogućen samo uz prisutnost političkog povjerenika.

372 Nakon ubojstva kralja Aleksandra vlast je trebao naslijediti kralj Petar II. S obzirom na to da je bio maloljetan, vlast nasljeđuje namjesništvo: knez Petar, senator i dvorski liječnik Radenko Stanković i ban Savske banovine Ivo Perović. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003., 185.

373 Izbori su održani u svibnju 1935. godine. Na izborima je bilo omogućeno sudjelovanje opozicije. Iako je vladina lista imala 60,6%, a udružena opozicija 37,4%, prema izbornom zakonu 3/5 dobiva većina. Zanimljiv je komentar Ljube Karamana u dopisu upućenom upravitelju beogradskog Muzeja suvremene umjetnosti Milanu Kašaninu, gdje moli da mu vrati primjerak Građevnog zakona iz 1931. godine, *ako mu više ne služi* uz komentar: „... ne pitam vas što je sa našim zakonom, jer sigurno na to nitko ne misli u današnjoj izbornoj vrućici.“ MKM-KOST-A dopis od 28. veljače 1935.

374 U čiji su sastav ušli Savska i Primorska banovina te Dubrovnik, Travnik, Fojnica, Brčko, Gradačac, Derventa, Šid i Ilok. Banom je imenovan Ivan Šubašić. Banovina je imala autonomiju u unutrašnjim poslovima, dok su promet, vanjska trgovina, vojska i žandarmerija bili zajednički. Nije nevažan podatak da je nastala svega nekoliko dana prije napada Njemačke na Poljsku. Pretpostaviti je da su se već osjećala ratna zbivanja, tim više jer je Austrija već bila pripojena Njemačkoj. ŠUTE, IVICA, 2011., 126.

375 ŠUTE, IVICA, 2011., 120; MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003., 202-207.

376 Na prostoru Kraljevine Jugoslavije, kako navodi Šute, stajali su složeni gospodarski interesi Njemačke i Italije. Tvornice koje su izrađivale polusirovine za Njemačku dobro posluju, dok druge industrije padaju u krizu. ŠUTE, IVICA, 2011., 126.

377 U Bosni i u Srbiji to su dva društva: *Srpsko učeno društvo* i *Društvo srpske slovesnosti* uz Ministarstvo prosvete.

378 Od 1929. Konzervatorski ured u Zagrebu.

379 VIĐEN, IVAN, 2009.-2010., 7.

Monuments established in Dubrovnik in 1919.³⁷⁵ The *Decree on the Organisation of the Ministry of Education*, issued in 1919, put monument protection under the jurisdiction of the *Department for Art*.³⁷⁶

Territorial changes carried out under the Treaty of Rapallo which involved surrendering part of Dalmatia to Italy, also had an impact on the jurisdiction of the conservation offices in Zagreb and Split. Zadar and the island of Lastovo were no longer part of the "protection system" of Dalmatia. The division of regional and municipal goods and archives, which was to be carried out under Article 2 of the Treaty of Rapallo, and the return of misappropriated assets from World War I were the main concern of conservators working in the *Conservation Office for Dalmatia in Split* and the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in Zagreb*, immediately after the war.

THE MONUMENT PROTECTION SERVICE IN DALMATIA FROM 1918 TO 1941 AND THE PROTECTION OF MOVABLE HERITAGE

The Regional Conservation Office for Dalmatia

The events in Dalmatia after World War I were the result of earlier processes that were primarily the consequence of political agreements and later peace treaties of major powers. The new "state" and the new territorial situation also affected the jurisdiction of the Regional Conservation Office for Dalmatia after 1918. The Office was under the Ministry of Education, Art Department in Belgrade, and the administrative part of the Archaeological Museum in Split. The Office continued its work under the former director, Frane Bulić, with Ljubo Karaman, professor at the Split gymnasium, who

was appointed assistant to the Conservation Office in November 1919.³⁷⁷ In the first years after the war, their work focused on determining war damage, returning objects stolen during World War I, the distribution of archival, library and museum materials after the Treaty of Rapallo, and drawing up the inventory of monuments.

The return of objects refers to items taken to Vienna for restoration, requisitioned bells and artwork removed from Dalmatia, without the permission of the Regional Conservation Office. Bulić published articles in newspapers about determining and reporting damages. For example, in an article *For the return of our art*, published in the *Dalmatinski glasnik* on November 25, 1918, he asked all regional governments, Bishop Ordinaries, episcopal consistories, parish offices, independent bodies of elders and archive representatives in Dalmatia to report any damage to art and archives, done before and during the war, to the Regional Conservation Office in Split. Under works of art, he listed "*all art and historical monuments in stone, metal, etc. from every age, carvings on metal, wood, classical paintings, archival records, valuable garments, carpets, old vessels, organs, etc.*" He also included information on the historical and art value of the object, how the object was taken, and whether the object could be accessed privately or officially needed to be included when reporting the damage. The *Department for Preparations for the Peace Congress* in Zagreb also asked for a list of damage to works of art.³⁷⁸ Following the peace treaty in Saint Germain en Laye on September 10, 1919, which regulated the division of the Austrian part of Austro-Hungary, the Regional Government for Dalmatia sent instructions on the implementation of the part of the treaty referring to cultural and historical monuments. A commission was established to determine the damage to monuments: Frane Bulić was responsible for the repair of objects of cultural and historical value, Ivo Senjanović was responsible for assessing the condition of buildings,

375 VIĐEN, IVO, 2009-2010, 7.

376 Article 13 of the *Decree* defines the functions of the Department: *supervision of art antiquities and organising art and cultural institutions where the antiquities are located*. Collection of Laws and Orders for Croatia and Slavonia, Decree on the Organization of the Ministry of Education, Part I, No. 124, dated September 3, 1919, was passed by Regent Alexander I on the proposal of the Minister of Education Pavle Marinković, p. 195-20.

377 MKM-KOST-A Box 1924 Letter No. 8484/24, December 3, 1924. Ljubomir Karaman became a *conservator's assistant*. BULIĆ, FRANE, 1920, 3.

378 MKM-KOST-A Dalmatinski glasnik, p. 2, Split, November 27, 1918.

o uređenju Ministarstva Prosvete donesenom 1919. dolazi u nadležnost Odeljenja za umjetnost.³⁸⁰

Teritorijalne promjene, koje su provedene Rapalskim ugovorom, ustupanjem dijela Dalmacije Italiji odrazile su se i na nadležnost konzervatorskih ureda u Zagrebu i Splitu. Zadar uz otok Lastovo prestaje biti dio „sustava zaštite“ Dalmacije. Upravo podjela pokrajinskih i općinskih dobara i arhiva, koja je trebala biti provedena prema točki 2. Rapalskog ugovora, i povratak otuđenih predmeta iz vremena Prvoga svjetskog rata bili su u prvim poslijeratnim godinama glavna preokupacija konzervatora *Konservatorijalnog ureda za Dalmaciju* u Splitu i *Zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika* u Zagrebu.

SLUŽBA ZAŠTITE SPOMENIKA U DALMACIJI OD 1918. DO 1940. I ZAŠTITE POKRETNE BAŠTINE

Pokrajinski konservatorijalni ured za Dalmaciju

Zbivanja u Dalmaciji nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata rezultirala su ranije započelih procesa koji su prije svega bili posljedica političkih dogovora, a potom i mirovnih ugovora velikih sila. Nova „država“ i nova teritorijalna situacija odrazili su se i na nadležnost Pokrajinskog Konservatorijalnog ureda za Dalmaciju nakon 1918. godine. Ured je bio u ingerenciji Ministarstva prosvjete, Umjetničkog odeljenja u Beogradu, a u administrativnom sklopu Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu. Ured nastavlja svoj rad uz dotadašnjeg ravnatelja Franu Bulića kojem je u studenom 1919. dodijeljen kao asistent Konzervatorskog ureda profesor splitske gimnazije Ljubo Karaman.³⁸¹ U prvim godinama nakon rata njihov rad bio je usmjeren na utvrđivanje ratne štete, povratak predmeta otuđenih u vrijeme Prvoga svjetskog rata, raspodjelu arhivske,

380 U članku 13. *Uredbe* definirani su poslovi *Odeljenja: nadzor nad umjetničkim starinama i uređenje umjetničkih i kulturnih ustanova u kojima se nalaze starine*. Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Uredba o uređenju Ministarstva Prosvete, Komad I, broj 124, od 3. rujna 1919., donosi regent Aleksandar I. na prijedlog Ministra prosvete Pavle Marinković, str. 195-203.

381 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1924 dopis broj 8484/24 od 3. prosinca 1924. Ljubomir Karaman postavljen je za *konzervatorskog pomoćnika*. BULIĆ, FRANE, 1920., 3.

knjižnične i muzejske građe nakon ugovora u Rapallu te inventarizaciju spomenika.

Povratak predmeta odnosio se na vraćanje predmeta odnesenih na restauriranje u Beč, rekviriranih zvona te umjetničkih predmeta koji su odneseni s dalmatinskog područja bez dopuštenja Pokrajinskoga konservatorijalnog ureda. U vezi utvrđivanja i prijava šteta Bulić je u javnim glasilima objavljivao članke. Tako se primjerice u *Dalmatinskom glasniku* 25. studenoga 1918. pod naslovom *Za povratak naših umjetnina* obraća na sva kotarska poglavarstva, biskupske ordinarijate, episkopske konzistorije, župne urede, samostalna starješinstva i predstavnike arhiva u Dalmaciji da prijave Pokrajinskom konservatorijalnom uredu u Splitu štetu počinjenu prije i za vrijeme rata na umjetninama i arhivima. Pod umjetninama navodi „*svi spomenici umjetni i povjesnički na kamenu, kovinama itd. iz svake dobi, rezbarije na kovinama, drvetu, klasične slike, arkivalni spisi, dragocjeni komadi ruha, čilimi, posudje starinsko, orgulje itd.*“ U prijavi štete trebala se naznačiti povijesno-umjetnička vrijednost predmeta, način oduzimanja predmeta i može li se do predmeta doći privatnim ili službenim putem. Popis štete provodio se i na poziv *Otsjeka priprava za mirovni kongres* u Zagrebu.³⁸² Nakon mirovnog sporazuma u Saint Germain en Layeu 10. rujna 1919. kojim je regulirana podjela austrijskog dijela Austro-Ugarske, Pokrajinska vlada za Dalmaciju šalje upute o primjeni onog dijela sporazuma koji se odnosi na kulturno-povijesne spomenike. U svrhu utvrđivanja štete osnovana je komisija: za reparaciju objekata kulturno-povijesne vrijednosti bio je zadužen Frane Bulić, za procjenu stanja objekata Ivo Senjanović, a za prikupljanje materijala Ivo pl. Cega.³⁸³

Za povratak rekviriranih zvona Bulić se obratio Ministarstvu prosvjete u Beogradu u listopadu 1919. godine tražeći informacije je li što poduzeto od strane Kraljevine SHS. Budući da je Bulić bio u kontaktu s Viktorom Hoffillerom i znao je za akcije koje je Hoffiller poduzeo u svrhu vraćanja zvona, u ime *Povjerenstva za čuvanje umjetničkih*

382 MKM-KOST-A Dalmatinski glasnik, str. 2, Split, od 27. studenoga 1918.

383 MKM-SDKB-ZP Dopis broj 16/1919 od 8. listopada 1919. MK-KOST-A Kutija 1920 dopis broj 411 od 7. travnja 1920.; UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2012., 432.

and Ivo Cega was in charge of collecting materials.³⁷⁹

In October 1919, Bulić addressed the Ministry of Education in Belgrade and asked them for information on what the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes had done regarding the return of requisitioned bells. Since Bulić was in contact with Viktor Hoffiller and knew about the actions Hoffiller had undertaken for the return of the bells on behalf of the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments*, he supported Hoffiller's claim for damages in a letter to the Ministry of Education. At the same time, he requested that the authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia were asked to return the bells from Dalmatia, which were still at railway stations.³⁸⁰ A copy of this letter was sent to the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments*. The Diplomatic Mission informed the Conservation Office that most bells collected during the requisition were immediately melted and used to make weapons, and most churches were reimbursed for the bells so there was nothing that could be done regarding their return.³⁸¹

In the Report on the work of the *Conservation Office* in 1921, regarding the return of artwork sent to Vienna for restoration, Bulić stated that the triptych had been returned – the ivory altar and liturgical vestments of bishop Torlon from the church in Trogir³⁸², the painting of St. Fabian and Sebastian from the parish church in Jelsa on Hvar, and the painting of St. Stephen from the parish church in Vis.³⁸³ In addition to the known objects sent to Vienna for restoration, there were items that were sent without the knowledge of the Conservation Office, so a letter was sent to the State Office for Monuments in Vienna to notify them which monuments were originally from Dalmatia.³⁸⁴

379 MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 16/1919, October 8, 1919. MK-KOST-A Box 1920 Letter No. 411, April 7, 1920; UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2012, 432

380 The report about the work of the Conservation Office mentions the return of bells from the parish church in Raslina near Šibenik, which were requisitioned and taken to Vienna and then returned cracked and placed in the Archaeological Museum. The parish was supposed to receive help to purchase a new bell. MKM-KOST-A No. 128/23/R

381 MKM-KOST-A Box 1920 Letter No. 11, March 6, 1920.

382 MKM-KOST-A Box 1921 Letter No. 61, July 7, 1921.

383 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1922, 11; UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2012, 432.

384 UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2012, 434.

The Regional *Conservation Office for Dalmatia* sent a Circular in 1921 to all municipal governments about the *Damages caused by occupying Italian authorities to monuments in Dalmatia and the treatment of monuments of former foreign countries*.³⁸⁵ In the *Circular*, Bulić asked the municipal governments to notify him if paintings, statues, church inventory or entire collections and archival documents were taken during the occupation, or if memorial plaques or inscriptions were damaged or destroyed. In addition to protection, insight into the damage caused to monuments was important for requesting compensation from Italy. Bulić warned that inscriptions and memorial plaques, as well as the attributes of all former authorities, should not be destroyed because they were part of Dalmatian history. Bulić also requested that if an inscription was to be removed, or alterations to art or historical monuments be made, the *Conservation Office* should be asked for permission.³⁸⁶

Items from museums in Zadar, Knin, Baška on the island of Krk, Vrbnik and the city of Krk, Cres, Osor and Rab were taken during the Italian occupation. According to Bulić's findings, they were taken to Trieste. Therefore, in connection with the peace conference in San Remo, Bulić contacted the *Ministry of Education, Department of Art* for the return of items taken from the above-mentioned locations.³⁸⁷

Furthermore, the Board of the National Council in Zadar was tasked by the government of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes to prepare documents for a commission that was supposed to regulate the relations between Zadar and the rest of Dalmatia after the Treaty of Rapallo. They also sent Bulić a letter asking him to write how the division of archives, libraries and museums should be carried out, i.e. which items from Zadar should go to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes according to the

385 MKM-KOST-A Box 1921 Letter No. 35/1921, May 4, 1921.

386 Decree *On the damage caused by the occupying Italian authorities to the monuments in Dalmatia and the treatment of monuments of former Foreign Countries (O štetama nanesenim od strane okupatorne talijanske vlasti spomenicima u Dalmaciji i postupanje sa spomenicima bivših tujjinskih država)*. Split, May 10, 1921. MK-KOST-A Box 1921, Letter No. 35/1921.

387 MKM-KOST-A Box 1920, Letter No. 24, 1919.

i historičkih spomenika, u dopisu *Ministarstvu prosvjete* pridružuje se Hoffillerovom zahtjevu za naknadu štete. Istodobno je zatražio da se kod nadležnih vlasti u Bosni, Hercegovini i Hrvatskoj intervenira da vrte zvona iz Dalmacije koja su se još uvijek nalazila na željezničkim stanicama.³⁸⁴ Navedeni dopis u prijepisu je dostavljen i *Povjerenstvu za čuvanje umjetničkih i historičkih spomenika* u Zagrebu. Diplomatsko predstavništvo obavijestilo je Konservatorijalni ured da je većina zvona prikupljenih u vrijeme rekvizicije odmah bila razbijena i izlijevana za izradu oružja, a većini crkvi bila je isplaćena naknada te se ništa nije moglo poduzimati u vezi vraćanja zvona.³⁸⁵

U vezi povrata umjetnina poslanih na restauriranje u Beč, u Izvještaju o radu *Konservatorijalnog ureda* za 1921. godinu Bulić navodi da je vraćen triptihon – oltarić od bjelokosti i misna ruha biskupa Torlona iz crkve u Trogiru³⁸⁶, slika sv. Fabijana i Sebastijana iz župne crkve u Jelsi na Hvaru te slika sv. Stjepana iz župne crkve u Visu.³⁸⁷ Pored poznatih predmeta poslanih na restauriranje u Beč postojao je dio predmeta koji je poslan bez znanja *Konservatorijalnog ureda*, stoga je upućen dopis Državnom uredu za spomenike u Beču da ih obavijesti koje spomenike posjeduju, a da su podrijetlom iz Dalmacije.³⁸⁸

Pokrajinski *Konservatorijalni ured za Dalmaciju* razaslao je okružnicu 1921. svim općinskim upraviteljstvima o štetama nanesenim od strane okupacijske talijanske vlasti spomenicima u Dalmaciji i postupanju *sa spomenicima bivših tugijskih država*.³⁸⁹ U Okružnici Bulić moli *Općinsko upraviteljstvo* da ga obavijesti ako su u vrijeme okupacije odnesene slike, kipovi, crkveni inventar ili cijela zbirka, arhivski dokumenti, oštećene ili uništene spomen-ploče i natpisi. Pored same zaštite, uvid u počinjenu štetu bio je važan i za nadoknadu štete koja se potraživala od Italije. Bulić upozorava da se ne uništavaju natpisi

i spomen-ploče, kao i obilježja svih bivših vlasti, jer su dio dalmatinske povijesti. Na kraju, Bulić moli da se u slučajevima namjere uklanjanja bilo kakvih natpisa ili želje da se izvrše preinake na umjetničkom ili povijesnom spomeniku traži odobrenje *Konservatorijalnog ureda*.³⁹⁰

U vrijeme talijanske okupacije otuđeni su predmeti iz Muzeja u Zadru, Kninu, iz Baške s otoka Krka, iz Vrbnika i grada Krka, Cresa, Osora i Raba. Prema saznanjima Bulića predmeti su bili odneseni u Trst. Stoga se Bulić, vezano uz mirovnu konferenciju u San Remu, obratio *Ministarstvu Prosvete, Umjetničkom odjeljenju* za povratak predmeta iz navedenih mjesta.³⁹¹

Nadalje, Odbor Narodnog vijeća u Zadru od strane vlade SHS trebao je pripremiti materijal za komisiju koja je trebala urediti odnose između Zadra i ostale Dalmacije nakon Rapalskog ugovora te je uputio Buliću dopis da sastavi kako bi se trebala po njegovom mišljenju izvršiti podjela arhiva, knjižnica i muzeja, odnosno koji su predmeti iz Zadra prema Rapalskom ugovoru trebali pripasti Kraljevini SHS.³⁹² U dopisu pod nazivom *Izvršenje Rapalskog ugovora i konvencija sklopljenih između Kraljevine SHS i Italije* Bulić navodi da je prema ugovoru većina arhivske građe vezane uz Mletačku Republiku pripala Italiji. Za dio građe koju čine povijesni predmeti – akti bio je mišljenja da se od te građe trebalo izdvojiti i ostaviti u Zadarskom arhivu ono što se odnosi na zadarsku lokalnu povijest. Što se tiče dijela predmeta koji su bili otuđeni ili uništeni u vrijeme vojnih djelovanja i okupacije, smatrao je da za njih treba biti nadoknađena šteta. Bulić je konstatirao da u konvencijama nisu spomenuti Muzej sv. Donata u Zadru i *Biblioteca provinciale del gimnasio italiano*. Muzej sv. Donata bio je državni muzej te je sakupljao predmete iz tadašnje cijele pokrajine, a njegov stav je bio da predmeti pronađeni u Zadru ondje trebaju i ostati, dok predmete koji su pripadali drugim gradovima treba izmjestiti. *Biblioteca* je bila jedina koja je primala „obavezne primjerke“ iz Monarhije, stoga knjižni fond nikako

384 U Izvještaju o radu *Konservatorijalnog ureda* navodi se povratak zvona iz župne crkve u Raslinama kod Šibenika koje je bilo rekvirirano i odneseno u Beč, da bi potom bilo vraćeno napuknuto te je smješteno u Arheološki muzej. Župa je trebala dobiti pripomoć za nabavu novog zvona. MKM-KOST-A broj 128/23/R.

385 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1920 dopis broj 11 od 6. ožujka 1920.

386 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1921 dopis broj 61 od 7. srpnja 1921.

387 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1922., 11; UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2012., 432.

388 UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2012., 434.

389 MK-KOST-A Kutija 1921. dopis broj 35/1921. od 4. svibnja 1921.

390 Uredba *O štetama nanesenim od strane okupatorne talijanske vlasti spomenicima u Dalmaciji i postupanje sa spomenicima bivših tugijskih država*. Split, 10. svibnja 1921. MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1921. dopis broj 35/1921.

391 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1920 dopis broj 24 iz 1919.

392 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1921 dopis broj 20/21 od 26. veljače 1921.

Treaty of Rapallo.³⁸⁸ In a letter titled *Execution of the Treaty of Rapallo and conventions concluded between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes and Italy*, Bulić stated that according to the Treaty, most of the archival material connected with the Republic of Venice belonged to Italy. However, he believed that records that concerned the local history of Zadar should be left in the Zadar Archives. He also believed that compensation should be paid for items that were taken or destroyed during the war and occupation. Bulić noted that the conventions did not mention the Museum of St. Donatus in Zadar and the *Biblioteca provinciale del gimnasio italiano*. The Museum of St. Donatus was a state museum and collected objects from the entire province, and he believed that objects found in Zadar should remain there, while objects belonging to other cities should be removed. Only the *Biblioteca* received "obligatory items" from the Monarchy, so the book fund could not be given to Zadar. For these reasons, Bulić considered that the issues concerning the Museum of St. Donatus and the *Biblioteca* should be resolved through later agreements.³⁸⁹ Through correspondence, diplomatic channels and personal contacts, Bulić and Karaman tried to resolve the issue of the return and division of monuments until the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was abolished, i.e. the beginning of World War II, when other political circumstances arose. Movable art that was repeatedly mentioned in the records, and returned in the end, included: the 15th century polyptych with saints from the Franciscan monastery on Ugljan (kept at the Franciscan monastery in Zadar)³⁹⁰; the wooden altar from Jurandvor on Krk (Viertelberger had it, and it was returned through a joint action with the Land Office); the bell from Raslina (located at the Museum of Military History in Vienna, returned in 1922); the antependium from Hvar and four paintings from the

Franciscan monastery in Pag (deposited in the Franciscan monastery in Zadar).

The Protection of Church Inventory

The lack of knowledge about the entire movable inventory in Dalmatia was the biggest problem in protecting church inventory. Therefore, in October 1919, the *Diocesan Council* was founded in Split with Frano Bulić, Emanuel Vidović and Ivo Delalle as members. "The Diocesan Council was the expert factor of the *Ordinariate for building, extending or rebuilding churches, in acquiring, repairing or selling paintings and statues, and in general church furniture, church supplies, etc.*"³⁹¹ The Council wanted to compile an accurate list of church artworks in the Split Diocese, i.e. draw up a list of the inventory, and sent a circular to local churches. According to the report, only one church responded to the circular.³⁹² The inventory of church art again became an important topic when the *Order of the Regional Administration for Dalmatia on the Protection of Works of Art* was approved on October 11, 1921 by a decision of the Ministry of Education.³⁹³ All items of historical, architectural, artistic or other cultural importance, regardless of ownership, were placed under the protection of the Regional Administration for Dalmatia. The order could not be implemented without processing the entire art inventory, so Bulić sent the *Circular Protection and Care of Monuments in Dalmatia*³⁹⁴ and the *Inventory Form* to all ecclesiastical authorities in Dalmatia to list all monuments of historical, artistic or local importance.³⁹⁵ The *Circular* explained the significance and purpose of caring for movable monuments and the goal, which was to have a list of all movable art monuments in Dalmatia. The first part of the *Circular* emphasized the wealth of monuments in Dalmatia, and the main threat to los-

388 MKM-KOST-A Box 1921, Letter No. 20/21, February 26, 1921.

389 MKM-KOST-A Box 1923, Letter No. 30/kons/23, May 1, 1923.

390 There are several letters about the return of the polyptych. For example, the letter from the Ministry of Education addressed to the Ministry of Religion to help return the polyptych to the Franciscan monastery in Ugljan, especially due to the cost of transport. MK-KOST-A Box 1925, Letter No. 4586, November 2, 1925. Transcript; Archaeological Museum in Split – The Conservation Department informed the *Ministry of Religion, Catholic Section* regarding the transport of the polyptych from Zadar to the Franciscan monastery Poljud in Split, that they consented to transfer the polyptych. MK-KOST-A Box 1925, letter no. 135, November 16, 1925.

391 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1920, 15.

392 MKM-KOST-A Box 1923, Letter No. 63/M/23, June 21, 1923.

393 MKM-SDKB-ZP Annex I to the Circular.

394 MKM-KOST-A No. 5 (Kons.) 1922, Split February 10, 1922, Protection and Care for Monuments in Dalmatia; filed under number 15/1922 MKM-SDKB-ZP at the Conservation Office in Zagreb

395 *Circular Protection and Care for Monument in Dalmatia*, Split February 10, 1922. Published in the journal *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Split 1921.

nije mogao pripasti Zadru. Iz navedenih razloga Bulić je smatrao da se Muzej sv. Donata i Biblioteka trebaju riješiti naknadnim dogovorima.³⁹³ Bulić i Karaman su raznim dopisima, diplomatskim putovima i osobnim kontaktima pokušavali rješavati pitanje povratka i podjele spomenika sve do kraja postojanja Kraljevine Jugoslavije, odnosno početka Drugoga svjetskog rata, kada nastupaju druge političke prilike. Pokretni umjetnički predmeti koji se opetovano spominju u spisima, a naposljetku su vraćeni, bili su sljedeći: poliptih sa svetcima iz 15. stoljeća iz franjevačkog samostana na Ugljanu, bio je deponiran u franjevačkom samostanu u Zadru³⁹⁴; drveni oltar iz Jurandvora na Krku, koji se nalazio kod Viertelbergera, vraćen je zajedničkom akcijom sa Zemaljskim povjerenstvom; zvono iz Raslina koje se nalazilo u Heeresmuseumu u Beču vraćeno je 1922. godine; antependij iz Hvara te četiri slike iz franjevačkog samostana u Pagu deponirane su u franjevačkom samostanu u Zadru.

Zaštita crkvenog inventara

Najveći problem u zaštiti crkvenog inventara bio je u nedovoljnom poznavanju cjelokupnog pokretnog inventara u Dalmaciji. U tu svrhu u Splitu je u listopadu 1919. osnovano *Dijecezansko vijeće* čiji su članovi bili Frano Bulić, Emanuel Vidović i Ivo Delalle. „*Dijecezansko je Vijeće strukovnjački faktor Ordinarijata pri gradnji, dogradnji ili popravljanju crkava, pri nabavljanju, popravljanju ili prodavanju slika i kipova te u opće crkvenog pokušstva, crkvenih potrebstina itd.*“³⁹⁵ Vijeće je željelo utvrditi točan popis crkvenih umjetnina koje se nalaze u splitskoj biskupiji odnosno da se provede inventarizacija te je uputilo okružnicu *crkvenarstvima*. Na okružnicu se prema izvještaju odazvalo jedno *crkvenarstvo*.³⁹⁶ Inventarizacija

393 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1923 dopis broj 30/kons/23 od 1. svibnja 1923.
394 Postoji više dopisa o vraćanju poliptiha. Npr. dopis Ministarstva prosvjete upućen Ministarstvu vjera da pomogne u vraćanju poliptiha franjevačkom samostanu na Ugljanu, posebno o financijskom trošku prijenosa. MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1925 dopis broj 4586 od 2. studenog 1925. Prijepis; Arheološki muzej u Splitu – Konservatorijalni odjel obavještava *Ministarstvo vera, Katoličko odelenje* u vezi prijenosa poliptiha iz Zadra u franjevački samostan Poljudu u Splitu da su suglasni s premještanjem poliptiha. MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1925 dopis br. 135 od 16. studenog 1925.

395 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1920., 15.

396 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1923 dopis broj 63/M/23 od 21. lipnja 1923.



22 France Stelè u Dominikanskom samostanu u Ptuju, 1930. (Ministrstvo za kulturo Slovenije, Direktorat za kulturno dediščino, INDOK center, br. neg. 5873N)

France Stelè in the Dominican monastery in Ptuj, 1930 (Ministry of culture of Slovenia, Directorate for cultural heritage, INDOK centre, br.neg.5873N)

crkvenih umjetnina ponovno postaje aktualna kada je odlukom Ministarstva prosvjete 11. listopada 1921. odobrena *Naredba Pokrajinske uprave za Dalmaciju o zaštiti umjetničkih djela*.³⁹⁷ Naredbom su svi predmeti historijskog, arhitektonskog, umjetničkog ili drugoga kulturnog značaja, bez obzira na vlasništvo, stavljeni pod zaštitu Pokrajinske Uprave za Dalmaciju. Naredba nije mogla biti provedena bez obrade cjelokupnog inventara umjetničkih predmeta. Stoga Bulić upućuje svim crkvenim vlastima u Dalmaciji *Okružnicu Zaštita i njega spomenika u Dalmaciji*³⁹⁸ i *Obrazac za sastavljanje inventara* da sastave

397 MKM-SDKB-ZP Prilog I. uz Okružnicu.

398 MKM-KOST-A broj 5 (Kons.) 1922., Split 10. veljače 1922., Zaštita i njega spomenika u Dalmaciji; U Konzervatorskom uredu u Zagrebu urudžbirano je pod brojem 15/1922 MKM-SDKB-ZP.

ing that wealth was the sale and export of art. It also alleged that a large number of objects of artistic value were still located in foreign museums and their return was not certain. As an example, he mentioned the Baptismal font of Duke Višeslav from Nin, and the manuscript of Thomas the Archdeacon, *Historia Salonitana*³⁹⁶. In addition to representative art, the Circular also referred to objects of lesser artistic significance, as these items were more frequently traded. The *Circular* explained the importance of these items for future scientific research as well as their importance for local communities. It was particularly emphasized that by removing these items, they would lose their meaning and aesthetic value. In the end, the work of the *Conservation Office*, which had taken over monument protection, was highlighted and the provisional *Order of the Regional Administration for Dalmatia for the Protection of Works of Art* confirmed its role. The *Circular* ended by encouraging the creation of a list of works of art, i.e. inventory.³⁹⁷ This list would serve as a basis for making a scientific list of monuments (topography) for which the Conservation Office had already started collecting data. A list of the inventory needed to be drawn up based on the *Inventory Form*.³⁹⁸ The *Inventory Form* needed to include information on the number and type of items, a short description, the material and techniques, measurements, the origin, style or date, the condition of the items, the location and notes.³⁹⁹ The response to the *Circular* was low, so another letter was sent to the Bishop Ordinaries in Split, Krk, Šibenik, Hvar, Dubrovnik, Kotor, the Serbian Orthodox Bishops in Šibenik and Kotor, and the Franciscan Provincial and Dominican Provinces in Split. In the letter, Bulić emphasized the importance of drawing up the inventory

as a prerequisite for studying art in Dalmatia.⁴⁰⁰ In the report on the activities of the Conservation Office for 1923, it said that "...only a few Serbian Orthodox Parochial Evangelists and Monastery administrations responded, which we commend as an incentive for others..."⁴⁰¹ The records of the Conservation Office rarely mention responses to the *Circular*, and one of the aforementioned is from the 1924 report, when the Bishop Ordinary in Krk, Office of Krk Diocese, sent a list of works of art and antiquities.⁴⁰²

Along with the inventory, there was a problem with moving old liturgical vestments and other liturgical items from churches to museums. Bulić opposed this practice and sent a letter to all Bishop Ordinaries about preserving unusable, but artistically valuable elements of liturgical vestments. He believed that all church objects should be kept in churches and used, a fact he justified with new theoretical principles on protection as opposed to practices from the 19th century. Only liturgical vestments from smaller churches that could not be used were moved to a museum or a large church. As an example, he mentioned cathedrals in Split, Makarska and Trogir.⁴⁰³

During the early years of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, the government in Belgrade attempted to coordinate the work of conservators within the monarchy, and two meetings of archaeologists, art historians and ethnologists were held in Dobrna near Celje, and Belgrade. The purpose of these meetings was for conservators to meet, work on a unique organization for monument protection, and prepare an archaeological conference.⁴⁰⁴ The joint work of conservators from the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia continued with the aim of drafting a law on monument protection. Several conferences about drafting a law were held by the time the Kingdom ceased to exist, although without results.

396 Thomas Archdeacon (1200-1268) was born in Split, he studied law and theology in Bologna. *Historia Salonitana pontificum atque Spalatensium – Historia Salonitana* is his most famous manuscript about the history of Salona and the Split church organisation, in which he states the names of Croatian national rulers and the question of settling of Croats, presented many valuable data on Croatian medieval history in general. MATIJEVIĆ SOKOL, MIRJANA, 1995, 117-131.

397 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1921, 8-10.

398 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1921, 10.

399 MKM-SDKB-ZP Inventory Form, Annex II. The form provided explanations on what to look for and which information should be recorded about the items. Under material and technique, instructions were given based on type of object: paintings, metal objects, wooden objects, textile objects and books.

400 MKM-KOST-A Box 1923, No. 104/kons/23, November 28, 1923.

401 MKM-KOST-A No. 128/23/R, N. N. 1923, 1.

402 The Episcopal Ordinary in Krk conducted an inventory of monuments in parish churches: Kampo, Kornič, Banjol on Rab; Stara Baška, Dobrinj, Omišalj, Dubašnica, Vrbnik, Draga Baščanska, Punat, Malinska on Krk; Luna, Novalja, Poljud on Pag. MKM-KOST-A Box 1924, Letter No. 797-1924, September 17, 1924, N. N. 1924-1925, 1.

403 MKM-KOST-A Box 1919, Letter No. 40, November 29, 1919.

404 Report 1922, Congress was to be held in Split at the opening of the Archaeological Museum.

popis svih spomenika od povijesnog, umjetničkog ili lokalnog značaja.³⁹⁹ U *Okružnici* je objašnjen značaj i svrha brige za pokretne spomenike te cilj, a to je popis svih pokretnih umjetničkih spomenika u Dalmaciji. U prvom dijelu *Okružnice* naglašeno je bogatstvo spomenika kojima Dalmacija obiluje, a glavna prijetnja gubitka tog bogatstva bio je izvoz i prodaja umjetnina koja je bila stalno prisutna. Potom se navodi da se velik broj predmeta umjetničke vrijednosti i dalje nalazi u stranim muzejima te da je njihov povratak upitan. Kao primjer navodi Višeslavovu krstionicu iz Nina i rukopis Tome Arhiđakona, *Historia salonitana*. Osim reprezentativnih umjetnina, *Okružnica* se odnosila i na predmete od manjega umjetničkog značaja, jer upravo se tim predmetima češće trgovalo. *Okružnicom* se objašnjava značaj tih predmeta za buduća znanstvena istraživanja kao i njihova važnost lokalnog značaja, a osobito se naglašava da izdvajanjem iz cjeline kojoj pripadaju ti predmeti gube svoj smisao i estetsku vrijednost. Na kraju se ističe rad *Konservatorskog ureda* koji od osnutka vodi brigu o zaštiti spomenika, a privremena *Naredba Pokrajinske uprave za Dalmaciju o zaštiti umjetničkih djela* potvrđuje mu tu ulogu. *Okružnica* završava poticanjem izrade popisa umjetnina, odnosno inventarizacije.⁴⁰⁰ Taj popis služio bi kao baza za izradu znanstvenog popisa spomenika (topografije), za što je Konzervatorski ured već počeo s prikupljanjem podataka. Inventarizacija se trebala provesti prema *Obrascu za sastavljanje inventara*.⁴⁰¹ U *Obrazac za sastavljanje inventara* trebali su biti upisani podatci o broju i vrsti predmeta, kratki opis, materijal i tehnika, mjere, podrijetlo, stil ili datacija, stanje predmeta, smještaj i opaske.⁴⁰² Odaziv na *Okružnicu* bio je loš. Stoga je ponovno upućen dopis Biskupskim ordinarijatima u Splitu, Krku, Šibeniku, Hvaru, Dubrovniku, Kotoru, srpsko-pravoslavnim episkopatima u Šibeniku i Kotoru te Provincijatu franjevaca i

dominikanaca u Splitu da dostave zatraženi popis umjetnina. Bulić u dopisu naglašava važnost inventarizacije kao preduvjeta za proučavanje umjetnina u Dalmaciji.⁴⁰³ U izvještaju o djelatnosti Konservatorijalnog ureda za 1923. godinu objavljeno je da su se javila „... samo nekolicina srpsko-pravoslavna parohijska Zvanja i Uprave manastira, što pohvalom ističemo na poticaji nasljedovanjem ostalim...“⁴⁰⁴ U spisima Konservatorijalnog ureda vrlo rijetko se spominje nečiji odgovor na *Okružnicu*, a jedan od spomenutih je u izvještaju iz 1924. kada je Biskupski ordinarijat u Krku, Ured krčke biskupije poslao popis umjetnina i starina.⁴⁰⁵

Uz inventarizaciju postojao je problem izmještanja staroga misnog ruha te ostalih crkvenih predmeta iz crkvi u muzeje. Bulić se protivio takvoj praksi te je uputio dopis svim biskupskim ordinarijatima u vezi čuvanja *neupotrebljivih a umjetnički vrijednih dijelova crkveni ruha*. Smatrao je da se svi crkveni predmeti trebaju čuvati u crkvi i biti u upotrebi, što opravdava novim teorijskim principima zaštite u odnosu na 19. stoljeće. Samo neupotrebljivo crkveno ruho iz manjih crkvi može se premjestiti u muzej ili u velike crkve; kao primjer navodi stolne crkve u Splitu, Makarskoj i Trogiru.⁴⁰⁶

U prvim godinama Kraljevine SHS vlada u Beogradu pokušala je povezati rad konzervatora unutar monarhije te su održana dva sastanka arheologa, povjesničara umjetnosti i etnologa u Dobrni kraj Celja i u Beogradu. Cilj tih sastanaka bilo je međusobno upoznavanje, rad na jedinstvenoj organizaciji zaštite spomenika te priprema arheološke konferencije.⁴⁰⁷ Zajednički rad konzervatora Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije nastavit će se na izradi prijedloga zakona o zaštiti spomenika. Iako bez rezultata, do kraja postojanja Kraljevine održat će se nekoliko

399 *Okružnica Zaštita i njega spomenika u Dalmaciji*, Split 10. veljače 1922. Objavljena je u *Vjesniku za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Split, 1921.

400 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1921., 8-10.

401 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1921., 10.

402 MKM-SDKB-ZP Obrazac za sastavljanje inventara, Prilog II. Obrazac je po poljima imao objašnjenja na što se treba obratiti pozornost i koje se informacije o predmetu bilježe. Kod polja *materijal i tehnika* date su upute po vrsti predmeta: slike, metalni predmeti, drveni predmeti, tekstilni predmeti i knjige.

403 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1923. broj 104/kons/23 od 28. studenog 1923.

404 MKM-KOST-A broj 128/23/R, N. N. 1923., 1.

405 Biskupski ordinarijat u Krku proveo je inventarizaciju spomenika u župnim crkvama: na Rabu u Kampoju, Korniču, Banjolu; na Krku u Staroj Baški, Dobrinju, Omišlju, Dubašnici, Vrbniku, Dragi Bašćanskoj, Puntu, Malinskoj; na Pagu u Lunu, Novalji, Poljudu. MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1924 dopis broj 797-1924 od 17. rujna 1924. N. N. 1924-1925., 1.

406 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1919 dopis broj 40 od 29. studenoga 1919.

407 Izvještaj 1922. Kongres se trebao održati u Splitu prilikom otvorenja Arheološkog muzeja.

Bulić and Karaman also corresponded with various experts on different issues of monument protection. Regarding the repair of the organ from the abbey church in Trogir, Bulić consulted Janko Barlè, a historian and editor of the *St. Cecilia* music magazine. Barlè said that the director of the conservatory, Franjo Dugan, and architect Hefferer were familiar with the Trogir organ, and he sent the description of the instrument from the magazine *St. Cecilia*. Dugan agreed to inspect the organ and draw up a cost estimate. It was recommended that before Dugan arrived, a local organ player should describe the instrument in great detail along with any necessary repairs. Barlè recommended a new organ should be bought, and the old one given to a museum or another church. He further stated that the organ was an interesting piece, but not the most valuable in the country, and should only be preserved out of devotion.⁴⁰⁵

An extended field tour with honorary conservator Bulić, Danish architect and archaeologist Ejnar Dyggve⁴⁰⁶ and Karaman was organized regarding the monumental altar that Don Ivan Matešan wanted to give to the church of St. George in Gradac. The conclusion that Karaman sent to the parish office in Gati was that the church of St. George did not need a monumental altar because of its dimensions, and that the wooden Baroque altar fit the church perfectly. He recommended repairing the existing altar, replacing the altar painting, and renovating the church.⁴⁰⁷

Another expert that Karaman often co-operated with was the Slovenian conservator France Stelè (Fig. 22). Their co-operation began immediately after Karaman started his career, and continued through the drafting of laws, the exchange of professional literature, ideas and experts, and by helping each other. They corresponded on various issues, and the best example of their day-to-day collaboration was their solving the problem of closing the *Office for Monuments* in Ljubljana. Stelè told Karaman that he had received a letter about closing the *Office for Monuments* in Ljubljana under the new *Law on the Internal Administration*, and that he was assigned to the Ban as a referent for

the preservation of the monument. Stelè asked the Ministry of Education for their opinion about shutting down scientific institutions. He asked Karaman for a response before he intervened with the Ban.⁴⁰⁸ Karaman responded that this was news to him, and that he did not know about the decision of the Drava Banovina. He did not check with the Littoral Banovina if they planned to do the same, but assumed there were no plans to close the office. Karaman believed that the *Regulation* explicitly placed monument protection under the Ministry of Education. He informed Stelè that he would ask Bulić to address King Alexander directly as an honorary conservator.⁴⁰⁹ Stelè talked with the assistant to the Ban of the Drava Banovina, who did not want to give up on closing the office, because he thought nobody could handle the administration except Stelè. The office had its own finances and on behalf of the state, carried out restorations that could not be implemented under the "museum as a company". He stated that it was by pure chance that the offices for the monument protection had not been closed, and the jobs assigned to administrative assistants in the administration of the Ban. Stelè had one hope left – the answer from the Ministry of Education.⁴¹⁰ The response of the Ministry of Education was positive for Stelè, the office in Ljubljana and Dubrovnik did not close down, as the process of shutting down conservation offices was considered unfounded and it was not approved by the ministry.⁴¹¹

Ljubo Karaman – Inventory and Restoration of Movable Art

When he arrived at the Conservation Office, Karaman, together with Bulić, participated in the review of art in Dalmatian churches. He quickly detected the problem – there was no systematic restoration of art. The problem was caused by the interruption of state and legal relations with the Austrian Empire, when cooperation on restoration of art stopped. Artwork was no longer sent to Vienna for restoration and funding was suspended. In the report on the work of the Conservation

405 MKM-KOST-A Box 1923, Letter No. 10/1923, February 12, 1923.

406 More in KOVAČIĆ, VANJA, 2015.

407 MKM-KOST-A Box 1931, Letter No. 159, November 19, 1931.

408 MKM-KOST-A Box 1930, Letter on May 1, 1930.

409 MKM-KOST-A Box 1930, Letter on May 4, 1930.

410 MKM-KOST-A Box 1930, Letter on May 6, 1930.

411 MKM-KOST-A Box 1930, Letter No. 71, May 5, 1930.

konferencija vezanih za temu izrade zakona, o čemu će kasnije biti riječi.

Bulić i Karaman korespondiraju ovisno o problematici s različitim stručnjacima u vezi zaštite spomenika. Tako Bulić traži, u vezi popravka orgulja iz zborno-opatske crkve u Trogiru, mišljenje povjesničara i urednika glazbenog časopisa *Sv. Cecilija* Janka Barlèa. Barlè odgovara da je ravnatelj konzervatorija Franjo Dugan upoznat s trogirskim orguljama kao i graditelj Hefferer, a opis samoga muzičkog instrumenta prenosi iz časopisa *Sv. Cecilija*. Dugan je pristao pregledati navedene orgulje i izraditi troškovnik. Preporuka je bila da prije dolaska Dugana lokalni orguljaš detaljno opiše orgulje i potrebne popravke. Barlè je sugerirao nabavku novih orgulja, a stare da se prepuste muzeju ili nekoj drugoj crkvi. Nadalje, navodi da su orgulje zanimljiva cjelina, ali nisu najvrjednije u zemlji, te bi se trebale sačuvati samo iz pijeteta.⁴⁰⁸

Vežano uz monumentalni oltar koji je don Ivan Matešan želio pokloniti crkvi sv. Jurja na Gradcu organiziran je prošireni terenski obilazak koji su činili: počasni konzervator Bulić, danski arhitekt i arheolog Ejnar Dyggve⁴⁰⁹ i Karaman. Zaključak koji Karaman upućuje župnom uredu u Gatima bio je da crkva sv. Jurja ne treba monumentalni oltar zbog svojih dimenzija, jer drveni barokni oltar koji posjeduje sasvim odgovara, te preporučuje popravak oltara i zamjenu oltarne slike kao i uređenje same crkve.⁴¹⁰

Još jedan stručnjak s kojim Karaman često surađuje bio je slovenski konzervator France Stelè (sl. 22). Njihova suradnja započinje odmah po dolasku Karamana u službu, a nastavlja se na izradi zakona, razmjeni stručne literature, ideja i stručnjaka te međusobnoj pomoći u radu. Njihova korespondencija ovisila je o problematici, a najbolji primjer njihove suradnje na dnevnoj bazi bilo je rješavanje problema oko ukidanja *Spomeničkog ureda* u Ljubljani. Naime, Stelè javlja Karamanu da je dobio dopis u kojemu se ukida *Spomenički ured* u Ljubljani prema novom *Zakonu o unutrašnjoj upravi* i dodjeljuje se banu kao referent za čuvanje spomenika. Stelè je zatražio mišljenje od Ministarstva prosvjete o ukidanju znanstvenih institucija. Moli odgovor od Karamana

prije intervencije kod banske vlasti.⁴¹¹ Karaman javlja da mu je došla vijest iznenada i da nema saznanja o odluci Dravske banovine. Kod Primorske banovine nije išao provjeriti imaju li isti naum, ali pretpostavlja da nitko ne razmišlja o zatvaranju ureda. Karaman je zastupao mišljenje da je zaštita spomenika izričito stavljena prema *Uredbi* pod Ministarstvo prosvjete. Karaman obavještava Stelèa da će zamoliti Bulića, kao počasnog konzervatora, da se direktnom predstavkom obrati kralju Aleksandru.⁴¹² Stelè je razgovarao s pomoćnikom bana Dravske banovine koji ne odustaje od ukidanja ureda jer smatra da se nitko ne smije baviti upravnim poslovima. Ured ima svoje financije i u ime države provodi restauracije i slično, a ne mogu se provoditi pod „firmom muzeja“. Navodi kako je samo puki slučaj da uredi za zaštitu spomenika nisu ukinuti, a poslovi dodijeljeni referentima u banskoj upravi. Stelèu je još jedina nada bio odgovor od Ministarstva prosvjete.⁴¹³ Pristigli odgovor Ministarstva prosvjete bio je pozitivan za Stelèa, uredi u Ljubljani i Dubrovniku nastavljaju svoj rad, a postupak zatvaranja ureda smatran je neosnovanim i ne slijedi intencije nadležnog ministarstva.⁴¹⁴

Ljubo Karaman – inventarizacija i restauracija pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta

Karaman po dolasku u Konservatorijalni ured sudjeluje u pregledu umjetnina po dalmatinskim crkvama zajedno s Bulićem. Vrlo brzo uviđa problem izostanka sustavnog restauriranja umjetnina. Problem je nastao prekidom državno-pravnih odnosa s Austrijskim carstvom, kada je prekinuta suradnja vezana uz restauriranje umjetnina. Umjetnine više nisu slane u Beč na restauriranje, a financiranje je bilo obustavljeno. Karaman u izvješću o radu Konservatorijalnog ureda piše o potrebi zapošljavanja restauratora za pokretne spomenike: „*Osim arhitekta treba Konservatorijalni Ured u svom radu i strukovno izobraženih restauratera starih slika i drvenih rezbarija pa popravljače starinskog crkvenog ruha itd. Dosada su to obavljali prigodomice odaslani bečki restaurateri ili se predmeti otpremali u Beč na popravak.*“⁴¹⁵ Karaman je problem manjka restauratora pokušao riješiti angažira-

408 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1923. dopis broj 10/1923. od 12. veljače 1923.

409 Više: KOVAČIĆ, VANJA, 2015.

410 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1931 dopis broj 159 od 19. studenoga 1931.

411 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1930 dopis od 1. svibnja 1930.

412 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1930 dopis od 4. svibnja 1930.

413 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1930 dopis od 6. svibnja 1930.

414 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1930 dopis broj 71 od 5. svibnja 1930.

415 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1920., 2.

Office, Karaman wrote about the need to hire a restorer for movable monuments: "In addition to an architect, the Conservation Office also needs educated restorers of old paintings and wooden carvings, and repairers of old liturgical vestments, etc. So far, either it has been done by restorers from Vienna or the items were sent to Vienna for repairs."⁴¹² Karaman tried to solve the problem of a lack of restorers by hiring Ferdo Goglia, a restorer at the Archaeological and Historical Museum in Zagreb, and an expert associate at the Strossmayer Gallery. Goglia came to Dalmatia with funds collected from the elders of monasteries in Karin, Medviđa, Šibenik, Split, Hvar, Jelsa, Lopud and Dubrovnik. Karaman planned the trip.⁴¹³ Goglia gave up on reviewing the artwork in Dalmatia because he got a job as a teacher. He travelled to Dalmatia six months later, but he paid for it himself.⁴¹⁴

After Goglia quit, Karaman turned to Stelè to find a professional restorer. Stelè recommended Matej Sternen, a restorer from Slovenia's *Office for monuments*. Karaman and Sternen began working together in 1925. The first thing Sternen restored was the crucifix from Seget near Trogir.⁴¹⁵ Karaman was satisfied with the restoration, although he noted that his knowledge on restoration was theoretical and that this was the first painting restored since he had started working.⁴¹⁶ Regarding further cooperation, Karaman informed Stelè that he had the funds to review paintings. The plan was for Sternen to choose paintings that needed urgent restoration, draw up a cost estimate and educate the owners on packing the paintings for transport. They planned to discuss the details of the trip when Sternen arrived in Split.⁴¹⁷ Karaman and Sternen went to Dalmatia to inspect movable art.⁴¹⁸ During the trip, they documented the condition of artworks, categorized them in terms

of urgency of intervention and took photographs. According to Karaman's report for 1924/1925, priority was given to repairing paintings by local painters from the 15th and 16th centuries and Italian masters. Karaman secured the funds for the polyptych from the church of St. Barbara in Šibenik and the polyptych from the church of St. Dominic in Dubrovnik. The work was carried out in 1926.⁴¹⁹ Karaman was involved in everything Sternen did, from field visits and securing funds to inspecting restored works of art. The most common problem was payment because grants were late or reduced.⁴²⁰ In the Franciscan monastery on Hvar, Sternen restored the painting *The Last Supper (Coen Domini)* by Francesco Santa Croce. When Karaman again visited the Franciscan monastery in Hvar, he noted that the painting was starting to deteriorate, and the paint was blistering and beginning to separate from the base in several places. The problem was attributed to the original condition of the painting, and Sternen's restoration process was not questioned.⁴²¹

Karaman also corresponded with parish priests regarding the restoration of paintings and their transport. Sternen informed Karaman that he had sent the restored polyptych to Šibenik and asked him to inform him when it arrived.⁴²² Karaman asked the parish office in Šibenik to inform him whether the polyptych had arrived, so he could examine it and inspect the restored artwork.⁴²³ There are examples like the one from Trogir, when the parish office informed Karaman that Sternen had restored a painting and sent it to the Conservation

412 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1920, 2

413 UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2011, 270.

414 SUNARA, MIRJAM, 2011, 49.

415 KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1924-1925, 11.

416 MKM-KOST-A Box 1926, Letter No. 130, January 28, 1926. More on the restoration process UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2011, 270.

417 MKM-KOST-A Box 1926, Letter No. 130, March 6, 1926.

418 France Stelè, who originally recommended three restorers: Ivan Sojč, Josip Grošelj and Ivan Vodnik. BULIĆ, FRANE; KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1924; and KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1925, 12; UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2011, 270.

419 KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1924-1925, 12.

420 Upon receiving the photographs of paintings Sternen had restored, Karaman thanked him and asked him to send the bill for the current year, and promised to settle the overdue bills as soon as possible. MKM-KOST-A Box 1932, Letter No. 182, September 14, 1932. MKM-KOST-A Box 1932, Letter No. 62, March 12, 1932. The budget for 1932/1933 also included 9000 dinars for Sternen's restoration of the polyptych, MKM-KOST Box 1933, Letter No. 54, April 2, 1933. In November, Karaman wrote to Stelè to inform Sternen to fill out and sign forms and add a dutz stamp to receive money from the Conservation Office in Split.

421 MKM-KOST-A Box 1932, Letter No. 153, July 2, 1932; From 1926 to 1932, Sternen restored paintings in Šibenik, Trogir, Seget, Hvar, Ston, Lopud, Korčula and Dubrovnik. List of restored paintings: UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA 2011, 272.

422 MKM-KOST-A Box 1933, Letter No. 28, February 21, 1933.

423 MKM-KOST-A Box 1933, Letter No. 28, March 10, 1933 (transcript).

njem restauratora Arheološko-povijesnog muzeja u Zagrebu i stručnog suradnika Strossmayerove galerije Ferda Gogle. Gogle dolazi u Dalmaciju uz pomoć sredstava prikupljenih od starješina samostana u Karinu, Medviđi, Šibeniku, Splitu, Hvaru, Jelsi, Lopudu i Dubrovniku. Plan puta izradio je Karaman.⁴¹⁶ Gogle tada odustaje od pregleda umjetnina u Dalmaciji opravdavajući se *nastupom učiteljske službe*. Na putovanje po Dalmaciji odlazi pola godine kasnije, ali o vlastitom trošku.⁴¹⁷

Nakon odustajanja Gogle, Karaman se za pronalazak stručnog restauratora obratio Stelèu koji mu je preporučio restauratora *Spomeničkog ureda za Sloveniju* Mateja Sternena. Karaman sa Sternenom počinje surađivati 1925. godine. Prvi predmet koji je Sternen restaurirao bio je raspelo iz Segeta kod Trogira.⁴¹⁸ Karaman je bio zadovoljan popravkom, iako napominje da restauratorski postupak poznaje samo teoretski te da je ovo prva slika koja je popravljena otkada je došao u službu.⁴¹⁹ U vezi daljnje suradnje Karaman obavještava Stelèa o osiguranim sredstvima za pregled slika. Plan je bio da Sternen odabere slike koje je bilo potrebno hitnije restaurirati, izradi troškove popravka i educira vlasnike o pakiranju slika za transport. O detaljima putovanja trebali su se dogovarati po Sternenovom dolasku u Split.⁴²⁰ Karaman i Sternen išli su većinom zajedno pregledavati pokretne umjetnine po Dalmaciji.⁴²¹ Prilikom obilaska terena zapisivali su stanje umjetnina, kategorizirali ih s obzirom na hitnost intervencije i fotografirali. Prema Karamanovu izvještaju o radu za 1924./1925. godinu prioritet je bio popravak slika domaćih slikarskih škola 15. i 16. stoljeća te talijanskih majstora. Karaman je unaprijed osigurao sredstva za poliptih u crkvi sv. Barbare u Šibeniku i poliptih iz crkve sv. Dominika u Dubrovniku. Radovi su izvedeni u 1926. godini.⁴²² Karaman je bio uključen u cjelovit Sternenov rad, od obilaska terena, osiguranja i isplate sredstava pa do pregleda restauriranih



23 Ljubo Karaman s raspelom u Martinšćini, 1943.
(foto: Hinko Vichra, 2982-II-97 MKM-SDKB-F)

Ljubo Karaman with a crucifix in Martinšćina, 1943
(photo: Hinko Vichra, MKM-SDKB-F Inv. No. 2982-II-97)

umjetnina. Najčešći problem bila je isplata sredstava jer su dotacije iz budžeta kasnile ili su bile smanjivane.⁴²³ U Franjevačkom samostanu na Hvaru Sternen je restaurirao sliku *Posljednja večera (Coena Domini)* Francesca Santa Crocea. Prilikom ponovnog obilaska franjevačkog samostana u Hvaru Karaman je konstatirao da se navedena slika počela *kvariti*, boja se napuhnula i počela se odljepljivati na više mjesta.

416 UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2011., 270.

417 SUNARA, SAGITA MIRJAM, 2011., 49.

418 KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1924.-1925., 11.

419 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1926 dopis broj 130 od 28. siječnja 1926. Više o samom restauratorskom postupku: UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2011., 270.

420 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1926 dopis broj 130 od 6. ožujka 1926.

421 Franceu Stelèu koji mu je prvotno preporučio trojicu restauratora: Ivana Sojča, Josipa Grošelja i Ivana Vodnika. BULIĆ, FRANE; KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1924.; KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1925., 12; UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2011., 270.

422 KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1924.-1925., 12.

423 Prilikom primitka fotografija restauriranih slika od Sternena, Karaman mu zahvaljuje i moli ga da pošalje račun za tekuću godinu, a zaostatke je obećao što prije namiriti. MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1932 dopis broj 182 od 14. rujna 1932. MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1932 dopis broj 62 od 12. ožujka 1932. I u budžetu za 1932./33. uvršten je Sternen za popravak poliptiha 9.000 dinara, MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1933 dopis broj 54 od 2. travnja 1933. U studenome Karaman piše Stelèu da obavijesti Sternena da ispuni i potpiše formulare i nadoda biljeg kako bi dobio novac Konservatorijalnog ureda u Splitu.

Office, so Karaman could bring it himself or someone from the parish office could pick it up.⁴²⁴

Karaman also worked with other restorers who came to Dalmatia. Although he rejected the offer of the Conservation Office in 1925, Goglia still came to Dalmatia in 1930 to prepare a report and cost estimate for the churches in Split and Rab. In Split, he reviewed the artwork in the Cathedral of Saint Domnius, the Franciscan monastery at Poljud, the Parish church of St. Peter, the Church of the Holy Spirit, the Dominican Church, the Church of St. Francis as well as artwork in the Cathedral of St. Mary, the Monastery of St. Andrew, the Churches of St. Justine, the Holy Cross, St. Anthony, the Monastery of St. Euphemia, the Church of St. Stephen in Barbat, and the Church of St. Peter in Draga on Rab.

The Banovina Art Gallery sent Goglia's cost estimate to Karaman, who complained that Goglia's prices were higher than Sternen's, and opposed the retouching of paintings.⁴²⁵

Richter, a painter from Graz, who was staying in Hvar, offered to "save" the painting from further decay, and temporarily covered it with *tula*. Karaman approved this procedure as well as paid the cost.⁴²⁶

The parish office in Vrgorac contacted Karaman when Lazar Mirković, a restorer and professor of liturgy at the University of Belgrade, came to Dalmatia to study Byzantine icons. The parish priest asked Karaman to send Miković to Vrgorac regarding the restoration of two paintings of the Virgin Mary and St. Catherine Virgin and Martyr.⁴²⁷ The Conservation Office had no approved funds for the aforementioned paintings, and told the parish office in Vrgorac to contact the Banovina Art Gallery, which took over the restoration of the paintings.⁴²⁸

There is an interesting example of preserving liturgical vestments when the director of the Regional Museum

of Folk Crafts and Art in Split asked churches and monasteries to give their liturgical vestments to the Museum in order to preserve them. In exchange, the museum offered, at no charge "solid artistic duplicates of its model embroidery school." The Split Bishop Ordinary consulted the regional conservator who defined a modern approach to preserving old items collected for museums. "All church items (decorations, furniture, liturgical vestments, paintings, sculptures, etc.) of great or minor artistic value must preferably remain in the Church's use and continue to serve the purpose for which they were originally intended, because they look their best there... Also, church statues and paintings of greater artistic value are regularly lost in the cold and colourless environment of a museum, and if they are more carefully guarded here and often with better lighting than in their original ... As a principle, therefore, it is important that all church art and objects should remain in church use."⁴²⁹

The Split Conservation Office was helped by the Art Gallery of Littoral Banovina in Split to draw up the movable art inventory. The Gallery was opened by Ban Ivo Tartaglia on December 1, 1931.⁴³⁰ The Art Gallery used its commissioners to list and collect information on art as well as connect all art lovers in order to build a national culture. The main goal of the Gallery was to restore, procure and exhibit as many works as possible.⁴³¹ The Gallery director was Kamilo Tončić, Angjeo Uvodić was the curator, and Cata Dujšin Gattin, the restorer.⁴³² A list of private collections was also collected during the first year. Karaman worked with the Art Gallery on publishing a monograph of old masters, among other things.

429 N. N. 1920, 12.

430 Tartaglia, in addition to establishing the Gallery, was responsible for opening the National Theatre in Split. He arranged for the National Theatre in Osijek to expand its work to the Littoral Banovina and transfer part of its directorate under the name the National Theatre for the Littoral Banovina. ČIPČIĆ, MARIJAN, 2016, 138.

431 Art Gallery of the Littoral Banovina Split, 1931 and 1932, Volume I, Split, p. 23.

432 Honorary members and trustees: Ivan de Dominis, Rab; Boško Desnica, Obrovac; Pavao Pausch, Knin; Krsto Stošić, Šibenik; Ivo Delalle, Trogir; Miho Abramić, Split; Ljubo Karaman; Pavao Bašković, Sinj; Stjepan Miličić, Hvar; Dinko Šteka, Korčula; Kosta Strajnić, Dubrovnik; Pavao Butorac, Kotor. Art Gallery, Split, Littoral Banovina, Review of Works 1931 and 1932, Volume I, Split, p. 29.

424 MKM-KOST-A Box 1933, Letter No. 29, February 28, 1933.

425 MKM-KOST-A Box 1932, Letter No. 137, June 20, 1932.

426 MKM-KOST-A Box 1936, Letter No. 82, Pro memoria, May 19, 1936.

427 MKM-KOST-A Box 1932, Letter No. 164/32, July 27 1932.

428 MKM-KOST-A Box 1932, Letter No. 170, July 29, 1932.

Problem koji je nastao pripisao je prijašnjem lošem stanju slike, ne dovodeći Sternenov postupak restauracije u pitanje.⁴²⁴

Karaman sudjeluje i u korespondenciji sa župnicima u vezi restauriranja slika i transporta. Sternen obavještava Karamana da je poslao restaurirani poliptih u Šibenik pa moli povratnu informaciju i potvrdu o primitku.⁴²⁵ Župnom uredu u Šibeniku Karaman je uputio dopis da ga obavijeste je li došao poliptih kako bi ga pregledao i odobrio popravak.⁴²⁶ Postoje i primjeri kao npr. u Trogiru, kada župni ured obavještava da je Sternen restaurirao sliku i poslao je u Konzervatorski ured te ju može donijeti Karaman sâm ili netko iz župnog ureda može pokupiti sliku.⁴²⁷

Karaman surađuje i s drugim restauratorima koji dolaze u Dalmaciju. Iako je 1925. odbio ponudu Konzervatorijalnog ureda, Goglia ipak stiže u Dalmaciju 1930. godine kako bi izradio izvještaj i troškovnik po crkvama u Splitu i Rabu. U Splitu je pregledao umjetnine u katedrali sv. Duje, franjevačkom samostanu na Poljudu, župnoj crkvi sv. Petra, sv. Duha, crkvi dominikanaca, sv. Frane; na Rabu katedralu sv. Marije, samostan sv. Andrije, crkve sv. Justine, sv. Križa, sv. Ante, samostan sv. Eufemije, sv. Stjepana u Barbatu, sv. Petra u Dragi.

Troškovnik koji je Goglia izradio Banska galerija umjetnina prosljedila je Karamanu. Karaman se žalio na Goglijin troškovnik zbog cijena koje su bile više nego kod Sternenena te se protivio retuširanju slika.⁴²⁸

U Hvaru je boravio slikar Richter iz Graza koji se ponudio „spasiti“ sliku od daljnjeg propadanja te je sliku provizorno obložio *tulom*. Karaman je odobrio navedeni postupak kao i podmirenje troška.⁴²⁹

Vežano uz dolazak restauratora slika i profesora crkvene liturgije na Sveučilištu u Beogradu Lazara Mirkovića

424 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1932 dopis broj 153 od 2. srpnja 1932.; Sternen je od 1926. do 1932. restaurirao slike u Šibeniku, Trogiru, Segetu, Hvaru, Stonu, Lopudu, Korčuli i Dubrovniku. Popis restauriranih slika vidi u: UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2011., 272.

425 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1933 dopis broj 28 od 21. veljače 1933.

426 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1933 dopis broj 28 od 10. ožujka 1933. (prijepis).

427 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1933 dopis broj 29 od 28. veljače 1933.

428 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1932 dopis broj 137 od 20. lipnja 1932.

429 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1936 dopis broj 82, promemorija od 19. svibnja 1936.

u Dalmaciju, kamo je došao proučavati bizantske ikone, javio se župni ured u Vrgorcu. Župnik moli Karamana da ga uputi u Vrgorac u vezi restauriranja dviju slika Bogorodice i sv. Katarine Djevice mučenice.⁴³⁰ Za navedene slike Konzervatorijalni ured nije imao odobrena sredstva te upućuje župni ured u Vrgorcu na Banovinsku galeriju umjetnina koja je preuzela na sebe restauriranje slika.⁴³¹

Zanimljiv je primjer čuvanja misnog ruha, kada je Ravnateljstvo pokrajinskog Muzeja za narodni obrt i umjetnost u Splitu tražilo da crkve i samostani Muzeju prepuste ostatke misnog ruha, kako bi ga sačuvali od propadanja. Muzej je u zamjenu nudio besplatne „solidne umjetničke duplikate svoje uzorne škole za vezivo“. Splitski biskupski Ordinarijat zatražio je mišljenje pokrajinskog konzervatora koji je odredio *moderan* pristup čuvanja starinskih predmeta prema muzejskom sabiranju. „Svi crkveni predmeti (dekoracije, pokućstvo, crkveno ruho, slike, kipovi itd.) bilo velike bilo neznatne umjetničke vrijednosti moraju po mogućnosti ostati u crkvenoj uporabi i služiti i nadalje svrsi, kojoj su prvotno namijenjeni, jer tako najsimpatičnije djeluju... Dapače i crkveni kipovi i slike veće umjetničke vrijednosti gube redovito u hladnom i bezbojnom ambijentu muzeja, i ako su tu brižljivije čuvane i često bolje osvijetljene, nego li u svom prvašnjem mjestu... Kao načelo ima dakle vrijediti, da sve crkvene umjetnine i predmeti moraju po mogućnosti ostati u crkvenoj uporabi.“⁴³²

Konzervatorijalnom uredu u Splitu u inventarizaciji pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta pridružila se i tada osnovana Galerija umjetnina Primorske banovine u Splitu. Galeriju je otvorio ban Ivo Tartaglia 1. prosinca 1931.⁴³³ Galerija umjetnina je pomoću svojih povjerenika provodila rad na popisivanju i prikupljanju podataka o umjetninama kao i na povezivanju svih ljubitelja umjetnosti u svrhu izgrađivanja nacionalne kulture. Glavni cilj Galerije bio je restaurirati, nabaviti i izložiti što više djela.⁴³⁴ Ravnatelj muzeja bio je Kamilu Tončić,

430 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1932 dopis broj 164/32 od 27. srpnja 1932.

431 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1932 dopis broj 170 od 29. srpnja 1932.

432 N. N. 1920., 12.

433 Tartaglia je pored osnivanja Galerije zaslužan za otvaranje Narodnog kazališta u Splitu. Dogovorio je s Narodnim kazalištem u Osijeku da proširi svoju djelatnost i na Primorsku banovinu te prenese dio svoje direkcije pod imenom Narodno kazalište za Primorsku banovinu. ČIPIĆ, MARIJAN, 2016., 138.

434 Galerija umjetnina Primorske banovine Split, Prikaz rada 1931 i 1932, svezak I, Split, str. 23.

After 1935, the Conservation Office resumed working on movable monuments, going on regular field trips and drawing up a list of inventory of old paintings from Dalmatian churches or those which were privately owned, organising the restoration of paintings, and regulating the sale of art based on established principles.⁴³³ Karaman described his experience in drawing up the inventory of monuments and their research and study in a series of scientific studies, books, essays and newspaper articles (Fig. 23) that presented his views on the development of art in Dalmatia, based on analysis and evaluation. Some of his most significant work from 1920 to 1940 included: *From the Cradle of the Croatian Past* (1930), *Art in Dalmatia in the 15th and 16th Century* (1933), and *Essays and Articles* (1939).

The approach of war could already be felt in the German expansionist politics towards European countries, and as the Democratic Institute, Department of Archives and Monuments started to write to the Conservation Office about what to do in case of aerial attacks and/or war. Kar-

aman gave his view on the issues of evacuation of archival documents and movable items, movable art that would not be relocated and immovable monuments. Karaman was against the evacuation of archival documents because he believed more damage would be done by moving them during a period when there were no laws, than during the war. He offered his assistance to the Technical Department by indicating the most important monuments to protect. Karaman immediately suggested that the Peristyle, Buvina's Wooden Door, the Romanesque pulpit and Gothic altars in the Split Cathedral, Radovan's portal masters in Trogir, and Andrea Alessi's Baptistery be protected with sandbags.⁴³⁴

When the Banovina of Croatia was formed, funds and territories were again redistributed between the conservation institutes in Zagreb and Split. The long-awaited *Decree on the preservation of antiquities and natural monuments* was soon passed, so the Conservation Office in Split was no longer part of the administrative structure of the *Croatian Archaeological Museum* in Split. It was renamed the Conservation Institute in Split and became an autonomous office.⁴³⁵

The Institute for Art and Monuments in Dubrovnik

Dubrovnik took care of its movable art from the 18th and 19th centuries, even before the Central Commission for the Study and Maintenance of Historic and Artistic Monuments in Dalmatia. In addition to the private collectors, painters and restorers, Andrija and Luka Pignatelli were also active at the end of the 18th century and early 19th century. At the end of the 19th century, there was also a local restoration workshop.⁴³⁶

With the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, the Central Commission for the Study and Maintenance of Historic and Artistic Monuments in Dubrovnik ceased to function. Therefore, painter Marko

433 The problem in the Split Cathedral arose because there were too many people in the pulpit, and it was in danger of collapse. Karaman suggested filling the cracks and banning access if there were a large number of worshippers. MKM-KOST-A Box 1937, Letter No. 51, April 5, 1937. The Travel (*Putnik*) society informed the Conservation Office that the owner of a tourist agency in Šibenik was selling antique paintings and objects. Karaman referred them to Cvito Fisković to send them the text of the Order banning the export of works of art. MKM-KOST-A Box 1937, Letter No. 107, July 24, 1937. In July, Karaman alerted the Regional council in Supetar about Mato Miloš from Kaštel, who was buying paintings on the island of Brač by posing as a doctor from Belgrade. He repeatedly sold paintings abroad, and was connected with the disappearance of the painting by Titian's School in Kaštel Lukšić. He therefore warned the authorities to keep an eye on Miloš' movements. Miloš Mate from Kaštela, the Royal Banal Government, the Littoral Banovina, the Administrative Department: regarding the purchase of antique paintings, the City Police Headquarters in Šibenik saw him buying paintings, but took them to Kaštel. The same is stated in the Prohibition Order. Karaman wrote the State Police Directorate that a story about the recovery of Titian's painting was published in the newspaper *Novo doba*, and sent them a copy of a 1921 letter in which Miloš was still suspected of theft. (Miloš claimed that he was in Zadar at the time of the theft.) MKM-KOST-A Box 1934, Letter No. 137, July 24, 1934; Letter 151, August 9, 1934, MKM-KOST-A Box 1934, NEDOSTAJE BROJ, September 8, 1934, MKM-KOST-A Box 1931, Letter No. 170, November 20, 1931. Karaman took part in selecting artwork in Šibenik, in connection with the requests of the City Tourism Board that works of art found in the churches and monasteries of Šibenik should be transported to one location – the gallery, in order to provide access to all visitors. N. N. 1937; Karaman gave an interview on art collections in Šibenik after his stay in Šibenik. N. N. 1937a.

434 MKM-KOST-A Box 1939, Letter No. 168, November 23, 1939.
435 MKM-KOST-A Box 1941, Letter No. 10, January 14, 1941.
436 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2007-2008, 68.

kustos Angjeo Uvodić i restauratorica Cata Dujšin Gattin.⁴³⁵ U prvoj godini bio je proveden i popis privatnih zbirki. Karaman je s Galerijom umjetnina između ostalog sudjelovao na izdavanju monografije starih majstora.

Rad Konservatorijalnog ureda na pokretnim spomenicima nakon 1935. godine uglavnom se nastavio na raniji rad, redovni obilazak terena i inventarizaciju starih slika po dalmatinskim crkvama ili u privatnom vlasništvu, dogovaranja restauriranja slika i reguliranje prodaje umjetnina po tada već ustaljenim principima.⁴³⁶ Karaman svoja iskustva na inventarizaciji spomenika te njihovo istraživanje i proučavanje objavljuje u nizu znanstvenih studija, knjiga, eseja i novinskih članaka (sl. 23). U njima daje na temelju analiza i vrjednovanja svoj pogled na razvoj umjetnosti na prostoru Dalmacije. Neka od najznačajnijih njegovih djela nastalih u razdoblju od 1920. do 1940. su: *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti* (1930.), *Umjetnost u Dalmaciji 15. i 16. stoljeća* (1933.) i *Eseji i članci* (1939.).

435 Počasni članovi i povjerenici: Ivan de Dominis, Rab; Boško Desnica, Obrovac; Pavao Pausch, Knin; Krsto Stošić, Šibenik; Ivo Delalle, Trogir; Miho Abramić, Split; Ljubo Karaman; Pavao Bašković, Sinj; Stjepan Miličić, Hvar; Dinko Šteka, Korčula; Kosta Strajnić, Dubrovnik; Pavao Butorac, Kotor. Galerija umjetnina Primorske banovine Split, Prikaz rada 1931 i 1932, svezak I, Split, str. 29.

436 U Katedrali u Splitu problem je nastao zbog velikog broja ljudi na propovjedaonici, prijetila je opasnost da se uruši, za pukotine koje su nastale Karaman predlaže ispunu te da se zabrani pristup u slučaju velikog broja vjernika. MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1937 dopis broj 51 od 5. travnja 1937. Društvo Putnik obavještava Konservatorijalni ured da vlasnik turističke agencije u Šibeniku prodaje starinske slike i predmete. Karaman ih upućuje Cviti Fiskoviću da im dostavi tekst Naredbe o zabrani izvoza umjetnina. MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1937 dopis broj 107 od 24. srpnja 1937. U srpnju Karaman upozorava Sresko nadležstvo u Supetru na Matu Miloša iz Kaštela koji na otoku Braču kupuje slike predstavljajući se kao liječnik iz Beograda. U više navrata prodavao je slike izvan zemlje, a povezivao se s nestankom slike Tizianove škole u Kaštel Lukšiću. Stoga upozorava nadležstvo da pripaze na kretanje Miloša. Miloš Mate iz Kaštela, Kraljevska banska vlada, Primorska banovina, Upravno odjeljenje: u vezi *kupovanja starinskih slika* da ga je Predstojništvo gradske policije u Šibeniku vidjelo da je kupovao slike, ali ih je odnio u Kaštela. Isto navodi Naredbu o zabrani. Upravi državne policije Split Karaman piše da je u novinama *Novo doba* izašla vijest o pronalasku slike Tiziana, stoga šalje prijepis dopisa iz 1921. u kojem se još tada sumnjivalo Miloša za krađu. (Miloš je tvrdio da je u vrijeme krađe bio u Zadru.) MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1934 dopis broj 137 od 24. srpnja 1934; dopis 151 od 9. kolovoza 1934., MK-MKOST-A Kutija 1934 dopis broj od 8. rujna 1934., MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1931 dopis broj 170 od 20. studenog 1931. Karaman sudjeluje pri izboru umjetnina u Šibeniku u vezi zahtjeva gradskog turističkog odbora da se umjetnine koje se nalaze u šibenskim crkvama i samostanima prenesu na jedno mjesto u galeriju, kako bi bio omogućen pristup svima zainteresiranim posjetiteljima. N. N. 1937. Intervju o zbirkama umjetnina u Šibeniku Karaman je dao nakon svojega boravka u Šibeniku. N. N. 1937a.

Približavanjem rata, koji se već osjećao u njemačkoj ekspanzionističkoj politici prema europskim zemljama, u Konservatorijalni ured počinju stizati upiti od Ispostave banske vlasti, Upravnog odjeljenja o zaštiti arhivalija i spomenika u slučaju zračnih napada i rata općenito. Karaman daje mišljenje u kojem navodi pitanja evakuacije arhivskih dokumenata i pokretnih predmeta, pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta koji ostaju u objektima i nepokretnih spomenika. Karaman se u načelu protivi evakuaciji arhivskih dokumenata jer je smatrao da se više uništavaju prijenosom ili u doba bezakonja, odnosno promjene vlasti, nego u samim ratnim operacijama. Tehničkom odjelu ponudio je pomoć u naznaci važnijih spomenika da se zaštite. Karaman odmah predlaže zaštitu Peristila, Buvinovih vratnica, romaničke propovjedaonice i gotičkih oltara u katedrali u Splitu, portala majstora Radovana u Trogiru i Alešijeve krstionice s vrećama pijeska.⁴³⁷

Proglašenjem Banovine Hrvatske dolazi do nove raspodjele sredstava i podjele teritorija između konzervatorskih zavoda u Zagrebu i Splitu. Ubrzo je bila donesena i dugo očekivana *Uredba o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika* kojom Konservatorijalni ured u Splitu prestaje biti u administrativnom sklopu *Hrvatskoga arheološkog muzeja* u Splitu, dobiva novi naziv Konzervatorski zavod u Splitu i prelazi u samostalnu nadležnost.⁴³⁸

Nadleštvo za umjetnost i spomenike u Dubrovniku

Dubrovnik je brinuo za svoje pokretne umjetničke predmete već u 18. i 19. stoljeću, dakle i prije početka djelovanja Središnjeg povjerenstva za istraživanje i očuvanje kulturnih i umjetničkih spomenika u Dalmaciji. Pored privatnih kolekcionara krajem 18. i početkom 19. stoljeća djelovali su slikari i restauratori Andrija i Luka Pignatelli. Potkraj 19. stoljeća postojala je lokalna restauratorska radionica.⁴³⁹

Uspostavljanjem Kraljevine SHS prestaje djelovanje Središnjeg povjerenstva za istraživanje i očuvanje kulturnih i umjetničkih spomenika i na području Dubrovnika. Stoga

437 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1939 dopis broj 168, 23. studenoga 1939.

438 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1941 dopis broj 10 od 14. siječnja 1941.

439 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2007.-2008., 68.

Murat⁴³⁷ used his connections among the political elite of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes⁴³⁸ in Belgrade and arranged the establishment of the Institute for Art and Monuments in Dubrovnik, ensuring it was directly under the *Ministry of Education* of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in Belgrade.

On June 1, 1919, the Ministry of Education issued the Ordinance of the Dubrovnik Institute for Art and Monuments.⁴³⁹ Articles 2 and 8 of the Ordinance also applied to movable art. Article 2 defined the *job of conservators* – to preserve art and historical monuments, and Article 8 listed the types of art and historical monuments, such as “*sculptures, paintings, illuminated manuscripts, inscriptions and art furnishings made out of various materials, medals, money, jewellery, art furniture, etc.*”⁴⁴⁰ Murat also restored paintings. According to the restoration manuscript on the restored painting, restorer Denis Vokić recognized Murat’s restoration work on the painting of the Virgin Mary with Child in a private collection in Suđurđ on Šipan.⁴⁴¹

Murat believed that the problem of monument protection was that there were no laws, so he wrote a *Draft Law for museums and antiquities*. However, it was not implemented.⁴⁴²

In October 1928, Kosta Strajnić⁴⁴³ became conservator Murat’s assistant at the Institute for Art and Monuments.⁴⁴⁴ Strajnić came to Dubrovnik on the initiative of Ivan Meštrović to open the Art Gallery and Academy of Fine Arts, and promote the development of fine arts.⁴⁴⁵ Together with Meštrović, he advocated the development of a Yugoslav national culture in order to

create a unique style for all Southern Slavs.⁴⁴⁶ Although he started working on monument protection when he “entered” the Institute for Art and Monuments, he voiced his opinions on the protection of monuments as early as 1913 in the text *On Monument Protection*, published in the journal *Suvremenik* as well as the book *Studije* (1918). In the first part of the aforementioned text, he gave a short overview of monument protection in relation to European practices. In the second, he wrote about the restoration of paintings and statues, and in the third part, he talked about the restoration of immovable monuments with respect to the foundation and work of the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments* in Zagreb.⁴⁴⁷ His work at the Institute guided his interest towards monument protection in Dubrovnik. Despite the fact that the Institute mostly dealt with immovable cultural heritage, some archival documents show their engagement in saving the altar of the Annunciation of Our Lady in the Dubrovnik cathedral. Strajnić wrote a letter to the Dubrovnik bishop Josip M. Carević, in which he gave guidelines for the protection of the altar, along with observations and requests for its rescue: “...so if you intend, even temporarily to arrange for the cult of St. Theresa by removing, with the consent of conservators, the old painting, the Annunciation, that would hang on the side wall in that chapel...”⁴⁴⁸ Murat retired in 1932, and Strajnić became the main conservator of Dubrovnik monuments until 1941, when the Institute ceased to operate.

Movable Art Inventory in Zadar and Pula between World War I and II

When Istria, Zadar and the islands of Lošinj, Cres and Lastovo were annexed by the Kingdom of Italy under the Treaty of Rapallo, they ceased to be part of the system of monument protection of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia and became part of the Italian protection service – *Direzione Generale alle Antichità e Belle Arti* under the Ministry of Education in

437 Marko Murat (1864 – 1944), painter and conservator.

438 Murat was Crown Prince Alexander’s teacher. VIĐEN, IVO, 2005-2006, 13.

439 VIĐEN, IVO, 2009-2010, 8-9.

440 VIĐEN, IVO, 2009-2010, 13.

441 I would like to thank Denis Vokić for the above information.

442 VIĐEN, IVO, 2005-2006, 15.

443 Kosta Strajnić (1887 – 1977) painter, critic and conservator. SRHOJ, VINKO, 2008, 319-328; STRAJNIĆ, KOSTA, 2009, 293-297.

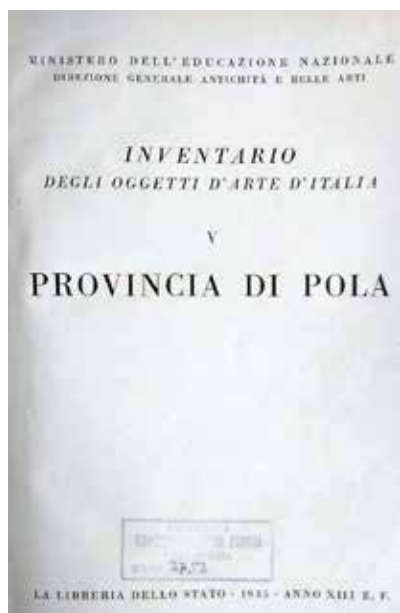
444 VIĐEN, IVAN, 2007, 48.

445 SRHOJ, VINKO, 2008, 323.

446 More about accepting and abandoning the idea of Yugoslav national culture. SRHOJ, VINKO, 2009, 29-49.

447 STRAJNIĆ, KOSTA, 2009, 293-297.

448 LUPIS, B. VINICIJE, 2009, 175-177.



24 Inventar Provincije Pule (MKM-SDKB-KNJIŽNICA)
Inventory from the Province of Pula (MKM-SDKB-K)



25 Inventar Provincije Pule (MKM-SDKB-KNJIŽNICA)
Inventory from the Province of Pula (MKM-SDKB-K)

je slikar Marko Murat⁴⁴⁰ iskoristio svoje veze u političkom vrhu Kraljevine SHS⁴⁴¹ u Beogradu i isposlovao osnivanje Nadleštva za umjetnost i spomenike u Dubrovniku te se izborio da ono bude izravno odgovorno *Ministarstvu prosvete* Kraljevine SHS u Beogradu.

Ministarstvo prosvjete izdalo je 1. lipnja 1919. Pravilnik dubrovačkog Nadleštva za umjetnost i spomenike.⁴⁴² U navedenom Pravilniku članci 2. i 8. odnose se i na pokretne umjetničke predmete. U članku 2. određen je *zadatak konzervatora* čuvanje umjetničkih i historijskih spomenika, a u članku 8. navedene su vrste umjetničkih i povijesnih spomenika, među kojima se navode: „*skulpture, slike, knjige sa minijaturama, natpisi, umjetničko pokućstvo od različitog materijala, medalje, novac, nakit, umetnički namještaj i dr.*“⁴⁴³ Murat se bavio i restauriranjem slika. Prema uvidu u restauratorski rukopis na samoj restauriranoj slici restaurator Denis Vokić prepoznao je Muratov restauratorski rad na *Bogородici s djetetom* u privatnoj zbirci u Suđurđu na Šipanu.⁴⁴⁴

440 Marko Murat (1864. – 1944.), slikar i konzervator.

441 Murat je bio odgojitelj prijestolonasljednika Aleksandra. VIĐEN, IVAN, 2005.-2006., 13.

442 VIĐEN, IVAN, 2009.-2010., 8-9.

443 VIĐEN, IVAN, 2009.-2010., 13.

444 Na navedenim podatcima zahvaljujem Denisu Vokiću.

Murat je smatrao da je problem zaštite spomenika nepostojanje zakona te je napisao svoj *Prijedlog zakona za muzeje i starine*. No, navedeni prijedlog ostao je neprimijećen.⁴⁴⁵

U listopadu 1928. godine počinje s radom Kosta Strajnić⁴⁴⁶ kao pomoćnik konzervatora Murata u Nadleštvu za umjetnost i spomenike.⁴⁴⁷ Strajnić dolazi u Dubrovnik na poticaj Ivana Meštrovića s ciljem otvaranja Umjetničke galerije i Likovne akademije te poticanja razvoja likovnih umjetnosti.⁴⁴⁸ Uz Meštrovića bio je zagovornik pokušaja stvaranja jugoslavenske nacionalne kulture u smislu stvaranja jedinstvenog stila svih južnoslavenskih naroda.⁴⁴⁹ Iako se zaštitom spomenika počinje baviti „ulaskom“ u Nadleštvo za umjetnost i spomenike, svoje mišljenje o zaštiti spomenika iznosi već 1913. u tekstu *O čuvanju spomenika*, objavljenom u časopisu *Suvremenik* i ponovljenom u knjizi *Studije* 1918. godine. U navedenom tekstu u prvom dijelu izlaže kratki historijat zaštite

445 VIĐEN, IVAN, 2005.-2006., 15.

446 Kosta Strajnić (1887. – 1977.) slikar, kritičar i konzervator. SRHOJ, VINKO 2008., 319-328; STRAJNIĆ, KOSTA, 2009., 293-297.

447 VIĐEN, IVAN, 2007., 48.

448 SRHOJ, VINKO, 2008., 323.

449 Više o prihvaćanju i napuštanju ideje jugoslavenske nacionalne kulture. SRHOJ, VINKO, 2009., 29-49.

Rome; the Province of Pula was under the Institute for the Protection of Monuments in Veneto, and Zadar was under Ancona and Urbino.⁴⁴⁹

Two important works – i.e. catalogues of movable art – were created during this period – the *Catologo delle cose d'arte e antichità Zara* by Carlo Cecchelli in 1932, and the *Inventario degli oggetti d'arte d'Italia, Provincia di Pola* by Dr. Antonin Santangelo in 1935. Both books are important sources of information on movable art as well as on the methodology for drawing up inventory.

In the introduction to the Zara catalogue, Carlo Cecchelli stated that the first list of artwork was made by prof. De Niccola, then De Bena made a brief description of Dubrovnik, and the Inspector of the Superintendency (*Ispettore della Sovrintendenza*) in Trieste, Dr. Mocassi, covered part of the material from the churches in Zadar. Cecchelli stated that he presented Mocassi's complete observations, with a critical review of the art objects from antiquity to the 19th century. He also outlined the criteria that he used for the inventory and the concept of the catalogue: he made brief notes about architectural monuments where the works of art were located, and reviewed available sources. He considered the different types of art objects (liturgical objects, vestments, paintings, etc.) which he then described in order to attribute them. Cecchelli also referred to visitations and compared items with similar works of art.⁴⁵⁰ The catalogue was published by the Ministry of Education, Department of Antiquities and Art.⁴⁵¹

The inventory of the *Province of Pula* is the work of Antonin Santangelo in which he covered movable art in the churches and city museums in Istria (Labin, Buje, Kanfanar, Kopar, Pula, Rovinj, Umag, Izola, Poreč, Piran, Višnjan and others). In the introduction, he stated that Vittorio Moschini and Antonio Morassi reviewed some

of the items, and that the publication was approved by *Sovrintendenza alle opere d'antichità e d'arte di Trieste*, and published by the Ministry of Education, Directorate of Antiquities and Art.⁴⁵²

After a short description of a church or museum, the inventory was covered according to the type of object (paintings, wood carvings), and the material, measurements, author, short description, signature, date, provenance, condition, and bibliography were listed for each object (Fig. 24, 25).

LAND OFFICE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF ART AND HISTORICAL MONUMENTS FROM 1918 TO 1928

During World War I, the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments* worked to save metal objects from requisition. When the war ended, the danger of requisition ceased and attempts to return the works of art taken from Croatia could begin. Therefore, Viktor Hoffiller, head of the bell rescue operation, travelled to Vienna to try and locate the remaining bells and raise the issue of the return of confiscated art, i.e. "antiquities". He went to Vienna to the *delegation of the directorate of loot* where Kosta Hörman, former department head of the Bosnian government and director of the National Museum in Sarajevo, worked. Hörman submitted a petition to the Government in Belgrade, listing the items of artistic, scientific and historical value in Austrian and Hungarian collections which needed to be returned. The government in Belgrade did not respond to Hörman's petition. The problem was the peace treaty that granted the Austrian state ownership of everything in its territory, so that it was not obliged to return the bells or artwork.⁴⁵³ Trying to locate the artwork in Vienna, Hoffiller contacted the Trade Office – *Handelsamt* and *Metallzentral*, but without success.⁴⁵⁴ After Vienna, he travelled to Budapest for the same purpose. In Budapest, he was not allowed to inspect

449 According to Roberts Commission Reports, Fold3, MLIKOTA, ANTONIJA, 2012, 239-319. Poreč was under the *Sovrintendenza* in Trieste. At the time, conservators F. Porlati and B. Forlati Tamaro were responsible for Istria. More in: BRADANOVIĆ, MARIJAN, 2001, 138.

450 CECHELLI, CARLO, 1932.

451 *Ministero della educazione nazionale, Direzione generale della antichità e belle arti.*

452 SANTANGELO, ANTONIO, 1935.

453 MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 26/1919, November 15, 1919.

454 Ibid.

spomenika osvrćući se na europsku praksu, u drugom na restauriranje slika i kipova, a u trećem na obnovu nepokretnih spomenika uz osvrst na osnivanje i rad *Zemaljskog povjerenstva za čuvanje historičkih i umjetničkih spomenika* u Zagrebu.⁴⁵⁰ Rad u Nadleštvu usmjerava njegov interes na zaštitu dubrovačkih spomenika. Unatoč tomu što se Nadleštvo bavilo većinom nepokretnom kulturnom baštinom, iz nekih arhivskih spisa vidljiv je angažman društva u spašavanju oltara Navještenja Gospina u katedrali u Dubrovniku. Strajnić pišući pismo biskupu dubrovačkom Josipu M. Careviću pored primjedbi i molbi za spašavanje oltara daje i smjernice zaštite: „... *pa ako se hoće, i privremeno urediti za kult Sv. Terezije na način, da se uz pristajanje konservatora odstrani stara slika Blagovjesta koja bi se u toj kapeli objesila na pobočnom zidu...*“⁴⁵¹ Godine 1932. Murat odlazi u mirovinu i Strajnić postaje glavni konzervator dubrovačkih spomenika, sve do 1941. godine kada Nadleštvo prestaje djelovati.

Inventarizacija pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta u Zadru i Puli u međuratnom razdoblju

Istra i Zadar s otocima Lošinjom, Cresom i Lastovom, dolaskom pod vlast Kraljevine Italije, ranije spomenutim ugovorom u Rapallu, prestaju biti dio sustava zaštite spomenika tadašnje Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije te postaju dio službe zaštite Italije – *Direzione Generale alle Antichità e Belle Arti* pod Ministarstvom prosvjete u Rimu; Provincija Pula pod Zavodom za zaštitu spomenika u Venetu, a Zadar pod Anconom i Urbinom.⁴⁵²

U tom razdoblju nastaju dva važna djela – kataloga pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta: *Catologo delle cose d'arte e antichità Zara*, djelo Carla Cecchellija iz 1932., i *Inventario degli oggetti d'arte d'Italia, Provincia di Pola*, djelo dr. Antonina Santangela iz 1935. godine. Oba djela važni su izvori podataka o pokretnim umjetničkim predmetima kao i o metodologiji same inventarizacije.

450 STRAJNIĆ, KOSTA, 2009., 293-297.

451 LUPIS, B. VINICIJE, 2009., 175-177.

452 Prema izvješćima Roberts Commission, Fold 3, MLIKOTA, ANTONIJA, 2012., 239-319. Poreč je bio pod *Soprintendenzom* u Trstu. Tada su odgovorni konzervatori za Istru bili F. Porlati i B. Forlati Tamaro. Više u: BRADANOVIĆ, MARIJAN, 2001., 138.

Carlo Cecchelli u uvodu kataloga *Zara* navodi da je prvi popis umjetnina napravio prof. De Niccola, potom je De Bena napravio kratak opis Dubrovnika, a *Inspektor vrhovnog nadzora (Ispezzore della Sovrintendenza)* u Trstu dr. Mocassi obradio je dio predmeta u zadarskim crkvama. Cecchelli navodi da je zapažanja Mocassija prenio u cijelosti, a uz njih je dao svoj kritički osvrst na umjetničke predmete od antike do 19. stoljeća. Naveo je i kriterije prema kojima se vodio prilikom inventarizacije i na koji je način na kraju koncipiran katalog: izradio je kratke bilješke o arhitektonskim spomenicima u kojima se predmeti nalaze, pregledao je dostupnu literaturu, u obzir je uzeo različite vrste umjetničkih predmeta (liturzijske predmete, misno ruho, slike i dr.) koje je potom opisao kako bi ih mogao atribuirati, služio se i vizitacijama te je komparirao predmete sa sličnim djelima.⁴⁵³ Katalog je objavilo Ministarstvo prosvjete, Uprava za starine i umjetnost.⁴⁵⁴

Inventar *Provincije Pule* djelo je Antonina Santangela, u kojem su obrađeni pokretni umjetnički predmeti u crkvama i gradskim muzejima na području Istre (Labin, Buje, Kanfanar, Kopar, Pula, Rovinj, Umag, Izola, Poreč, Piran, Višnjan i dr.). U uvodnom dijelu naznačeno je da su dio predmeta obradili Vittorio Moschini i Antonio Morassi te da je publikaciju odobrila *Sovrintendenza alle opere d'antichità e d'arte di Trieste*, a objavilo je Ministarstvo prosvjete, Uprava za starine i umjetnost.⁴⁵⁵

Nakon kratkog opisa crkve ili muzeja inventar je obrađen prema vrsti predmeta (slike, rezbarije od drva). O svakom predmetu navedeno je: materijal, mjere, autor, kratak opis, signatura, datacija, provenijencija, stanje i bibliografija (sl. 24, 25).

ZEMALJSKO POVJERENSTVO ZA ČUVANJE UMJETNIH I HISTORIČKIH SPOMENIKA OD 1918. DO 1928. GODINE

Tijekom Prvoga svjetskog rata rad *Zemaljskog povjerenstva za čuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika* bio je usmjeren ka spašavanju metalnih predmeta od

453 CECHELLI, CARLO, 1932.

454 *Ministero della educazione nazionale, Direzione generale della antichità e belle arti.*

455 SANTANGELO, ANTONINO, 1935.



26 Laz Bistrički, Kapelica sv. Andrije, oltar, 1925. (foto: Većeslav Henneberg, inv. br. 7863, V-566, MKM-SDKB-VH) Laz Bistrički, Chapel of St. Andrew, altar, 1925 (photo: Većeslav Henneberg, MKM-UZKB-F, Inv. No.7863, V-566)

foundries without the permission of the Hungarian Minister of War. Pavlinović, the head of the delegation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, decided that the Kingdom would have its own liquidation committee in Budapest.⁴⁵⁵ Hoffiller returned without achieving any results, despite his earlier success in buying and returning bells.⁴⁵⁶

In addition to returning requisitioned metal objects, the Land Office participated in the creation of a list of confiscated art. Joseph Brunšmid, president of the Land Office, wrote to the National Council of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes,⁴⁵⁷ Department of

Peace Negotiations, that he had collected information on items of cultural, historical or artistic value.⁴⁵⁸ Brunšmid suggested establishing a committee that would be allowed to review the inventory of museums in Vienna, Budapest and Berlin, so that all stolen items could be returned, not just the listed ones. During the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the largest number of the most valuable works of art and archaeological items were taken to the central museums of the Monarchy: the Museum of Art History, the Natural History Museum, the Imperial and Royal Museum of Military History in Vienna and the National Museum in Budapest.⁴⁵⁹ This lasted until 1880, when the Land and regional governments issued an order that the central institution for Croatia and Slavonia was the National Museum in Zagreb.⁴⁶⁰

The everyday operations of the Land Office during the war were managed by Szabo, and Hoffiller was in charge of protecting the bells. Hoffiller took over the lead role in the Land Office during 1917 and 1918 because Szabo was often on sick leave.⁴⁶¹ By inspecting the files of the Land Office, it is not clear what exactly happened between 1918 and 1923, but there is an obvious lack of activity. The files do show that a decree from 1919 appointed Szabo as the director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, and he no longer came to the Land office. The Land Office, led by Hoffiller, stopped drawing up the inventory that Szabo began before the war, and was mainly concerned with restoring immovable monuments.

On February 8, 1923, Szabo took over the presidential agendas of the Land Office. After seven years, a session

455 MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 16/1919.

456 On March 13, 1917, 18 bells (855 kg) were brought to the Zagreb Archaeological Museum, purchased with 883 kg of diffused metal. HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1978-1979, 26.

457 MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 65/1918, November 30, 1918

458 Brunšmid focused on Croatia and Slovenia, and not all Yugoslav countries. In the introduction, he emphasized that he was called to collect information on historical or art objects in a letter without a date and number. MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 65/1918, November 30, 1918. 459 The export of antiques was banned on December 28, 1918, all the found works of art were not left in the countries where they were found, they had to be sent to Vienna, and if they were valuable, they were kept there. MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 65/1918, November 30, 1918.

460 MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 65/1918, November 30, 1918.

461 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1978-1979., 31.

rekvizicije. Završetkom rata prestala je opasnost od rekvizicije i započeti su pokušaji vraćanja otuđenih umjetničkih predmeta u Hrvatsku. U tu je svrhu voditelj akcije spašavanja zvona Viktor Hoffiller otputovao u Beč pokušavajući naći preostala zvona i potaknuti pitanje povrata otuđenih umjetničkih predmeta, tzv. „starina“. U Beč je otišao kod *delegacije direkcije plijena* u kojoj je kao službenik bio zaposlen Kosta Hörman, bivši odjelni predstojnik bosanske vlade i ravnatelj Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu. Hörman je podnio predstavku Vladi u Beogradu u kojoj je naveo predmete umjetničke, znanstvene i historijske vrijednosti koji se nalaze u austrijskim i ugarskim zbirkama, a za koje je bilo potrebno zatražiti povrat. Vlada u Beogradu na predstavku Hörmana nije odgovorila. Problem je bio u mirovnom ugovoru prema kojem je austrijska država postala vlasnik svega što se nalazilo na njezinom teritoriju, pa nije bila obvezna vratiti zvona ili umjetničke predmete.⁴⁵⁶ Hoffiller se, pokušavajući doći do umjetnina u Beču, obratio trgovačkom uredu – *Handelsamt* i u *Metallzentralu*, ali bezuspješno.⁴⁵⁷ Nakon Beča, s istim je ciljem otputovao u Budimpeštu. U Budimpešti mu nije bilo dozvoljeno pregledavati ljevaonice bez dopuštenja mađarskoga ratnog ministra. Pročelnik delegacije Kraljevine SHS Pavlinović odlučio je da će Kraljevina SHS u Budimpešti imati svoju likvidacijsku komisiju.⁴⁵⁸ Hoffiller se nažalost vratio bez rezultata, usprkos ranijim uspješnim primjerima otkupa i povrata zvona.⁴⁵⁹

Pored povrata rekviriranih metalnih predmeta, Zemaljsko povjerenstvo sudjelovalo je u izradi popisa otuđenih umjetničkih predmeta. Predsjednik Zemaljskog povjerenstva Josip Brunšmid pisao je Narodnom vijeću SHS,⁴⁶⁰ Odsjeku za mirovne pregovore, da je sakupio podatke o odnesenim predmetima kulturno-historijske ili umjetničke vrijednosti.⁴⁶¹ Brunšmid je predlagao osnivanje povje-

456 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 26/1919. od 15. studenoga 1919.

457 Isto.

458 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 16/1919.

459 U Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu 13. ožujka 1917. stiglo je 18 zvona od 855 kg otkupljenih difirentnom kovinom od 883 kg. HORVAT, ANDELA, 1978.-1979., 26.

460 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 65/1918. 30. studenoga 1918.

461 Brunšmid se ograničio na Hrvatsku i Sloveniju, a ne na sve jugoslavenske zemlje, a u uvodnom dijelu naglašava da je pozvan sakupiti podatke o *historičkim ili umjetničkim* predmetima u dopisu bez datuma i broja. MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 65/1918. od 30. studenoga 1918.



27 Komić, Parohijska crkva sv. Nikole, Ikonostas 1932. (foto: Većeslav Henneberg, inv. br. 7665, V-513, MKM-SDKB-VH)

Komić, Parish Church of St. Nicholas, Iconostasis 1932 (photo: Većeslav Henneberg, MKM-SDKB-F, Inv. No.7665, V-513)

renstva kojem bi bio dopušten uvid u inventar muzeja u Beču, Budimpešti i Berlinu kako bi se mogli vratiti svi otuđeni predmeti, a ne samo oni koji se nalaze na popisima. U vrijeme Austro-Ugarske Monarhije većina najvrjednijih umjetničkih i arheoloških predmeta bila je odnošena u središnje muzeje Monarhije: Povijesno-umjetnički, Prirodoslovni i Carski i kraljevski Muzej vojne povijesti u Beču te u Narodni muzej u Budimpešti.⁴⁶² Takva praksa trajala je do 1880. godine, kada je zemaljska i krajiška oblast izdala naredbu po kojoj je središnja ustanova za Hrvatsku i Slavoniju Narodni muzej u Zagrebu.⁴⁶³

Redovite poslove Zemaljskog povjerenstva u toku rata vodio je Szabo, a zaštitu zvona Hoffiller. Szabo je tijekom 1917. i 1918. godine često bio na bolovanju te ga je zamjenjivao Hoffiller, koji je preuzeo glavnu ulogu u Povjerenstvu.⁴⁶⁴ Uvidom u spise Zemaljskog povjerenstva ne daje se naslutiti što se točno događalo od 1918. do 1923.; evidentan je manjak aktivnosti. Iz spisa se saznaje da je Szabo dekretom 1919. imenovan ravnateljem Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt i da je prestao dolaziti u prostorije Povjerenstva. Povjerenstvo vođeno Hoffillerom prestalo je

462 Izvoz starina bio je prema otpisu dvorske kancelarije zabranjen 28. prosinca 1918. godine, sve nađene umjetnine nisu ostajale u zemljama u kojima su nađene, već su se morale poslati u Beč, a u slučaju veće vrijednosti bile su ondje i zadržane. MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 65/1918. od 30. studenoga 1918.

463 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 65/1918. od 30. studenoga 1918.

464 HORVAT, ANDELA, 1978.-1979., 31.

of the Land Office was convened on June 9, 1923.⁴⁶² In addition to the old members, Ćiril Metod Iveković and Petar Knoll, Branko Šenoa and Vladimir Tkalčić were also present. Vladimir Tkalčić remained Szabo's most trusted associate, who was the secretary of the Land Office, and he carried out his duties while Szabo was away or on sick leave. On one occasion, he was even able to save the Baroque altars from the Church of Our Lady of Koruška in Križevci. *"The altars in the church of Our Lady of Koruška in Križevci deserve a complete restoration, but due to difficult circumstances, one can think of nothing more than conservation. The conservation could be performed by a local craftsman."*⁴⁶³ In a subsequent letter dated March 19, 1924, Tkalčić reported that as soon as he could, he would come to Križevci and provide guidelines for the conservation of altars, and bring models for the master to use to make a simple altar.⁴⁶⁴ After the aforementioned session, the Land Office did not meet again, but Szabo took over and handled all issues until 1926, when he became director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts and, according to the decision of the *Ministry of Education, guardian of the institute.*⁴⁶⁵

The Conservation Office in Zagreb

In 1928, the Land Office changed its name to the Conservation Office in Zagreb.⁴⁶⁶ The coat of arms was also changed.⁴⁶⁷ The work of the Conservation Office included giving opinions and recommendations, writing reports, handling correspondence with

pastors and the Conservation Office for Dalmatia in Split, and field interventions, where necessary. One of the recommendations of the Conservation Office was about Većeslav Henneberg⁴⁶⁸. In 1925, he focused on sacral buildings, their inventory and liturgical objects, first as a member of the Land Office and then as a curator of the Museum of Arts and Crafts. Having proven himself by researching and studying monuments in Lika and other places as part of the activities of the Land Office, the Conservation Office sent a letter to the Ministry of Education of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, requesting that Henneberg, a professor at the Secondary Grammar School in Zagreb, be appointed secretary-manager of the Land Office, i.e. the Conservation Office.⁴⁶⁹ Henneberg was not appointed secretary, but his work on movable monuments was significant since the Land Office did not draw up a systematic inventory after 1918, but was rather concerned with sporadic protection attempts of movable monuments (Fig. 26, 27). While he was traveling around Lika in Udbina, he wrote about church altars: *"...The Catholic church in Udbina has been rebuilt as a newer building and has no interesting features: the main altar is a pretty good work from the first half of the 19th century, and the two lateral ones are horrible..."*⁴⁷⁰ The comments in the report are brief, reduced to information on the existence of movable objects in the church, with no detailed descriptions of materials and techniques. From Komić, there is a description along with a photograph: *"...I only visited the Orthodox Church where I photographed a good iconostasis..."*⁴⁷¹

The cooperation with the Conservation office for Dalmatia in Split intensified after 1925. This was partly due to changes in the jurisdiction of conservation offices. One correspondence between the Conser-

462 MKM-SDKB-ZP No. 13/1923.

463 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter from March 14, 1924.

464 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter from March 19, 1924.

465 HORVAT, ANDELA, 1978-1979, 31.

466 Responding to a letter from the Grand Prefect of the Zagreb Region, Department of Education, dated September 12, 1929, Szabo provided information on the name of the institution, the year of its foundation, a brief overview of the work, budget, publications, clerks, etc. Under the name of the institution, he stated: "The institution bears the official name: "Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia", and for practical purposes we have recently been using: "Conservation Office in Zagreb". MKM-SDKB-ZP No. 18/1929, September 21, 1929.

467 The records of the Land Office do not mention the change of coat of arms, but only that the "old" one was replaced with a "new" one, but this was also due to a change of government. The name Conservation Institute remained on the new coat of arms, but the checkerboard coat of arms (šahovnica) was replaced with a two-headed eagle.

468 Većeslav Henneberg (1889 – 1937), a historian and geographer, began studying the Lika monuments in 1912 and became an associate of the Land Office. In 1925, he became the curator at the Museum of Arts and Crafts.

469 MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 24-1924, July 23, 1924.

470 HENNEBERG, VEĆESLAV, 1922-1923, 2.

471 HENNEBERG, VEĆESLAV, 1922-1923, 12.

provoditi inventarizaciju koju je započeo Szabo prije rata te se uglavnom bavilo obnovom nepokretnih spomenika.

Dana 8. veljače 1923. Szabo je preuzeo predsjedničke agende Povjerenstva. Nakon sedam godina stanke, 9. lipnja 1923. sazvana je sjednica Povjerenstva.⁴⁶⁵ Uz stare članove, na sjednici su bili Ćiril Metod Iveković, Petar Knoll, Branko Šenoa i Vladimir Tkalčić. Najvjerniji suradnik tajnika Povjerenstva Szaba ostao je Vladimir Tkalčić, koji ga je zamjenjivao u vrijeme kada je bio na dopustu ili bolovanju. Prilikom jedne od tih zamjena uspio je sačuvati barokne oltare u križevačkoj crkvi sv. Marije Koruške. „Oltari u crkvi sv. Marije Koruške u Križevcima zaslužuju potpunu restauraciju ali zbog teških prilika ne može se pomišljati ni na što drugo nego konzervaciju. Konzervaciju bi mogao izvesti neki domaći majstor.“⁴⁶⁶ U sljedećem dopisu od 19. ožujka 1924. Tkalčić javlja da će, čim mu vrijeme dopusti, doći u Križevce i dati smjernice za rad oko konzerviranja oltara te donijeti modele oltara po kojima će majstor lako moći izraditi jednostavan oltar.⁴⁶⁷ Nakon spomenute sjednice Povjerenstvo se više nije sastajalo, nego je Szabo preuzeo i rješavao pristigle predmete do 1926., kada postaje ravnateljem Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt te prema rješenju Ministarstva prosvete postaje čuvar zavoda.⁴⁶⁸

Konzervatorski ured u Zagrebu

Povjerenstvo je 1928. promijenilo naziv u Konzervatorski ured u Zagrebu.⁴⁶⁹ Promjena imena donijela je i promjenu grba.⁴⁷⁰ Rad Konzervatorskog ureda uključivao je donošenje mišljenja, preporuka, pisanje izvještaja, prepisku sa župnicima i Konservatorijalnim uredom za Dalmaciju u Splitu, a kada se pokazala potreba, interveniralo se

na terenu. Jedna od preporuka Konzervatorskog ureda odnosi se na Većeslava Henneberga⁴⁷¹, koji se najprije kao član Povjerenstva, a potom kao kustos Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt 1925. usredotočio na sakralne građevine, njihov inventar i liturgijske predmete. Budući da se dokazao istraživanjem i proučavanjem spomenika Like i drugih krajeva u sklopu djelovanja Povjerenstva, Konzervatorski ured poslao je dopis Ministarstvu prosvete Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca u kojem je tražio da se Henneberg, profesor II. realne gimnazije u Zagrebu, odredi za tajnika – poslovođu Zemaljskog povjerenstva, odnosno Konzervatorskog ureda.⁴⁷² Henneberg nije postavljen za tajnika, ali je njegov rad na evidentiranju pokretnih spomenika značajan, budući da Povjerenstvo nije provodilo sustavnu inventarizaciju nakon 1918. godine, nego se briga oko pokretnih spomenika svodila na sporadične slučajeve pokušaja zaštite (sl. 26, 27). Na putovanju po Lici u Udbini je zabilježio ponešto o oltarima u crkvi: „...Katolička crkva u Udbini ponovljena je i onako novija zgrada pa nema nikakvih zanimljivosti: glavni žrtvenik je dosta dobar posao iz prve polovine XIX. stoljeća, dok su dva pokrajina gotska naprosto užasni...“⁴⁷³ Komentari u izvještaju su kratki, svedeni na informaciju o postojanju pokretnih predmeta u crkvi, a detaljniji opisi o materijalima i tehnici nisu bilježeni. Od Komića je uz opis sačuvana i fotografija: „...Jedino sam razgledao pravoslavnu crkvu gdje sam fotografski snimio dobar ikonostas...“⁴⁷⁴

Poslije 1925. godine započela je intenzivnija suradnja s Konservatorijalnim uredom za Dalmaciju u Splitu. Tome je djelomično razlog promjena nadležnosti konzervatorskih ureda. Jedna od prepiski između Konzervatorskog ureda u Zagrebu i Konservatorijalnog ureda za Dalmaciju u Splitu odnosila se na obnovu crkve sv. Lucije u Jurandvoru na Krku. S obzirom na promjenu nadležnosti kojom je Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu dobio Krk, Rab, Pag i Kastav, Ljubo Karaman je uputio župnika da se obrati Szabu, u Konzervatorski ured u Zagrebu. Župnik

465 MKM-SDKB-ZP broj 13/1923.

466 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis od 14. ožujka 1924.

467 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis od 19. ožujka 1924.

468 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1978.-1979., 31.

469 Szabo na dopis Velikog župana zagrebačke oblasti, Prosvjetnog odjeljenja od 12. rujna 1929., dostavlja podatke o nazivu ustanove, godini osnutka, kratak pregled rada, budžet, publikacije, činovnici itd. Pod imenom ustanove navodi: *Ustanova nosi zvanično naziv: "Zem. Povjerenstvo za očuvanje umjet. i histor. spomenika u kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji", a u praktične se svrhe upotrebljava od novijeg vremena: "Konzervatorski ured u Zagrebu"*. MKM-SDKB-ZP broj 18/1929 od 21. rujna 1929.

470 U spisima Povjerenstva ne spominje se promjena grba, već je samo „stari“ zamijenjen „novim“, no do toga je došlo i zbog promjene vlasti. Na novom grbu Konzervatorski zavod je kao ime ostalo, zamijenjen je motiv šahovnice s dvoglavim orlom.

471 Većeslav Henneberg (1889. – 1937.), povjesničar i geograf, od 1912. započinja proučavati spomenike Like te postaje suradnik Zemaljskog Povjerenstva, a od 1925. kustos u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt.

472 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 24-1924. od 23. srpnja 1924.

473 HENNEBERG, VEĆESLAV, 1922.-1923., 2.

474 HENNEBERG, VEĆESLAV, 1922.-1923., 12.

vation Office in Zagreb and the Conservation Office for Dalmatia in Split concerned the restoration of the Church of St. Lucy in Jurandvor on Krk. Since Krk, Rab, Pag and Kastav were now under the jurisdiction of the Conservation Office in Zagreb, Ljubo Karaman directed the pastor to contact Szabo at the Conservation Office in Zagreb. The parish priest quickly wrote to Szabo, listing the work that needed to be carried out in the church.⁴⁷² In addition to the restoration of the church, the problem was the polyptych of St. Lucy by Paolo Veneziano⁴⁷³ that had not been returned to the church after it was restored. The Land Office dealt with this problem as early as 1921.⁴⁷⁴

"...Krk, the chapel of St. Lucy in Jurandvor; there is an old wooden altar in the church which was taken by the Istrian conservator, Gnirs, in Pula in 1912, to be restored in Vienna. The Austrian Office for the Preservation of Monuments, now the "Bundesdenkmalamt", gave the altar for restoration to painter Hans Viertelberger in Vienna VII, Karl Sweighofergasse 4, who also repaired it. The Austrian office for the preservation of monuments did not manage to return it to the church from which it was taken, because the war had ended, and Istria was occupied by Italy. Hoffiller was in Vienna, so he tried to get as accurate information as possible. He was presented with an official document according to which a tenente Paolo d'Ancona, a known professor, had taken that altar from the said office on Febru-

ary 28, 1919. He took the aforementioned altar on behalf of the Italian Government.

...Austrian territories, at the request of the Italian Peace Mission, gave that altar to the Italian authorities which were supposed to return it to the church, but did not do so, so we kindly ask the ministry, to request the Italian government, through diplomatic channels, to return the monument..."⁴⁷⁵

The polyptych was returned to the Krk diocese in 1939 with the help of a lawyer.⁴⁷⁶

The Conservation Office in Zagreb intervened during the return of an altarpiece from Vienna to Omišalj.⁴⁷⁷ In 1912, the altarpiece was given to Hans Viertelberger for restoration by the Vienna *Denkmalamt* through conservator Gnirs. The altarpiece was on display at the museum and later sent for restoration, but it was not returned to Omišalj. Szabo went to Vienna and brought the altarpiece to Zagreb in 1925, and in 1926, it was returned to Omišalj.⁴⁷⁸ Since it was in poor condition, Szabo maintained that it had not been restored at all. In a letter to the parish office in Omišalj, he stated that he could not help because there were no funds for the restoration, but that he would send an expert to inspect the altarpiece as soon as possible. Szabo sent a letter to restorer Stanislava Dekleva, asking her to go to Omišalj and examine the condition of the St. John altarpiece, which was allegedly damaged.⁴⁷⁹ It should be noted that in 1926, Szabo had retired as director at the Museum of Arts and Crafts, and he tried to rescue the aforementioned altarpieces without any financial help.

In 1929, Szabo began a tour of the Littoral, Krk, Rab and Pag with funds from the Royal Banal Government.⁴⁸⁰

472 MKM-SDKB-ZP letter, December 18, 1940.

473 The Land Office's records do not mention a polyptych, but a wooden altar. In her article *On the Work of the Conservation Service in Zagreb III (O djelovanju konzervatorske službe u Zagrebu III)*, Anđela Horvat (1923-1941) wrote: "polyptych of St. Lucy from Jurandvor". HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980, 28. An article was published in the newspaper *Novosti* about the polyptych in which, among other things, a transcript of the polyptych description was given from the catalogue of the Exhibition of Antique Art held in Trieste in 1924. Given that the Kingdoms of Yugoslavia and Italy were on good terms, it was believed that the time was right to return the polyptych and Tiepolo's drawings. Botai, the Italian Minister of Education, visited Zagreb and Belgrade, and was made aware of the problem of the return of the polyptych. ENES, 1940; N. N. 1940a.

474 After the collapse of Austro-Hungary in 1919, Paolo d'Ancona took the polyptych, paid the costs and transported it to the Museo civico in Trieste. Horvat 1980: 28. MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 8/1921, July 31, 1921. The Commission for Education and Religion in Croatia and Slavonia addressed the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

475 MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 8, 1921.

476 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980-1981, 28.

477 MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 40-1924, January 3, 1925.

478 Szabo wrote to the General Customs Directorate in Belgrade, asking them to forgo customs upon the return of the altar. Szabo addressed them as director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts. MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 40-1924, January 3, 1925

479 MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 19/1940.

480 MKM-SDKB-ZP No. 10, May 3, 1929.

se vrlo brzo javio Szabu dopisom u kojem je nabrojio radove koje je namjeravao provesti u crkvi.⁴⁷⁵ Pored obnove crkve, problem je bio u poliptihu sv. Lucije Paola Veneziana⁴⁷⁶, koji nakon restauratorskog postupka nije bio vraćen u crkvu, a tim se problemom Povjerenstvo bavilo već 1921. godine.⁴⁷⁷

„...Krk, kapela sv. Lucije u Jurandvoru; u kapeli bio je stari drveni oltar koji je godine 1912. preuzeo istarski konzervator Gnirs u Pulju da bude restauriran u Beču. Austrijski ured u Beču za čuvanje spomenika sada „Bundesdenkmalamt“ predao je taj oltar na restauraciju slikaru Hansu Viertelbergeru u Beču VII, Karl Sweighofergasse 4, a taj ga je i popravio, Austrijski ured za čuvanje spomenika nije više dospio da dopremi natrag u crkvu iz koje je bio uzet jer je međutim rat bio svršen, a Istra bila okupirana od Talijana. Hoffiller je bio u Beču pa je pokušao dobiti što točnije informacije. Tamo mu je predložen službeni dokument prema kojem je neki tenente Paolo d'Ancona u civilu poznat profesor dne 28. veljače 1919. preuzeo taj oltar od spomenutoga ureda. Spomenuti je preuzeo u ime talijanske vlade.

...austrijske oblasti na zahtjev talijanske misije za primirje taj oltar talijanskim oblastima, koje su ga trebale povratiti crkvi, ali toga nisu učinile, pa se za to umoljava to ministarstvo, da diplomatskim putem zatraži od talijanske vlade da nam povрати taj spomenik...“⁴⁷⁸

Poliptih je 1939. godine vraćen biskupiji na Krku, uz pomoć odvjetnika.⁴⁷⁹

475 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis od 18. prosinca 1940.

476 U spisima Povjerenstva ne spominje se poliptih, već *drveni oltar*. Anđela Horvat u svom članku *O djelovanju konzervatorske službe u Zagrebu III (1923-1941)* navodi: „*poliptih sv. Lucije iz Jurandvora*.“ HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980., 28. O poliptihu sv. Lucije izašao je članak u *Novostima* u kojem je, između ostalog, iz kataloga *Izložbe stare umjetnosti* koja je održana u Trstu 1924. dan prijepis opisa poliptiha. S obzirom na prijateljske veze Kraljevine Jugoslavije i Italije, bio je stav da je pogodan trenutak za vraćanje poliptiha i crteža Tiepola. Naime, u Zagrebu i Beogradu je gostovao talijanski ministar prosvjete Bottai te je bio upoznat s problemom povratka poliptiha. ENES, 1940.; N. N. 1940a.

477 Poliptih je poslije raspada Austro-Ugarske 1919. godine preuzeo Paolo d'Ancona, platio troškove i odvezao ga u Museo civico u Trst. HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980., 28. MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 8/1921 od 31. srpnja 1921. Povjerenstvo za prosvjetu i vjeru u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji obraća se Ministarstvu vanjskih poslova Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca.

478 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 8 iz 1921.

479 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980.-1981., 28.

Konzervatorski ured u Zagrebu intervenirao je prilikom povratka oltarne pale iz Beča u Omišalj.⁴⁸⁰ Palu je na restauriranje Hansu Viertelbergeru predao bečki *Denkmalamt* preko konzervatora Antona Gnirsa 1912. godine. Pala je bila izložena u muzeju te je naknadno predana na restauraciju, no nije vraćena u Omišalj. Stoga je Szabo otišao u Beč i dopremio palu 1925. u Zagreb, a 1926. vraćena je u Omišalj.⁴⁸¹ S obzirom na to da je bila u lošem stanju, Szabo je držao da uopće nije bila restaurirana. U dopisu župnom uredu u Omišlju naveo je da ne može pomoći jer sredstava za restauratorski postupak nema, ali da će čim bude moguće poslati stručnjaka da pregleda palu. Szabo je uputio dopis restauratorici Stanislavi Deklevi, s molbom da se uputi u Omišalj kako bi pregledala u kakvom se stanju nalazi pala sv. Ivana koja je navodno oštećena.⁴⁸² Treba napomenuti da je u to vrijeme, 1926. godine, Szabo bio umirovljen kao upravitelj u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt, a spomenuto je spašavanje oltarnih pala obavljao bez ikakve financijske pomoći.

Od 1929. godine Szabo s odobrenim sredstvima Kraljevske banske uprave započinje terenski obilazak Primorja, Krka, Raba i Paga.⁴⁸³ Naknadno odobrenim sredstvima nastavio je istraživanje sve do Obrovca.⁴⁸⁴ Szabo je istraživao povijest otoka i bilježio sve važnije podatke o smještaju i razvoju naselja te evidentirao spomenike i umjetničke predmete. Kod sakralnih objekata opisivao je vanjštinu crkava, a unutrašnjosti se doticao ukoliko je zaključio da se radilo o vrijednim djelima. U mjestu Krku obišao je crkvu sv. Kvirina, Stolnu crkvu, kapelu sv. Marije (nekadašnja benediktinska kapela sv. Mihovila), franjevačku crkvu i kapelu sv. Donata. U stolnoj crkvi bilježi klupe, glavni oltar s naznakom da nema nikakvu vrijednost, te propovjedaonicu koju je smatrao lošijim djelom 17. stoljeća. O crkvenom posuđu je zapisao: „... *Ta velika i lijepa crkva nema nikakova osobita posudja, jer su navodno Francuszi za vrijeme Napoleonske okupacije sve*

480 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 40-1924. od 3. siječnja 1925.

481 Szabo je pisao Generalnoj direkciji carina u Beogradu, od koje je tražio oprost od carine prilikom povratka oltara. Szabo se obraća kao ravnatelj Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt. MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 40-1924. od 3. siječnja 1925.

482 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 19/1940.

483 MKM-SDKB-ZP broj 10 od 3. svibnja 1929.

484 MKM-SDKB-ZP broj 17/1931. od 16. svibnja 1931.



28 Omišalj, glavni oltar
(foto: Gjuro Szabo, MKM-SDKB-OGS)
Omišalj, Altar (photo: Gjuro Szabo, MKM-SDKB-OGS)

With additional funds, he continued his research all the way to Obrovac.⁴⁸¹ Szabo researched the history of the islands and recorded all of the important information about the location and development of settlements as well as documented monuments and art objects. He described the exterior of churches, and the interior, but only if he concluded it was valuable. In the town of Krk, he visited the Church of St. Quirinus, the Cathedral, the Chapel of St. Mary (formerly the Benedictine Chapel of St. Michael), the Franciscan church and the Chapel of St. Donatus. In the Cathedral, he documented the benches and the high altar, making a note that it had no value, and the pulpit, which he regarded as an inferior work of art from the 17th century. He wrote about liturgical vessels: "... *This large and beautiful church does not have any special vessels, because the French allegedly seized and sold everything during the Napoleonic occupation. Of particular*

481 MKM-SDKB-ZP No. 17/1931, May 16, 1931.

note are the valuable benches and cabinets in the sacristy, which feature rich and luxurious Renaissance carvings. In the treasury, if we can call an ordinary repository a treasury, there is a very fine cloak, made of cloth woven in Gothic times; fairly well preserved..."⁴⁸² In the parish church in Omišalj, Krk, he documented a cross, an "aspergillum" – a 14th-century holy water sprinkler – and a 15th-century tabernacle⁴⁸³ (Fig. 28, 29).

In Pag, according to a detailed report, he was thrilled with the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and its inventory (Fig. 30). He was especially delighted with the main altar from the Church of St. Nediljice from Zadar, acquired in 1807, and the altarpiece depicting Our Lady of the Rosary (Virgin with Child, St. Dominic, St. Catherine of Siena and Mysteries of the Holy Rosary).⁴⁸⁴ He attributed the altarpiece, moved from the main altar to the sacristy, to Jacopo Tintoretto⁴⁸⁵ (Fig. 31). After Pag, Szabo went on a tour of the island of Rab.⁴⁸⁶

The report from Rab begins with an account of the history of the island and the development of the settlement, followed by a description of monuments. He described the Monastery of St. Anthony, where the 16th-century painting of Rab was kept, and the Church of St. Mary, citing the works of eminent experts (Rudolf von Eitelberger, Dagobert Frey, Schleyer, Miloje Vasić, and Ljubo Karaman) who had previously explored the church.⁴⁸⁷

Szabo's trip to the islands was an important contribution to the preservation of sacral objects, since it was not possible to restore monuments because of a lack of funds.

482 Ministry of Culture and Media (hereinafter: MKM) – Central Documentation (SDKB) – HERITAGE OF GJURO SZABO (hereinafter: OGS) box no. 3, island of Krk.

483 MKM-SDKB-OGS box no. 3. The text was written in 1930 for a Guide of Croatian Littoral and Islands (*Vodič po hrvatskom Primorju i otocima*).

484 MKM-SDKB-OGS box no. 5 Pag – text The Island and Town of Pag (*Otok i mjesto Pag*), written in 1933. More about Szabo's texts CELIĆ, JOSIP, 2015, 7–47.

485 Szabo wrote that it was *allegedly made* by Jacopo Tintoretto, in fact it is the altarpiece of Our Lady of the Holy Rosary by the painter Santo Perando from 1603, HILJE, EMIL; TOMIĆ, RADOSLAV, 2006, 252–254.

486 MKM-SDKB-OGS box no. 5. Rab – text The island of Rab and its monuments (*Otok Rab i njegovi spomenici*).

487 MKM-SDKB-OGS Box no. 5 Rab – text The island of Rab and its monuments (*Otok Rab i njegovi spomenici*).



29 Omišalj, križ iz 16. stoljeća
(foto: Gjuro Szabo, MKM-SDKB-OGS)
Omišalj, 16th century cross
(photo: Gjuro Szabo, MKM-SDKB-OGS)



30 Pag, Crkva Marijina Uzašašća (foto: Gjuro Szabo,
MKM-SDKB-OGS)
Pag, Church of the Assumption of Mary (photo: Gjuro Szabo,
MKM-SDKB-OGS)

zaplijenili i prodali. Još su osobito spomena vrijedne klupe i ormari u sakristiji, koji se odlikuju bogatom i ukusnom renesansnom rezbarijom. U riznici, ako obični repozitorij tako smijemo nazvati, nalazi se veoma lijep plašt, iz tkanine radjene u gotsko vrijeme; prilično dobro sačuvan...⁴⁸⁵ U župnoj crkvi u Omišlju na Krku od crkvenog inventara evidentira križ, „aspergile“ – škropionicu iz 14. stoljeća i svetohranište iz 15. stoljeća⁴⁸⁶ (sl. 28, 29).

U Pagu je, prema detaljno napisanom izvještaju, bio oduševljen crkvom i inventarom Marijina Uzašašća (sl. 30). Posebice je bio oduševljen glavnim oltarom iz crkve sv. Nediljice iz Zadra nabavljenim 1807. godine te oltarnom palom s prikazom Gospe od Ružarija (Bogorodica s Djetetom, sv. Dominikom, sv. Katarinom Sijenskom i

485 Ministarstvo kulture i medija (dalje: MKM) – Središnja dokumentacija kulturne baštine (SDKB) – OSTAVŠTINA GJURE SZABE (dalje: OGS) kutija br. 3 otok Krk.

486 MKM-SDKB-OGS kutija br. 3. Tekst je napisan 1930. za *Vodič po hrvatskom Primorju i otocima*.

otajstvima presvetog Ružarija).⁴⁸⁷ Oltarnu palu premještenu s glavnog oltara u sakristiju atributirao je Jacopu Tintoretu⁴⁸⁸ (sl. 31). Nakon Paga Szabo odlazi na terenski obilazak otoka Raba.⁴⁸⁹

Izvještaj s Raba započinje prikazom povijesti otoka i razvoja naselja, nakon čega slijedi opis spomenika. Opisuje samostan sv. Antuna u kojem se čuvala slika Raba iz 16. stoljeća te crkvu sv. Marije, navodeći djela eminentnih stručnjaka (Rudolf von Eitelberger, Dagobert Frey, Schleyer, Miloje Vasić i Ljubo Karaman) koji su ranije istraživali crkvu.⁴⁹⁰

487 MKM-SDKB-OGS kutija br. 5 Pag – tekst *Otok i mjesto Pag*, tekst je napisan 1933. godine. Više o Szabovim tekstovima: CELIĆ, JOSIP, 2015., 47.

488 Szabo je zapisao da *navodno potječe* od Jacopa Tintoretta, ustvari se radi o oltarnoj pali Gospe od svetog Ružarija slikara Sante Peranda iz 1603. godine. HILJE, EMIL; TOMIĆ, RADOŠLAV, 2006., 252-254.

489 MKM-SDKB-OGS kutija br. 5. Rab – tekst *Otok Rab i njegovi spomenici*.

490 MKM-SDKB-OGS Kutija br. 5 Rab – tekst *Otok Rab i njegovi spomenici*.

From 1920, the Conservation Office did not have enough funds to cover administrative expenses, a fact confirmed by the newspaper article "*The Decay of Old Croatian Monuments*" published in 1939 in the newspaper *Jutarnji list*. Items intended for the restoration and preservation of old monuments in Croatia were removed from the state and Banovina budget.⁴⁸⁸ In the article *Protection of Art and Historical Monuments* published in the newspaper *Novosti*, Szabo stated that the Conservation Office had no budget, but received around 4000 dinars from the state for travel expenses, while the Banal Administration covered the cost of restoring art and historical monuments, as needed.⁴⁸⁹

In 1939, Szabo drafted a *Proposal for the Organization of the Conservation Office in Zagreb*. Based on the *Proposal*, the Conservation Office would merge with the museum, and would be under the direct authority of the Banovina of Croatia, and the Director of the Institute should: "...be familiar with general history, Croatian history and art history, and especially with all issues related to the restoration and maintenance of monuments that have been established to date..."⁴⁹⁰ According to the *Proposal*, architects would be in charge of restoring monuments. The information on the distribution of funds and spending, presented by Djurdje Bošković, a professor from Belgrade University, in the *Jutarnji list* in 1939 is quite interesting. According to him, of the total amount of 2,500,000 dinars for 1937-1938, 2,450,000 dinars were spent for the restoration of Orthodox churches, while 50,000 dinars was earmarked for other monuments in the country. The same amount was spent in 1938-1939. He further stated that monument protection in Croatia and Dalmatia was assumed by private initiatives,

488 During the dictatorship of King Alexander, most of the funds were spent on restorations of Orthodox churches and monasteries. N. N. 1939, 12; In an earlier letter to the Ministry of Education, Department of Art dated July 5, 1925, Szabo mentioned that the Conservation Institute in Zagreb received less grants as opposed to the Conservation Office in Dubrovnik (Department of Arts and Monuments) and in Ljubljana. MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 15-1927.

489 Zaštita umjetnih i historijskih spomenika, N. N. 1939, 6.

490 HORVAT, ANDELA, 1944, 19-27.

i.e. the wit and resourcefulness of the heads of offices in Zagreb and Split.⁴⁹¹

In the explanation for the draft budget of the Banovina of Croatia concerning the personal and material expenditures of the Conservation Office in Zagreb for 1941, Szabo mentioned that as secretary, he had been managing the Land Office since 1919 without compensation, and suggested that an *award for performing the duties of a conservator* be included in the budget. There were four positions in the budget: conservator, assistant conservator, secretary and attendant. Szabo proposed appointing Anđela Horvat, a part-time teacher at the Women's Gymnasium of the Sisters of Mercy in Zagreb, as secretary, and Franjo Buntak, Director of the City Museum in Osijek, as assistant conservator.⁴⁹² The Conservation Office welcomed the adoption of the *Decree on the Preservation of Antiquities and Natural Rarities*⁴⁹³, and the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia, with few employees and insufficient funds, but with enviable results.

Gjuro Szabo and the Protection of Movable Monuments

Gjuro Szabo's work on the protection of movable art is largely connected, but not limited, to the work of the Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments. The appointment of Szabo as the director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts (1919), and later the Museum of the City of Zagreb (1928), his participation in preparing exhibitions, and especially his publications regarding the protection of church objects, provide a broader context for Szabo's activities.⁴⁹⁴

He was born in Novska on February 3, 1875. He finished both elementary school and high school in Zagreb. From 1892 to 1896, he studied German at the university in Vienna. Szabo wrote: "...*Jacob Minor and Heinzl were my main teachers, who introduced me to the vast Germanic*

491 N. N. 1939b, *Jutarnji List*, November 18, 1939, p. 12.

492 MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 35-1940.

493 Published: Zbirka zakona i uredba, Year 1939, Volume I-XII, Number 1-363, Year XIII, Belgrade, July 25, 1949.

494 Part of the text was published in: JURANOVIĆ TONEJC, MARTINA, 2018, 77-88.

Szabov terenski obilazak po otocima važan je doprinos čuvanju sakralnih predmeta, jer zbog nedostatka financijskih sredstava obnova spomenika nije bila moguća.

Od 1920. godine Konzervatorski ured nije imao u proračunu dostatno niti za administrativne troškove, što potvrđuje i novinski članak *Propadanje starih hrvatskih spomenika* objavljen 1939. u *Jutarnjem listu*. Iz državnog i bankskog proračuna brisane su stavke namijenjene restauriranju i čuvanju starih spomenika u Hrvatskoj.⁴⁹¹ Potom u *Novostima* u članku *Zaštita umjetnih i historijskih spomenika* Szabo navodi da Konzervatorski ured nema budžeta, nego pomoć od države od oko 4000 dinara za putne troškove, a Banska uprava je prema potrebi pokrivala troškove obnove umjetničkih i historijskih spomenika.⁴⁹²

Godine 1939. Szabo je izradio *Prijedlog za organizaciju Konzervatorskog ureda u Zagrebu* koji se prema *Prijedlogu* mogao spojiti s muzejom i bio bi pod neposrednom vlašću bana Banovine Hrvatske, a *upravnik* zavoda trebao bi: "...poznavati obću, hrvatsku poviest i poviest umjetnosti, a napose sva pitanja obnove i uzdržavanja spomenika, kako su do danas ustaljena..."⁴⁹³ Obnovu spomenika prema *Prijedlogu* provodili bi arhitekti prema odgovarajućem projektu. Zanimljiv je podatak o raspodjeli i utrošenim sredstvima koji je iznio profesor s Beogradskog sveučilišta Djurdje Bošković u *Jutarnjem listu* 1939. godine, prema kojem je od ukupnog iznosa od 2,500.000 dinara za 1937./1938. za obnovu pravoslavnih crkava utrošeno 2.450.000, dok je za druge spomenike u državi bilo namijenjeno 50.000 dinara. Isti iznos bio je utrošen i u 1938./1939. godini. Nadalje navodi da je u Hrvatskoj i Dalmaciji briga bila prepuštena samo privatnoj inicijativi, odnosno dosjetljivosti i snalažljivosti voditelja ureda u Zagrebu i Splitu.⁴⁹⁴

491 U vrijeme diktature kralja Aleksandra, većinom su sredstva utrošena u obnovu pravoslavnih crkava i samostana. N. N. 1939., 12. Szabo ranije, u dopisu Ministarstvu prosvete, Umjetničkom odeljenju od 5. srpnja 1925. spominje da je Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu zakinut u dotacijama za razliku od *konzervatorskog ureda u Dubrovniku* (Nadležstvo za umjetnost i spomenike) i ureda u Ljubljani. MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 15-1927.

492 N. N. 1939., 6.

493 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1944., 19-27.

494 N. N. 1939b., 12; *Jutarnji list*, od 18. studenoga 1939.



31 Pag, Gospa od svetog Ružarija, Sante Peranda (foto: Gjuro Szabo, MKM-SDKB-OGS)

Pag, Our Lady of the Holy Rosary, Sante Peranda (photo: Gjuro Szabo, MKM-SDKB-OGS)

U obrazloženju podataka za prijedlog proračuna Banovine Hrvatske o osobnim i materijalnim izdancima Konzervatorskog ureda u Zagrebu za godinu 1941., Szabo spominje da je od 1919. godine kao tajnik Zavodom upravljao besplatno, te je predložio da se u proračun uvrsti stavka *nagrada za obnašanje dužnosti konzervatora*. U proračunu su bila predviđena četiri mjesta: za konzervatora, asistenta konzervatora, tajnika i podvornika. Na mjesto tajnika Szabo je predložio Anđelu Horvat, honorarnu nastavnicu na Ženskoj učiteljskoj školi sestara milosrdnica u Zagrebu, a na mjesto asistenta konzervatora



32 Lonja, oltar sv. Ladislava (foto: Gjuro Szabo, MKM-SDKB-OGS)
Lonja, St. Ladislav's altar (photo: Gjuro Szabo, MKM-SDKB-OGS)

world, taught me both the language at different times and the laws by which language has lived since ancient times; they taught me to know all the branches of life, as the life of a great people manifests itself; and poetry, private life and art, and especially the very important parts of the work of construction, from the earliest beginnings to the present day."⁴⁹⁵

Upon his return to Croatia, he began working as a professor in Senj, and later in Osijek and Bjelovar, until he was transferred to Zagreb in 1907. In 1919, he was appointed director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, a department of the Croatian National Museum.⁴⁹⁶ Szabo wrote about his work: "...I took the job, studied every single item, and set everything up, as the partially preserved catalogues show in a particular system. More specifically, I studied the vast, extraordinary library of the museum, so that even today, I still know where each book is located..."⁴⁹⁷

Szabo also assisted in the selection and shipment of mate-

495 MKM-SDKB-OGS Prof. Gjuro Szabo and his most important works – autobiographical notes (undated).

496 GAŠPAROVIĆ, MIROSLAV, 2005, 30.

497 Ibid.

rials for the Paris Art Exhibition⁴⁹⁸, and the organization of the Zagreb Cultural and Historical Exhibition in 1925. Later, he proudly stated that the exhibition "...showed and proved that Zagreb has always been in the sphere of the West, and that it intends to stay there forever..."⁴⁹⁹ The exhibition was held in the Art Pavilion, and afterwards, the first permanent exhibition of the Zagreb City Museum was opened on the ground floor of the pavilion. The authors of the exhibition were Gjuro Szabo and Ljubo Babić.⁵⁰⁰

Szabo participated in the return of the altar of St. Ladislav which was moved from the Zagreb Cathedral to Lonja (Fig. 32). The altar was transported at the expense of the Zagreb city government, and was cleaned and stored in the Museum of Arts and Crafts.⁵⁰¹

From the beginning of his work at the Land Office, Szabo advocated "the theory of preserving monuments" – conservation, not restoration – which replaced the 19th century restoration theory established in France and Germany, and brought to Croatia through Bollé. Szabo's view of restoration can best be observed in his records about the Zagreb Cathedral, titled *The Works of Herman Bollé judge Herman Bollé*

"...Inside, his fury was even greater. The Zagreb church had numerous beautiful altars, with some of lesser value. The high altar was a gift from Haulik, but it was damaged by an earthquake. The side altars were especially beautiful, without similar ones abroad, and were made in Zagreb during the time after the Ottomans were defeated in Vienna, and Abbot Brunner himself demanded that they be preserved. These are the masterpieces of our local masters! Others were made by Master Robba. Paintings of disturbing days gave us an idea of what it looked like. Except for the two smaller marble ones, by far not the best, Bolle had them all thrown out of the church! He, and he alone, is responsible for this endless infamy. Here is a photo of that conviction, attended by Rački, Budicki, Gašparić

498 Many Croatian artists were presented at the *Arts Decoratifs et Industriels Modernes* exhibition in Paris in the pavilion of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes: Zlatko Šulentić, Marijan Trepše, Jozo Kljaković and Vladimir Becić.

499 SZABO, GJURO, 1928, 83.

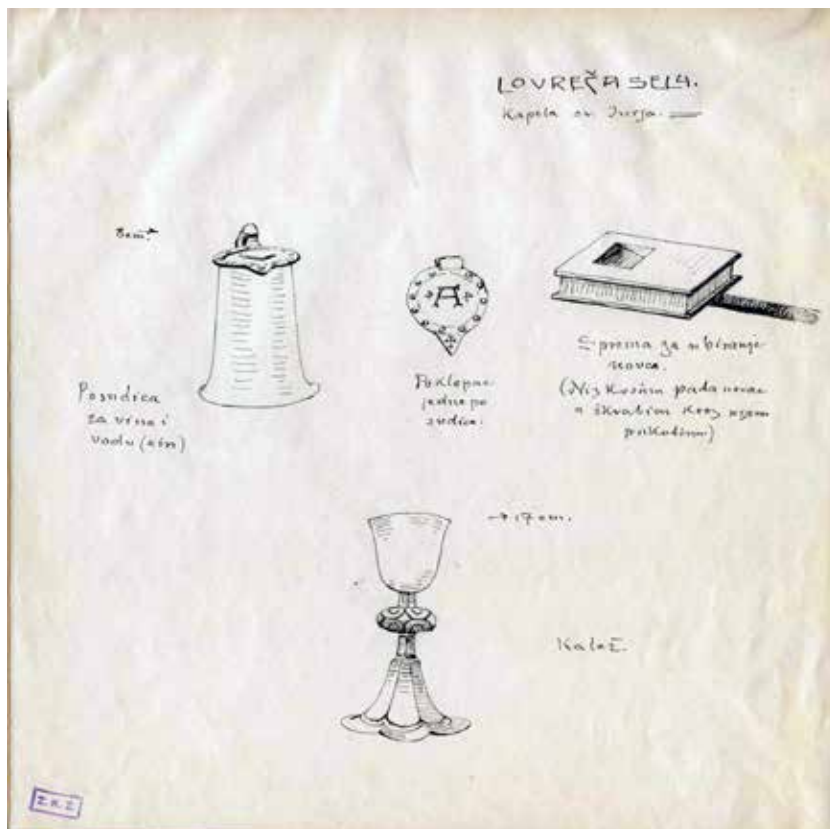
500 Zagrebački leksikon, 2006, 652.

501 SZABO, GJURO, 1928, 83; DOČKAL, KAMILO, 1940, 16.



33 Gjuro Szabo
(autor: Tereza Paulić, 1928.,
MKM-SDKB-GZ)
Gjuro Szabo
(author: Tereza Paulić, 1928,
MKM-SDKB-GZ)

34 Lovreć, Kapela sv. Jurja (crtež s terena: Gjuro Szabo, MKM-SDKB-GZ)
Lovreć, Chapel of st. George
(drawing from the field: Gjuro Szabo,
MKM-SDKB-GZ)



Franju Buntaka, ravnatelja gradskog muzeja u Osijeku.⁴⁹⁵ Konzervatorski ured dočekao je donošenje *Uredbe o čuvanju starina i prirodnih rijetkosti*⁴⁹⁶ te ubrzo i proglašenje Nezavisne Države Hrvatske kadrovski i financijski oslabljen, ali sa zavidnim rezultatima dotadašnjeg rada.

Gjuro Szabo i zaštita pokretnih spomenika

Rad Gjure Szaba na zaštiti pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta velikim je dijelom vezan, ali ne i ograničen, na djelovanje Zemaljskog povjerenstva za čuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika. Imenovanje Szaba ravnateljem Muzeja za umjetnost i umjetnički obrt (1919.), a potom Muzeja grada Zagreba (1928.), njegovo sudjelovanje u pripremanju i postavljanju izložbi te posebno njegova

publicistička djelatnost u vezi sa zaštitom crkvenih predmeta daju širi kontekst Szabovog djelovanja.⁴⁹⁷

Rođen je u Novskoj 3. veljače 1875. Pučku školu i gimnaziju završio je u Zagrebu. Od 1892. do 1896. boravio je u Beču studirajući germanistiku na tamošnjem sveučilištu. Szabo spominje: „... Jakob Minor i Heinzel bili su mi glavni učitelji, koji su me uveli u poznavanje golemog germanskog svijeta, naučili poznavati i jezik u raznim vremenima i zakone, po kojima jezik živi od davnine, naučili me poznavanju svih grana života, kako se već život velikog naroda manifestira: i poeziju i privatni život i umjetnost i napose veoma važne dijelove djela graditeljstva od najranijih početaka do današnjih dana.“⁴⁹⁸

495 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 35/1940.

496 Objavljeno: Zbirka zakona i uredaba, Godina 1939., Svezak I-XII, Broj 1-363, Godište XIII, Beograd, 25. srpnja 1949.

497 Dio teksta o Gjuri Szabu objavljen je u: Zborniku radova znanstveno-stručnog skupa Hrvatski povjesničari umjetnosti Gjuro Szabo i zaštita pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta u službi zaštite spomenika, Gjuro Szabo 1875. – 1943., JURANOVIĆ TONEJC, MARTINA, 2018., 77-88.

498 MKM-SDKB-OGS Prof. Gjuro Szabo i njegova najvažnija djela – autobiografske bilješke (bez datuma).

and Nik. Horvat, and Ivša Tkalčić must take out a pen!!! They were stupid to throw them away, as if they were a completely worthless mass; of the great altars in the churches, some were destroyed, others were massacred, and only some were saved. Of the most beautiful altars, the one from Lonja, at the urging of the writer of these lines, was brought from a church in Lonja on Sava / where one-third disappeared / to Zagreb, where it aroused admiration at the 1925 exhibition. His alter ego has been entirely lost. The paintings on the altar, after a simple careful cleaning, looked like they were new, and they were painted by an unknown Croatian painter Bubić or Babić. We need only to see the great art of this work in a photograph, and less of others, scattered everywhere. As an example, I cite the altar of St. Michael, today located in Žakanje, and the altar of the Holy Cross, which pastor Novak took to Križevci, saying what the so-called artist Bollè did not even suspect, that every beautiful thing belongs in the temple of God, no matter when it was made! It was only by mere chance that Znika's pulpit was rescued, and two statues, of great antiquity, which had been found under it, were sold by Mr. Bolle to Gradac!⁵⁰²

Szabo's work stopped when he retired in 1926. Writing about his work, he commented on his retirement:

"But all this work was almost in vain. Exactly ten years ago, Mr. Minister Stjepan Radić asked me to retire allegedly because I called him "Mr. Radić" and not "Mr. Minister" ... I was fifty-one years old, and I never liked doing nothing, the hardest punishment for me is to dawdle. The Conservation Office was almost dead, for whom...!"⁵⁰³

Two years later, he became the director of the Zagreb City Museum, where, for the third time, he was arranging materials, collecting, researching – this time about the history of Zagreb.⁵⁰⁴

Szabo's series of articles on keeping art inventory in churches was published from 1916. The first article was *Preserving Old Furniture in Our Churches* in the *Katolički*

list.⁵⁰⁵ The article was published three years after the adoption of the *Order which issued provisions for the purchase of new church furniture, the preservation of church furniture and buildings of historical and artistic value*. It can be assumed, based on the content of the article, that Szabo once again tried to explain to the clergy the importance of preserving church inventory. The article cited the altar in Krapina and the purification of the Cathedral as negative examples. He described the history of the construction of the altars of the Zagreb Cathedral and their transfer to the churches in the Archdiocese of Zagreb. He cited the restoration of the altar and pulpit in the church in Remetinac as a positive example of the cooperation of experts from the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments* and priests. At the end of the article, he reiterated the importance of preserving church inventory and the importance of advising and providing expert assistance from the Land Office.⁵⁰⁶

In 1922, a series of articles was published in various newspapers: *Chalices in our churches*,⁵⁰⁷ *Croatian collections and collectors*,⁵⁰⁸ *Monstrances and thuribles in our churches*,⁵⁰⁹ *Altars in our churches*,⁵¹⁰ *Old liturgical vestments in our churches*.⁵¹¹ In 1929, he published the booklet *Art in Our Country Churches*, which included all the articles. The articles provide an overview of the many works of art that were kept in churches. Some of these objects are still kept in the listed churches. Szabo first explained the history of individual objects through the centuries. For example, when writing about liturgical vestments, he listed the liturgical vestments, with a short description: stole, maniple, cope, chasuble and dalmatic. He then described and photographed them, added comments and gave an overview by style period with examples. He determined the date and origin (Italy, Germany or Hungary) based on the material, decorations, and embroidery on the chasuble.⁵¹² He believed

502 MKM-SDKB-OGS, Box I, Map II, *Djela Hermana Bolléa sude sud Hermanu Bolléu* 1932.

503 MKM-SDKB-OGS prof. Gjuro Szabo and his most important works – autobiographical notes.

504 N. N. 1935, Gjuro Szabo, *Jutarnji List*, February 3, 1935, p. 10.

505 SZABO, GJURO, 1916, 99-106.

506 SZABO, GJURO, 1916, 106.

507 Kaleži u našim crkvama; SZABO, GJURO, 1922, 33-39.

508 O hrvatskim zbirakama i sabiračima; SZABO, GJURO, 1922a, 186-193.

509 Monstrance i kadionice u našim crkvama; SZABO, GJURO, 1923, 244-254.

510 O oltarima u našim crkvama; SZABO, GJURO, 1924, 217-239.

511 O starom misnom ruhu u našim crkvama; SZABO, GJURO, 1928a, 145-153.

512 Umjetnost u našim ladanjskim crkvama; SZABO, GJURO, 1930, 58.



35 Crkva Sv. Kvirina – drveni reljef Sv. Ivana Krstitelja i Sv. Kvirina (foto: Đuro Griesbach, 1933.)

Church of St. Kvirin, wooden relief of St. John the Baptist and St. Kvirin (photo: Đuro Griesbach, 1933)



36 Krk, Katedrala, Polaganje u grob, G. A. Pordenone (foto: Đuro Griesbach, 1933.)

Krk, Cathedral, The Entombment of Christ, G. A. Pordenone (photo: Đuro Griesbach, 1933)

Kasnije je, pišući, s ponosom konstatirao da je izložba „...pokazala i dokazala da je Zagreb bio od uvijek u sferi Zapada, pa da i kani zauvijek ostati...“⁵⁰² Izložba je bila u Umjetničkom paviljonu, a nakon izložbe u prizemlju paviljona bio je otvoren prvi stalni postav Muzeja grada Zagreba. Autori postava su bili Gjuro Szabo i Ljubo Babić.⁵⁰³

Szabo sudjeluje u povratu oltara sv. Ladislava koji je bio preseljen u Lonju iz zagrebačke katedrale (sl. 32). Oltar je prenesen troškom zagrebačkog poglavarstva te očišćen i pohranjen u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt.⁵⁰⁴

Szabo je od početka djelovanja u Povjerenstvu zastupao teoriju čuvanja spomenika – konzerviranja, a ne restauriranja, koja je početkom stoljeća nadvladala teoriju restauriranja iz 19. stoljeća uvriježenu u Francuskoj i Njemačkoj, a koja se preko Bolléa provodila i u Hrvatskoj. Odnos Szaba spram restauriranja najbolje se može iščitati iz njegovih zapisa o zagrebačkoj katedrali pod nazivom *Djela Hermana Bolléa sude*:

„...U unutrašnjosti njegovo je bjesnilo bilo još veće. Crkva je zagrebačka imala sijaset prekrasnih oltara, uz nekoje manje vrijednosti. Glavni oltar je bio Haulikov dar, ali ga je potres skrhao. Postrani su bili osobito lijepi, bez primjera u inostranstvu, a učinjeni su u Zagrebu za vrijeme nakon poraza Turaka pod Bečom, te je i sam opat Brunner tražio, da se sačuvaju. Pa to su remek djela naših domaćih majstora! Drugi

su bili majstora Robbe. Slike potresnih dana donose nam predočbu, kako je sve to izgledalo. Osim dva manja, mramorna, daleko ne najbolja sve je Bolle dao izbaciti iz crkve! On, i samo on nosi odgovornost za ovu beskrajnu infamiju. Evo fotografske snimke te osude, gdje su prisustvovali i Rački i Budicki i Gašparić i Nik. Horvat, a Ivša Tkalčić mora voditi pero!!! Bacali su ih glupo, kao da je to posve bezvrijedna masa; velike oltare u zabitne crkve, tako, da je jedan dio propao, drugi su masakrirani, a tek se nekoji spasli. Od najljepših oltara je onaj iz Lonje na poticaj pisca ovih redaka dopremljen iz jedne crkve u Lonji na Savi/ gdje je jedna trećina nestala/ u Zagreb, gdje je na izložbi godine 1925. pobudio divljenje. Njegov alter ego izgubljen je sasvim. Slikarije su na oltaru nakon jednostavnog pomnog čišćenja osvanule i ostale kao nove, a radio ih je neznani hrv. slikar Bubić ili Babić. Treba samo ogledati veliku umjetnost toga rada na fotografiji, a ne manje drugih, rastepenih kojekuda. Kao primjer navodim oltar sv. Mihalja, danas u Žakanju, pa sv. Križa, kojeg je župnik Novak odvezao u Križevce, govoreći ono, što nazovi umjetnik Bollè nije ni slutio, da svaka lijepa stvar spada u hram božji, ma bila ona iz kojega mu drago doba! Tek je pukim slučajem spašena Znikina prodikaonica, nu dva kipa, velike starine, koje su nadjena tom prilikom pod njom, prodao je g. Bolle u Gradac!“⁵⁰⁵

Szabov rad je prekinut umirovljenjem 1926. godine. Kasnije, pišući o svojem radu, komentira umirovljenje:

502 SZABO, GJURO, 1928., 83.

503 Zagrebački leksikon, 2006., 652.

504 SZABO, GJURO, 1928., 83; DOČKAL, KAMILO, 1940., 16.

505 MKM-SDKB-OGS, Kutija I, Mapa II, Djela Hermana Bolle sude! Sud Hermanu Bolleu 1932. godina.

that the only correct way to restore monuments was by respecting the past, with reverence.⁵¹³ In the last chapter of the book, titled *We should preserve monuments*, he wrote:

"This book points out these works, which the church has preserved, and those that passed by without being noticed. And these works, real works of art, even though they were made at various times, are somehow timeless, i.e. they are always of the same value ... Do not ruin anything before you know that you can do better, that which is damaged by the passage of time, and if you need to create again, give the job to the best craftsman, not the so-called master, who will create a work without value. And that is what this book wants to prevent."⁵¹⁴

Szabo later presented a similar view in his book *Monuments of the Past in Croatia and Slavonia*:

"...Let us look again at the fundamental principles of preserving monuments of the past: Do not destroy anything until you know what you will build there, until you are convinced that it will be better. Avoid all imitation, work and build in the spirit of your time period and only your own, or take up other work, even if it entails cleaning streets! Do not pretend that you will always do better than the old masters who knew how to build church buildings, in particular, as the present cannot do! And a man who does not appreciate the honest work of the past proves only that he is ignorant and a crook. Study thoroughly how old masters worked, and to do it, go and record everything that seems valuable to you! Don't believe it to be true when someone offers you three new chalices for one old one!"⁵¹⁵

Szabo advised parishioners on the principles of conservation and advocated for recognized/professional restorers. He often recommended the restorers Stanislava Dekleva and Boško Strika, and he recommended Nikola Belin to work on the conservation of choir benches in Svetice.⁵¹⁶ In his letters to parish priests, he often mentioned the role of the *Conservation Institute* as responsible for providing

opinions, instructions and advice. During the renovation of the chapel in Dobrinje, he advised: "...*The altar should also be made out of natural and not artificial stone, and be of a very simple form: e.g. an altar stone with a thicker plate, or with a simple stone cross of larger dimensions, so that it would stand out and give character to the whole chapel...*"⁵¹⁷

Szabo said a lack of laws for the protection of works of art is the reason there was insufficient monument protection. So, in 1927, he wrote a draft law banning the export of antiquities and works of art from the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which never entered into legal procedure.⁵¹⁸ Szabo gave an interview entitled "*Protection of Art and Historical Monuments*" in which he referred to the adoption of the *Decree on the protection of antiques and natural monuments* in 1940: "...*A decree with legal force on the protection of antiquities is expected with great interest, even though the old laws still apply today through which our famous historical monuments could be preserved. So, if our monuments were destroyed, it was only through the fault of the people, not because of a lack of laws...*"⁵¹⁹

Szabo toured various sites and listed movable monuments, not separating them from immovable monuments, but looking at them as a whole. He collected "abandoned" items and donated them to the Museum of Arts and Crafts.⁵²⁰ When listing the inventory of the church, he paid special attention to chalices, ciboria, monstrances, liturgical vestments, altars, paintings and bells which he described in great detail. He looked at the inventory as a whole and tried to single out the most valuable works of art, without bothering (in his judgment) with low-quality works of art, thus trying to create an artistic topography of Croatia (Fig. 33, 34).

513 SZABO, GJURO, 1930, 84; SZABO, GJURO, 1928b, 179.

514 SZABO, GJURO, 1930, 96.

515 Spomenici prošlosti u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji; MKM-SDKB-OGS Legacy of Gjuró Szabo, Box II, Monuments of the Past in Croatia and Slavonia for Belgrade in 1938.

516 MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 10, June 13, 1938.

517 Szabo proposed that detailed drafts for the renovation be drawn up by the Technical Section of the Sušak municipality and that the completed drafts be sent to the Conservation Office for their opinion. MKM-SDKB-ZP Letter No. 2-1939, January 24, 1939.

518 MKM-SDKB-ZP, only the year 1927 is written.

519 N. N. 1939, *Novosti* No. 139, May 21, 1939.

520 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1944, 34.

„Ali sav je taj rad bio gotovo uzaludan. Ravno pred deset godina izvolio me je gospodin ministar Stjepan Radić penzionisati navodno zato, što sam ga oslovio sa „gospodine Radiću“, a ne sa „gospodine ministre“... Bila mi je pedeset i jedna godina, a ja nisam nikada volio plandovati, najteža je kazna za mene besposličarenje. Konzervatorski Ured je onako zamirao, ta za koga...!“⁵⁰⁶

Dvije godine kasnije postao je ravnateljem Muzeja grada Zagreba, gdje je po treći put slagao građu, sabirao, istraživao – ovaj put sve što se tiče povijesti Zagreba.⁵⁰⁷

Od godine 1916. počinje izlaziti Szabova serija članaka o čuvanju umjetničkog inventara u crkvama. Prvi takav članak bio je *O čuvanju starog pokućstva u našim crkvama u Katoličkom listu*.⁵⁰⁸ Članak je publiciran tri godine nakon donošenja *Naredbe kojom se izdaju odredbe o nabavi novog crkvenog namještaja te sačuvanju crkvenog namještaja i gradjevina historičke i umjetničke vrijednosti*. Može se pretpostaviti, prema sadržaju članka, da je Szabo još jednom pokušao svećenstvu objasniti važnost čuvanja crkvenog inventara. U članku je kao negativne primjere naveo oltar u Krapini i purifikaciju Katedrale. Opisao je povijest gradnje oltara Zagrebačke katedrale i njihovo premještanje u crkve Zagrebačke nadbiskupije. Kao pozitivan primjer suradnje stručnjaka *Zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika* i svećenika navodi restauriranje oltara i propovjedaonice u crkvi u Remetincu. Na kraju članka ponovio je važnost čuvanja crkvenog inventara te važnost savjetovanja i pružanja stručne pomoći od strane *Zemaljskog povjerenstva*.⁵⁰⁹

Godine 1922. nastavljen je niz članaka objavljenih u raznim novinama: *Kaleži u našim crkvama*,⁵¹⁰ *O hrvatskim zbirkama i sabiračima*,⁵¹¹ *Monstrance i kadionice u našim crkvama*,⁵¹² *O oltarima u našim crkvama*,⁵¹³ *O starom misnom ruhu u našim crkvama*.⁵¹⁴ Godine 1929. objavio je

knjižicu *Umjetnost u našim ladanjskim crkvama* u kojoj su objedinjeni svi članci. U člancima daje pregled mnogih umjetnina koje su se čuvale po crkvama. Neki od tih predmeta i danas se čuvaju u navedenim crkvama. Szabo prvo objašnjava povijest nastanka pojedinih predmeta kroz stoljeća. Tako na primjer kod misnog ruha nabraja uz kratak opis što u stvari čini misno ruho: stola, manipul, pluvijal, kazula i dalmatika. Potom ih opisuje, fotografira, komentira i daje pregled po stilskim razdobljima navodeći primjere. Tako je prema materijalu, ukrasima, načinu veza kazule ili misnice odredio dataciju i podrijetlo: talijansko, njemačko ili mađarsko.⁵¹⁵ Ispravnim je smatrao samo obnavljanje spomenika s poštivanjem prošlosti, *pijeteom*.⁵¹⁶ U posljednjem poglavlju knjige pod nazivom *Čuvajmo spomenike umjetnosti* iznosi:

„Ova knjiga upozorava na ta djela, koja je crkva sačuvala, i one, koji su mimo njih prolazili ne opazivši ih. A ta su djela, djela prave umjetnosti, ma da su u raznim vremenima nastala, nekako bezvremena, t.j. ona su uvijek jednake vrijednosti... Ne ruši ništa prije, no što znaš, da možeš bolje stvoriti, popravljaj neprestano, što zub vremena troši, a ustreba li novo stvoriti, podaj posao najboljemu majstoru, a ne nazovi-meštru, koji će stvoriti djelo bez vrijednosti. A to bi ova knjiga htjela zapriječiti.“⁵¹⁷

Sličnu misao Szabo će kasnije izložiti u djelu *Spomenici prošlosti u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*:

„... Pogledajmo još jednom temeljne zasade pri čuvanju spomenika prošlosti: Ne ruši ništa prije, dok ne znaš, što ćeš tamo sagraditi, dok se ne uvjeriš, da će to novo biti i bolje. Kloni se svake imitacije, radi i gradi u duhu svog vremena i samo svoga ili se lati drugog posla, pa makar pometanja cesta! Ne utvaraj si, da ćeš ti uraditi uvijek bolje od starih majstora, koji su znali napose crkvene gradjevine izvoditi tako, kako ih sadašnjica ne može izvesti! A čovjek, koji poštenu rad prošlosti ne cijeni, dokazuje samo, da je neznalica i nitkov. Prouči temeljito način rada starih majstora, a da to možeš, idi pa snimaj sve, što ti se pričinja vrijednim! Ne

506 MKM-SDKB-OGS prof. Gjuro Szabo i njegova najvažnija djela – autobiografske bilješke.

507 N. N. 1935., 10; *Gjuro Szabo*, Jutarnji list, 3. veljače 1935.

508 SZABO, GJURO, 1916., 99-106; *Ibid.*, 246.

509 SZABO, GJURO, 1916., 106; *Ibid.*, 246.

510 SZABO, GJURO, 1922., 33-39.

511 SZABO, GJURO, 1922a., 186-193.

512 SZABO, GJURO, 1923., 244-254.

513 SZABO, GJURO, 1924., 217-239.

514 SZABO, GJURO, 1928a., 145-153.

515 SZABO, GJURO, 1930., 58; *Ibid.*, 246.

516 SZABO, GJURO, 1930., 84; SZABO, GJURO, 1928b., 179.

517 SZABO, GJURO, 1930., 96.

INVENTORY OF MOVABLE MONUMENTS – THE YUGOSLAV ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS AND ARTUR SCHNEIDER

After World War I, the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb often discussed the protection of movable historical and artistic monuments at its sessions, especially museum laws on the preservation of antiquities. In 1927, the Gallery Committee of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts proposed that works of art (old paintings, sculptures and arts and crafts items) owned by churches and monasteries, and privately owned in the Croatian Littoral and Dalmatia be recorded, scientifically researched and photographed. Josip Šilović, the Ban of Sava Banovina, and Ivo Tartaglia, the Ban of Littoral Banovina, agreed on a joint budget for drawing up an inventory of old paintings in Dalmatia. At the session of the Department of Fine Arts on May 23, 1930, the president of the Academy, Gavro Manojlović, outlined a plan explaining the purpose of collecting and preserving works of art: it was necessary to locate, photograph, conserve and prohibit the export of art.⁵²¹

For the purpose of promoting and supporting the action, an article was published in the newspaper entitled *Exploring Art in Dalmatia*, which stated that the agreement between the Sava and Littoral Banovina included research of all works of art in the Littoral. *"...All of this must be recorded and classified, the author or the school should be determined, and the time of production, everything should be photographed to determine the artistic value and thus, to put together an accurate register of all antique paintings and*

521 VANĐURA, ĐURO, 1999, 7-9. Indira Šamec Flaschar provided an interesting piece of information about the financing of Schneider's travel, which included the first travel agency "Putnik, društvo za saobraćaj putnika i turista u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, AD, Beograd". ŠAMEC-FLASCHAR, 2016, 102. In his speech, Tartaglia stated that for the purpose of collecting and preserving art in Dalmatia, the Banal Administration of the Littoral Banovina concluded an agreement with the government of the Sava Banovina and raised funds allocated to the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts for the purpose of listing, photographing, classifying, and determining the status of all works of art in the Croatian Littoral, p. 23.

other art objects in Dalmatia, with photographs..."⁵²² Arthur Schneider was named project manager.

Artur Schneider (1879-1946) studied at the University of Vienna. In 1913, he started working at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, where he taught the History of Italian Art in the 15th and 16th centuries, and from 1922, he taught the History of Art and Culture.⁵²³ In 1919, he became the Head of the Graphic Collection of the Royal University Library in Zagreb. In 1928, he was appointed deputy director of the Strossmayer Gallery of Old Masters (director Menci Cl. Crnčić was not able to perform his duties due to illness), and he was to continue the study of art holdings, revise attributions and create a new gallery catalogue.⁵²⁴ He also founded the photo archive and was in charge of two specialised libraries at the University Library and the Yugoslav Academy. In 1925, he edited a catalogue of the representative *Cultural and Historical Exhibition of the City of Zagreb* in the Art Pavilion. Afterwards, the permanent exhibition of the Zagreb City Museum was opened on the ground floor of the pavilion.⁵²⁵

From 1930 to 1940, Schneider recorded and inventoried monuments in the Croatian Littoral, Kvarner, Dalmatia and northwest Croatia, while performing research and taking photographs. Based on the conclusions of the session of the Department of Fine Arts of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts on September 24, 1930, he began his work on the island of Rab and continued in Šibenik, Skradin and Split. The funds for the repair of artwork were determined by restorer prof. Ferdo Goglia, and photographs were taken by Stanislav Noworyt in Rab and Đuro Griesbach in Šibenik and Split.⁵²⁶ The Franciscan monastery in Visovac in Šibenik, the Catholic and Orthodox church in

522 MKM-KOST-A Box 1931, January 19, 1931. An article on the study of old paintings was published in the *Jutarnji list* on January 27, 1931, stating that Abramić and Bulić were collecting information on art in Šibenik under the said agreement. MKM-KOST-A Box 1931 Jutarnji list, January 27, 1931.

523 Schneider replaced Izidor Kršnjavi. More in: ALVIŽ, JOSIPA; NESTIĆ, JASMINA, 2016, 31-53; PRIJATELJ, KRUNO, 1980, 61-62.

524 This work was entrusted to Gabriel Térey, director of the National Museum in Budapest, but his untimely death prevented him from completing it. GAŠPAROVIĆ, MIROSLAV, 1980, 37.

525 KAMPUŠ, IVAN; KARAMAN, IGOR, 1994, 275; GAMULIN, GRGO, 1980, 6.

526 POPOVČAK, BORIVOJ, 1999, 11.

vjeruj, da je istina, kad ti netko nudi kao bolje tri nova kaleža za jedan starinski!⁵¹⁸

Szabo je savjetovao župnike o principima zaštite i zalagao se za priznate/stručne restauratore. Tako vrlo često preporučuje restauratore Stanislavu Deklevu i Boška Striku, dok je za rad na konzervaciji korskih klupa u Sveticama preporučio Nikolu Belina.⁵¹⁹ U dopisima župnicima vrlo često je spominjao ulogu Konzervatorskog zavoda kao tijela zaduženog za pružanje mišljenja, uputa i savjeta. Prilikom obnove kapele u Dobrinju za izvedbu novog oltara je savjetovao: „... Oltar neka bude također od prirodnog a nipošto od umjetnog kamena, te posve jednostavnog oblika: na pr. menza sa debljom pločom, na kojoj samo jednostavni kameni krst većih dimenzija tako, da bi dovoljno došao do izražaja i dao obilježje čitavoj kapelici...“⁵²⁰

Problem nedostatne zaštite spomenika Szabo je opravdao i manjkom zakona za zaštitu umjetnina te je napisao 1927. godine prijedlog zakona o zabrani izvoza starina i umjetnina iz Kraljevine SHS, koji nikad nije ušao u proceduru.⁵²¹ Uoči donošenja Uredbe o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika 1940. godine Szabo je dao intervju pod nazivom „Zaštita umjetnih i historijskih spomenika“ u kojem se osvrnuo na donošenje Uredbe: „... Uredba sa zakonskom snagom o zaštiti starina očekuje se kod nas s velikim zanimanjem, ma da i danas još kod nas važe stari zakoni, po kojima bi se mogli sačuvati naši znameniti historijski spomenici. Dakle, u koliko su se rušili naši spomenici, bilo je to krivnjom jedino ljudi a ne uslijed pomanjkanja zakona...“⁵²²

Szabo u obilasku lokaliteta popisuje pokretne spomenike, ne odvajajući ih od nepokretnih, nego sagledavajući sve kao cjelinu. Prikupljao je „napuštene“ predmete i darovao ih Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt.⁵²³ Prilikom inventarizacije crkvenog inventara pozornost je posvetio

kaležima, ciborijima, pokaznicama, misnom ruhu, oltarima, slikama i zvonima koje detaljno opisuje. Sagledavao je cjelinu iz koje je pokušao izdvojiti najvrjednije umjetničke predmete, ne zamarajući se pritom (po njegovom sudu) nekvalitetnim umjetninama te tako pokušavao stvarati umjetničku topografiju Hrvatske (sl. 33, 34).

INVENTARIZACIJA POKRETNIH SPOMENIKA – JUGOSLAVENSKA AKADEMIJA ZNANOSTI I UMJETNOSTI I ARTUR SCHNEIDER

Nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu na svojim je sjednicama često raspravljala o zaštiti povijesnih i umjetničkih pokretnih spomenika, a napose o zakonima o muzejima i čuvanju starina. Godine 1927. Galerijski odbor Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti predložio je da se umjetnine (starinske slike, slobodna plastika i predmeti umjetničkog obrta) u vlasništvu crkava, samostana i privatnom vlasništvu u Hrvatskom primorju i Dalmaciji popišu, znanstveno istraže i fotografiraju. Ban Savske banovine Josip Šilović i ban Primorske banovine Ivo Tartaglia dogovorili su zajednički proračun za inventariziranje starih slika u Dalmaciji. Predsjednik Akademije Gavro Manojlović iznio je na sjednici Umjetničkog razreda 23. svibnja 1930. plan u kojem je obrazložio svrhu prikupljanja i brigu za umjetnine: umjetnine je trebalo locirati, fotografirati, konzervirati i zabraniti njihov izvoz.⁵²⁴

U novinama je, u svrhu promocije i podržavanja akcije, izašao članak pod naslovom *Istraživanje umjetnina u Dalmaciji*, u kojem je navedeno da se sporazumom između Savske i Primorske banovine trebaju istražiti svi umjetnički predmeti u Primorju. „... Sve to ima da se popiše, klasificira, utvrdi autor odnosno škola, te doba izrade, sve da se to fotografira i da se utvrdi umjetnička vrijednost i na taj način da se stavi točan katastar svih starinskih slika

518 MKM-SDKB-OGS Ostavština Gjure Szabe, Kutija II, Spomenici prošlosti u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji za Beograd 1938. godine.

519 MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 10 od 13. lipnja 1938.

520 Szabo predlaže da detaljne nacрте za obnovu izradi Tehnički odjeljak pri Sreskom načelstvu u Sušaku te da dovršene nacрте pošalju na mišljenje Konzervatorskom uredu. MKM-SDKB-ZP dopis broj 2-1939. od 24. siječnja 1939.

521 MKM-SDKB-ZP, naznačena samo godina 1927.

522 N. N. 1939.; Novosti broj 139. od 21. svibnja 1939.

523 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1944., 34.

524 VANĐURA, ĐURO, 1999., 7-9. Zanimljiv podatak iznijela je Indira Šamec Flaschar o financiranju Schneiderova putovanja u koje se uključila prva putnička agencija, „Putnik, društvo za saobraćaj putnika i turista u Kraljevini Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, AD, Beograd“. ŠAMEC FLASCHAR, INDIRA, 2016., 102. U govoru Tartaglia navodi da je Banska uprava Primorske banovine u svrhu prikupljanja i čuvanja umjetničkih predmeta u Dalmaciji sklopila sporazum s upravom Savske banovine i prikupila sredstva dodijeljena JAZU u svrhu popisa, fotografiranja, klasificiranja, utvrđivanja stanja svih umjetničkih djela u Primorju, str. 23.

Skradin, and the Church and monastery of St. Francis, the Church of St. Peter and the Monastery on Poljud in Split were all reviewed.⁵²⁷ In his reports to the Academy, Schneider summarized that he was drawing up an inventory based on studies, notes and photographs collected in the field, and that each monument would be accurately described and classified.⁵²⁸

From September 6 to September 23, 1933, Schneider was on the island of Krk where he visited thirty locations⁵²⁹, and he took 125 photographs (Fig. 35, 36). In his report, he mentioned that he had taken a lot more photographs than he had expected, based on a list compiled from written sources and other data. He pointed out that there was a large number of wooden objects, but at the same time, noted the poor condition and unprofessional restoration of certain works of art:

*"...The problem with all these wooden sculptures is that, having recently lost their stylish original polychromy, almost all of them have been painted with bright and tasteless oil colours. This has caused damage which can no longer be removed, even at great expense and long, painstaking work. Other great works of art are kept in dark and dusty corners..."*⁵³⁰

Schneider was in the Croatian Littoral from September 6 to September 15, 1934, with more modest financial resources and a limit of taking 70 photographs. His attempt to move the painting of Jacopo Palma il Giovane from the Parish Church of St. Peter and St. Paul in Bribir to the Strossmayer Gallery is a great example of offering protection. Due to poor conditions, the painting was deteriorating and the Academy had tried two

years prior to obtain help from Ban Ivo Perović to build the water supply system in Bribir, provided that the painting was handed over to the Strossmayer Gallery for safekeeping.

The painting was not moved at the time, but Schneider still had hope:

*"... As far as I can tell from the conversation with the current pastor canon Mr. Augustin Bujan, and mayor, Mr. Grga Kombol (who is categorically seeking to move the painting to the Strossmayer Gallery), the mood at this time in Bribir is such that the Academy could get the painting if they got the long promised water supply system from the Banal Administration..."*⁵³¹

Photographer Ljudevit Greisbach continued working in the field from August 30 to September 7, 1936 in Sušak, with the task of recording, studying and photographing all important monuments. A total of 49 photographs was taken.⁵³²

Due to the reduced funds of the Academy, Griesbach took the photographs in Dubrovnik during his private stay in 1936, based on a list made from archival data by Karlo Kovačić and the works of Ljubo Karaman. He also took photographs of the works of the Dubrovnik Painting School, and works of art in villas and churches (Lokrum, Lopud).⁵³³

At the beginning of the field tour, Schneider listed and photographed only paintings and movable art, and from 1936, he included architectural monuments. From September 2 to September 30, 1937, Schneider worked on monuments in the city of Zagreb – the churches of St. Catherine, St. Mark, St. Francis Xavier, St. John in Nova Ves, St. Mary in Remete, St. Stephen⁵³⁴, St. Francis at the Franciscan Monastery, the Zagreb City Museum and the Museum of Arts and Crafts. Referring to the restoration of sacral architecture in the spirit of historicism in the early 20th century, he stated:

527 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1930, 159-160; the *Jutarnji list* newspaper published an article about monument protection, describing Schneider's journey: "...In July, Dr. Schneider examined art monuments and surroundings (old paintings, miniatures, free and small sculptures and objects of artistic importance). In September, he studied the monuments of Split and its surroundings. In Split he recorded, among other things, objects from the invaluable cathedral treasury..." ESIH, IVAN, 1931.

528 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1932, 157-160.

529 More about the three examples of altars from the cathedral in Krk, the church of St. Mary Magdalene in Porto and the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Omišalj, see: CIKOVIĆ, DANIJEL, 2016, 115-139.

530 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1934a, 124-129.

531 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1934b, 173.

532 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1937, 211-213.

533 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1937, 214-219.

534 More in: ZAJEC, VLASTA, 2016, 191-223. More about Schneider's contribution to publishing historical and art reviews and studies in foreign journals (*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst – Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*) in *Jutarnji list*. N. N. 1937b.

i drugih umjetničkih predmeta u Dalmaciji, sa odnosnim fotografijama...“⁵²⁵ Voditeljem projekta bio je imenovan Artur Schneider.

Artur Schneider (1879. – 1946.) studirao je na Sveučilištu u Beču. Od godine 1913. započeo je rad na Filozofskom fakultetu Zagrebačkog sveučilišta s kolegijem *Povijest talijanske umjetnosti 15. i 16. stoljeća*, a od 1922. godine kao profesor povijesti umjetnosti predavao je predmet *Povijest umjetnosti i kulture*.⁵²⁶ Godine 1919. postaje voditelj Grafičke zbirke Kraljevske sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu. Zamjenikom ravnatelja Strossmayerove galerije (ravnatelj Menci Cl. Crnčić zbog bolesti nije bio u mogućnosti dalje u potpunosti obavljati dužnost) imenovan je 1928. godine te je trebao nastaviti s proučavanjem fundusa umjetnina, izvršiti reviziju atribucija i izraditi novi galerijski katalog.⁵²⁷ Bio je i osnivač fototeke i voditelj dviju stručnih biblioteka u Sveučilišnoj knjižnici i Jugoslavenskoj akademiji. Godine 1925. uredio je katalog reprezentativne *Kulturno-historijske izložbe grada Zagreba* u Umjetničkom paviljonu. U prizemlju paviljona nakon izložbe otvoren je stalni postav Muzeja grada Zagreba.⁵²⁸

Schneider je od 1930. do 1940. provodio evidenciju i inventarizaciju s proučavanjem i fotografiranjem spomenika kulture na području Hrvatskog primorja, Kvarnera, Dalmacije i sjeverozapadne Hrvatske. Na temelju zaključaka sjednice Umjetničkog razreda Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti od 24. rujna 1930., evidentiranje započinje na otoku Rabu, a nastavlja u Šibeniku, Skradinu i Splitu. Financijska sredstva za popravak umjetnina utvrdio je restaurator prof. Ferdo Goggia, a fotografirali su Stanislav Noworyt u Rabu i Đuro Griesbach u Šibeniku i Splitu.⁵²⁹ U Šibeniku je obrađen

franjevački samostan na Visovcu, katolička i pravoslavna crkva u Skradinu te u Splitu crkva i samostan sv. Frane, crkva sv. Petra i samostan na Poljudu.⁵³⁰ Schneider je u podnesenom izvještaju Akademiji rezimirao kako na osnovi studija i bilježaka prikupljenih na terenu i fotografskih snimaka sastavlja inventar u kojem će svaki pojedini umjetnički spomenik biti točno opisan i klasificiran.⁵³¹

Od 6. do 23. rujna 1933. Schneider je boravio na otoku Krku, gdje je obišao tridesetak mjesta.⁵³² Tom je prilikom načinio 125 fotografskih snimaka (sl. 35, 36). U izvještaju je spomenuo da je načinio mnogo više snimaka nego što je očekivao prema popisu koji je prethodno sastavio na temelju literature i drugih podataka. Istaknuo je velik broj drvenih umjetničkih predmeta, no istovremeno i konstatirao loše stanje i nestručno restauriranje pojedinih umjetnina:

„...Nevolja je kod svih tih drvenih skulptura, da su one, izgubivši po vremenu svoju stilsku originalnu polihromiju, u novije vrijeme gotovo sve od reda oličene kričljivim i neukusnim uljenim bojama. Time je počinjena šteta, koja se gotovo više i ne može ukloniti, dajbudi velikim troškovima i dugim minucioznim radom. Druga su opet odlična djela te vrste zbačena u mračne i prašne kutove...“⁵³³

U Hrvatskom primorju Schneider je boravio od 6. do 15. rujna 1934. sa skromnijim financijskim sredstvima i brojem snimaka ograničenim na najviše 70. O brizi za umjetnina zorno svjedoči pokušaj premještanja slike Jacopa Palme Mlađeg *Pranje nogu* iz župne crkve sv. Petra i Pavla u Bribiru u Strossmayerovu galeriju. Slika je zbog smještaja u lošim uvjetima propadala te je Akademija pokušala, dvije godine prije nego što je Schneider obilazio Primorje, preko bana Ive Perovića ishoditi banovinsku

525 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1931 od 19. siječnja 1931. U *Jutarnjem listu* 27. siječnja 1931. izašao je članak o istraživanju starih slika u kojem je navedeno da Abramić i Bulić, prema navedenom sporazumu, prikupljaju podatke o umjetničkim predmetima u Šibeniku i okolici. MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1931 *Jutarnji list* od 27. siječnja 1931.

526 Schneider je na tom mjestu zamijenio Izidora Kršnjavoga. Više u: ALVIŽ, JOSIPA; NESTIĆ, JASMINA, 2016., 31-53; PRIJATELJ, KRUNO, 1980., 61-62.

527 Taj posao bio je povjeren dr. Gabrijelu Téreyu, ravnatelju Narodnog muzeja u Budimpešti, no prerana smrt ga je u tome spriječila. GAŠPAROVIĆ, MIROSLAV, 1980., 37.

528 KAMPUŠ, IVAN; KARAMAN, IGOR, 1994., 275; GAMULIN, GRGO, 1980., 6.

529 POPOVČAK, BORIVOJ, 1999., 11.

530 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1930., 159-160. U *Jutarnjem listu* izašao je članak o čuvanju spomenika u kojem je opisan Schneiderov put: „...U mjesecu srpnju proučio je dr. Schneider umjetničke spomenike i okolice (stare slike, minijature, slobodne i sitne plastike te predmete umjetničko obrtnog značaja). U mjesecu rujnu o. g. proučavao je spomenike Splita i okolice. U Splitu je snimio među ostalim i predmete dragocjene katedralne riznice...“ ESIH, IVAN, 1931.

531 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1932., 157-160.

532 Detaljnije o trima primjerima oltara iz katedrale u Krku, crkve sv. Marije Magdalene u Portu i crkve Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Omišlju vidi u: CIKOVIĆ, DANIJELO, 2016., 115-139.

533 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1934a., 124-129.

*"...only a few monuments have preserved in their interiors the original, harmonious completeness of free and decorative sculptures and painting; everything else, which by good fortune has been saved to this day, and was not destroyed by a lack of knowledge on the one hand, and rigid and conscious vandalism on the other, has been preserved, thanks to the dedication and sacrifice of the directors, scattered in Zagreb museums..."*⁵³⁵

In 1939, the recording and listing of works of art was extended beyond Zagreb (Lepoglava, Belec, Brckovljani, Brezovica, Buševac, Karlovac, Kamensko, Kotare, Laz, Križevci, Lukavec, Velika Mlaka, Moravča, Odra, Samobor, Zlatar), to a total of seventy localities. The artistic legacy of the Franciscans and Pauline Fathers (Ranger's cycle of wall paintings) was especially carefully analysed.⁵³⁶ With the help of the Banovina of Croatia, the cataloguing of movable monuments, wooden chapels and castles continued in 1939. Schneider used Gjuro Szabo's work *Monuments of the Ivanec District* and *Monuments of the Krapina and Zlatar Districts* as a guide for Zagorje.⁵³⁷ He wrote about Szabo: "...We thank him for discovering this classic part of the artistic activity and describing it in great detail." In the 1939 report, Schneider wrote: "In addition, all of the other important altars, pulpits, church cabinets, architectural details and more, were recorded in great detail. All of the smaller objects (liturgical vessels, sculptures and paintings) were accurately measured on a particularly precise scale..."⁵³⁸

In 1940, in addition to movable inventory, Schneider continued to photograph Ranger's wall paintings as well as works by other masters of wall paintings in the Church of Our Lady of the Mountains near Lobor, Hraščina, Komin, Trški Vrh, Varaždin and Voća. He extended his interest to castles and wooden churches.

Schneider compiled an inventory in which each monument was accurately described with a specified style and date.⁵³⁹ Examining works of art with descriptions and photographs, he also examined archival documents on the origin of reviewed paintings, where possible. He noted the state of the

artwork and the condition they were in. Given that many valuable buildings in which the works of art were stored had been neglected, he suggested that ecclesiastical and secular authorities should prevent further deterioration and deliberate demolition by taking swift and decisive measures. From 1935, Schneider was assisted in the field by Željko Jiroušek, an assistant at the Faculty of Humanities in Zagreb, and photographs were taken by Stanislav Noworyt, Ljudevit Griesbach and Đuro Griesbach.⁵⁴⁰

Based on Schneider's last report from 1940, the "Photographic Archive of Old Monuments" contained 2,786 negatives. According to Angela Horvat, Schneider reviewed 177 sites in total.⁵⁴¹ Since part of the inventory was destroyed during World War II, Schneider's photographs are the only evidence we have of their existence. As a university professor and director of the Srossmayer Gallery, Schneider worked with a number of European art historians, like Raymond van Marle, Leon Rey and Boris Lossky, and the director of the Berlin State Museums, Max Friedländer.⁵⁴² The beginning of the movable monument inventory that Schneider spent over a decade drawing up is connected with the plan of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts Gallery Committee to recognise, collect and study the works of old masters in Dalmatia.

It was the first planned and systematic recording of movable art with more or less secured funds. This was the result of years of field work, recording and listing monuments in accordance with established principles, based on modern methods of monument inventory.

535 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1936-1937, 149.

536 Spomenici kotara Ivanec; Spomenici kotara Krapina i Zlatar; SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1939, 168-180.

537 Region in northern part of Croatia

538 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1939, 168-180.

539 GAŠPAROVIĆ, MIROSLAV, 1980, 45.

540 Griesbach informed Ljubo Karaman that the paper had arrived and that he could develop the photographs from his trip with Schneider. Karaman ordered the store *Fotoveletrgovina Griesbach i Knaus* to develop the photographs at a price of 6 dinars each. MKM-KOST-A Box 1932 Letter No. 177, August 5, September 5, and December 28, 1932; HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980, 48.

541 A. Horvat made a list and maps of the locations Schneider visited. The list of reviewed sites is divided by geographical area into north-west locations, the coast and Kvarner. HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980, 55-56. 542 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980, 40.

pripomoć za izgradnju bibrirskog vodovoda uz uvjet da se slika preda na čuvanje Strossmayerovoj galeriji.

Slika tada nije premještena, no Schneider se ipak tome nadao:

„...Koliko sam mogao razabrati iz razgovora sa sadašnjim župnikom kanonikom g. Augustinom Bujanom i općinom g. Grgom Kombolom (koji upravo kategorički traži premještanje slike u Strossmayerovu galeriju), raspoloženje je u ovaj čas u Bribiru takovo, da bi Akademija, ishodišći kod Banske uprave već odavna obećani vodovod, sliku mogla doista dobiti...“⁵³⁴

Terenski rad po Primorju nastavio je fotograf Ljudevit Greisbach od 30. kolovoza do 7. rujna 1936. na Sušaku sa zadatkom da popiše, prouči i fotografski snimi sve važnije umjetničke spomenike. Ukupno je načinjeno 49 fotografskih snimaka.⁵³⁵

Fotografiranje je u Dubrovniku zbog smanjenih sredstava Akademije obavio Griesbach u vrijeme privatnog boravka 1936. godine, a prema popisu načinjenom na osnovi arhivskih podataka Karla Kovačića i radova Ljube Karmana. Snimljena su djela dubrovačke slikarske škole te umjetnine u ljetnikovcima i crkvama (Lokrum, Lopud).⁵³⁶

Schneider je u početku obilaska terena popisivao i fotografirao samo slike i pokretne umjetničke predmete, a od 1936. je evidenciju i snimanje proširio i na arhitektonske spomenike. Od 2. do 30. rujna 1937. Schneider obrađuje spomenike grada Zagreba, crkvu sv. Katarine, sv. Marka, sv. Franje Ksaverskog, sv. Ivana u Novoj Vesi, sv. Marije u Remetama, sv. Stjepana⁵³⁷, sv. Franje u Franjevačkom samostanu, u Muzeju grada Zagreba i u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt. Osvrnuvši se na restauriranje sakralne arhitekture u duhu historicizma početkom 20. stoljeća navodi:

„...sačuvali su samo nekoliko spomenici u svojoj unutrašnjoj izvornu skladnu cjelinu slobodne i dekorativne plastike i slikarstva, dok se sve drugo, što je po dobroj sreći do danas

spaseno od onog obilja, koje su nerazumijevanje u jednu ruku, a u drugu kruti i svijesni vandalizam uništili, čuva, zahvaljujući predanoj ljubavi i požrtvovnom maru njihovih ravnatelja, fragmentirano u zagrebačkim muzejima...“⁵³⁸

Snimanje i popisivanje umjetnina godine 1939. prošireno je i izvan Zagreba (Lepoglava, Belec, Brckovljani, Brezovica, Buševac, Karlovac, Kamensko, Kotare, Laz, Križevci, Lukavec, Velika Mlaka, Moravča, Odra, Samobor, Zlatar), sveukupno sedamdeset lokaliteta. Posebno zorno obrađena je umjetnička ostavština franjevac i pavlina (Rangerov ciklus zidnih slika).⁵³⁹ Uz pomoć Banovine Hrvatske nastavljeno je 1939. godine popisivanje pokretnih spomenika, drvenih kapela i dvoraca. Schneideru su kao vodič po Zagorju služile publikacije Gjüre Szaba *Spomenici kotara Ivanec* i *Spomenici kotara Krapina i Zlatar*. O Szabu piše:

„...Njemu zahvaljujemo, da nam je taj klasični kraj umjetničke djelatnosti uopće otkriven i u tančine poznat.“ U izvještaju iz 1939. godine Schneider piše: „Pored toga su detaljno snimljeni svi iole važniji oltari, propovjedaonice, crkveni ormari, arhitektonski detalji i drugo. Svi su manji predmeti (crkveno posuđe, plastike i slike) točno izmjereni naročito preciznim mjerilom...“⁵⁴⁰

Uz pokretni inventar, 1940. godine Schneider je nastavio snimati Rangerove zidne slike, ali i radove drugih majstora zidnoga slikarstva u crkvi Majke Božje Gorske kraj Lobora, Hrašćini, Kominu, Trškom Vrhu, Varaždinu i Voći. Svoj interes je proširio na dvorce i drvene crkve.

Schneider je sastavio inventar u kojemu je svaki umjetnički spomenik točno opisan, stilski određen i datiran.⁵⁴¹ Pregledavajući umjetnine uz opise i fotografije, u okviru datih mogućnosti pregledao je i arhivske dokumente o podrijetlu obrađenih slika. Bilježio je i stanje umjetnina i uvjete u kojima su se nalazile. S obzirom na to da su brojne vrijedne građevine u kojima su umjetnine pohranjene bile zapuštene i osuđene na propast, predložio je da crkvene i svjetovne vlasti brzim i odlučnim mjerama spriječe njihovo daljnje propadanje i namjeravano rušenje.

534 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1934b., 173.

535 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1937., 211-213.

536 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1937., 214-219.

537 Više u: ZAJEC, VLASTA, 2016., 191-223. Više o doprinosu Schneidera u publiciranju povijesno-umjetničkih pregleda i studija u stranim časopisima (*Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst – Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*) u *Jutarnjem listu*. N. N. 1937b.

538 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1936.-1937., 149.

539 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1939., 168-180.

540 SCHNEIDER, ARTUR, 1939., 168-180.

541 GAŠPAROVIĆ, MIROSLAV, 1980., 45.

THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE PROTECTION OF MOVABLE MONUMENTS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

As one of the most significant and largest holders of immovable and movable art, the Church sought to develop an awareness and concern for monument protection, first by the clergy and then by parishioners. As early as 447, Pope Leo I forbade bishops and clergy, under threat of excommunication, from giving, exchanging or selling church valuables, without the consent of the entire clergy. The protection of church inventory was enforced through various regulations, almost from the moment the Catholic Church was recognised. The decree that for the first time defined the organization of inventory is Cardinal Pacca's Order from 1820, which said that statue and painting collections should be inventoried and organised in museums with sacral or secular antiquities in Rome and the Papal States.⁵⁴³ Among the earliest lists of works of art were the reports of canonical visitations. They recorded the items owned by the Church.⁵⁴⁴ The lists also included all movable church items that enabled the tracking of the entry and number of church inventory owned by the Church, over the decades. Despite the efforts of the Church, the problem of protecting church inventory was constantly present. Because of their ignorance, the clergy replaced the "old and worn out" inventory, and many works of art were destroyed by war. A key requirement for the protection of works of art was the education of the clergy on the value of art. On April 23, 1850, at the request of Mirko Lentulaj, governor of Banovina, Juraj Haulik, bishop of Zagreb, called on the priesthood for: "...everyone in their area to explore ore, fossils, rare plants and trees, old weapons, old inscriptions, wood, stone and brass statues, paintings, even if damaged, old coins, medals, seals, coats of arms, old charters, rare printed books, old manuscripts, etc. The priesthood should endeavour to receive the items as gifts or at least document them all..."⁵⁴⁵

543 MARCHISANO-CHENIS, CARLO, 2003, 54-59.

544 After the Council of Trent, bishops or plenipotentiaries needed to visit parishes at certain intervals and draw up records of the moral and material status of the parishes. BADURINA, ANĐELKO, 1979, 585.

545 *Katolički list* from 1850: 160, and *Katolički list* No. 34. Course 93. dated August 20, 1942.

The Church's concern for the preservation of their inventory continued in 1910 through cooperation with the Land Office. They worked together to issue the order for the purchase of new and the preservation of old church furniture; and during World War I, when copper objects were requisitioned, they sent a series of circulars and instructions regarding the rescue of bells.⁵⁴⁶

In 1921, the *Circular on the Preservation of Church Antiquities*⁵⁴⁷ was published in the newspaper *Katolički list*. In it, the *Archbishop Spiritual Table* informed the clergy of the Zagreb Archdiocese that the Department for Church Art was set up at the National Museum in Zagreb, and the Department for Rural Church Areas at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, so that the clergy could entrust these departments with the protection of church objects that were no longer in use until the Diocesan Museum was opened. The *Archbishop Spiritual Table* was to be informed if an object was given to one of these departments, and the reverse from the museum directorate, which should emphasize that the object was given for safekeeping and was still owned by the Church. The reverse had to be stored at the church coffers.

The first Synod of the Archdiocese of Zagreb was held at the Zagreb Cathedral from August 24 to August 28, 1925. Six joint and three formal sessions were held.⁵⁴⁸ Among other problems, the issues of preserving and promoting church art were discussed. The Synod formed a committee that was to assist with advice. The members of the committee were Msgr. Janko Barlé, Svetozar Rittig, Dragutin Kniewald, architect Martin Pilar and prof. Ćiril Metod Iveković. The Synod provided the provision: "Without our, and consequently the committee's, knowledge, inquiry and assignment, it is not

546 Published: Circular no. 15303-1916 in the *Gazette of the Diocese of Bosnia and Srijem (Glasnik biskupije bosanske i srijemske)*, No. 13, Đakovo, June 25, 1916. Circular no. 5238, *Crkvene vijesti*, Zagreb, August 16, 1916. Circular no. 21335-1916 in the *Gazette of the Diocese of Bosnia and Srijem (Glasnik biskupije bosanske i srijemske)*, No. 16, Đakovo, August 31, 1916.

547 Published in *Katolički list*: Circular on the Preservation of Church Antiquities, no. 1752/1921. May 15, 1921

548 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 2002, 289.

Od 1935. godine Schneideru je pri terenskom radu pomagao Željko Jiroušek, asistent na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu. Snimanju su prisustvovali fotografi Stanislav Noworyt, Ljudevit Griesbach i Đuro Griesbach.⁵⁴²

Sveukupno, prema posljednjem Schneiderovom izvještu iz godine 1940., "Fotografski arhiv starih umjetničkih spomenika" brojio je 2.786 negativa. Prema tvrdnji Anđele Horvat, Schneider je ukupno obradio 177 lokaliteta.⁵⁴³ Dio inventariziranih predmeta uništen je u vrijeme Drugoga svjetskog rata, stoga su Schneiderove fotografije jedini dokaz njihova postojanja. Schneider je kao profesor na sveučilištu i ravnatelj Strossmayerove galerije surađivao s nizom europskih povjesničara umjetnosti, npr. Rajmond van Marleom, Leonom Reyom i Borisom Losskyom te direktorom Državnih muzeja u Berlinu Maxom Friedländerom.⁵⁴⁴ Početak inventarizacije pokretnih spomenika koju je Schneider provodio cijelo jedno desetljeće vezan je uz želju Galerijskog odbora JAZU za upoznavanjem, prikupljanjem i proučavanjem djela starih majstora koja se nalaze u Dalmaciji.

Bilo je to prvo plansko i sistematično popisivanje pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta s više-manje osiguranim financijskim sredstvima. Rezultat toga bili su višegodišnji terenski obilasci s evidentiranjem i popisivanjem spomenika po zacrtanim principima s osloncem na moderne metode inventarizacije spomenika.

ULOGA KATOLIČKE CRKVE U ZAŠTITI POKRETNIH SPOMENIKA U PRVOJ POLOVINI 20. STOLJEĆA

Crkva je kao jedan od najznačajnijih i najvećih imatelja nepokretnih i pokretnih umjetnina nastojala razvijati svijest i brigu za zaštitu spomenika, u prvom redu

kod svećenstva, a potom i kod samih vjernika. Već 447. godine papa Lav I. zabranjuje biskupima i kleru pod prijetnjom izopćenja darivanje, zamjenu ili prodaju crkvenih dragocjenosti bez suglasnosti čitavog klera. Gotovo od samih početaka priznanja kršćanske crkve zaštita crkvenog inventara provođena je putem raznih propisa. Odredba koja po prvi put određuje uređivanje inventara jest Odredba kardinala Pacce iz 1820. godine kojom se propisuje inventarizacija zbirki kipova i slika te uređenje muzeja sakralnih ili svjetovnih starina u Rimu i Papinskoj državi.⁵⁴⁵ Jedan od uopće najranijih popisa umjetnina bili su izvješaji kanonskih vizitacija. Kanonskim vizitacijama popisivano je vlasništvo u posjedu crkve.⁵⁴⁶ Popisi obuhvaćaju i sve pokretne crkvene predmete, tako da možemo pratiti unos i iznos crkvenog inventara u vlasništvu pojedine crkve kroz desetljeća. Unatoč nastojanjima Crkve, problem zaštite crkvenog inventara stalno je prisutan. Svećenstvo u neznanju mijenja „stari i istrošeni“ inventar, a mnoge umjetnine su stradale uslijed ratnih razaranja. Ključni uvjet za čuvanje umjetnina bila je nužna edukacija svećenstva o vrijednosti umjetnina. Već 23. travnja 1850. zagrebački je biskup Juraj Haulik na zamolbu banskog namjesnika Mirka Lentulaja pozvao svećenstvo: „...neka svatko u svom kraju istražuje rudno blago, okamine, rijetko bilje i drvlje, staro oružje, stare napise, kipove od drva, kamena i mjedi, te slike, ma bile kako poderane, starinske novce, medalje, pečate, grbove, stare povelje, rijetke stampane knjige, stare rukopise itd. predmete neka nastoji svećenstvo dobiti na poklon ili neka bar sve popiše...“⁵⁴⁷

Skrb Crkve za očuvanje crkvenog inventara nastavljena je i u suradnji sa Zemaljskim povjerenstvom od 1910. godine. Oni zajedno sudjeluju u donošenju naredbe o nabavi novog i čuvanju staroga crkvenog namještaja, te za vrijeme Prvoga svjetskog rata u vrijeme rekvizicije

542 Griesbach javlja Ljubi Karamanu da je stigao papir i da može izraditi fotografije s terenskog obilaska sa Schneiderom po Dalmaciji. Karaman naručuje od *Fotoveletrgovine Griesbach i Knaus* izradu fotografija po cijeni od 6 dinara po komadu. MK-KOST-A Kutija 1932 dopis broj 177 od 5. kolovoza, 5. rujna i 28. prosinca 1932.; HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980., 48.

543 Popis i karte s ucrtanim mjestima terenskog obilaska Schneidera napravila je A. Horvat. Popis obrađenih lokaliteta podijeljen je prema geografskom području na sjeverozapadni dio i na primorje i Kvarner. HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980., 55-56.

544 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980., 40.

545 MARCHISANO, FRANCESCO; CHENIS, CARLO, 2003., 54-59.

546 Nakon Tridentskog koncila uvedeno je da biskup ili opunomoćenik u određenim vremenskim razmacima obilaze župe i sastavljaju zapisnike o *moralnom i materijalnom stanju župe*. BADURINA, ANĐELKO, 1979., 585.

547 *Katolički list* iz godine 1850., 160. i *Katolički list* broj 34. tečaj 93. od 20. kolovoza 1942.

permissible to sell or discard old objects from churches, especially altars, statues and paintings."⁵⁴⁹

The first Synod of the Archdiocese of Zagreb drew a number of conclusions regarding the protection of movable inventory. The following are parts of the conclusions relating to movable art.

The first part refers to church worship. Number 5 states:

*"Spiritual shepherds should dedicate their care to church art as well. Church art should be made according to aesthetic principles, in order to truly enhance one's time in church. But it must also be an outpouring of the Christian spirit. It must be borne by the Christian idea, which elevates the soul in a purposeful manner, it must glorify worship and at the same time incite the soul to piety. Church leaders need to pay attention to the importance and purpose of church art when it comes to music (playing and singing), statues and paintings, altars and other objects placed in churches or other holy places. Paintings, statues, altars, etc., should be tasteful, if they cannot be works of art."*⁵⁵⁰

In the Conclusions of the Synod concerning the *Management of church property and the area of authority of individual bodies*, it was decided to compile a list of the entire church inventory to be recorded in the *Property inventory*.⁵⁵¹ Each pastor needed to divide this type of book into three parts:

– "*Property inventory*" of movable and immovable property of churches and chapels

– "*Property inventory*" of movable and immovable assets

– "*Property inventory*" of movable and immovable property of pious foundations.

Pastors needed to fill the *Property inventory* every ten years, beginning with 1925, with the following information: name of the church, when it was built, who

paid for the construction and decoration, when it was consecrated or blessed. A short description of the church (style, material used for the construction, size), description of its interior furniture (altars, confessionals, paintings, statues, etc.), bells, clocks, liturgical vestments, vessels, linen, church books and valuables. Where possible, the value should also be stated with a note about when it was purchased, its condition, and whether it had historical value. They had to enter all the information mentioned in the form found in Chapter Three.⁵⁵² It looked like this:

Form 1.

Number/Object/Value/Note

1. *Historical information on the church, its construction and decoration*
 2. *Description of the church*
 3. *Church furniture (sanctuary, church nave, choir, bell tower, sacristy, small sacristy)*
 4. *Liturgical vessels*
 5. *Liturgical vestments*
 6. *Church books*
 7. *Charters relating to the rights of the church*
 8. *Securities and church cash*
 9. *Realities of the church*
 10. *Church duties*
 11. *Other documents related to the church (chaplain)*
- Property inventory*

After the First Zagreb Synod on the issues of protecting and promoting church art, an important moment was the adoption of the Circular on the establishment of the *Committee for Church Art* in Zagreb. The decision to establish the Committee was preceded by the *Circular on Church Art*, which Pope Pius XI sent on September 1, 1924, to all the Ordinaries in Italy. The purpose of the Circular was for all bishops in Italy to pay attention to the preservation and protection of the rich, cultural and artistic heritage, to oversee the repair of old art during the construction of new church buildings and

549 N. N. 1925, 315-316.

550 N. N. 1925, 87.

551 N. N. 1925, 315-316.

552 N. N. 1925, 345.

bakrenih predmeta upućuju niz okružnica i uputa u vezi spašavanja zvona.⁵⁴⁸

U *Katoličkom listu* objavljena je 1921. godine *Okružnica o sačuvanju crkvenih starina*⁵⁴⁹ u kojoj Nadbiskupski duhovni stol obavještava svećenstvo Zagrebačke nadbiskupije da je u Narodnom muzeju u Zagrebu uređen poseban Odjel za crkvenu umjetnost, a u Etnografskom muzeju u Zagrebu Odjel za seoska crkvena područja pa svećenstvo može odjelima povjeriti na čuvanje crkvene predmete koji se više ne upotrebljavaju dok se ne osnuje Dijecezanski muzej. O predaji na čuvanje trebalo je obavijestiti Nadbiskupski duhovni stol, a od ravnateljstva muzeja zatražiti revers u kojem je trebalo biti istaknuto da je predan na čuvanje i da ostaje u vlasništvu Crkve. Revers se morao pohraniti u crkvenoj blagajni.

Prva sinoda Zagrebačke nadbiskupije održana je u Zagrebačkoj katedrali od 24. do 28. kolovoza 1925. Održano je šest skupnih sjednica i tri svečane.⁵⁵⁰ Na njima je između ostalog raspravljano o problematici čuvanja i promicanja crkvene umjetnosti. Sinoda je formirala odbor koji je trebao pomagati savjetima. U odboru su bili mons. Janko Barlè, dr. Svetozar Rittig, dr. Dragutin Kniewald, arhitekt Martin Pilar i prof. Ćiril Metod Iveković. Sinoda je dala odredbu: „Bez našega i po tom odborova znanja, ispitivanja i određivanja nije dozvoljeno prodavati ili bacati iz crkve stare predmete, naročito oltare, kipove i slike.”⁵⁵¹

Prva sinoda Nadbiskupije zagrebačke donosi niz zaključaka vezanih za zaštitu pokretnog inventara. U daljnjem tekstu navedeni su dijelovi zaključaka koji se odnose na pokretne umjetnine.

Prvi dio odnosi se na crkveno bogoštovlje. Pod rednim brojem 5. navedeno je:

„Duhovni pastiri treba da posvete svoju brigu i crkvenoj umjetnosti. Crkvena umjetnost treba da je izvedena po

*estetskim načelima, da doista uljepšava boravljenje u crkvi. Ali ona mora da bude i izliv kršćanskog duha. Mora da je nosi kršćanska ideja, koja podiže dušu u red svrhunaravski, mora da veliča bogoštovlje i ujedno da potiče dušu na pobožnost. Na ovaj značaj i zadatak crkvene umjetnosti treba da svrate svoju pažnju ravnatelj crkvi, kad se radi o glazbi (sviranju i pjevanju), i kipovima i slikama, o oltarima i drugim predmetima, što se meću u crkvu ili na druga sveta mjesta. Slike, kipovi, oltari itd. neka budu ukusni, ako već nije moguće da budu umjetnine.”*⁵⁵²

U dijelu zaključaka Sinode koji se odnosi na *Upravljanje crkvenim dobrom i područje vlasti pojedinih organa*, odlučeno je da se sastavi popis cjelokupnog crkvenog inventara koji bi se upisivao u *Imovnik*.⁵⁵³ Takvu knjigu trebao je svaki župnik (upravitelj župe) razdijeliti u tri odjeljka:

- „*Imovnik*“ pokretne i nepokretne imovine crkvi i kapela
- „*Imovnik*“ pokretne i nepokretne nadarbinske imovine
- „*Imovnik*“ pokretne i nepokretne imovine pobožnih zaklada.

Imovnik je župnik trebao ispunjavati svake desete godine počevši od godine 1925. i to sljedećim podacima: ime crkve, kada je sagrađena, čijim troškom je građena odnosno uređena, kad je posvećena ili blagoslovljena. Kratki opis crkve (stil, materijal kojim je rađena, veličina), opis njenog unutarnjeg namještaja (žrtvenika, ispovjedaonica, slika, kipova, itd.), zvona, satova, misnog ruha, posuđa, rublja, crkvenih knjiga i dragocjenosti. Gdje je bilo moguće, trebala se iskazati i vrijednost s napomenom kad je nabavljeno, u kakvom je stanju, ima li historijske vrijednosti. Sve spomenute podatke morali su unositi u obrazac koji se nalazio u trećem poglavlju.⁵⁵⁴ On je izgledao ovako:

548 Objavljeno: Okružnica br. 15303.-1916. u Glasniku biskupije bosanske i srijemske, broj 13., Đakovo 25. lipnja 1916. Okružnica br. 5238., Crkvene vijesti, Zagreb 16. kolovoza 1916. Okružnica br. 21335.-1916. u Glasniku biskupije bosanske i srijemske, broj 16., Đakovo 31. kolovoza 1916.

549 Objavljeno u *Katoličkom listu*: Okružnica o sačuvanju crkvenih starina, br. 1752/1921. od 15. svibnja 1921.

550 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 2002., 289.

551 N. N. 1925., 315-316.

552 N. N. 1925., 87.

553 N. N. 1925., 315-316.

554 N. N. 1925., 345.

the purchase of new liturgical objects, paintings and statues.⁵⁵³

For the purpose of assisting bishops in Italy and coordinating the preservation and promotion of ecclesiastical art, the *Central Commission for Church Art* was established at the State Secretariat. It consisted of the most famous liturgists, archaeologists, historians, architects, engineers, painters and sculptors in Rome.⁵⁵⁴

On December 1, 1925, Cardinal Pietro Gasparri, Secretary of State to Pope Pius XI, sent a Circular on ecclesiastical art to all Catholic bishops around the world, and he included instructions on ecclesiastical art made and issued by the aforementioned central commission on ecclesiastical art.⁵⁵⁵

On August 14, 1935, the Circular on the establishment of the *Commission for Church Art* in Zagreb was signed by Archbishop Aloysius Stepinac.⁵⁵⁶

The Commission for Church Art consisted of Janko Barlè, the Ordinary representative and president; Stjepan Korenić, Cathedral Chapter representative; Dragutin Kniewald, university professor and Head of the Seminary for Liturgy and Church Art at the Faculty of Theology; Matija Ivšić, church music teacher at the Faculty of Theology in Zagreb; and Miho Barada, university professor, who was the Commission's secretary. The Commission worked or consulted with renowned artists and experts.

The Commission had its own Statute, which stated its purpose: the protection and preservation of buildings and objects of artistic value on the territory of the Zagreb Archdiocese belonging to the Church or church institutions. All repairs, new constructions and purchases needed to comply with liturgical regulations and artistic requirements, and the statute emphasized

the idea of establishing a museum for church art.⁵⁵⁷

The Commission planned to draw up an expert list and inventory of all church buildings and objects of artistic value belonging to the Church in the territory of the Zagreb Archdiocese. The list included church buildings, paintings, statues, mosaics, liturgical vessels, miniatures, drawings, manuscripts and lithographs. Information on each item included the purpose and name of the item, where it was located or kept, size, material (wood, stone, silver), condition, causes of damage, style, date, information in the publications, photograph, transcript or photos of the inscription. For books and manuscripts, the number of pages and the description of the cover, if any, were included. It was recommended that the list be provided in triplicate: for the owner, the commission and the central commission (if established).⁵⁵⁸

According to the Statute, it was prohibited to alter, remove, repair or purchase items in any church or church building in the Zagreb Archdiocese under the jurisdiction of the Commission, without written permission. The restoration of church buildings and objects had to be entrusted to experts approved by the Commission. According to the Statute, when reconstructing a building, it was necessary to submit drawings, photographs and a timetable of the planned work.

Furthermore, valuable items that were no longer in use had to be housed in the Diocesan Museum, but they remained the property of the institution to which they originally belonged. The Commission for Church Art, in collaboration with the Seminary for Liturgy and Church Art at the Faculty of Theology, organized seminars, lectures and courses for the clergy, priests, laymen and artists in order to develop an awareness of the value of church heritage. From 1927, Dragutin Kniewald, liturgist and art historian at the Catholic Faculty of Theology in Zagreb, held a course called *Selected Issues on Church Art*, and the course *Church Art* from 1930 to 1952.⁵⁵⁹ In

553 Published: *Katolički list* No. 34, Zagreb, August 22, 1935. Course 86, No. 252 / Pr.

554 N. N. 1935.

555 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 1988, 212.

556 N. N. 1935.

557 N. N. 1935.

558 N. N. 1935.

559 KOLARIĆ, JURAJ, 2006.

Formular 1.

Redni broj/Predmet/Vrijednost/Opaska

Povijesni podaci o crkvi, njezinoj gradnji i uređenju

Opis crkve

Crkveni namještaj (svetište, lađa crkve, kor, zvonik, sakristija, mala sakristija)

Crkveno posuđe

Crkveno ruho

Crkvene knjige

Povelje koje su u svezi sa pravima crkve

Vrijednosni papiri i gotovina crkve

Realitete crkve

Tereti crkve

Ostali spisi, koji su u svezi sa crkvenim (kapelanskim) Imovnikom

Nakon Prve zagrebačke sinode o problematici čuvanja i promicanja crkvene umjetnosti, važan moment u samoj organizaciji čuvanja crkvenih spomenika bilo je donošenje Okružnice o osnutku *Povjerenstva za crkvenu umjetnost* u Zagrebu. Donošenju odluke o proglašenju Povjerenstva prethodila je *Okružnica o crkvenoj umjetnosti* koju je Papa Pio XI. razaslao 1. rujna 1924. svim Ordinarijima u Italiji. Svrha Okružnice bila je da svi biskupi u Italiji obrate pozornost na čuvanje i zaštitu bogate kulturno-umjetničke baštine, da provode nadzor nad popravcima starih umjetničkih predmeta pri novom podizanju crkvenih zgrada i pri nabavkama novih liturgijskih predmeta, slika i kipova.⁵⁵⁵

U svrhu pružanja pomoći biskupima u Italiji i koordinacije oko čuvanja i unaprjeđenja crkvene umjetnosti, osnovano je u Državnom tajništvu *Središnje povjerenstvo za crkvenu umjetnost*. Ono se sastojalo od najpoznatijih

liturgičara, arheologa, povjesničara, arhitekata, inženjera, slikara i kipara u Rimu.⁵⁵⁶

Državni tajnik Pape Pija XI. kardinal Pietro Gasparri uputio je 1. prosinca 1925. Okružnicu o crkvenoj umjetnosti svim katoličkim biskupima po svijetu, a uz Okružnicu su pridodane i upute o crkvenoj umjetnosti što ih je izradilo i izdalo spomenuto središnje povjerenstvo za crkvenu umjetnost.⁵⁵⁷

U Hrvatskoj je 14. kolovoza 1935. godine donesena Okružnica o osnutku *Povjerenstva za crkvenu umjetnost* u Zagrebu, koju je potpisao nadbiskup Alojzije Stepinac.⁵⁵⁸

U Povjerenstvu za crkvenu umjetnost bili su: zastupnik Ordinarija i predsjednik Janko Barlè, zastupnik prvostolnog Kaptola Stjepan Korenić, sveučilišni profesor i predstojnik Seminara za liturgiku i crkvenu umjetnost na Bogoslovnom fakultetu Dragutin Kniewald, nastavnik crkvene glazbe na Bogoslovnom fakultetu u Zagrebu Matija Ivšić, a tajnik Povjerenstva bio je sveučilišni profesor Miho Barada. Povjerenstvo je surađivalo ili se savjetovalo s priznatim umjetnicima i stručnjacima.

Povjerenstvo je imalo svoj Statut u kojem je iznesena svrha rada: zaštita i očuvanje zgrada i predmeta od umjetničke vrijednosti na području Nadbiskupije zagrebačke koji pripadaju Crkvi ili crkvenim institucijama. Svi popravci, novogradnje i nabave u svemu su trebali odgovarati liturgijskim propisima i umjetničkim zahtjevima, a u statutu je istaknuta ideja o osnivanju i uređenju muzeja za crkvenu umjetnost.⁵⁵⁹

Povjerenstvo je planiralo sastaviti stručni popis i inventar svih crkvenih zgrada i predmeta od umjetničke vrijednosti koji pripadaju Crkvi na području Zagrebačke nadbiskupije. Popis je obuhvaćao crkvene zgrade, slike, kipove, mozaike, liturgijsko posuđe, minijature, crteže, rukopise i litografije. Kod svakog predmeta trebala je biti označena svrha i ime predmeta, mjesto gdje se nalazi ili čuva, veličina, materijal (drvo, kamen, srebro), stanje u kojem se nalazi, uzroci oštećenja, stil, datacija, podatci u

555 Objavljeno: *Katolički list* broj 34., Zagreb od 22. kolovoza 1935. tečaj 86., Br. 252/Pr.

556 N. N. 1935.

557 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 1988., 212.

558 N. N. 1935.

559 N. N. 1935.

1937, he collected his lectures and published them under the title *Liturgy*. In the *Liturgy*, among other things, he explained the meaning and role of church furniture, liturgical vessels, liturgical vestments and insignia.⁵⁶⁰ Kniewald wrote: "...When making and repairing church furniture and liturgical vessels and vestments, liturgical rules must be respected in the sense that can 1296 § 3. stick to liturgical rules, church traditions and (as far as possible) artistic taste..."⁵⁶¹

When listing art items (the entire church inventory) from parishes in Annex II of the Statute,⁵⁶² the information important for the Commission for Church Art was to be included in the forms. First, it was necessary to enter the information about the location (Parish, Banovina, Canton, Municipality and Town), and then, detailed information about each item:

1. Purpose of the item
2. Item name (liturgical and local)
3. Where it is located
4. Precise size in cm (and when possible, weight in kg and dkg)
5. Material (wood, stone, silver, marble, silk, canvas)
6. Condition (good, poor, very poor)
7. Probable causes of decay (moisture, sun, sea salt, poor location, lack of attention)
8. Style
9. Use
10. General historical notes (taken from inscriptions, documents, tradition). If there are any disclosed works or articles, they should be mentioned, based on information in article 12.
11. Special notes (history and description of the location and surroundings, main festivities and processions, type of lighting...)
12. Written sources (writer, book or article title, edition, publisher disclosed, year of publication, number of pages, with or without illustrations, rare or ordinary edition, price)
13. Photographs (whole item or detail, who took it, when it was taken)

560 FRANČIŠKOVIĆ, JOSIP, 1937, 103.
561 KNIEWALD, DRAGUTIN, 1938, 90.
562 N. N. 1935.

14. Paintings (including postcards) of the item or building, as a whole or detail, format in cm, when and by whom it was published, price.

Unfortunately, the Commission for Church Art soon stopped working on the protection of movable art due to a lack of interest by the clergy, and all the members resigned.⁵⁶³ The Secretary of State Cardinal Gasparri's initiative to establish a commission spoke to a developed awareness of the need to protect church inventory. This was confirmed by the provisions and guidelines issued with the same purpose in the following years.⁵⁶⁴

COLLABORATION BETWEEN CONSERVATORS AND RESTORERS BETWEEN THE TWO WORLD WARS

The jurisdiction, cooperation and professional assistance between the Central Commission in Vienna and the Conservation office in Dalmatia stopped when the relationship with Austria-Hungary ceased. There were no more funds for restorers to come to Dalmatia or send artwork for restoration to Vienna. The restorers who came, in the service of the Central Commission, mostly came from the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. In addition to Vienna, artwork from continental Croatia was also sent to other European cities: Budapest, Venice and Paris, and some of the artwork was restored by renowned local painters Bela Čikoš Sesija, Josip Bauer and Ferdo Kovačević.⁵⁶⁵

The biggest objections to earlier restorations in the Croatian territory, but also throughout Europe, were based on inappropriate procedures and lack of documentation. One of the first attempts to organise the methodology of restoration on a scientific basis began with Friedrich Rathgen at the State Museum in Berlin in 1888. He collected the treatments used at the time and examined them in the laboratory of the State Museum. He published his results in the book *The Preserva-*

563 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 1998, 213.
564 MARCHISANO, FRANCESCO; CHENIS, CARLO, 2003, 59.
565 WYROUBAL, ZVONIMIR, 1951, 65.

publikacijama, fotografska snimka, prijepis ili fotografije natpisa. Kod knjiga i rukopisa trebalo je uvrstiti broj stranica te opis uveza, ako je od vrijednosti. Preporučeno je da se popis ispostavi u tri primjerka: za vlasnika, za povjerenstvo i za središnje povjerenstvo (ako se osnuje).⁵⁶⁰

Prema Statutu, u bilo kojoj crkvi ili crkvenoj zgradi Zagrebačke nadbiskupije koja je u nadležnosti Povjerenstva, bilo je zabranjeno izmijeniti, otuđiti, popraviti ili nabaviti predmete bez pismene dozvole. Obnavljanje crkvenih zgrada i predmeta trebalo se povjeriti stručnjacima koje je Povjerenstvo odobrilo. Prema Statutu prilikom obnove zgrade trebalo je priložiti nacрте, fotografije i troškovnik predviđenih radova.

Nadalje, vrijedni predmeti koji više nisu bili u liturgijskoj uporabi morali su se smjestiti u Dijecezanski muzej, s time da su ostajali u vlasništvu one ustanove kojoj su pripadali. Povjerenstvo za crkvenu umjetnost trebalo je uz stručnu suradnju sa *Seminarom za liturgiku i crkvenu umjetnost* na Bogoslovnom fakultetu organizirati seminare, predavanja i tečajeve za klerike, svećenstvo, laike i umjetnike u svrhu razvijanja svijesti o vrijednosti crkvene baštine. Na Katoličkom bogoslovnom fakultetu u Zagrebu od 1927. godine liturgičar i povjesničar umjetnosti Dragutin Kniewald držao je kolegij pod nazivom *Izabrana pitanja crkvene umjetnosti*, a od 1930. do 1952. kolegij *Crkvena umjetnost*.⁵⁶¹ Predavanja je objedinio i objavio pod nazivom *Liturgika* 1937. godine. U *Liturgici* je među ostalim objasnio značenje i ulogu crkvenog namještaja, liturgijskog posuđa, liturgijskog ruha i insignija.⁵⁶² Kniewald navodi: „...*Kod izradbe i popravka crkvenog namještaja i liturgijskog posuđa i ruha, treba se u smislu can 1296 § 3. držati liturgijskih propisa, crkvene predaje i (koliko je to moguće) umjetničkog ukusa...*“⁵⁶³

Prilikom Popisa umjetničkih predmeta (cjelokupnoga crkvenog inventara) u župama u Prilogu II Statuta⁵⁶⁴ trebalo je u obrascima navesti podatke važne za Povjerenstvo za crkvenu umjetnost. Prvo je trebalo upisati podatke

o lokaciji (*Župa, Banovina, Srez, Općina i Mjesto*), a zatim detaljne podatke o svakom predmetu:

1. *Svrha predmeta*
2. *Naziv predmeta (liturgijski i lokalni)*
3. *Mjesto gdje se nalazi*
4. *Veličina u cm točno (a kad je to moguće, i težina u kg i dg)*
5. *Građa (drvo, kamen, srebro, mramor, svila, platno)*
6. *Stanje (dobro, loše, vrlo loše)*
7. *Vjerojatni razlozi propadanja (vlaga, jako sunce, morska sol, loš položaj, nedostatak pažnje)*
8. *Stil*
9. *Upotreba*
10. *Općenite povijesne bilješke (preuzete iz natpisa, dokumenata, predaje). Postoje li objelodanjena djela ili članci, treba na njih upozoriti na način kako to propisuje točka 12.*
11. *Posebne bilješke (povijest i opis mjesta i okoline, glavne svetkovine i procesije, kakova je rasvjeta...)*
12. *Literatura (pisac, naslov knjige ili članka, izdanje, izdavač objelodanjen, godina izdanja, koliko stranica, s ilustracijama ili bez njih, rijetko ili obično izdanje, cijena)*
13. *Fotografija (predmeti u cijelosti ili u detaljima, tko je snimio, kad je snimljeno)*
14. *Slike (pa bile i razglednice) predmeta ili zgrade, u cjelini ili u detaljima, format u cm, kada i tko je izdao, cijena.*

Nažalost, Povjerenstvo za crkvenu umjetnost na zaštitu pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta ubrzo je prestalo djelovati zbog manjka interesa samog svećenstva te su članovi dali ostavke.⁵⁶⁵ Inicijativa državnog tajnika kardinala Gasparrija za osnivanjem povjerenstva govori o razvijenoj svijesti o potrebi zaštite prvenstveno crkvenog inventara. To potvrđuju odredbe i naputci doneseni s jednakim ciljem i u sljedećim godinama.⁵⁶⁶

560 N. N. 1935.

561 KOLARIĆ, JURAJ, 2006.

562 FRANČIŠKOVIĆ, JOSIP, 1938., 103.

563 KNIEWALD, DRAGUTIN, 1937., 90.

564 N. N. 1935.

565 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 1998., 213.

566 MARCHISANO, FRANCESCO; CHENIS, CARLO, 2003., 59.

tion of Antiquities (*Die Konservierung Altertumsfunde*).⁵⁶⁶ He did not deal with documenting the condition and restoration process. Until the 1930s, documentation was reduced to bills and receipts in which restorers listed their procedures as well as reports and records on the status of each collection or inventory of the competent authorities.⁵⁶⁷ This type of documentation can also be found in the archives of the *Conservation office* in Split and the *Land office* in Zagreb.

The beginning of conservation documentation goes back to conservator George Leslie Stout, who created the framework for all conservation and restoration documentation forms. Stout was the head of the first scientific research and conservation laboratory at the Fogg Museum, at Harvard University in the United States, which opened in 1925. They published the journal *Technical Studies in the Field of Fine Arts*, in which they developed, among other things, the concept of "responsible restoration."⁵⁶⁸ In Rome, in 1930, the International Office for Museums organized the first in a series of international conferences on the study of scientific methods used in the examination and preservation of works of art.⁵⁶⁹ The conservation of paintings was discussed at the 1933 Paris Conference. The result was a manual *Manuel de la Conservation et de la Restauration des Peintures*, published in 1939. The manual was edited by Stout, conservator-chemist Harold Plenderleith⁵⁷⁰, and restorer of paintings Helmut Ruhemann.⁵⁷¹ The guidelines

for the development of the restoration profession and practice were established in the 1930s, and restoration workshops were established as part of museums. Both curators and chemists were involved in the work of these workshops.

During the interwar period, two restoration workshops were opened on the territory of Croatia: at the Archaeological and Historical Museum in Zagreb and the Art Gallery in Split.

Ferdo Goglia became the first museum restorer in 1915 at the Archaeological and Historical Museum in Zagreb. He graduated in chemistry, studied painting with Oton Iveković, and received his restoration training in Austria, Italy, Germany, Switzerland and the Czech Republic.⁵⁷² He worked on and documented the work on at least 1792 paintings.⁵⁷³ Much of his considerable restoration work on paintings from museum holdings has been documented in the form of a work diary, and he kept extensive photographic documentation.⁵⁷⁴ Painter and restorer Cata Dujšin Gattin⁵⁷⁵ worked at the Split Art Gallery in Littoral Banovina from 1930. Cata Dujšin Gattin studied drawing and painting techniques with Emanuel Vidović, and she also studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb and was trained in Paris and London.⁵⁷⁶

In addition to "official" restorers Goglia and Dujšin Gattin who worked at the Conservation office in Split from 1918, documents also mention restorers Matej Sternen, Josip Grošelj, M. Šonje, don Jozo Šonje, Stanislava Dekleva, Jozo Kljaković and Josip Franjo Mücke.⁵⁷⁷ Painters Ivo Skatolini, František Besperato and Franz Schaffgotsch

566 PLENDERLEITH, JAMES HAROLD, 1998, 129, ODDY, ANDREW, 2011, 56.

567 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2000, 185.

568 The form was divided into identification, description of the condition, description of conservation and restoration. There was also a shorter version of the form. These forms were used at the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, USA, where Stout worked. Edward Waldo Forbes was the director of the museum and he also founded the research department. VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2005-2006, 26, PLENDERLEITH, JAMES HAROLD, 1998, 134.

569 ODDY, ANDREW, 2011, 57.

570 The Society of Museums asked Harold Plenderleith (1898-1997) to make a series of manuals for training in the protection of paintings, drawings, manuscripts and books. He started publishing them in 1934: *The Preservation of Antiquities* (1934), *The Conservation of Prints, Drawings and Manuscripts* (1937), *The Preservation of Leather Bookbindings* (1946). *The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art: Treatment, Repair and Restoration* (1956) was his most significant work. More in ODDY, ANDREW, 2011, 57, PLENDERLEITH, JAMES HAROLD, 1998, 133.

571 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2000, 186, ODDY, ANDREW, 2011, 57.

572 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2000, 187. More in: SUNARA, SAGITA MIRJAM, 2011, 41, 50.

573 He graduated in chemistry and studied painting with Oton Iveković. He studied restoration of paintings in Budapest, Vienna and Munich. More in: VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2004-2005, 188; SUNARA, SAGITA MIRJAM, 2011, 41-50.

574 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2000, 189; SUNARA, SAGITA MIRJAM, 2011, 46.

575 When Cata Dujšin Gattin married, she took on the last name Ribar. She is listed under Gattin in the archives of the Conservation office in Split. Therefore, she is referred to as Gattin in this paper.

576 CELIO CEGA, FANI, 2017, 5

577 UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2011, 273.

SURADNJA IZMEĐU KONZERVATORA I RESTAURATORA U MEĐURATNOM RAZDOBLJU

Prekidom odnosa s Austro-Ugarskom prestaje nadležnost, suradnja i stručna pomoć između Središnjeg povjerenstva u Beču i Konservatorijalnog ureda u Dalmaciji. Dugogodišnja praksa financiranja dolazaka restauratora u Dalmaciju i slanja umjetnina na restauriranje u Beč bila je prekinuta. Restauratori koji su dolazili, u službi Središnjeg povjerenstva, većinom su dolazili s Akademije likovnih umjetnosti u Beču. Pored Beča, umjetnine iz kontinentalnog djela Hrvatske slane su i u druge europske gradove: Budimpeštu, Veneciju i Pariz, a dio umjetnina restaurirali su poznati domaći slikari Bela Čikoš Sesija, Josip Bauer i Ferdo Kovačević.⁵⁶⁷

Najveća zamjerka tim ranijim restauracijama kod nas, ali i općenito na cijelom europskom području, bili su neprimjereni postupci i izostanak dokumentacije. Jedan od prvih pokušaja sistematiziranja metodologije restauriranja umjetnina na znanstvenoj osnovi započinje dr. Friedrich Rathgen u Državnom muzeju u Berlinu 1888. godine. Bavio se sakupljanjem tada poznatih tretmana te ih je ispitivao u laboratoriju Državnog muzeja. Svoje rezultate objavio je u knjizi *Konzerviranje antikviteta (Die Konservierung Altertumsfunde)*.⁵⁶⁸ Dokumentacijom stanja i radova nije se bavio. Dokumentacija se do 30-ih godina 20. stoljeća svodila na račune i potvrde u kojima je restaurator navodio svoje postupke te izvještaje i zapisnike o stanju pojedine zbirke ili inventara nadležnih tijela.⁵⁶⁹ Takvu dokumentaciju nalazimo i u arhivskim spisima *Konservatorijalnog ureda u Splitu* i *Zemaljskog povjerenstva* u Zagrebu.

Početak razvoja restauratorske dokumentacije vezuje se uz konzervatora Georga Leslieja Stouta koji je izradio okvir za sve konzervatorsko-restauratorske dokumentacijske obrasce. Stout je bio voditelj prvoga znanstvenog laboratorija za istraživanje i konzervaciju u muzeju Fogg na Sveučilištu Harvard u SAD-u, otvorenom 1925.

567 WYROUBAL, ZVONIMIR, 1951., 65.

568 PLENDERLEITH, JAMES HAROLD, 1998., 129; ODDY, ANDREW, 2011., 56.

569 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2000., 185.

godine. Izdavali su časopis *Technical Studies in the Field of the Fine Arts* u kojem su, među ostalim, razvili koncept „odgovornog restauriranja“.⁵⁷⁰ U Rimu je 1930. Međunarodni ured za muzeje organizirao prvu u nizu međunarodnih konferencija na temu proučavanja znanstvenih metoda koje se koriste u ispitivanju i očuvanju umjetničkih djela.⁵⁷¹ Na konferenciji u Parizu 1933. godine raspravljalo se o konzervaciji slika. Rezultat je bio priručnik koji je bio publiciran 1939. pod naslovom *Manuel de la Conservation et de la Restauration des Peintures*. Priručnik su uredili ranije spomenuti Stout, konzervator-kemičar Harold Plenderleith⁵⁷² i restaurator slika Helmut Ruhemann.⁵⁷³ Dakle, već 1930-ih godina uspostavljene su smjernice za razvoj restauratorske struke i prakse, osnivaju se restauratorske radionice u sklopu muzeja, u čiji rad su uz kustose bili uključeni i znanstvenici iz područja kemije.

U međuratnom razdoblju na području Hrvatske otvorene su dvije restauratorske radionice: u Arheološko-povijesnom muzeju u Zagrebu i Galeriji umjetnina u Splitu.

U Arheološko-povijesnom muzeju u Zagrebu prvi muzejski restaurator postaje Ferdo Goglia 1915. godine. Ferdo Goglia diplomirao je kemiju, slikanje je učio kod Otona Ivekovića, a restauratorsku poduku stekao je u Austriji, Italiji, Njemačkoj, Švicarskoj i Češkoj.⁵⁷⁴ Obradio je i dokumentirao radove na najmanje 1792 slike.⁵⁷⁵ Njegovi

570 Obrazac je podijeljen na identifikacijski dio, opis stanja i opis konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova. Pored tog opširnijeg postojala je i kraća varijanta obrasca. Ti obrasci su korišteni u Muzeju Fogg, Harvard University u Cambridgeu, Massachusetts, SAD, gdje je Stout radio. Ravnatelj muzeja koji je i osnovao istraživački odjel bio je Edward Waldo Forbes. VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2005.-2006., 26; PLENDERLEITH, JAMES HAROLD, 1998., 134.

571 ODDY, ANDREW, 2011., 57.

572 Harold Plenderleith (1898. – 1997.) od Društva Muzeja bio je zamoljen da izradi za seriju priručnika za svrhu obuke o zaštiti slika, crteža, rukopisa i knjiga. Od 1934. počinje iz izdavati: *The Preservation of Antiquities* (1934.), *The Conservation of Prints, Drawings and Manuscripts* (1937.), *The Preservation of Leather Bookbindings* (1946.). *The Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art: Treatment, Repair and Restoration* (1956.) bilo je njegovo najznačajnije djelo. Više u: ODDY, ANDREW, 2011., 57; PLENDERLEITH, JAMES HAROLD, 1998., 133.

573 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2000., 186; ODDY, ANDREW, 2011., 57.

574 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2000., 187. Više u: SUNARA, SAGITA MIRJAM, 2011., 41, 50.

575 Diplomirao je kemiju, a slikanje je učio kod Otona Ivekovića. Restauriranje slika učio je u Budimpešti, Beču i Münchenu. Više u: VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2004.-2005., 188; SUNARA, SAGITA MIRJAM, 2011., 41-50.

were restorers in Dubrovnik⁵⁷⁸. The restoration workshop of Ivo Skatolini, active from 1916 to 1942, was responsible for the restoration of numerous paintings from the Dubrovnik area.⁵⁷⁹ Stanislava Dekleva is mentioned as a restorer in the records of the Zagreb Land Office.

Karaman and Szabo, both office managers, learned about restoration through their work. Initially, they only had theoretical knowledge: what is expected of the restoration procedure and to what extent interventions are allowed over time, but they became increasingly involved in the restoration process itself. Although Ferdo Goglia is associated with the beginnings of professional restoration in Croatia, and his documentation, according to Denis Vokić, is so precise as to allow the reconstruction of his restoration technique, Karaman gave a somewhat different opinion about his work.⁵⁸⁰ The director of the Art Gallery forwarded Karaman a request from the parish office in Jelsa for the restoration of paintings, asking for a list of quality restorers who could restore them. At the time, Karaman was working with Sternen and Goglia. He described Sternen as a restorer who worked according to the principles of the Vienna School of restoration, who also worked for the Central Commission in Vienna, but he thought that Goglia sometimes went too far in the restoration process. For these reasons, Karaman recommended Sternen for the restoration of artwork of greater artistic value.⁵⁸¹ Restorer Stanislava Dekleva, who was mentioned earlier, often collaborated with Szabo, but Karaman was also aware of her work and confirmed her credentials to restore paintings in the Church of St. Mary of the Franciscan monastery in Hvar.⁵⁸² This is in contrast to Josip Šonja's restoration of paintings from the choir in Saint Dominus Cathedral, with whose work Karaman was not satis-

fied.⁵⁸³ Dorothea Westphal also evaluated the restored artwork. In her book *Lesser known paintings from the 14th to the 18th century in Dalmatia* she made a number of objections. She believed that a large number of paintings in Dalmatia were covered with layers of overpaint and had lost their authenticity.⁵⁸⁴

Based on all of this information, it can be concluded that the basic restoration principles and acceptable methods were established in the period between the two wars, that manuals on methods and documentation were printed, with restoration mostly carried out under the supervision of a conservator, and that the development of European and world restoration practices was monitored.

IMPLEMENTING THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE VIENNA SCHOOL OF ART HISTORY IN THE PROTECTION OF MOVABLE ART

After Riegl and Dvořák's theoretical framework was adopted, it was challenged both by their professors in Vienna and their students.⁵⁸⁵ The influence of the Vienna School of Art History was still present in the

578 Painter Franz Schaffgotsch (1902-1942). More in: FISKOVIĆ, VICKO, 2009, 187.

579 I would like to thank Denis Vokić for the information provided from an unpublished interview with Nada Skatolini.

580 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2000, 189.

581 MK-KOST-A Box 1932, letter No. 355/32, July 25, 1932. In addition, he mentioned in the letter that he heard about the painter Cata Dužšin Gattin, who became a museum restorer when the Banovina Art Gallery in Split opened.

582 MKM-KOST-A box 1940, letter No. 160, August 23, 1940.

583 MKM-KOST-A Box 1932, letter No. 168, July 2, 1932 (transcript).

584 WESTHPAL, DOROTEJA, 1937, 16. It is interesting that the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts asked Karaman to review her work *Little known paintings from the 14th to 18th centuries in Dalmatia (Malo poznata slikarska djela XIV do XIII stoljeća u Dalmaciji)* in which she evaluates restoration procedures. MKM-KOST-A Box 1934, Letter No. 131, July 12, 1934.

585 Riegl's theory of "Kunstwollen" – about artistic desire – was questioned and criticized by his successors in Vienna, for example, Julius von Schlosser, Josef Strzygowski, Hans Sedlmayer, Dragobert Frey and others. Julius von Schlosser replaced the *artistic desire* with the idea of *looking at art* "Kunstanschauung", and developed the theory of art history with regards to individual works and artists in exchange for a collective worldview. Josef Strzygowski opposed the centralism of the Vienna School of Art History compared to his geographical model of art history. The idea of linear development of art was replaced by a model of multiple cultural zones and areas that interact and influence one another. Hans Sedlmayer introduced the method of analysing the artistic value of an individual work known as structuralism. BAKOŠ, JÁN, 2013, 15, 133. Dragobert Frey replaced Dvořák as the Head of the Central Commission in Vienna. Frey published a study on the Šibenik Cathedral. During World War II, he participated in collecting artwork in Poland for the Nazis. IVANČEVIĆ, RADOVAN, 1999, 411-414. Fold3, more on the topic in the book *Bečka škola povijesti umjetnosti*, izabrala i prevela Knežević Snješka, 1999.

mnogobrojni restauratorski radovi na slikama iz muzejskih fundusa dokumentirani su u obliku dnevnika rada, a vodio je i sustavnu fotografsku dokumentaciju.⁵⁷⁶ U Galeriji umjetnina Primorske banovine u Splitu djeluje slikarica-restauratorica Cata Dujšin Gattin⁵⁷⁷ od 1930. godine. Cata Dujšin Gattin učila je tehniku crtanja i slikanja kod Emanuela Vidovića, studirala na zagrebačkoj Akademiji likovnih umjetnosti te se usavršavala u Parizu i Londonu.⁵⁷⁸

Osim „službenih“ restauratora Gogle i Dujšin Gattin, na području Konservatorijalnog ureda u Splitu od 1918. godine u spisima se spominju restauratori: Matej Sternen, Josip Grošel, M. Šonje, don Jozo Šonje, Stanislava Dekleva, Jozo Kljaković i Josip Franjo Mücke.⁵⁷⁹ Na dubrovačkom području restauriraju slikari Ivo Skatolini, František Besperato i Franz Schaffgotsch⁵⁸⁰. Restauratorska radionica Ive Skatolinija koja je djelovala u razdoblju od 1916. do 1942. godine zaslužna je za restauriranje mnogobrojnih slika s dubrovačkog područja.⁵⁸¹ U spisima Zemaljskog povjerenstva u Zagrebu kao restaurator se navodi Stanislava Dekleva.

Karaman i Szabo, obojica kao voditelji ureda, upoznaju se s restauratorskom praksom u hodu. U početku imaju teoretsko znanje: što se očekuje od restauratorskog zahvata i do koje razine su intervencije dopuštene. Tijekom vremena, na razini sugestija, uključuju se sve više u sam restauratorski postupak. Iako se Ferdo Goglia veže uz početak stručne restauratorske prakse u Hrvatskoj, a njegova dokumentacija je, kako navodi Denis Vokić, toliko precizna da omogućuje rekonstrukciju njegove tehnologije restauriranja, Karaman daje o njegovom radu nešto drugačije mišljenje.⁵⁸² Naime, ravnateljstvo Galerije umjetnina prosljedilo je Karamanu molbu župnog ureda iz Jelše u vezi restauriranja slika, tražeći popis kvalitetnih

restauratora koji bi mogli obaviti popravak. Karaman u to vrijeme surađuje sa Sternenom i Gogliom. Sternena opisuje kao restauratora po načelima bečke restauratorske škole, koji je radio neko vrijeme za Središnje povjerenstvo u Beču, dok za Gogliu smatra da ponekad ide predaleko u restauratorskom postupku. Iz tih razloga Karaman je preporučio Sternena za restauriranje djela veće umjetničke vrijednosti.⁵⁸³ Restauratorica Stanislava Dekleva, kako je ranije navedeno, vrlo često je surađivala sa Szabom, ali i Karaman poznaje njen rad te joj daje uvjerenje za restauriranje slika u crkvi sv. Marije franjevačkog samostana u Hvaru,⁵⁸⁴ za razliku od Josipa Šonje s čijim restauratorskim postupkom na slikama s kora katedrale sv. Dujma Karaman nije bio zadovoljan.⁵⁸⁵ Ocjeni restauriranih umjetnina pridružila se i Dorothea Westphal koja u svom pregledu *Malo poznata slikarska djela XIV do XIII stoljeća u Dalmaciji* iznosi niz zamjerki u vezi restauriranja slika, smatrala je da je velik broj umjetnina u Dalmaciji preslikan, čime se izgubila njihova autentičnost.⁵⁸⁶

Iz svega navedenog može se zaključiti da su u međuratnom razdoblju uspostavljeni osnovni restauratorski principi i prihvatljive metode, tiskani su priručnici o metodama i vođenju dokumentacije, restauratorski postupci počinju se provoditi većinom uz konzervatorski nadzor, a prati se i razvoj europske i svjetske restauratorske prakse.

PRIMJENA TEORIJSKIH POSTAVKI BEČKE ŠKOLE POVIJESTI UMJETNOSTI U ZAŠTITI POKRETNIH UMJETNIČKIH PREDMETA

Nakon razdoblja usvajanja teoretskih postavki Riegla i Dvořáka nastupa razdoblje njihova propitivanja, kako od samih njihovih nastavljača u Beču, tako i od njihovih

576 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2000., 189; SUNARA, SAGITA MIRJAM, 2011., 46.

577 Cata Dujšin Gattin udajom prihvaća prezime Ribar. U arhivskoj dokumentaciji Konzervatorskog zavoda u Splitu navedena je pod prezimenom Gattin. Stoga se u ovom radu navodi pod prezimenom Gattin.

578 CELIO CEGA, FANI, 2018., 5.

579 UNKOVIĆ, IVANA NINA, 2011., 273.

580 Slikar Franz Schaffgotsch (1902. – 1942.). Više u: FISKOVIĆ, VICKO, 2009., 187.

581 Zahvaljujem D. Vokiću na ustupljenim podacima iz neobjavljenog intervjua s Nadom Skatolini.

582 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2000., 189.

583 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1932 dopis broj 355/32 od 25. srpnja 1932. Uz njih, u dopisu spominje da je čuo za slikaricu Catu Dujšin Gattin koja otvaranjem Banske galerije umjetnina u Splitu postaje muzejska restauratorica.

584 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1940 dopis broj 160 od 23. kolovoza 1940.

585 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1932 dopis broj 168 od 2. srpnja 1932. (prijepis).

586 WESTHPAL, DOROTEJA, 1937., 16. Zanimljivo je da je njen rad u kojem ocjenjuje restauratorske postupke, *Malo poznata slikarska djela XIV do XIII stoljeća u Dalmaciji*, Karaman dobio na recenziju od JAZU-a. MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1934 dopis broj od 131 od 12. srpnja 1934.

Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia, primarily through the work of former students – Ljubo Karaman, Arthur Schneider, Ćiril Metod Iveković and Vojislav Molè⁵⁸⁶. The adopted theoretical framework was applied through the research, documentation and restoration of monuments, and the drafting of laws for monument protection. The work which was based on direct contact with the monument was also the basis of their studies, essays and debates regarding different interpretations of the origin and development of art in Dalmatia. In 1930, after ten years at the Conservation Office in Split, Ljubo Karaman published the book *From the Cradle of Croatian History*, in which he expressed his views about the importance of direct contact with monuments: “*I am convinced that many theses and theories would not develop to the benefit of science if art historians draw their conclusions from the direct knowledge and study of monuments in nature, and think less about them through reproductions and blueprints on paper*”⁵⁸⁷. In the aforementioned work, based on his experience in the field and scientific study of archival material, he contradicted his professor Josef Strzygowski and his understanding of the origins of medieval art in Europe, as explained in the thesis on barbaric art. Karaman refuted Strzygowski’s thesis on the influence of wood construction created from the 16th to 19th centuries in Europe on stone construction in the early Middle Ages, and developed his thesis on the emergence of churches with unusual forms due to the fact that provincial masters were not exposed to external influences.⁵⁸⁸ It should be emphasized that Karaman’s work published in the 1930s mark the beginning of his theoretical reflections, and he developed them based on his own work as a conservator. By the end of his career in the protection service, he remained loyal to the biologi-

cal approach to protection in terms of preserving and maintaining entire buildings and works of art.⁵⁸⁹

If we examine the implementation of the theoretical framework as a whole, it is necessary to mention the work of Arthur Schneider and Gjuro Szabo in continental Croatia. The work of Arthur Schneider, student of the Vienna School of Art History and professor of art history at the Faculty of Humanities in Zagreb, on inventorying movable art in Dalmatia and continental Croatia also builds on the theoretical reflections on monument protection, inventory and documentation as a basis for any future research and restoration procedures.

At the same time, Gjuro Szabo, who studied German in Vienna, implemented the biological principle of monument protection and based his work at the Land Office on analysing monuments in the field according to topography.⁵⁹⁰

In addition to the Vienna School of Art History, international guidelines adopted at conferences dedicated to conservation and restoration theory and practice influenced the development of conservation in Dalmatia and continental Croatia. The International Museum Office (*Office Internationale des Musées*) organized the first conferences – the aforementioned 1930 Rome Conference on conservation of paintings in museums, and the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments held in Athens in 1931.⁵⁹¹ The conclusions of the Athens Congress were accepted as *Recommendations* for Member States at the 1932 plenary meeting, and published one year later, together with 56 presentations.⁵⁹² The main issues addressed at the Congress were: general principles, administrative and legal measures for monuments of artistic, historical or scientific importance, environmental protection, restoration of monuments by re-

586 Vojislav (Wojslaw) Molè worked very briefly at the Conservation office in Split, together with Frano Bulić. He stopped working when he joined the army. Vojislav Molè was Strzygowski’s student. He rejected his essentialist notion of Old Slavic art, but followed his specialization in Byzantine and Russian art. Molè developed the idea of two basic types of artistic creativity: static and dynamic. He taught at the Jagiellonian University in Krakow, Poland. BAKOŠ, JÁN, 2013, 138. 587 Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti; KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1930, 32.

588 More in: KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1930, 36. IVANČEVIĆ, RADOVAN, 1987, 192.

589 MARASOVIĆ, JERKO, 1983, 74.

590 IVANČEVIĆ, RADOVAN, 1999, 407-408.

591 Obzor, January 20, 1931. The text was published in French, entitled *La Conférence internationale d’Athènes pour les monuments d’art et d’histoire*.

592 TOMASZEWSKI, ANDRZEJ, 2008, 108.

učenika.⁵⁸⁷ Na području Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije i dalje je bio prisutan utjecaj Bečke škole povijesti umjetnosti, primarno radom bivših studenata Ljube Karamana, Artura Schneidera, Ćirila Metoda Ivekovića i Vojislava Molèa⁵⁸⁸. Usvojene teoretske postavke primjenjivali su u praksi u radu na istraživanju, dokumentiranju i restauriranju spomenika te u izradi prijedloga zakona za zaštitu spomenika. Taj rad koji se bazirao na neposrednom kontaktu sa spomenikom bio je i osnova njihovih studija, eseja i polemika po pitanju različitih interpretacija podrijetla i razvoja umjetnosti u Dalmaciji. Ljubo Karaman nakon deset godina rada u Konservatorijalnom uredu u Splitu izdaje 1930. godine djelo *Iz kolijevke hrvatske prošlosti* u kojem, među ostalim, iznosi svoj stav o važnosti neposrednog kontakta sa spomenikom: „Uvjeren sam, da bi mnoga teza i teorija, a samo na korist nauke izostala, da historičari umjetnosti izvode sudove iz neposrednog poznavanja i proučavanja spomenika u naravi, a manje o njima umuju po reprodukcijama i nacrtima na papiru⁵⁸⁹“. U navedenom djelu upravo na temelju svoga terenskog iskustva i proučavanja arhivskog gradiva na znanstvenoj analizi suprotstavlja se svom profesoru Josefu Strzygowskom i njegovom poimanju podrijetla srednjovjekovne umjetnosti u Europi elaborirane u

tezi o barbarskoj umjetnosti. Karaman pobija tezu Strzygowskog o utjecaju drvene gradnje nastale od 16. do 19. stoljeća u raznim europskim područjima na kamenu gradnju ranoga srednjeg vijeka i razvija svoju tezu o nastanku neobičnih oblika crkvice kao posljedici manjka izloženosti provincijskih majstora vanjskim utjecajima.⁵⁹⁰ Potrebno je naglasiti da su Karamanova djela objavljena 30-ih godina 20. stoljeća početak njegovih teoretskih promišljanja, a razvijao ih je na temelju vlastite konzervatorske prakse. Do kraja njegova djelovanja u službi zaštite bio je vjeran *biološkom stavu* zaštite u smislu očuvanja i održavanja graditeljskih i umjetničkih djela u njihovom cjelovitom značenju.⁵⁹¹

U sagledavanju cjeline primjene teorijskih postavki potrebno je napomenuti djelovanje Artura Schneidera i Gjuro Szaba u kontinentalnom dijelu Hrvatske. Rad Arthura Schneidera, đaka Bečke škole povijesti umjetnosti i profesora povijesti umjetnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu, na inventarizaciji pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta u Dalmaciji i kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj također se nadovezuje na tadašnja teoretska promišljanja o zaštiti spomenika, odnosno o inventarizaciji i dokumentaciji kao osnovi bilo kakvih budućih istraživanja i restauratorskih postupaka.

Istovremeno Gjuro Szabo, bečki đak germanistike, provodi biološki princip zaštite i svoj dugogodišnji rad u Zemaljskom povjerenstvu temelji na terenskoj obradi spomenika prema topografskom kriteriju.⁵⁹²

Na razvoj konzervatorskih misli i postavki na području Dalmacije i kontinentalne Hrvatske, pored Bečke škole povijesti umjetnosti, utjecale su i usvojene međunarodne smjernice donesene na konferencijama posvećenim konzervatorskoj i restauratorskoj teoriji i praksi. Međunarodni ured za muzeje (*Office International des Musées*) organizirao je prve konferencije – ranije spomenutu Rimsku konferenciju 1930. posvećenu konzervaciji slika u muzejima i prvu Međunarodnu konferenciju arhitekata i tehničara vezanih uz povijesne spomenike održanu

587 Rieglova teorija „Kunstwollen“ – o umjetničkom htijenju – propitivana je i kritizirana od njegovih nasljednika u Beču Juliusa von Schlossera, Josefa Strzygowskog, Hansa Sedlmayera, Dragoberta Freya i drugih. Julius von Schlosser zamjenjuje *umjetničko htijenje* idejom *pogled na umjetnost* „Kunstanschauung“, a teoriju povijesti umjetnosti razvija u smjeru pojedinačnih djela i umjetnika u zamjenu za kolektivni svjetonazor. Josef Strzygowski protivio se centralizmu Bečke škole povijesti umjetnosti naspram svoga geografskog modela povijesti umjetnosti. Ideja linearnog razvoja umjetnosti zamijenjena je modelom više kulturnih zona i područja koja uzajamno komuniciraju i utječu jedna na druge. Hans Sedlmayer u povijest umjetnosti uvodi metodu analize umjetničke vrijednosti pojedinačnog djela poznatu kao strukturalizam. BAKOŠ, JAN, 2013., 15, 133. Dragobert Frey dolazi na mjesto voditelja Središnjeg povjerenstva u Beču nakon Dvořaka. Frey je objavio studiju o šibenskoj katedrali. U vrijeme Drugoga svjetskog rata sudjelovao je u prikupljanju umjetnina u Poljskoj za nacističke. IVANČEVIĆ, RADOVAN, 1999., 411-414. Fold 3. Više o temi u knjizi *Bečka škola povijesti umjetnosti*, KNEŽEVIĆ, SNJEŠKA, 1999.

588 Vojislav (Wojslaw) Molè vrlo kratko je radio u Konservatorijalnom uredu u Splitu zajedno s Franom Bulićem. Odlaskom u vojnu službu prestaje i njegov rad u uredu u Splitu. Vojislav Molè bio je učenik Strzygowskog; odbacio je njegovu esencijalističku predodžbu o staroslavenskoj umjetnosti, ali je slijedio njegovu specijalizaciju u bizantskoj i ruskoj umjetnosti. Molè je razvio ideju o dvjema osnovnim vrstama umjetničke kreativnosti: statičkoj i dinamičkoj. Predavao je na Jagielonskom sveučilištu u Krakovu u Poljskoj. BAKOŠ, JAN, 2013., 138. 589 KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1930., 32.

590 Više u: KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1930., 36; IVANČEVIĆ, RADOVAN, 1987., 192.

591 MARASOVIĆ, JERKO, 1983., 74.

592 IVANČEVIĆ, RADOVAN, 1999., 407-408.

specting their historical and artistic significance without endangering the style of any period, monument deterioration, conservation principles and techniques, and international cooperation in all areas of protection. The conclusions of the Conference were an important international document that encouraged the adoption of various national documents and commitments, such as "...individual countries or their institutions, established and recognized by those responsible for such purposes, to publish an inventory of historical monuments at a national level, accompanied by photographs and information..."⁵⁹³ This was the first document to cover various aspects of monument protection such as legislation, the theoretical and practical application of conservation principles, and encouraging the interdisciplinary collaboration of experts according to scientific principles at national and international levels.

LEGISLATION FROM 1918 TO 1941

During the 19th and early 20th centuries, the conservation offices or bodies responsible for monument protection in Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia, separately proposed the basis of conservation laws with a number of guidelines and provisions. One such "request" was issued by the director of the Archaeological and Historical Department of the Croatian National Museum in Zagreb after World War I in the *Vjesnik naredaba* (1919), asking that all items reminiscent of the previous regime be handed over to the museum for storage. The request concerned paintings of various military scenes, portraits of various owners and commanders of the regiment, old weapons, regimental flags with ribbons, photographs and medals. The items were to be handed over for storage and not given to the museum.⁵⁹⁴

The period of joint draft laws for the protection of monuments began in 1918 when the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was established. Intense preparation of a unified law in the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and

Slovenes began at a joint gathering of the Serbian Royal Academy. Archaeologist Miloje Vasić⁵⁹⁵ sent a letter to the Academy proposing the creation of a "*commission or committee for the preservation, maintenance and study of historical and artistic monuments*" for the territory for which the Academy was responsible. The Academy put architects Andra Stevanović and Miloje Vasić in charge of drafting the law. According to the draft law, the implementation and enforcement of the law was entrusted to the Institute, composed of experts who were under the jurisdiction of the Serbian Royal Academy.⁵⁹⁶ Based on this incentive, the first drafts of the law were written by Vladimir Tkalčić and Don Frane Bulić. As curator of the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb, Tkalčić wrote the *Instruction for the commissioner of the Ethnographic Department of the Croatian National Museum*. Bulić proposed the adoption of a law based on the organization of the former Central Commission for the Study and Maintenance of Historic and Artistic Monuments in Vienna, with several modifications as well as the establishment of the *Supreme Authority* in Belgrade and the *Land Authorities*, which were supposed to keep records of movable and immovable monuments older than 60 years. The law restricted the export and removal of movable monuments and specified the right of first refusal for state institutions.⁵⁹⁷

A further impetus to pass the law was the 1921 international congress of art historians in Paris. The majority of the congress program concerned the importance of monument protection and drafting laws on monument protection. Congress participants in Paris from the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were: Vladimir Petković, Miloje Vasić, Nikola Vulić and France Stelè.⁵⁹⁸ In the autumn of 1922, a meeting of Yugoslav archaeologists and museum experts was held in Ptuj to discuss the law on monument protection, and the first conference of experts in the field of museology and conservation was held in Belgrade the same year.⁵⁹⁹ A draft law with

593 MARASOVIĆ, JERKO, 1983, 115.

594 *Vjesnik naredaba* 1918-1919, Vlada Narodnog vijeća Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba, *Odio za narodnu obranu*, No. 546./Op. 1919, January 15, 1919.

595 Miloje Vasić (1869 – 1956), archaeologist, professor at the University of Belgrade.

596 STELÈ, FRANC, 1936, 94-95.

597 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1920, 6.

598 STELÈ, FRANC, 1936, 94-95.

599 IVEKOVIĆ, OTON, 1922, 197.

u Ateni 1931. godine.⁵⁹³ Zaključci konferencije u Ateni prihvaćeni su kao *Preporuke* za zemlje članice Lige naroda (*Recommendation for Member States*) na plenarnom sastanku 1932. godine, a publicirane su godinu dana kasnije zajedno s 56 izlaganja.⁵⁹⁴ Na Konferenciji su razmatrani glavni problemi koji su se odnosili na: općenite principe, administrativne i zakonske mjere za spomenike od umjetničkog, historijskog ili znanstvenog značaja, na zaštitu ambijenta, restauriranje spomenika uz poštivanje povijesnog i umjetničkog značaja spomenika bez dokidanja stila bilo kojeg razdoblja, ugroženost spomenika, načela i tehnike konzervacije te međunarodnu suradnju na svim područjima zaštite. Zaključci Konferencije predstavljali su važan međunarodni dokument koji je potaknuo donošenje raznih nacionalnih dokumenata i obveza, kao na primjer da „...*pojedine države ili njihove institucije, osnovane i priznate od nadležnih za takve svrhe, objave inventar povijesnih spomenika na nacionalnoj razini, popraćen fotografijama i podacima...*“⁵⁹⁵ To je bio prvi dokument koji je obuhvatio različite aspekte zaštite spomenika kao što su zakonodavstvo, teoretska i praktična primjena konzervatorskih načela te poticanje interdisciplinarnе suradnje stručnjaka prema znanstvenim principima na nacionalnom i međunarodnom nivou.

ZAKONSKA REGULATIVA OD 1918. DO 1941. GODINE

Tijekom 19. i početka 20. stoljeća konzervatorski uređi, odnosno tijela zadužena za zaštitu spomenika u Hrvatskoj, Sloveniji i Srbiji, zasebno su predlagali osnove zakona o zaštiti i niz naputaka i odredaba. Jednu takvu „zamolbu“ ravnateljstvo *arheologičko-historičkog odjela hrvatskog Narodnog muzeja* u Zagrebu po završetku Prvog svjetskog rata tiska u *Vjesniku naredaba* 1919. godine, u kojoj moli da se svi predmeti koji podsjećaju na prijašnji režim predaju na pohranu u muzej. Zamolba se odnosila na slike raznih vojnih prizora, portrete raznih vlasnika i zapovjednika pukovnije, staro oružje,

pukovnijske zastave s vrpcama, fotografije i ordene. Predmeti su trebali biti predani na pohranu, a ne u konačno vlasništvo muzeja.⁵⁹⁶

Proglašenjem Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca godine 1918. počinje razdoblje zajedničkih prijedloga zakona o zaštiti spomenika. Intenzivno pripremanje jedinstvenog zakona u Kraljevini SHS počinje na zajedničkom skupu Srpske kraljevske akademije, kojoj je arheolog Miloje Vasić⁵⁹⁷ uputio pismo predlažući da se oformi „*komisija ili odbor za čuvanje, održavanje i proučavanje istorijskih i umjetničkih spomenika*“ za područje za koje je bila nadležna Akademija. Arhitekt Andra Stevanović i Miloje Vasić bili su zaduženi od Akademije za izradu prijedloga zakona. Prema prijedlogu zakona, primjenu i provedbu zakona povjerili su Nadleštvu sastavljenom od stručnih djelatnika, koji su bili pod nadležnosti Srpske kraljevske akademije.⁵⁹⁸ Na taj poticaj prve prijedloge osnove zakona sastavili su Vladimir Tkalčić i don Frane Bulić. Tkalčić je kao kustos Etnografskog muzeja u Zagrebu izradio *Naputak za povjerenika Etnografskog odjela Hrvatskog narodnog muzeja*. Bulić je predložio donošenje zakona na temelju organizacije bivšega Središnjeg povjerenstva za istraživanje i očuvanje kulturnih i umjetničkih spomenika iz Beča, uz preinake, kao i osnutak *Vrhovnog Nadleštva u Beogradu* i *Zemaljskih Nadleštva*, koji su trebali voditi evidenciju pokretnih i nepokretnih spomenika, starih najmanje 60 godina. Zakon je ograničavao izvoz i premještanje pokretnih spomenika te određivao pravo prvokupa za državne institucije.⁵⁹⁹

Daljnji poticaj za donošenje zakona bio je međunarodni kongres povjesničara umjetnosti u Parizu 1921. godine. Veći dio programa kongresa odnosio se na važnost zaštite spomenika i izrade zakona o zaštiti spomenika. Sudionici konferencije iz kraljevine SHS u Parizu bili su: Vladimir Petković, Miloje Vasić, Nikola Vulić i France Stelè.⁶⁰⁰ U Ptujju je ujesen 1922. održan sastanak jugoslavenskih

593 *Obzor*, 20. siječnja 1931. Izašao je tekst na francuskom pod naslovom *La Conférence internationale d'Athènes pour les monuments d'art et d'histoire*.

594 TOMASZEWSKI, ANDRZEJ, 2008., 108.

595 MARASOVIĆ, JERKO, 1983., 115.

596 *Vjesnik naredaba* 1918-1919., vlada Narodnog vijeća Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba, Odio za narodnu obranu, broj 546./Op. 1919., od 15. siječnja 1919.

597 Miloje Vasić (1869. – 1956.), arheolog, profesor na Univerzitetu u Beogradu.

598 STELÈ, FRANCE, 1936., 94-95.

599 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1920., 6.

600 STELÈ, FRANCE, 1936., 94-95.

47 articles was written at the conference. It was divided into two sections: General Provisions and Preservation of Antiquities. According to the draft, Article 23 protected all immovable as well as movable historical, cultural art monuments and those of scientific and aesthetic value. Article 24 designated the state bodies for monument protection and the institutions under the Ministry of Education: conservators, their assistants, directors of local museums and curators of central museums.⁶⁰⁰

The draft law was prepared according to contemporary models, but it was not adopted. In 1928, a meeting of museum experts and conservators was held in Belgrade, where a slightly amended bill was presented, but it was not adopted.

Gjuro Szabo also participated in drafting legal provisions, and in 1927, he made his proposal to ban the export of antiques and works of art from the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes in only three articles explaining the conditions of exporting works of art.⁶⁰¹ The first article stipulated that all *antiquities, antiques and works of art* created before 1830 that were important for the culture and history of the people, regardless of their origin, could not be exported from the country without prior permission. The second article set out the procedure for issuing an export permit. Based on expert opinion, the permit would be issued by a *Grand Prefect* for his area, and in cases of appeals, the final decision would be made by the Ministry of Education in Belgrade. Article 3 referred to the violation of the law, i.e. punishment for the offender who would be fined the value of the exported item or the sequester.⁶⁰²

In 1931, Božidar Maksimović, Minister of Education, submitted a draft law to the President of the Ministerial Council (December 3, 1930), that submitted the draft Law on Museums and Protection of Antiquities to the

Supreme Legislative Council (December 8, 1930).⁶⁰³ In the first part, from Articles 1 to 22, the draft described the organization of museums, including permanent state conservators. The draft did not include provisions for the establishment of a monument protection service, but conservators were required to enforce the protection, with the authority of the conservator not being established. The second part, Articles 25 to 48, addressed the issue of protection. The Supreme Legislative Council considered the bill in several sessions, but the lack of a detailed explanation of the financial impact that the law would have on the state budget made it impossible to implement it.⁶⁰⁴ The draft law was not presented at the National Assembly.⁶⁰⁵

Various committees were established to draft laws. The *Novo doba* newspaper wrote about one such committee in 1930, publishing an article about the journey of a special committee to draft a law in northern Dalmatia. The committee consisted of engineer Stuparić; architect Ivačić; Jerko Čulić, Danish architect and archaeologist Ejnar Dyggve and Swedish archaeologist Langlet. They toured the area around Šibenik: Benkovac, Perušić, Kistanje, Biograd, Nin, Obrovac and Knin.⁶⁰⁶

Slovenian politician and publicist Valentin Rožič also travelled and studied museums and the need to preserve monuments in the Kingdom, and he proposed his draft to the Senate on March 19, 1932.⁶⁰⁷ His trip around Dalmatia was also mentioned by Karaman in his report after their joint tour of Trogir.⁶⁰⁸ The expert committee reviewed Rožič's law and drafted a new one that was different from the previous ones. Due to numerous objections, this draft was not submitted. Since it did not have a

600 TOMIĆ, STEVAN, 1958, 80.

601 Szabo had already received an invitation from Belgrade in 1924 to draft a law for the protection of monuments for the entire country. HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980-1981, 18.

602 MKM-SDKB-ZP No. 1/1927; sequester – manager with the compulsory administration.

603 KRSTIĆ, BRANKO, 2006, 53.

604 KRSTIĆ, BRANKO, 2006, 54.

605 TOMIĆ, STEVAN, 1958, 81.

606 MKM-KOST-A Box 1930, letter No. 53, *Novo doba*, Gradska kronika p. 3. Their draft law is not mentioned in the archives of the Conservation office.

607 New Constitution from 1931. Under section 51 of the Senate Business Order Act, a bill could be submitted to the Senate by a group of fifteen senators. In this case it was Valentin Rožič. KRSTIĆ, BRANKO, 2006, 54.

608 MKM-KOST-A Box 1932, letter No. 98, May 9, 1932.

arheologa i muzealaca na kojem se raspravljalo o zakonu o zaštiti spomenika, a iste godine u Beogradu je održana prva Konferencija muzealaca i konzervatora.⁶⁰¹ Na konferenciji je sastavljen prijedlog zakona od 47 članaka podijeljenih u dva dijela, na *Opće odredbe* i na *Čuvanje starina*. Prema prijedlogu zakona člankom 23. zaštićeni su svi nepokretni i pokretni historijski, kulturno-historijski, umjetnički spomenici, te oni koji imaju znanstvenu i estetsku vrijednost. Člankom 24. određuju se državna tijela za zaštitu spomenika i nadležne institucije pod Ministarstvom prosvjete: konzervatori, njihovi pomoćnici ravnatelji lokalnih muzeja i kustosi središnjih muzeja.⁶⁰²

Zakon je bio pripravljen prema suvremenim uzorima, ali do njegovog usvajanja nije došlo. Godine 1928. održan je sastanak muzealaca i konzervatora u Beogradu gdje je iznesen neznatno izmijenjen prijedlog zakona, ali opet nije usvojen.

Gjuro Szabo sudjelovao je i u predlaganju zakonskih odredbi, a 1927. godine dao je svoj prijedlog zakona o zabrani izvoza starina i umjetnina iz Kraljevine SHS u svega tri članka u kojima obrazlaže uvjete izvoza umjetnina.⁶⁰³ Prvim se člankom određuje da svi *antikviteti, starine i umjetnine* nastale do 1830. godine, a koje su značajne za kulturu i povijest naroda, bez obzira na podrijetlo, nisu mogle biti izvezeno iz države bez prethodne dozvole. Drugi članak određuje proceduru donošenja dozvole za izvoz; na temelju stručnog mišljenja dozvolu bi izdavao veliki župan (za svoju oblast), a u slučaju žalbe o dozvoli bi odlučivalo Ministarstvo prosvjete u Beogradu. Članak 3. odnosi se na kršenje zakona, odnosno o kazni za prekršitelja; prekršitelj bi se kaznio novčanim iznosom u vrijednosti izvezenog predmeta ili sekvestrom.⁶⁰⁴

Godine 1931. ministar prosvjete Božidar Maksimović uputio je prijedlog zakona predsjedniku Ministarskog savjeta (3. prosinca 1930.), a on Vrhovnom zakonodavnom savjetu (8. prosinca 1930.) novi nacrt Zakona o muzejima

i zaštiti starina.⁶⁰⁵ Nacrt Zakona u prvom odjeljku od 1. do 22. članka govori o organizaciji i radu muzeja, predviđajući i stalne državne konzervatore. Prijedlogom zakona nije bila predviđena uspostava službe zaštite spomenika, već su konzervatori trebali provoditi zaštitu, s time da ovlasti konzervatora nisu bile utvrđene. U drugom se odjeljku, od 25. do 48. članka, tretira problematika zaštite. Vrhovni zakonodavni savjet razmatrao je navedeni prijedlog zakona na nekoliko sjednica, ali nedostatak detaljnog obrazloženja financijskog utjecaja koji je zakon trebao izazvati na državni proračun onemogućio je njegovo stavljanje u proceduru.⁶⁰⁶ Prijedlog nije bio iznesen u Narodnoj skupštini.⁶⁰⁷

U svrhu izrade prijedloga zakona osnovane su razne komisije. O jednoj takvoj komisiji pisano je u gradskoj kronici *Novo doba* 1930. godine, gdje je izašao članak o putovanju specijalne komisije vezane uz izradu zakona po sjevernoj Dalmaciji. Komisiju su činili ing. Stuparić, arhitekt Ivačić, Jerko Čulić, danski arhitekt i arheolog Ejnar Dyggve i švedski arheolog Langlet. Obišli su šibensku okolicu: Benkovac, Perušić, Kistanje, Biograd, Nin, Obrovac i Knin.⁶⁰⁸

Slovenski političar i publicist Valentin Rožič (1878. – 1935.) također je proputovao i proučio muzeje i potrebe čuvanja spomenika po Kraljevini te je Senatu 19. ožujka 1932. predložio svoj prijedlog zakona.⁶⁰⁹ Njegov obilazak po Dalmaciji, u vezi projekta zakona koji je iznio Senatu, spominje i Karaman nakon zajedničkog obilaska Trogira u svom izvješću.⁶¹⁰ Stručno povjerenstvo pregledalo je Rožičev nacrt te izradilo novi prijedlog zakona koji se razlikovao od dotadašnjih. Zbog brojnih prigovora taj prijedlog nije poslan u proceduru. Naime, prijedlog nije

601 IVEKOVIĆ, OTON, 1922., 197.

602 TOMIĆ, STEVAN, 1958., 80.

603 Szabo je već 1924. dobio poziv iz Beograda za izradu Zakona za čuvanje spomenika za cijelu državu. HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1980.-1981., 18; *Ibid.*, 246.

604 MKM-SDKB-ZP Pod brojem 1/1927; sekvestar – upravitelj kod prinudne uprave; *Ibid.*, 246.

605 KRSTIĆ, BRANKO, 2006., 53.

606 KRSTIĆ, BRANKO, 2006., 54.

607 TOMIĆ, STEVAN, 1958., 81.

608 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1930 dopis broj 53, *Novo doba*, Gradska kronika str. 3. Njihov se prijedlog zakona u arhivskim spisima Konzervatorijalnog ureda ne spominje.

609 Novi ustav iz 1931. godine. Prema članku 51. Zakona o poslovnom redu u Senatu, prijedlog zakona Senatu mogla je podnijeti grupa od petnaest senatora. U ovom slučaju to je bio Valentin Rožič. KRSTIĆ, BRANKO, 2006., 54.

610 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1932 dopis broj 98 od 9. svibnja 1932.

budget, it was not reviewed or adopted in the Senate.⁶⁰⁹

Political decisions did not help to pass a Law that would connect museum and conservation professions. In 1934, museum experts and conservators stated that connecting museum and conservation professions was the only possible solution, and they passed Bulić's draft from 1926. According to the draft, museums needed to take care of antiquities to which conservators did not have access.

Radenko Stanković, Minister of Education, submitted a draft of the Law on Museums and Preservation of Antiquities and Monuments to a professional committee made up of academy members, lawyers and university professors. The draft was divided into ten chapters: 1. General Provisions, 2. State Museums, 3. Local Museums and Art Galleries, 4. State and Local Conservators, 5. Excavation of Museum Objects and Monuments, 6. Purchase and Exchange of Museum Objects, 7. Museum Publications, 8. Relationship between Museums and Scientific and Educational Institutions, 9. Museum Council, and 10. Transitional Provisions. The protection of movable objects is mentioned in Article 16 that instructed conservators to draw up a list of all persons who had private collections in the area under their jurisdiction. The conservators' attitude toward collections and the duties and rights of owners are not regulated in this article. The aforementioned proposal was not adopted at the time.⁶¹⁰ Karaman had objections and addressed the minister about the fact that the heads of the conservation offices in Ljubljana and Split had been unfairly omitted from the ordinance on the classification of clerks. He demanded that conservators should be required to have a doctorate and publish articles, and that conservators and museum directors should be equal.⁶¹¹ A month after the letter was sent to the minister, Karaman wrote to Stelè as "*a person of confidence who would protect our interests at the meeting*", to review the draft and see if the same applied to conservators and museum directors, since he could not attend the meeting in Belgrade. Karaman stated that conservators again did not get a fair deal because they remained in the same position as museum

curators, since Belgrade did not know the breadth of what conservators did.⁶¹²

In 1935, France Stelè, under the authority of the Minister of Education, drafted his proposal for a "*law on museums and the preservation of antiquities and monuments*" with very precise regulations on the organization of a protection service. The draft had 14 articles. Articles 1 to Article 3 defined the types of monuments (movable, immovable, cultural-historical, art, ethnographic and natural monuments). Articles 4 to 8 regulated how the status of a protected monument was received, i.e. registration. Articles 9 to 11 defined the conditions for their use, export or retrieval. Articles 12 to 14 governed the issue of jurisdiction and organization. According to this proposal, the state bodies that were in charge of protection were: general administrative authorities in agreement with conservators, conservators and directors, and curators of state museums. At the proposal of the Museum Council, the Minister of Education issued a Decree on Museums and Preservation of Antiquities, which defined the types of monuments, organised the work of conservators, organised museums and the entire museum service, the display and preservation of collections, and the study and excavation of monuments. The draft law on museums and preservation of antiquities and monuments, like all previous proposals, was not adopted.⁶¹³

Sculptor Ivan Meštrović also became involved in drafting a law. When he met Hoffiller, Meštrović suggested that he should work with Karaman and Abramić to draft a law for archaeology with regard to the creation of the Banovina of Croatia. Karaman submitted a report on their conclusions to Meštrović. They proposed the unification of all societies into one archaeological society in Zagreb with various branches, the establishment of the Zagreb Archaeological Institute, and the adoption of laws on museums and protection of antiquities. Karaman said that the draft developed in cooperation with Bulić was excellent. He believed they needed to make only several minor changes to the definition of who was pass-

609 KRSTIĆ, BRANKO, 2006, 54.

610 TOMIĆ, STEVAN, 1958, 81.

611 MKM-KOST-A Box 1930, No. 113, August 1, 1930.

612 MKM-KOST-A Box 1934, Letter No. 109, July 6, 1934.

613 STELÈ, FRANC, 1936, 94-95.

imao obrazložen financijski predračun te nije bio razmatran niti usvojen u Senatu.⁶¹¹

Političke odluke nisu išle u smjeru donošenja Zakona koji bi povezivao muzejsku i konzervatorsku struku. Godine 1934. muzealci i konzervatori očitivali su se o povezivanju djelatnosti kao jedinom mogućem rješenju. Usvojili su Bulićev prijedlog zakona iz 1926., prema kojem brigu o starinama, do kojih konzervatori iz raznih razloga nemaju pristup, trebaju preuzeti muzeji.

Ministar prosvjete Radenko Stanković podnio je prijedlog Zakona o muzejima i čuvanju starina i spomenika stručnom povjerenstvu koje su činili članovi akademije, pravnici i sveučilišni profesori. Prijedlog Zakona bio je podijeljen u deset poglavlja: 1. Opće odredbe, 2. Državni muzeji, 3. Lokalni muzeji i galerije umjetnosti, 4. Državni i lokalni konzervatori, 5. Iskopavanje muzejskih objekata i spomenika, 6. Kupovina i razmjena muzejskih objekata, 7. Muzejska izdanja, 8. Odnos između muzeja i znanstvenih i prosvjetnih ustanova, 9. Muzejski savjet i 10. Prijelazne odredbe. Zaštita pokretnih predmeta spominje se u članku 16. prijedloga, kojim se konzervatoru određuje zadaća sastavljanja popisa svih osoba koje imaju privatne zbirke na području njegove nadležnosti. Odnos konzervatora prema zbirkama te dužnosti i prava vlasnika tim člankom nisu regulirana. Navedeni prijedlog zakona tada nije bio usvojen.⁶¹² Na navedeni prijedlog zakona Karaman je imao primjedbe te se obratio ministru s primjedbom da su voditelji konzervatorskog ureda u Ljubljani i Splitu nepravedno izostavljeni iz uredbe o razvrstavanju činovnika. Tražio je da se za konzervatora zahtijeva doktorat i znanstveni radovi te izjednačavanje konzervatora s direktorima muzeja.⁶¹³ Karaman mjesec dana nakon upućenog dopisa ministru piše Stelèu, kao „osobi od povjerenja koja će na sastanku zaštititi naše interese“, da pregleda prijedlog zakona i da vidi je li za konzervatore sve kao i za direktore muzeja, jer neće biti prisutan na sastanku u Beogradu. Karaman navodi da su konzervatori ponovno loše prošli jer su ostali u rangu

kustosa muzeja zbog toga što u Beogradu ne znaju što sve obuhvaća posao konzervatora.⁶¹⁴

France Stelè je 1935. godine po ovlaštenju ministra prosvjete izradio svoj prijedlog „zakona o muzejima i čuvanju starina i spomenika“ s vrlo preciznim propisima o organizaciji službe zaštite. Prijedlog zakona imao je 14 članaka. Od članka 1. do članka 3. definirane su vrste spomenika (pokretni, nepokretni, kulturno-historijski, umjetnički, etnografski i prirodoslovni spomenici). Od članka 4. do 8. regulira se način proglašenja zaštićenog spomenika, odnosno registracije. Od članka 9. do 11. donose se uvjeti njihova korištenja, izvoza ili pronalaska. Od članka 12. do 14. uređuje se pitanje nadležnosti i organizacije. Prema tom prijedlogu državna tijela zaštite su sljedeća: opće upravne vlasti u suglasnosti s konzervatorima, konzervatori i direktori odnosno kustosi državnih muzeja. Na prijedlog Muzejskog savjeta, ministar prosvjete donosi Uredbu o muzejima i čuvanju starina kojom se utvrđuju vrste spomenika, organizacija rada konzervatora, unutrašnje uređenje muzeja i cjelokupne službe u muzejima, izlaganje i čuvanje zbirki, proučavanje i iskopavanje spomenika. Prijedlog zakona o muzejima i čuvanju starina i spomenika, kao i svi prijedlozi do tada, nije bio usvojen.⁶¹⁵

U svrhu izrade prijedloga zakona uključio se i kipar Ivan Meštrović koji je Hoffilleru, prilikom njihova susreta, predložio da zajedno s Karamanom i Abramićem izradi prijedlog o zakonima koje je potrebno donijeti na polju arheologije s obzirom na stvaranje Banovine Hrvatske. Izvještaj o njihovim zaključcima Meštroviću podnosi Karaman. Predlagali su ujedinjenje svih starinarskih društava u jedno arheološko društvo u Zagrebu s podružnicama, osnivanje Arheološkog instituta u Zagrebu i donošenje zakona o muzejima i o čuvanju starina. Karaman navodi da je prijedlog zakona nastao u suradnji s Bulićem vrlo kvalitetan. Smatrao je da su potrebne samo manje izmjene u vidu definicije tko donosi zakon, s obzirom na premještanje nadležnosti s Ministarstva prosvjete iz Beograda u Zagreb, da bi zakon mogao stupiti

611 KRSTIĆ, BRANKO, 2006., 54.

612 TOMIĆ, STEVAN, 1958., 81.

613 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1930 broj 113 od 1. kolovoza 1930.

614 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1934 dopis broj 109 od 6. srpnja 1934.

615 STELÈ, FRANCE, 1936., 94-95.

ing the law, given the transfer of jurisdiction from the Ministry of Education in Belgrade to Zagreb, for the law to be implemented.⁶¹⁴ They also forwarded the above proposals to the deputy of the Ban. Eight months later, in June 1940, Karaman wrote to Vladimir Tkalčić, asking him to let him know what was happening with the draft. In the letter, he explained that Ivan Meštrović had informed him that the proposal for a *Decree on museums and galleries, and protection of antiquities and monuments* had been sent to Belgrade, and Murgić informed him that the proposals had been reviewed by various departments and that they would still be reviewed by the education council in May.⁶¹⁵ He soon received a reply in which Tkalčić explained that the draft law did not even go to Belgrade, since the first clean copy was reviewed and additional explanations were needed. Tkalčić and Murgić wrote the explanation, and the draft was to be sent to the Governor.⁶¹⁶ According to the budget for 1939-1940, the Minister of Education was instructed to enact a decree on museums and the protection of antiquities.⁶¹⁷

The political situation at the time was not ideal for a law to be passed; the aforementioned dissolution of parliament, limited parliamentarism, and the assassination of King Alexander constantly delayed it. All possibilities that the bill could be included in the procedure were used. Negotiations about the best time to make a proposal or make changes to the proposal can be seen

in the correspondence between Karaman, Fisković,⁶¹⁸ Abramović, Tkalčić and Stelè.⁶¹⁹

Although there were various draft laws on monument protection between 1918 and 1940, only two laws were passed: the Decree of the Regional Administration for Dalmatia on the Protection of Works of Art, and the decree On the Preservation of Antiquities and Natural Monuments.⁶²⁰

The order of the regional administration for Dalmatia on the protection of works of art

In September 1921, a draft Order of the Regional Administration for Dalmatia on the Protection of Works of Art was submitted to the Regional Administration for Dalmatia with a request to be published in an official gazette upon the approval of the Ministry of Education.⁶²¹ In the Report on the work of the Regional Conservation Office, Bulić stated that the Order was drafted by a *Committee* composed of experts from all the *Directories of the Archaeological Museum* and the Conservation Office.⁶²² The *Order of the Regional Administration for Dalmatia on the Protection of Works of Art* was approved by the Ministry of Education on October 11, 1921, and

618 In his letter to Karaman from 1939, Cvito Fisković complained that meetings of the museum and conservators as well as historian and art historian conferences were organised for twenty years, and universities and academies were also involved, so the bill should have been drafted long ago. Fisković said that the reason the law was not passed was due to the Minister of Finance, because the salary of ten officials was increased, and partly because Serbia did not understand the importance of a law for monument protection, given that they did not have a tradition of conservation institutions. The only thing Fisković saw at that time as a solution was the establishment of a committee consisting of Karaman, Frano Bulić, Abramić and others, which would pass a resolution on the urgent resolution of the law. MKM-KOST-A Box 1939 No. 90, May 19, 1939.

619 A good example is from November 1932, when Karaman told Stelè that the parliament was meeting again, and that they should discuss the draft law so he could know what final proposal would come before the parliament. Having heard that Stelè had the latest version, he asked him to send it. MKM-KOST-A Box 1932, Letter No. 204, November 8, 1932.

620 Published: Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, 1918, Part IX, No. 1.-136, Naredba br. 58, Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, Zagreb 1918:209; Published: Zbirka zakona i uredaba, 1939, Volume I-XII, No 1-363, Year XIII, spisi Okružnice II., Belgrade, July 25, 1940,

621 MKM-KOST-A letter No. 62/kons/21, September 14, 1921.

622 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1921, 1.

614 MKM-KOST-A Box 1939, Letter No. 147, September 23, 1939.

615 MKM-KOST-A Box 1940, Letter No. 112, June 24, 1940.

616 MKM-KOST-A Box 1940, No. 116, July 1, 1940 (Letter from June 26, 1940).

617 *Zaštita umjetnih i historijskih spomenika*, *Novosti* No. 139, May 21, 1939,6.

na snagu.⁶¹⁶ Navedene prijedloge prosljedili su i podbanu. Osam mjeseci kasnije, u lipnju 1940., Karaman piše Vladimiru Tkalčiću da mu javi ako zna što se događa s prijedlogom zakona. U dopisu objašnjava da ga je Ivan Meštrović obavijestio kako je prijedlog *Uredbe o muzejima i galerijama te čuvanju starina i spomenika* poslan u Beograd, a Murgić ga je obavijestio da su prijedlozi pregledani od raznih odjela i da još dolaze na pregled prosvjetnog savjeta u svibnju.⁶¹⁷ Na navedeni dopis ubrzo je stigao odgovor u kojem Tkalčić obrazlaže da prijedlog zakona nije ni otišao u Beograd, jer je prvi čistopis bio podvrgnut reviziji i moralo se dati dodatno obrazloženje. Obrazloženje su napisali Tkalčić i Murgić te se čekalo da se prijedlog uputi Namjesništvu.⁶¹⁸ Prema proračunu za 1939. – 1940. godinu ministar prosvjete dobio je nalog da propiše uredbu sa zakonskom snagom o muzejima i zaštiti starina.⁶¹⁹

Donošenju zakona nije išla na ruku ni politička situacija; ranije spomenuto raspuštanje parlamenta, ograničeni parlamentarizam te ubojstvo kralja Aleksandra stalno su odgađali stavljanje prijedloga zakona u proceduru. Svaka, iako mala mogućnost da bi se prijedlog zakona mogao uvrstiti u proceduru pokušala se iskoristiti. Taktiliziranje o najboljem trenutku kada uputiti prijedlog ili dati izmjenju na dobiveni prijedlog često se primjećuje u međusobnom dopisivanju između Karamana, Fiskovića,⁶²⁰ Abramovića, Tkalčića i Stelèa.⁶²¹

616 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1939 dopis broj 147, 23. rujna 1939.

617 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1940 dopis broj 112, 24. lipnja 1940.

618 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1940 Broj 116 od 1. srpnja 1940. (dopis od 26. lipnja 1940.)

619 Zaštita umjetnih i historijskih spomenika, *Novosti* broj 139, (21. svibnja 1939), 6.

620 Cvito Fisković žali se 1939. godine u pismu Karamanu da se već dvadeset godina u vezi zakona organiziraju sastanci, kongresi muzealaca, konzervatora, povjesničara i povjesničara umjetnosti, bili su uključeni fakulteti i akademije te je prijedlog zakona već odavno napravljen. Fisković iznosi da se zakon ne usvaja djelomično zbog ministra financija, zbog povećanja plaće desetorici činovnika, a dijelom zbog neshvaćanja Srbije o važnosti zakona za zaštitu s obzirom na to da nemaju tradiciju konzervatorskih ustanova. Jedino što je Fisković u tom trenutku vidio kao rješenje bilo je osnivanje odbora koji bi činili Karaman, Frane Bulić, Abramić i dr., a koji bi donio rezoluciju o hitnom rješenju tog zakona. MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1939 Broj 90 od 19. svibnja 1939.

621 Dobar je primjer kada se u studenome 1932. Karaman obraća Stelèu da se parlament ponovno sastaje i trebao bi doći prijedlog zakona te ga zanima kakav konačni prijedlog dolazi pred parlament. Budući da je čuo da Stelè ima zadnju *stilizaciju*, moli da mu pošalje. MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1932 dopis broj 204 od 8. studenoga 1932.

lako se pojavio niz prijedloga zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture u razdoblju od 1918. do 1940. godine, donesena su samo dva zakonska propisa: *Naredba Pokrajinske uprave za Dalmaciju o zaštiti umjetničkih djela* i uredba *O čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika*.⁶²²

Naredba Pokrajinske uprave za Dalmaciju o zaštiti umjetničkih djela

Nacrt *Naredbe Pokrajinske uprave za Dalmaciju o zaštiti umjetničkih djela* Bulić je u rujnu 1921. dostavio Pokrajinskoj upravi za Dalmaciju s molbom da se objavi u službenom glasilu po odobrenju Ministarstva prosvjete.⁶²³ U Izvješću o radu Pokrajinskog konzervatorijalnog ureda Bulić navodi da je Naredbu izradio *Odbor* koji su činili stručnjaci svih *Ravnateljstva Arheološkog muzeja* i *Konzervatorijalnog ureda*.⁶²⁴ *Naredba Pokrajinske uprave za Dalmaciju o zaštiti umjetničkih djela* odobrena je odlukom Ministarstva prosvjete 11. listopada 1921. te je ovlastilo Pokrajinsku upravu, Odjel za bogoštovlje da objavi *Naredbu* u *Pokrajinskom zvaničnom listu*. *Naredba* je trebala biti na snazi do donošenja opće uredbe o muzejima i starinama za cijelu Kraljevinu SHS.⁶²⁵

Naredbom su svi predmeti historijskog, arhitektonskog, umjetničkog ili drugoga kulturnog značaja, bez obzira na vlasništvo, stavljeni pod zaštitu Pokrajinske uprave za Dalmaciju (članak 1.). U članku 2. nabrojene su vrste predmeta: *antikvarni predmeti, slike, minijature, crteži i grafička djela, kipovi, reljefi, novci, medalje, crkveno pokućstvo, proizvodi umjetničkog obrta i dr.* Izvoz i prodaja takvih predmeta Naredbom su bili zabranjeni. U članku 5. *Naredbe* bilo je određeno da se propisi o zabrani izvoza ne odnose na umjetnine živućih umjetnika, niti na one koji su umrli prije 20 godina. Dana je, međutim, mogućnost da Ministarstvo prosvjete na prijedlog Pokrajinskog konzervatora za Dalmaciju odredi zabranu izvoza i takvih

622 Objavljeno: *Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, Godina 1918., Komad IX, Broj 1.-136., Naredba br. 58., Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, Zagreb 1918:209; Objavljeno: *Zbirka zakona i naredaba*, Godina 1939., Svezak I-XII, Broj 1-363, Godište XIII, spisi Okružnice II., Beograd 25. srpnja 1940.

623 MKM-KOST-A dopis broj 62/kons/21 od 14. rujna 1921.

624 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1921., 1.

625 MKM-KOST-A dopis broj 3771/21 od 26. listopada 1921.; MKM-SDKB-ZP Prilog I. uz Okružnicu.

authorized the Regional Administration, Department of Religion, to publish the *Order* in the Official Regional Gazette. The order was to remain in force until the adoption of a general decree on museums and antiquities for the entire Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.⁶²³

The Order placed all objects of historical, architectural, artistic or other cultural significance, regardless of ownership, under the protection of the Regional Administration for Dalmatia (Article 1). Article 2 listed the types of items: *antiques, paintings, miniatures, drawings and graphics, statues, reliefs, coins, medals, church furniture, crafts items, etc.* The Order prohibited the export and sale of such objects. Article 5 of the Order stipulated that the export of works of art by living artists or those who died in the last 20 years, was not prohibited. However, at the proposal of the Regional Conservator for Dalmatia, the Ministry of Education was given the option of imposing a ban on the export of this type of art if it was a matter of particular importance. Article 6 defined a fine or imprisonment for offenders, and the statutory sentence also meant confiscation of the items by the State. The county, customs and the Regional Conservation Office for Dalmatia were responsible for the implementation of the order.⁶²⁴ In the Report published in the journal *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, Bulić explained the articles of the Order and its significance; the *Order* was the first time that the state took over the legal care for monument protection as well as passing additional laws. In addition to the items listed in Article 2, the Order was also applied to any items that were not explicitly listed, but were considered to have *historical, artistic or cultural significance*. According to Bulić, the Order was intended to determine the direction for dealing with monuments, depending on whether they were private or public/state property. The transfer of monuments from public to private property was governed by Article 4, until a law was passed and in terms of the possibility of being banned

by the Conservation office. This applied to a large number of collections located in churches and monasteries in order to prevent their distribution. The works of contemporary artists were not covered by the Order for several reasons; primarily, because the artists themselves were still alive, and the export of their art served to present the artistic achievements of the state.⁶²⁵

The Order is often mentioned in the records on the work of conservators of the institute, and there are numerous examples when Bulić and Karaman refer to it.

The Decree On the Preservation of Antiquities and Natural Monuments⁶²⁶

The Ban of the Banovina of Croatia, on behalf of King Peter II, passed the Decree *On the Preservation of Antiquities and Natural Monuments* on July 25, 1940.

In the Decree, monument protection had no connection with museums or any previous draft laws on protection, but was connected with the protection of natural monuments.⁶²⁷

The Decree defined the general provisions, conservation institutes, and the protection of antiquities and natural monuments. It consisted of four parts: I. General Provisions, II. Conservation Offices, III. Protection of Antiquities and Natural Monuments, and IV. Final and Transitional Orders.

The Decree protected all movable and immovable, cultural and historical (archaeological, historical, ethnographic, architectural and artistic) monuments, and

623 MKM-KOST-A letter No. 3771/21, October 26, 1921; MKM-SDKB-ZP Annex I to the Circular.

624 MKM-KOST-A Box 1921. Order in transcript. The order was signed by the Provincial Deputy Metličić. The text of the Order was also published in the *Vjesniku za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* journal, Bulletin 1921, 3-5; TOMIĆ, STEVAN, 1958, 76.

625 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1921, 5-7.

626 Published: Zbirka zakona i uredaba, Year 1939, Volume I-XII, Number 1-363, Year XIII, Writings of Circular II., Belgrade, July 25, 1940.

627 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1944, 17-27; The order on Banal, self-governing and private museums and galleries on the territory of the Banovina of Croatia was adopted separately. The text of the Order was published in *Novosti* on August 2, 1940. The Order was divided into eight sections: General Provisions, Croatian National Museums and Galleries, Self-governing and private museums, Collections and galleries, Purchase and replacement of museum and gallery items (Museum and gallery publications), Relationship between museums, galleries, scientific and educational institutions, Archival Departments of Croatian national museums and galleries, Final and transitional institutions. N. N. 1940.

umjetnina ako se radi o predmetu od osobitog značaja. U članku 6. bila je predviđena novčana ili zatvorska kazna za prekršitelje, a zakonska kazna ujedno je značila i oduzimanje predmeta u korist države. Za provođenje naredbe bile su nadležne kotarske oblasti, carina i *Pokrajinski konservatorijalni ured za Dalmaciju*.⁶²⁶ U Izvješću objavljenom u *Vjesniku za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* Bulić je obrazložio članke Naredbe i uopće njen značaj; *Naredbom* je po prvi put država preuzela zakonsku brigu za zaštitu spomenika i izradu daljnje zakonske regulative. Uz predmete navedene u članku 2., *Naredba* se odnosila i na sve predmete koji nisu izričito navedeni, a za koje se smatra da imaju *historijski, umjetnički ili kulturni značaj*. Prema Buliću, *Naredba* je trebala utvrditi smjer postupanja sa spomenicima ovisno o tome radi li se o privatnom ili javnom/državnom vlasništvu. Prelazak spomenika iz javnog u privatno vlasništvo regulira članak 4., do donošenja zakona, u smislu mogućnosti zabrane od strane Konservatorijalnog ureda. To se posebno odnosilo na velik broj zbirke koje se nalaze u crkvama i samostanima, kako bi se spriječilo raspačavanje predmeta. Djela suvremenih umjetnika nisu bila obuhvaćena *Naredbom* iz više razloga; u prvom redu zbog egzistencije samih umjetnika, a potom je njihovo iznošenje služilo prezentaciji umjetničkih dostignuća države.⁶²⁷

Naredba se vrlo često spominje u spisima o radu konzervatora zavoda, postoje brojni primjeri kada se Frane Bulić i Ljubo Karaman pozivaju na nju.

Uredba O čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika⁶²⁸

Na prijedlog bana Banovine Hrvatske, a u ime kralja Petra II. donesena 25. srpnja 1940. *Uredba o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika*.

U toj *Uredbi* zaštita spomenika nije bila povezana s muzejima, niti sa svim dotadašnjim prijedlozima zakona o zaštiti, nego sa zaštitom prirodnih spomenika.⁶²⁹

Uredbom se određuju opće odredbe, konzervatorski zavodi, zaštita starina i prirodnih spomenika. Sastojala se od četiri dijela: *I. Opće odredbe, II. Konzervatorski zavodi, III. Zaštita starina i prirodnih spomenika i IV. Završna i prelazna naređenja*.

Uredbom se štite svi pokretni i nepokretni kulturno-historijski (arheološki, historijski, etnografski, arhitektonski i umjetnički) i prirodni spomenici koji imaju osobitu znanstvenu, umjetničku ili estetsku vrijednost, a nalaze se na području Banovine Hrvatske. Službe za zaštitu spomenika su načelništva i gradska poglavarstva, odnosno Banska vlast, ispostava Banske vlasti u Splitu i konzervatorski zavodi.

Uredbom su konzervatorski zavodi određeni kao ustanove za zaštitu i proučavanje svih kulturno-historijskih spomenika, kao i za čuvanje značaja starih gradova i zaštitu prirodnih spomenika. Oni su trebali sastaviti popis takvih spomenika. Konzervatorski zavodi su stavljeni pod nadzor Banske vlasti, a *Banskom naredbom* trebala su biti određena mjesta budućih konzervatorskih zavoda. Konzervator je trebao organizirati i voditi cjelokupan rad, provoditi nadzor nad spomenicima, sastavljati katastar spomenika dotičnog područja, poduzimati mjere za čuvanje i održavanje spomenika, određivati rad podređenom osoblju, brinuti za izradbu i provedbu proračuna. Izvještaj o svojem radu zavod je imao podnositi Banskoj vlasti.⁶³⁰

Zaštita arheoloških, umjetničkih, historijskih, etnografskih, arhitektonskih i prirodnih starina ili rijetkosti regulirana je od 21. do 27. članka *Uredbe*. U navedenim člancima

626 MKM-KOST-A Kutija 1921. *Naredba* u prijepisu. *Naredbu* je potpisao pokrajinski namjesnik Metličić. Tekst *Naredbe* izašao je i u *Vjesniku za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku, Bulletin* 1921., 3-5. TOMIĆ, STEVAN, 1958., 76.

627 BULIĆ, FRANE, 1921., 5-7.

628 Objavljeno: Zbirka zakona i uređaba, Godina 1939., Svezak I-XII, Broj 1-363, Godište XIII, spisi Okružnice II, Beograd 25. srpnja 1940.

629 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1944., 17-27. *Naredba* o muzejima i galerijama banovinskih, samoupravnih i privatnih na području Banovine Hrvatske donesena je zasebno. Tekst *Naredbe* izašao je u *Novostima* 2. kolovoza 1940. *Naredba* je bila podijeljena u osam dijelova: *Opće odredbe, Hrvatski narodni muzeji i galerije, Samoupravni i privatni muzeji, zbirke i galerije, Kupovanje i zamjena muzejskih i galerijskih predmeta (Muzejska i galerijska izdanja), Odnos između muzeja, galerija, znanstvenih i prosvjetnih ustanova, Arhivalni odjeli hrvatskih narodnih muzeja i galerija, Završne i prelazne ustanove*. N. N. 1940.

630 Objavljeno: Zbirka zakona i uređaba, Godina 1939., Svezak I-XII, Broj 1-363, Godište XIII, Beograd, 25. srpnja 1940. – pronađena je u spisima Okružnice II.

natural monuments that had scientific, artistic or aesthetic value, and were located on the territory of the Banovina of Croatia. Monument protection services were the responsibility of mayors and city governments, i.e. Banal Administration, branch of the Banal Administration in Split and conservation institutes.

The Decree made conservation institutes the institutions for the protection and study of all cultural and historical monuments, as well as the preservation of old cities and the protection of natural monuments. They were to compile a list of such monuments. Conservation institutes were placed under the Banal Administration, and the order of the Ban would determine the locations of any future conservation institutes. Conservators were supposed to organize and manage all the work, monitor monuments, compose a register of monuments in the area, take measures to preserve and maintain monuments, define the work of their staff, and take care of budgeting and implementation. Institutes had to submit a report on their activities to the Banal Administration.⁶²⁸

The protection of archaeological, art, historical, ethnographic, architectural and natural antiquities or rarities was regulated by Articles 21 to 27 of the Decree. The aforementioned articles regulated the issue of their ownership, export, first purchase and storage. No matter who owned them, they were not allowed to be destroyed or removed outside the cultural area where they belonged, and especially not outside the borders of the state, without the approval of the authorities. Approval was obtained on the proposal of the competent conservator or museum director. When issuing a permit for the export of such antiquities and rarities, an export tax was paid, and the amount was set by the Ban, based on the Rules. The seller was obliged to state his intention to sell antiques or collections to the municipality or city administration, and list the price. The government would inform the competent museum of the sale, which had the right of first purchase within three months from the date on the application. Those who did not file the

application were punished by up to three months in jail and a fine of up to 5,000 dinars. The official who would receive the application was obliged to notify the competent museum in the Banovina within three days of the application.

A series of previous circulars on the export, purchase and safekeeping of movable art was included in the Decree.

Shortly after the Decree was passed, World War II began on the territory of Croatia, and the Independent State of Croatia was declared.

628 Published: *Zbirka zakona i uredaba*, Year 1939, Volume I-XII, Number 1-363, Year XIII, Belgrade, July 25, 1940 - Found in Circular II files.

regulirano je pitanje njihova vlasništva, izvoza, prvokupa i čuvanja. Bez obzira u čijem su vlasništvu, nisu se smjele uništavati ni iznositi izvan kulturnog područja kojem su pripadale, a pogotovo ne izvan granica države bez odobrenja vlasti. Odobrenje se dobivalo na prijedlog nadležnog konzervatora odnosno ravnatelja muzeja. Prilikom izdavanja odobrenja za izvoz takvih starina i rijetkosti izvan granica države plaćala se izvozna taksa, kojoj je visinu trebao propisati ban Pravilnikom. Prodavatelj je bio dužan prijaviti *sreskom načelništvu*, odnosno gradskom poglavarstvu svoje namjere o prodaji starina ili zbirki i u isto vrijeme označiti cijenu. O toj je prodaji vlast trebala obavijestiti nadležni banovinski muzej koji ima pravo prvokupa u roku od tri mjeseca od dana prijave. Tko nije podnio prijavu, trebao je biti kažnjen zatvorom do 3 mjeseca i novčanom kaznom do 5.000 dinara. Službenik koji bi primio prijavu bio je dužan prema Uredbi u roku od tri dana od prijave pod svojom odgovornošću službeno o tome obavijestiti nadležni banovinski muzej u Banovini.

Uredba objedinjuje niz dotadašnjih okružnica o izvozu, otkupu i čuvanju pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta.

Ubrzo nakon donošenja Uredbe počinje Drugi svjetski rat na području Krajevine Jugoslavije i dolazi do proglašenja Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.



RAZDOBLJE DRUGOGA SVJETSKOG RATA

KONZERVATORSKA SLUŽBA U RAZDOBLJU NDH

Slomom Kraljevine Jugoslavije i uspostavom Nezavisne Države Hrvatske 10. travnja 1941. započinje razdoblje prihvaćanja ideja njemačkog nacionalsocijalizma i talijanskog fašizma.⁶³¹

U duhu nacionalsocijalističke kulturne politike⁶³² Nezavisna Država Hrvatska kulturnim je institucijama namijenila ulogu promicanja nacionalne svijesti i ideološke

631 Nacionalsocijalizam (nacizam), politička doktrina njemačke Nacionalsocijalističke radničke partije, mješavina je nacionalističkih, ksenofobičnih i rasističkih ideja o ugroženosti jedinstvene njemačke nacije. Opća i nacionalna enciklopedija, 2007., sv. XIV, 162. Fašizam – nacionalistički i totalitarni pokret i ideologija nastala u Italiji, u Milanu, 23. ožujka 1919. kao pokret utemeljen na odanosti državi, stranci i vođi. ONE, 2005., sv. VI, 185.

632 Godine 1928. osnovano je Nacionalističko društvo za njemačku kulturu – Nacionalističko znanstveno društvo sa sjedištem u Münchenu pod vodstvom Alfreda Rosenberga sa svrhom unaprjeđenja njemačke nacionalne kulture. Društvo nedugo nakon osnutka mijenja ime u *Borbeni savez za njemačku kulturu* („Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur“). Članovi društva bili su sveučilišni profesori. Prvo veliko zasjedanje Borbeni savez za njemačku kulturu održao je u Weimaru, gdje je predstavio svoje političke vođe: Josefa Göbbelsa, Hermanna Göringa, Darrea, Baldura von Schiracha i Gaulitera. *Borbenom savezu* priključuje se niz kulturnih udruženja i cijeli njemački nacionalni omladinski pokret. Unutar *Borbenog saveza* postojale su stručne grupe za likovnu umjetnost, glazbu, kazalište, ples, književnost i znanost. BRENNER, HILDEGARD, 1992., 11-28. Rosenberg i Göring su tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata bili glavni provoditelji pljenidbe židovske imovine utemeljene na donesenim rasnim zakonima.

preobrazbe u skladu s proklamiranim fašističkim načelima.⁶³³ Ministarstvo bogoštovlja i nastave (preimenovano u Ministarstvo narodne prosvjete)⁶³⁴ vodilo je brigu o cjelokupnoj kulturnoj politici u NDH, a Glavno ravnateljstvo za promidžbu bilo je nadležno za cenzuru u svim kulturnim područjima.⁶³⁵ Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti prestala je postojati i odredbom Ante Pavelića od 12. srpnja 1941. osnovana je Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti kojoj su pripala sva prava, obveze i imovina JAZU-a. Sveučilište je reorganizirano i prelazi pod izravni nadzor Ministarstva bogoštovlja i nastave. Osnovan je Hrvatski izdavački bibliografski zavod koji je izdao pet od planiranih dvanaest svezaka Hrvatske enciklopedije. Djelovalo je i Društvo hrvatskih književnika, Ured za hrvatski jezik, Hrvatsko narodno kazalište, Ravnateljstvo za film, a svi sa zadaćom promicanja „čistog“ hrvatskog jezika i poticanja hrvatskoga nacionalnog duha.⁶³⁶

633 MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2002., 136.

634 Zakonskom odredbom o Državnoj vladi Nezavisne Države Hrvatske od 24. lipnja 1941. Ministarstvo pravosuđa pod svoju je nadležnost stavilo i cjelokupne pravosudne poslove iz nadležnosti Ministarstva bogoštovlja i nastave te se otad naziva Ministarstvo pravosuđa i bogoštovlja.

635 MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2002., 57.

636 MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2002., 135-150.

DURING WORLD WAR II

THE CONSERVATION SERVICE DURING THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA (NDH)

Ideas related to German National Socialism and Italian fascism were accepted with the collapse of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia on April 10, 1941.⁶²⁹

In the spirit of the National Socialist cultural policy⁶³⁰, the Independent State of Croatia assigned cultural institutions the role of promoting national consciousness and ideological transformation in accordance with

proclaimed fascist principles.⁶³¹ In the of Independent State of Croatia, the Ministry of Religion and Education (renamed the Ministry of National Education)⁶³² was in charge of cultural policy, and the General Directorate for Publicity was responsible for censorship in all cultural fields.⁶³³ The Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts ceased to exist, and, on July 12, 1941, Ante Pavelić founded the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts that received all rights, obligations and property of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts. The university was reorganized and placed under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Religion and Education. The Croatian Publishing and Bibliographic Institute was founded, and published five out of twelve planned volumes of the Croatian Encyclopaedia. The Croatian Writers' Association, the Office for the Croatian Language, the Croatian National Theatre and the Film Directorate all had the task to promote a "pure" Croatian language and stimulate the Croatian national spirit.⁶³⁴

629 National Socialism (Nazism), the political doctrine of the German National Socialist Workers' Party, is a mix of nationalist, xenophobic and racist ideas about the threat to a unified German nation. ONE, 2005: Vol. XIV, 162. Fascism – nationalist and totalitarian movement and ideology that originated in Italy, Milan, March 23, 1919 as a movement based on loyalty to the state, party and leader. ONE, 2005: Vol. VI, 185

630 The Nationalist Society for German Culture was founded in 1928 – the Nationalist Scientific Society was based in Munich under the leadership of Alfred Rosenberg to promote German national culture. Shortly after it was founded, the Society changed its name to the Fighting Alliance for German Culture (*Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*). Members of the society were university professors. The first major meeting was held at the German Culture Alliance in Weimar, where political leaders were presented: Josef Göbbels, Hermann Göring, Darre, Baldur von Schirach and Gaulter. A number of cultural associations and the entire German national youth movement joined the Fighting Alliance. Expert groups on fine arts, music, theatre, dance, literature and science were also part of the Fighting Alliance. BRENNER, HILDEGARD, 1992, 11-28. During World War II, Rosenberg and Göring were the main enforcers of the seizure of Jewish property, based on racial laws.

631 MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2002, 136.

632 Under the law on State Government of the Independent State of Croatia on June 24, 1941, the Ministry of Justice placed under its jurisdiction the entire judicial affairs service that was previously under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Religion and Education, and changed its name to the Ministry of Justice and Religion.

633 MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2002, 57.

634 MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2002, 135-150.



The Independent State of Croatia believed that cultural heritage was a significant confirmation of the continuity and value of Croatian history, and the Conservation Institute in Zagreb was recognized as the primary institution for its protection. This was partly due to the new division of territory, since Split was no longer part of the Independent State of Croatia, and to the Conservation Institute in Split having lost its jurisdiction over the area it was previously in charge of.⁶³⁵

Poglavnik Ante Pavelić changed the name of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb to the Croatian State Conservation Institute, and put it under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Religion and Education. The newly appointed institute included: acting conservator Gjuro Szabo, assistant Tihomil Stahuljak, janitor Ivan Kanižanec, and part-time assistant Ivan Bach⁶³⁶, curator of the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts at the time. On April 12, 1941, all officials were required to swear allegiance to the newly declared Independent State of Croatia.⁶³⁷

635 The Independent State of Croatia included present-day Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Srijem. With the Treaty of Rome on May 18, 1941, the Independent State of Croatia lost Dalmatia, parts of the Croatian Littoral and Gorski Kotar. Dubrovnik remained the only city on the coast, so in the future reorganization of the Conservation Service, Dubrovnik was considered the seat of Dalmatia. GOLDSTEIN, IVO, 2008, 375.

636 In the article, Bach gives an interesting overview of the development of art history. More: BACH, IVAN, 1943.

637 The oath was taken by Gjuro Szabo, Tihomil Stahuljak and Ivan Kanižanec. The minutes were drawn up on April 12, 1941. At the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, witnesses of the oath were Vladimir Tkaličić, director, and Ivan Bach, curator of the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts. Oath text: "*I swear to God Almighty and give my word of honour, that I will be faithful to the State of Croatia and the Chief, as a representative of its sovereignty, that I will respect and abide by its constitutional provisions and laws, that I will always see the interests of the State of Croatia and the Croatian people to have and to sacrifice sacrificially, that I will consciously execute the orders of the superiors. God help me so!*" Ministry of Culture and Media (hereinafter: MKM) – Central Documentation of Cultural Heritage (hereinafter: SDKB) – Independent State of Croatia (hereinafter: NDH) letter number 70-1941, April 12, 1941. In June 1941, the Ministry of Religion and Education had to make a statement on racial affiliation of Conservation Institute officers and spouses. MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 107-1941. The text of the statement: "*Signed... born on... in... religion... former religion... aware that incorrect information and silence about known information would entail a sentence of imprisonment of at least three months and loss of service, or the right to exercise a profession, I declare to the best of my knowledge and conscience, and by calling upon my oath of office that there are no non-Aryan origins among my ancestors, and that my spouse... is not of non-Aryan origin.*" MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 108-1941, June 16, 1941.

Taught by the devastation during World War I, and the recent destruction caused by the war, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb reacted very quickly and, on May 10, 1941, proposed that the Ministry of Religion and Education issue a *Declaration on the Protection of works of art and history from destruction* for the Independent State of Croatia⁶³⁸. The Declaration referred to all objects and buildings with artistic or historical value needed to understand the history and culture associated with Croatia or other nations which left traces of their activities. Appropriation, alienation, alteration or destruction of such objects was prohibited. Local administrative authorities had to inform the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, the Conservation Institute in Split or the conservator in Dubrovnik about such events. The task of the Zagreb Conservation Institute was to preserve, collect and edit information on cultural, historical and art monuments.⁶³⁹

By adopting the *Decree on the preservation of antiquities and natural monuments* and the *Legislative provision forbidding the alienation and removal of antique art, cultural, historical and natural monuments in the Independent State of Croatia*, all buildings with equipment or objects of greater or lesser cultural and historical significance owned by private individuals or the former government, that often had the significance of private collections, became the property of the state. The Conservation Institute in Zagreb, the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts, the Croatian National Ethnographic Museum and the Croatian National History Museum maintained that cultural, historical and art objects, regardless if they were state or private property, should be decommissioned and handed over to state museums. Therefore, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb and the museum directorates wanted the Ministry of Religion and Education to form two or more committees with experts from the Conservation Institutes, state museums and galleries in Zagreb and Split, to review and list the aforementioned objects

638 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 81-1941, May 10, 1941.

639 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 90-1941. (undated)

Kulturna baština u NDH smatrana je značajnom potvrdom kontinuiteta i vrijednosti hrvatske povijesti, a Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu prepoznat je kao primarna institucija u zaštiti kulturnog naslijeđa. Dijelom je to posljedica nove teritorijalne podjele prema kojoj Split nije bio u sastavu NDH, te je Konzervatorski zavod u Splitu izgubio nadležnost nad dotadašnjim područjem.⁶³⁷

Prema naredbi Poglavnika Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu promijenio je ime u Hrvatski državni konzervatorski zavod, u nadležnosti Ministarstva bogoštovlja i nastave (sl. 37). U novoimenovanom zavodu bili su: v. d. konzervator Gjuro Szabo, Tihomil Stahuljak kao dnevničar asistent, podvornik Ivan Kanižanec i honorarni asistent Konzervatorskog zavoda Ivan Bach⁶³⁸, tada kustos Hrvatskoga narodnog muzeja za umjetnost i obrt. Svi su službenici 12. travnja 1941. morali prisegnuti na vjernost tek proglašenoj NDH.⁶³⁹

Poučen razaranjima tijekom Prvoga svjetskog rata, a s obzirom na novonastala ratna zbivanja, Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu vrlo je brzo reagirao te je predložio

637 NDH je obuhvaćala današnju Hrvatsku, Bosnu i Hercegovinu i Srijem. Rimskim ugovorom 18. svibnja 1941. NDH je izgubila Dalmaciju, dijelove Hrvatskog primorja i Gorskoga kotara. Od gradova na obali ostao je samo Dubrovnik, stoga se u budućoj reorganizaciji konzervatorske službe Dubrovnik smatrao sjedištem za Dalmaciju. GOLDSTEIN, IVO, 2008., 375.

638 Bach u članku daje zanimljiv pregled razvoja povijesti umjetnosti. Više: BACH, IVAN, 1943.

639 Prisegu su polagali Gjuro Szabo, Tihomil Stahuljak i Ivan Kanižanec. Zapisnik je sastavljen 12. travnja 1941. U Konzervatorskom zavodu u Zagrebu, svjedoci prisega bili su Vladimir Tkalčić, ravnatelj i Ivan Bach, kustos Hrvatskog narodnog muzeja za umjetnost i obrt. Tekst Prisega: „Prisizem Bogu Svemogućem i dajem svoju časnu riječ, da ću Državi Hrvatskoj i Poglavniku kao predstavniku njenog suvereniteta vjeran biti, da ću njene ustavne odredbe i zakone poštivati i njih se držati, da ću interese Države Hrvatske i naroda hrvatskog uvijek pred očima imati i poštovno promicati, da ću naloge predpostavljenih svjesno izvršiti. Tako mi Bog pomoga!“ Ministarstvo kulture i medija (dalje: MKM) – Središnja dokumentacija kulturne baštine (dalje: SDKB) – Nezavisna Država Hrvatska (dalje: NDH) dopis broj 70-1941. od 12. travnja 1941. U lipnju 1941. zatražena je od Ministarstva bogoštovlja i nastave izjava o rasnoj pripadnosti službenika Konzervatorskog zavoda i bračnih partnera. MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 107-1941. Tekst Izjave: „Podpisani... rođen dne... u... vjera... prijašnja vjera... svjestan da bi neispravni podaci i prešućivanje poznatih mi podataka povukli za sobom kaznu zatvora od najmanje tri mjeseca i gubitak službe, odnosno pravo na vršenje zvanja, izjavljujem prema svom najboljem znanju i savjesti i pozivom na svoju službenu prisegu, da među mojim predcima nema osoba nearijskog podrijetla te da moj bračni drug... nema osoba nearijskog porijekla.“ MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 108-1941 od 16. lipnja 1941.



37 Radni prostor konzervatora u Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt (MKM-SDKB-F)

Conservator workspace at the Museum of Arts and Crafts (MKM-SDKB-F)

Ministarstvu bogoštovlja i nastave 10. svibnja 1941. da za područje Nezavisne Države Hrvatske izda *Proglas u svezi zaštite umjetničkih i povijesnih predmeta od uništenja*⁶⁴⁰. *Proglas* se odnosio na sve predmete i građevine koje imaju umjetničku ili povijesnu vrijednost potrebnu za poznavanje povijesti i kulture vezane s hrvatskim ili drugim narodima koji su ostavili tragove svojeg djelovanja. Prisvajanje, otuđivanje, preinaka ili uništavanje takvih predmeta bilo je zabranjeno. Mjesne upravne vlasti bile su o tim događajima dužne obavijestiti Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu ili Konzervatorski zavod u Splitu odnosno konzervatora u Dubrovniku. Zadatci Konzervatorskoga zavoda u Zagrebu bili su čuvanje, sakupljanje i sređivanje podataka o kulturno-povijesnim i umjetničkim spomenicima.⁶⁴¹

Donošenjem *Uredbe o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika* i *Zakonske odredbe o zabrani otuđivanja i izvoza starinskih umjetničkih, kulturno-povijesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske*, u posjed državnih vlasti prešle su sve građevine s opremom ili pojedini predmeti većega ili manjeg kulturno-povijesnog značenja u posjedu privatnika ili bivših vlasti, a često su imali značaj privatne zbirke. Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu, Hrvatski narodni muzej za umjetnost i obrt, Hrvatski narodni etnografski muzej i Hrvatski narodni

640 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 81-1941. dopis od 10. svibnja 1941.

641 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 90-1941. (bez datuma)

and decide on their transfer to museums or galleries⁶⁴⁰. In return, previous owners received works by Croatian artists that were already in state collections, but had no scientific or educational importance, despite their aesthetic value. With regard to the list of privately owned cultural, historical and art objects, the Conservation Institute asked for assistance from the Police Directorate, given that some owners put off or avoided making the list⁶⁴¹. In accordance with the *Legislative provision forbidding the removal of antique art, cultural, historical and natural monuments in the Independent State of Croatia*, the Conservation Institute issued a *Warning to Owners of Antiquities*,⁶⁴² inviting all private persons who owned art, cultural, historical or "private monuments" to notify the Conservation Institute in Zagreb. The letter stated that these items would remain in the owners' possession, and that they would simply be informed of the value of their artwork. An article was published in the newspaper, explaining that some individuals misunderstood the process of listing private collections, thinking that the items were being requisitioned, but it was really about conservation, and the primary purpose was to bring order to the sale of art and antiques.⁶⁴³

The Conservation Institute sent one or several delegates to list, document and study these items, and owners were given a certificate pertaining to the result of the completed list, so they themselves could see the value of their works of art. The items remained the possession of the owners if they gave them to the newly named Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts, if they could not take care of them.⁶⁴⁴ People who listed works of art and kept records of antiques had special identity cards issued by the Conservation Institute and competent directors of the Croatian national muse-

ums, and endorsed by the authorities. Antique dealers were warned not to buy or sell any items without the permission of the Ministry of Religion and Education.⁶⁴⁵ According to the aforementioned Legislative provision forbidding the removal of items, the Ministry decided that the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts should take all cultural, historical and art objects (Article 3 of the Legislative provision) from Orthodox churches and monasteries through its delegates, and transport them to the Museum⁶⁴⁶ (Fig. 37). Officials from the Croatian National Archaeological Museum, the Croatian National History Museum and the Conservation Institute in Zagreb also participated in this operation.⁶⁴⁷

In 1942, Vladimir Tkalčić, director of the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts, opened a restoration workshop at the Museum because a large amount of artwork had arrived, most of which was in poor condition. Zvonimir Wyroubal, Antonija Tkalčić and Stanislava Dekleva worked in the workshop.⁶⁴⁸

In October 1941, the *Legal Provision for Supporting the Property of Jews and Jewish Enterprises* was passed, by which all Jewish movable and immovable property became the property of the state⁶⁴⁹. The seizure of objects of historical, cultural and artistic value began immediately after the Independent State of Croatia was established, and continued until the end of the war with

640 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 82-1941, May 10, 1941.

641 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 87-1941, May 23, 1941,

642 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 90-1941. (undated)

643 N. N. 1941a.

644 Various legislative provisions challenged the right of private ownership by Jews. Proof of this is the order of the Reichsmarschall Hermann Göring on the distribution of Jewish art treasures on November 5, 1940, which set out instructions on what to do with works of art which would be moved to German or French museums, as well as works of art the Führer reserved the right to or that would be used to complete the Reichsmarschall Collection. EDESEL, M. ROBERT, 2013, 35.

645 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 90-1941. (undated)

646 Szabo wrote to Juraj Marković, grand mayor of the Grand Parish of Modruš, announcing that the monastery in Gomirje would be turned into a school of economics, and asked that the art, cultural, historical and archival monuments, protected under the Decrees, be handed over to the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts and the State Archives in Zagreb. Vladimir Tkalčić and Ivan Bach were authorized to take the items. MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 127-1941, July 5, 1941. Karaman appealed to the Ministry of Education to spare the destruction of the *Greek-Eastern* wooden chapel in Pokuplje, noting that the German art historian Josef Strzygowski recognized the value of such buildings. MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 341-1941, November 14, 1941.

647 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 24323/1941, July 19, 1941.

648 As Zvonimir Wyroubal states, a large number of items that were shipped were inventoried and photographed, and all the Museum's curators participated. The equipment of the workshop was taken from Goglina's workshop after his death in 1943. By the end of the war, Wyroubal had restored some 50 paintings. WYROUBAL, ZVONIMIR, 1965, 116-117.

649 GOLDSTEIN, IVO, 2001, 182.



38 Mirko Šeper, Marijan Gionichetti i jedan vojnik na kolodvoru u Vrhovinama prilikom dopreme pravoslavnih umjetnina u Zagreb (foto: Ivan Bach, 1941.)

Mirko Šeper, Marijan Gionichetti and a soldier at the train station in Vrhovine during the delivery of Orthodox works of art to Zagreb, 1941 (photo: Ivan Bach, 1941)

historički muzej držali su da kulturno-povijesne i umjetničke predmete, bez obzira na državno ili privatno vlasništvo, treba izlučiti iz upotrebe i predati na čuvanje državnim muzejima. Stoga su Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu i ravnateljstva muzeja tražili od Ministarstva bogoštovlja i nastave formiranje dvaju ili više odbora stručnjaka iz redova Konzervatorskih zavoda kao i državnih muzeja i galerija u Zagrebu i Splitu, a s namjerom da se pregledaju i popišu spomenuti predmeti te odluči o njihovom prijenosu u muzej ili galeriju⁶⁴². Prijašnji su vlasnici u zamjenu dobivali djela hrvatskih umjetnika koja su se već nalazila u državnim zbirkama, ali unatoč estetskoj vrijednosti nisu imala znanstvenu ili prosvjetnu važnost. U vezi s popisom kulturno-povijesnih i umjetničkih predmeta u privatnom vlasništvu Konzervatorski zavod uputio je molbu za pomoć Redarstvenom ravnateljstvu, s obzirom na to da su neki vlasnici odgađali ili izbjegavali izvršenje popisa.⁶⁴³ Konzervatorski zavod je na temelju *Zakonske odredbe o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih umjetničkih, kulturno-povijesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području NDH* izdao *Upozorenje vlasnicima starina*⁶⁴⁴ u kojem poziva sve privatne osobe koje posje-

642 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 82-1941. od 10. svibnja 1941.

643 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 87-1941. od 23. svibnja 1941.

644 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 90-1941. (bez datuma).

duju umjetničke, kulturno-povijesne ili „privatne spomenike“ da o tome obavijeste Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu. U dopisu se ističe da navedeni predmeti ostaju u posjedu vlasnika te da neće biti oštećeni, nego upućeni u vrijednost umjetnina koje posjeduju. U novinama je izašao članak u kojem se objašnjava da su neki krivo shvatili popisivanje privatnih zbirki, misleći da se radi o rekviziciji, dok se stvarno radi o konzervaciji te da je osnovna svrha bila uvođenje reda u trgovini umjetničkih djela i starina.⁶⁴⁵

Konzervatorski zavod upućivao je svojeg izaslanika ili više njih da te predmete popišu, snime i prouče, a vlasniku su dane potvrde o rezultatu završenog popisa pa su sami vlasnici mogli spoznati vrijednost svojih umjetnina. Predmeti su ostajali u posjedu vlasnika, iako su te predmete, u slučaju da se nisu mogli brinuti o njima, predali u novoimenovani Hrvatski narodni muzej za umjetnost i obrt.⁶⁴⁶ Osobe koje su popisivale umjet-

645 N. N. 1941a.

646 Razne zakonske odredbe osporavale su pravo privatnoga vlasništva Židovima. Dokaz tomu je i naredba Reichsmarschalla Hermanna Göringa o raspodjeli židovskoga umjetničkog blaga od 5. studenoga 1940., u kojoj su određene upute o postupanju s umjetninama, koje će se premjestiti u njemačke ili francuske muzeje, potom umjetnina na koje Führer zadržava pravo ili će upotrijebiti Reichsmarschallovu zbirku. EDESEL, M. ROBERT, 2013., 35.

the help of a series of newly enacted legal provisions.⁶⁵⁰ In May 1941, when he handed over gold objects of artistic and cultural-historical value belonging to Zagreb Jews⁶⁵¹, Gjuro Szabo addressed the Police Directorate to oppose the destruction of the aforementioned items. He suggested that the employees of the Conservation Institute and the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts inspect the works of art in order to preserve the most valuable items in the museum (Fig. 38). The request for the review of gold items that Szabo sent to the Croatian State Bank was approved by the Ministry of the Interior and the Police Directorate. No records were found in the files about the items transported to the museums.⁶⁵²

On June 13, 1941, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb asked the Ministry of Religion and Education, Department for Higher Education and Research Institutes to appoint prof. Anđela Horvat as Secretary to list and study cultural, historical and art monuments⁶⁵³. On July 18, 1941, the Ministry of Education approved the aforementioned request, and as early as August 25, Szabo applied to the Ministry for her appointment as Assistant Trainee of the Conservation Institute. On August 19, 1941⁶⁵⁴, shortly after the arrival of Anđela Horvat at the Institute, the Department of Higher Education and the Research Institutes of the Ministry appointed Ljubo Karaman as conservator of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, and thus, he moved from Split to Zagreb⁶⁵⁵ (Fig. 39, 40). Apart from Gjuro Szabo, Ljubo Karaman, Anđela Horvat, Jovan Zvonimir and Tihomil Stahuljak, the Institute also employed technical staff: accountant Zlata Belošević and janitor Ivan Kanižanec. In 1943, Ana Bogdanović⁶⁵⁶ was hired as secretary. During 1944, everyone except Jovan Zvonimir was on the list, and Mladen Veža⁶⁵⁷, painter, was hired as a trainee draftsman. In April

1945, Ksenija Petrošić was hired as an assistant trainee, and Zlata Škrnjug was hired in accounting.

As part of the regular activity of the Conservation Institute, Ljubo Karaman, Anđela Horvat and Tihomil Stahuljak travelled and recorded the condition of monuments in continental Croatia (Križevci, Bjelovar, Sisak, Krapina, Koprivnica, Lepoglava, Ivanić Grad, Pakrac, Daruvar, Virovitica, Požega, Karlovac), with comments and recommendations about particular monuments on the lists, based on which the Regulations on Antiquities were adopted⁶⁵⁸. Regulations were intended to prevent the demolition, partitioning and reconstruction of immovable monuments. Based on the lists, depending on the situation in the field, they also suggested opening city museums, as for example in Bjelovar⁶⁵⁹.

In addition to recording and listing movable monuments, the Conservation Institute also addressed the problem of protection in the "field". On September 16, 1941, Tihomil Stahuljak submitted a report from his trip to Varaždin and Lepoglava (Fig. 41, 42), describing the situation he had found in the parish church in Lepoglava:

"The four main figures of the saints on the main altar, which were re-gilded a few years ago, were coated on this occasion with a kind of varnish. The preservation of these altars in the parish church, therefore, was a very delicate operation for which the present craftsman (to whom the pastor Krčmar had entrusted this work) was not up to the task. He went far beyond the limits of conservation and embarked on a tasteless restoration. I could tell he had used strong cleaning agents during the primary cleaning and had removed a layer of dirt with soda..."⁶⁶⁰

Based on Tihomil Stahuljak's report, the Conservation Institute wrote to the parish office in Lepoglava with a warning that unprofessional conservation and restoration was performed in the chapel of St. John in Lepoglava and the chapel of St. George in Purga, without the permission of

650 Legislative provision on the Property of Persons Displaced from the Independent State of Croatia (August 7, 1941), Legislative provision on the nationalisation of Jewish Property (October 30, 1942). GOLDSTEIN, IVO, 2001, 178-182.

651 Jews sought to avoid persecution by the Ustasha authorities by handing over their gold items. GOLDSTEIN, IVO, 2003, 379.

652 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 86-1941, May 23, 1941.

653 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 104-1941, June 13, 1941.

654 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 16208-1941.

655 N. N. 1941 *Novi list* newspaper, May 19, 1941.

656 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 78330-1943.

657 Mladen Veža (1916 – 2010), painter and illustrator.

658 Regulations were issued for all major sites and were approved by the Ministry of Construction. They did not cover movable monuments.

659 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1944, 72.

660 MKM-SDKB-NDH letter number 185, Tihomil Stahuljak's Report from his trip to Varaždin and Lepoglava on September 16, 1941.



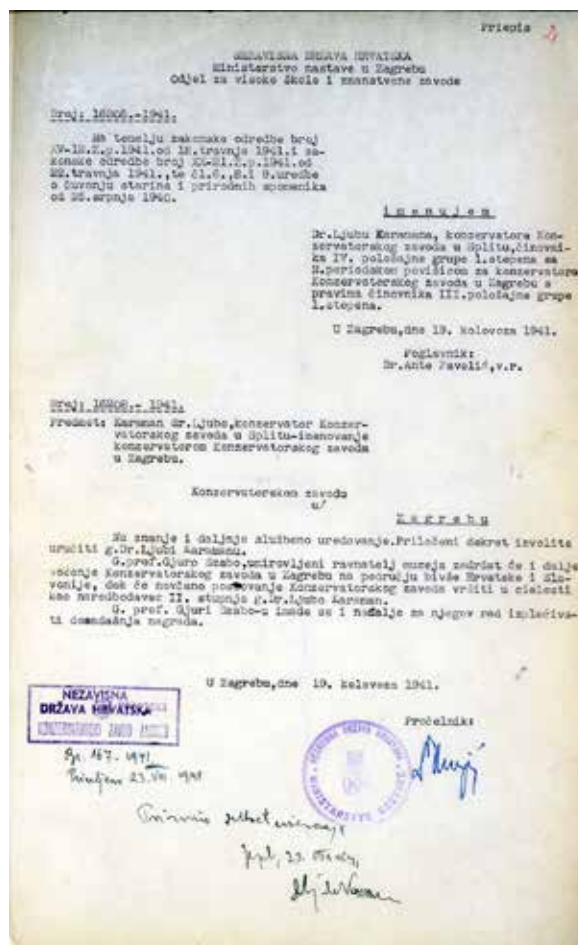
39 Ljubo Karaman
(MKM-UZKB-F)
Ljubo Karaman
(MKM-UZKB-F)

nine i vodile evidenciju o starinama imale su posebne iskaznice koje su izdali Konzervatorski zavod i nadležni ravnatelji hrvatskih narodnih muzeja, a potvrdile su ih redarstvene vlasti. Trgovci starinama upozoreni su da ne kupuju i ne prodaju niti jedan predmet bez dopuštenja Ministarstva bogoštovlja i nastave.⁶⁴⁷ Prema navedenoj Zakonskoj odredbi o zabrani otuđivanja Ministarstvo je odredilo da Hrvatski narodni muzej za umjetnost i obrt sve kulturno-povijesne i umjetničke predmete (na koje se odnosi članak 3. Odredbe) iz pravoslavnih crkava i manastira preuzme preko svojih izaslanika i dopremi u Muzej⁶⁴⁸ (sl. 37). U spomenutoj su akciji, prema potrebi, sudjelovali i službenici Hrvatskoga narodnog arheološkog muzeja, Hrvatskoga narodnog povijesnog muzeja i Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu.⁶⁴⁹

647 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 90-1941. (bez datuma).

648 Szabo se obraća Jurju Markoviću, velikom županu Velike župe Modruš, povodom obavijesti da će se samostan u Gomirju pretvoriti u gospodarsku školu te moli da se umjetnički i kulturno-povijesni te arhivski spomenici, zaštićeni prema tada donesenim Uredbama, predaju Hrvatskom narodnom muzeju za umjetnost i obrt i Državnom arhivu u Zagrebu. Za preuzimanje predmeta bili su ovlaštteni Vladimir Tkalčić i Ivan Bach. MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 127-1941 od 5. srpnja 1941. Karaman se obratio Ministarstvu nastave s molbom da se poštede uništavanja *grčko-istočne* drvene kapelice u Pokuplju, naglašavajući da je njemački povjesničar umjetnosti Josef Strzygowski prepoznao vrijednost navedenih građevina. MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 341-1941 od 14. studenog 1941.

649 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 24323/1941. od 19. srpnja 1941.



40 Ljubo Karaman, imenovanje (MKM-SDKB-A)
Ljubo Karaman, nomination (MKM-SDKB-A)

Ravnatelj Hrvatskoga narodnog muzeja za umjetnost i obrt Vladimir Tkalčić zbog pristizanja velikog broja predmeta, od kojih je većina bila u lošem stanju, otvorio je restauratorsku radionicu u Muzeju 1942. godine. U radionici su radili Zvonimir Wyroubal, Antonija Tkalčić i Stanislava Dekleva.⁶⁵⁰

U listopadu 1941. donesena je *Zakonska odredba o podržavljenju imetka Židova i židovskih poduzeća*, kojom je sva židovska pokretna i nepokretna imovina postala državno

650 Kako navodi Wyroubal, velika količina predmeta koja je bila dopremljena inventarizirana je i fotografirana, a sudjelovali su svi kustosi Muzeja. Oprema radionice preuzeta je iz Gogline radionice nakon njegove smrti 1943. godine. Do kraja rata Wyroubal je restaurirao pedesetak slika. WYROUBAL, ZVONIMIR, 1965., 116-117.

the Conservation Institute, so the Institute requested the urgent suspension of further work. Gjuro Szabo referred to Art. 10. of the *Decree on the preservation of antiquities and natural monuments*, according to which no actions or interventions could be carried out on monuments without the permission of competent conservators.⁶⁶¹

The parish office replied to the Conservation Institute on September 26, 1941, that the work on the altars was completed by Ivan Robnik:

*"...He restored statues and torsos perfectly, so that even the best experts did not recognize what is new in the former torsos, because Robnik is an artistic sculptor and knows how to apply patina flawlessly. In addition, there are already several hundreds of his restorations in the diocesan museum in Zagreb..."*⁶⁶². Furthermore, the pastor asked Gjuro Szabo to come and inspect the work so that they could subsequently obtain permission from the Institute to continue the work.

The Conservation Institute proposed a reconstruction of the interior of the parish church of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Čučerje. Anđela Horvat inspected the church and ascertained the condition and earlier devastation: *"...Holy Trinity – badly mended with cloth and nails, and the Whipping is pierced. With four altars, a well-preserved pulpit, baptismal font, benches, confessional, organ, three thuribles. Good old gilding on church furniture..."*⁶⁶³ The proposal for the reconstruction wanted to reconcile the wishes of the pastor and the conservation practice of preserving the old church inventory. Horvat proposed the purchase of a Baroque altar for the sanctuary, appropriate to the interior of the church as well as the removal of the crucifix, the sculpture of the Virgin and lateral altars. The report ends with the remark: *"...If this is not implemented quickly, he will carry out his idea without the knowledge of the Conservation Institute, provided he has sufficient funds at his*

*disposal."*⁶⁶⁴ Based on the attached Report, Ljubo Karaman sent a letter to the parish office in Čučerje in accordance with the guidelines proposed by Horvat.⁶⁶⁵

After a visit to Ozalj, Ljubo Karaman sent a letter to the parish office in Ozalj with very clear instructions about church inventory moved from the church of St. Anthony that was built by Count Šubić. He asked for the items to continue to be used in the parish church or to be handed over to the Ozalj antique collection. The old statues only needed dusting, and he was against repainting because they would lose their *old-fashioned appearance and character*.⁶⁶⁶

Ljubo Karaman wrote to the Franciscan monastery in Hvar that he would use his own funds to repair the great altarpiece of Francesco da Santa Croce in the monastery church. He also offered assistance in restoring other valuable and damaged monastery and church paintings on the island of Hvar. Jerko Macchiedo, commissioner of the Institute, was supposed to choose the paintings. The altarpieces of St. Peter and St. Anthony were restored by Stanislava Dekleva.⁶⁶⁷

In addition to the above-mentioned examples of protection of movable art, the Conservation Institute also participated in assessing the condition of the altar from Vrbovec which was stored in the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts. Zdenka Munk, Vladimir Tkalčić, Slavka Dekleva, Tihomil Stahuljak, Ivan Bach and Marcel Gorenc participated in providing an expert opinion on the condition and any necessary restoration.⁶⁶⁸ Based on a comprehensive description (architectural construction, paint coatings, gilding and damage) and remarks about interventions on the altar, they concluded: *"...According to the above, it is necessary to professionally and precisely fix the wooden parts of the altar which are diverging, and at the same time, remove all modern, tasteless and for the general artistic value of this work, harmful later coatings and gilding, to bring the*

661 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 186a-1941.

662 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 506-1941, September 26, 1941, the pastor wrote to the Conservation Institute.

663 MKM-SDKB-NDH Report from Anđela Horvat's trip, No. 437, August 10, 1942.

664 MKM-SDKB-NDH Report from Anđela Horvat's trip, No. 437, August 10, 1942.

665 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 457-1942, August 10, 1942.

666 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 440-1941, December 22, 1941.

667 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 470-1942, August 12, 1942.

668 MKM-SDKB-NDH Record No. 218-1943, April 29, 1943.



41 Lepoglava, crkva sv. Marije, 1941. (MKM-SDKB-F)
Lepoglava, St. Mary's Church, 1941 (MKM-SDKB-F)



42 Lepoglava, detalj (MKM-SDKB-F)
Lepoglava, detail (MKM-SDKB-F)

vlasništvo⁶⁵¹. Oduzimanje predmeta povijesne, kulturne i umjetničke vrijednosti počelo je odmah nakon proglašenja NDH, a nastavljeno je do kraja rata uz pomoć niza novodonesenih zakonskih odredbi.⁶⁵² Pri predaji zlatnih predmeta umjetničke i kulturno-povijesne vrijednosti zagrebačkih Židova⁶⁵³, u svibnju 1941. Gjuro Szabo se obratio Redarstvenom ravnateljstvu protiveći se uništenju spomenutih predmeta. Stoga je predložio da zaposlenici Konzervatorskoga zavoda i Hrvatskoga narodnog muzeja za umjetnost i obrt pregledaju dospjele umjetnine, kako bi se najvrjednije sačuvale u muzeju (sl. 38). Konzervatorski zavod dobio je suglasnost od Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova i Redarstvenog ravnateljstava

651 GOLDSTEIN, IVO, 2001., 182.

652 Zakonska odredba o imovini osoba iseljenih s područja NDH od 7. kolovoza 1941., Zakonska odredba o podržavljenju židovske imovine od 30. listopada 1942. GOLDSTEIN, IVO, 2001., 178-182.

653 Židovi su pokušavali izbjeći progon ustaških vlasti predavanjem zlatnih predmeta. GOLDSTEIN, IVO, 2003., 379.

za pregled zlatnih predmeta koju Szabo upućuje Hrvatskoj državnoj banci. U spisima nisu pronađeni podatci o predmetima koji su preneseni u muzeje.⁶⁵⁴

Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu obratio se 13. lipnja 1941. Ministarstvu bogoštovlja i nastave, Pododsjeku za visoke škole i znanstvene zavode, s molbom za prijem u službu prof. Anđele Horvat na mjesto tajnika, a u svrhu popisivanja i proučavanja kulturno-povijesnih i umjetničkih spomenika⁶⁵⁵. Ministarstvo nastave je 18. srpnja 1941. odobrilo prijem Anđele Line Horvat u službu u Konzervatorskom zavodu u Zagrebu, a već 25. kolovoza Szabo se obratio Ministarstvu s molbom za njezino imenovanje asistentom vježbenikom Konzervatorskoga zavoda. Ubrzo nakon dolaska Anđele Horvat u Zavod, Odjel za visoke škole i znanstvene zavode Ministarstva

654 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 86-1941. od 23. svibnja 1941.

655 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 104-1941. od 13. lipnja 1941.

*original form of the work to the fore, i.e. an altar with a statue of the Virgin.*⁶⁶⁹

Although it is not possible to speak of the protection of movable art for a specific type of monument, the Institute sent a letter to the Mayor of the Grand Parish of Baranja in Osijek, asking him to remove all movable church objects such as iconostasis and icons, before the Orthodox Church was destroyed. Delegates from the Ministry and the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts were supposed to pick up the items.⁶⁷⁰ The principle of protection in difficult times was to store movable cultural property in museums or other "safe places". This principle of protection was implemented through regulations and laws.

By joining the conservation service, A. Horvat began to arrange the material of the photo archives, the library, the hemeroteque, the map collection and records of the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments*. The result of this work is found in two publications: *Contributions to the historical development of the preservation of artistic and cultural monuments in Croatia* (1943), and *Conservation and the Croats* (1944).⁶⁷¹ Both publications are about the history of the conservation service in Croatia. For the first time, *Conservation and the Croats* discusses conservation ethics, methodology and terminology, and outlines the institutional development of cultural heritage preservation.⁶⁷² She approached the topic in a contemporary way by using a range of professional publications by foreign authors (Dagobert Frey, Alois Riegl, Hans Kalinger and others)⁶⁷³. Movable art heritage was not singled out as a separate entity, it was discussed in the context of monument protection. In addition to professional publications, Horvat also published articles in newspapers to develop awareness about monument protection. One such article was *The preservation of art, cultural and historical monu-*

ments in Croatia, in which she explained the role of conservators, gave a brief history of the protection service and explained conservation principles, using clear examples.⁶⁷⁴

There is no accurate information as to who made the *Proposals for the photo archive of the Croatian State Conservation Institute in Zagreb*, but given its systematic and analytical nature, it can be assumed that it was made by Anđela Horvat and Ana Deanović⁶⁷⁵ for the use of the photo archives. The *Proposal* clearly lists the rules for using the materials in the archives. According to the Proposal, the negatives could not be lent, but the Institute's photographer had made photographs that did not have a negative, the Institute made and kept one copy of the negative and had the second copy produced for the customer. Photographs made from negatives owned by the Institute were produced at a cost that included an additional charge of 50% of the cost in favour of the Institute.

Ljubo Karaman and the organization of the protection service

Ljubo Karaman began the reorganization of the protection service when he became conservator at the State Conservation Institute in Zagreb. His arrival was also mentioned in the daily newspaper which outlined his plans for the implementation of the new organization and closer contact with municipal and church authorities⁶⁷⁶. He began the reorganization by examining the condition of cultural, historical and art objects and monuments in Osijek, Vukovar, Križevci, Bjelovar and Koprivnica⁶⁷⁷. Trips to Vukovar and Osijek were conducted with local experts in the field of protection, and he also focused on movable monuments. In Vukovar, Antun Bauer⁶⁷⁸ proposed the establishment of a local collection – the Society for Antiquities.⁶⁷⁹ Karaman then travelled through Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Dalmatia, in accordance with the planned establishment and reorganization of the regional protection ser-

669 MKM-SDKB-NDH Record No. 218-1943, April 29, 1943, Horvat 1944: 71.

670 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter number confidential 1/1942, January 8, 1942.

671 Prilozi poviestnom razvoju čuvanja umjetničkih i kulturno-poviestnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj, HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1943; Konzervatorski rad kod Hrvata, HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1944.

672 ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO; ŠKEGRO, ANA, 2011, 73.

673 ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO; ŠKEGRO, ANA, 2011, 77.

674 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1941.

675 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 48/1942, August 14, 1942.

676 N. N. 1941, *Novi list* newspaper no. 173, May 19, 1941.

677 MKM-SDKB-NDH travel order No. 259-1941, October 1, 1941.

678 Antun Bauer (1911-2000), art historian, curator and collector. He founded the Gliptothèque and the Museum Documentation Centre.

679 MKM-SDKB-NDH Report No. 260-1941. (undated).

imenovao je 19. kolovoza 1941.⁶⁵⁶ Ljubu Karamana za konzervatora Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu, pa se on iz Splita preselio u Zagreb⁶⁵⁷ (sl. 39, 40). Osim Szaba, Karamana, Anđele Horvat, Jovana Zvonimira i Tihomila Stahuljaka, u Zavodu je bilo zaposleno i tehničko osoblje: knjigovođa Zlata Belošević i podvornik-dnevničar Ivan Kanižanec. U tijeku 1943. godine primljena je Ana Deanović (dj. Bogdanović)⁶⁵⁸ za poslove tajnika. U tijeku 1944. na popisu su svi osim Jovana Zvonimira, a zaposlen je slikar Mladen Veža⁶⁵⁹ kao crtač vježbenik. U travnju 1945. Ksenija Petrošić dolazi u službu kao asistent vježbenik i Zlata Škrnjug u računovodstvo.

U sklopu redovite djelatnosti Konzervatorskoga zavoda Karaman, Horvat i Stahuljak putovali su i evidentirali stanje spomenika u dijelu kontinentalne Hrvatske (Križevci, Bjelovar, Sisak, Krapina, Koprivnica, Lepoglava, Ivanić Grad, Pakrac, Daruvar, Virovitica, Požega, Karlovac), dajući primjedbe i preporuke o uvrštavanju pojedinih spomenika na popise na osnovi kojih su donošeni Pravilnici za starine⁶⁶⁰. Pravilnicima se htjelo spriječiti rušenje, pregrađivanje i nadogradnja nepokretnih spomenika. Na osnovi popisa, ovisno o stanju na terenu, predlagali su i otvaranje gradskih muzeja, npr. u Bjelovaru⁶⁶¹.

Uz evidentiranje i popisivanje pokretnih spomenika, Konzervatorski zavod bavio se i rješavanjem problema zaštite na „terenu“. Tihomil Stahuljak podnio je 16. rujna 1941. izvješće s puta u Varaždin i Lepoglavu (sl. 41, 42), konstatirajući stanje koje je zatekao u župnoj crkvi u Lepoglavi:

„Četiri glavne figure svetaca na glavnom oltaru koje su prije nekoliko godina bile nanovo pozlaćene premazane su tom prilikom s jednom vrstom laka. Konzerviranje dakle tih oltara u župnoj crkvi predstavljalo je veoma delikatan zadatak kojemu sadašnji obrtnik (kojem je župnik Krčmar poverio taj zadatak) nikako nije dorastao. On je daleko prešao granice

konzerviranja i upustio se u jedan posao neukusne restauracije. Mogao sam doznati da je kod primarnog čišćenja upotrijebio žestoka sredstva i da je skidao sloj prljavštine sa sodom...“⁶⁶²

Na osnovi Stahuljakova izvješća Konzervatorski zavod obratio se Župnom uredu u Lepoglavi s upozorenjem da se u kapelici sv. Ivana u Lepoglavi i u kapelici sv. Jurja u Purgi obavlja nestručno konzerviranje i restauriranje, bez dopuštenja Konzervatorskog zavoda, pa je Zavod zatražio hitnu obustavu daljnjih radova. Szabo se pozvao na čl. 10. *Uredbe o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika* prema kojoj se bez odobrenja nadležnoga konzervatora na spomenicima nisu smjeli obavljati nikakvi zahvati i intervencije.⁶⁶³

Župni je ured dopisom od 26. rujna 1941. odgovorio Konzervatorskom zavodu da je restauratorske radove na oltarima izveo Ivan Robnik:

„...I statue i torze restaurira izvrsno tako, da ni najbolji stručnjaci ne raspoznavaju, što je na bivšem torzu novo, jer je Robnik umjetni kipar i zna bezprijekorno patinirati. Osim toga ima već par stotina njegovih restauratorskih radova u dijecezanskom muzeju u Zagrebu...“⁶⁶⁴. Nadalje je župnik zamolio Szaba da dođe pregledati radove kako bi mogli naknadno ishoditi dopuštenje Zavoda za nastavak radova.

Konzervatorski je zavod donio prijedlog preuređenja unutrašnjosti župne crkve Pohoda BDM u Čučerju. Horvat je pregledala crkvu te utvrdila stanje i ranije devastacije: *„...Sv. Tri Kralja – loše krpano krpicom i čavličima, a Bičevanje probito. Uz 4 oltara dobro očuvana propovjedaonica, krstionica, klupe, ispovjedaonica, orgulje, 3 kandidila. Na crkvenom namještaju dobra stara pozlata...“⁶⁶⁵* Prijedlog o preuređenju nastojao se uskladiti sa željama župnika poštujući konzervatorsku praksu očuvanja staroga crkvenog inventara. Horvat je predložila nabavku

656 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 16208.-1941.

657 N. N. 1941.; Novi list, 19. svibnja 1941.

658 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 78330-1943.

659 Mladen Veža (1916. – 2010.), slikar i ilustrator.

660 Pravilnici su donošeni za sva veća mjesta, a potvrđivalo ih je Ministarstvo građevine. Tim pravilnicima nisu bili obuhvaćeni pokretni spomenici.

661 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1944., 72.

662 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 185, Izvještaj Tihomila Stahuljaka s puta u Varaždin i Lepoglavu od 16. rujna 1941.

663 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 186a-1941.

664 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 506-1941. od 26. rujna 1941., župnik se obratio Konzervatorskom zavodu.

665 MKM-SDKB-NDH Izvještaj s puta Anđele Horvat pod brojem 437 od 10. kolovoza 1942.

vice. In Slavonski Brod, Sarajevo, Mostar, Čapljina and Knin, he inspected collections, museums, and monuments.⁶⁸⁰ He submitted a proposal for the gradual implementation of changes to the Ministry of Education, Department for Higher Education and Research Institutes⁶⁸¹. He also included documents called *Pro memoria I-III (Promemorija I-III)*. *Pro memoria I* and referred to the extension of the Decree on the preservation of antiquities and natural monuments from July 25, 1940 throughout the Independent State of Croatia. *Pro memoria II* referred to the headquarters of conservation institutes, and *Pro memoria III* to honorary conservators and lists of movable monuments.

In *Pro memoria I*, Ljubo Karaman suggested that the *Decree on the preservation of antiquities and natural monuments*, adopted on July 25, 1940 for the territory of the former Banovina of Croatia, should cover the entire territory of the Independent State of Croatia. A different territorial organization of the Independent State of Croatia in relation to the Banovina of Croatia in 1939 posed a problem in the implementation of the aforementioned *Decree*, so Ljubo Karaman sent a letter to the Ministry of Justice and Religion⁶⁸² requesting the Ministry to give their opinion on the jurisdiction and extension of the *Decree*. The Legislative Department of the Ministry of Justice and Religion responded that the decrees issued for the territory of the former Banovina of Croatia were valid only on the territory that belonged to the former Banovina of Croatia. In order for these regulations to apply to other areas of the Independent State of Croatia, special legal provisions had to be added.⁶⁸³

In a letter dated May 1, 1942,⁶⁸⁴ Ljubo Karaman reiterated the proposal to pass the Law on the extension of the *Decree on the preservation of antiquities and natural monu-*

ments to the entire Independent State of Croatia. In agreement with Božidar Murgić, Head of the Department for Higher Education and Research Institutes of the Ministry of Education, he came up with a way of adopting a legal provision on the preservation of cultural monuments. The draft Law on the extension of the *Decree on the preservation of antiquities and natural monuments* for the entire Independent State of Croatia contains only two articles defining the following:

§1.

The Decree on the Preservation of Antiquities and Natural Monuments on July 25, 1940 of the former Banovina of Croatia extends to the entire territory of the Independent State of Croatia.

§2.

This law shall take effect on the day it is published in the Narodne novine

Zagreb _____ 1942.⁶⁸⁵

Karaman suggested that when declaring the extension of the *Decree on the preservation of antiquities and natural monuments* to the entire territory of the Independent State of Croatia, the Decree on Museums should be immediately announced.

The Decree on the preservation of antiquities and natural monuments was not extended to the area under the administration of the Independent State of Croatia before the state ceased to exist.

Pro memoria II referred to the headquarters of conservation institutes. According to Article IV. of the Decree on the preservation of antiquities and natural monuments, the order of the Ban could define the headquarters and areas under the jurisdiction of the Conservation Institutes. Karaman suggested that the competence of the Ban be taken over by the Ministry of Education, whose orders would define the headquarters and areas of jurisdiction of the Conservation Institutes. The Conservation Institute

680 MKM-SDKB-NDH Report No. 265-1941. (undated)

681 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 272-1941, October 16, 1941, sent to the Ministry of Education.

682 With the legal decree on the State Government of the Independent State of Croatia on June 24, 1941, the Ministry of Justice was entrusted with the entire administration of justice and religion that was previously under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Religion and Education, and thus, it was renamed the Ministry of Justice and Religion.

683 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 951-Z-1942, April 24, 1942

684 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 191-1942.

685 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter Confidential No. 411/1941.

baroknog oltara za svetište primjerenog unutrašnjosti crkve, te premještaj raspela, skulpture Bogorodice (*Gospa*) i bočnih oltara. Izvještaj završava napomenom: „... Ako se ovo ne sprovede brzo u djelo, on će i mimo Konzervatorskog zavoda provesti svoju zamisao, bude li imao dosta materijalnih sredstava na raspolaganju.“⁶⁶⁶ Na osnovi priloženog izvještaja Karaman je uputio dopis župnom uredu u Čučerju u skladu sa smjernicama koje je predložila Horvat.⁶⁶⁷

Karaman je nakon terenskog obilaska u Ozlju uputio dopis župnom uredu u Ozlju gdje vrlo jasno daje upute o čuvanju crkvenog inventara premještenog iz crkve sv. Antuna koju su podigli grofovi Šubići. Zamolio je da se predmeti nastave upotrebljavati u župnoj crkvi ili da se predaju na čuvanje zbirci starina u Ozlju. Sa starih kipova potrebno je samo očistiti prašinu, a protivi se svakom prebojavanju jer se time gubio *starinski izgled i karakter*.⁶⁶⁸

Karaman je pisao franjevačkom samostanu u Hvaru da će vlastitim sredstvima popraviti veliku oltarnu sliku Francesca da Santa Croce u samostanskoj crkvi. Ponudio je i pomoć pri obnovi drugih vrijednih, a oštećenih samostanskih i crkvenih slika na otoku Hvaru. Izbor slika trebao je donijeti povjerenik Zavoda Jerko Macchiedo. Oltarne pale sv. Petra i sv. Ante restaurirala je Stanislava Dekleva.⁶⁶⁹

Uz spomenute primjere zaštite pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta, Konzervatorski zavod sudjeluje i u procjeni stanja oltara iz Vrbovca pohranjenog u Hrvatskom državnom muzeju za umjetnost i obrt. U donošenju stručnog mišljenja o stanju i o potrebnim restauratorskim zahvatima sudjelovali su Zdenka Munk, Vladimir Tkalčić, Stanislava Dekleva, Tihomil Stahuljak, Ivan Bach i Marcel Gorenc.⁶⁷⁰ Na temelju iscrpnog opisa (arhitektonske konstrukcije, premaza boja, pozlata i oštećenja) i opaski o ranijim intervencijama na oltaru zaključeno je slijedeće: „... Prema gornjem proizlazi da je potrebno obaviti posao

stručnog i preciznog učvršćivanja drvenih dijelova oltara, koji se razilaze, a uz to skinuti sve moderne i neukusne, te za obću umjetničku vrijednost tog djela štetne kasnije premaze i pozlatu, kako bi izvorni oblik tog djela što više došao do izražaja, t.j. oltara sa kipom Bogorodice.“⁶⁷¹

Iako se ne može govoriti o zaštiti pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta kao o specifičnoj spomeničkoj vrsti, znakovit je dopis koji je Zavod uputio županu Velike župe Baranja u Osijeku, u kojem ga moli da se prije rušenja pravoslavne crkve *svi pokretni crkveni predmeti* kao što su ikostas, ikone i ostali crkveni pribor pohrane na sigurno mjesto. Izaslanici Ministarstva i Hrvatskog državnog muzeja za umjetnost i obrt trebali su doći podići predmete.⁶⁷² Načelo zaštite u nezahvalnim i teškim vremenima svodilo se na pohranjivanje pokretnih kulturnih dobara u muzeje ili na neka druga „sigurna mjesta“. To načelo zaštite provodilo se putem donesenih uredbi i zakona.

Prijemom u konzervatorsku službu Horvat je započela sređivati građu fototeke, knjižnice, hemeroteke, zbirke karata i spisa *Zemaljskog povjerenstva za čuvanje historičnih spomenika*. Rezultat tog rada su dvije publikacije: *Prilozi poviestnom razvoju čuvanja umjetničkih i kulturno-poviestnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj* (1943.) i *Konzervatorski rad kod Hrvata* (1944.). U objema publikacijama obrađuje se povijest konzervatorske službe u Hrvatskoj. U publikaciji *Konzervatorski rad kod Hrvata* po prvi put se raspravlja o konzervatorskoj etici, metodologiji i terminologiji te je izložen institucionalni razvoj očuvanja kulturne baštine.⁶⁷³ Temi je pristupila na tada suvremen način koristeći se nizom stručnih publikacija inozemnih autora (Dagobert Frey, Alois Riegl, Hans Kalinger i drugi)⁶⁷⁴. Pokretna umjetnička baština nije izdvojena kao zasebna cjelina, nego je obrađena u kontekstu cjelokupne zaštite spomenika. Pored stručnih izdanja Horvat izdaje i članke u novinama u svrhu razvijanja svijesti o zaštiti spomenika. Jedan takav članak bio je *O čuvanju umjetničkih i kulturno-povijesnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj* u kojem objašnjava ulogu konzervatora i daje kratki histo-

666 MKM-SDKB-NDH Izvještaj s puta Anđele Horvat pod brojem 437 od 10. kolovoza 1942.

667 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 457-1942. od 10. kolovoza 1942.

668 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 440-1941. od 22. prosinca 1941.

669 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 470-1942. od 12. kolovoza 1942.

670 MKM-SDKB-NDH Zapisnik pod brojem 218-1943. od 29. travnja 1943.

671 MKM-SDKB-NDH Zapisnik pod brojem 218-1943. od 29. travnja 1943.; HORVAT, ANDELA, 1944., 71.

672 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj povjerljivo 1/1942 od 8. siječnja 1942.

673 ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO; ŠKEGRO, ANA, 2011., 73.

674 ŠPIKIĆ, MARKO; ŠKEGRO, ANA, 2011., 77.

headquarters would be located in Zagreb, Dubrovnik and Sarajevo. The Conservation Institute in Split was closed because Split belonged to the Kingdom of Italy. According to Karaman's proposal, the Conservation Institute in Dubrovnik would take over the area that previously came under the jurisdiction of the Conservation Institute in Split which covered the entire Dubrovnik district, the city of Dubrovnik, the islands of Brač and Hvar, and the city municipalities of Makarska and Omiš. The curator of the Split Archaeological Museum, Cvito Fisković⁶⁸⁶, would become head of the Conservation Institute in Dubrovnik, and he would work together with the former conservator of the city of Dubrovnik, Kosta Strajnić.⁶⁸⁷ There was already a conservator in Dubrovnik as head of the Department of Arts and Monuments. There were other cultural institutions in Dubrovnik that were involved in the protection of "antiquities" such as the State Archives, though only for archival materials.

Based on Karaman's proposal, the Museum of Old Croatian Monuments in Knin and the Museum in Sarajevo were supposed to take over the protection and reporting on the condition of monuments for central Dalmatia, due to poor traffic connections with Dubrovnik. When a report from these institutions was received, a conservator in Zagreb would intervene. *Pro memoria II* was never implemented due to a lack of funds and the political situation, although with respect to planning activities for the Institute, work related to Dubrovnik continuously appeared.

Pro memoria III referred to the *Regulations on honorary conservators and lists of movable monuments*. According to the Regulations, the Minister of Education appointed local conservators for one or more counties, for a peri-

od of three years and based on the proposal of the head conservator. In the event of illness or in the interest of the service, the employment of the honorary conservator could be terminated earlier. It would be the duty of local conservators to inform the competent conservator at the Conservation Institute about the condition and treatment of monuments as well as all findings and discoveries in his district, to assist the work of the conservator at the Conservation Institute and to intervene with the competent authorities in emergencies. This would prevent any damage and threat to monuments, until the final decision of the competent conservator. Local conservators were to follow the instructions of the conservator at the competent institute. The service was run on an honour system and volunteer basis, with reimbursement of expenses for correspondence with the relevant Conservation Institute and for official travel at the behest of the conservators.

Karaman advocated the appointment of local conservators; even though conservators at the Conservation Institute did field work, these visits were not enough for them to gain adequate control and insight into the actual condition of each individual monument. Karaman also demanded that local conservators be given the right to participate in the meetings of the Building Committee, since the timely involvement of conservators in the information process could successfully prevent decisions that would damage them.⁶⁸⁸

Conservators were required to compile a list of all monuments; immovable monuments were covered by the *Regulation for antiquities*, and lists were drawn up by conservators cooperating with City Municipalities, based on the building law, but movable monuments were not covered. Consequently, there was a need to make such a list for movable monuments. Conservators had to draw up a list of movable monuments in city districts, working with Municipal authorities, and the items that would be included in such a list could not be left to undergo destruction, damage or decay. According to the Regulations, municipal authorities were obliged to mediate

686 In a letter dated November 4, 1941, Karaman suggested Cvito Fisković be head of the future Conservation Department in Dubrovnik. MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 315-1941.

687 K. Strajnić requested retirement due to illness, and he retired on December 13, 1941. MKM-SDKB-NDH No. 315, November 4, 1941, and MKM-SDKB-NDH No. 321, November 7, 1941. In letter No. 321, Strajnić congratulated Abramić on the fact that the work on the triptych was finished and that he wanted the captain of *Dubrovačka paraplovidba* to bring it, but painter-restorer Count Schaffgotsch had handed it over to the priest.

688 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 306-1942, June 11, 1942.

rijat službe zaštite te na primjerima vrlo jasno razlaže teorijske principe zaštite.⁶⁷⁵

Nema točnih podataka tko je izradio *Propisnik fototeke Hrvatskog državnog Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu*, ali se, s obzirom na sistematičnost i analitičnost, može pretpostaviti da su ga za potrebe korištenja fototeke izradile Anđela Horvat i Ana Deanović⁶⁷⁶. U *Propisniku* su jasno postavljena pravila korištenja građe. Prema *Propisniku* negativ se nisu mogli posuđivati, već je Zavod izrađivao kopije kod svog fotografa. Fotografije koje nisu imale negativ Zavod je izrađivao na trošak stranke, s time da je jedna kopija negativa ostajala u Zavodu, a druga bi pripala stranci; fotografija iz negativa u vlasništvu Zavoda izrađivana je po cijeni troška izrade uz dodatak od 50% cijene u korist Zavoda.

Ljubo Karaman i organizacija službe zaštite

Dolaskom na mjesto konzervatora u Državnom konzervatorskom zavodu u Zagrebu Ljubo Karaman (1886. – 1971.) je započeo reorganizaciju službe zaštite. Njegov dolazak popraćen je i u dnevnim novinama u kojima je izložio svoje planove vezane za provedbu nove organizacije i uži dodir s općinskim i crkvenim vlastima⁶⁷⁷. Reorganizaciju je započeo pregledom stanja kulturno-povijesnih i umjetničkih predmeta i spomenika u Osijeku, Vukovaru, Križevcima, Bjelovaru i Koprivnici⁶⁷⁸. Terenski obilasci Vukovara i Osijeka provedeni su uz vodstvo lokalnih stručnjaka upućenih u problematiku zaštite. Na tim obilascima pozornost je usmjerena i na pokretne spomenike. U Vukovaru je Antun Bauer⁶⁷⁹ predložio osnivanje lokalne zbirke, odnosno Društva za starine.⁶⁸⁰ Nakon toga putovao je Karaman po Bosni i Hercegovini te Dalmaciji, u skladu s planiranim osnivanjem i reorganiziranjem područne službe zaštite. U Slavonskom Brodu, Sarajevu, Mostaru, Čapljini i Kninu pregledao je zbirke,

muzeje i spomenike.⁶⁸¹ Potom je Ministarstvu nastave, Odsjeku za visoke škole i znanstvene studije uputio prijedlog za postupnu provedbu izmjena dotadašnje organizacije s obzirom na tadašnje mogućnosti⁶⁸². Karaman je priložio dokumente pod nazivom *Promemorija I-III*. *Promemorija I* odnosila se na protezanje *Uredbe o čuvanju starina i prirodnih rijetkosti* od 25. srpnja 1940. na čitavo područje NDH. *Promemorija II* odnosila se na sjedišta konzervatorskih zavoda, a *Promemorija III* na počasne konzervatore i popise pokretnih spomenika.

Promemorijom I Karaman je predložio da se *Uredbom o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika*, donesenom 25. srpnja 1940. za područje bivše Banovine, obuhvati cijeli teritorij Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. Drukčije teritorijalno ustrojstvo NDH u odnosu na Banovinu Hrvatsku iz godine 1939. predstavljalo je problem pri provedbi spomenute *Uredbe*, pa je Karaman uputio dopis Ministarstvu pravosuđa i bogoštovlja⁶⁸³ kojim je tražio da se Ministarstvo očituje o nadležnosti i proširenju *Uredbe*. Na to je Zakonodavni odjel Ministarstva pravosuđa i bogoštovlja priopćio da su uredbe koje su izdane za područje bivše Banovine Hrvatske vrijedile samo na području koje je pripadalo bivšoj Banovini Hrvatskoj. Da bi te uredbe vrijedile i na ostalom području NDH, morale su se na to područje protegnuti posebnim zakonskim odredbama.⁶⁸⁴

U dopisu od 1. svibnja 1942.⁶⁸⁵ Karaman je ponovio prijedlog za donošenje Zakona o protezanju *Uredbe o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika* na čitavo područje NDH. U dogovoru s Božidarom Murgićem, pročelnikom Odjela za visoko školstvo i znanstvene zavode Ministarstva nastave, dogovorio je način donošenja *Zakonske odredbe o čuvanju kulturnih spomenika*. Prijedlog Zakona o protezanju *Uredbe o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika*

675 HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1941.

676 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 48/1942. od 14. kolovoza 1942.

677 N. N. 1941.; *Novi list*, br. 173, 19. svibnja 1941.

678 MKM-SDKB-NDH putni nalog pod brojem 259-1941. od 1. listopada 1941.

679 Antun Bauer (1911. – 2000.) povjesničar umjetnosti, kustos i kolekcionar. Osnovao je Gliptoteku i Muzejski dokumentacijski centar.

680 MKM-SDKB-NDH izvještaj pod brojem 260-1941. (bez datuma).

681 MKM-SDKB-NDH izvještaj pod brojem 265-1941. (bez datuma).

682 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 272-1941. od 16. listopada 1941. upućen Ministarstvu nastave.

683 Zakonskom odredbom o Državnoj vladi Nezavisne Države Hrvatske od 24. lipnja 1941. Ministarstvu pravosuđa stavljeni su u ingerenciju cjelokupni pravosudni i bogoštovni poslovi koji su dotad spadali u Ministarstvo bogoštovlja i nastave, te se otad naziva Ministarstvo pravosuđa i bogoštovlja.

684 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 951-Z-1942. od 24. travnja 1942.

685 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 191-1942.

and inform the competent Conservation Institute in the event of any danger or inappropriate action that could possibly damage a monument.⁶⁸⁹

At the invitation of Božidar Murgić, department head of the Ministry of Education, Viktor Hoffiller⁶⁹⁰, director of the Croatian State Archaeological Museum in Zagreb, also took part in the discussion on the organization of the protection service. Viktor Hoffiller was in favour of organizing the protection service in three areas: the former Croatia and Slavonia, Dalmatia and Bosnia, with headquarters in Zagreb. He maintained that problems in all areas were due to a lack of qualified experts on antiquities. Viktor Hoffiller was not satisfied with the work of local and honorary conservators, as their purpose and usefulness were rarely felt. They only had positive experience with local conservators and commissioners in Dalmatia, so he proposed to appoint them. The list of appointments had to be submitted to the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and the province concerned, in order to monitor the work of the appointed conservator of movable monuments.⁶⁹¹

In 1943, there was a clearly defined function and role of institutions in charge of *monument protection*. In a letter to the General Directorate for National Enlightenment, Ljubo Karaman explained that the Conservation Institute was an institution that should be in charge of preserving the *significance of historical cities*, the *professional preservation of monuments*, and the study of monuments in this regard. The Conservation Institute was conceived as a scientific institution which supplemented the work of the Academy and the University. The Academy revealed monuments of cultural history, the University had to create a theoretical background for the study of monuments, and the role of the Conservation Institute, in addition to that of museums, was to research and study the historical and artistic value of the monuments themselves. Therefore, the law required that conservators with a university degree hold a PhD in

cultural and historical professions and publish scientific papers. The Conservation Institute could stay in touch with other scientific institutions, museums, the Academy, State Archives, art institutes and theatres.⁶⁹²

The Requisition of metal objects

In connection with the *Order for the list of bells and copper, brass and bronze cauldrons*, Karaman addressed the Department for Higher Education and Research Institutes of the Ministry of Education⁶⁹³. He noted that most bells were considered as art and historical monuments (form, artistic performance, inscriptions, musical sonority), and should be protected in the event of a requisition, as was done during World War I. Therefore, the Conservation Institute proposed the adoption of the *Regulation for the exemption from requisition of bells and other arts or crafts items made out of copper, brass and bronze*. They were joined by the Director of the Croatian Archaeological Museum, Viktor Hoffiller, who, based on his experience from World War I when he was in charge of salvaging metal, bronze and copper objects as a member of the Land office, wrote a letter to the Ministry of Education, Department for Higher Education and Research Institutes. In the letter, he reiterated the criteria for the preservation of bells, which were adopted during World War I:

- “1. All bells made before 1600
2. that are distinguished by their artistic craftsmanship
3. that have a historical inscription or are connected to an important historical event, the craft guild that donated it is mentioned
4. bells made by any senior bellfounders in the Independent State of Croatia, and two to three from any foreign bellfounders who worked in our region.”⁶⁹⁴

689 MKM-SDKB-NDH Ministry of Education Order on Conservation Institutes (no date and number).

690 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 274-1942, June 9, 1942.

691 Hoffiller emphasized the protection of movable monuments, citing poor examples of honorary conservators collecting items for their private collections rather than museums.

692 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 13-1943, January 13, 1943. Karaman wrote to the General Directorate for National Enlightenment.

693 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 242-1942, May 18, 1942. Karaman wrote to the Department of Higher Education and Research Institutes, Ministry of Education.

694 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 271-1942, June 9, 1942. V. Hoffiller wrote to the Department of Higher Education and Research Institutes, Ministry of Education.

na čitavo područje NDH sadrži svega dva članka kojima se definira i određuje slijedeće:

§1.

Uredba o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika od 25. srpnja 1940. bivše Banovine Hrvatske proteže se na čitavo područje Nezavisne Države Hrvatske.

§2.

Ovaj zakon stupa na snagu danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama

Zagreb _____ 1942.⁶⁸⁶

Karaman je predložio da se pri proglašenju protezanja *Uredbe o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika* na čitavo područje NDH odmah proglasi i Uredba o muzejima.

Uredba o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika nije proširena na područje pod upravom NDH do prestanka postojanja države.

Promemorija II odnosila se na sjedišta konzervatorskih zavoda. Prema članku IV. *Uredbe o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika* bilo je dopušteno da se sjedišta i područja nadležnosti Konzervatorskih zavoda odrede Banskim naredbom. Karaman je predložio da kompetenciju Bana preuzme Ministarstvo nastave, koje bi svojom naredbom odredilo sjedišta i područja nadležstva Konzervatorskih zavoda. Sjedišta Konzervatorskih zavoda nalazila bi se u Zagrebu, Dubrovniku i Sarajevu. Konzervatorski zavod u Splitu prestao je djelovati jer je Split pripao Kraljevini Italiji. Prema Karamanovu prijedlogu, nadležnost Konzervatorskog zavoda iz Splita za područje Dalmacije preuzeo bi Konzervatorski zavod u Dubrovniku koji bi pokrивao čitav dubrovački kotar, grad Dubrovnik, otoke Brač i Hvar, te gradske općine Makarsku i Omiš. Kustos Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu Cvito Fisković⁶⁸⁷ bio bi imenovan voditeljem Konzervatorskog zavoda u Dubrovniku koji bi vodio u suradnji s dotadašnjim konzervatorom

grada Dubrovnika Kostom Strajnićem.⁶⁸⁸ Naime, u Dubrovniku je i dotad postojao konzervator kao voditelj Nadležstva za umjetnost i spomenike. U Dubrovniku su postojale i druge ustanove u kulturi koje su bile vezane za zaštitu „starina“ kao npr. Državni arhiv, iako samo za arhivsku građu.

Brigu i izvještavanje o stanju spomenika za unutrašnju Dalmaciju, s obzirom na lošu prometnu povezanost s Dubrovnikom, prema Karamanovu prijedlogu trebali su preuzeti Muzej hrvatskih starina u Kninu i Muzej u Sarajevu. Po zaprimljenoj dojadi tih institucija zakonski bi intervenirao konzervator u Zagrebu. *Promemorija II* nikad nije zaživjela zbog nedostatka financijskih sredstava i političke situacije, iako se u planiranju poslova Zavoda kontinuirano pojavljuju i poslovi vezani za Dubrovnik.

Promemorija III odnosila se na Pravilnik o počasnim konzervatorima i popisima pokretnih spomenika. Prema Pravilniku Ministar nastave trebao je na prijedlog glavnog konzervatora postaviti mjesne konzervatore za jedan ili za više kotara, na tri godine. Služba počasnog konzervatora mogla je prestati i prije, u slučaju bolesti ili u interesu službe. Dužnost mjesnih konzervatora bila bi obavještavati nadležnog konzervatora Konzervatorskog zavoda o stanju i postupanju sa spomenicima, kao i o svim nalazima i otkrićima u svom kotaru, pomagati u radu konzervatora Konzervatorskog zavoda te intervenirati u hitnim slučajevima kod nadležnih vlasti. Time bi se interventno sprječavala oštećenja i ugrožavanja bilo kojeg spomenika, sve do konačne odluke nadležnog konzervatora. Mjesni konzervatori trebali su postupati prema uputama konzervatora nadležnog zavoda. Služba je trebala imati počasni i volonterski karakter, uz naknadu izdataka za korespondenciju s nadležnim Konzervatorskim zavodom i službena putovanja prema nalogu konzervatora.

Karaman se zalagao za imenovanje mjesnih konzervatora, jer usprkos tomu što je konzervator Konzervatorskog zavoda obilazio teren, ti obilasci mu nisu bili dovoljni da

686 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis Povjerljivo broj 411/1941.

687 U dopisu od 4. studenog 1941. Karaman je predložio Cvitu Fiskoviću za voditelja budućeg Konzervatorskog odjela u Dubrovniku. MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 315-1941.

688 Kosta Strajnić je zatražio odlazak u mirovinu zbog bolesti, umirovljen je 13. prosinca 1941. MKM-SDKB-NDH broj 315 od 4. studeni 1941. i MKM-SDKB-NDH broj 321 od 7. studenog 1941. U dopisu broj 321 Strajnić pod „P. S.“ šalje pozdrave Abramiću i obavještava ga da je triptih gotov i da ga je želio poslati po kapetanu Dubrovačke paraplovidbe, ali ga je slikar-restaurator grof Schaffgotsch predao svećeniku.

Furthermore, Hoffiller suggested that the Bishop ordinaries should be informed, who would then inform local parishes: "...Which bells were preserved during the previous requisition, because these bells will be preserved even now, and which bells they think can be preserved, because they correspond to one of the above points..." The Ministry of Education responded promptly on June 10 and sent a letter to the Conservation Institute⁶⁹⁵. The Conservation Institute agreed with Hoffiller and suggested that the bells, in accordance with the law, be exempt from requisition.⁶⁹⁶

Based on the proposed law, Bishop ordinaries asked district parishes to draw up lists of bells that were saved during the previous requisitions and which, according to the above-mentioned criteria, should be exempt from this requisition.⁶⁹⁷

The decision to exclude bells from the requisition was made by the Ministry of Education, based on the opinion of a special committee consisting of representatives from the Conservation Institute, the Museum of Arts and Crafts, the Archaeological Museum and the Music Conservatory. The Ministry of Education notified the competent authority in charge of the requisition on the decision to exempt the bells.

Ljubo Karaman asked that the regulation be amended so it would, except for bells, include all metal objects (made out of bronze, copper or brass, etc.) of historical or artistic value.⁶⁹⁸ The Conservation Institute addressed the Ministry of Education, proposing the adoption of a law on the preservation and protection of bells and copper objects of artistic and historical significance from requisition, with the opinion of the Ministry of Croatian Home Guard. Based on this letter, the Ministry of Education requested the opin-

ion of the Ministry of Home Guard.⁶⁹⁹ In their opinion, all copper supplies, as well as its alloys, should be considered for the necessary supply of metals. If the supplies were exhausted, items of historical and artistic value would also be considered. The Ministry of Education included items of artistic or historical value on the list, and the Ministry of Craftsmanship and Trade would keep a register. In order to protect these objects as best as possible, a division into three groups was proposed: according to the importance of their use, the place of storage in public collections or museums, and whether they had a mark or seal. Exempting bells from requisition based solely on their musical qualities was considered unjustified.⁷⁰⁰

The Croatian State Conservation Institute and the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts sent a letter signed by Karaman and Tkalčić to all major parishes, the Directorate for Public Order and Security, the Ministry of National Education, the Ministry of the Armed Forces and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (representatives of the German and Italian Armed Forces in the Independent State of Croatia) in order to salvage art and cultural-historical monuments: "... Firstly, all monuments, objects of artistic and craft value, valuables, church supplies, archival, historical records of municipalities, churches and schools, folk peasant works etc. should temporarily be stored in a safe place, while the damaged and undamaged church and public buildings of cultural and historical significance, monuments of old peasant architecture and cemeteries, be preserved and saved from further damage. To this end, the following should be done:

1. Issue provisions to subordinate authorities to prohibit any relocation of items for any purpose.
2. Any found items should be handed over to the respective civilian or military administrative authority, who shall store the items in a safe place from theft and other dangers (war or weather), even if these items were damaged in any way.
3. If items were still in the ruins of the buildings in question and the buildings themselves no longer had a roof, then the

695 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 58472-1942, June 10, 1942. Murgić, department head, wrote to the conservator at the Conservation Institute.

696 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 311-1942, June 12, 1942. Karaman wrote to the Archaeological Museum.

697 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 271-1942, June 9, 1942. V. Hoffiller wrote to the Department of Higher Education and Research Institutes, Ministry of Education.

698 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 323-1942, Karaman wrote to the Department of Higher Education and Research Institutes, Ministry of Education.

699 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 59529-1942, June 20, 1942.

700 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 320/1942, July 8, 1942. The Ministry of the Croatian Home Guard sent a letter to the Department of Higher Education and Research Institutes of the Ministry of Education, which was forwarded to the Croatian State Conservation Institute in Zagreb.

stekne odgovarajuću kontrolu i uvid u stvarno stanje svakog pojedinog spomenika. Karaman je tražio i da se mjesnim konzervatorima osigura pravo sudjelovanja na sjednicama Građevnog odbora, jer su se pravodobnim uključivanjem konzervatora u proces informiranja mogle uspješno sprječavati odluke koje bi dovele do njihova oštećivanja.⁶⁸⁹

Konzervatori su bili dužni sastavljati popis svih spomenika; nepokretni spomenici bili su obuhvaćeni *Pravilnikom za starine*, a popisi su sastavljeni u suradnji konzervatora s Gradskim općinama na temelju građevnoga zakona, no pokretni spomenici nisu bili njime obuhvaćeni. Stoga se pojavila potreba da se takav popis načini i za pokretne spomenike. Popis pokretnih spomenika u gradskim općinama konzervator je trebao sastaviti u sporazumu s Gradskim poglavarstvom, a predmeti koji bi bili uneseni u takav popis ne bi mogli biti prepušteni uništavanju, oštećivanju ili propadanju. Gradska općina bi prema pravilniku bila dužna posredovati i obavijestiti nadležni Konzervatorski zavod u slučaju bilo kakve opasnosti ili neprikladnih djelovanja koja bi eventualno mogla oštetiti spomenik.⁶⁹⁰

Na poziv odjelnog pročelnika Ministarstva nastave Božidara Murgića u raspravu o organizaciji službe zaštite sa svojim se prijedlozima uključio i upravitelj Hrvatskoga državnog arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu, Viktor Hoffiller⁶⁹¹. Hoffiller je bio suglasan s organizacijom službe u tri područja: bivša Hrvatska i Slavonija, te Dalmacija i Bosna. Predložio je da središnji ured bude u Zagrebu. Držao je da se problemi u svim područjima javljaju zbog nedostatka kvalitetnih stručnjaka za starine. Hoffiller nije bio zadovoljan radom dotadašnjih mjesnih i počasnih konzervatora, jer se malokad osjećala njihova svrha i korist. Jedino su u Dalmaciji imali pozitivna iskustva s lokalnim konzervatorima i povjerenicima, pa je stoga predložio njihovo imenovanje. Popis imenovanja morao se dostaviti Arheološkom muzeju u Zagrebu i dotičnoj

pokrajini, kako bi se mogao nadzirati rad imenovanog konzervatora na pokretnim spomenicima.⁶⁹²

Zanimljivo je da je 1943. godine postojala jasno definirana funkcija i uloga ustanova koje provode *zaštitu spomenika*. Karaman dopisom upućenom Glavnom ravnateljstvu za opće narodno prosvjetljenje obrazlaže da je Konzervatorski zavod ustanova koja bi trebala voditi brigu o čuvanju značaja povijesnih gradova, *stručnog čuvanja spomenika*, te u vezi s time proučavati spomenike. Konzervatorski je zavod, prema tome, bio zamišljen i kao znanstvena ustanova, koja je nadopunjavala rad Akademije i Sveučilišta. Akademija je objelodanila spomenike kulturne prošlosti, Sveučilište je u prvom redu trebalo stvoriti teorijsku podlogu za proučavanje spomenika, a uloga Konzervatorskoga zavoda, uz muzeje, jest istraživanje i proučavanje povijesno-umjetničke vrijednosti na samim spomenicima. Stoga se zakonom tražilo da konzervatori uz diplomski ispit imaju doktorat iz kulturno-povijesnih struka i znanstvene radove. Konzervatorski zavod mogao je ostati u vezi s drugim znanstvenim ustanovama, muzejima, Akademijom, državnim arhivom, umjetničkim zavodima i kazalištem.⁶⁹³

Rekvizicija metalnih predmeta

U povodu *Naredbe o popisu zvona i kotlova od bakra, mjedi i bronce (tuče)*, Karaman se obratio Odjelu za visoke škole i znanstvene zavode Ministarstva nastave⁶⁹⁴. Napomenuo je da su većina zvona umjetnički i povijesni spomenici (oblik, umjetnička izvedba, natpisi, muzikalna zvučnost) te da ih je potrebno zaštititi za slučaj rekvizicije, kao što je to bilo učinjeno u Prvome svjetskom ratu. Stoga je Konzervatorski zavod predložio donošenje *Pravilnika za oslobođenje od rekvizicije zvona i drugih umjetničkih ili umjetničko-obrtnih predmeta od bakra, mjedi i bronce*. Akciji spašavanja pridružio se i ravnatelj Hrvatskoga arheološkog muzeja, Viktor Hoffiller, koji je

692 Hoffiller posebno ističe zaštitu pokretnih spomenika, navodeći loše primjere kad su počasnici konzervatori sakupljali predmete za svoje privatne zbirke, a ne za muzeje.

693 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 13-1943. od 13. siječnja 1943. Karaman se obratio Glavnom ravnateljstvu za opće narodno prosvjetljivanje.

694 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 242-1942. od 18. svibnja 1942. Karaman se obratio Odjelu za visoke škole i znanstvene zavode, Ministarstvu nastave.

689 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 306-1942. od 11. lipnja 1942.

690 MKM-SDKB-NDH Naredba Ministarstva nastave o konzervatorskim zavodima (bez datuma i broja).

691 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 274-1942. od 9. lipnja 1942.



43 Andro Krstulović, fotografija postava izložbe (katalog)
Andro Krstulović, photo of exhibiton (catalog)



44 Frano Kršinić, fotografija postava izložbe (katalog)
Frano Kršinić, photo of exhibition (catalog)

authorities should have the building covered with a roof of boards or similar material so that the items would not be destroyed. At the same time, access to the site and especially the removal of the building material as well as the items themselves from the building should be prohibited. Only in the event that these objects could consequently be deterioration by disasters, damage or theft should all the above items be stored in another safe place (the military authorities were specifically urged to issue a provision to save as many old historic buildings as possible).

4. The title is requested to inform the signed directories which major sites are now accessible and affected, and it is imperative that work be carried out immediately within the legislative provision of the Poglavnik,

5. and to help – by issuing passes to members of the committee so they can move freely in the respective areas, providing protection for personal safety, assisting the workforce with

difficult jobs, and using transportation vehicles for staff and collected material."⁷⁰¹

These proposals show that care was taken to protect movable art in the event of war (destruction of churches and buildings).

Exhibitions during the Independent State of Croatia

As was already pointed out, the Ministry of Religion and Education (later renamed the Ministry of National Education) was in charge of cultural policy in the Independent State of Croatia. It initiated certain events to magnify national consciousness and ideological transformation in the spirit of Ustasha principles. For the purpose of promoting

⁷⁰¹ MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. V. t. 7.-1943, March 4, 1943.

na osnovi iskustva iz Prvoga svjetskog rata, kada je kao član Zemaljskog povjerenstva bio zadužen za spašavanje metalnih, brončanih i bakrenih predmeta, uputio dopis Ministarstvu nastave, Odjelu za visoke škole i znanstvene zavode. U dopisu je u cijelosti ponovio kriterije za očuvanje zvona, koji su doneseni za vrijeme Prvoga svjetskog rata:

„1. Sva zvona koja su starija od godine 1600.

2. odlikuju se svojom umjetničkom izradbom

3. posjeduju povijesni natpis ili su vezana uz važan povijesni događaj, spominje se obrtnički ceh koji ga je darovao

4. zvona od svakog starijeg zvonolijevca na području NDH, a po dva do tri od svakog stranog zvonolijevca koji je radio za naše krajeve.“⁶⁹⁵

Nadalje, Hoffiller je predložio da je o tome potrebno obavijestiti biskupske ordinarijate koji će potom izvijestiti područne župe: „... Koja su im zvona sačuvana kod prijašnje rekvizicije, jer će im se ta zvona sačuvati i sada, te koja zvona misle da se mogu sačuvati, jer odgovaraju jednoj od gore navedenih točaka...“. Ministarstvo nastave promptno je reagiralo 10. lipnja i uputilo dopis Konzervatorskom zavodu⁶⁹⁶. Konzervatorski zavod suglasio se usmenim putem s Hoffillerom, te je predložio da se zvona, u skladu sa zakonskom odredbom, izuzmu od rekvizicije.⁶⁹⁷

Na temelju te predložene zakonske odredbe biskupski ordinarijati pozvali su područne župe da sastave popise zvona koja su sačuvana od prijašnjih rekvizicija i koja bi, prema spomenutim kriterijima u odredbi, trebalo i dalje od rekvizicija oslobađati.⁶⁹⁸

Odluku o izuzeću zvona od rekvizicije donijelo je Ministarstvo nastave na temelju mišljenja posebnoga povjerenstva u kojem su bili predstavnici Konzervatorskoga

zavoda, Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt, Arheološkoga muzeja i glazbenoga Konzervatorija. Odluku o izuzeću Ministarstvo nastave dostavljalo je na znanje nadležnoj vlasti koja je provodila rekviziciju.

Karaman je tražio da se uredba dopuni te da se osim zvona od rekvizicije oslobode svi metalni predmeti (od bronce, bakra ili mjedi i sl.) koji imaju povijesnu ili umjetničku vrijednost.⁶⁹⁹ Konzervatorski se zavod obratio Ministarstvu nastave predlažući donošenje zakonske odredbe o čuvanju i zaštiti zvona i bakrenih predmeta od umjetničkog i povijesnog značenja od rekvizicije, uz mišljenje Ministarstva hrvatskoga domobranstva. Na temelju tog dopisa Ministarstvo nastave zatražilo je mišljenje Ministarstva hrvatskoga domobranstva.⁷⁰⁰ Prema mišljenju Ministarstva hrvatskoga domobranstva, a radi nužne opskrbe kovinama, potrebno je uzeti u obzir sve zalihe kovina bakra i njegovih slitina. U slučaju da se zalihe iscrpe, uzimaju se u razmatranje i predmeti koji imaju povijesno-umjetničku vrijednost. Ministarstvo nastave uključuje predmete umjetničke ili povijesne vrijednosti u popis, a Ministarstvo za obrt, veleobrt i trgovinu (Zajednica za željezo i kovine) vodilo bi očevidnik. Kako bi se ti predmeti što bolje zaštitili, predložena je podjela u tri skupine: prema važnosti njihove uporabe, prema mjestu pohrane u javnim zbirkama ili muzejima te imaju li oznaku žiga ili plombe. Izuzimanje zvona od rekvizicije na osnovi samo njihovih glazbenih svojstava smatralo se neopravdanim.⁷⁰¹

Hrvatski državni konzervatorski zavod i Hrvatski državni muzej za umjetnost i obrt, dopisom koji su potpisali Ljubo Karaman i Vladimir Tkalčić, obratili su se svim velikim župama, Ravnateljstvu za javni red i sigurnost, Ministarstvu narodne prosvjete, Ministarstvu oružanih snaga i Ministarstvu vanjskih poslova (predstavicima njemačkih i talijanskih oružanih snaga u NDH) u svrhu spašavanja umjetničkih i kulturno-povijesnih spomenika:

695 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 271-1942. od 9. lipnja 1942. V. Hoffiller se obratio Odjelu za visoke škole i znanstvene zavode, Ministarstvu nastave.

696 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 58472-1942. od 10. lipnja 1942. Murgić, odjelni pročelnik, obratio se konzervatoru Konzervatorskog zavoda. 697 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 311-1942 od 12. lipnja 1942. Karaman se obratio Arheološkom muzeju.

698 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 271-1942. od 9. lipnja 1942. V. Hoffiller se obratio Odjelu za visoke škole i znanstvene zavode, Ministarstvu nastave.

699 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 323-1942. Karaman se obratio Odjelu za visoke škole i znanstvene zavode, Ministarstvu nastave.

700 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 59529-1942. od 20. lipnja 1942.

701 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 320/1942. od 8. srpnja 1942. Ministarstvo hrvatskog domobranstva obratilo se dopisom Odjelu za visoke škole i znanstvene zavode Ministarstva nastave te je potom prosljeđen Hrvatskome državnom Konzervatorskom zavodu u Zagrebu.

fine arts, the Office for Fine Arts was established to organize large representative exhibitions of Croatian art at home and abroad.⁷⁰² Vladimir Kirin was appointed head of the office.⁷⁰³ Various exhibitions of Croatian artists, heritage and photographs were organized in Italy, Germany, Slovakia, Austria and Bulgaria. An exhibition of contemporary German sculpture with 120 exhibits was organized in Zagreb.⁷⁰⁴ Four exhibitions of Croatian artists were held in the Independent State of Croatia. The first was held from November 9 to 30, 1941, the second from November 22 to December 13, 1942, the third from October 10 to 31, 1943, and the fourth from June 17 to July 9, 1944. All were organised in the Art Pavilion, called the Croatian National Gallery of Art (Fig. 43, 44) at the time.

In addition to exhibitions, catalogues were printed with reproductions of exhibited works with a list of authors and their biographies⁷⁰⁵ (Fig. 45-47). An exhibition entitled *Ausstellung kroatischer Kunst* was held in Berlin in January and February 1943 at the Prussian Academy of Arts. An exhibition was held in Vienna in April and May 1943 at the *Künstlerhaus*, and in Bratislava from June 3 to July 5, 1943 under the name *Vystava Chorvatskeho umeni*.⁷⁰⁶

The Independent State of Croatia took part in the 23rd Venice Biennale, opened on June 21, 1942, and presented the works of Josip Račić, Miroslav Kraljević, Juraj Plančić, Jozo Kljaković, Ivan Meštrović, Ante Motika, Ivo Režek, Bruno Bulić, Josip Crnobori, Antun Medić, Slavko Kopač and Slavko Šohaj. According to critics, the exhibition presented the quality of modern painting and sculpture.⁷⁰⁷ Although the exhibition focused on contemporary art, older art was always displayed as a confirmation of the cultural continuity of Croatia.

702 Exhibitions dedicated to the art of National Socialist Germany, i.e. works by German-Aryan artists, were organized in Germany from 1937. The Independent State of Croatia also took over this model of organizing exhibitions. BRENNER, HILDEGARD, 1992, 154.

703 Š – L, 1942, 63.

704 Š – L, 1942, 64.

705 The catalogues for the Third and Fourth exhibitions have no biographical information on the artists, only a list of authors, their works and reproductions.

706 Exhibition Catalogue, 1943.

707 KUŠAN, VLADISLAV, 1942, 440-442.

To commemorate the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, the *Anniversary of the Independent State of Croatia* exhibition was organized in Venice in 1942. It was dedicated to the proclaimed principles and glorification of Croatian heritage. Ljubo Karaman was involved in organising the exhibition, and suggested exhibiting folk art objects from Dalmatia, Bosnia and the Banovina of Croatia. Listing the items that should represent the history of Croatia and explaining their importance, his commentary on particular items is interesting.

*"... a baptismal font of Duke Višeslav cast in plaster /?/. I put a question mark next to this item, because the question arises as to whether it was a case of being forced to exhibit something that was recently in Venice; but on the other hand, the baptismal font was effective both in appearance and in meaning, and the plaster copy could be left to the Venetians as a gift, as we made copies of relinquished Carpaccio's paintings," continuing, "Tapestries from the legacy of Zrinski, from the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb. The question was whether it is convenient to exhibit this item in view of Hungary claiming it belongs to them."*⁷⁰⁸

The organization of exhibitions and the presentation of Croatian culture and art corresponded with the political situation, and any possibility of presentation outside Croatia seemed welcome.

The Diocesan Museum

As mentioned earlier, the church took care of movable works of art, primarily by documenting them. A further step in the safekeeping of these objects involved their storage in treasuries and the establishment of diocesan museums. In 1925, a circular from the Secretariat of State of the Holy See was sent to all Catholic dioceses in the world, requesting that dioceses preserve artwork and encourage the establishment of diocesan museums⁷⁰⁹. On August 14, 1935, Archbishop Alojzije Stepinac⁷¹⁰ issued a circular about the establishment of the Commission for Church Art and the official establishment of the Diocesan Museum in Za-

708 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 398-1942, July 14, 1942.

709 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 1998, 212.

710 Aloysius Stepinac (1898 – 1960), Archbishop and Cardinal.

„...Kao najpreče trebalo bi sve spomenike, predmete umjetničke ili umjetno-obrtne vrijednosti, dragocjenosti, crkvene potrepštine, arhivsku, poviestnu građu općina, crkva i škola, pučke seljačke tvorevine i sl. pohraniti privremeno na sigurno mjesto, a oštećene i neoštećene crkvene i javne građevine kulturno-poviestnog značenja, spomenike stare seljačke arhitekture i groblja očuvati i spasiti od daljnjih oštećenja. U tu svrhu trebalo bi:

Izdati podređenim organima odredbe da se zabrani svako raznošenje predmeta bilo s kakvom namjerom.

Nađeno trebalo bi predati dotičnoj građanskoj ili vojničkoj upravnoj vlasti koja neka isto pohrani na sigurno mjesto od otuđivanja i inih opasnosti (ratnih i vremenskih nepogoda), pa bili ti predmeti ma kako oštećeni.

Ukoliko se stvari još nalaze u ruševinama dotičnih zgrada a same zgrade nemaju više krov, to neka vlast dadu prekriti dotičnu zgradu provizorno s kakovim krovom od dasaka ili slične građe da materijal ne propadne. Ujedno treba zabraniti pristup na to mjesto, a napose odnošenje građevnog tvoriva kao i samih predmeta iz zgrade. Jedino u slučaju da ti predmeti uslijed toga mogli stradati od nepogoda, oštećenja ili otuđenja trebalo bi sve gore navedene predmete pohraniti na drugo sigurno mjesto (Posebno se umoljava vojničke vlasti da izdaju odredbu da štede koliko je to moguće stare povijesne građevine).

Umoljava se naslov da obavijesti potpisana ravnateljstva koja su važnija mjesta sada pristupačna a postradala, te je neophodno potrebno da se na licu mjesta izvrše radovi u smislu zakonske odredbe Poglavnika o čuvanju,

te da izađu u susret – izdavanjem propusnica članovima povjerenstva za slobodno kretanje u dotičnim područjima, pružanjem zaštite za osobnu sigurnost, pružanje pomoći u radnoj snazi kod težih poslova, te upotrebu prijevoznih sredstava za osoblje i sakupljenu građu.⁷⁰²

Iz navedenih prijedloga razvidno je da se vodila briga o zaštiti pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta u slučaju ratnih razaranja (crkava i zgrada).

702 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj V. t. 7.-1943. od 4. ožujka 1943.

Izložbe za vrijeme NDH

O cjelokupnoj kulturnoj politici u NDH, kao što je već istaknuto, brigu je vodilo Ministarstvo bogoštovlja i nastave (poslije preimenovano u Ministarstvo narodne prosvjete), koje je iniciralo određene manifestacije radi veličanja nacionalne svijesti i ideološke preobrazbe u duhu ustaških načela. U svrhu promicanja likovne umjetnosti osnovan je Ured za likovnu umjetnost koji je imao zadaću organizirati velike reprezentativne izložbe hrvatske umjetnosti u zemlji i inozemstvu.⁷⁰³ Pročelnikom ureda imenovan je Vladimir Kirin.⁷⁰⁴ Organizirane su različite tematske izložbe hrvatskih umjetnika, baštine i fotografija u Italiji, Njemačkoj, Slovačkoj, Austriji i Bugarskoj. U Zagrebu je priređena izložba suvremenoga njemačkog kiparstva sa 120 eksponata.⁷⁰⁵ U NDH su održane četiri izložbe hrvatskih umjetnika. Prva je održana od 9. do 30. studenoga 1941., druga od 22. studenoga do 13. prosinca 1942., treća od 10. do 31. listopada 1943., četvrta od 17. lipnja do 9. srpnja 1944. u Umjetničkom paviljonu koji je tada nosio ime *Hrvatska državna galerija umjetnosti*.

Uz izložbe tiskani su i katalozi u kojima su prikazane reprodukcije izloženih djela i popis autora s biografijama (sl. 43, 44).⁷⁰⁶ U Berlinu je u siječnju i veljači 1943. održana izložba pod nazivom *Ausstellung kroatischer Kunst* u Pruskoj akademiji umjetnosti. U Beču je u travnju i svibnju 1943. održana izložba u *Künstlerhausu*, a u Bratislavi od 3. lipnja do 5. srpnja 1943. pod nazivom *Vystava Chorvatskeho umeni*⁷⁰⁷ (sl. 45, 47).

NDH je sudjelovala na 23. biennalu u Veneciji otvorenom 21. lipnja 1942. predstavljajući djela Josipa Račića, Miroslava Kraljevića, Jurja Plančića, Joze Kljakovića, Ivana Meštrovića, Antuna Motike, Ive Režeka, Brune Bulića, Josipa Crnoborija, Antuna Medića, Slavka Kopača i Slavka Šohaja. Izložba je prema mišljenju kritičara bila na razini

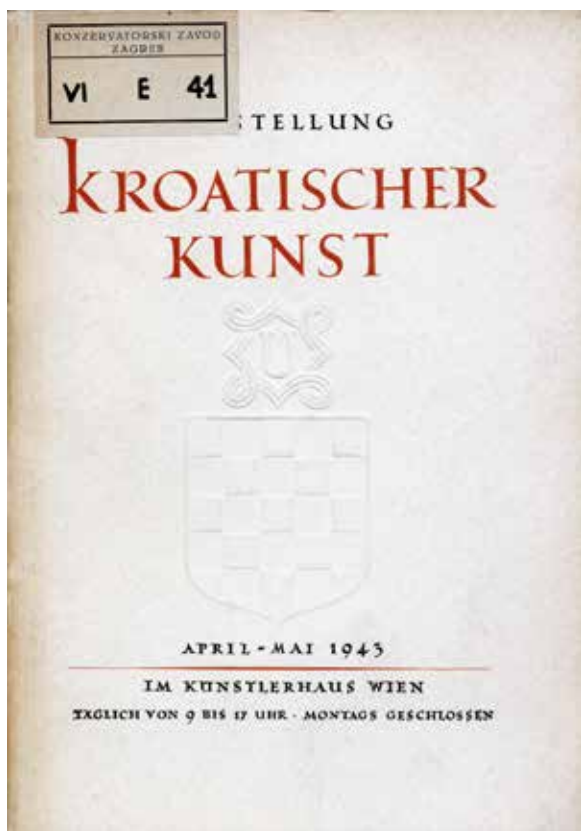
703 U Njemačkoj se od 1937. počinjju organizirati izložbe posvećene umjetnosti nacionalsocijalističke Njemačke, odnosno djela njemačko-arijevskih umjetnika. Taj model organiziranja izložbi preuzima i NDH. BRENNER, HILDEGARD, 1992., 154.

704 Š – L, 1942., 63.

705 Š – L, 1942., 64.

706 U katalozima za Treću i Četvrtu izložbu nema biografskih podataka o umjetnicima, već samo popis autora, djela i reprodukcije.

707 Katalog izložbe, 1943. godina.



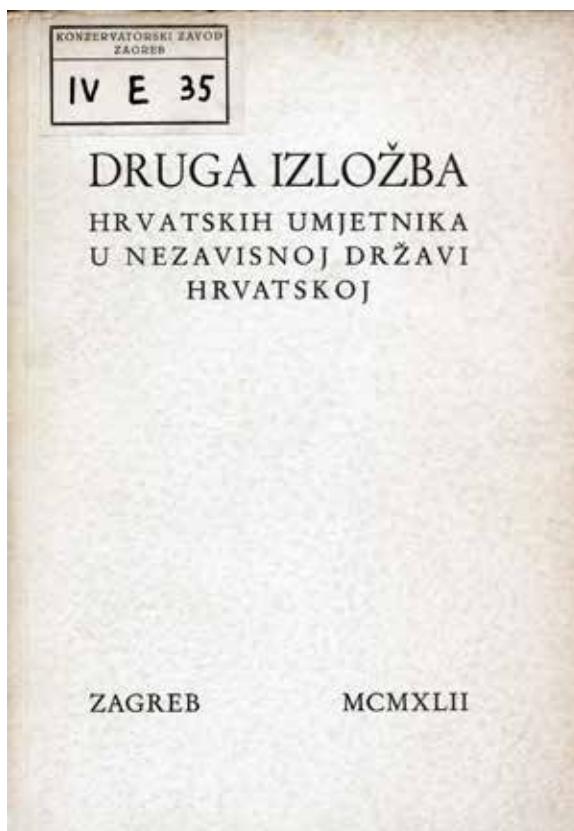
45 Katalog izložbe u Beču, 1943.
Exhibition catalog in Vienna, 1943

greb⁷¹¹. With the decree on February 27, 1939, Stepinac appointed canon Kamil Dočkal⁷¹² as the organizer of the museum⁷¹³. Dočkal visited all the parishes of the Zagreb archdiocese and collected art that was no longer in liturgical use for the museum. In the *Katolički list*, Dočkal stated the reasons and purpose for establishing the Diocesan Museum: "... *It has been proven that over the last 50 years, many of the stored church items have been sold. Many have been destroyed by the passage of time. And many were burned. The burning of wooden statues was carried out in our diocese and in other dioceses on Holy Saturday. Still, not everything has been destroyed. Even today, in church and parish attics, there are old statues that have been abandoned, forgotten.*

711 N. N, 1935, 417-419.

712 Kamilo Dočkal (1879 – 1963), theologian, historian and violinist.

713 In 1940, Kamilo Dočkal, in several issues of the *Katolički list*, wrote about the *establishment* and organization of the *Diocesan Museum*, with a report and a list of works of art in the museum.



46 Katalog izložbe u Zagrebu, 1942.
Exhibition catalog in Zagreb, 1942

*Here and there are discarded and rolled-up old paintings, discarded, broken church utensils. There is still time, then, to save what can be saved. This is the real basis for the establishment and existence of our Diocesan Museum...*⁷¹⁴ By the time the Museum was founded, he had visited only a portion of the parishes, around 85.⁷¹⁵ When visiting the parishes, he recorded and described their interior and valuable art, while trying to trace the lost, moved and "sold" objects.

The Statute of the Diocesan Museum was approved on December 10, 1940 and the museum was opened on November 8, 1942.⁷¹⁶ In addition to church dignitaries, Artur Schneider, university professor and director of the Strossmayer Gallery, Vladimir Tkalčić, director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, Božidar Širola, director of the Ethnographic

714 DOČKAL, KAMILO, 1940, 358.

715 DOČKAL, KAMILO, 1942.

716 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 706/1942, November 28, 1942.

i kvaliteti modernog slikarstva i kiparstva.⁷⁰⁸ Iako je na izložbama težište bilo na suvremenoj umjetnosti, uvijek je prikazivana i starija umjetnost, kao potvrda kulturnoga kontinuiteta hrvatske države.

U povodu obilježavanja uspostave NDH, godine 1942. u Veneciji je organizirana izložba *Godišnjica Nezavisne Države Hrvatske* posvećena proklamiranim načelima i veličanju hrvatske baštine. U organizaciju izložbe bio je uključen Karaman koji je predložio izlaganje predmeta narodne umjetnosti prema regijama Dalmaciji, Bosni i Banovini Hrvatskoj. Nabrajajući predmete koji bi trebali predstavljati povijest Hrvatske i obrazlažući njihovu važnost, zanimljiv je njegov komentar o pojedinim predmetima:

„... Višeslavova krstionica u odljevku u gipsu /?/. Stavljam upitnik kod ovog predmeta, jer se postavlja pitanje nije li nešto usiljeno izložiti u Mletcima predmet koji je nedavno bio; ali s druge strane krstionica je efektna i po svom izgledu i po svom značenju, a kopija u gipsu mogla bi se ostaviti Mletcima na dar, kao što smo i mi dali napraviti kopije ustupljenih Carpaccievih slika“, zatim, „Gobleni iz ostavštine Zrinskih, iz Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu. Pitanje je li zgodno izložiti ovaj predmet s obzirom na spor u svojatanju ovih goblena sa strane Mađarske.“⁷⁰⁹

Organizacija izložbi i predstavljanje hrvatske kulture i umjetnosti bili su u skladu s politikom, a svaka mogućnost prezentacije izvan Hrvatske činila se dobrodošlom.

Dijecezanski muzej

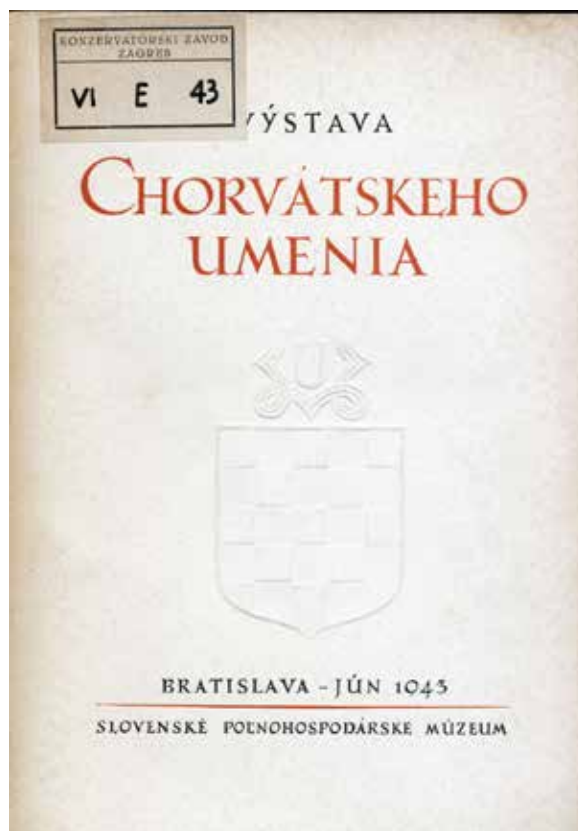
Crkva je, kako je ranije spomenuto, vodila brigu o pokretnim umjetničkim predmetima, prije svega njihovim evidentiranjem. Daljnji korak u čuvanju tih predmeta bila je pohrana u riznice, odnosno osnivanje dijecezanskih muzeja.

Godine 1925. poslana je okružnica Državnoga tajništva Svete Stolice svim katoličkim biskupijama u svijetu u kojoj je od biskupija zatraženo da čuvaju umjetnine i da potiču osnivanje dijecezanskih muzeja⁷¹⁰. Nadbiskup

708 KUŠAN, VLADISLAV, 1942., 440-442.

709 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 398-1942. od 14. srpnja 1942.

710 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 1998., 212.



47 Katalog izložbe u Bratislavi, 1943.

Exhibition catalog in Bratislava, 1943

Alojzije Stepinac⁷¹¹ je 14. kolovoza 1935. izdao okružnicu o osnutku Povjerenstva za crkvenu umjetnost i službeno osnivanje Dijecezanskog muzeja u Zagrebu⁷¹². Odlukom od 27. veljače 1939. Stepinac je imenovao kanonika Kamila Dočkala⁷¹³ za organizatora muzeja⁷¹⁴. Dočkal je obilazio sve župe zagrebačke nadbiskupije i sakupljao za muzej umjetničke predmete koji više nisu bili u liturgijskoj upotrebi. Dočkal u *Katoličkom listu* navodi razloge i svrhu osnivanja Dijecezanskog muzeja: „...Dokazano je, da su tijekom posljednjih 50 godina mnoge odložene crkvene stvari prodane. Mnoge su uslijed zuba vremena propale. A mnoge su i spaljene. Paljenje drvenih kipova činilo se po

711 Alojzije Stepinac (1898. – 1960.), nadbiskup i kardinal.

712 N. N, 1935., 417-419.

713 Kamilo Dočkal (1879. – 1963.), teolog, povjesničar i violinist.

714 Kamilo Dočkal u nekoliko brojeva *Katoličkog lista* tijekom 1940. donosi prikaze o osnivanju i uređenju Dijecezanskog muzeja, s izvještajem i popisom umjetnina u muzeju.

Museum, Ivo Šrepel⁷¹⁷, director of the Modern Gallery, Ivo Kerdić⁷¹⁸ from the Academy of Fine Arts, Antun Bauer⁷¹⁹, director of the Zagreb Gypsotheca, and Benko Horvat⁷²⁰, president of the Numismatic Collection, also took part in setting up the collection.⁷²¹ Kamilo Dočkal submitted a short report on the work of the museum. The main inventory consisted of 1210 items – 462 paintings, 276 wooden, 10 marble and 10 stone statues, 6 metal reliefs, 167 pieces of church vessels (chalices, ciboria, monstrances, pax, censers, boats, etc.), 49 forged and 28 wooden candlesticks, 130 pieces of church vestments, 7 church wrought iron and bronze mortars, and one church cabinet with inlays built in 1738, and 837 valuable old books (Fig. 45).⁷²²

According to the Law on Museums, Vladimir Tkalčić was the expert supervisor and he was assisted by Gjuro Szabo, director of the City museum, and Benko Horvat. Paintings were restored by Stanislava Dekleva and Mihail Titov, metal objects by Pavao Ivanović, and the cleaning and impregnation of wooden objects was performed by Josip Djekić and Ivan Robnik.⁷²³

The establishment of the Museum did not end Dočkal's concern for "abandoned" objects, he continued documenting them. From 1940 to 1944, a sort of report on his work in the field, *Our Diocesan Museum*, was regularly published in the *Katolički list*.⁷²⁴

Ljubo Karaman, Ivan Bach and the Protection of Movable Monuments

On April 7, 1943, Karaman was dismissed from his duties as director of the Conservation Institute and retired.⁷²⁵ He was probably forced to retire because he did not accept the position of professor at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zagreb.⁷²⁶ On April 16, 1943, the Ministry of National Education appointed Ivan Bach as acting director.⁷²⁷ In his short career as a conservator, Bach sent several letters on the restoration of war monuments, on Dalmatian monuments, and the Conservation Institute in Dubrovnik. The Conservation Institute and the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts sent a joint letter to the ministries, the Directorate for Public Order and Security and large parishes, asking for information on the damage to movable and immovable monuments, prescribing measures to be taken for the restoration of monuments, under the supervision of the Conservation Institute.⁷²⁸

Addressing the Ministry of Welfare for Perished Lands, Bach asked for co-operation in the restoration of historical and art monuments, and individual settlements or parts of settlements. During restorations, the Ministry needed to consult the Conservation Institute's experts so they could offer advice on the best way to carry them out.⁷²⁹

After almost one year of service, Ivan Bach was released from duty as a conservator, because the Ministry of National Education⁷³⁰ announced Ljubo Karaman's return to the Conservation Institute.⁷³¹

717 Ivo Šrepel (1899 – 1945), philosopher, art critic.

718 Ivo Kerdić (1881 – 1953), sculptor best known for his medallions.

719 Antun Bauer (1911-2000), art historian, archaeologist and museologist.

720 Benko Horvat (1875 – 1955), numismatist and collector.

721 N. N. 1942, 547-548.

722 Ibid.

723 Ibid.

724 In the article *Rescued Works of Art from the Old Cathedral in the Diocesan Museum*, although it is stated that some of the artwork was taken to the Diocesan Museum, Murgić makes a very interesting comment on the artefacts that were removed after the "restoration" of the cathedral: "... The old wooden oak carvings that lined the old cathedral, after a tragic attempt to give them Gothic characteristics, were removed by the truckload. Beautiful Baroque altars, statues and paintings were scattered throughout the distant province, and even unknown Bosnian churches, and the rich people from Zagreb (and certainly other cities of the former monarchy) tiled their bedrooms and parlours with our antique church art..." MURGIĆ, BOŽIDAR, 1945.

725 MKM-SDKB-NDH No. 142-1943, April 13, 1943.

726 Karaman was appointed professor at the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Zagreb, in the *History of art and culture Department*, History of Croatian art class, while still serving as conservator of the Croatian State Conservation Institute in Zagreb. (MKM-SDKB-NDH No. 22,633-1943, March 17, 1943. The Department for Higher Education and Research Institutes, Ministry of National Education). Karaman replied to the letter saying he was grateful for the offer and asked for his dismissal. MKM-SDKB-NDH No. 120-1943, April 1, 1943.

727 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 29582-1943, April 16, 1943.

728 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. V.T. 14-1943, July 25, 1943.

729 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. V.T. 15-1943, July 25, 1943.

730 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 6134-1944, January 20, 1944.

731 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 4611-1944, January 20, 1944.

našoj biskupiji, a i po drugim biskupijama na Veliku subotu. Ipak nije propalo sve. Još danas se po crkvenim i župnim tavanima nalaze stari kipovi zabačeni, zaboravljeni. Tu i tamo nalaze se odbačene i smotane stare slike, odbačeno rasklimano crkveno posuđe. Još je dakle vrijeme, da se spase, što se spasiti daje. I tu je realna osnovica za osnutak i postojanje našeg Diecezanskog muzeja...⁷¹⁵ Do osnutka Muzeja obišao je samo dio župa, njih oko 85.⁷¹⁶ U posjetima raznim župama bilježi i opisuje unutrašnjost i vrijedne umjetničke predmete, a pritom pokušava ući i u trag izgubljenim, premještenim i „prodanim“ predmetima.

Statut Dijecezanskog muzeja odobren je 10. prosinca 1940., a otvoren je 8. studenoga 1942.⁷¹⁷ Osim crkvenih velikodostojnika u sastavljanju postava zbirke sudjelovali su sveučilišni profesor i ravnatelj Strossmayerove galerije Artur Schneider, ravnatelj Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt Vladimir Tkalčić, ravnatelj Etnografskog muzeja Božidar Širola, ravnatelj Moderne galerije Ivo Šrepel⁷¹⁸, s Akademije likovnih umjetnosti Ivo Kerdić⁷¹⁹, upravitelj Gipsoteke grada Zagreba Antun Bauer⁷²⁰, predsjednik Numizmatičke zbirke Benko Horvat⁷²¹.⁷²² Dočkal je podnio kratki izvještaj o muzejskom radu. Glavni se inventar sastojao od 1210 predmeta, od toga 462 slike, 276 drvenih, 10 mramornih i 10 kamenih kipova, 6 metalnih reljefa, 167 komada raznoga crkvenog posuđa (kaleža, ciborija, monstranca, pacifikala, kadionica, lađica i sl.), 49 kovanih i 28 drvenih svijećnjaka, 130 komada misnoga ruha, 7 crkvenih mužara od kovanog željeza i bronce, te jedan crkveni ormar s intarzijama iz 1738. godine i 837 dragocjenih starih knjiga.⁷²³

Prema Zakonu o muzejima stručni nadzornik bio je Vladimir Tkalčić, a kao savjetnici su pomagali ravnatelj Gradskog muzeja Gjuro Szabo i Benko Horvat. Restauratori slika bili su Stanislava Dekleva i Mihail Titov, metalnih predmeta Pavao

Ivanović, čišćenje i impregniranje drvenih predmeta obavljali su Josip Djekić i Ivan Robnik.⁷²⁴

Osnivanjem Muzeja ne prestaje Dočkalova briga oko „napuštenih“ predmeta, već se nastavlja s njihovim evidentiranjem po župama. Od 1940. do 1944. u *Katoličkom listu* redovito je izlazio svojevrsan izvještaj o njegovu radu na terenu pod naslovom *Naš Diecezanski muzej*.⁷²⁵

Ljubo Karaman i Ivan Bach u zaštiti pokretnih spomenika

Ljubo Karaman je 7. travnja 1943. razriješen dužnosti ravnatelja Konzervatorskog zavoda i umirovljen.⁷²⁶ Pretpostavlja se da je razlog njegova umirovljenja bio u tome što nije prihvatio mjesto redovitoga sveučilišnog profesora na Mudroslovnom fakultetu Hrvatskog sveučilišta u Zagrebu.⁷²⁷ Odlukom Ministarstva narodne prosvjete 16. travnja 1943. na njegovo mjesto imenovan je Ivan Bach kao vršitelj dužnosti.⁷²⁸ Bach je u svojem kratkom konzervatorskom radu uputio nekoliko dopisa o obnovi spomenika stradalih u ratu, o dalmatinskim spomenicima i o Konzervatorskom zavodu u Dubrovniku. Konzervatorski zavod i Hrvatski državni muzej za umjetnost i obrt razaslali su zajednički dopis ministarstvima, Ravnateljstvu za javni red i sigurnost i velikim župama s molbom da dostave podatke o oštećenjima na pokretnim i nepokretnim

724 Isto.

725 U članku *Spašene umjetnine iz stare katedrale u Dijecezanskom muzeju*, iako se navodi da je dio umjetnina završio u Dijecezanskom muzeju, Murgić daje vrlo zanimljiv komentar o umjetninama koje su nakon „obnove“ katedrale bile uklonjene: „... *Stare su drvene rezbarije u hrastovini kojom je bila obložena stara i katedrala, poslije tragične regotizacije, prodavali na kola. Divne su barokne oltare, kipove i slike razasuli po dalekoj provinciji čak i po nepoznatim bosanskim crkvama i zagrebački su bogataši (a sigurno i u drugim gradovima bivše monarhije) tepcirali našim starinskim crkvenim umjetninama svoje spavaće sobe i salone itd...*“ MURGIĆ, BOŽIDAR, 1945.

726 MKM-SDKB-NDH broj 142-1943. od 13. travnja 1943.

727 Karaman je imenovan redovitim sveučilišnim profesorom na Mudroslovnom fakultetu Hrvatskog sveučilišta u Zagrebu, na katedri *Povijest umjetnosti i kulture*, kolegij *Povijest hrvatske umjetnosti*, s time da i dalje obnaša dužnost konzervatora Hrvatskog državnog konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu. MKM-SDKB-NDH broj 22.633.-1943. od 17. ožujka 1943. Odjel za visoke škole i znanstvene zavode, Ministarstvo narodne prosvjete. Karaman je na navedeni dopis odgovorio da se zahvaljuje na ponudi i moli razrješenje. MKM-SDKB-NDH broj 120-1943. od 1. travnja 1943.

728 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 29582-1943. od 16. travnja 1943.

715 DOČKAL, KAMILO, 1940., 358.

716 DOČKAL, KAMILO, 1942.

717 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 706/1942. od 28. studenog 1942.

718 Ivo Šrepel (1899. – 1945.), filozof, likovni kritičar.

719 Ivo Kerdić (1881. – 1953.), medaljer i kipar.

720 Antun Bauer (1911. – 2000.), povjesničar umjetnosti, arheolog i muzeolog.

721 Benko Horvat (1875. – 1955.), numizmatičar i kolekcionar.

722 N. N. 1942., 547-548.

723 Isto.

Karaman's retirement should be viewed in the context of a time period marked by persecution in which any opposition to the regime was punished. A similar situation was encountered by Hoffiller who was retired in 1943 because he told German General E. Glaise von Horstenau that Germany would lose the war, and he refused to hand over a Prussian banner and chess set that belonged to Frederick the Great that were taken as spoils of war by Baron Franz von der Trenck and his pandurs, and send it to Hitler as a birthday gift. Despite Hoffiller's opposition, the items were sent to Germany and Hoffiller lost his job and was quickly retired.⁷³² The newspapers also wrote about this event (Fig. 48).

The Conservation Institute in Dubrovnik

During 1942 and 1943, Vinko Foretić⁷³³, archivist at the Croatian National Archives in Dubrovnik, informed Karaman about the condition of monuments in southern Croatia, in his capacity as a representative of the Conservation Institute in Dubrovnik⁷³⁴. He wrote to Karaman regarding the rescue of paintings from the church of St. Blaise in Gorica, stating that near the church there was: "...some military device in the form of a tall iron structure, which they say is a station for wiretapping planes. It is very likely that this device was also the target of the bombing and that cannonballs hit the church at that location." He then described church inventory: "...as we said, an old statue from the 15th century is worshipped in the church, and there are nine paintings on the "balatura" bannister depicting St. Peter, St. Nicholas, the Virgin Mary, St. Rocco, St. George, St. Lawrence, St. Jerome, St. Christopher and St. Sebastian. However, these are all dismantled paintings from the old polyptych of the Dubrovnik School of Painting, and the statue of St. Vlach was also a part of it ... The

732 Sending art as birthday gifts for Hitler was a common practice of regime supporters. During World War II, all seized artwork was listed and photographed, and catalogues were made and sent to Hitler as a gift. From the catalogues, Hitler selected works of art to be housed in the Museum in Linz (*Führermuseum*). See: KOLAR DIMITRIJEVIĆ, MIRA; WAGNER, ELIZABETA, 2008, 94.

733 Interesting article on *Monument protection (O čuvanju spomenika)*. Foretić gives an insight into his attitude and on how sacral monuments should be kept to restore their original purpose. For example, he referred to the use of sacral spaces as magazines, shops or barns. FORETIĆ, VINKO, 1937.

734 The Conservation Institute in Dubrovnik existed formally on paper only, it did not open until the end of the war.

*church is, in its present condition, open and exposed to the elements, to theft due to seclusion, and also to the danger of further bombing...*⁷³⁵

On that occasion, Foretić asked the Conservation Institute to send Don Gjuro Krečko, a pastor from Gruža, a recommendation to move the paintings to a more secure location. On August 8, 1944, he informed the Conservation Institute that he had had the opportunity to speak with Don Krečko, who informed him that he had removed the paintings from the *balatura* and had moved them, but not all nine paintings, only five; of the remaining paintings, two were still in the church and damaged in the bombing, and two were sold to Josip Barić (former president of the Constitutional Court in Dubrovnik). Foretić implored the Conservation Institute to intervene with Don Krečko to remove the two remaining paintings from the church and not to allow them to be restored by "dilettante painter Ivo Scattolini, a retired postal clerk and painter", but an expert.⁷³⁶

Since the Conservation Institute had entrusted the care of historical, art and natural monuments of Dubrovnik to the Croatian National Archives in Dubrovnik, as an archivist, Foretić sent a petition for the protection of the Dubrovnik monuments to the Conservation Institute. He proposed the removal of the air defence from Dubrovnik, the abolishment of military zones and the demilitarisation of Lokrum Island.⁷³⁷

The Conservation Institute in Dubrovnik was not established until the end of the war, although it is constantly mentioned in the documents. Some even mention the financial budget of the Conservation Institute (for example, the *Croatian State Conservation Institute* in Zagreb – in the Legislative provision on the scientific supplement of officials and monthly remuneration of heads of state, scientific institutes and institutions; the Conservation Institutes in Zagreb, Dubrovnik and Split are also mentioned). How-

735 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter number (confidential) 57-1944, July 29, 1944

736 MKM-SDKB-NDH memo number (confidential) 60/44, August 4, 1944.

737 MKM-SDKB-NDH memo number (confidential) 19-1944, November 26, 1944.

spomenicima, propisujući mjere koje je trebalo poduzeti za obnovu spomenika, a uz nadzor Konzervatorskog zavoda.⁷²⁹

Obraćajući se Ministarstvu skrbi za stradale krajeve Bach moli za suradnju pri obnovi povijesnih i umjetničkih spomenika, pojedinih naselja i njihovih dijelova. Prilikom obnove Ministarstvo je trebalo konzultirati stručnjake Konzervatorskog zavoda o načinu popravka kako bi savjetima pridonijeli što uspješnijoj obnovi spomenika.⁷³⁰

Ljubo Karaman je na temelju dopisa Ministarstva narodne prosvjete⁷³¹ od 20. siječnja 1944. vraćen u službu Konzervatorskog zavoda, a Ivan Bach razriješen je dužnosti konzervatora.⁷³²

Umirovljenje Karamana treba promatrati u kontekstu vremena obilježenog progonima, u kojem se svako protivljenje režimu kažnjavalo. U sličnoj situaciji našao se i Hoffiller koji je godine 1943. bio umirovljen zbog izjave njemačkom generalu E. Glaiseu von Horstenau da će Njemačka izgubiti rat te je odbio predati Hitleru, kao dar za rođendan, pruski stijeg i šah Fridrika II. Velikog kojih se kao ratnog plijena domogao barun Franjo Trenk sa svojim *pandurima*. Usprkos Hoffillerovu protivljenju, predmeti su proslijeđeni u Njemačku, a Hoffiller je ostao bez radnog mjesta i na brzinu bio umirovljen.⁷³³ O navedenom događaju izvijestile su i novine (sl. 48).

Konzervatorski zavod u Dubrovniku

U tijeku 1942. i 1943. Vinko Foretić⁷³⁴, arhivar Hrvatskoga državnog arhiva u Dubrovniku, kao zastupnik Konzervatorskog zavoda u Dubrovniku⁷³⁵ obavještavao je Karamana o stanju spomenika na području južne Hrvatske. Pisao je Ka-

ramanu u vezi sa spašavanjem slika iz crkve sv. Vlaha na Gorici, navodeći da se u blizini crkve nalazi: „...neka vojnička naprava u obliku visoke gvozdene konstrukcije, za koju vele, da je postaja za prisluškivanje zrakoplova. Vrlo je vjerojatno, da je i ta naprava bila cilj bombardiranja i da su topovska zrna pri tom mjesto nje pogodile crkvu.“ Zatim opisuje inventar crkve: „...U crkvi se, kako rekosmo, štuje stari kip iz XV. stoljeća, a na ogradi "balatura" nalazi se devet slika na drvetu, koje prikazuju Sv. Petra, Sv. Nikolu, Majku Božju, Sv. Roka, Sv. Gjurgja, Sv. Lovrjenca, Sv. Jerolima, Sv. Kristofora i Sv. Sebastijana. To su međutim sve rastavljene slike starog poliptiha dubrovačke slikarske škole, a čiji je sastavni dio bio i kip sv. Vlahu... Crkva je u sadašnjem stanju otvorena i izvrnuta atmosferskim nepogodama, krađi radi osamljenosti položaja, a i opasnosti daljnog bombardiranja...“⁷³⁶

Foretić je tom prigodom zamolio da Konzervatorski zavod župniku iz Gruža don Gjuri Krečku izravno uputi preporuku za premještaj slika na pogodnije mjesto. Dana 8. kolovoza 1944. dopisom je obavijestio Konzervatorski zavod da je imao priliku razgovarati s don Krečkom koji ga je izvijestio da je slike s balatura skinuo i prenio, ali ne svih devet slika, nego samo pet; od preostalih slika dvije su ostale u crkvi i oštećene pri bombardiranju, a dvije su prodane Josipu Bariću (bivšem predsjedniku Ustavnog suda u Dubrovniku). Foretić je stoga molio Konzervatorski zavod da intervenira kod don Krečka kako bi sklonio preostale dvije slike iz crkve i da ne daje na restauriranje slike „slikaru diletantu g. Ivu Scattoliniju, poštanskom činovniku u mirovini i slikaru“, nego stručnjaku.⁷³⁷

Budući da je Konzervatorski zavod brigu oko čuvanja povijesnih, umjetničkih i prirodnih spomenika Dubrovnika povjerio Hrvatskome državnom arhivu u Dubrovniku, Foretić se kao arhivar obratio predstavkom o zaštiti spomenika u Dubrovniku Konzervatorskom zavodu. U predstavi je predložio da se iz Dubrovnika izmjesti protuzračna obrana, ukinu vojničke zone i demilitarizira otok Lokrum.⁷³⁸

Konzervatorski zavod u Dubrovniku nije osnovan do kraja rata, iako se u dokumentima stalno spominje. U nekima se čak spominje i financijski proračun Konzervatorskog zavoda

729 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj V. T. 14-1943. od 25. srpnja 1943.

730 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj V. T. 15-1943. od 25. srpnja 1943.

731 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 6134-1944. od 20. siječnja 1944.

732 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 4611-1944. od 20. siječnja 1944.

733 Slanje umjetnina za rođendan Hitleru bila je uobičajena praksa pristaša režima. Naime, tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata sve su zaplijene umjetnine popisane i fotografirane te su načinjeni katalozi koji su slani Hitleru kao dar. Iz kataloga je Hitler izabirao umjetnine koje su trebale biti smještene u muzej u Linzu (*Führermuseum*). Vidi: KOLAR DIMITRIJEVIĆ, MIRA; WAGNER, ELIZABETA, 2008., 94.

734 Zanimljiv članak *O čuvanju spomenika*. Foretić daje uvid u njegov stav i smjer na koji način bi se trebali čuvati sakralni spomenici, čime bi se vratila njihova prvotna namjena. Primjerima se osvrnuo na upotrebu sakralnih prostora kao magazina, dućana ili štala. FORETIĆ, VINKO, 1937.

735 Konzervatorski zavod u Dubrovniku postojao je formalno samo na papiru, sve do kraja rata nije započeo s radom.

736 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj (tajni) 57-1944. od 29. srpnja 1944.

737 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj (tajni) 60/44 od 4. kolovoza 1944.

738 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj (tajni) 19-1944 od 26. studenog 1944.

ever, the informal status of the institute did not prevent Foretić from conducting extensive correspondence with the Conservation Institute in Zagreb regarding the problem of monument protection.

The Conservation Service in Split and Zadar

From the report on the work of Mihovil Abramić, director of the Archaeological Museum in Split, to the Ministry of National Education, Department for Higher Education and Research Institutes, one can get an insight into the work of the Conservation Institute in Split during the Italian occupation of Split and the surrounding area.⁷³⁸ From the end of April 1941 to the beginning of September 1943, the Archaeological Museum in Split was supervised by the special Commission for Antiquities, Monuments and Galleries of Dalmatia (*R. Commissariato per le antichità and monumenti e le gallerie della Dalmazia*). The seat of the Commission was at the Governor's Office in Zadar. The duties of the commissioner were performed by prof. Luigi Crema, an architect by profession. The Commission merged the Superintendency of antiques, museums and excavations (*Soprintendenza alle antichità*) and the Superintendency of Monuments and Galleries (*Soprintendenza ai monumenti e le gallerie*). The Commission had jurisdiction over the three Italian provinces in Dalmatia: Zadar, Split and Kotor. The islands of Krk and Rab, and the province of Rijeka were, as far as antiquities were concerned, under the jurisdiction of the Superintendency in Padova, and under the supervision of the Superintendency in Trieste for monument protection. Luigi Crema organized, according to the *Report on the State of Movable Monuments of the City of Zadar*, the storage of endangered works of art in shelters in Zadar, and some items were transported to Venice.⁷³⁹

Crema came to Split every two to three days. When they took over, the Italian authorities kept the entire staff of the Archaeological Museum in Split. The position of conservator after Karaman's transfer to Zagreb was filled by Curator

Cvito Fisković⁷⁴⁰. Commissioner Crema led the entire Commission, including the restoration of antiquities and monuments as well as archaeological excavations, and left the internal administration of the Museum and the supervision of excavations in Solin to Mihovil Abramić, with whom Cvito Fisković and Duje Rendić-Miočević collaborated.

Cvito Fisković worked on drawing up an inventory of various monuments, on the renovation of the Kaptol Archives, and oversaw the restoration of the town wall in Korčula. Conservation technician Antun Ercegović continued to work on cleaning and organising museum objects, drawing floor plans and reconstructing various historic buildings. Curator trainee Duje Rendić-Miočević catalogued ancient inscriptions, and engraved gems, coins, etc., while also working on his dissertation at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb.⁷⁴¹

The report on the work of the Croatian National Gallery of Art in Split, which was under the Commission of Antiquities, Monuments and Galleries of Dalmatia (*R. Commissariato per le antichità, and monumenti e le gallerie della Dalmazia*), was signed by Kamilo Tončić.⁷⁴² The Commission funded the galleries with advances every three months, which initially arrived with a delay, and later, did not arrive at all. The work of the Commission largely consisted of trying, in various circumventive ways, to transport more valuable works of art from Dalmatia to Italy, on the pretext of organizing exhibitions or saving them from the war. Split prefect P. Zerebin also appropriated thirty of the most important paintings and a set of antique furniture to decorate his apartment. The appropriated artwork was saved by Kamilo Tončić.⁷⁴³

"However, from the very beginning, without waiting, many

738 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 49-1944, February 26, 1944.

739 More on the rescue of artwork and the post-war disappearance of artwork in: MLIKOTA, ANTONIJA, 2012, 256-259.

740 During the war, a conference of partisan cultural workers was held in Hvar on December 18 and 19, 1943, in the liberated territory. Fisković had a presentation on the *characteristics of cultural heritage, Croatian fine arts and literature*. Fisković says that after the liberation, instructions were given to prevent the destruction of monuments, archives, and the removal of paintings and books through the newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija*. IVANIŠEVIĆ, ĐURĐICA, 1983.

741 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 409-1944, July 21, 1944.

742 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter (confidential) number 120-1944, August 16, 1944: 1.

743 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter (confidential) No. 120-1944, August 16, 1944: 1.



48 Isječak iz novina Hrvatski narod, 1941. (MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT)
Newspaper clipping from Hrvatski narod, 1941 (MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT)

(kao npr. Hrvatski državni konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu – u Zakonskoj odredbi o znanstvenom dodatku činovnika i mjesečnim nagradama upravitelja državnih znanstvenih zavoda i ustanova; spominje se Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu, Dubrovniku i Splitu). No, neformalni status zavoda nije omeo Foretića da vodi bogatu korespondenciju s Konzervatorskim zavodom u Zagrebu u vezi s problemom zaštite spomenika.

Konzervatorska služba u Splitu i Zadru

Iz izvještaja o radu ravnatelja Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu, Mihovila Abramića, Ministarstvu narodne prosvjete, Odjelu za visoku nastavu, može se steći uvid u rad Konzervatorskog zavoda u Splitu u vrijeme talijanske okupacije Splita i okolice.⁷³⁹ Od kraja travnja 1941. do početka rujna 1943. Arheološki muzej u Splitu bio je pod nadzorom i upravom posebnoga Povjerenstva za starine, spomenike i galerije slika Dalmacije (*R. Commissariato per le antichità i monumenti e le gallerie della Dalmazia*). Sjedište Povjerenstva bilo je pri uredu guvernera u Zadru. Dužnost povjerenika obavljao je prof. ing. Luigi Crema, po zanimanju arhitekt. U Povjerenstvu su u jedan ured spojeni Nadzorništvo nad starinama, muzejima i

739 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 49-1944. od 26. veljače 1944.



49 Članak o izložbi prigodom povratka Višeslavove krstionice, Nova Hrvatska, 1942. (MKM-SDKB-A)
An article about the exhibition on the occasion of the return of Višeslav's baptistry, 1942 (MKM-SDKB-A)

iskopinama (prema talijanskom nazivu: *Soprintendenza alle antichità*) i Nadzorništvo za spomenike i galerije (*Soprintendenza ai monumenti e le gallerie*). Djelokrug ovog Povjerenstva obuhvaćao je tri talijanske pokrajine u Dalmaciji: Zadar, Split i Kotor. Otok Krk i Rab spojeni s pokrajinom Rijekom bili su, što se starina tiče, u djelokrugu Nadzorništva u Padovi, a za čuvanje spomenika pod upravom Nadzorništva u Trstu. Crema je organizirao, prema *Izvješću o stanju pokretnih spomenika grada Zadra*, pohranu ugroženih umjetnina u skloništa u Zadru, a dio predmeta bio je prenesen u Veneciju.⁷⁴⁰

Crema je u Split dolazio svaka 2 do 3 dana. Talijanske vlasti zadržale su u službi sve zatečeno osoblje Arheološkog muzeja u Splitu. Dužnost konzervatora nakon Karamanova premještaja u Zagreb preuzeo je kustos Cvito Fisković⁷⁴¹. Povjerenik Crema vodio je cjelokupni rad spomenutoga Povjerenstva, kao što je restauriranje starina i spomenika te arheološko iskopavanje, a unutarnju administraciju Muzeja i nadzor iskopavanja u Solinu prepustio je Mihovilu Abramiću, s kojim su surađivali Cvito Fisković i Duje Rendić-Miočević.

740 Više o spašavanju umjetnina i poslijeratnom nestanku umjetnina u: MLIKOTA, ANTONIJA, 2012., 256-259.

741 U vrijeme rata održana je konferencija kulturnih radnika partizana u Hvaru 18. i 19. prosinca 1943. na tada oslobođenom teritoriju. Fisković je imao izlaganje na temu *obilježja kulturne baštine, hrvatske likovne umjetnosti i književnosti*. Fisković navodi da su nakon oslobođenja putem *Slobodne Dalmacije* davane upute kako bi se spriječilo razaranje spomenika, arhiva, odnošenje slika i knjiga. IVANIŠEVIĆ, ĐURĐICA, 1983.

measures were taken to protect the works of art, with the limited possibilities that the Gallery had at its disposal, primarily basement rooms were emptied and secured with available planks. Protective walls were built with bricks that closed the windows and entrance. Statues were taken off stands, where possible, paintings were carefully taken out of frames and stacked in several groups, and everything was gradually transferred to the basement. A certain number of wooden crates was ordered to pack valuable artwork. Various other measures have been taken to protect the glass as well as to protect everything from fire.⁷⁴⁴

After the liberation, according to the report by caretaker Kamil Tončić, all the exhibition halls in the Art Gallery in Split were redecorated, all the Italian inscriptions were replaced, and the exhibition rooms were re-painted and redecorated.

LEGISLATION DURING THE PERIOD OF THE INDEPENDENT STATE OF CROATIA

During the period of the Independent State of Croatia, a series of legal acts were proclaimed concerning monument protection, including the protection of movable art heritage. The Ministry of Religion and Education and the State Conservation Institute in Zagreb collaborated to create the laws. A review of the files of the Conservation Institute reveals a constant exchange of letters and the activity of officials, especially in proposing legal acts. From the proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia on April 10, 1941 until its collapse in May 1945, the following legal provisions were adopted regarding monument protection:

- *Legislative provision forbidding the removal of antique art, cultural, historical and natural monuments in the Independent State of Croatia*
- *Regulations for the export of works of art*
- *Legislative provision for the establishment of the Croatian National Museum in Osijek*
- *Regulations of the War Museum in Zagreb*

744 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter (confidential) No. 120-1944, August 16, 1944: 3.

- *Legislative provisions for Croatian cultural monuments*
- *Legislative provision for the exchange of two paintings by Vittore Carpaccio from the Gallery of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb and for the baptismal font of the Croatian Duke Višeslav from the Museo Civico Correr in Venice*

The legislative provisions were published in the Proceedings of the Laws and Orders of the Independent State of Croatia. The legislative provisions related to the protection of cultural heritage that were passed during the Independent State of Croatia were the first provisions and guidelines for the protection of cultural monuments in Croatia to be adopted by legal means. However, because of the nature of the ruling political regime and repression, this law did not only protect art heritage, it also legalized the confiscation of works of art from Jews, under the Nazi law that was passed in Germany in 1938.⁷⁴⁵

Each of the provisions should be commented on:

The Legislative provision forbidding the removal of antique art, cultural, historical and natural monuments in the Independent State of Croatia⁷⁴⁶

At the proposal of Mile Budak, Minister of Religion and Education, No. 130 on May 12, 1941, a *Legislative provision forbidding the removal of antique art, cultural, historical and natural monuments in the Independent State of Croatia* was passed. The provision prohibited the removal, especially outside the borders of the Independent State of Croatia, of any antique art, cultural, historical and natural monument, without the knowledge of the Ministry of Religion and Education. Both state and religious institutions as well as private citizens, had to keep antique art, cultural, historical and natural monuments in a safe place. If institutions and private citizens could not take care of the monuments themselves, they were obliged to hand them over to the Croatian National Museum of the Independent State of Croatia⁷⁴⁷. If monuments were neglected and not protect-

745 Decree on "securing" Jewish property from December 3, 1938, which prohibits, under Article 4. Precious stones, jewellery and art objects, Jews from purchasing, pledging, or selling items made out of gold, platinum, or silver. BRENNER, HILDEGARD, 1992, 274, JURANOVIĆ TONEJC, MARTINA, 2009-2010, 15-22.

746 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Year I, No. 2, Zagreb 5 July 1941, Issue 130. p. 85-86.

747 Today's Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb.

Cvito Fisković radio je na inventariziranju raznih spomenika, na sređivanju Kaptolskog arhiva, a nadzirao je i restauriranje gradskoga bedema u Korčuli. Preparator Antun Ercegović nastavio je rad na čišćenju i uređivanju muzejskih predmeta i na izradi tlocrta i rekonstrukcija raznih povijesnih građevina. Kustos vježbenik Duje Rendić-Miočević katalogizirao je antičke natpise, geme, novac itd., radeći i na svojoj disertaciji na Mudroslovnom fakultetu zagrebačkog Sveučilišta.⁷⁴²

Izveštaj o radu Hrvatske državne Galerije umjetnina u Splitu, koja je potpala pod Povjerenstvo za starine, spomenike i galerije slika Dalmacije (*R. Commissariato per le antichità, i monumenti e le gallerie della Dalmazia*) potpisao je Kamilo Tončić.⁷⁴³ Povjerenstvo je financiralo galerije tromjesečnim predujmovima, koji su u početku stizali sa zakašnjenjem, a poslije više uopće nisu stizali. Djelatnost tog Povjerenstva dobrim se dijelom sastojala u tome da na razne zaobilazne načine nastoji prenijeti vrijednije umjetnine iz Dalmacije u Italiju, pod izlikom priređivanja izložbi ili sklanjanja od ratne opasnosti. A splitski prefekt P. Zerebin prisvojio je tridesetak najznačajnijih slika i garnituru starinskog namještaja za uređenje svog stana! Prisvojene umjetnine uspio je spasiti Kamilo Tončić.⁷⁴⁴

„Ipak od samog početka, ne čekajući otvaranje navjere bile su poduzete mnoge mjere za zaštitu umjetnina, sa ograničenim mogućnostima, koje je sama Galerija imala na raspolaganju, u prvom redu ispražnjene su podrumске prostorije i osigurane raspoloživim daskama. Od opeka izrađeni su zaštitni zidovi, kojima su zatvoreni prozori i ulaz. Kipovi su skinuti sa stalaka, slike prema mogućnostima pomno povađene iz okvira te složene u više grupa, a sve postepeno preneseno je u podrumске prostorije. Naručena je izvjesna količina drvenih sanduka radi pakovanja vrijednih umjetnina. Poduzete su razne druge mjere za čuvanje stakla, kao i zaštite od požara.“⁷⁴⁵

Nakon oslobođenja, prema izvještaju nadstojnika Tončića, preuređene su sve izložbene dvorane u Galeriji umjetnina

u Splitu, zamijenjeni su svi talijanski natpisi, oličene su i nanovo uređene izložbene prostorije.

ZAKONSKA REGULATIVA U VRIJEME NDH

Za vrijeme Nezavisne Države Hrvatske proglašen je niz zakonskih akata koji su se odnosili na zaštitu spomenika, pa tako i na zaštitu pokretne umjetničke baštine. U stvaranju zakonskih akata surađivali su Ministarstvo bogoštovlja i nastave i tadašnji Državni konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu. Proučavanjem spisa Konzervatorskog zavoda uočava se stalna razmjena dopisa i aktivnost službenika, napose u predlaganju zakonskih akata. Od proglašenja NDH 10. travnja 1941. do sloma u svibnju 1945. donesene su sljedeće zakonske odredbe vezane uz zaštitu spomenika:

– *Zakonska odredba o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih umjetničkih, kulturno-povjesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske*

– *Pravilnik za izvoz umjetnina*

– *Zakonska odredba o osnutku Hrvatskog državnog muzeja u Osijeku*

– *Pravilnik Ratnog muzeja u Zagrebu*

– *Zakonska odredba o hrvatskim kulturnim spomenicima*

– *Zakonska odredba o zamjeni dviju slika Vittora Carpaccia iz Galerije Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu za krstionicu hrvatskog kneza Višeslava iz Museo Civico Correr u Mletcima.*

Zakonske odredbe publicirane su u Zborniku zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. Zakonske odredbe vezane za zaštitu kulturne baštine koje su donesene u vrijeme postojanja NDH prve su odredbe i smjernice zaštite spomenika kulture u Hrvatskoj donesene zakonodavnim, pravnim putem. No, zbog naravi vladajućega političkog režima i represije, tim se zakonom nije samo štitila umjetnička baština, nego je prema nacističkom zakonu

742 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 409-1944. od 21. srpnja 1944.

743 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis (tajni) broj 120-1944. od 16. kolovoza 1944., 1.

744 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis (tajni) broj 120-1944. od 16. kolovoza 1944., 1.

745 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis (tajni) broj 120-1944. od 16. kolovoza 1944., 3.

ed, a prison sentence of up to five years and a fine of up to 500,000 dinars was imposed.

The provision referred to works of art owned by all persons, but did not apply to those exempted under the fascist regime at the time.

The Legislative provision for the establishment of the Croatian National Museum in Osijek⁷⁴⁸

The legislative provision had articles. Article 1 established the Croatian National Museum in Osijek. Under Article 2, the Minister of Education was authorized to enter into an agreement with the Municipality of Osijek to take over the property of the City Museum, the city library, the collection of paintings and city archives.

The background to the proclamation of the city museum in Osijek as state museum was the rescue of art objects of Jews and Serbs which were removed from the Osijek area. The German side wanted the objects of German origin, instead of the City Museum, to be stored by the competent National leadership of the German National Group for the Homeland Museum (Heimatmuseum).⁷⁴⁹

The Regulations for the Export of Antique, Art, Cultural, Historical and Natural Monuments⁷⁵⁰

On May 12, 1941, the Independent State of Croatia issued Regulations for the Export of Antique, Art, Cultural, Historical and Natural Monuments, which prohibited the removal and, in particular, the export of works of art outside the borders of the country, without the approval of the Ministry of Education. In doing so, the authorization to export such items from the country was transferred from the administrative authorities to the said Ministry. Regulations on Export Fees for Cultural and Natural Monuments, as provided for in the Antiquities Regulation, were not immediately formulated and published, and it was necessary to determine the amount and procedure for collecting

export taxes. Therefore, Ljubo Karaman, director of the Croatian State Conservation Institute, suggested that the Department for Higher Education and Research Institutes should convene a meeting with the Head of the Department, and a representative of the Ministry of Treasury, the state conservator, the director of the Archaeological Museum and the director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, to establish the Regulations.

Regulations were adopted under Article 21 of the *Decree on the preservation of antiquities and natural monuments* (July 25, 1940), and the *Legislative provision forbidding the removal of antique art, cultural, historical and natural monuments in the Independent State of Croatia* (May 12, 1941). It forbade any removal of antique, art, cultural, historical and natural monuments from the country, without the knowledge and approval of the Ministry of Education. If one intended to export the aforementioned items, they had to inform the Ministry of Education with an application which had to include a list of the items and their monetary value. The Ministry also had to obtain the opinion of the Conservation Institute, based on which it issued the decision. If the monetary value of the exporter was not the same as the proposal of the Conservation Institute or Museum, the Minister of Education had to make the final decision. Officials were required to receive appropriate remuneration from exporters for the examination of objects and the opinion of the conservation institutes and museums, as required by the Ministry of Education. Depending on the value of the item, the Ministry issued fees ranging from 8 to 30 percent of the artwork value⁷⁵¹. If the exporter disagreed with the monetary value proposed by the Minister of Education, the final value was irrevocably given by a Committee consisting of three members: one appointed by the Minister of Education, one by the exporter, and the third by the president of the competent District Court. The costs of the commission were paid by the exporter. The export tax, depending on individual cases, could also be settled in foreign currency, and in agreement with the exporter, the state was required to take some of the items

748 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Year II, No. 7, Zagreb March 11, 1942, p. 229. Number 210.

749 About the Museum of the City of Osijek, opportunities and situation before and during the Second World War in Osijek, see in: GRUBIŠIĆ, ANTE, 2002, 107-134; GRUBIŠIĆ, ANTE, 2013, 487-508.

750 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 547-1942, September 17, 1942.

751 The Croatian Parliament, for items valued at up to 50,000 kunas 8% is paid; from 50,000 to 200,000 kunas 15%; from 200,000 – 300,000 kunas 20%; from 300,000 – 750,000 kunas 25%; 750,000 kunas 30%. MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 617-1942, October 8, 1942.

donesenom u Njemačkoj 1938. godine legalizirano i oduzimanje umjetnina Židovima.⁷⁴⁶

Svaku od donesenih odredbi potrebno je komentirati.

Zakonska odredba o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih umjetničkih, kulturno-povjesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području Nezavisne Države Hrvatske⁷⁴⁷

Na prijedlog Ministra bogoštovlja i nastave Mile Budaka pod brojem 130 od 12. svibnja 1941. izdana je *Zakonska odredba o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih umjetničkih, kulturno-povjesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području NDH*. Odredbom je zabranjeno otuđivanje i iznošenje, posebno izvan granica NDH, bilo kojega starinskog umjetničkog, kulturno-povijesnog i prirodnog spomenika bez znanja Ministarstva bogoštovlja i nastave. I državne i vjerske ustanove i privatne osobe bile su dužne čuvati i na sigurna mjesta pohranjivati starinske umjetničke, kulturno-povijesne i prirodne spomenike. Ukoliko se ustanove i privatnici nisu mogli sami brinuti o umjetničkim i prirodnim spomenicima, bili su dužni predati ih Hrvatskom narodnom muzeju NDH⁷⁴⁸. Za nebrigu i neodržavanje određena je zatvorska kazna do 5 godina i novčana do 500.000 dinara.

Odredba se odnosila na umjetničke predmete u vlasništvu svih osoba, no nije se odnosila na one koji su bili izuzeti prema tadašnjem fašističkom režimu.

Zakonska odredba o osnutku Hrvatskoga državnog muzeja u Osijeku⁷⁴⁹

Zakonska odredba imala je tri članka. Člankom 1. osnovan je Hrvatski državni muzej u Osijeku. Prema članku 2. Ministar nastave bio je ovlašten sklopiti ugovor s općinom grada Osijeka o preuzimanju imovine gradskoga muzeja, gradske knjižnice, zbirke slika i gradskog arhiva.

746 Propis o „osiguravanju“ židovskog imetka od 3. prosinca 1938. kojim je u članku 4. *Drago kamenje, nakit i umjetnički predmeti* Židovima zabranjeno kupovati, založiti ili prodavati predmete od zlata, platine ili srebra. BRENNER, HILDEGARD, 1992., 274; JURANOVIĆ-TONEJC, MARTINA, 2009.-2010., 15-22.

747 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Godina I, Br. 2, Zagreb, 5. srpnja 1941., Broj 130, str. 85-86.

748 Današnji Muzej za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu.

749 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Godina II, Br. 7, Zagreb, 11. ožujka 1942., str. 229. Broj 210.

Pozadina proglašenja gradskog muzeja u Osijeku državnim bila je u spašavanju otuđenih/predanih umjetničkih predmeta Židova i Srba s osječkog područja. Njemačka strana željela je da se predmeti njemačkog podrijetla, umjesto Gradskog muzeja, pohrane nadležnom Zemaljskom vodstvu Njemačke narodne skupine za Zavičajni muzej (Heimatmuseum).⁷⁵⁰

Pravilnik za izvoz starinskih, umjetničkih, kulturno-povjesnih i prirodnih spomenika⁷⁵¹

NDH je 12. svibnja 1941. izdala *Zakonsku odredbu o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih, umjetničkih, kulturno-povijesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području NDH* kojom je zabranjeno svako otuđivanje, a napose izvoz predmeta izvan granica bez odobrenja Ministarstva nastave. Time je odobrenje za izvoz takvih predmeta izvan države bilo prebačeno s upravnih vlasti na spomenuto Ministarstvo. Pravilnik o izvoznim taksama za kulturne i prirodne spomenike, predviđen u Uredbi o starinama, nije bio odmah formuliran i objavljen te je bilo potrebno odrediti visinu i postupak pri ubiranju izvoznih taksu. Stoga je ravnatelj Hrvatskoga državnog konzervatorskog zavoda Ljubo Karaman predložio Odjelu za visoke škole i naučne zavode da sazove sastanak kojemu bi, osim pročelnika Odjela, prisustvovali predstavnik Ministarstva riznice, državni konzervator, upravitelj Arheološkog muzeja i upravitelj Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt u svrhu dogovora oko izrade Pravilnika.

Pravilnik je donesen na osnovi članka 21. *Uredbe o čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika* od 25. srpnja 1940. i *Zakonske odredbe o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih, umjetničkih, kulturno-povijesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području NDH* od 12. svibnja 1941. Pravilnik je zabranio svako iznošenje starinskih, umjetničkih, kulturno-povijesnih i prirodnih spomenika iz zemlje bez znanja i odobrenja Ministarstva nastave. Ako je netko namjeravao izvoziti navedene predmete, morao se obratiti Ministarstvu nastave podneskom koji je morao sadržavati popis predmeta i njihovu novčanu vrijednost. Ministarstvo je trebalo pribaviti i mišljenje Konzervatorskog zavoda na osnovi kojeg je izdavalu odluku. Ako

750 O muzeju Grada Osijeka, prilikama i situaciji prije i u vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata u Osijeku vidi u: GRUBIŠIĆ, ANTE, 2002., 107-134; GRUBIŠIĆ, ANTE, 2013., 487-508.

751 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 547-1942. od 17. rujna 1942.

based on the value of the tax. The Minister of Education could, within two months of the submission of the application, purchase the item at the price stated in the application by the exporter. The same conditions applied to temporary exports, except that the Minister of Education determined the period of time which could be extended at the request of the exporter. The export tax could be taken only as a security, and the State treasury kept it if the item was not returned within the period specified in the license. The item was exempt from taxes if it was designated for exhibition or as furniture for diplomatic missions of the Independent State of Croatia. Items imported from abroad were not subject to taxes if they were temporary imports, as evidenced by a certificate issued by the Ministry of Education, and if they were again exported across the border of the Independent State of Croatia within five years.

Regulations governed the permanent and temporary export of works of art, but practice has shown that a large proportion of them were exported without following the Regulations. It is almost impossible to trace the works of art that were taken when German and Italian officials left the occupied territories in 1945. There is a statement in the records of the Conservation Institute of the Commission made by representatives of the Institute and the Croatian National Museum of Arts and Crafts about the export of four oil paintings owned by Fritz Esselborn. The Commission found that the paintings had no artistic value and that there were no obstacles to their export⁷⁵².

Regulations of the War Museum in Zagreb⁷⁵³

The Regulations of the War Museum in Zagreb were adopted based on § 3 of the legal provision No. CXXVI-268-Z.p.-1941 on May 26, 1941 of the War Archives and Museums of the Independent State of Croatia⁷⁵⁴. The regulations were preceded by a legal provision on *War Archives and*

*Museums of the Independent State of Croatia*⁷⁵⁵, adopted based on the proposal of the Minister of Religion and Education⁷⁵⁶. The Provision established the War Archives and Museums of the Independent State of Croatia, with the aim of collecting and preserving all *written and printed monuments* and objects related to the wartime history of Croats from the earliest times. Management arrangements and business instructions were to be prescribed by a separate provision. The legal provision was entrusted to the Ministry of the Croatian Home Guard.

The War Museum was established by the aforementioned Provision on May 26, 1941. The headquarters were in Zagreb, and it was under the authority of the Ministry of the Croatian Home Guard. The role of the Museum was to collect, preserve, exhibit, and scientifically study all Croatian war antiquities and monuments located in the Independent State of Croatia. It dealt with everything that had to do with the military and its development in the past. Forts in their present and former condition, methods of warfare, portraits of Croatian military leaders and officers, and war decorations were also to be displayed. The War Museum would house the objects and monuments that were in state and *self-governing* museums which, by agreement by the Ministry of Croatian Home Guard, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of the Interior, were to be handed over to the War Museum. Underground, undisclosed or hidden war memorials had to be reported to the nearest political or military authority or turned over to the War Museum, because they were considered the property of the Independent State of Croatia. The museum was to be headed by a director appointed by the *Doglavnik – Vojskovođa*, and the staff had to be qualified according to the *Decree on Museums and Galleries*. The museum was to be financed through government funds, gifts, foundations, records and legacies, outflows, duplicates, photographic reproductions and tickets. The manager of the museum could receive gifts, but he needed to inform the *Doglavnik – Vojskovođa*, who would make the final decision with the

752 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 533-1944, October 7, 1944.

753 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Year II, No. 7, Zagreb, March 11, 1942. p. 244-246.

754 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Published by the Legislative Commission, Year II, Number 7, Zagreb, March 11, 1942, p. 244-246.

755 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Year I, No. 2, Zagreb, July 5, 1941. p. 120. No. 178, May 26, 1941.

756 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Published by the Legislative Commission, Year I, Number 2, Zagreb, July 5, 1941, p. 120.

se novčana procjena vrijednosti izvoznika nije podudarala s prijedlogom Konzervatorskog zavoda, odnosno muzeja, konačnu odluku trebao je donijeti Ministar nastave. Za pregled predmeta i mišljenje konzervatorskih zavoda i muzeja činovnici su trebali dobivati primjerenu nagradu od izvoznika, prema odredbi Ministarstva nastave. Ministarstvo je izdalo takse, ovisno o vrijednosti predmeta, od 8 do 30 posto vrijednosti umjetnine⁷⁵². U slučaju da izvoznik nije suglasan s novčanom vrijednosti koju je predložio Ministar nastave, konačnu novčanu vrijednost neopozivo je trebalo donijeti Povjerenstvo sastavljeno od tri člana: jednoga je trebalo imenovati Ministar nastave, drugoga izvoznik, trećega predsjednik nadležnoga Okružnog suda. Troškove povjerenstva trebao je snositi sam izvoznik. Izvozna taksa, ovisno o slučaju, mogla je biti podmirena i u stranoj valuti, a u sporazumu s izvoznikom država je trebala preuzeti dio predmeta u vrijednosti takse. Ministar nastave mogao je, u roku od dva mjeseca od podnošenja molbe, predmet otkupiti uz cijenu koju je u molbi naznačio izvoznik. U slučaju privremenog izvoza vrijedili su isti uvjeti, osim što je Ministar nastave određivao vrijeme koje se na zahtjev izvoznika moglo i produžiti. Izvozna taksa trebala se ubirati samo kao jamčevina, a Državni je erar trajno zadržavao u slučaju da se predmet ne povraća u roku koji je određen u dozvoli. Predmet je trebao biti oslobođen od takse ako je određen za izložbu ili kao namještaj diplomatskog predstavništva NDH. Predmeti koji su uvezeni iz inozemstva nisu podliježali plaćanju pristojbe u slučaju da je uvoz privremen, što se dokazuje potvrdom koju je izdalo Ministarstvo nastave, te u slučaju da ponovni izvoz preko granice NDH uslijedi u roku od pet godina.

Pravilnikom je reguliran trajni i privremeni izvoz umjetnina, no praksa je pokazala da je velik dio umjetnina izvezen bez poštivanja navedenog Pravilnika. Gotovo je nemoguće ući u trag umjetninama koje su prenesene prilikom napuštanja okupiranih područja od strane njemačkih i talijanskih službenika 1945. godine. U spisima Konzervatorskog zavoda pronađeno je očitovanje Povjerenstva koje su sačinili predstavnici Zavoda i Hrvatskog državnog muzeja za umjetnost i obrt za izvoz četiriju uljanih slika u vlasništvu

752 Hrvatski sabor, Vrijednost predmeta do 50.000 kuna plaća se 8%, od 50.000 do 200.000 kuna 15%, 200.000 – 300.000 kuna 20%, 300.000 – 750.000 kuna 25%, 750.000 kuna 30%. MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 617-1942. od 8. listopada 1942.

Fritza Esselborna. Povjerenstvo je utvrdilo da slike nemaju nikakvu umjetničku vrijednost, pa ne postoje ni zapreke za njihov izvoz⁷⁵³.

Pravilnik Ratnog muzeja u Zagrebu⁷⁵⁴

Pravilnik Ratnog muzeja u Zagrebu donesen je na osnovi § 3. zakonske odredbe broj CXXVI-268-Z.p.-1941 od 26. svibnja 1941. o ratnom arhivu i muzeju NDH⁷⁵⁵. Pravilniku je prethodila zakonska odredba o *Ratnom arhivu i muzeju Nezavisne Države Hrvatske*⁷⁵⁶ koja je donesena na prijedlog Ministra bogoštovlja i nastave⁷⁵⁷. Tom je Odredbom osnovan Ratni arhiv i Muzej NDH s ciljem prikupljanja i čuvanja *svih pisanih i tiskanih spomenika* te predmeta koji se odnose na ratnu povijest Hrvata od najranijih vremena. Uređenje uprave i poslovni napatuk trebao je biti propisan posebnom odredbom. Zakonska odredba bila je povjerena Ministarstvu hrvatskog domobranstva.

Ratni muzej osnovan je spomenutom Odredbom od 26. svibnja 1941. sa sjedištem u Zagrebu, pod vrhovnom upravom Ministarstva hrvatskoga domobranstva. Zadaća Muzeja bila je prikupljanje, čuvanje, izlaganje i znanstveno proučavanje *svih hrvatskih ratnih starina i spomenika* koje se nalaze u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj. Područje rada obuhvaćalo je sve što je bilo povezano s vojskom i njezinim razvojem u prošlosti. Trebale su biti prikazane i utvrde u tadašnjem i negdašnjem izgledu, načini ratovanja, portreti hrvatskih vojskovođa i časnika te ratna odlikovanja. Kao temelj Ratnoga muzeja trebali su poslužiti predmeti i spomenici koji su se nalazili u državnim i *samoupravnim* muzejima, koji su sporazumno, između Ministarstva hrvatskoga domobranstva, Ministarstva nastave i Ministarstva unutarnjih poslova, trebali biti izlučeni i predani Ratnom muzeju. Ratne spomenike koji su pod zemljom, neotkriveni ili skriveni bilo je potrebno

753 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 533-1944. od 7. listopada 1944.

754 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Godina II, Br. 7, Zagreb, 11. ožujka 1942., str. 244-246.

755 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Izdaje zakonodavno povjerenstvo, Godina II, Broj 7, Zagreb, 11. ožujka 1942., str. 244-246.

756 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Godina I, Br. 2, Zagreb, 5. srpnja 1941., str. 120. Broj 178. od 26. svibnja 1941.

757 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Izdaje zakonodavno povjerenstvo, Godina I, Broj 2, Zagreb, 5. srpnja 1941., str. 120.

assistance of the advisory council and the manager. Clerks and officials were prohibited from collecting objects and owning collections in the area of interest of the War Museum. The museum was to publish and sell a professional newsletter, and a professional library was to be established at the Museum. Collections, libraries and the laboratory could also serve scientific purposes.

It was housed in the Jesuit Monastery in the Upper Town (today the Klovičevi Dvori Gallery), and the opening of the museum was delayed several times. The director of the museum was *Colonel* Milan Praunsperger⁷⁵⁷.

The Legislative provision for two paintings by Vittore Carpaccio, from the Gallery of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, to be exchanged for the baptismal font of the Croatian Duke Višeslav, from the Museo Civico Correr in Venice⁷⁵⁸

The baptismal font of Duke Višeslav was transported to Venice in 1746; it is not known for what reason, but in 1853, it was found in the Capuchin monastery of the Most Holy Redeemer on the island of Giudecca, and then transported to the Correr Museum. In consideration of the cooperation between Croatia and Italy, an exchange of art was arranged.⁷⁵⁹ The Ministry of Justice and Religion issued the following Legislative provision No. 597 on the exchange of two paintings by Vittore Carpaccio, from the Gallery of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, for the baptismal font of Croatian Duke Višeslav, from the Museo Civico Correr in Venice⁷⁶⁰:

§ 1. The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb

757 Milan Praunsperger was born on November 5, 1881 in Samobor, he graduated from the Faculty of Law in Zagreb, and from the reserve officer school of the Austro-Hungarian army in Vienna. He was an active officer of the Austro-Hungarian Army and the Army of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes until his retirement in 1921. When the Croatian Home Guard was established, he became the head of the Judicial Department of the Ministry of the Armed Forces of the Independent State of Croatia, and the director of the War Archives and Museums of the Independent State of Croatia.

758 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Year II, No. 16, Zagreb, June 11, 1942. p. 625. No. 597.

759 After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, F. Bulić was the first to raise the issue of the return of the baptismal font in 1920.

760 Published in *Narodne Novine* no. 114, May 23, 1942.

will exchange their two paintings by the Italian painter Vittore Carpaccio, located in the Strossmayer gallery of paintings Nos. 54 and 56, for the baptismal font of the Croatian duke Višeslav, located in the Museo Civico Correr in Venice.

§ 2. The baptismal font of the Croatian Duke Višeslav will become the property of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb.

§ 3. The implementation of this legislative provision is entrusted to the Minister of Education, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

§ 4. This legislative provision shall become legal on the day it is published in the *Narodne Novine*.

Zagreb, May 22, 1942

President of the Independent State of Croatia:

Dr. Ante Pavelić

The Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts appointed conservator Ljubo Karaman to travel to Venice at the expense of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to deliver two paintings by Vittore Carpaccio (*St. Sebastian* and *St. Peter*) and to take the baptismal font of Duke Višeslav.⁷⁶¹

Shortly after the enactment of the law, Karaman travelled to Italy with Ivo Omrčanin, secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In a report from May 27, 1942, on his trip to Venice to exchange Carpaccio's paintings for the baptismal font of Duke Višeslav from the Correr Museum, Karaman mentioned that the painting of St. Bartholomew, attributed to the Dalmatian painter Federik Benković⁷⁶², was donated when the two paintings by Carpaccio were delivered.

The newspapers (*Preporod*, *Jutarnji list*) also wrote about Karaman's trip and the return of Višeslav's baptismal font with a description of the handover at the Fondaco dei Turchi Palace in Venice and Karaman's speech on the value of the baptismal font for Croatian history in front of Count

761 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 256-1942.

762 MKM-SDKB-NDH Letter No. 276-1942, May 30, 1942.

prijaviti najbližoj političkoj ili vojnoj vlasti ili predati Ratnom muzeju, jer su smatrani vlasništvom Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. Na čelu Muzeja trebao je biti upravitelj kojega postavlja Duglavinik – Vojskovođa, a osoblje je moralo biti kvalificirano prema *Uredbi o muzejima i galerijama*. Muzej se trebao uzdržavati od državnih sredstava, darova, zaklada, zapisa i ostavština, odljeva, duplikata, fotografskih reprodukcija i od ulaznica. Darove je mogao primiti upravitelj muzeja koji je o tome trebao izvijestiti Duglavinika – Vojskovođu, a on bi pak donosio konačnu odluku uz pomoć savjetodavnog vijeća i upravitelja. Činovnicima i službenicima bilo je zabranjeno prikupljanje predmeta i posjedovanje zbirke s područja interesa Ratnoga muzeja. Muzej je trebao izdavati i prodavati stručno glasilo, a pri Muzeju je trebalo osnovati i stručnu knjižnicu. Zbirke, knjižnice i laboratorij mogli su služiti i u znanstvene svrhe.

Ratni muzej bio je smješten u Jezuitskom samostanu na Gornjem gradu (današnja Galerija Klovićevi dvori), a njegovo otvaranje nekoliko je puta bilo odgađano. Ravnatelj muzeja bio je *pukovnik* Milan Praunsperger⁷⁵⁸.

Zakonska odredba o zamjeni dviju slika Vittorea Carpaccia iz Galerije Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu za krstionicu hrvatskoga kneza Višeslava iz Museo Civico Correr u Mlecima⁷⁵⁹

Višeslavova krstionica prenesena je u Veneciju godine 1746., ne zna se točno iz kojih razloga, no godine 1853. pronađena je u kapucinskom samostanu Presvetog Otkupitelja na otoku Giudecca te je potom prenesena u Muzej Correr. S obzirom na suradnju Hrvatske i Italije dogovorena je zamjena umjetnina.⁷⁶⁰ Ministarstvo pravosuđa i bogoštovlja izdalo je slijedeću Zakonsku odredbu pod brojem 597. o zamjeni dviju slika Vittorea Carpaccia iz Galerije Hrvatske akademije

znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu za krstionicu hrvatskog kneza Višeslava iz Museo Civico Correr u Mlecima⁷⁶¹ :

„§ 1. Odredjuje se, da Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu zamieni svoje dvie slike talijanskog slikara Vittora Carpaccia, koje se nalaze u Strossmayerovoj galeriji slika pod brojem 54 i 56 za krstionicu hrvatskog kneza Višeslava, koja se nalazi u Museo Civico Correr u Mlecima.

§ 2. Krstionica hrvatskog kneza Višeslava postaje vlasništvo Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu.

§ 3. Provedba ove zakonske odredbe povjerava se ministru nastave, ministru vanjskih poslova i Hrvatskoj akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti.

§ 4. Ova zakonska odredba zadobiva pravnu moć danom proglašenja u Narodnim novinama.

U Zagrebu, 22. svibnja 1942.

Poglavinik Nezavisne Države Hrvatske:

Dr. Ante Pavelić“

Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti odredila je prema toj zakonskoj odredbi konzervatora dr. Ljubu Karamana da na trošak Ministarstva vanjskih poslova otputuje u Veneciju, preda dvije slike Vittorea Carpaccia (*Sv. Sebastijana* i *Sv. Petra*) i preuzme krstionicu kneza Višeslava.⁷⁶²

Ubrzo nakon donošenja zakonske odredbe Karaman je otputovao u Italiju s tajnikom ministarstva vanjskih poslova dr. Ivom Omrčaninom. U izvještaju od 27. svibnja 1942. o putovanju u Veneciju zbog zamjene Carpacciovih slika i Višeslavove krstionice iz Muzeja Correr, Karaman spominje da je na poklon predana slika sv. Bartolomeja koja se pripisuje dalmatinskom slikaru Federiku Benkoviću⁷⁶³.

Karamanovo putovanje i povratak Višeslavove krstionice praćen je i u dnevnom tisku (*Preporod*, *Jutamji list*), opisom primopredaje u palači Fondaco dei Turchi u Veneciji i govorom Karamana o vrijednosti krstionice za hrvatsku povijest uz nazočnost grofa Volpia di Misurata i gradonačelnika Venecije Dall' Armija te niza istaknutih dužnosnika i diplomatskih predstavnika (sl. 49). Nakon povratka krstionica je izložena

758 Milan Praunsperger rođen je 5. studenoga 1881. u Samoboru, diplomirao je na Pravnom fakultetu u Zagrebu, završio školu za pričuvne časnike austrougarske vojske u Beču. Bio je djelatni časnik austrougarske vojske i vojske Kraljevine SHS do umirovljenja 1921. godine. Od osnutka Hrvatskoga domobranstva pročelnik je Pravosudnog odjela Ministarstva oružanih snaga NDH, ravnatelj Ratnog arhiva i Muzeja NDH.

759 Hrvatski sabor, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne Države Hrvatske, Godina II, Br. 16, Zagreb, 11. lipnja 1942., str. 625. Broj 597.

760 F. Bulić prvi je nakon raspada Austro-Ugarske Monarhije pokrenuo pitanje povratka krstionice 1920. godine.

761 Proglašena u *Nardnim Novinama* br. 114 od 23. svibnja 1942.

762 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 256-1942.

763 MKM-SDKB-NDH dopis broj 276-1942. od 30. svibnja 1942.

Volpia di Misurata and the Mayor of Venice, Dall'Armi, as well as a series of prominent officials and diplomatic representatives (Fig. 49). Upon its return on August 29, 1942, the baptismal font was exhibited in the lobby of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.⁷⁶³

The significance of the baptismal font for Croatian national history and culture was crucial when the decision was made to hand over two priceless Carpaccio paintings (in addition to the painting by Benković) in exchange for Višeslav's baptismal font.

The aforementioned legal acts should be supplemented with the Circular of the Archdiocesan Spiritual Table asking for *Statistical data on the damage done to holy objects from the war and the dead*, signed on May 24, 1943. The first item of the Circular requires information on the damage done to churches, parishes and other church structures; on who did the damage; a damage assessment, a description and preferably a photograph. Out of 388 parish offices, 157 responded.⁷⁶⁴ According to reports, more than 250 Catholic churches and chapels were damaged in the Archdiocese of Zagreb alone.⁷⁶⁵

During the four-year period of the Independent State of Croatia, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb played the role of the central institution for monument protection. For the first time, the Institute was continuously funded by competent institutions, and after many years of work that was the responsibility of one person, it became an institution with more permanent employees. The Institute was responsible for the entire area of the Independent State of Croatia, except for a large part of Dalmatia, which Pavelić ceded to Italy under the Treaty of Rome, while Split fell under Italian jurisdiction. Therefore, the State Archives in Dubrovnik (the area from Omiš to Dubrovnik was under the Independent State of Croatia) took control of the city and its surroundings.

During this period, the protection of movable art heritage was primarily concerned with listing works of art and their

legal protection. The profession paid no attention to the origin of objects, but treated the confiscated items only as heritage to be protected. Publishing activities were also carried out when possible, so for the first time, an overview of the development and operation of the protection service was published.⁷⁶⁶ Practical work on the works of art (restoration, ongoing maintenance) was limited because of the war. Activities in the field were also significantly reduced for the same reason. Such was the state of the protection service at the end of World War II.

763 N. N. 1942; N. N. 1942a; N. N. 1942b.

764 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 2001, 8-9.

765 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 2000, 75

766 *Contributions to the historical development of the preservation of artistic, cultural and historical monuments in Croatia (Prilozi poviestnom razvoju čuvanja umjetničkih i kulturno-poviestnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj, 1943)* and *Conservation Work of the Croats (Konzervatorski rad kod Hrvata, 1944)*.

u predvorju Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 29. kolovoza 1942.⁷⁶⁴

Pri donošenju odluke da se neprocjenjivi Carpaccio (uz Benkovića) dadne u zamjenu za Višeslavovu krstionicu presudilo je značenje krstionice za hrvatsku nacionalnu povijest i kulturu.

Navedenim zakonskim aktima treba pridodati Okružnicu Nadbiskupskog duhovnog stola u kojoj se traže *Statistički podaci o počinjenim štetama na bogoštovnim objektima za vrijeme rata te poginulim osobama*, potpisanu 24. svibnja 1943. U prvoj točki Okružnice traženi su podatci o počinjenim štetama na crkvama, župnim dvorovima i drugim bogoslovnim objektima, tko je počinio štetu, procjenu štete, opis i po mogućnosti fotografiju. Odgovore je poslalo 157 župnih ureda od 388.⁷⁶⁵ Prema izvještajima samo u Zagrebačkoj nadbiskupiji stradalo je više od 250 katoličkih crkava i kapela.⁷⁶⁶

U četverogodišnjem razdoblju postojanja NDH Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu imao je ulogu središnje institucije za zaštitu spomenika. Zavod je po prvi put kontinuirano financiran od nadležnih institucija i nakon dugogodišnjega rada koji je počivao na jednoj osobi postaje ustanova s više stalnih zaposlenika. Zavod skrbi za cijelo područje NDH, osim za velik dio Dalmacije koji je Pavelić Rimskim ugovorom ustupio Italiji, pa je tako Split potpao pod talijansku jurisdikciju. Stoga je Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku (područje od Omiša do Dubrovnika bilo je pod NDH) preuzeo nadzor nad gradom i širom okolicom.

U ovom razdoblju zaštita pokretne umjetničke baštine u prvom redu se odnosila na popisivanje umjetnina i njihovu pravnu zaštitu. U cjelokupnom poslu struka nije obraćala pozornost na podrijetlo predmeta, već su otuđene konfiscirane predmete tretirali samo kao baštinu koju treba štiti. U okviru mogućnosti odvijala se i izdavačka djelatnost pa tako po prvi put izlazi pregled razvoja i rada službe zaštite.⁷⁶⁷ Praktični rad na umjetninama (restauracija, tekuće održavanje) bio je ograničen s obzirom na to da su se zbog ratnoga

stanja sredstva za takve radove teško izdvajala. A zbog ratnih djelovanja i terenska je aktivnost znatno smanjena. U takvom okruženju služba je dočekala kraj Drugoga svjetskog rata.

764 N. N. 1942.; N. N. 1942a.; N. N. 1942b.

765 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 2001., 8-9.

766 KOŽUL, STJEPAN, 2000., 75.

767 *Prilozi poviestnom razvoju čuvanja umjetničkih i kulturno-poviestnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj* (1943.) i *Konzervatorski rad kod Hrvata* (1944.).



RAZVOJ INSTITUCIONALNE ZAŠTITE POKRETNE BAŠTINE U HRVATSKOJ OD 1945. DO 1990. GODINE

Odlukama AVNOJ-a i ZAVNOH-a stvoreni su uvjeti za uspostavljanje Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije (FNRJ), a pobjedom Narodnooslobodilačke vojske i antifašističke koalicije prestala je postojati NDH. FNRJ su činile Hrvatska, Srbija, Slovenija, Bosna i Hercegovina, Crna Gora i Makedonija.⁷⁶⁸ Uspostavljanjem granica i ujedinjenjem republika počinje rad na društveno-političkoj organizaciji novonastale države. U nadležnosti republika bile su prosvjeta, kultura, zdravstvo, socijalna skrb i komunalni poslovi. U Narodnoj Republici Hrvatskoj Ministarstvo prosvjete bilo je nadležno za zaštitu spomenika na republičkoj razini. Na osnovi uvida u arhivsku dokumentaciju Konzervatorskoga zavoda u Zagrebu, kasnije Republičkoga zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture, te regionalnih zavoda, prikazat će se razvoj službe zaštite i zaštite pokretnih spomenika od 1945. do 1960. te od 1960. do 1990. godine.

⁷⁶⁸ U vrijeme Drugoga svjetskog rata u studenome 1943. osnovan je AVNOJ kao vrhovno zakonodavno i izvršno predstavničko tijelo Jugoslavije. Tada je i odlučeno da će Jugoslaviju kao federativnu republiku činiti šest federativnih jedinica. Najviši organ državne vlasti u Hrvatskoj bio je ZAVNOH, konstituiran u svibnju 1944., a predstavljao je vrhovno zakonodavno i izvršno narodno tijelo. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003., 280; GOLDSTEIN, IVO, 2003., 297-298.

KONZERVATORSKA SLUŽBA OD 1945. DO 1960. GODINE⁷⁶⁹

Na teritoriju Federalne Države Hrvatske do 1945. godine postojala su dva konzervatorska zavoda: Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu i Konzervatorski ured za Dalmaciju u Splitu. Pored ta dva *službena ureda* odvijao se i volonter-ski rad: Gрге Oštrića u Zadru, Lukše Beritića u Dubrovniku, Frane Dujmovića u Šibeniku, Mirka Slade-Šilovića u Trogiru i Vuka Krajača u Senju.⁷⁷⁰

Rad postojećih konzervatorskih zavoda u Zagrebu i Splitu u novonastaloj državi morao je biti usklađen sa *Zakonom o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije* usvojenim 23. srpnja

⁷⁶⁹ Naziv ustanove varira u dokumentima i spisima: Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu, Zemaljski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti, Hrvatski narodni konzervatorski zavod. Ponekad se istovremeno koristilo i više naziva. Sama služba u zaglavlju dopisa uglavnom upotrebljava naziv Konzervatorski zavod.

⁷⁷⁰ Imenovani su počasnim konzervatorima. FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1952., 419-420. Popis stanja spomenika u Zadru sastavili su po oslobođenju Ante Kitarović i Stjepan Gunjača, a Krno Prijatelj je nadopunio popis 1945. godine. Više o obnovi Zadra nakon 1945. godine u: MLIKOTA, ANTONIJA, 2017., 51.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONAL PROTECTION OF MOVABLE HERITAGE IN CROATIA FROM 1945 TO 1990

Decisions made by the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) and the State Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia (ZAVNOH) created the conditions for the establishment of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (FNRJ); and the Independent State of Croatia ceased to exist with the victory of the National Liberation Army and the anti-fascist coalition. The Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia consisted of Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia.⁷⁶⁷ The work on the socio-political organization of the newly created state began with the establishment of borders and the unification of the republics which were responsible for education, culture, health, social welfare and utilities. In the People's Republic of Croatia, the Ministry of Education was responsible for monument protection at the republic level. This chapter will deal with the development of the protection service and the protection of movable monuments from 1945 to 1960, and from 1960 to 1990, based on archival documents of the Conser-

⁷⁶⁷ AVNOJ, the highest legislative and executive representative body of Yugoslavia, was founded in November 1943. It was decided that Yugoslavia, as a federal republic, would consist of six federal units. The highest state authority in Croatia was ZAVNOH, constituted in May 1944, and it represented the supreme legislative and executive body. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003, 280; GOLDSTEIN, IVO, 2003, 297-298.

vation Institute in Zagreb, the Republican Institute for the protection of cultural monuments, and regional institutes.

THE CONSERVATION SERVICE FROM 1945 TO 1960⁷⁶⁸

Until 1945, there were two conservation institutes on the territory of the Federal State of Croatia: the Conservation Institute in Zagreb and the Conservation Office for Dalmatia in Split. In addition to these two *official offices*, there were also volunteers: Grga Oštrić in Zadar, Lukša Beritić in Dubrovnik, Frane Dujmović in Šibenik, Mirko Slade-Šilović in Trogir, and Vuk Krajač in Senj.⁷⁶⁹

In the newly created republic, the existing conservation institutes in Zagreb and Split had to work by fol-

⁷⁶⁸ The name of the institution varies in documents and records: the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, the National Institute for the Protection of cultural monuments and Natural Rarities, the Croatian National Conservation Institute. Sometimes multiple names were used at the same time. The service itself used the name Conservation Institute on their memos.

⁷⁶⁹ They were appointed honorary conservators. FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1952, 419-420. After they were set free, Ante Kitarović and Stjepan Gunjača drew up records on the condition of monuments in Zadar, and Kruno Prijatelj added to it in 1945. More about the rebuilding of Zadar after 1945 in MLIKOTA, ANTONIJA, 2017, 51.



lowing the *Law on the protection of cultural monuments and natural rarities of the Democratic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*, adopted on July 23, 1945, 767⁷⁷⁰, and their organization and field of activity were determined by the *Ordinance for the protection of cultural monuments and natural rarities* adopted on November 7, 1945.

The Conservation Institute in Zagreb

The *Ordinance for the enforcement of the Law on the protection of cultural monuments and natural rarities* provided the Conservation Institute in Zagreb with the legal basis for operating on the territory of the People's Republic of Croatia, either directly or through its regional institutions. After 1945, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb developed its activities in several directions. First, the work of the Institute was reorganized, followed by activities throughout the territory of the People's Republic of Croatia (the Institute participated in drafting republican and federal legislation, recording and researching monuments, and restoring monuments damaged during the war). The Decree on the organization of the National Institute for the protection of cultural monuments⁷⁷¹ stipulated that the Conservation Institute in Zagreb had to perform the duties of the National Institute for the protection of cultural monuments.⁷⁷² Every other month, the Conservation Institute submitted a report to the Ministry of Education, Third Arts Department. The report included: staff (permanently employed and volunteers), a report on individual departments, general affairs, issues, future plans, the condition of collections and field observations on the organization, and the collection or storage of materials.⁷⁷³ From 1945, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb included Ana Bogdanović-Deanović, Branko Fučić, Mladen Fučić, Ferdo Hauptman, Anđela Horvat, Ljubo Karaman, Tihomil Stahuljak, Mladen Veža, and

technical and administrative staff: Lavica Basala, Zlata Škrnjug, Ermin Rumboldt and Ivan Kanižanec.⁷⁷⁴ Ivan Bach was the acting *director*. With the permission of the City National Committee, Administrative Department, the Conservation Institute was given new premises at Jezuitski trg 1 (Fig. 50).

After the war, employees of the Institute processed and organised the material collected by the *Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments* since 1910. The material was organised by type of item, and using multiple files. All materials (photographs, drawings, plans, records, documents, etc.) pertaining to a particular monument were kept together.⁷⁷⁵ In addition to the "inherited" documents, the Conservation Institute took over the legacies of Stjepan Podhorski, Viktor Kovačić, Ferdo Florschütz and Mijat Sabljar.⁷⁷⁶

To protect movable art, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb worked with other institutions: the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, the University Library, the State Archives, the Museum of Arts and Crafts, the Ethnographic Museum, the Zagreb City Museum and others.

With the establishment of the basic work model of the protection service, work on the protection of movable art could begin. An important segment of the work on the protection of movable monuments was carried out by the following commissions: the *Commission for ascertaining war damage inflicted by occupying forces on cultural and historical objects and natural landmarks of Yugoslavia and their return to the country* (KOMRAT), the *Commission for gathering and protecting cultural monuments and antiquities* (KOMZA) and the *Commission for restitution*.

770 In Article 2 of the Law, the Republics were required to pass their own law on the protection of cultural monuments and natural rarities. Published in: *Narodne novine* 10, September 1, 1945.

771 Order No. 9812, January 25, 1946, *Narodne novine* 26/1946.

772 No special decision on the establishment of the Conservation Institute as an independent institution was issued.

773 MKM-SDKB-A Ministry of Education No. 15458-VII, September 24, 1945.

774 MKM-SDKB-A letter number 364-1945, November 30, 1945.

775 Gjuro Szabo processed documents in the same manner during Land Commission activities.

776 Mijat Sabljar's travel notes were delivered to the Conservation Institute in Zagreb from the Museum of the National Liberation War in April 1946. JURANOVIĆ TONEJC, MARTINA, 2010, 7. Viktor Kovačić's estate was bought by the Conservation Institute from his wife Terezi-ja Kovačić in 1941 and 1943. The legacy of Stephen Podhorsky was purchased from his wife Dragica during July 1946. GALOVIĆ, KREŠI-MIR, 2010, 7.

1945.,⁷⁷¹ a organizacija rada i područje njihova djelovanja bili su određeni *Pravilnikom o izvršenju Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti* donesenim 7. studenoga 1945.

Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu

Pravilnikom o izvršenju Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu dobio je pravnu podlogu za rad na području Narodne Republike Hrvatske, neposredno ili preko svojih područnih ustanova. Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu razvijao je svoje djelovanje nakon 1945. godine u nekoliko smjerala. Najprije je reorganiziran rad samog Zavoda, a potom i djelovanje na cijelom području NR Hrvatske (Zavod sudjeluje u izradi republičke i savezne zakonske regulative, na evidentiranju i istraživanju spomenika i obnovi spomenika stradalih u ratu). Naredbom o organizaciji Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture⁷⁷² određeno je da Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu obnaša dužnost Zemaljskoga zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture.⁷⁷³ O svojem je radu Konzervatorski zavod svaki drugi mjesec bio dužan podnositi izvještaj Ministarstvu prosvjete, III. Kulturno-umjetničkom odjelu. Izvještaj je uključivao: status osoblja (stalno namještenih i volontera), izvještaj o pojedinim odsjecima, općim poslovima, problematici, budućim planovima, stanju zbirki i zapažanja s terena o organizaciji, sakupljanju ili čuvanju materijala.⁷⁷⁴ Stručni djelatnici Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu od 1945. godine bili su Ana Deanović (dj. Bogdanović), Branko Fučić, Mladen Fučić, Ferdo Hauptman, Anđela Horvat, Ljubo Karaman, Tihomil Stahuljak, Mladen Veža te tehničko i administrativno osoblje: Lavica Basala, Zlata Škrnjug, Ermin Rumboldt i Ivan Kanižanec.⁷⁷⁵ Ivan Bach bio je vršitelj dužnosti *direktora*. Dozvolom Gradskoga narodnog

odbora, Upravnog odjela, Konzervatorski je zavod dobio novi prostor za rad na Jezuitskom trgu 1 (sl. 50).

Prestankom ratnih zbivanja zaposlenici Zavoda bavili su se obradom i sređivanjem građe prikupljene od početka rada *Zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika*, od 1910. godine. Građa je sređivana prema vrsti predmeta, putem višestrukih kartoteka. Cjelokupni materijal (fotografije, crteži, planovi, zapisi, spisi i dr.), koji se odnosio na pojedini spomenik čuvan je zajedno.⁷⁷⁶ Uz „naslijedenu“ dokumentaciju Konzervatorski je zavod preuzeo ostavštine Stjepana Podhorskog, Viktora Kovačića, Ferde Florschütza i putne bilježnice Mijata Sabljara.⁷⁷⁷

Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu u svom radu na zaštiti pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta surađivao je i s drugim ustanovama: Jugoslavenskom akademijom znanosti i umjetnosti, Sveučilišnom bibliotekom, Državnim arhivom, Muzejom za umjetnost i obrt, Etnografskim muzejom, Muzejom grada Zagreba i drugima.

Uspostavljanjem osnovnoga modela rada službe zaštite započeo je rad na zaštiti pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta. Važan segment rada na zaštiti pokretnih spomenika Konzervatorski zavod provodio je radom povjerenstava: *Komisije za utvrđivanje štete učinjene po okupatorima na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima Jugoslavije i za njihovo vraćanje u zemlju* (KOMRAT), *Komisije za sakupljanje i očuvanje kulturnih spomenika i starina* (KOMZA) i *Komisije za restituciju*.

Komisija za ratne štete (KOMRAT)

Nacionalni komitet narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije donio je potkraj Drugoga svjetskog rata Odluku⁷⁷⁸ o osnivanju *Komisije za utvrđivanje štete učinjene po okupatorima na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim*

771 Navedenim Zakonom u članku 2. republike su bile dužne donijeti vlastiti zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti. Objavljeno: *Narodne novine* 10 od 1. rujna 1945.

772 Naredba pod brojem 9812 od 25. siječnja 1946., *Narodne novine* 26/1946.

773 Posebno rješenje o osnivanju Konzervatorskog zavoda kao samostalne ustanove nije doneseno.

774 MKM-SDKB-A Ministarstvo prosvjete broj 15458-VII od 24. rujna 1945.

775 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 364-1945. od 30. studenog 1945.

776 Takav način obrade dokumentacije provodio je i Gjuro Szabo u vrijeme djelovanja Zemaljskoga povjerenstva za čuvanje spomenika.

777 Putne bilježnice Mijata Sabljara zaprimljene su u Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu iz Muzeja NOB-a u travnju 1946. JURANOVIĆ TONEJC, MARTINA, 2010., 7. Ostavštinu Viktora Kovačića Konzervatorski zavod otkupio je od njegove supruge Terezije Kovačić tijekom 1941. i 1943. godine. Ostavština Stjepana Pohorskog otkupljena je od njegove supruge Dragice tijekom srpnja 1946. godine. GALOVIĆ, KREŠI-MIR, 2010., 7.

778 Objavljeno: Odluka od 19. prosinca 1944, pod brojem 40, *Službeni list*, br. 3, od 9. veljače 1945.

The Commission for ascertaining war damage (KOMRAT)

At the end of World War II, the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia issued a Decision⁷⁷⁷ to establish the *Commission for ascertaining war damage inflicted by occupying forces on cultural and historical objects and natural landmarks of Yugoslavia and their return to the country*, and to adopt a *Regulation on reporting and assessing war damage*.⁷⁷⁸ Based on the Decision and Regulation, the Land Commission for war damage in the Federal Republic of Croatia was established under the State Commission for war damage, under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers in Belgrade. Since a large number of museums, archives, monuments, churches, national parks and historic buildings had been destroyed during the war, Article 31 of the *Regulation on reporting and determining war damage* stipulated that war damage on cultural and historical objects and natural sites had to be assessed by a special commission, based on competence and expert knowledge. Any war damage was reported to the State Commission for war damage of the Ministry of Education of the Democratic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Therefore, the *Commission for ascertaining war damage inflicted by occupying forces on cultural and historical objects and natural landmarks of the Federal Republic of Croatia and their return to the country*, was established on July 14, 1945 as part of the Ministry of Education of the Federal State of Croatia. Officially, the abbreviation KOMRAT was used. KOMRAT was established as the expert auxiliary body of the State Commission for war damage.⁷⁷⁹

777 Published: Decision on December 19, 1944, under No. 40, *Službeni list*, No. 3, February 9, 1945.

778 Published: Decision on June 10, 1945, No. 402, *Službeni list*, No. 44, June 26, 1945.

779 Ministry of Culture and Media (hereinafter: MK) – Central Documentation of Cultural Heritage (hereinafter: SDKB) – Commission for ascertaining war damage inflicted by occupying forces on cultural and historical objects and natural landmarks of Yugoslavia and their return to the country (hereinafter: KOMRAT), No. 57 – 1945, July 17, 1945. HR-DAZG No. 191/1946. People's Republic of Croatia, Ministry of Education's order No. 4664.

A meeting to select KOMRAT members was held at the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb. The meeting was presided by Zdenka Munk,⁷⁸⁰ head of the Department for Museums of the Ministry of Education. Prominent cultural experts in various areas and types of cultural monuments that were inspected for war damage caused during the war were nominated and appointed to the Commission.⁷⁸¹

Ljubo Karaman was in charge of secular monuments, Tihomil Stahuljak was responsible for Catholic church monuments, and Ivan Bach for Orthodox monuments. Vladimir Tkalčić was responsible for assessing damage to museums, galleries and private art collections, while Nikola Fink⁷⁸² was responsible for natural monuments and museums. Tvrtko Čubelić was responsible for assessing damage to ethnographic monuments. Harold Bilinić assessed damage to historic buildings, and Antun Potočnjak focused on theatres. The President of the newly appointed Commission was Vladimir Tkalčić and Tihomil Stahuljak was the secretary.⁷⁸³ Matko Rojnić,⁷⁸⁴ Miho Barada,⁷⁸⁵ Vale Vouk,⁷⁸⁶ Ante Obuljen and Josip Matasović also became members.⁷⁸⁷ The number of KOMRAT members gradually increased when there was a need for certain experts.

780 Zdenka Munk (1912 – 1985), art historian, director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts in Zagreb. She took part in the 1st Congress of Croatian Cultural Workers in Topusko, held from June 25 to 27, 1944, where she cooperated in organizing and setting up the exhibition *Partisan artists for Congress (Umjetnici partizani za kongres)*. In 1945, she was appointed Head of the Department of Museums and Conservation Institutes at the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Croatia. MALEKOVIĆ, VLADIMIR, 1982-1983, 171.

781 The Commission had to determine the approximate amount of damage in dollars based on the value on the day the war was declared in 1939.

782 Nikola Fink (1894 – 1968), zoologist, university professor in Zagreb. 783 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Minutes, June 7, 1945.

784 Matko Rojnić (1908-1981), librarian and historian, employed at the National and University Library from 1932 and Director from 1945 to 1976, author of scientific and professional papers in the field of library science and the political and cultural history of Istria.

785 Miho Barada (1889 – 1957), historian, paleographer, diplomat, professor of church history, correspondent member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts.

786 Vale Vouk (1886 – 1962), botanist, full professor, member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts from 1920.

787 Josip Matasović (1892 – 1962), historian, university professor and director of the State Archives in Zagreb, founder and editor of the journal *Narodna starina*.



50 Osoblje Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu pred zgradom zavoda na Jezuitskom trgu prilikom 60. godišnjice dr. Karamana; slijeva nadesno: Tihomil Stahuljak, Lavica Basala, Branko Fučić, Ana Deanović, Anđela Horvat, dr. Ljubo Karaman, Mladen Fučić, Zlata Škrnjug, Ermin Rumboldt, dr. Ferdo Hauptman (foto: Drago Paulić, 1946., inv. br. 4611, br. neg. I-27-j)
Staff of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb in front of the institute building on Jesuit Square, 1946. (photo: Drago Paulić, 1946, inv. br. 4611, br. neg. I-27-j)

znamenitostima Jugoslavije i za njihovo vraćanje u zemlju i donošenju *Pravilnika o prijavljivanju i utvrđivanju ratne štete*.⁷⁷⁹ Na osnovi te Odluke i Pravilnika osnovana je *Zemaljska komisija za ratne štete za područje Federalne Države Hrvatske* kao tijelo Državne komisije za ratne štete pri Predsjedništvu ministarskog savjeta u Beogradu. S obzirom na to da je bio uništen velik broj muzeja, arhiva, spomenika, crkava, nacionalnih parkova i historijskih zgrada, prema članku 31. *Pravilnika o prijavljivanju i utvrđivanju ratne štete* određeno je da ratne štete na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima procjenjuje posebna komisija osnovana na temelju stručnosti i poznavanja specifične materije. Štetu je trebalo prijavljivati Državnoj komisiji za ratnu štetu Ministarstva prosvjete Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije. Stoga je pri Ministarstvu prosvjete Federalne Države Hrvatske kao posebno tijelo za područje Hrvatske osnovana 14. srpnja 1945. *Komisija za utvrđivanje ratne štete učinjene po okupatoru na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim zna-*

779 Objavljeno: Pravilnik od 10. lipnja 1945, pod brojem 402, *Službeni list*, br. 44, od 26. lipnja 1945.

menitostima Federalne države Hrvatske i njihovo vraćanje u zemlju te za procjenu ratne štete. U službenoj upotrebi uglavnom se koristila skraćenica KOMRAT. Navedena Komisija (KOMRAT) ustanovljena je kao stručno pomoćno tijelo Državne komisije za ratnu štetu.⁷⁸⁰

U Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu održan je sastanak za izbor članova KOMRAT-a. Sastanak je vodila Zdenka Munk,⁷⁸¹ koja je tada bila predstojnica Odjela za muzeje Ministarstva prosvjete. U Komisiju su kao članovi bili predloženi i imenovani istaknuti kulturni stručnjaci koji su pokrivali određena područja, odnosno vrste kulturnih

780 Ministarstvo kulture i medija (dalje: MKM) – Središnja dokumentacija kulturne baštine (dalje: SDKB) – Komisije za utvrđivanje štete učinjene po okupatorima na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima Jugoslavije i za njihovo vraćanje u zemlju (dalje: KOMRAT) broj 57-1945 od 17. srpnja 1945. HR-DAZG broj 191/1946. Naredba Ministarstva prosvjete NRH bila je pod brojem 4664.

781 Zdenka Munk (1912. – 1985.), povjesničarka umjetnosti, dugogodišnja ravnateljica Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt u Zagrebu. Sudionica je I. kongresa kulturnih radnika Hrvatske u Topuskom koji je održan od 25. do 27. lipnja 1944., gdje surađuje u organizaciji i postavu izložbe *Umjetnici partizani za Kongres*. Godine 1945. imenovana je voditeljcem Odsjeka za muzeje i konzervatorske zavode u Ministarstvu prosvjete NRH. MALEKOVIĆ, VLADIMIR, 1982.-83., 171.

Due to traffic difficulties and insufficient resources, KOMRAT members were not able to inspect all affected areas, so local committees played an important role in documenting the damage to cultural and historical monuments. The education departments of county and district committees submitted reports on the condition of cultural and art objects to KOMRAT, which then assessed the value of the destroyed, damaged or stolen items in pre-war dinars, with a supplement of 30% on the proposed compensation.⁷⁸⁸

The records included information on the condition of monuments, i.e. were the monuments damaged or destroyed, who caused the damage, when and under what circumstances, and lastly, an estimate of the material value. Therefore, the *Commission for ascertaining war damage inflicted by occupying forces on cultural and historical objects and natural landmarks of Yugoslavia* issued the *Instructions for land commissions assessing the damage to cultural and historic objects*.⁷⁸⁹ The Instructions determined the scope and specifics of their work in relation to the State Commission for war damage and proceedings. The Commission was responsible for all state and private property.

The main difference between the State Commission for war damage and the Commission for ascertaining war damage on cultural and historical objects was that the damage reported in the cultural area of district⁷⁹⁰ was not assessed by the State Commission, but by land commissions.⁷⁹¹ Their assessment was final and took effect immediately.

Given that most of the damaged items were state property, there was no possibility of an appeal. The

process of reporting damaged monuments began with the Local Committees. The committees, with the help of their trustees, collected damage claims for cultural and historical monuments owned by individuals or legal entities on special forms⁷⁹² (Fig. 51).

Form 1 was used to report damage to cultural and historical items to local National Committees. It included a list of items with a description (for the more important items), the number of damaged – stolen items, the damage in dinars on April 5, 1941, the offender, where the items were located, a proposal for compensation (identical or similar items), and a note (documentation, data to determine value).

Form 2 was used if the damage amounted to less than 3000 dinars. It included the affected party (name, surname, father's name, place of residence), destroyed or stolen books or magazines (number, damage in dinars), paintings and decorations and other objects of artistic importance (item – author's name and number), the signature of the affected party, who caused the damage and when. The items were listed without a description.

Local boards verified and confirmed each claim that was submitted, and the person who submitted the claim was given a receipt on Form 3.

If the damage was extensive or the destroyed items were particularly valuable, the damage had to be described, explained and have a separate detailed report. The collected claims were handed over to the district education clerk, who kept records of the claims and forwarded them with all attachments and documents to KOMRAT.

788 The Department for Culture and Art of the Ministry of Education asked KOMRAT to immediately provide the estimated amount in Croatian kunas or dollars. The request was signed by Grga Gamulin. HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, No. 2177, April 11, 1945 – telegram sent to regional committees.

789 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Ministry of Education, Democratic Federation of Yugoslavia, KOMRAT, No. 76, July 19, 1945, signed by Bogdan Stojsavljević.

790 A *srez* or district is an administrative sub-unit consisting of several municipalities.

791 Land commissions were under the jurisdiction of federal states.

792 The Commission later received Forms 1 and 2, when the data on damage was already processed, so it mostly used Form 5, which was subsequently sent to the Commission for ascertaining war damage inflicted by occupying forces on cultural and historical objects and natural landmarks of Yugoslavia and their return to the country. Commission president for Yugoslavia, Bogdan Stojsavljević, mentioned in a letter the subsequent completion of forms 3 and 4, which were used as receipts of the received request, and he left the use of forms 1 and 2 if there was a need for them. MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Letter No. 77, July 25, 1945.

Državna komisija za ratnu štetu		
Komisija za utvrđivanje štete od strane okupatora na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima Jugoslavije i za njihovo vraćanje u zemlju		
Komisija za utvrđivanje štete od strane okupatora na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima Federalne Države Hrvatske i za njihovo vraćanje u zemlju		
KOMRAT		
Dokumenti	Osobe	Odluke
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pravilnik o sastavu i radu Komisije za utvrđivanje štete učinjene po okupatoru na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima Jugoslavije i za njihovo vraćanje u zemlju • Uputstvo za rad zemaljskih komisija za utvrđivanje štete na kulturno-istorijskim predmetima • Uredba o obrazovanju Komisije za utvrđivanje ratne štete učinjene na državnoj imovini koja se nalazi pod upravom Ministarstva prosvjete • Pravilnikom o prijavljivanju i utvrđivanju ratne štete 	<p>Vladimir Tkalčić predsjednik Komisije</p> <p>Članovi komisije:</p> <p>Zdenka Munk, Ljubo Karaman, Tihomil Stahuljak, Ivan Bach, Nikola Fink, Tvrtko Čubelić, Harold Bilinić, Antun Potočnjak, Matko Rojnić, Miho Barada, Vale Vouk, Ante Obuljen, Josip Matasović, Ivo Večerina, Marcel Gorenc, Pavao Rastovčan, Ivan Makek</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Odluka o osnivanju Komisije 4. srpnja 1945. • Početak prijave ratne štete za FDH 1. kolovoza 1945. • Razriješena 2. srpnja 1947.

Shema 1 prikazuje nadležnost KOMRAT-a i dokumente na osnovi kojih je djelovao, imenovane osobe te donesene odluke

spomenika na kojima se procjenjivala šteta ili oštećenja nastala u vrijeme rata.⁷⁸²

Ljubo Karaman bio je određen za profane spomenike, Tihomil Stahuljak za katoličke sakralne spomenike, a Ivan Bach za pravoslavne spomenike. Za procjenu šteta učinjenih u muzejima, galerijama i privatnim zbirka-
ma umjetnina bio je nadležan Vladimir Tkalčić, dok je Nikola Fink⁷⁸³ bio nadležan za prirodoslovne spomenike

i muzeje. Tvrtko Čubelić bio je zadužen za procjenu šteta na etnografskim spomenicima. Procjenu štete na povijesnim zgradama obavljao je Harold Bilinić, a kazališta Antun Potočnjak. Predsjednik novoimenovane Komisije bio je Vladimir Tkalčić, a tajnik Tihomil Stahuljak.⁷⁸⁴ Naknadno su članovima Komisije, osim već spomenutih,

782 Komisija je trebala utvrditi približnu visinu štete u dolarima prema vrijednosti na dan objave rata 1939. godine.

783 Nikola Fink (1894. – 1968.), zoolog, sveučilišni profesor u Zagrebu.

784 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Zapisnik od 7. lipnja 1945.

At KOMRAT, each claim was entered in a separate *Register for the registration of war damage claims on cultural and historical objects*, thus obtaining its claim number K, and there was only one register for the entire federal unit. KOMRAT entered the estimated war damage in a separate column in Form 1, and the affected party was issued the findings on Form 4. The information verified by KOMRAT was entered in Register K. Register K was kept for each individual offender (Germany, Hungary, Italy, Bulgaria) and separately for each district. Based on the Register, the Land Commission prepared Summary Lists on Form 5 by district, and sent them to the Central Commission for ascertaining war damage on cultural and historical objects in Belgrade every 15 days. For damage to institutions and objects under federal ministries, their lists were sent directly to the Central Commission in Belgrade. The forms had to be printed immediately because the deadline for reporting war damage on the territory of Croatia was 40 days, which began on August 1, 1945.

The summary list on Form 5 was divided into seven categories: *Museum, school and scientific collections, Architectural monuments, Inventories and equipment of artistic, cultural, historical or folkloric significance*⁷⁹³, *Printed materials, Handwritten materials, Any other objects of artistic or cultural and historical significance, and Landmarks*. For example, in the summary list no. 72, district Split, the damage to the church and monastery amounted to 2,000,000 dinars, and 750,000 dinars for paintings and frescoes, but the individual monuments were not specified. The attached report, signed by Vladimir Tkalčić and Tihomil Stahuljak, provided a more detailed description: "...*The sum of 250,000 dinars refers to the destroyed four baroque paintings portraying the Passion of Christ, and the large painted crucifix from the 17th century in St. Peter's Church in Lučac in Split, objects that were destroyed when the church collapsed during the 1944 bombing. In the same church, five altars with old*

793 Under Equipment: frescoes and paintings, decorations, iconostases, altars, pulpits, chandeliers, bells, organs, ecclesiastical/liturgical objects, art or antique furniture, backdrops of artistic significance, wardrobes of artistic significance HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, P X/1945 (box X).

paintings from the time of the Republic of Venice and the 19th century were completely destroyed on that occasion (estimated at 500,000 dinars) ..."⁷⁹⁴

In the field, KOMRAT mainly focused on architecture, while KOMZA, in addition to describing cultural and art objects, also assessed damage in the interior of castles and churches⁷⁹⁵.

Remarks from the KOMZA travel report from July 20 to 31, 1945, best describe the work of the Commission: "...*In assessing the damage done to cultural and art monuments of either the interior of buildings or of the architectural damage itself, or of all other monuments and objects of this kind, it was necessary to take into account not only the material value, that is, the damage caused to monuments and objects themselves, but also the so-called prae-tium affectionis, i.e. the particular value of these buildings for the artistic and cultural history of our people, that is, for individual artists of damaged works of art. It is also necessary to understand the ratio of damage expressed as a percentage to the damage assigned a monetary value. In some places, the damage as a percentage is quite large for the amount of material, and the monetary damage is not appropriate...*"⁷⁹⁶

In a letter dated August 16, 1945, the Department of Culture and Art of the Ministry of Education authorized the Conservation Institute in Zagreb to take over the administrative and organizational implementation of the war damage assessment in the Federal State of Croatia.⁷⁹⁷ The Federal Commission sanctioned the work of KOMRAT. However, damage claims were reported through summary list number 5, and the work was directed in three areas: establishing and assessing war damage, drafting a restitution study and drafting a compensation study.

KOMRAT also dealt with the issue of restitution, first compiling a list of objects, based on proposals by indi-

794 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Summary List No. 72, June 6, 1946.

795 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Letter No. 38-1945, August 14, 1945.

796 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Letter No. 38/45.

797 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Letter No. 8689-VII-1945.

proglašeni Matko Rojnić,⁷⁸⁵ Miho Barada,⁷⁸⁶ Vale Vouk,⁷⁸⁷ Ante Obuljen i Josip Matasović.⁷⁸⁸ Broj članova KOMRAT-a postupno se povećavao prema potrebi za određenim stručnjacima.

Zbog prometnih poteškoća i nedostatnih materijalnih sredstava, članovi KOMRAT-a nisu bili u mogućnosti pregledati sva stradala područja, tako da su mjesni narodni odbori imali važnu ulogu u popisivanju šteta na kulturno-historijskim spomenicima. Prosvjetni odjeli pri kotarskim i okružnim narodnim odborima dostavljali su izvještaje o stanju kulturno-umjetničkih predmeta KOMRAT-u, koji je onda obavljao procjenu vrijednosti uništenih, oštećenih ili odnesenih predmeta u predratnim dinarima, s dodatkom od 30% na predloženu naknadu.⁷⁸⁹

Popisi su sadržavali podatke o zatečenom stanju spomenika, odnosno koliko su spomenici oštećeni ili propali, tko je prouzročio štetu, kada i u kojim okolnostima, a na kraju i procjenu materijalne vrijednosti. U tu svrhu *Komisija za utvrđivanje štete učinjene po okupatorima na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima Jugoslavije* donijela je *Uputstvo za rad zemaljskih komisija za utvrđivanje štete na kulturno-historijskim predmetima*.⁷⁹⁰ Uputom je propisan djelokrug rada i specifičnost u poslovanju u odnosu na Državnu komisiju za ratnu štetu i postupak. U djelokrug Komisije ulazili su svi predmeti u vlasništvu države i privatnih osoba.

Glavna razlika u postupku između Državne komisije za ratne štete i Komisije za utvrđivanje štete na

kulturno-historijskim predmetima bila je u tome što štetu prijavljenu na kulturnom području sreza⁷⁹¹ kao materijalnu štetu ne procjenjuje Državna komisija, nego same zemaljske komisije.⁷⁹² Njihova je procjena bila konačna i odmah je stupala na snagu.

Mogućnost žalbe nije postojala, s obzirom na to da je većina oštećenih predmeta bila državna imovina. Postupak prijave štete počinjao je od Mjesnih narodnih odbora, koji su pomoću svojih povjerenika sakupljali prijave za štetu na kulturno-historijskim spomenicima u vlasništvu fizičkih ili pravnih osoba u za tu svrhu izrađenim obrascima.⁷⁹³

Pomoću obrasca 1 prijavljivala se šteta na kulturno-historijskim predmetima mjesnim Narodnim odborima (sl. 51). Unosio se popis predmeta s opisom (ako je bila riječ o važnijim predmetima), broj oštećenih – otuđenih predmeta, iznos štete u dinarima na dan 5. travnja 1941., agresor, gdje se predmeti nalaze, prijedlog nadoknade (jednaki ili slični predmeti) i napomena (dokumentacija, podatci za utvrđivanje vrijednosti).

Ako je bila riječ o štetama u vrijednosti ispod 3000 dinara, onda se koristio obrazac broj 2. U obrascu broj 2 navodio se oštećenik (ime, prezime, očevo ime, mjesto prebivališta), uništene ili oduzete knjige i časopisi (broj, šteta u dinarima), potom slike i plastika i drugi predmeti umjetničkog značaja (predmet – ime autora i broj) te potpis oštećenika, tko je i kada pričinio štetu. Predmeti su se opisivali bez opisa.

Mjesni odbor je svaku prijavu provjerio i potvrdio na mjestu prijave, a prijavitelju je predao potvrdu na obrascu broj 3.

785 Matko Rojnić (1908. – 1981.), knjižničar i povjesničar, u Nacionalnoj i sveučilišnoj knjižnici zaposlen od 1932., a ravnatelj od 1945. do 1976., autor znanstvenih i stručnih radova s područja knjižničarstva te političke i kulturne povijesti Istre.

786 Miho Barada (1889. – 1957.), povjesničar, paleograf, diplomat, profesor crkvene povijesti, dopisni član JAZU-a.

787 Vale Vouk (1886. – 1962.), botaničar, redoviti sveučilišni profesor, član JAZU-a od 1920. godine.

788 Josip Matasović (1892. – 1962.), povjesničar, sveučilišni profesor i ravnatelj Državnog arhiva u Zagrebu, osnivač i urednik časopisa *Narodna starina*.

789 Kulturno-umjetnički odjel Ministarstva prosvjete tražio je od KOMRAT-a da odmah dostavi visinu procjene u kunama ili dolarima. Navedeni zahtjev potpisao je Grgo Gamulin. HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete, pod brojem 2177 od 11. travnja 1945. – brzojav upućen oblasnim narodnim odborima.

790 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Ministarstvo prosvete DFJ (Demokratska Federativna Jugoslavija), KOMRAT br. 76 od 19. srpnja 1945. potpisuje Bogdan Stojsavljević.

791 Srez ili kotar je upravna podjedinica koje se sastojala od nekoliko općina.

792 Zemaljske komisije su bile u nadležnosti federalnih država.

793 Obrasci 1 i 2 Komisija je dobila naknadno, kada je već provela podatke o štetama, tako da se većinom služila obrascem 5, koji je kasnije slala Komisiji za utvrđivanje štete od strane okupatora na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima Jugoslavije i za njihovo vraćanje u zemlju. Predsjednik Komisije za Jugoslaviju Bogdan Stojsavljević u dopisu spominje naknadno ispunjavanje obrazaca 3 i 4 koji su bili potvrda o zaprimljenom zahtjevu, a upotrebu obrazaca 1 i 2 prepustio je korištenju prema potrebi i prilikama. MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT dopis broj 77 od 25. srpnja 1945.

vidual experts, that Yugoslavia, i.e. Croatia, would claim from individual occupiers as compensation for the damage to cultural and art monuments. The problem was that the Allied authorities said that the artwork could only be claimed if there was an accurate description of the object and damage to the said object. Croatia did not have an inventory, and the exact number of missing or destroyed items could not be determined. There was only general information that there was valuable inventory in a church or castle.⁷⁹⁸ Restitution claims were made to the *Land Commission for ascertaining war damage inflicted on cultural and historical objects* (KOMRAT), and not directly to military missions or delegations abroad. Only items that were known to have been stolen and had not been destroyed were reported. The items taken by Italian authorities during World War I were also requested, and Hungary was asked to return the archives created during the rule of Ban Khuen-Héderváry.⁷⁹⁹

In the Zadar area, the complete material from the Museum in Obrovac was taken, and only part of it was later found in Zadar.⁸⁰⁰ Compensation was sought for the mentioned collection. The Obrovac collection was to be replaced by Roman stone inscriptions from Solin stored in Italian museums.⁸⁰¹

798 HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, KOMRAT, June 24, 1946, report sent to Ministry of Education, signed by Vladimir Tkalčić.

799 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Letter No. 191-1946, June 24, 1946.

800 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Minutes, July 13, 1945, No. 8-1945.

801 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT No. 191/1946, June 24, 1946, HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, Box 2 under number 11562-VII-1945, September 3, 1945; FISKOVIĆ, 1946: 19. The Committee on Culture and Arts of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia government sent a letter to the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Croatia concerning cultural and art goods taken from Zadar and Pula during the rule of the Republic of Venice. Annex XIV of the Treaty of Peace with Italy signed on February 10, 1947 is mentioned: "*The Italian Government shall submit to the successor State all objects of artistic, historical or archaeological value which form part of the cultural treasure of the ceded territory and which, while the territory in question was under Italian rule, were taken away free of charge and are now in the hands of the Italian government or Italian public institutions.*" The condition for the return were items taken to Italy without compensation. HR-DAZG Ministry of Education No. 306, January 10, 1948. More recently, Antonija Mlikota conducted research into the works of art taken before the end of World War II from Zadar to Italy, which were never returned. More in: MLIKOTA, ANTONIJA, 2012, 239-310.

When the restitution files were inspected, some examples were brought to light that were previously mentioned, such as exchanging the Baptismal font of Duke Višeslav for two paintings by Vittore Carpaccio (*St. Sebastian* and *St. Peter the Martyr*) in 1942. In fact, the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts believed that the legal provision adopted by the Independent State of Croatia had no legal basis, and demanded the paintings be included on the restitution list.⁸⁰² After the negotiations on restitution and the return of cultural property of the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Italy were completed, the *St. Sebastian* painting was returned to the Strossmayer Gallery on December 20, 1961.⁸⁰³ There is another example, mentioned earlier during the Independent State of Croatia, of the donated military flag of Frederick the Great and the chess set of Prussian King Frederick the Great, items which Viktor Hoffiller asked the Ministry of Education to be returned.⁸⁰⁴ The cases cited are an example of the influence of politics on the theory and practice of monument protection. Even though the time frame was not long enough for the exchange to take place, it was requested and later carried out.

Museums also submitted their lists of stolen artworks. The Art Gallery in Split asked for the return of items seized during the occupation for private use or exhibitions in Rome. For example, Officer Mercurelli took the cast of Giorgio da Sebenico *The Flagellation of Christ* from the altar of St. Anastasius in the Split cathedral for an exhibition in Rome on April 21, 1943, and it was not returned after the exhibition ended. Split prefect Paolo Zerbino took 33 paintings and 14 pieces of furniture from the Art Gallery in Split to decorate a private apartment. Many of these works of art were returned, but the two smaller paintings were not.⁸⁰⁵

802 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT letter to Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts Conservation Institute, No. 21-1946, May 25, 1946.

803 ZLAMALIK, VINKO, 1962, 103., ZLAMALIK, VINKO, 1982, 154.

804 MK-SDKB-MOMRAT Letter No. 47-1945, July 18, 1945.

805 Paintings by Paško Vučetić *Landscape (Pejzaž)* and Petar Bibić *Farmhouse (Seoska kuća)*. MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT No. 18/1945, February 25, 1945.

MJESNI NARODNI ODBOR

U općini _____

Broj struč. tijela _____

Datum _____ 1945. god.

OBRAZAC BROJ 1.

Broj: _____

Sve upute pažljivo pročitati, jer bez toga se ne može steći besprijek.

Prijava ratne štete

podnosioc prijave

1. Prezime, otčovo ime, ime: *Supala pravnomoćna odbrana optužna*

2. Zanimanje: _____

3. Stalno boravište: *Del. Krišev*

4. Štetu prijavljuje kao: oštećenik, nasljednik, starišac, skrbnik, zastupnik oštećenog ili N. D.

Podaci o oštećeniku

Prezime, otčovo ime, ime	Ime podnosioca	Zanimanje	Stalno boravište	Navedena sveska	Broj prijave	Prijava na ime
<i>Supala pravnomoćna odbrana optužna</i>			<i>Del. Krišev</i>		<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>

U *Del. Krišev* Podnosioc prijave, potpis: *Antunović, otčovo ime, prezime, ime*

Datum: *9. oktobra 1945. god.* Datum: _____

Tomio Radujević

A

Zaključak

Po izričitoj provjeri podataka o šteti po obrascima 1 i 3 u ovaj prijam Mjesni narodni odbor: Utvrđuje da su navedeni podaci tačni. Izjavljuje podatke u priloženim: _____

Tajnik: _____

Prezidencij Mjesnog N. O-a: _____

Činobrića

51a-51b Obrazac 1. za prijavu ratne štete (MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT)
Form 1. for reporting war damage (MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT)

U slučaju da je bila riječ o većoj šteti ili su uništeni predmeti bili napose vrijedni, štetu je trebalo opisati, obrazložiti i prijavi priložiti poseban iscrpan izvještaj. Tako prikupljene prijave išle su sreskom prosvjetnom referentu, koji je o prijavama vodio evidenciju i dalje prosljeđivao s priložima i dokumentima KOMRAT-u.

U KOMRAT-u se svaka prijava unosila u posebni *Upisnik za upisivanje prijava ratne štete na kulturno-istorijskim predmetima* čime je dobila svoj broj prijave **K**, a vodio se samo jedan upisnik za cijelu federalnu jedinicu. KOMRAT je procijenjenu ratnu štetu upisivao u određenu rubriku u obrascu 1, a oštećenom se izdavao zaključak na obrascu 4. Provjereni podatci od KOMRAT-a unosili su se u Registar K. Registar K se trebao voditi za svakog pojedinog agresora (Njemačka, Mađarska, Italija, Bugarska) i posebno za svaki srez. Zemaljska komisija je na osnovi Registra izrađivala Zbirne spiskove na obrascu broj 5 po

srezovima i slala ih svakih 15 dana Centralnoj komisiji za utvrđivanje štete na kulturno-istorijskim predmetima u Beograd. Ukoliko se radilo o šteti počinjenoj na ustanovama i predmetima koji su pod federalnim ministarstvima, oni su svoje popise slali izravno na Centralnu komisiju u Beograd. Obрасce je trebalo odmah umnožiti jer je rok za prijavljivanje ratne štete na teritoriju Hrvatske bio 40 dana, a započinjao je 1. kolovoza 1945.

Zbirni spisak na obrascu broj 5 bio je podijeljen u sedam stavaka: *Muzejske, školske i naučne zbirke, Arhitektonski spomenici, Inventari i oprema umjetničkog, kulturno-istoriskog ili folklornog značaja*⁷⁹⁴, *Štampane stvari, Rukopisne stvari, Eventualni drugi predmeti umjetničkog ili kultur-*

794 Pod Oprema: freske i slike, plastika, ikonostasi, oltari, propovjedaonice, lusteri, zvona, orgulje, crkvene stvari / liturgijski predmeti, umjetničko ili starijsko pokućanstvo, kulise umjetničkog značaja, garderoba umjetničkog značaja, HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete, P X/1945 (kut. X).

Danica Pinterović⁸⁰⁶ and Josip Bösendorfer⁸⁰⁷ were in charge of the return of stolen objects from the Museum and from the private collections of owners in Osijek. Pinterović informed Hoffiller about the theft of works of art from Osijek and that 107 crates of art returned from Austria were kept by the Committee for Culture and Art of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia government. The Committee initially denied the existence of the crates, but one month later, the Committee's secretary, Vlado Mađarić⁸⁰⁸, informed the Osijek Museum that the material from Austria had been brought to Belgrade. The re-appointed director of the Zagreb Archaeological Museum, Viktor Hoffiller, travelled to Belgrade to review the material. Due to the large number of boxes (111), the Committee appointed a Commission for the review of the material: Viktor Hoffiller, Đorđe Mano-Zisi and Zora Milanović, curators of the Belgrade Art Museum, Marko Maletin, director of the Novi Sad State Archives, and Radmila Nikolić from the Committee for Culture and Art of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia government.⁸⁰⁹ Only four crates contained movable art, two of which had paintings by Waldinger, Hötendorf and Mücke, and two paintings by other authors.⁸¹⁰ According to the Committee's decision, the contents of the crates were to be distributed between the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb and the National Museum in Osijek by the Ministry of Education of the Independent State of Croatia.⁸¹¹

Regarding church monuments, Karaman and Tkalčić suggested the Ministry of Education contact the Presidency of the Episcopal Conferences in order to request

information about the damage to church buildings and objects during the war from all chapters and parishes. The same was done for monasteries through the Provincial as well as Orthodox and Jewish regional institutions, through their ecclesiastical or religious authorities. The reports had to include a list of damaged buildings, a description of their condition, and damage in dinars based on prices from 1939.⁸¹²

In addition to the Department for Education of the Regional Committee for Dalmatia that reported damage claims, KOMRAT also addressed regional cultural and art institutions in Split, Zadar and Dubrovnik. It collected information from newspapers, publications and private individuals to make the data collection more successful. The assessment sometimes did not correspond to the actual situation, as some of the more valuable subjects were not previously known to KOMRAT, and the assessment was done by local committees. The records and inventory had not been completely drawn up before the war, so only a small portion of the material was processed. The problem of compiling the lists of damaged monuments was explained by Commission President Tkalčić in the report on the work of KOMRAT to Zdenka Brkić Boić⁸¹³, who was appointed as a delegate by the Ministry of Education of Croatia and served as a liaison with the Federal Commission for ascertaining war damage on cultural and historical objects: "...Many Jews, Orthodox and others, who owned collections or individual pieces of cultural, historical and artistic value, were killed. Who will report individual pieces from their collections when no one has had access to those collections, when they have not been published anywhere – when we do not yet have our own art topographies? Who knows what all perished in church attics, parishes and monasteries..."⁸¹⁴ Zdenka Brkić Boić was present when the claim for the return of cultural and historical monuments taken to Hungary during

806 Danica Pinterović (1897 – 1985), art historian and archaeologist.

807 Joseph Bösendorfer (1876 – 1957), historian.

808 Vlado Mađarić (1915 – 1985), art historian, director of the Federal Institute for the Protection of cultural monuments in Belgrade from 1952 to 1967, director of the Republic Institute for the Protection of cultural monuments in Zagreb from 1967 to 1982. In 1974, he started the annual magazine *The Preservation of Cultural Heritage in the Republic of Croatia* *Godišnjak za zaštitu spomenika kulture Republike Hrvatske*.

809 GRUBIŠIĆ, ANTE, 2002, 128.

810 Grubišić states the list of contents of the boxes: "... 21 archeological and museum materials, 2 apparatuses, 66 library and archive materials, 5 writing and drawing materials and 11 chests with private things". GRUBIŠIĆ, ANTE, 2002, 129.

811 GRUBIŠIĆ, ANTE, 2002, 130.

812 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Letter, June 14, 1945.

813 On August 24, 1945, Tkalčić sent a letter to Zdenka Brkić Boić in accordance with the request from the Federal Ministry of Education to delegate her to the Federal Commission. Her role was to collect and compile data and reports sent by the Commission in Croatia. MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Letter No. 52-1945, August 27, 1945.

814 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Letter No. 52-1945, August 27, 1945.

State Commission for war damage		
Commission for ascertaining war damage inflicted by occupying forces on cultural and historical objects and natural landmarks of Yugoslavia and their return to the country, and to adopt a Regulation on reporting and assessing war damage		
Commission for ascertaining war damage inflicted by occupying forces on cultural and historical objects and natural landmarks of the Federal Republic of Croatia and their return to the country		
KOMRAT		
Documents	Members	Decision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commission for ascertaining war damage inflicted by occupying forces on cultural and historical objects and natural landmarks of Yugoslavia and their return to the country • Instructions for land commissions assessing the damage to cultural and historic objects • The Decree on training of the Commission for Determining War Damage to State Property under the Administration of the Ministry of Education • Regulation on reporting and assessing war damage, June 26, 1945 	<p>Vladimir Tkalčić President of Commission</p> <p>Members: Zdenka Munk, Ljubo Karaman, Tihomil Stahuljak, Ivan Bach, Nikola Fink, Tvrtko Čubelić, Harold Bilinić, Antun Potočnjak, Matko Rojnić, Miho Barada, Vale Vouk, Ante Obuljen, Josip Matasović, Ivo Večerina, Marcel Gorenc, Pavao Rastovčan, Ivan Makek</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commission established on July 14, 1945 • Reporting war damage began on August 1, 1945 • The Commission was officially closed on July 2, 1947

Scheme 1 shows the competence of KOMRAT and the documents on the basis of which it acted, the members and the decisions made

World War II was made. Given that items taken from Vojvodina were mostly discussed at the meeting, she requested that the items from Međimurje be added to the list.⁸¹⁵

Reports on the records of removed objects from the territory of the People's Republic of Croatia as well as on claims for compensation for lost items were for the most part completed during 1946. On February 15, 1947, the Land Commission for ascertaining war dam-

age on cultural and historical objects for Croatia sent a report No. 153 prepared by the Conservation Institute through the Department of Culture and Art of the Ministry of Education, to the Federal Commission for ascertaining war damage on cultural and historical objects in Belgrade.⁸¹⁶ The total damage reported by the

⁸¹⁵ MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Letter, September 15, 1945.

⁸¹⁶ MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Letters No. 168 and No. 169-1946, March 27, 1946. HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, Box 59, War Damage – Final Report, signed by Ljubo Karaman, June 26, 1946.

izražena šteta u postocima velika, a da novčana šteta nije primjerena...".⁷⁹⁷

Kulturno-umjetnički odjel Ministarstva prosvjete u dopisu od 16. kolovoza 1945. ovlastio je Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu za preuzimanje administrativne i organizacijske provedbe postupka procjene ratne štete na području Federalne Države Hrvatske.⁷⁹⁸ Savezna komisija odobrila je rad KOMRAT-u po dotadašnjem načinu, s time da se šteta prijavljivala po zbirnom *spisku broj 5*, no sam rad se usmjerio u tri dijela: utvrđenje i procjenu ratne štete, izradu elaborata za restituciju i izrađivanje elaborata za rekompensaciju.

KOMRAT se bavio i pitanjem restitucije; najprije je bio sastavljen popis predmeta na temelju prijedloga pojedinih stručnjaka koje bi Jugoslavija, odnosno Hrvatska potraživala od pojedinog okupatora kao naknadu štete počinjene na kulturno-umjetničkim spomenicima. Problem je bio u stavu Savezničke vlasti da se umjetnički predmet može potraživati samo ukoliko postoji točan opis i počinjena šteta. Na području Hrvatske nije bila provedena inventarizacija te se nije mogao utvrditi točan broj nestalih ili uništenih predmeta. Postojao je samo općeniti podatak da je u nekoj crkvi ili dvorcu postojao vrijedan inventar.⁷⁹⁹ Zahtjevi za restituciju upućivani su Zemaljskoj komisiji za utvrđivanje šteta na kulturno-historijskim predmetima (KOMRAT), a ne izravno vojnim misijama ili delegacijama u inozemstvu. Prijavljivani su oni predmeti za koje se sa sigurnošću znalo da su otuđeni i da još uvijek postoje, te da nisu uništeni. Zatraženi su i oni predmeti koje su talijanske vlasti odnijele u Prvom svjetskom ratu, a od Mađarske se potraživao arhiv koji je odnesen u vrijeme bana Khuen-Héderváryja.⁸⁰⁰

Na zadarskom području građa Muzeja u Obrovcu bila je posve raznesena, tek je dio materijala nađen kasnije u Zadru.⁸⁰¹ Ođšteta za navedenu zbirku nastojala se nadoknaditi rekompensacijom. Zbirka iz Obrovca trebala je

biti nadomještena rimskim kamenim natpisima iz Solina koji su bili pohranjeni u muzejima Italije.⁸⁰²

Uvidom u spise zahtjeva za restituciju pojavili su se neki primjeri koji su ranije spomenuti kao što je zamjena Višeslavove krstionice za dvije slike Vittorea Carpaccia (Sv. Sebastijana i Sv. Petra Mučenika) 1942. godine. Naime, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti smatrala je da je zakonska odredba koju je donijela NDH bespravna te je tražila uvrštenje slika na popis za restituciju.⁸⁰³ Nakon završenih pregovora o restituciji i vraćanju kulturnih dobara Vlade FNRJ i Italije, slika Sv. Sebastijan vraćena je 20. prosinca 1961. u Strossmayerovu galeriju.⁸⁰⁴ Nadalje, postoji još jedan primjer, ranije spomenut u vrijeme NDH, o darovanoj vojničkoj zastavi Fridrika Velikog i šahu pruskog kralja Fridrika Velikog II. za koje Viktor Hoffiller traži povrat od Ministarstva prosvjete.⁸⁰⁵ Spomenuti slučajevi primjer su utjecaja politike na teoriju i praksu zaštite spomenika. Iako se u određenom vremenu nije mogla spriječiti zamjena, povrat je zatražen i realiziran naknadno.

Muzejske ustanove dostavljale su svoje popise oduzetih umjetnina. Umjetnička galerija u Splitu potraživala je predmete koji su oduzeti u vrijeme okupacije u privatne svrhe ili u svrhu izlaganja na izložbi u Rimu, a nikada nisu bili vraćeni. Tako je, npr. za izložbu u Rimu reversom od 21. travnja 1943. časnik Mercurelli preuzeo odljev Jurja Dalmatinca *Bičevanje Kristovo* s oltara sv. Staša iz katedrale u Splitu. Odljev nakon završetka izložbe nije bio

797 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT dopis broj 38/45.

798 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT dopis broj 8689-VII-1945.

799 HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete, KOMRAT od 24. lipnja 1946. izvještaj upućen Ministarstvu prosvjete, potpisuje Vladimir Tkalčić.

800 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT dopis broj 191-1946. od 24. lipnja 1946.

801 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT zapisnik od 13. srpnja 1945. pod brojem 8-1945.

802 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT pod brojem 191/1946. od 24. lipnja 1946., HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete, Kutija 2 pod brojem 11562-VII-1945 od 3. rujna 1945.; FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1946., 19. Komitet za kulturu i umjetnost Vlade FNRJ uputio je dopis Ministarstvu prosvjete NR Hrvatske dopis u vezi kulturno-umjetničkih dobara odnesenih iz Zadra i Pule u vrijeme mletačke vlasti. Naveden je tekst Priloga XIV. Ugovora o miru s Italijom od 10. veljače 1947. prema kojem: „Italijanska vlada predaće državi nasljednici sve predmete od umjetničke, istoriske ili arheološke vrednosti koji čine deo kulturnog blaga ustupljene teritorije i koji su, dok se teritorija o kojoj je reč nalazila pod italijanskom vlašću, bili odneti besplatno a u rukama su italijanske vlade ili italijanskih javnih ustanova.“ Uvjet za povrat bili su predmeti koji su odneseni u Italiju bez naknade, besplatno. HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete pod brojem 306 od 10. siječnja 1948. U novije vrijeme Antonija Mlikota je provela istraživanje o umjetninama odnesenim pred kraj Drugoga svjetskog rata iz Zadra u Italiju, a koje nikada nisu vraćene. Više u: MLIKOTA, ANTONIJA, 2012., 239-310.

803 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT dopis JAZU Konzervatorskom zavodu, pod brojem 21-1946. od 25. svibnja 1946.

804 ZLAMALIK, VINKO, 1962., 103; ZLAMALIK, VINKO, 1982., 154.

805 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT dopis broj 47-1945. od 18. srpnja 1945.

Commission amounted to 321,009,898 dinars.⁸¹⁷

The Commission for ascertaining war damage on cultural and historical objects in Croatia officially closed on July 2, 1947.⁸¹⁸

The list of monuments damaged during the war and the work of KOMRAT was completed in 1947, but the return of artwork was a slow process and depended on contracts with individual countries.

The Commission for gathering and protecting cultural monuments and antiquities (KOMZA)

The process of building a Socialist social order began with the end of World War II and the establishment of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Part of this process was the nationalisation of property in order to create common national property. The decisions that followed the liberation were in fact a continuation of the decisions made during the war.

One of them was the *Decision on the transfer of enemy property to state property, to public administration of the property of persons who fled or were forcibly taken away,*

817 The final amount reported by the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Croatia totalled 15,179,538,000 dinars. The explanation of the difference between the amount reported by the Commission and the amount by the Ministry of Education was presented by the Head of the Department of Culture and Arts, Grga Gamulin, to the Committee for Culture and the Arts of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia government in Belgrade. The Department of Culture and Art was requested to immediately deliver the amount owed to Croatia for damage caused to cultural and historical monuments during the war. A panel of experts was formed to assess all war damage at \$ 400,000,000 (16,000,000,000 dinars) during one session, without any real information on the damage to monuments, with \$ 250,000,000 for northern Croatia, and \$150,000,000 for Dalmatia (Istria and Zadar were included). Following these initial assessments, the Commission for ascertaining war damage was founded to collect reports from county and district. The amount provided by delegates in Dalmatia and the Littoral was also added. Further justification relates to the approximate number of owners of objects or collections that disappeared, moved or were killed. The difference in the total amount also applied to items that were thought to have disappeared, but were subsequently found, such as the painting *The Last Supper* by Signorelli from the monastery in Hvar. The bells from Cavtat, also thought to have been taken to Italy, were also found. HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, 13.5 Box 60, No. 52692-V-3-1946, July 31, 1946.

818 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT Letter No. 201-1947, July 2, 1947.

*and the sequestration of property forcibly removed by the occupying authorities.*⁸¹⁹ In order for it to legally become the property of the state, represented by National Liberation Committees (NOO), it was necessary to determine who committed crimes against the interests of the people of Croatia during the war. Consequently, the *Land Commission for establishing the crimes of the occupying forces and their supporters* was established. Any collaboration – cultural, artistic, political and economic – with the enemy (occupying forces and domestic traitors) was considered a crime. The laws allowed for a broad interpretation of this “collaboration” and if a person was found guilty, their property was nationalized or sequestered. This property, as well as the property of people who escaped or were forcibly removed, was managed by the Land administration of national property. Part of the collected assets was movable art.⁸²⁰

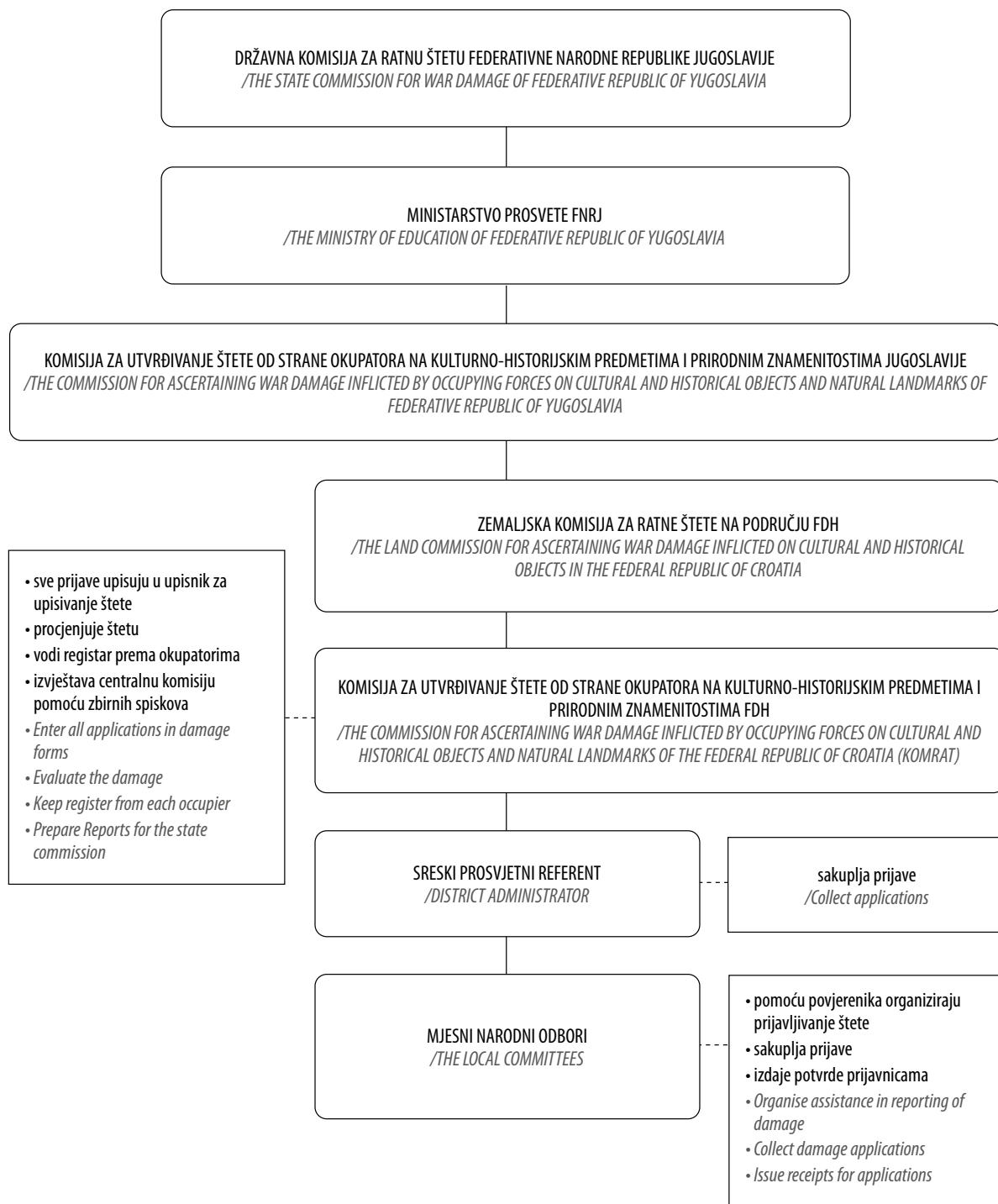
Even in February 1945, movable works of art were protected by the *Decision on the protection and preservation of cultural monuments and antiquities* by the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia. All art and scientific objects, buildings of historical and artistic significance, public monuments, busts, paintings, state and public institutions, libraries and archives, scientific collections and museums were placed under the protection of the state.⁸²¹ In April 1945, the *Law on the collection, preservation and distribution of books and other cultural, scientific and art objects that became state property by the Decision of the Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia*,⁸²² came into effect, putting the Ministry of Education in charge of their protection, and of drafting and issuing instructions on how to collect and preserve objects until their distribution to museums and galleries. In order to preserve abandoned, confiscated or sequestered monuments and use them to fill central and provincial museums, the *Decision on the Establishment of the Commission for*

819 The AVNOJ decision was made on November 21, 1944.

820 ANIĆ, TOMISLAV, 2007, 25.

821 The decision was made on February 20, 1945 and was repealed by the Law of July 23, 1945, No. 498, Reprinted in N.N. No. 10, September 1, 1945.

822 Published: *Službeni list DFJ* No. 10, April 3, 1945.



Schema 2 Prikaz djelovanja KOMRAT-a
Scheme 2 Review of the KOMRAT's activities

gathering and protecting cultural monuments and antiquities in the Federal State of Croatia (KOMZA) was adopted on June 1, 1945 to save and collect antiquities and monuments in the City of Zagreb.⁸²³

According to the *Decision*, KOMZA was to inspect public and private buildings taken from military and civilian authorities of the Federal State of Croatia, from warehouses and collection points for objects seized under the decisions of the Commission for Confiscation, as well as items of museum, archival or library significance for which private ownership with all rights of possession could not be proven.⁸²⁴ For objects that remained privately owned, KOMZA had to ascertain their condition, take all protective measures to preserve and list them, and submit the lists to the Department of Culture and Art of the Ministry of Education of the People's Government of Croatia. According to the decision, KOMZA was also responsible for the housing used by opponents of the new order, the *regime*. Consequently, the Department of Culture and Art of the Ministry of Education sent a letter to the Main city council of the National front of Yugoslavia in Zagreb requesting information on all houses and flats of all state enemies, abandoned and sealed flats, and all owners of private collections and cultural and historical monuments.

KOMZA took all objects of importance to museums, archives or libraries that could not be proven to be privately owned with all the rights of ownership for government institutions such as museums, galleries, libraries and archives. The items were used to enhance inventories in these establishments.⁸²⁵

According to the *Decision*, KOMZA was composed of a supervisory board consisting of:

- five clerks of the Department of Culture and Art of

the Ministry of Education representing: museums and galleries, conservation institutes, libraries, archival experts

- employees from executive bodies such as: the Conservation Institute⁸²⁶ in Zagreb, the Museum of Arts and Crafts, the Ethnographic Museum, the Archaeological Museum, the Historical Museum and the Zagreb City Museum, the University Library and the National Archives

- a member of the confiscation commission.⁸²⁷

In June 1945, KOMZA was made up of representatives – curators of all museums on the territory of Zagreb and one member for libraries. The Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Croatia appointed Vladimir Tkalčić as director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts and president of KOMZA, and Ivan Bach, as curator of the same museum and vice-president. Vera Han, curator of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, was appointed as the first secretary, and the second secretary to be appointed was the Museum of Arts and Crafts trainee, Ivana Vrbančić. The members of the board were: the Museum of Arts and Crafts librarian, Zdenko Vojnović; the curator of the Ethnographic Museum, Tvrtko Čubelić; the curator of the Archaeological Museum, Ksenija Gasparini; the curator of the Historical Museum, Milan Prelog; the assistant of the Conservation Institute, Tihomil Stahuljak; the librarian of the University Library, Jelena Ibler; and the archivists of the State Archives, Petar Dumičić and Bartol Zmaić. The Supervisory Board consisted of Grgo Gamulin, head of the Department of Culture and Art; Jelka Mišić, clerk at the Department of National Education; Čedo Majić, clerk at the Department of Higher Education; and Ines Ivanišević, clerk at the Department of Museums of the Department of Culture and Art.

823 Published: *Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba*, Year I, Volume III, Zagreb, October 5, 1945 (No 3867/45); HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1955, 215.

824 Ministry of Culture and Media (hereinafter: MKM) – Central Documentation of Cultural Heritage (hereinafter: SDKB) – Commission for gathering and protecting cultural monuments and antiquities on the territory of the Federal Croatia (hereinafter: KOMZA), letter number 8-1945, June 4, 1945.

825 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Letter No. 8-1945, June 4, 1945.

826 The Conservation Institute in Zagreb performed the duty of the *Land Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the People's Republic of Croatia* according to the *Order on the Organization of the National Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of* January 25, 1946, and the *Order establishing the National Institute for the Protection of Natural Rarities* of the Republic of Croatia on January 25, 1946. Published: *Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba*, Year II, Volume I, Zagreb, January – February 1946, 31.

827 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Letter No. 8-1945, June 4, 1945.

vraćen. Iz Umjetničke galerije u Splitu splitski prefekt Paolo Zerbino prisvojio je 33 slike i 14 komada namještaja za uređenje privatnog stana. Velik dio tih umjetnina je vraćen, no dvije manje slike nisu.⁸⁰⁶

Povrat otuđenih predmeta iz Muzeja i privatnih zbirki vlasnika u Osijeku vodili su Danica Pinterović⁸⁰⁷ i Josip Bösendorfer.⁸⁰⁸ Pinterović je obavijestila Hoffillera o otuđenju umjetnina u Osijeku i o tome da se 107 sanduka umjetnina vraćenih iz Austrije nalaze u Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost Vlade FNRJ. Komitet je u početku negirao postojanje sanduka, ali nakon mjesec dana sekretar Komiteta Vlado Mađarić⁸⁰⁹ obavijestio je osječki muzej da je materijal iz Austrije dovezen u Beograd. Ponovno imenovani ravnatelj Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu Viktor Hoffiller otputovao je u Beograd zbog pregleda pristigloga materijala. Komitet je zbog velikog broja kutija (111) imenovao Komisiju za pregled materijala: Hoffillera, kustose Umjetničkog muzeja u Beogradu Đorđa Mano-Zisija i Zoru Milovanović, ravnatelja Državnog arhiva u Novom Sadu Marka Maletina te iz Komiteta za kulturu i umjetnost Vlade FNRJ službenicu Radmilu Nikolić.⁸¹⁰ Pokretne umjetničke predmete sadržavala su samo četiri sanduka, od toga dva sa slikama Waldingera, Hötzendorfa i Mückea i dva sa slikama raznih autora.⁸¹¹ Sadržaj sanduka je Ministarstvo prosvjete NRH prema odluci Komiteta trebalo raspodijeliti između Arheološkog muzeja u Zagrebu i Narodnog muzeja u Osijeku.⁸¹²

U vezi crkvenih spomenika, Karaman i Tkalčić predlagali su Ministarstvu prosvjete da se obrati Predsjedništvu biskupskih konferencija kako bi od svih kaptola i župa

zatražile podatke o štetama koje su crkvene građevine i predmeti pretrpjeli u tijeku rata. Isto se odnosilo i na samostane i to preko Provincijalata, te na pravoslavne i židovske područne ustanove preko njihovih vrhovnih crkvenih, odnosno bogoštovnih vlasti. Izvještaji su trebali sadržavati: popis oštećenih objekata, opis njihova stanja, visinu štete izraženu u dinarima, prema cijenama iz 1939. godine.⁸¹³

KOMRAT se, osim Prosvjetnog odjela Oblasnog narodnog odbora za Dalmaciju koji je prijavljivao štetu, obraćao i područnim kulturno-umjetničkim ustanovama u Splitu, Zadru i Dubrovniku. Podatke je crpio iz novina i publikacija te od privatnih osoba, ne bi li prikupljanje podataka bilo što uspješnije. Procjena ponekad nije odgovarala stvarnom stanju jer neke vrijednije predmete KOMRAT nije otprije poznao, a procjenu su radili narodni odbori. Evidencija i inventarizacija do početka rata nije u cijelosti bila provedena pa je tek manji dio građe bio obrađen. Problem izrade popisa obrazložio je predsjednik Komisije Tkalčić u izvještaju o radu KOMRAT-a Zdenki Brkić Boić⁸¹⁴ koja je imenovana delegatom od Ministarstva prosvjete Hrvatske za vezu sa Saveznom komisijom za utvrđivanje i procjenu ratne štete na kulturno-historijskim spomenicima: „...*Jevreji, pravoslavci i drugi, koji su posjedovali zbirke ili pojedine komade kulturno-historiske i umjetničke vrijednosti, su mnogi i mnogi ubijeni. Tko će prijaviti pojedine komade iz njihovih zbirki kada nitko nije imao pristupa u te zbirke, kada one nisu nigdje objelodanjene – kada mi uopće nemamo još svoje umjetničke topografije. Tko zna što je sve propalo po crkvenim tavanima, župnim dvorovima i samostanima...*“⁸¹⁵

Zdenka Brkić Boić prisustvovala je pri potraživanju kulturno-historijskih spomenika koji su u tijeku Drugoga svjetskog rata bili odneseni u Mađarsku. S obzirom na to da se na sastanku u prvom redu raspravljalo o

806 Radi se o slikama Paška Vučetića *Pejzaž* i Petra Bibića *Seoska kuća*. MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT broj 18/1945. od 25. veljače 1945.

807 Danica Pinterović (1897. – 1985.), povjesničarka umjetnosti i arheologinja.

808 Josip Bösendorfer (1876. – 1957.), povjesničar.

809 Vlado Mađarić (1915. – 1985.), povjesničar umjetnosti, direktor Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Beogradu od 1952. do 1967. godine, od 1967. do 1982. godine direktor Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Zagrebu. Godine 1974. pokrenuo *Godišnjak za zaštitu spomenika kulture Republike Hrvatske*.

810 GRUBIŠIĆ, ANTE, 2002., 128.

811 Grubišić navodi popis sadržaja sanduka: „...21 *arheološkog i muzejskog materijala, 2 aparature, 66 bibliotečne i arhivske građe, 5 pisane i crtačeg materijala i 11 sanduka s privatnim stvarima*“ GRUBIŠIĆ, ANTE, 2002., 129.

812 GRUBIŠIĆ, ANTE, 2002., 130.

813 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT dopis od 14. lipnja 1945.

814 Tkalčić je 24. kolovoza 1945., sukladno pozivu saveznog Ministarstva prosvjete, uputio pismo Zdenki Brkić Boić sa željom da je delegira u saveznu komisiju. Njezina uloga trebala je biti prikupljanje i sređivanje podataka i izvještaja poslanih od Komisije u Hrvatskoj. MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT dopis broj 52-1945. od 27. kolovoza 1945.

815 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT dopis broj 52-1945. od 27. kolovoza 1945.

KOMZA began operations in Zagreb on June 5, 1945. Their work focused on four basic spheres of activity:

- to seize cultural, historical and art objects and monuments that were threatened with direct destruction or disappearance;
- to document items that fall within the competence of KOMZA and are in the possession of the Land Administration of national property of the People's Republic of Croatia (ZUND), under whose authority the items are given to KOMZA for safekeeping;
- to list and document objects in private collections;
- to take over library material collected from private collections by members of the Commission and store the material at the University Library.⁸²⁸

On July 31, 1945, following the *Decision on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities*, the Ministry of Education issued an *Instruction on the establishment and operation of collection centres* regulating the establishment of District collection centres and the activities of the Land collection centre, which was under the jurisdiction of the Land Ministry of Education.⁸²⁹

Objects in the field that were subject to the *Law on collecting, protecting and distributing books and other cultural, scientific and art objects* were taken to protect them and become state property. After district collection centres collected property from the District Administration of National property, they had to submit a report to the Ministry of Education, with a transcript of the handover record, a list and assessment of the property indicating whether it had passed into state property or was under sequestration.⁸³⁰ There were two copies of the report, and one remained in the Land Ministry of

Education.⁸³¹ The objects were stored in buildings that were still owned by the opponents of the order.⁸³² According to the *Instructions for the establishment and operation of collection centres*, temporarily seized items that were released from debts were sorted by type: books, art (sculptures, paintings, fabrics, furniture, ceramics, glass, works of art in metal, leather, wood, etc.), scientific and museum collections, music items, archives. All documented items had to be numbered to make a list in triplicate. One copy was kept by the District collection centre and the other two were delivered to the Land collection centre, i.e. the Land Ministry of Education and the Federal Ministry of Education.⁸³³

In July 1945, KOMZA extended its operations to the area surrounding the city of Zagreb – Novi Dvori near Zaprešić, Januševac, Savski Marof and Velika Gorica. The Department of Culture and Art of the Ministry of Education organized a trip to Hrvatsko Zagorje, where KOMZA documented the inventory of cultural and historical monuments and assessed war damage. During a period of 12 days, KOMZA inspected fifteen castles, some of which were abandoned by their owners (Trakošćan, Bežanec, Poznanovec and Kostel), while the rest were still managed by their owners, but sequestered. The objects from the castles were transported to Trakošćan castle, which served as a temporary warehouse, and there was a plan for it to house the Museum of the Hrvatsko Zagorje.

Members of the Commission had *Identification papers* that allowed them access to all public and private buildings that owned *cultural and historical monuments, antiquities and works of art stolen* in the Independent State of Croatia; they were issued by the *Department for People's Protection* (OZNA) and sent to the members through the Ministry of Education of the Federal State of Croatia⁸³⁴ (Fig. 52, 53).

828 MK-SDKB-KOMZA Letter No. 76/1945, June 30, 1945.

829 MK-SDKB-KOMZA The instruction for the establishment and operation of collection centres dated July 31, 1945 was signed by the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, Minister of Education, Vladimir Ribnikar.

830 Legal term which means the temporary deprivation of the right to administer property over a litigant and the transfer of such property to a third party.

831 Land Ministry is a ministry at the federal level.

832 "Opponents of the regime" who were still on their private properties, whose properties had not yet been confiscated.

833 MK-SDKB-KOMZA Instruction dated July 31, 1945 signed by Minister of Education, Vladimir Ribnikar.

834 Odjeljenje za zaštitu naroda; HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, 13.5. Box 57, No. 1525, May 30, 1945.

predmetima otuđenim u Vojvodini, zatražila je nadopunu materijala za predmete s područja Međimurja.⁸¹⁶

Elaborati o evidenciji odnesenih predmeta s područja tadašnje Narodne Republike Hrvatske kao i o potraživanjima naknade za izgubljeno, bili su uglavnom dovršeni tijekom 1946. godine. Zemaljska komisija za utvrđivanje štete na kulturno-historijskim predmetima za Hrvatsku pod brojem 153 od 15. veljače 1947. poslala je elaborat koji je izradio Konzervatorski zavod, a preko Odjela za kulturu i umjetnost Ministarstva prosvjete Saveznoj komisiji za utvrđivanje štete na kulturno-historijskim spomenicima u Beogradu.⁸¹⁷ Sveukupna šteta koju je prijavila Komisija iznosila je 321.009.898 dinara.⁸¹⁸

Komisija za utvrđivanje ratne štete na kulturno-historijskim spomenicima u Hrvatskoj službeno je prestala s radom 2. srpnja 1947. godine.⁸¹⁹

Popis ratnih šteta i rad KOMRAT-a završio je 1947. godine, ali sam povrat umjetnina tekao je sporo i ovisio je o realizaciji zaključaka ugovora s pojedinim zemljama.

816 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT dopis od 15. rujna 1945.

817 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT dopis broj 168 i broj 169-1946. od 27. ožujka 1946. HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete kutija 59 Ratna šteta – konačni izvještaj, potpisuje Ljubo Karaman, datum je 26. lipnja 1946.

818 Konačni iznos koji je prijavljen za ratnu štetu prijavilo je Ministarstvo prosvjete NRH, a iznosio je 15.179.538.000 dinara. Obrazloženje razlike između iznosa do kojeg je došla Komisija i iznosa koje je dalo Ministarstvo prosvjete iznio je načelnik Odjela za kulturu i umjetnost Grgo Gamulin Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost pri vladi FNRJ u Beogradu. Od Odjela za kulturu i umjetnost bilo je zatraženo da hitno javi ukupnu svotu ratne štete na kulturno-historijskim spomenicima Hrvatske. Sastavljena je bila komisija stručnjaka koji su na jednoj sjednici, bez stvarnog uvida i podataka o šteti procijenili svu ratnu štetu na 400.000.000 dolara (16.000.000.000 dinara), od čega 250.000.000 za sjevernu Hrvatsku i 150.000.000 za Dalmaciju (Istra i Zadar su bili uključeni). Nakon tih prvih procjena osnovana je Komisija za utvrđivanje ratne štete koja je prikupljala izvještaje kotara i okruga. Uz taj iznos pridodan je i iznos koji su dostavili izaslanici u Dalmaciji i Primorju. Daljnje obrazloženje odnosi se na aproksimativni iznos vlasnika predmeta ili zbirki koji su nestali, raseljeni ili ubijeni. Razlika u iznosu odnosila se i na one predmete za koje se smatralo da su nestali, ali su naknadno nađeni kao npr. slika *Posljednja večera* Signorellija iz samostana u Hvaru, te su pronađena zvona iz Cavtata za koja se također mislilo da su odvezena u Italiju. HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete, 13.5 kutija 60, broj 52692-V-3-1946 od 31. srpnja 1946.

819 MKM-SDKB-KOMRAT dopis broj 201-1947. od 2. srpnja 1947.

Komisija za sakupljanje i očuvanje kulturnih spomenika (KOMZA)

Završetkom Drugoga svjetskog rata i uspostavljanjem Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije započinje proces izgradnje socijalističkoga društvenog uređenja. Dio tog procesa bilo je podržavljenje imovine u cilju stvaranja zajedničkoga narodnog vlasništva. Odluke koje su slijedile po oslobođenju samo su nastavak odluka koje su donesene još u vrijeme rata.

Jedna od tih odluka je i *Odluka o prelasku u državno vlasništvo neprijateljske imovine, državnoj upravi nad imovinom osoba koje su izbjegli ili su bili nasilno odvedeni i o sekvstru nad imovinom koju su okupatorske vlasti prisilno otuđile*.⁸²⁰ Kako bi ta imovina zakonski došla pod narodnu vlast koju su tada predstavljali Narodnooslobodilački odbori (NOO), trebalo se utvrditi tko je na području Hrvatske u vrijeme rata počinio zločin protiv interesa naroda. Stoga je u tu svrhu osnovana *Zemaljska komisija za utvrđivanje zločina okupatora i njihovih pomagača*. Zločinom se smatrala bilo kakva suradnja s neprijateljem (okupatorom i domaćim izdajnikom) – kulturna, umjetnička, politička i privredna. Doneseni zakoni omogućavali su široku interpretaciju te „suradnje“, a posljedica dokazane krivnje bila je nacionalizirana ili sekvstrirana imovina. Tom imovinom kao i imovinom ljudi koji su izbjegli ili su bili nasilno odvedeni upravljala je Državna uprava narodnih dobara. Dio te prikupljene imovine činili su i pokretni umjetnički predmeti.⁸²¹

Pokretni umjetnički predmeti, još u tijeku rata u veljači 1945., bili su zaštićeni *Odlukom* o zaštiti i očuvanju kulturnih spomenika i starina od Nacionalnog komiteta oslobođenja Jugoslavije. Pod zaštitu države stavljani su svi umjetnički i znanstveni predmeti, zgrade od historijskog i umjetničkog značaja, javni spomenici, biste, slike, biblioteke i arhivi državnih i javnih ustanova, znanstvene zbirke i muzeji.⁸²² U travnju 1945. donesen je *Zakon o pribiranju, čuvanju i raspodjeli knjiga i drugih*

820 Navedena odluka AVNOJ-a je donesena 21. studenoga 1944.

821 ANIĆ, TOMISLAV, 2007., 25.

822 Odluka je donesena 20. veljače 1945., van snage stavljena je Zakonom od 23. srpnja 1945. pod br. 498., Pretiskana u N. N. br. 10 od 1. rujna 1945.

In addition to recording and collecting sequestered, confiscated art objects by KOMZA, the owners of private collections themselves sent application forms for collections of cultural and historical value to the Department of Culture and Art of the Ministry of Education.⁸³⁵ The documenting and recording of objects in private collections was carried out when the Commission was informed by a competent body about a collection in the possession of a private person or at the request of the owners themselves. Based on this type of report, the Commission would, according to the profile of the collection, form a team of experts who would review and document the collection. The recording and documenting of private collections was done using the "Form for personal information on art collection owners," which contained the following information:

- Name and surname
- Nationality
- Profession
- Address
- Owner of the collection
- Type of collection (old objects, modern art, crafts, folk crafts)
- Does the collection have an itemized list
- Are the items in daily use
- Who maintains the collection
- Are any items photographed
- Were any items published and where
- Were any items individually or collectively exhibited and where
- Does the collection grow (is it updated)
- Does anyone have access to it
- Has it been damaged during the war.⁸³⁶

⁸³⁵ The Department for Culture and Art sent a letter to the JNF Main Board in Zagreb requesting information on all houses and apartments of all enemies of the state, on abandoned, sealed apartments, and on all owners of private collections and cultural and historical monuments. HR-DAZG Ministry of Education under No. 2332, June 12, 1945.

⁸³⁶ MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Form for personal information of art collection owners.

While collections were documented, Minutes were also kept with the participation of the owner and a member of KOMZE (a representative of the Conservation Institute). Minutes were sent to the Conservation Institute and the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education, the Department of Culture and Art, and the Department for Museums issued a decision on protection and informed the Conservation Institute, the Municipal National Committee, the Municipal Command and the owner. An example of such a solution is the protection of the Ervin Weiss Collection. Based on a report by the Head of the Department for Museums, Zdenka Munk, the collection was registered with the consent of the Croatian State Conservation Institute and a Decision was issued. The explanation stated that moving the collection or moving people into the apartment could endanger the works of art.⁸³⁷

According to the *General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities*⁸³⁸, adopted on October 4, 1946, the order on protection was issued by the Conservation Institute.⁸³⁹ A copy of the Decision on protection was sent to the Education Department in Split and Zagreb, or the housing authority of the place where the objects were found. Owners of private collections of public importance had to ask the Department of Culture and Art in Zagreb to appoint a committee to declare their collections *private collections of public importance*. The Department of Culture and Art in Zagreb appointed a committee consisting of conservators and other representatives of the education department (e.g. director of the Art Gallery in Split), and issued a final decision based on the proposal of the committee. Owners of private collections that were made private collections of public importance had to organise the collections according to the Regulation of the Conservation Institute, with the co-

⁸³⁷ HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, No. 1560, May 30, 1945.

⁸³⁸ This law was amended by the Decision on regulation of Federal Laws, *Službeni list* 4/51, and the Introductory Law on the Criminal Code Sl. I 11/51.

⁸³⁹ Records on the owners of protected private collections are kept at the Ministry of Culture, and in the Report on the Archival Fund of the Commission for the Collection and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities from 1945 to 1950; they were covered by the head of the Central Archives of the Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in the Ministry of Culture, Lidija Zrnić in 2006.

kulturno-naučnih i umjetničkih predmeta koji su postali državno vlasništvo prema odluci Antifašističkog vijeća narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije,⁸²³ prema kojem je Ministarstvo prosvjete preuzelo brigu, izradu i donošenje uputa o načinu prikupljanja i čuvanja prikupljenih predmeta do njihove raspodjele u muzeje i galerije. Kako bi se napušteni, konfiscirani ili sekvestrirani spomenici očuvali od propasti te kako bi se sakupljenim predmetima upotpunile središnje i pokrajinske muzejske ustanove, 1. lipnja 1945. donesena je Odluka o osnivanju *Komisije za sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina na području Federalne Hrvatske* (KOMZA), sa svrhom spašavanja i prikupljanja starina i spomenika na području grada Zagreba.⁸²⁴

KOMZA je prema *Odluci* trebala pregledavati javne i privatne zgrade preuzete od vojne i civilne vlasti tadašnje Federalne Države Hrvatske, skladišta i sabirna mjesta predmeta koji su oduzeti prema odlukama Komisije za konfiskaciju te predmete od muzejskog, arhivskog ili bibliotečnog značaja za koje se nije moglo dokazati privatno vlasništvo sa svim pravima posjedovanja.⁸²⁵ Za predmete koji su ostajali u privatnom posjedu KOMZA je bila dužna utvrditi njihovo stanje, poduzeti sve zaštitne mjere za njihovo očuvanje, popisati ih i dostaviti popise Kulturno-umjetničkom odjelu Ministarstva prosvjete Narodne vlade Hrvatske. Prema toj odluci KOMZA je bila nadležna i za stambene prostore koje su koristili protivnici novoga poretka, režima. Stoga je Kulturno-umjetnički odjel Ministarstva prosvjete uputio dopis Glavnom gradskom odboru Jugoslavenske Narodne Fronte u Zagrebu, u kojem traži da se dostave podatci o svim kućama i stanovima svih državnih neprijatelja, napuštenim, zapечаćenim stanovima te o svim posjednicima privatnih zbirki i kulturno-historijskih spomenika.

Predmete od muzejskog, arhivskog ili bibliotečnog značaja za koje se nije moglo dokazati privatno vlasništvo sa

svim pravima posjedovanja KOMZA je trebala preuzimati za državne ustanove kao što su muzeji, galerije, biblioteke i arhivi. Tim predmetima trebali su biti obogaćeni inventari u tim ustanovama.⁸²⁶

KOMZU je prema *Odluci* trebao činiti nadzorni odbor koji se sastojao od:

pet činovnika Kulturno-umjetničkog odjela Ministarstva prosvjete: stručnjaka za muzeje i galerije, konzervatorske zavode, biblioteke, arhive

namještenika iz izvršnih tijela kao što su: Konzervatorski zavod⁸²⁷ u Zagrebu, Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, Etnografski muzej, Arheološki muzej, Historijski muzej i Muzej grada Zagreba, Sveučilišna biblioteka i Državni arhiv člana komisije za konfiskaciju.⁸²⁸

U lipnju 1945. KOMZA je sastavljena od predstavnika – kustosa svih muzeja na teritoriju grada Zagreba te jednog člana za biblioteke. Ministarstvo prosvjete Narodne Republike Hrvatske imenovalo za predsjednika KOMZE ravnatelja Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt Vladimira Tkaličića, a za potpredsjednika kustosa istog muzeja Ivana Bacha. Prvom tajnicom imenovana je kustosica MUO-a Vera Han, a drugom pripravnica u MUO-u Ivana Vrbanić. Za odbornike su bili imenovani: knjižničar MUO-a Zdenko Vojnović, kustos Etnografskog muzeja Tvrtko Čubelić, kustosica Arheološkog muzeja Ksenija Gasparini, kustos Povijesnog muzeja Milan Prelog, asistent Konzervatorskog zavoda Tihomil Stahuljak, knjižničarka Sveučilišne knjižnice Jelena Ibler te arhivari Državnog arhiva Petar Dumičić i Bartol Zmaić. U *Nadzorno-rukovodstvenom odboru* bili su načelnik Odjela za kulturu i umjetnost Grgo Gamulin, referent Odjela za Narodno prosvjećivanje Jelka Mišić, referent Otsjeka za visoku nastavu Čedo Majić i referent Otsjeka za muzeje Odjela za kulturu i umjetnost Ines Ivanišević.

823 Objavljeno: *Službeni list DFJ*, br. 10 od 3. travnja 1945.

824 Objavljeno: Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba, godina I., svezak III., Zagreb, 5. listopada 1945. (br. 3867/45); HORVAT, ANĐELA, 1955., 215.

825 Ministarstvo kulture i medija (dalje: MKM) – Centralna dokumentacija kulturne baštine (dalje: SDKB) – Komisija za sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina na području Federalne Hrvatske (dalje: KOMZA) dopis broj 8-1945. od 4. lipnja 1945.

826 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA dopis broj 8-1945. od 4. lipnja 1945.

827 Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu obnašao je dužnost Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture NRH prema *Naredbi o organizaciji Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture* od 25. siječnja 1946., a *Naredbom o osnivanju Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu prirodnih rijetkosti NRH* od 25. siječnja 1946. osnovan je Zavod sa sjedištem u Zagrebu. Objavljeno: Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba, godina II., svezak I., Zagreb, siječanj – veljača 1946., 31.

828 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA dopis broj 8-1945 od 4. lipnja 1945.

operation of museum experts, specialists in various fields, and based on the structure and type of collection. The arrangement was carried out according to museum principles for viewing items, and based on the possibilities of accommodating a collection within a private apartment. The owner could not change the layout of the collection in the apartment or sell items from the collection, he had to keep the collection open to the public on certain days and at certain times, he had to regularly maintain the premises (cleaning, lighting, heating of the premises), and to receive visitors and give them a tour of the collection at any time if they were previously announced by the institute or museum.⁸⁴⁰

In 1945-1946, a total of 80 collections were documented and protected by the Commission for gathering and protecting cultural monuments and antiquities.⁸⁴¹ The Conservation Institute in Zagreb intended to establish Central records of works of art by our renowned artists, based on registered collections.⁸⁴²

Because recording and collecting cultural, historical and artistic objects involved a lot of work, the Commission for gathering and protecting antiquities and libraries asked for volunteers among art history students at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. In addition to a short briefing on the styles and history of art, on how to collect and store artwork, and laws, students were trained to assist in the work of the Commission.⁸⁴³ The names of students are not mentioned.

According to the Order on the Organization of the Land Collection Centre of November 27, 1945, pursuant to the Ordinance on the transfer of duties under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Industry – State administration of national property, to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, KOMZA was supposed to supervise the Land collection centre and submit a monthly report to the Department of Culture and Art of the Ministry of Education.⁸⁴⁴

KOMZA was not able to inspect the entire territory, only the city of Zagreb and its surroundings. Therefore, Provincial collection centres were established in Osijek, Varaždin, Sušak, Opatija⁸⁴⁵, Zadar⁸⁴⁶, Pula, Senj (including ethnographic objects)⁸⁴⁷ and Šibenik.⁸⁴⁸ Instructions and circulars were sent from Zagreb, and loans were provided for the work of KOMZA. The problem arose when collection centres did not send reports on their work or on the number and type of recorded or stored items in warehouses.

In Dalmatia, cultural monuments were under the Education Department of the Regional National Committee for Dalmatia, and under Regional National Committees in the Croatian Littoral.⁸⁴⁹ The head of the Education Department in Dalmatia was Cvito Fisković. Collection centres in Split and Dubrovnik were open until December 1946. The head of the Provincial collection centre in Dubrovnik was Lukša Beritić, and other members were appointed on May 3, 1948: Vinko Foretić, Kosta Strajnić, Ivo Gracić, Branko Kovačević, Stijepo Stražičić and Ante P. Jeričević.⁸⁵⁰ Work in provincial centres focused exclusively on collecting objects in the field, and not on protecting them.

The report on the overall work of KOMZA, compiled by a special commission appointed by the Ministry of Ed-

845 Ministry of Culture and Media (hereinafter: MKM) – Central Documentation of Cultural Heritage (hereinafter: SDKB) – Archive (hereinafter: A) Letter No. 575-1946, January 31, 1946. In the report on the collection centre in Opatija, Iva Perčić states that she inspected villas in Opatija (Villas Ivana, Meurier, Brull) and they mostly contained furniture.

846 HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, box 59, No. 4608, March 2, 1946. The Zadar District National committee, Collection centre in Zadar reported that it had approximately 80,000 volumes and a large number of paintings and artwork. The report was signed by Mladen Koritnik.

847 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Letter No. 221-1946, July 12, 1946. Committee for the collection and protection of cultural, historical art and ethnographic objects, was founded in Senj. The committee included: Jakov Canić, Jakov Bosnić, Franjo Olivieri, Vinko Tijan. Collection centre was in the museum.

848 The members of the collection centre were Frane Dujmović, Marijo Medini, Federik Gegala, Nikola Perketa and Silvestrić Ante.

849 HR-DAZG Number 7198 –VII 1945 Collection and protection of cultural and historical objects – Report of the Zagreb – MP DFJ to the Belgrade Department of Culture (letter signed by the Minister of Education).

850 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Letter No. 243-1948, May 3, 1948; HR-DAZG Ministry of Education No. 508-1947, November 22, 1947. The letter explains the difference between the collection centre, which was the subsidiary of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb and monument protection under the Conservation Institute in Split.

840 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Study on protected collections by Zdenka Munk.

841 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Letter No. 428-1946, November 15, 1946.

842 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Letter No. 931-1946.

843 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Letter No. 110-1946, March 15, 1946.

844 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Letter No. 359/1945. December 4, 1945.

KOMZA je započela s radom u Zagrebu 5. lipnja 1945. Rad je bio usmjeren u četiri osnovna pravca:

- preuzimanje kulturno-povijesnih i umjetničkih predmeta i spomenika kojima je prijetilo izravno uništenje ili nestanak;
- popisivanje predmeta koji ulaze u nadležnost KOMZE i s kojima raspolaže Zemaljska uprava narodnih dobara NR Hrvatske (ZUND), prema čijem se odobrenju predaje na čuvanje KOMZI;
- popisivanje i evidentiranje predmeta u privatnim zbirkama;
- preuzimanje bibliotečnih materijala koje su iz privatnih zbirki prikupili članovi Komisije i njihova pohrana u Sveučilišnu biblioteku.⁸²⁹

Nakon *Odluke o zaštiti i očuvanju kulturnih spomenika i starina*, Ministarstvo prosvjete izdalo je 31. srpnja 1945. *Uputstvo za osnivanje i poslovanje sabirnih centara* kojim je regulirano osnivanje Okružnih sabirnih centara te poslovi Zemaljskoga sabirnog centra koji je bio u nadležstvu Zemaljskog ministarstva prosvjete.⁸³⁰

Predmeti na terenu koji su podlijegali *Zakonu o prianju, čuvanju i raspodijeli knjiga i drugi predmeti kulturno-znanstvenih i umjetničkih značajki*, preuzeti su kako bi se zaštitili i prenijeli u državnu imovinu. Okružni su sabirni centri nakon preuzimanja imovine od Okružne uprave narodnih dobara bili dužni podnijeti izvještaj nadležnom Ministarstvu prosvjete u kojem je bio prijepis zapisnika o primopredaji, popis i procjena imovine s naznakom je li prešla u državnu imovinu ili je pod *sekvestrom*.⁸³¹ Izvještaj se morao pisati u dva primjerka, od kojih je jedan ostajao u Zemaljskom ministarstvu prosvjete.⁸³² Smještaj predmeta trebao se osigurati u zgradama koje su još tada bile u vlasništvu protivnika poretka.⁸³³ Privremeno oduzete

predmete koji su bili oslobođeni od dugova trebalo je prema *Uputstvu za osnivanje i poslovanje sabirnih centara* obraditi prema vrstama: knjige, umjetnički predmeti (skulpture, slike, tkanine, namještaj, keramika, staklo, umjetnički radovi u metalu, koži, drvu i dr.), znanstvene i muzejske zbirke, muzikalije, arhivalije. Svi popisani predmeti trebali su biti označeni brojem kako bi se mogao sastaviti popis u tri primjerka. Jedan je primjerak zadržavao Okružni sabirni centar, a druga dva dostavljana su Zemaljskom sabirnom centru, odnosno Zemaljskom ministarstvu prosvjete i Saveznom ministarstvu prosvete.⁸³⁴

U srpnju 1945. KOMZA proširuje područje rada na okolicu grada Zagreba – na Nove Dvore kod Zaprešića, Januševac, Savski Marof i na Veliku Goricu. Odjel za kulturu i umjetnost Ministarstva prosvjete organizirao je put u Hrvatsko zagorje gdje je KOMZA provodila popisivanje kulturno-historijskih spomenika i utvrđivala ratnu štetu. U tijeku 12 dana KOMZA je pregledala petnaest dvoraca od kojih su neke njihovi vlasnici napustili (Trakošćan, Bežanec, Poznanovec i Kostel), dok su preostali još bili pod upravom vlasnika, ali sekvestrirani. Predmeti iz dvoraca bili su preneseni u dvorac Trakošćan koji je služio kao privremeno skladište, a postojao je plan da se u njemu uredi Muzej Hrvatskog zagorja.

Članovi Komisije imali su *Legitimacije* na temelju kojih im je bio omogućen pristup u sve javne i privatne zgrade koje su posjedovale *kulturno-historijske spomenike i starine i umjetnine otuđene u NDH*; izdane su od strane *Odjeljenja za zaštitu naroda* (OZNE), a preko Ministarstva prosvjete Federalne Države Hrvatske prosljeđene članovima (sl. 52, 53).⁸³⁵

Osim evidentiranja i prikupljanja sekvestriranih, konfisciranih umjetničkih predmeta od strane KOMZE i sami vlasnici privatnih zbirki slali su Odjelu za kulturu i umjetnost Ministarstva prosvjete obrasce prijavnica za zbirke

829 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA dopis broj 76/1945. od 30. lipnja 1945.

830 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Uputstvo za osnivanje i poslovanje sabirnih centara od 31. srpnja 1945. potpisao je Ministar prosvete FDJ Vladimir Ribnikar.

831 Pravni izraz pod kojim se podrazumijeva privremeno oduzimanje prava uprave nad imovinom osobi nad kojom se vodi sudski spor i predaja te imovine na čuvanje trećoj osobi.

832 Zemaljsko ministarstvo je ministarstvo na razini federalne jedinice. 833 „Protivnici režima” koji su još bili u svom privatnom posjedu, kojima do tada još nije bila oduzeta imovina.

834 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Uputstvo od 31. srpnja 1945. potpisao ministar prosvete Vladimir Ribnikar.

835 HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete, 13.5. Kutija 57, broj 1525 od 30. svibnja 1945.



52 Legitimacija Ive Vrbanić (HR-DAZG-Ministarstvo prosvjete, 1945.)

Identity document of Iva Vrbanić (HR-DAZG-Ministarstvo prosvjete 1945)



53 Legitimacija Anđele Horvat (HR-DAZG-Ministarstvo prosvjete, 1945.)

Identity document of Anđela Horvat (HR-DAZG-Ministarstvo prosvjete, 1945)

ucation, Department of Culture and Art in 1949, gives perhaps the best insight into its complex work. The report was prepared by the head of the Department for audits of the Ministry of Education, Božo Jeričević; the administrative junior clerk of the Ministry of Education, Leopold Vincelj; and the clerks from the Department of Museums, Draginja Zdenčaj and Elvira Aranješ. To prepare the Report, files pertaining to warehouses in Tomislav Square and the University Library were reviewed and statements were taken by the President of KOMZA, Vladimir Tkalčić; secretary Iva Vrbanić; and member of KOMZA and a staff member of the University Library, Jelena Ibler. The Commission concluded that the work procedures were not correctly and realistically established, and that there was not a sufficient number of administrative staff from competent authorities, but that KOMZA's whole operation depended on the

work and resourcefulness of the members themselves. There were no inventory books on the items seized by KOMZA, but there were inventories of foreclosed assets. KOMZA did not retrieve seized or sequestered items based on the list of bodies to which they were handed over, but the other way around. KOMZA entered apartments which were confiscated or under sequestration and made a list of cultural, historical and art objects it found, and gave a copy to the appropriate authority. When taking possession of books, lists were not made by subject, title and author, but by the number of items taken. KOMZA kept a record of all received and surrendered property, and these items were kept in storage. By examining the warehouse in Tomislav Square, according to the said report, the Commission found a large number of items that were recorded, stored and saved from further damage.⁸⁵¹

In Zagreb, KOMZA documented approximately 120 private collections with about 6500 items, 2500 items of cultural, historical and artistic importance, and 88,000 books; and 150 crates of archival materials were taken from confiscated apartments.⁸⁵²

The Commission stored the items in the warehouse of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, the University Library and the State Archives, the warehouse of the Land administration for national property of the Federal State of Croatia (ZUND) in Heinzelova Street in Zagreb and the warehouse of the City Administration of national property (GUND). After inspecting the warehouses, some of the confiscated items or entire collections were taken to the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, the State Archives, the Modern Gallery in Zagreb, the Museum of Serbs in Croatia, the Ethnographic Museum, the Zagreb City Museum, the Museum of the Croatian Littoral in Rijeka, the Museum of Slavonia in Osijek and the Varaždin City Museum, and they were added to existing collections.

851 HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, box 66. Report on reviewing the work of the Commission for the protection and collection of cultural monuments and antiquities, December 31, 1949.

852 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Report on the Archival Fund of the Commission for the collection and protection of cultural monuments and antiquities from 1945-1950, created by Lidija Zrnić in 2006.

kulturno-historijske vrijednosti.⁸³⁶ Popisivanje i evidentiranje predmeta u privatnim zbirkama provodilo se po dojavu nadležnog tijela o postojanju zbirke kod privatne osobe ili po traženju samog vlasnika. Na osnovi takve prijave Komisija bi, prema profilu zbirke, formirala tim stručnjaka koji bi zbirku pregledao i popisao. Evidentiranje i popisivanje privatne zbirke obavljalo se upisom u „Formular za personalne podatke posjednika zbirki umjetnina“, koji je sadržavao sljedeće upite:

- Ime i prezime
- Narodnost
- Zvanje
- Adresa
- Čije je vlasništvo zbirka
- Kakove je vrsti zbirka (stari predmeti, moderna umjetnost, umjetni obrt, narodne rukotvorine)
- Ima li zbirku popisanu po predmetima
- Da li su predmeti u dnevnoj upotrebi
- Tko čuva zbirku
- Ima li nešto od materijala fotografirano
- Ima li nešto od materijala publicirano i gdje
- Jesu li predmeti pojedinačno ili skupno bili izloženi i gdje
- Da li zbirka raste (obnavlja se)
- Ima li netko pristupa u nju
- Je li oštećena od rata.⁸³⁷

Pri popisu predmeta zbirke vodio se Zapisnik uz sudjelovanje vlasnika i člana KOMZE (izaslanik Konzervatorskog zavoda). Zapisnik se dostavljao Konzervatorskom zavodu i Ministarstvu prosvjete. Ministarstvo prosvjete, Kulturno-umjetnički odjel, Odsjek za muzeje izdavao je

836 Kulturno-umjetnički odjel Ministarstva prosvjete uputio je Glavnom gradskom odboru JNF-a u Zagrebu dopis u kojem traži da se dostave podatci o svim kućama i stanovima: svih državnih neprijatelja, napuštenih, zapečaćenih stanova te svih posjednika privatnih zbirki i kulturno-historijskih spomenika. HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete pod brojem 2332 od 12. lipnja 1945.

837 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Formular za personalne podatke posjednika zbirki umjetnina.

rješenje o zaštiti i o njemu obavještavao Konzervatorski zavod, Gradski Narodni odbor i Komandu grada te samog vlasnika. Primjer takvog Rješenja je i zaštita Zbirke Ervin Weiss. Zbirka je na temelju izvještaja tadašnje voditeljice Odjela za muzeje Zdenke Munk, uz suglasnost Hrvatskoga državnog konzervatorskog zavoda registrirana te je izdano Rješenje. U obrazloženju je navedeno da bi preseljenjem umjetničkih predmeta zbirke ili naseljavanjem osoba u prostorije stana moglo doći do ugrožavanja umjetničkih predmeta.⁸³⁸

Prema *Općem zakonu o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih retkosti*⁸³⁹ koji je donesen 4. listopada 1946., rješenje o zaštiti izdavao je Konzervatorski zavod.⁸⁴⁰ Prijepis Odluke o zaštiti upućivao se na znanje Prosvjetnom odjelu u Splitu, Zagrebu, odnosno stambenoj vlasti mjesta u kojem se predmeti nalaze. Vlasnik privatne zbirke od javnog značaja morao je od Kulturno-umjetničkog odjela u Zagrebu tražiti da se imenuje povjerenstvo za proglašenje njegove zbirke *privatnom zbirkom javnog značaja*. Kulturno-umjetnički odjel u Zagrebu određivao je povjerenstvo kojem su članovi bili konzervatori i drugi predstavnici prosvjetnog odjela (npr. ravnatelj Galerije umjetnina u Splitu) te je na temelju prijedloga te komisije izdavao konačnu odluku. Vlasnici privatnih zbirki koje su proglašene zbirkama od javnog značenja morali su urediti zbirku prema propisima Konzervatorskog zavoda uz suradnju pojedinih muzejskih stručnjaka, specijalista za određeno područje, a prema sastavu i vrsti zbirki. Uređenje se provodilo po muzeološkim načelima za razgledavanje, a u okviru mogućnosti smještaja zbirke unutar privatnoga stana. Vlasnik nije mogao mijenjati postav zbirke u stanu, niti prodavati predmete iz zbirke, bio je dužan držati zbirku otvorenu za javnost u određene dane i vrijeme, redovito održavati prostor (čišćenje prostorija, rasvjeta, grijanje prostorija), a prema najavi

838 HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete, br. 1560 od 30. svibnja 1945.

839 Ovaj zakon izmijenjen je i dopunjen Odlukom o usuglašavanju saveznih zakona, *Službeni list* 4/51, te Uvodnim zakonom za Krivični zakon Sl. I 11/51.

840 Evidencija vlasnika zaštićenih privatnih zbirki nalazi se u Ministarstvu kulture, a u Izvještaju o arhivskom fondu Komisije za sakupljanje i očuvanje kulturnih spomenika i starina od 1945. – 1950. obradila ih je voditeljica Središnjeg arhiva Uprave za zaštitu kulturne baštine u Ministarstvu kulture RH Lidija Zrnić 2006. godine.

While this may seem like standard procedure for protecting collections, it was actually about saving collection owners from having their collections confiscated. It was very easy to lose a collection, since “capitalists” were not valued at the time. Confiscation was carried out under the charge of cooperation with the enemy, because, as stated earlier, decisions were made based on laws that were interpreted in the spirit of national property or class equality. Therefore, it was very easy to become an enemy of the state. Considering that confiscation had a class character, by protecting the collections themselves, the Conservation Institute experts succeeded in defending civil society, which at the time owned most of the works of art. This is confirmed by a letter in which the Ministry of Education warned the Commission to spend more time collecting artwork and less time protecting private collections.⁸⁵³ On the other hand, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, writing about current problems to the Ministry of Education, stated that there were exceptions. Works of art located in some villas could not be documented because they housed “functionaries”. This refers to Villa Sever (formerly Villa Ante Pavelić) and Villa Reichsmann, which was reserved for a Yugoslav Army Colonel (name unknown). The said villa had four items that were not originally located there but were shipped from the ZUND warehouse. Since they were works of art, the plan was to remove them, but it was not allowed without the permission of the City Command. One of them was Villa Marić, where Vladimir Nator, president of the State Anti-fascist Council for the National Liberation of Croatia, moved and asked that works of art not be documented and that he would subsequently inform the Commission when they could do so.⁸⁵⁴ A subsequent list or any report was not found.

In addition to collecting and storing art, there was the issue of appraising confiscated and sequestered items for which KOMZA and the Ministry of Education were responsible. Given the number of items, individual appraising was a lengthy process that KOMZA was not able to carry out in

the short period. Due to the large number of objects and their great artistic value, their process would slow distribution to various cultural institutions. Therefore, KOMZA requested from the Ministry of Finance to be exempt from the evaluation and monetary assignment when taking over items of cultural, historical and artistic significance.⁸⁵⁵ From reviewing the files, we can conclude that the monetary value of the items was not documented.

In 1950, the Commission for gathering and protecting cultural monuments and antiquities was disbanded by the Department of Culture and Art of the Ministry of Education and Culture.⁸⁵⁶ The jurisdiction of the Commission and all the files from 1945 to 1950 were given to the Conservation Institute in Zagreb. KOMZA gave documents concerning collecting and storing books under number 81-1950 to the University Library in Zagreb.

KOMRAT is a commission that dealt with movable and immovable monuments, unlike KOMZA, which dealt exclusively with movable monuments. However, due to a lack of financial resources, both commissions, as needed, dealt with both types of monuments. It is assumed that the lists of movable works of art compiled by KOMZA were based on records from the Independent State of Croatia, since the artwork was documented by the same experts from the Museum of Arts and Crafts, the Ethnographic Museum and the Conservation Institute. Records from the Independent State of Croatia have been partially preserved. There are only a handful of Independent State of Croatia censuses that decreed collection as protected, although there must have been a link between the two cataloguing processes.⁸⁵⁷ Documents show that experts from the institutions who were involved during both periods sought to keep away from political pressure and focus on protecting the works of art. They did this in several ways, but first and foremost, by documenting items from collection centres, given that many went missing due to inadequate security measures. They then worked on declaring private collections public in order for the items

853 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Letter No. 6078/1945, August 1, 1945. The Ministry of Education warned the Commission that it was spending more time protecting collections and apartments, and less on collecting and protecting cultural and historical objects that were exposed to decay.

854 HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, box 57 No. 26-1945, June 18, 1945.

855 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Letter No. 130-1947, February 20, 1947.

856 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Letter No. 1234 – VI-3–1950.

857 These are personal observations with respect to the reviewed material.

zavoda ili određenoga muzeja primati posjetitelje i voditi ih zbirkom izvan tog vremena.⁸⁴¹

U godini 1945./46. Komisija za sakupljanje i čuvanje kulturnih spomenika i starina evidentirala je i zaštitila ukupno 80 zbirki.⁸⁴² U Konzervatorskom zavodu u Zagrebu namjeravali su na temelju registriranih zbirki uspostaviti Centralnu kartoteku umjetničkih radova naših renomiranih likovnih umjetnika.⁸⁴³

Zbog velikog opsega posla oko evidencije i prikupljanja kulturno-historijskih i umjetničkih predmeta Komisija za sakupljanje i očuvanje spomenika starina i biblioteka uputila je poziv za dobrovoljnu suradnju studentima povijesti umjetnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu. Uz kratki informativni seminar o stilovima i povijesti umjetnog obrta, o načinu sakupljanja i čuvanja umjetnina te o zakonima, studenti su bili do te mjere osposobljeni da su mogli pomagati u radu Komisije.⁸⁴⁴ Imena studenata u dokumentu se ne spominju.

KOMZA je Naredbom o organizaciji Zemaljskoga sabirnog centra od 27. studenoga 1945., a prema Pravilniku o prijenosu poslova iz nadležnosti Ministarstva industrije – Državne uprave narodnih dobara, u nadležnost Ministarstva prosvjete, trebala provoditi nadzor nad Zemaljskim sabirnim centrom i jednom mjesečno podnositi izvještaj o radu Kulturno-umjetničkom odjelu Ministarstva prosvjete.⁸⁴⁵

KOMZA nije bila u mogućnosti obilaziti cijelo područje, nego sâm grad Zagreb i okolicu pa su stoga osnovani Pokrajinski sabirni centri u Osijeku, Varaždinu, Sušaku, Opatiji⁸⁴⁶, Zadru⁸⁴⁷, Puli, Senju (uključujući i etnografske

predmete)⁸⁴⁸ i Šibeniku.⁸⁴⁹ Iz Zagreba su slane upute, okružnice, a bili su osigurani i krediti za rad KOMZE. Problem se javljao u slučaju kad sabirni centri ne bi slali izvještaje o radu, odnosno o broju i vrsti evidentiranih ili pohranjenih predmeta u skladištima.

U Dalmaciji se za kulturne spomenike brinuo Prosvjetni odjel Oblasnog Narodnog odbora za Dalmaciju, a u Hrvatskom primorju Okružni Narodni odbori.⁸⁵⁰ Pročelnik Prosvjetnog odjela u Dalmaciji bio je Cvito Fisković. Sabirni centri u Splitu i Dubrovniku radili su do prosinca 1946. godine. Pokrajinski sabirni centar u Dubrovniku vodio je Lukša Beritić, a ostali članovi bili su imenovani 3. svibnja 1948.: Vinko Foretić, Kosta Strajnić, Ivo Gracić, Branko Kovačević, Stijepo Stražičić i Ante P. Jeričević.⁸⁵¹ U pokrajinskim centrima rad je bio ograničen isključivo na prikupljanje materijala na terenu, a ne na njegovu zaštitu.

Izvještaj o cjelokupnom radu KOMZE koji je sastavila posebna komisija, imenovana od Ministarstva prosvjete, Odjela za kulturu i umjetnost 1949. godine, daje možda najbolji uvid u složeni rad KOMZE. Izvještaj su izradili: šef Revizionog odsjeka Ministarstva prosvjete Božo Jeričević, administrativni manipulant Ministarstva prosvjete Leopold Vincelj te referentice Odjela za muzeje Draganja Zdenčaj i Elvira Aranješ. U svrhu izrade Izvještaja pregledani su spisi, skladišta na Tomislavovom trgu i Sveučilišne knjižnice te su uzete izjave predsjednika KOMZE Vladimira Tkalčića, tajnice Ive Vrbanić i članice KOMZE namještenice Sveučilišne biblioteke Jelene Ibler. Komisija je zaključila da se nisu ispravno i realno utvrdili postupci rada kao ni dovoljan broj administrativnog osoblja

841 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Elaborat o zaštićenim privatnim zbirkama Zdenke Munk.

842 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA dopis broj 428-1946. od 15. studenoga 1946.

843 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA dopis broj 931, 1946.

844 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA dopis broj 110-1946. od 15. ožujka 1946.

845 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA dopis broj 359/1945 4. prosinca 1945.

846 Ministarstvo kulture i medija (dalje: MKM) – Središnja dokumentacija kulturne baštine (dalje: SDKB) – Arhiv (dalje: A) dopis broj 575-1946 od 31. siječnja 1946. U izvještaju o radu sabirnog centra u Opatiji Iva Perčić navodi da je pregledala vile po Opatiji (Vila Ivana, Meurier, Brull) u kojima se većinom nalazio namještaj.

847 HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete, kutija 59, broj 4608 od 2. ožujka 1946. Okružni NO Zadar, Sabirni centar u Zadru javlja da ima oko 80.000 svezaka i veći broj umjetničkih slika i predmeta. Izvještaj potpisuje Mladen Koritnik.

848 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA dopis broj 221-1946. od 12. srpnja 1946. U Senju je osnovan Odbor za sakupljanje i očuvanje kulturno-historijskih umjetničkih i etnografskih predmeta. U odboru su bili: Jakov Canić, Jakov Bosnić, Franjo Olivieri, Vinko Tijan. Sabirni centar nalazio se u muzeju.

849 Članovi sabirnog centra bili su Frane Dujmović, Marijo Medini, Federik Gegala, Nikola Perketa i Ante Silvestrić.

850 HR-DAZG Broj 7198 –VII 1945 Sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturno-historijskih predmeta – izvještaj MP Zagreb – MP DFJ Odjeljenju za kulturu u Beogradu (dopis potpisuje ministar prosvjete).

851 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA dopis broj 243-1948. od 3. svibnja 1948.; HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete broj 508-1947. od 22. studenog 1947. Dopis obrazlaže razliku između sabirnog centra koji je bio pomoćno tijelo Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu i zaštite spomenika koja je bila pod Konzervatorskim zavodom u Splitu.

to stay with the owners, but documented them, thereby trying to prevent the sale and removal of items from the country. Both commissions focused primarily on protecting, collecting and documenting movable monuments, often ignoring ethical problems concerning the origin and ownership of the objects themselves. Catalogued items in times of war often changed ownership. Items originally taken with the help of the laws of the Independent State of Croatia, which were resold, abandoned and confiscated, were treated in the same manner.

The Conservation Institute for Dalmatia in Split

When the Conservation Institute for Dalmatia in Split was re-established in October 1945, Cvito Fisković was appointed director.⁸⁵⁸ Ksenija Petrošić (Cicarelli), Nevenka Bezić (Božanić) and Jerko Marasović also worked at the Institute, and Davor Domančić (Fig. 54) was hired in 1953.⁸⁵⁹ The Conservation Institute assessed damage caused during the war; stored nationalized, abandoned or sequestered works of art in museums and galleries; catalogued movable art; and conserved and restored movable and immovable monuments. Church and private collections, some of which were protected (the Franciscan collection in Sinj and Hvar), were reviewed and catalogued. In the Report on their work from 1945 to 1949, Fisković stated that most preserved private collections were from Dubrovnik and that the Negrini-Gracić, Filaus and Raceta-Martecchini collections were protected.⁸⁶⁰ Previously mentioned honorary conservators in Zadar, Šibenik, Trogir, Korčula, Hvar and Ston also worked for the Institute.

The Conservation Institute also participated in relocating, updating and editing collections in Dubrovnik, Trogir and Split.⁸⁶¹ The Institute worked with the Restoration Institute of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts to restore paintings. Stanislava Dekleva and Zvonimir Wyroubal restored Baroque portraits from the Rector's Palace in Dubrovnik, the Triptych by Nikola Božidarević from Danče, the Triptych by Fran Matijin from Sustjepan, the *Baptism of Christ* by Mihajlo Hamzić, the Cavtat polyptych by Vicko Lovrin, and the Triptych from Lopud.⁸⁶² In addition to regular work on the monuments themselves, Fisković also performed other activities related to raising awareness on the importance of heritage preservation. He participated in the Paris exhibition *Yugoslav Medieval Art* where he also gave a lecture on the work of ICOM for Yugoslavia at the International Congress in Amsterdam, and gave a series of lectures to students, pupils and citizens. Lectures, articles and discussions on monuments in Dalmatia were also prepared by other employees of the Conservation Institute: Cicarelli, Domančić and Bezić.⁸⁶³ When he took over the Conservation Institute for Dalmatia, Fisković continued work on monuments (started by his predecessors Bulić and Karaman) based on archival material, research, interpretation, valorisation and publication of research and new findings.⁸⁶⁴ It should be noted that the journal *Contributions to Art History in Dalmatia* was launched as early as 1946, publishing research on painting, sculpture, architecture, archaeology and applied art.⁸⁶⁵ The Conservation Institute for Dalmatia provided expert assistance and supervised the Conservation Office in Zadar, established by the National Committee for the District of Zadar in

858 On the work of Cvito Fisković at the Conservation Institute in Split on the protection and restoration of paintings and sculpture in: ŠUSTIĆ, SANDRA, 2016. A very interesting conversation between Iva Maroević, Tonko Maroević and Radovan Ivančević, led by Snješka Knežević, gives us insight into the scope and importance of the work of Cvito Fisković and his influence on art historians. More in: KNEŽEVIĆ, SNJEŠKA, 1979, 34-39.

859 FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1955, 418. Domančić first became an honorary curator of the Conservation Institute at the Meštrović Gallery, and from September 1, 1953, he became a conservator. BELAMARIĆ, JOSIP, 2008, 3.

860 FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1951, 184-185.

861 Art from the 15th and 16th centuries was exhibited in the Sponza Palace in Dubrovnik, the newly founded Ethnographic Museum was organised in Zadar, stone fragments were moved from the Romanesque Benedictine church in Trogir, and the Bogišić Collection was organised in Cavtat. FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1952, 162-163. The organisation of the City Museum in Split continued, weapons from the 15th century and items from Split's history were exhibited, such as the Late Gothic chest. FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1955, 400-401.

862 FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1952, 161.

863 FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1952, 164; FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1955, 420.

864 ŠUSTIĆ, SANDRA, 2011, 353; BELAMARIĆ, JOSIP, 1988, 241.

865 The first edition was the work of Cvito Fisković, *Dalmatian monuments and the occupier (Dalmatinski spomenici i okupator)*.

od nadležnih tijela, već je cijeli posao KOMZE ovisio o radu i snalažljivosti samih članova. O predmetima koje je preuzimala KOMZA nije se vodila knjiga inventara, već su postojali popisi preuzetih imovinskih masa. KOMZA nije preuzimala konfiscirane ili sekvestrirane predmete na osnovi popisa tijela kojima su ih predavali, nego obrnutim putem. KOMZA je ulazila u stanove koji su bili konfiscirani ili pod sekvestrom te su sami izvršili popis kulturno-historijskih i umjetničkih predmeta koje su u stanu zatekli i kopiju popisa predavali su nadležnom tijelu. Kod preuzimanja knjiga nisu se radili popisi po strukama, naslovima i autoru djela, već su se preuzimale po broju. O svim primljenim i dalje predanim imovinskim masama KOMZA je sastavljala zapisnike i prema njima su ti predmeti bili pohranjeni u skladištu. Komisija je pregledom skladišta na Tomislavovom trgu, prema navedenom izvještaju, ustanovila veliku količinu predmeta koji su bili evidentirani i dobro smješteni te osigurani od štete.⁸⁵²

U Zagrebu je u cjelokupnom radu KOMZE ukupno popisano oko 120 privatnih zbirki s oko 6.500 predmeta, iz konfisciranih stanova prevezeno je ukupno 2.500 predmeta kulturno-historijskog i umjetničkog značaja, 88.000 knjiga i 150 sanduka arhivalija.⁸⁵³

Komisija je pohranjivala preuzete predmete u spremište Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt, Sveučilišnu biblioteku i državni Arhiv, u spremište Zemaljske uprave narodnih dobara Federalne Države Hrvatske (ZUNDA) u Heinzelovoj ulici u Zagrebu i u spremišta Gradske uprave narodnih dobara (GUND). Nakon pregleda skladišta, dio konfisciranih predmeta ili cijele zbirke odnesene su u JAZU u Zagrebu, Državni arhiv, Modernu galeriju u Zagrebu, Muzej Srba u Hrvatskoj, Etnografski muzej, Muzej grada Zagreba, Muzej Hrvatskog primorja u Rijeci, Muzej Slavonije u Osijeku i u Gradski muzej Varaždin, a sve u svrhu povećanja muzejskih zbirki.

Iako se iz navedenog čini da se radi o standardnoj proceduri šticeanja zbirki, radilo se ustvari o spašavanju vlasnika

zbirki od konfiskacije. Naime, vrlo lako se moglo ostati bez zbirke umjetnina, tadašnja klima nije bila naklonjena „kapitalistima“. Konfiskacija je mogla biti provedena pod optužbom suradnje s neprijateljem, jer kako je ranije navedeno, odluke su donesene na temelju zakona koji su interpretirani u duhu narodne imovine odnosno klasne jednakosti. Stoga se vrlo lako moglo postati državnim – narodnim neprijateljem. S obzirom na to da je konfiskacija u biti imala klasni karakter, samim zaštićivanjem zbirki stručnjaci Konzervatorskog zavoda uspjeli su obraniti građansko društvo koje je tada većinom i posjedovalo umjetnička djela. Potvrda toga nalazi se u dopisu u kojem Ministarstvo prosvjete upozorava Komisiju da više prikuplja predmete, a manje zaštićuje privatne zbirke.⁸⁵⁴ S druge strane, Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu pišući o spornim pitanjima Ministarstvu prosvjete navodi da postoje izuzetci. Naime, u nekim vilama u kojima su smješteni tadašnji „funkcionari“ nisu mogli provesti popis umjetnina. Radilo se o Vili Sever (bivšoj vili Ante Pavelića) i Vili Reichsmann koja je bila rezervirana za pukovnika Jugoslavenske Armije (ime nepoznato). U navedenoj vili nađena su četiri predmeta koja ne potječu iz vile, već su dopremljena iz skladišta ZUNDA-a; budući da se radilo o umjetničkim predmetima htjelo ih se otpremiti, ali nije bilo dozvoljeno bez dozvole Komande grada. Potom Vila Marić u koju se uselio Vladimir Nazor, predsjednik ZAVNOH-a, koji je molio da se stvari od umjetničke vrijednosti ne popišu te da će on naknadno izvijestiti Komisiju kada bi to mogla učiniti.⁸⁵⁵ Naknadni popis ili bilo kakav izvještaj u spisima nisu pronađeni.

Osim prikupljanja i smještaja predmeta javilo se i pitanje procjene konfisciranih i sekvestriranih predmeta za koje je bila zadužena KOMZA, odnosno Ministarstvo prosvjete. S obzirom na količinu predmeta pojedinačno procjenjivanje bio bi dugotrajan posao koji KOMZA nije bila u mogućnosti provesti u kratkom razdoblju. Zbog velikog broja predmeta i velike umjetničke vrijednosti njihova bi procjena usporavala raspodjelu u razne kulturne

852 HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete, kutija 66 Izvještaj o pregledu poslovanja Komisije za čuvanje i sakupljanje kulturnih spomenika i starina, od 31. prosinca 1949.

853 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA Izvještaj o arhivskom fondu Komisije za sakupljanje i očuvanje kulturnih spomenika i starina od 1945-1950. izradila Lidija Zrnić 2006. godine.

854 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA dopis pod brojem 6078/1945 od 1. kolovoza 1945. Ministarstvo prosvjete upozorava Komisiju da u zadnje vrijeme više zaštićuje zbirke odnosno stanove, a manje sakuplja i zaštićuje kulturno-historijske objekte koji su izloženi propadanju.

855 HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete, kutija 57 broj 26-1945 od 18. lipnja 1945.

1952, which became an independent institution on January 1, 1954. Grga Oštrić (Fig. 55) was the first head of the Zadar office.⁸⁶⁶

The Conservation Institute in Rijeka

In addition to reorganising the work of conservation institutes in Zagreb and in Split, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb participated in founding the Conservation Institute in Rijeka. The Conservation Institute in Rijeka was partly preceded by the work of the Land Conservator in Pula, a body of the Central Commission in Vienna (until 1918), meaning it was under the jurisdiction of the Superintendency of Antiquities and Art Monuments in Trieste during the Italian occupation.

In June 1945, the Ministry of Education of Croatia sent Branko Fučić⁸⁶⁷ and Ferdo Hauptman⁸⁶⁸ in the field to ascertain the condition of monuments in Istria.⁸⁶⁹

In 1946, Aleksandar Perc (Fig. 56) was appointed *permanent envoy* of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb⁸⁷⁰ for the Croatian Littoral and Kvarner, with headquarters in Rijeka. Branko Fučić became an assistant and Iva Perčić was in charge of administrative affairs.⁸⁷¹ Perc had an advisory role and made recommendations to the Regional National Committee for Istria and the Municipal National Committee of Rijeka about how to proceed with monument protection.

In a report from November 1946 which Perc addressed to the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, the

Regulation of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia on monument protection and the establishment of conservation institutes were not yet in force in the area, and as a result, the work was divided by district. Istria was under Branko Fučić; the Liburnian coast, Rijeka and the Kastav district were under the supervision of Ivo Perčić; and the Croatian Littoral was under Perc.⁸⁷²

Following the settlement of the border issue⁸⁷³, the Regional National Committee for Istria and the Municipal National Committee for Rijeka established the Conservation Institute in Rijeka at the end of 1946⁸⁷⁴. The city of Rijeka, Istria, the Kvarner Islands, the Croatian Littoral and Gorski Kotar were under the jurisdiction of the Conservation Institute, funded from the annual budget of the Regional National Committee for Istria and the Municipal National Committee of Rijeka. The Conservation Institute in Rijeka started work on January 1, 1947, when the budget was approved.

Due to political and territorial changes, the Conservation Institute in Rijeka did not inherit any old documentation.⁸⁷⁵ Therefore, the work of the Conservation Institute in Rijeka mainly focused on records

866 RADULIĆ, KSENIJA; DOMIJAN, MILJENKO, 1976, 235; VEŽIĆ, PAVUŠA, 1979, 555.

867 Branko Fučić, assistant professor at the Historical Institute of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb at the time.

868 Ferdo Hauptman was an archivist at the State Archives in Zagreb. 869 This area belonged to the so-called zone "B". BRADANOVIĆ, MARIJAN, 2001, 139.

870 Aleksandar Perc published an article about the establishment of an institute in the journal *Primorski vjesnik*.

871 HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, Box 60, No. 67046-1946, September 1946. Proposal of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb on a permanent envoy was approved by the Minister of Education on September 17, 1946.

872 PERČIĆ, IVA, 1950, 188.

873 The Treaty of Paris, signed with Italy on February 10, 1947, gave Yugoslavia most of the territories of the Gorica and Pula counties, and the entire areas of Rijeka and Zadar. Part of the disputed territory relating to the part of the province of Trieste was temporarily divided into two military zones: Zone A under Anglo-American military administration and Zone B under Yugoslav military administration. In 1954, Zone B was given to Yugoslavia. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003, 290.

874 The Conservation Institute in Rijeka was formed by merging the Conservation Institute for Istria and Rijeka with the designated representative of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb for the Croatian Littoral and Kvarner, with its headquarters in Rijeka.

875 Zdenka Munk was able to obtain more images of Istrian monuments from the Austrian Conservation Service in Vienna, and parts of the conservator's archives in Pula, and the archives of the honorary conservator of Poreč were also found. The beginnings of the Conservation Institute were discussed by Iva Perčić in her article *Work of the Conservation Institute in Rijeka (Rad konzervatorskog zavoda na Rijeci)* in the *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture – izdanje Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture*. PERČIĆ, IVA, 1950, 188-191. The Conservation Institute in Zagreb organized the study and research of monuments, and some conservators also visited monuments in Istria. After exploring and studying Istrian monuments, Karaman published a treatise *On Medieval Art in Istria (O srednjovjekovnoj umjetnosti u Istri)*. STAHLAK, TIHOMIL, 1950, 258.

ustanove. Stoga je KOMZA od Ministarstva financija tražila da se oslobode od procjenjivanja i novčanog zaduženja pri preuzimanju predmeta kulturno-historijskog i umjetničkog značaja.⁸⁵⁶ Iz uvida u spise možemo zaključiti da se novčana vrijednost predmeta nije navodila.

Odjel za kulturu i umjetnost Ministarstva za nauku i kulturu rasformirao je godine 1950. Komisiju za sakupljanje i čuvanje kulturnih spomenika i starina.⁸⁵⁷ Nadležnost Komisije i svi spisi od 1945. do 1950. predani su Konzervatorskom zavodu u Zagrebu. Dokumente vezane za sakupljanje i čuvanje knjiga pod brojem 81-1950 KOMZA je predala Sveučilišnoj biblioteci u Zagrebu.

KOMRAT je komisija koja se bavila pokretnim i nepokretnim spomenicima, za razliku od KOMZE koja se bavila isključivo pokretnim spomenicima. No, zbog nedostatka financijskih sredstava, obje su se komisije prema potrebi bavile i jednom i drugom vrstom spomenika. Pretpostavlja se da su popisi pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta koje je provodila KOMZA rađeni na osnovi popisa iz razdoblja NDH, budući da su umjetnine popisivali isti stručnjaci iz MUO-a, Etnografskog muzeja i Konzervatorskog zavoda. Popisi iz NDH nisu sačuvani u cijelosti. Postoji svega nekoliko popisa iz vremena NDH o proglašenju zaštićene zbirke, iako je morala postojati neka poveznica između ta dva popisivanja.⁸⁵⁸ Uvidom u spise razvidno je da su se stručnjaci iz angažiranih institucija nastojali, i u jednom i u drugom razdoblju, ograditi od političkih pritisaka i svoj rad usmjeriti prije svega na zaštitu umjetnina. Provodili su to na nekoliko načina, ali prije svega popisivanjem izlučenih predmeta u sabirnim centrima, s obzirom na to da je dosta predmeta nestajalo zbog neadekvatnog osiguranja; potom su radili na proglašavanju privatnih zbirki javnima, čime su predmeti ostajali kod vlasnika, ali su bili evidentirani, pa se na taj način pokušavalo spriječiti prodaju i iznošenje predmeta iz zemlje. Objekte su se komisije u prvom redu orijentirale na zaštitu, sakupljanje i evidentiranje pokretnih spomenika, često se ne osvrćući na etički problem podrijetla i vlasništva samih predmeta. Popisani predmeti u vremenima rata često su mijenja-

li vlasnika. Predmeti prvotno otuđeni zakonima NDH, preprodani, napušteni i oduzeti tretirani su jednako.

Konzervatorski zavod za Dalmaciju u Splitu

Nakon ponovnog uspostavljanja Konzervatorskog zavoda za Dalmaciju u Splitu ravnateljem je u listopadu 1945. godine imenovan Cvito Fisković.⁸⁵⁹ Pored ravnatelja, u Zavodu su bili zaposleni Ksenija Petrošić (Cicarelli), Nevenka Bezić (Božanić) i Jerko Marasović, a 1953. godine primljen je Davor Domančić⁸⁶⁰ (sl. 54). Konzervatorski zavod bavio se utvrđivanjem ratne štete, pohranom nacionaliziranih, napuštenih ili sekvestriranih umjetničkih predmeta u muzeje i galerije, evidencijom pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta te obnovom i restauracijom pokretnih i nepokretnih spomenika. Pregledane su i popisane crkvene i privatne zbirke od kojih su neke i zaštićene (franjevačka zbirka u Sinju i Hvaru). U Izvještaju o radu od 1945. do 1949. Fisković navodi da se najviše privatnih zbirki očuvalo u Dubrovniku te su zaštićene zbirke Negrini-Gracić, Filaus, Račeta-Martecchini.⁸⁶¹ U radu Konzervatorskog zavoda sudjelovali su i ranije spomenuti počasni konzervatori u Zadru, Šibeniku, Trogiru, Korčuli, Hvaru i Stonu.

Konzervatorski zavod sudjelovao je i u premještanju, nadopunjavanju i uređenju zbirki u Dubrovniku, Trogiru i Splitu.⁸⁶² Zavod je surađivao s Restauratorskim zavodom Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti na restauriranju slika. Stanislava Dekleva i Zvonimir Wyrubal restaurirali su barokne portrete iz Kneževa dvora u

859 O djelovanju Cvite Fiskovića u Konzervatorskom zavodu u Splitu na zaštitu i restauraciji slikarstva i skulpture u: ŠUSTIĆ, SANDRA, 2016. Vrlo zanimljiv razgovor Ive Maroevića, Tonka Maroevića i Radovana Ivančevića koji je vodila Snješka Knežević daje nam uvid u širinu i značaj rada Cvite Fiskovića te njegov utjecaj na povjesničare umjetnosti. Više u: KNEŽEVIĆ, SNJEŠKA, 1979., 34-39.

860 FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1955., 418. Domančić je prvo na dužnosti honorarnog kustosa Konzervatorskog zavoda na radu u Galeriji Meštrović, od 1. rujna 1953. primljen je na mjesto konzervatora. BELAMARIĆ, JOSIP, 2008., 3.

861 FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1951., 184-185.

862 U Dubrovniku u palači Sponza izloženi su predmeti umjetničkog obrta 15. i 16. st., u Zadru je uređen novoosnovani Etnografski muzej, u Trogiru je iz romaničke benediktinske crkve premjestio kamene ulomke, u Cavtatu je uređena zbirka Bogišić. FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1952., 162-163. U Splitu se nastavilo s uređenjem Gradskog muzeja, izloženo je oružje iz 15. stoljeća te predmeti iz prošlosti Splita kao npr. kasnogotička škrinja. FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1955., 400-401.

856 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA dopis broj 130-1947 od 20. veljače 1947.

857 MKM-SDKB-KOMZA dopis broj 1234-VI-3-1950.

858 Ovo su osobne opservacije s obzirom na pregledani materijal.



54 Cvito Fisković (u sredini) s konzervatorima Konzervatorskog zavoda u Splitu 1950-ih (MKM-KOST)
Cvito Fiskovic (in the middle) with conservators from Regional conservation institut in Split (MKM-KOST)

and the collection of documents.⁸⁷⁶ Monument restoration focused on immovable monuments, and a small number of movable monuments was restored by the restoration workshop of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts.⁸⁷⁷ Movable monuments in churches, monasteries and treasuries were catalogued during their work in the field. In cooperation with the Museum of Arts and Crafts, church treas-

uries in Rijeka, Kraljevica and Istria were also documented.⁸⁷⁸

The Regulation on conservation institutes

When the conservation institutes in Zagreb, Split and Rijeka were founded, they started working on drafting the *Regulation on conservation institutes*. In 1948, Ljubo Karaman sent a letter to the institutes in Rijeka and Split regarding the draft of the *Regulation*, requesting that they submit their proposals.⁸⁷⁹ In the letter, Karaman stated his remarks regarding the change of the regulation and proposed that the Provisions on internal organization be as flexible as possible, and that each institute act according to its needs and capabil-

⁸⁷⁶ Perčić, in the report *Conservation in Istria and the Croatian Littoral from 1949 to 1954 (Konzervatorski radovi u Istri i Hrvatskom primorju od 1949. do 1954.)*, stated that the work of the Institute was focused on three areas: inventory, protection and research of monuments, in order to obtain a clear view of the development of art in Istria and the Littoral. PERČIĆ, IVA, 1956, 289; K. S. 1948. *Rad na proučavanju i čuvanju kulturnih spomenika Istre i Hrvatskog Primorja*

⁸⁷⁷ MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 116/11-1959, October 26, 1959. The Conservation Institute in Rijeka sent a letter to the Council for Culture and Science of the People's Republic of Croatia, reporting on the work of the Institute, and attached a list of employees by year. The letter was signed by Iva Perčić, director of the Institute.

⁸⁷⁸ MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 1014/57, October 9, 1957.

⁸⁷⁹ MKM-SDKB-A Letter, February 11, 1948.

Dubrovniku, Božidarevićev triptih s Danča, sustjepanski triptih Frana Matijina, *Krštenje Kristovo* Mihajla Hamzića, cavtatski poliptih Vicka Lovrina i lopudski triptih.⁸⁶³ Fisković je uz redovan rad na samim spomenicima bio aktivan i na drugim poslovima vezanim uz popularizaciju i osvješćivanje o važnosti čuvanja baštine; sudjelovao je na pripremanju izložbe *Jugoslavenska srednjovjekovna umjetnost* u Parizu na kojoj je i održao predavanje, u radu ICOM-a za Jugoslaviju, potom je sudjelovao na Međunarodnom kongresu u Amsterdamu te je održao čitav niz predavanja studentima, đacima i građanstvu. Predavanja, članke i rasprave o spomenicima Dalmacije pripremali su i ostali zaposlenici Konzervatorskog zavoda: Cicarelli, Domančić i Bezić.⁸⁶⁴ Fisković je od samog preuzimanja Konzervatorskog zavoda za Dalmaciju nastavio rad na spomenicima, koji su započeli njegovi prethodnici Bulić i Karaman, temeljen na arhivskoj građi, proučavanju, interpretiranju, valorizaciji te publiciranju istraživanja i novih saznanja.⁸⁶⁵ Treba napomenuti da je već 1946. bio pokrenut časopis *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* u kojem su prezentirana istraživanja slikarstva, kiparstva, arhitekture, arheologije i primijenjene umjetnosti.⁸⁶⁶ Konzervatorski zavod za Dalmaciju pružao je stručnu pomoć i provodio nadzor nad Konzervatorskim uredom u Zadru, osnovanim od strane Narodnog odbora za Kotar Zadar 1952., koji je počeo s radom kao samostalna ustanova 1. siječnja 1954. Prvim voditeljem ureda u Zadru bio je imenovan Grga Oštrić⁸⁶⁷ (sl. 55).

Osnivanje Konzervatorskog zavoda u Rijeci

Uz reorganizaciju rada u konzervatorskim zavodima u Zagrebu i u Splitu, Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu sudjelovao je u osnivanju Konzervatorskog zavoda u Rijeci. Konzervatorskom zavodu u Rijeci djelomično je prethodio rad Zemaljskoga konzervatora u Puli koji je bio organ Središnjeg povjerenstva u Beču (do 1918.), odnosno u

vrijeme talijanske okupacije spadao je pod Nadzorništvo za starine i umjetničke spomenike u Trstu.

Ministarstvo prosvjete Hrvatske već je u lipnju 1945. poslalo Branka Fučića⁸⁶⁸ i Ferdu Hauptmana⁸⁶⁹ na teren da ustanove stanje spomenika u Istri.⁸⁷⁰

Godine 1946. Aleksandar Perc (sl. 56) imenovan je *stalnim izaslanikom* Konzervatorskoga zavoda u Zagrebu⁸⁷¹ za područje Hrvatskog primorja i Kvarnera sa sjedištem u Rijeci, asistentom je imenovan Branko Fučić, a Iva Perčić bila je zadužena za administrativne poslove.⁸⁷² Perc je imao savjetodavnu ulogu i predlagao je Oblasnom Narodnom odboru za Istru i Gradskom Narodnom odboru Rijeka što bi sve trebalo učiniti u vezi sa zaštitom spomenika.

U izvještaju iz studenoga 1946. Perc se obratio Konzervatorskom zavodu u Zagrebu, budući da na tom prostoru još nisu važili propisi FNRJ o zaštiti spomenika i ustrojenju konzervatorskih zavoda, pa je podjela rada bila prema oblastima. Područje Istre bilo je pod konzervatorskim nadzorom Branka Fučića, Liburnijska obala, Rijeka i kotar Kastav pod nadzorom Ive Perčić, a Hrvatsko primorje pod nadzorom Perca.⁸⁷³

Nakon rješenja graničnoga pitanja⁸⁷⁴ Oblasni Narodni odbor za Istru i Gradski Narodni odbor na Rijeci osnovali su potkraj 1946. godine Konzervatorski zavod u Rijeci⁸⁷⁵.

868 Branko Fučić, u to vrijeme asistent Historijskog instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu.

869 Ferdo Hauptman bio je arhivist Državnog arhiva u Zagrebu.

870 To područje pripadalo je tzv. zoni „B“. BRADANOVIĆ, MARIJAN, 2001., 139.

871 O osnivanju zavoda u *Primorskom vjesniku* objavio je članak Aleksandar Perc.

872 HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete, kutija 60, broj 67046-1946. rujan 1946. Prijedlog Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu o stalnom izaslaniku potvrdio je Ministar prosvjete 17. rujna 1946.

873 PERČIĆ, IVA, 1950., 188.

874 Mirovnim ugovorom u Parizu, koji je s Italijom potpisan 10. veljače 1947., Jugoslaviji je pripao veći dio teritorija okruga Gorice, okruga Pula, te čitavo područje Rijeke i Zadra. Dio spornoga teritorija koji se odnosio na dio pokrajine Trsta, privremeno je bio podijeljen na dvije vojne zone: A pod anglo-američkom vojnom upravom i B pod jugoslavenskom vojnom upravom. Godine 1954. zona B pripala je Jugoslaviji. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003., 290.

875 Spajanjem Konzervatorskog zavoda za Istru i Rijeku s imenovanim izaslanikom Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu za područje Hrvatskog primorja i Kvarnera sa sjedištem u Rijeci nastaje Konzervatorski zavod u Rijeci.

863 FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1952., 161.

864 FISKOVIĆ, CVITO, 1952., 164; 1955., 420.

865 ŠUSTIĆ, SANDRA, 201., 353; BELAMARIĆ, JOSIP, 1988., 241.

866 Prvo izdanje bilo je djelo Cvite Fiskovića, *Dalmatinski spomenici i okupator*.

867 RADULIĆ, KSENIJA; DOMIJAN, MIJLENKO, 1976., 235; VEŽIĆ, PA-VUŠA, 1979., 555.

ities. Karaman suggested that an ordinance should be included in the Regulation so that each institute could have more departments headed by a conservator. In the absence of a conservator, a junior officer assistant or *manager* (senior conservator) should be in charge, and the planned departments were:

- *administrative department for protection*
- *inventory department*
- *operating department (for the restoration of monuments under the direct instruction of the institute)*
- *department for scientific research*

Since the *Regulation* only mentioned the existence of permanent delegates of the Institute and local honorary conservators, Karaman suggested that the *Regulation* designate an envoy (an expert officer with the qualifications of assistant conservator or conservator) who would manage a particular area as directed by the head of the institute in Split, Rijeka or Zagreb. Local honorary conservators were appointed by the Ministry of Education at the proposal of the *managers* of the Zagreb, Rijeka and Split institutes, for a limited period (the proposal was for three years) with a small award – compensation for actual travel expenses and correspondence costs, for a limited area of one or more counties. Honorary conservators were selected from a circle of people who showed the will and love for monument protection, and their service and mission was first and foremost to collect information. In addition, they represented the Central Conservation Institute only in matters entrusted to them by the institute. Karaman maintained that making decisions could not be entrusted to honorary conservators because they lacked expertise, but in certain cases, with instructions, conservators could have honorary conservators supervise some conservation processes. Karaman therefore sent Guidelines to all honorary conservators.⁸⁸⁰ The Guidelines outlined what honorary conservators should pay attention to: he outlined their basic tasks,

880 MKM-SDKB-A No. 130/1949, February 12, 1949.

to inform the Institute about all interventions by national authorities, the Church or private persons on movable and immovable monuments, monuments covered by ordinances for the preservation of antiquities, the restoration of monuments damaged during the war, and the export of works of art. Karaman's proposal for Honorary conservators was accepted. In areas with more monuments, the institutes had to appoint permanent envoys and honorary conservators who represented an auxiliary network in monument protection. The purpose and role of the honorary conservators was determined by the *Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments*⁸⁸¹ and the *Law on the County National Committees*.⁸⁸² According to Article 66 of the *Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments*, National Committees could, on the proposal of the Conservation Institute, appoint a commissioner for the protection of cultural monuments in a municipality or district with no institutes for the protection of cultural monuments, but with a considerable number of important cultural monuments. Article 59 of the *Law on National Committees* stated that the role of the commissioner for the protection of cultural monuments was to inform the Department of Social Service of District National Committee and the Conservation Institute in Zagreb on the condition of monuments as well as all other matters relating to the protection and maintenance of monuments in the district.⁸⁸³

All of the heads of the Conservation Institutes in Zagreb, Split and Rijeka agreed on the aforementioned proposal of the *Regulation*, and specifically agreed on the demarcation by which Rab and Pag were placed under the Conservation Institute in Rijeka. Confirmation of the regulation was submitted to the Ministry of Education, Department of Culture and Art.⁸⁸⁴

881 Published: NN 18/1960.

882 Published: NN 34/1952.

883 MKM-SDKB-A No. 360, October 20, 1948.

884 HR-DAZG Ministry of Education, No. 21, March 6, 1948.



55 Grga Oštrić i Zdenka Munk
(foto: Milan Prelog, 1947., inv. br.
5194, br. neg. 1E37, MKM-FKB)

Grga Oštrić and Zdenka Munk (photo:
Milan Prelog, 1947, Inv.No. 5194, 1E37,
MKM-FKB)

Područje djelovanja Konzervatorskog zavoda bili su grad Rijeka, Istra, Kvarnerski otoci, Hrvatsko primorje i Gorski kotar, a financiran je iz godišnjeg proračuna Oblasnoga Narodnog odbora za Istru i Gradskoga Narodnog odbora Rijeka. Konzervatorski zavod u Rijeci započeo je s radom 1. siječnja 1947. kada je odobren proračun.

U početku djelovanja riječki Konzervatorski zavod, s obzirom na političke i teritorijalne promjene, nije naslijedio nikakvu dokumentaciju.⁸⁷⁶ Stoga je rad Konzervatorskog zavoda u Rijeci nakon osnutka uglavnom bio usmjeren na evidenciju i prikupljanje dokumentacije.⁸⁷⁷ Obnova spomenika najvećim se dijelom odnosila na nepokretne spomenike, a obnovu manjeg broja pokretnih

spomenika radila je restauratorska radionica JAZU-a.⁸⁷⁸ Pokretni spomenici u crkvama, samostanima i riznicama popisivani su prilikom obilaska terena. U suradnji s Muzejom za umjetnost i obrt obrađene su crkvene riznice u Rijeci, Kraljevici i Istri.⁸⁷⁹

Organizacija rada u konzervatorskim zavodima – Pravilnik o konzervatorskim zavodima

Uspostavljanjem konzervatorskih zavoda u Zagrebu, Splitu i Rijeci započela je zajednička suradnja na izradi Pravilnika o konzervatorskim zavodima. U vezi s nacrtom *Pravilnika* Ljubo Karaman je 1948. uputio dopis zavodima u Rijeci i Splitu, tražeći da mu dostave svoje prijedloge.⁸⁸⁰ U dopisu Karaman navodi svoje napomene u vezi s promjenom pravilnika i predlaže da Odredbe o unutrašnjoj organizaciji budu što elastičnije, i da svaki zavod postupi prema svojim potrebama i mogućnostima. Karaman je predlagao da se u pravilnik unese odredba prema kojoj svaki zavod može imati više odjela na čelu s konzervatorom. U slučaju da nema konzervatora trebao ga je voditi

876 Zdenka Munk je uspjela je ishoditi veći broj snimaka istarskih spomenika od austrijske konzervatorske službe u Beču, a nađeni su i dijelovi arhiva konzervatora iz Pule i arhiva počasnog konzervatora iz Poreča. Početke rada Konzervatorskog zavoda obradila je Iva Perčić u svom članku *Rad konzervatorskog zavoda na Rijeci* u Zborniku zaštite spomenika kulture – izdanje Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture. PERČIĆ, IVA, 1950., 188-191. Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu organizirao je proučavanje i istraživanje spomenika te je dio konzervatora također obilazio i upoznao spomenike u Istri. Karaman nakon upoznavanja i proučavanja spomenika Istre izdaje raspravu *O srednjovjekovnoj umjetnosti u Istri*. STAHLJAK, TIHOMIL, 1950., 258.

877 Perčić u izvještaju *Konzervatorski radovi u Istri i Hrvatskom primorju od 1949. do 1954.* navodi da je rad Zavoda bio usmjeren u tri pravca: inventarizaciju, zaštitne radove i istraživanje spomenika, kako bi se dobila slika razvoja umjetnosti u Istri i Primorju. PERČIĆ, IVA, 1956., 289; K. S. 1948., *Rad na proučavanju i čuvanju kulturnih spomenika Istre i Hrvatskog Primorja.*

878 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 116/11-1959. od 26. listopada 1959. Konzervatorski zavod Rijeka dopis upućuje Savjetu za kulturu i nauku NRH u kojem daje izvješće o radu zavoda, a u prilogu dopisa stanje je zaposlenika po godinama. Dopis potpisuje direktorica zavoda Iva Perčić.

879 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 1014/57 od 9. listopada 1957.

880 MKM-SDKB-A dopis od 11. veljače 1948.

Auxiliary bodies for the protection of movable monuments

In 1945-1946, the advisory bodies known as the *Council of Museums and Conservators*⁸⁸⁵ and the *Society of Museums and Conservators* were founded under the Department of Museums of the Ministry of Education to resolve expert issues related to the work of museums and conservation institutes.

In addition to these competent authorities, under the *General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities*, there were also control protection bodies – National Committees, which worked with conservators, carried out orders, instructions, recommendations and circulars. The role of National Committees in monument protection focused on the restoration of war-damaged cultural monuments, the prevention of materials being removed from unrestored monuments, and the documenting of any change or intent that altered the condition of monuments. In order to assist the National Committees in identifying cultural monuments, the Regulation listed all of the important cultural and historical buildings in a particular area, which, without the permission of the conservator, could not undergo restoration. The National Committees informed the Land Commission for Collection and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities about movable monuments.

In practice, something quite different was often done. According to reports on the work of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, the National Committees did not assist in the protection or scientific study of monuments, especially those belonging to the church. They confiscated building materials intended for church buildings

885 MKM-SDKB-A No. 97-1945. The Council of Museums and Conservators was founded in 1945 on the proposal of the Department for Museums of the Department of Culture and Art of the Ministry of Education of the Federal State of Croatia, which also passed the bylaws for its establishment and operation. Article 1 of the Bylaws prescribes the purpose of the Council of Museums and Conservators as an advisory body for resolving professional questions concerning the organization and operation of cultural and art museums, conservation institutes as well as the supervision, preservation and protection of cultural, art, ethnographic and historical monuments, and antiquities.

that were obtained from the *Planning Commission*⁸⁸⁶ and allocating the materials for use elsewhere.

The Conservation Institute in Zagreb drew up a restoration plan and a list of the most important cultural monuments by territorial units (districts and counties), which was sent to the County National Committees, but no funds were secured, so the monuments were not restored. The National Committees had a great deal of autonomy in their areas and believed they were equal to the Conservation Institutes, so they made their own decisions regarding individual monuments and disregarded conservation requirements, which led to the devastation of monuments.⁸⁸⁷

In the field, conservation institutes were helped by honorary conservators. Their duty, as already mentioned, was to regularly inform conservators of the condition and treatment of monuments in their areas.⁸⁸⁸ According to the 1949 census, there were a total of 27 honorary conservators.

An important role of the conservation institutes in Zagreb, Split and Rijeka after 1945 was to conduct promotional activities. In an effort to develop an awareness of the importance of preserving church heritage, the conservation institutes tried to educate the general public about the importance of preserving monuments through promotional and informative articles in newspapers, on the radio or in films, and by organizing exhibitions.⁸⁸⁹ The problem was the media's disinterest in covering conservation efforts. The media justified

886 The Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was adopted on January 31, 1946, establishing the government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia as the highest executive and administrative body, with the authority to adopt the Regulation in the fields of economy and public finance. The government consisted of the president, the vice-president, ministers and planning and control commission representatives. Drafts of economic plans were submitted to the government Planning Commission. HOLJEVAC-TURKOVIĆ, ANA, 2002, 106-109. The Planning Commission made several millions of dinars available to the Conservation Institute for monument restoration during its five-year restoration program. KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1947, 3.

887 MKM-SDKB-A Conservator problems in protecting cultural monuments. *Unsigned report*.

888 MKM-SDKB-A No. 130-1949, February 12, 1949.

889 More about monuments and their protection in Slavonia in newspaper articles: KATUŠIĆ, BLAŽ, 1954.



56 Aleksandar Perc i Milan Prelog u Rijeci 1947. godine (inv. br. 5206, br. neg. I-h-37, MKM-FKB)

Aleksandar Perc and Milan Prelog, Rijeka, 1947(Inv.br. 5206, I-h-37, MK-FKB)

mlađi službenik asistent ili *rukovodilac* (viši konzervator), a planirani odjeli bili su:

- *zaštitno upravno odjeljenje*
- *inventarizaciono odjeljenje*
- *operaciono odjeljenje (za popravak spomenika u izravnoj režiji zavoda)*
- *naučno-istraživačko odjeljenje.*

U Uredbi je samo spomenuto postojanje stalnih izaslanika zavoda i mjesnih počasnih konzervatora. Stoga je Karaman predložio da se Pravilnikom odredi izaslanik (u rangu stručnog službenika i s kvalifikacijama asistenta konzervatora ili konzervatora) koji upravlja određenim područjem prema uputama *rukovodioca* zavoda u Splitu, Rijeci ili Zagrebu. Mjesni počasní konzervatori trebali su biti imenovani prema odluci Ministarstva prosvjete na prijedlog *rukovodilaca* zavoda u Zagrebu, Rijeci i Splitu na određeno vrijeme (prijedlog je bio na tri godine) uz malu nagradu, odnosno samo uz naknadu realnih troškova putovanja i dopisivanja, i to za određeni teritorij jednog ili više kotareva. Počasni konzervatori birani su iz

kruga ljudi koji su pokazali volju i ljubav za čuvanje spomenika, a njihova služba i zadaća u prvom redu trebala je biti obavještajna. Uz navedeno, trebali su zastupati središnji konzervatorski zavod i to samo u pitanjima koja im taj zavod, ovisno o slučaju, povjeri na rješavanje. Karaman je držao da se počasnim konzervatorima ne može prepustiti odlučivanje zbog nedovoljne stručnosti, ali je u pojedinim slučajevima, uz određene upute, konzervator mogao prepustiti počasnom konzervatoru nadzor nad određenim konzervatorskim zahvatom. Stoga je Karaman svim počasnim konzervatorima poslao Upute.⁸⁸¹ U Uputama je istaknuto na što počasni konzervatori trebaju obratiti pozornost pri svojem radu: istaknuo je njihovu osnovnu zadaću, obavješćivanje o svim zahvatima narodne vlasti, Crkve ili privatnih osoba na pokretnim i nepokretnim spomenicima, na spomenicima koji su obuhvaćeni pravilnicima za čuvanje starina, o obnovi spomenika stradalih u ratu, i o izvozu umjetnina. Karamanov prijedlog o počasnim konzervatorima bio je prihvaćen. U krajevima s većim brojem spomenika zavodi su

⁸⁸¹ MKM-SDKB-A broj 130/1949. od 12. veljače 1949.

their position according to this report: “we do not support churches, art topics are not current, we have no time for conservator complaints.”⁸⁹⁰

In 1948, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb tried to organize an exhibition to promote the protection of cultural monuments in Croatia and Croatian conservation institutes as institutions for their protection and study. The concept of the exhibition was developed by Tihomil Stahuljak. As part of the promotional activities, the most important monuments would have been marked on a large map of Croatia – the topographical location of the monuments, the diversity of cultural influences and the diversity of morphologies. Then, photographs of the most representative monuments (architecture, sculptures, paintings) would have been displayed to show the range of conservation activities. In the historical part of the exhibition, the original documents would have been used to show the development of interest in monuments and the efforts to preserve them throughout history, as well as the conservation efforts and research carried out by the Conservation Institute in Zagreb. Based on Stahuljak’s recommendation, the exhibition was to be organized at the conservation institute headquarters (Zagreb, Split, Rijeka). The exhibition was to be held in Zagreb during the Zagreb Fair from May 8 to May 17, 1948. Although the exhibition was organized, it was stopped by an order of the Ministry of Education, and the material collected had to be returned to the owners. The true reason for cancelling the exhibition could not be ascertained from available documents.⁸⁹¹

In 1951, to promote cultural monuments, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb organized the *Week of Protection of Our Monuments*, and the National Committees from various cities took part. Lectures on the work of the conservation institutes (problems and goals) and visits to monuments in Croatia were organized.⁸⁹²

890 MKM-SDKB-A Conservator problems in protecting cultural monuments. *Unsigned report*.

891 MKM-SDKB-A Project for the exhibition on Croatian conservation institutes, March 20, 1948.

892 MKM-SDKB-A No. 937-1951, June 7, 1951.

An important point in promoting movable art heritage, raising awareness and introducing the public to church heritage, and in terms of Zadar’s historical affiliation, was the organization of the 1951 exhibition *Gold and Silver of Zadar* at the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts / Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts premises in Zagreb. The exhibition featured gold and silver objects from the treasuries of the churches in Zadar. The initiator of the exhibition was Miroslav Krleža, and he also wrote the introductory text of the catalogue.⁸⁹³ Krleža came to Zadar as early as 1948, for the organization of the *Exhibition of Medieval Art of the People of Yugoslavia* in Paris, and his “hosts” while he toured various monuments were conservator, Grgo Oštrić, and the curator of the Archaeological Museum in Zadar, Mate Suić. The young art historian, Ivo Petricoli, who founded the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar a few years later, also participated in the exhibition in Zagreb.⁸⁹⁴ During his career, Petricoli remained connected with the treasury inventory of the churches in Zadar.⁸⁹⁵

The exhibition *Gold and Silver of Zadar* produced a number of results. It confirmed that Zadar belonged to the Slavic cultural identity, while respecting the period of the Republic of Venice, and the establishment of cultural and scientific institutions that would play a

893 Knežević stated that “Krleža chose Zadar as a paradigm on which to base its position on identity, culture and nation.” It is in gold objects made by local craftsmen or created with the help of local donors that Krleža sees Croatian art. Krleža wrote two essays *Gold and Silver of Zadar (Zlato i srebro Zadra)* and *Goldsmiths of Zadar (Zadarski zlatari)*. Both essays were connected to exhibitions, the first to the *Exhibition of Medieval Art of the Peoples of Yugoslavia* in Paris (1950) and the second to the exhibition in Zagreb (1951). KNEŽEVIĆ, SNJEŠKA, 2014, 175, 179; KRLEŽA, MIROSLAV, 1972, 5-15. Krleža sees evidence of Zadar’s Slavic character in the works of art by Zadar goldsmiths. Krleža’s introductory text was also published in the newspaper *Borba* on November 11, 1951. KRLEŽA, MIROSLAV, 1951; According to Visković, Krleža saw his role as a *builder of a new cultural and scientific paradigm*. VISKOVIĆ, VELIMIR, 2015, 79. Newspapers published numerous articles about the exhibition. N. N. 1951a; N. N. 1951b; N. N. 1951c; KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1951; MLIKOTA, ANTONIJA, 201, 60-61.

894 The Department of Art History was founded in 1957.

895 *The oldest inventory of the Zadar Cathedral treasury, Zadar Goldsmiths* (Najstariji inventar riznice zadarske katedrale, Zadarsko zlatarstvo), 1971; *Chest of St. Simeon in Zadar* (Škrinja sv. Šimuna u Zadru), 1983; *Three removed reliquaries of historical significance from Zadar* (Tri otuđena relikvijarja od povijesnoga značenja iz Zadra), 2003.

trebali imenovati stalne izaslanike i počasne konzervatore koji su predstavljali pomoćnu mrežu u radu na zaštiti spomenika. Svrha i uloga počasnih konzervatora bila je određena *Zakonom o zaštiti spomenika kulture*⁸⁸² i *Zakonom o narodnim odborima kotareva*.⁸⁸³ Prema članku 66. *Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture* narodni odbori mogli su na prijedlog Konzervatorskog zavoda imenovati povjerenika za zaštitu spomenika kulture u općini ili kotaru u kojima nisu osnovani zavodi za zaštitu spomenika kulture, a na čijem području postoji veći broj značajnih spomenika kulture. U Zakonu o narodnim odborima kotara u Članku 59. uloga povjerenika za zaštitu spomenika kulture jest obavješćivanje Odjela za društvenu službu kotarskoga narodnog odbora i Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu o stanju spomenika, kao i o svim ostalim pitanjima koja se odnose na čuvanje i održavanje spomenika na području kotara.⁸⁸⁴

O navedenom prijedlogu *Pravilnika* usuglasili su se svi direktori konzervatorskih zavoda u Zagrebu, Splitu i Rijeci te su posebno dogovorili razgraničenje kojim su Rab i Pag pripali Konzervatorskom zavodu u Rijeci. Potvrdu o prihvaćanju pravilnika dostavili su Ministarstvu prosvjete, Odjelu za kulturu i umjetnost.⁸⁸⁵

Pomoćna tijela u zaštiti pokretnih spomenika

U svrhu rješavanja stručnih pitanja u vezi s radom muzeja i konzervatorskih zavoda, pri Odsjeku za muzeje Ministarstva prosvjete osnovana su godine 1945./46. savjetodavna tijela: *Savjet muzealaca i konzervatora*⁸⁸⁶ i *Društvo muzealaca i konzervatora*.

Pored stručnih tijela, prema *Općem zakonu o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti* postojala su i kontrolna tijela zaštite – Narodni odbori, koji su bili dužni surađivati

s konzervatorima, provoditi naredbe, upute, preporuke i okružnice. Uloga Narodnih odbora na području zaštite spomenika bila je obnova ratom oštećenih kulturnih spomenika, sprječavanje odnošenja materijala s još nesanimiranih spomenika te javljanje svake promjene ili namjere kojom se mijenjalo stanje spomenika. Kao pomoć Narodnim odborima pri prepoznavanju kulturnih spomenika izrađivani su pravilnici u kojima su bile popisane sve važnije kulturno-historijske građevine pojedinoga područja, koje bez dozvole konzervatora nisu smjele biti obnavljane. O pokretnim spomenicima narodni odbori izvještavali su Zemaljsku komisiju za sakupljanje i očuvanje kulturnih spomenika i starina.

U praksi se često događalo nešto sasvim drukčije od onoga što je predviđeno pravilima. Prema izvještajima o radu Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu, Narodni odbori nisu pomagali u zaštiti ili znanstvenom proučavanju spomenika, napose sakralnih, već su, naprotiv, oduzimali građevinski materijal namijenjen crkvenim objektima koji je dobiven od *Planske komisije*⁸⁸⁷ zauzimanjem konzervatorskih zavoda i dodjeljivali ga drugim objektima. Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu izradio je plan obnove i popis najvažnijih spomenika kulture prema teritorijalnim jedinicama (oblastima i kotarima), koji je poslan Kotarskim narodnim odborima, ali nisu bila osigurana financijska sredstva, tako da do obnove spomenutih spomenika nije ni došlo. Narodni odbori imali su veliku autonomiju na svom području i držali se su se ravnopravnima Konzervatorskom zavodu te su sami odlučivali u pitanju pojedinih spomenika, pritom, dakako, ne poštujući konzervatorske propozicije, što je dovodilo do devastacije spomenika.⁸⁸⁸

882 Objavljeno: NN 18/1960.

883 Objavljeno: NN 34/1952.

884 MKM-SDKB-A pod brojem 360 od 20. listopada 1948.

885 HR-DAZG Ministarstvo prosvjete, pod brojem 21 od 6. ožujka 1948.

886 MKM-SDKB-A pod brojem 97-1945. Savjet muzealaca i konzervatora osnovan je 1945. godine na prijedlog *Otsjeka za muzeje Kulturno-umjetničkog odjela* Ministarstva prosvjete Federalne Države Hrvatske, koji i donosi statut o osnutku i radu. U članku 1. Statuta propisana je svrha Savjeta muzealaca i konzervatora kao savjetodavnog tijela za rješavanje stručnih pitanja u vezi uređenja i rada kulturno-umjetničkih muzeja i konzervatorskih zavoda te nadzora, čuvanja i zaštite kulturno-umjetničkih, etnografskih i historijskih spomenika i *starina*.

887 Ustav Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije donesen je 31. siječnja 1946. godine te se potom formira Vlada Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije kao najviše izvršno i upravno tijelo s ovlastima za donošenje uređaba iz područja privrede i javnih financija. Vlada se sastojala od predsjednika, potpredsjednika, ministara i predstavnika komisija, planske i kontrolne. Planskoj komisiji Vlade republike su podnosile nacрте privrednih planova. HOLJEVAC-TURKOVIĆ, ANA, 2002., 106-109. Planska komisija je stavila na raspolaganje Konzervatorskom zavodu višemilijunsku svotu za obnovu spomenika u svom petogodišnjem programu obnove. KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1947., 3.

888 MKM-SDKB-A Poteškoće konzervatora u radu na zaštiti spomenika kulture. *Nepotpisani izvještaj*.

major role in the development of monument protection and art history: the Conservation Office in Zadar (1952)⁸⁹⁶, the Institute of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zadar (1954), the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (1956) and the museum *Permanent Ecclesiastical Art Exhibition in Zadar* (1976).

Conferences and professional gatherings for museum workers and conservators

To improve and develop the conservation profession as well as the legislation and organization of the protection service, a number of conferences were held at the republican and federal levels. An overview of the topics gives an insight into the issues of the protection service from 1945 to 1990. The protection of movable art through records, documentation, registration and export, as well as legislation (laws, Regulations, ordinances), were recurrent topics at conferences. An insight into the issues that were discussed at these gatherings, gives us an overview of the work of the Croatian conservation service and other republics within the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia/Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Remarks and discussions on the issues at consultations and conferences regarding draft laws were of great importance for the study of this topic. Most often, these comments and suggestions were not taken into account by the Ministry of Education as the competent authority.

The Conference of museum workers and monument protection experts was held in Belgrade from May 27 to 29, 1947, and Karaman and Stahuljak took part.⁸⁹⁷ The topic was documenting monuments. By October 1947, monuments had to be documented and the report had to include: the type of monument, the location and name of the monument, the date of its creation (connection with *historical figure*, tradition), the condition of the monument, and a note.⁸⁹⁸

The first Conference of museum workers and conservators of the People's Republic of Croatia was held on December 21, 1948 in Zagreb. The topics discussed were: *Relations between existing museums in the People's Republic of Croatia*, *Competence of conservators over material from the field in relation to the competencies of museums*, *Systematic records of cultural monuments with special reference to the People's Republic of Croatia* (Anđela Horvat), *Work on monument protection* (Greta Jurišić), *Systematic archaeological excavations in the People's Republic of Croatia* (Zdenka Vinski), and the *Draft of the Republican Law on the protection of cultural monuments and natural rarities and the law on museums* (Aleksandar Perc).

According to Angela Horvat, who gave a lecture at the aforementioned conference, the systematic cataloguing of monuments was carried out by institutes in several ways: through systematization and the drawing up of inventories of materials within the institutes, through minutes (for lists of movable objects), and through ordinances (for urban units and nearby districts), all of which contributed to gaining a complete insight into the monuments of a particular area. Horvat cited the problems associated with unsystematic research, the lack of a legal basis, the modest means, and the use of varying criteria in the organisation of scientific material within individual institutes as the core reasons for not having a basis of good records. Movable objects were documented with a record that listed the following information: type of object, technique, short description, author or time period, and dimensions. Monuments within the three institutes (Zagreb, Split, Rijeka) were listed in inventory books, but to make it as easy as possible to find the information when needed, everything was transferred to triple files, according to the principles of the time.⁸⁹⁹

The topic of the discussion that followed Angela Horvat's lecture focused on unifying inventory, terminology and publishing publications, and accelerating the

896 Founded by the National Committee for the District of Zadar in 1952, and an independent institution from 1954.

897 MKM-SDKB-A No. 431-1947, Report for May.

898 MKM-SDKB-A No. 5121, September 26, 1947.

899 MKM-SDKB-A A. Horvat, *The Systematic records of cultural monuments with special reference to the People's Republic of Croatia*, No. 1797/1949.

Pomoć konzervatorskim zavodima u radu na terenu u gradovima, odnosno kotarevima, bili su počasni konzervatori. Njihova dužnost, kako je već spomenuto, bila je redovito informiranje konzervatora o stanju i postupanju sa spomenicima na svom području.⁸⁸⁹ Prema popisu iz 1949. ukupno je bilo 27 počasnih konzervatora.

Jedna od važnih uloga konzervatorskih zavoda u Zagrebu, Splitu i Rijeci poslije 1945. godine bila je i promidžbena djelatnost. Nastojeći razviti svijest o čuvanju sakralne baštine konzervatorski zavodi su preko promidžbenih i informativnih članaka u novinama, putem radija ili filma, organiziranjem izložbi pokušavali educirati šire slojeve društva o važnosti čuvanja spomenika.⁸⁹⁰ Problem je bio u nezainteresiranosti medija koji su opravdavali svoj stav: „ne potpomažemo crkve, teme o umjetnosti nisu aktualne, nemamo prostora za konzervatorske jadikovke“.⁸⁹¹

Godine 1948. Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu pokušao je organizirati izložbu sa svrhom promicanja zaštite kulturnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj i konzervatorskih zavoda Hrvatske kao tijela njihove zaštite i proučavanja. Koncept izložbe razradio je Tihomil Stahuljak. U promidžbenom dijelu trebali su na velikoj geografskoj karti Hrvatske biti uneseni najznačajniji spomenici – topografska dispozicija spomenika, različitost kulturnih utjecaja i različitost morfologija. Potom su trebale biti izložene fotografije najreprezentativnijih spomenika (arhitektura, kiparstvo, slikarstvo) kojima bi se prikazao raspon konzervatorske djelatnosti. U historijskom dijelu izložbe pomoću originalnih dokumenata trebalo je prikazati razvoj interesa za spomenike i nastojanja čuvanja kroz povijest, te konzervatorski i istraživački rad Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu. Prema zamisli Stahuljaka izložba se trebala organizirati u sjedištima konzervatorskih zavoda (Zagreb, Split, Rijeka). U Zagrebu se izložba trebala održati u vrijeme Zagrebačkog velesajma od 8. do 17. svibnja 1948. Iako je izložba bila pripremljena, radovi oko izložbe prekinuti su nalogom Ministarstva prosvjete, a sakupljeni materijal morao se vratiti vlasnicima. Pravi razlog odustajanja

889 MKM-SDKB-A pod brojem 130-1949. od 12. veljače 1949.

890 O spomenicima i njihovoj zaštiti Slavoniji više u novinskim člancima: KATUŠIĆ, BLAŽ, 1954.

891 MKM-SDKB-A Poteškoće konzervatora u radu na zaštiti spomenika kulture. *Nepotpisani izvještaj*.

od izložbe nije se, nažalost, mogao utvrditi iz dostupnih dokumenata.⁸⁹²

Godine 1951. Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu u svrhu promocije *spomenika kulture* organizirao je *Tjedan zaštite naših spomenika*, u čije su obilježavanje bili uključeni i Narodni odbori gradova. Organizirana su predavanja o dotadašnjem radu konzervatorskih zavoda (problemi i ciljevi) te posjet spomeničkim lokalitetima na području Hrvatske.⁸⁹³

Važan moment u prezentaciji pokretne umjetničke baštine, senzibiliziranju i upoznavanju javnosti sa sakralnom baštinom, a u pitanju Zadra i povijesnoj pripadnosti, bila je organizacija izložbe *Zlato i srebro Zadra* 1951. godine u prostoru JAZU-a (HAZU) u Zagrebu. Na izložbi su predstavljeni zlatni i srebrni predmeti iz riznica zadarskih crkava. Inicijator izložbe bio je Miroslav Krleža, a napisao je i uvodni tekst kataloga.⁸⁹⁴ Krleža u Zadar dolazi već 1948. godine, vezano uz organizaciju *Izložbe srednjovjekovne umjetnosti naroda Jugoslavije* u Parizu, a njegovi „domaćini“ u obilasku spomenika bili su konzervator Grgo Oštrić i kustos Arheološkog muzeja u Zadru Mate Suić. U pripremi izložbe u Zagrebu sudjelovao je i tada mladi povjesničar umjetnosti Ivo Petricioli koji će nekoliko godina kasnije osnovati Katedru za povijest umjetnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zadru.⁸⁹⁵ Petricioli je

892 MKM-SDKB-A Projekt izložbe konzervatorskih zavoda Hrvatske od 20. ožujka 1948.

893 MKM-SDKB-A broj 937-1951. od 7. lipnja 1951.

894 Knežević navodi da je „Krleža Zadar odabrao kao paradigmu na kojoj će utemeljiti svoj stav o identitetu, kulturi i naciji“. Upravo u predmetima od zlata koji su izradili domaći majstori ili su nastali uz pomoć domaćih donatora Krleža vidi hrvatsku umjetnost. Krleža je napisao dva eseja *Zlato i srebro Zadra* i *Zadarski zlatari*. Oba eseja su bila vezana uz izložbe, prvi uz *Izložbu srednjovjekovne umjetnosti naroda Jugoslavije* u Parizu (1950.), a drugi uz izložbu u Zagrebu (1951.). KNEŽEVIĆ, SNJEŠKA, 2014., 175, 179; KRLEŽA, MIROSLAV, 1972., 5-15. Upravo u zadarskim zlatarskim umjetničkim predmetima vidi Krleža dokaz slavenstva Zadra. Uvodni tekst Krleže izašao je i u novinama *Borba* 11. studenoga 1951. KRLEŽA, MIROSLAV, 1951. Prema Viskoviću Krleža je svoju ulogu vidio kao graditelja nove kulturne i znanstvene paradigme. VISKOVIĆ, VELIMIR, 2015., 79. Novine su popratile izložbu brojnim člancima: N. N. 1951a; N. N. 1951b; N. N. 1951c; KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1951.; MLIKOTA, ANTONIJA, 2017., 60-61.

895 Katedra za povijest umjetnosti osnovana je 1957. godine.

records process. The problem of documenting movable monuments or collections was the lack of information on the existence of these collections. A review of the artwork from the *Commission for gathering and protecting cultural monuments and antiquities* (KOMZA) provided a partial insight into the diverse cultural and historical material in the possession of private individuals, and it was therefore concluded that the process of documenting and cataloguing monuments was the main task of conservation institutes, along with preserving and studying monuments.⁹⁰⁰

The Conference of museum experts and conservators of the People's Republic of Croatia was held in Zagreb on January 23 and 24, 1950.⁹⁰¹ Lectures and topics discussed included: *Commentary on the Law on the protection of cultural monuments and natural rarities of the People's Republic of Croatia* (Aleksandar Perc), *Draft Decree on institutes for the protection of cultural monuments and natural rarities* (Marcel Gorenc), *Monument records (territorial restrictions, temporary records for the purpose of protection, records for the purpose of topography, personnel issues for records, material resources)* (Iva Perčić), *Difficulties of the operational and technical department in restoring monuments* (Greta Jurišić), *Propaganda of cultural monuments and their protection, Internal organization of work of protection institutes* (Ana Deanović).

The conclusions of the conference refer to the establishment of a department for the protection of natural rarities within each institute, a more efficient implementation of records for movable and immovable monuments, and the compilation of texts and images so that the conservation institutes could publish an artistic topography by the end of 1950.⁹⁰²

The Conference of the *Council of Experts for the Pro-*

tection of Cultural Monuments of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was held on May 13, 1950 in Belgrade. The idea of establishing a Federal Institute for the protection of cultural monuments was accepted at the conference and a draft *Regulation of the Federal institute for the protection of cultural monuments* was proposed. Ljubo Karaman had several objections to the draft. One of his objections concerned the procedure for defining monuments of *priority importance*, whereby he maintained that the number of such monuments should not be too great, at the expense of protecting monuments which would not officially receive this status.⁹⁰³ The second objection concerned Article 4 of the *Regulation* determining the number of independent departments of the Federal Institute for monument protection, whereby Karaman believed that the internal organization should be left to the experience of individual institutes. Furthermore, for the purpose of developing a conservation service, conservation institutes were enabled, as needed, to increase the number of their staff. The Conservation Institute in Zagreb asked for an ethnologist, an art historian and a photographer; the Conservation Institute in Rijeka requested an art historian; and the Conservation Institute in Split requested an ethnologist and an administrative officer.⁹⁰⁴

The *Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments*, among other things, organised conferences. The first conference took place in Split from April 16 to 21, 1953. The conference brought together experts from the monument protection service and the Museum Council to improve cooperation between the protection service and museum experts in the field; in addition, positive and negative examples of the implementation of the conservation Regulation by museum experts were discussed. The following pres-

900 MKM-SDKB-A A. Horvat, *The systematic record of cultural monuments with special reference to the People's Republic of Croatia*, No. 1797/1949.

901 Since many interesting topics were discussed at this conference, only the conclusions of the conference are presented in this passage, and the following sections examine discussions of the presentations.

902 MKM-SDKB-A No. 213/50. Conclusions of the conference of conservators of the People's Republic of Croatia.

903 Karaman's remark also relates to his reflections on the influences on the development of art in Dalmatia, its acceptance and its offering, which he will elaborate in the work *The influence of the local environment on art in Croatian regions (O djelovanju domaće sredine u umjetnosti hrvatskih krajeva)* in 1963. KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1963; IVANČEVIĆ, RADOVAN, 1987.

904 MKM-SDKB-A No. 659/1950, Conclusions of the monument protection conference.

tijekom svoga znanstvenog djelovanja u brojnim studijama ostao vezan uz inventar riznice zadarskih crkava.⁸⁹⁶

Rezultat djelovanja Krleže i zadarskih kulturnih djelatnika na organizaciji izložbe *Zlato i srebro Zadra*, osim potvrde pripadnosti Zadra slavenskom kulturnom identitetu uz poštivanje vremena Mletačke Republike, bilo je osnivanje kulturnih i znanstvenih ustanova koje će imati veliku ulogu u razvoju zaštite spomenika i povijesti umjetnosti: Konzervatorskog ureda u Zadru (1952.)⁸⁹⁷, Instituta Jugoslavenske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru (1954.), Filozofskog fakulteta (1956.) i muzeja *Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti* u Zadru (SICU, 1976.).

Konferencije, savjetovanja i stručni skupovi muzealaca i konzervatora

U svrhu poboljšanja i razvoja konzervatorske struke, zakonske regulative i organizacije službe zaštite održan je čitav niz konferencija i stručnih savjetovanja, na republičkoj i saveznoj razini. Pregledom tema savjetovanja i konferencija dobiva se uvid u problematiku službe zaštite od 1945. do 1990. godine. Zaštita pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta putem evidencije, dokumentacije, registracije i izvoza bila je kontinuirano prisutna tema na konferencijama i stručnim savjetovanjima kao i zakonska regulativa (zakoni, uredbi, pravilnici). Uvidom u izlaganu problematiku dobiva se pregled rada konzervatorske službe Hrvatske i drugih republika u sastavu FNRJ/SFRJ. Od velike važnosti za proučavanje ove teme bile su primjedbe i rasprave o problemima koje su se vodile na savjetovanjima i konferencijama, upućivane na prijedloge zakona. Najčešće te primjedbe i prijedloge Ministarstvo prosvjete, kao nadležno tijelo, nije uzimalo u obzir.

Konferencija muzealaca i stručnjaka za zaštitu spomenika od 27. do 29. svibnja 1947. održana je u Beogradu, a sudjelovali su Karaman i Stahuljak.⁸⁹⁸ Tema je bila evidencija spomenika. Do listopada 1947. trebalo je provesti evidenciju spomenika i u izvještaju navesti podatke:

896 *Najstariji inventar riznice zadarske katedrale, Zadarsko zlatarstvo*, 1971.; *Škrinja sv. Šimuna u Zadru*, 1983.; *Tri otuđena relikvijarija od povijesnoga značenja iz Zadra*, 2003.

897 Osnovan od strane Narodnog odbora za Kotar Zadar 1952., a od 1954. postaje samostalna ustanova.

898 MKM-SDKB-A broj 431-1947 Izvještaj za peti mjesec.

vrsta spomenika, mjesto, naziv spomenika, vrijeme nastanka (veza sa *historijskom ličnošću*, tradicijom), stanje spomenika, primjedba.⁸⁹⁹

Prva Konferencija muzealaca i konzervatora NR Hrvatske održana je 21. prosinca 1948. u Zagrebu. Na konferenciji su elaborirane teme: *Međusobni odnosi postojećih muzeja u NR Hrvatskoj*, *Kompetencija konzervatora nad materijalom s terena u odnosu prema kompetencijama muzeja*, *Sistematska evidencija spomenika kulture s posebnim osvrtom na NR Hrvatsku* (Anđela Horvat), *Rad na zaštiti spomenika* (Greta Jurišić), *Sistematska arheološka iskapanja u NR Hrvatskoj* (Zdenka Vinski) i *Nacrt republičkog zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti i zakona o muzejima* (Aleksandar Perc).

Prema izlaganju Anđele Horvat na navedenoj se konferenciji sustavno evidentiranje spomenika provodilo u zavodima na više načina: putem sistematizacije i inventarizacije građe unutar zavoda, zapisnikom (kad se radilo o popisu pokretnih predmeta), putem pravilnika (kad se radilo o urbanističkoj cjelini i obližnjem kotaru), kako bi se dobio cjelovit uvid u spomenike određenog terena. Horvat je navela probleme nesustavnog istraživanja, nedostatka zakonske podloge, skromnih sredstava i različitih kriterija, a sređivanje znanstvene građe unutar pojedinih zavoda bila je osnova rada na evidenciji. Evidentiranje pokretnih predmeta vodilo se zapisnikom u kojem su se bilježili podatci: vrsta objekta, tehnika, kratka deskripcija, autor, odnosno vrijeme, dimenzije. Spomenička građa unutar triju zavoda (Zagreb, Split, Rijeka) uvodila se u inventarne knjige, ali se također u svrhu što bržeg snalaženja, prema tada najsuvremenijim načelima, prebacivala na trostruke kartoteke.⁹⁰⁰

U raspravi koja je slijedila nakon izlaganja Anđele Horvat raspravljalo se o ujednačavanju inventarizacije, terminologiji i izdavanju publikacija te općenito o ubrzanju sustavne evidencije. Problem evidencije pokretnih spomenika, odnosno zbirki, bio je manjak podataka o postojanju tih zbirki. Pregledom umjetnina Komisije za čuvanje i sakupljanje spomenika (KOMZE) dobio se

899 MKM-SDKB-A broj 5121 od 26. 9. 1947.

900 MKM-SDKB-A A. Horvat, O sistematskoj evidenciji spomenika kulture s posebnim osvrtom na NR Hrvatsku, pod brojem 1797/1949.

entations concerning movable heritage and institutional development were presented at the conference: *Work on conservation of immovable monuments in our country* (Milan Prelog), *Conservation of Diocletian's Palace in Split*, *Conservation of movable monuments in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia*, and *Some issues concerning conservation of movable monuments in Italy* (Zdravko Blažić), *Museums and Institutes*, and *The problems of organizing the conservation service and principles of documenting movable objects* (Radivoje Ljubinković), *Protection of cultural monuments in the event of war* (Ivan Zdravković), *Problems of legal protection of cultural monuments in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia* (Aleksandar Kanazarević), *Tasks, Role and Place of the Federal Institute in the protection structure in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia*, and *Organising the cultural monument protection service in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia* (Vlado Mađarić).⁹⁰⁵

In a paper on the conservation of movable monuments, Zdravko Blažić outlined the way the *Instituto centrale del restauro* operated in Rome. He compared the work of the Institute with similar institutions in other European countries. He explained the way it worked – from involving different experts at different stages, to methods of conserving and restoring different types of art (for example, paintings on canvas, on wood, polychrome wooden sculptures, protective varnishes, patina and retouching).⁹⁰⁶ Several conclusions were reached at the Conference regarding the protection of movable monuments. First of all, it was necessary to respect the artistic expression under the principle of “*conserve, not restore*”. It was then concluded that restoration must be based on the work of various experts: art historians, archaeologists, historians, laboratory experts, photographers and restorers. All work performed on the artwork must be documented. Co-operation between Yugoslavian restoration workshops and the establishment of a restoration school were proposed.⁹⁰⁷

905 The aforementioned presentations were published in *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture* No. 4-5, 1953-54.

906 BLAŽIĆ, ZDRAVKO, 1955, 75-81.

907 Conference conclusions in the journal *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture*. N. N. 1955, 116.

The Conference in Ljubljana was held from August 22 to 27, 1955, and the topics dealt with issues regarding the protection of the National Liberation Movement (NOB) monuments in the field and in museums, the proposal of the new Law on monument protection, the organization of the protection service in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and the protection of ethnographic monuments and archaeological sites. Branko Lučić and Stanka Krstić participated as representatives of the Zagreb Conservation Institute.⁹⁰⁸

A third conservation conference was held in Vrnjačka Banja from November 7 to 12, 1957. Based on the presentation of Nace Šumi, a professor from Ljubljana, *The importance and necessity of establishing the Society of conservators of Yugoslavia*, it was decided that conservators should be separated from the Union of museum and conservation workers in order to develop the conservation service, provide better working conditions and present an affirmation of Yugoslav conservators; thus, the conference became the Congress of conservators of Yugoslavia that established the *Society of conservators of Yugoslavia*.⁹⁰⁹ The Bylaws of the Society were adopted and the board was elected. Cvito Fisković became president, and the members of the board were Šefik Bešlagić, Vlado Mađarić, Zvonimir Turina, Edo Turher and Sveta Mandić.⁹¹⁰

A branch of the Society for Croatia was founded in March 1959. Greta Jurišić became president; the members of the board were Boško Končar and Tomislav Marasović; and the supervisory board consisted of Lukša Beritić, Blažo Katušić and Josip Ladović.⁹¹¹

The inter-republican institute conference of protection institutes from all republics was held in Zagreb on Oc-

908 MKM-SDKB-A No. 1495/1955, Report from the conference of museum and conservation workers of the National Liberation Movement in Ljubljana.

909 Društvo konzervatorskih radnika Jugoslavije; ZDRAVKOVIĆ, IVAN, 1958, 122.

910 *Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora* of the People's Republic of Croatia, year VIII, Zagreb 1959, 124.

911 The official stamp was ordered: the Society of conservators of Yugoslavia, Branch Office for Croatia, Zagreb MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 361 / 1-1959, June 18, 1959.

djelomično uvid u raznoliki kulturno-historijski materijal umjetničke vrijednosti u posjedu privatnih osoba, stoga je bilo zaključeno da je evidencija i inventarizacija spomenika glavni zadatak konzervatorskih zavoda uz čuvanje i proučavanje spomenika.⁹⁰¹

Konferencija muzealaca i konzervatora NR Hrvatske održana je u Zagrebu 23. i 24. siječnja 1950. godine.⁹⁰² Izlaganja i teme o kojima se raspravljalo bile su: *Komentar Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NR Hrvatske* (Aleksandar Perc), *Nacrt Uredbe o zavodima za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti* (Marcel Gorenc), *Evidencija spomenika (teritorijalno ograničenje, privremena evidencija u svrhu zaštite, evidencija u svrhu topografije, pitanje kadra za evidenciju, materijalna sredstva)* (Iva Perčić), *Poteškoće operativno-tehničkog odjela kod popravaka spomenika* (Greta Jurišić), *Propaganda spomenika kulture i rada na njihovoj zaštiti, Unutrašnja organizacija rada zavoda za zaštitu* (Ana Deanović).

Zaključci konferencije konzervatora NR Hrvatske odnose se na osnivanje odjela za zaštitu prirodnih rijetkosti u okviru svakog zavoda, učinkovitiju provedbu evidencije pokretnih i nepokretnih spomenika te izradu tekstova i slikovnog materijala za izdavanje umjetničke topografije od strane konzervatorskih zavoda do kraja 1950. godine.⁹⁰³

Konferencija *Savjeta stručnjaka zaštite spomenika kulture FNRJ* održana je 13. svibnja 1950. u Beogradu. Na konferenciji je prihvaćena ideja o osnivanju Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture i predložen je nacrt *Uredbe Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture*. Karaman je imao primjedbe na taj nacrt. Jedna od primjedbi odnosila se na postupak određivanja spomenika *prioritetnog značaja*, držeći da broj takvih spomenika ne smije biti prevelik, nauštrb zaštite onih spomenika, koji neće

imati taj značaj službeno proglašen.⁹⁰⁴ Druga primjedba odnosila se na članak 4. *Uredbe* kojim se određuje broj samostalnih odsjeka Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika, gdje unutrašnje ustrojstvo treba prepustiti iskustvu i razvoju samog instituta, držao je Karaman. Nadalje, na konferenciji je u svrhu razvoja službe zaštite konzervatorskim zavodima omogućeno, ovisno o potrebama, povećanje zaposlenika unutar zavoda. Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu izrazio je potrebu za etnologom, povjesničarom umjetnosti i fotografom, Konzervatorski zavod u Rijeci za povjesničarom umjetnosti, a Konzervatorski zavod u Splitu za etnologom i administrativnim službenikom.⁹⁰⁵

Osnovani *Savezni institut za zaštitu spomenika kulture* bavio se, među ostalim, i organizacijom savjetovanja. Prvo savjetovanje održano je u Splitu od 16. do 21. travnja 1953. godine. Savjetovanje je okupilo stručnjake iz službe zaštite spomenika i Muzejskog savjeta u svrhu unaprjeđenja suradnje službe zaštite i muzejskih stručnjaka na terenu, te o pozitivnim i negativnim primjerima provedbe propisa o zaštiti od strane muzejskih stručnjaka. Na savjetovanju su bila sljedeća izlaganja vezana uz pokretnu baštinu i institucionalni razvoj: *Rad na konzervaciji nepokretnih spomenika kod nas* (Milan Prelog), *Konzervatorski radovi na Dioklecijanovoj palači u Splitu*, *Konzervacija pokretnih spomenika u FNRJ i O nekim pitanjima konzervacije pokretnih spomenika u Italiji* (Zdravko Blažić), *Muzeji i zavodi i O problemima organizacije restauratorske službe i principima obrade pokretnih objekata* (Radivoje Ljubinković), *Zaštita spomenika kulture u slučaju rata* (Ivan Zdravković), *Problemi pravne zaštite spomenika kulture u FNRJ* (Aleksandar Kanazarević), *Zadaci, uloga i mjesto Saveznog instituta u strukturi zaštite u FNRJ i Organizacija službe zaštite spomenika kulture u FNRJ* (Vlado Mađarić).⁹⁰⁶

901 MKM-SDKB-A A. Horvat, O sistematskoj evidenciji spomenika kulture s posebnim osvrtom na NR Hrvatsku, pod brojem 1797/1949.

902 S obzirom na zanimljivost tema ove konferencije, u ovom pasusu doneseni su samo zaključci konferencije, a u slijedećim poglavljima spominju se diskusije o navedenim izlaganjima.

903 MKM-SDKB-A pod brojem 213/50. Zaključci konferencije konzervatora NR Hrvatske.

904 Karamanova primjedba vezana je i uz njegova promišljanja o utjecajima na razvoj umjetnosti u Dalmaciji, njeno prihvaćanje i njeno davanje koja će elaborirati u djelu *O djelovanju domaće sredine u umjetnosti hrvatskih krajeva* 1963. godine. KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1963.; IVANČEVIĆ, RADOVAN, 1987.

905 MKM-SDKB-A pod brojem 659/1950., Zaključci konferencije za zaštitu spomenika.

906 Navedena izlaganja publicirana su u *Zborniku zaštite spomenika kulture* br. 4-5, 1953.-54.

tober 17, 1956, and addressed the issue of protecting National Liberation Movement monuments and the final proposal of the draft for the General Law on the protection of cultural monuments. The conclusions of the Conference highlighted the problem of insufficient work on the protection of the National Liberation Movement monuments (the exception was the Institute in the People's Republic of Slovenia). Republican protection institutes were required to prepare field records to gain an insight into all the material collected by other institutions. Records were to be drawn up in collaboration with the Union of Veterans and the museums of the National Revolution. In discussing the draft of the General law, the method of making the preliminary draft was explained first. The first draft of the General law on the protection of cultural monuments was prepared by the Federal Institute for conservation and sent to all institutes for review. The Institute in Serbia drafted the first draft of the Amended Law, and then the second one, which contained all the remarks from previous drafts, and submitted it to the Institute in Sarajevo. The Institute elaborated the Law and sent it to all the Institutes for final review and amendments. Vlado Mađarić made comments on the draft law regarding the new Law on state administration, and on the coordination of the Institute for protection, the Secretariat for Culture and Science, the Federal Institute for Protection and the Federal Secretariat for Culture and Science.⁹¹²

The conference on the problems concerning the restoration service in the People's Republic of Croatia was held on December 21, 1957. The conference was preceded by a survey conducted by the Conservation Institute in Zagreb with the study by Ana Deanović *Problems concerning the restoration service in the People's*

*Republic of Croatia.*⁹¹³ The conference raised awareness about the need for this type of institution.

The conference on the work of the protection service – registration, records and documentation of cultural monuments – was held from December 5 to 7, 1960 in Dubrovnik. In preparation for the Conference, the Federal Institute conducted a survey among conservation institutes and offices in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia to help determine the status of monument records. The following papers were presented at the congress: *Results of the survey on the state and problems of the protection service work on records and documentation of cultural monuments* (B. Skakić), *Protection of monuments and the role of the press* (Mustafa Karahasan), *Registration of cultural monuments and keeping records of protection activities by institutes for the protection of cultural monuments* (Miodrag Maksimović), *Registration, records and documentation of cultural monuments in museums by the protection service* (Nada Andrejević-Kun), *Implementing the General law on the protection of cultural monuments in the archival material sector, and Registration, records and documentation of archival materials as cultural monuments* (Franjo Biljan), *Written and printed material as cultural monuments and their registration* (Vladimir Pitović), *Convention for the protection of cultural goods in the event of armed conflict* (Rajko Anđelić), *Records on cultural monuments* (Rade Vlkov), *Documenting architectural monuments* (Milka Čanak-Medić), *Documenting conservation on monuments in the field of painting* (Milorad Medić), and *Documenting conservation on monuments in the field of applied art, archaeology and ethnology* (Mihailo Vunjak). Branka Skakić, conservator of the Federal Institute for the protection of cultural monuments, spoke about the *Results of the survey on the state and problems of the*

⁹¹³ The survey and study were delivered to: the *Conservation Institutes in Split and Rijeka*, the *Institute of Fine Arts of the Yugoslav Academy in Zagreb*, the *Seminar for the History of Art in Zagreb*, the *Archaeological Institute in Zagreb*, the *Archaeological Museum in Zagreb*, the *Museum of Arts and Crafts*, the *Ethnographic Museum*, the *Society of Museum and Conservation Workers*, the *Secretariat for Science and Culture*, the *Department of Urban Planning (NOGZ)*, the *Croatian Visual Artists' Association (ULUH)*, *Edo Kovačević* and *Vjera Krajovan*, MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 1805-1957, October 9, 1957.

⁹¹² MKM-SDKB-A No. 1422/1956, Inter-institutional conference.

Zdravko Blažić u referatu o konzervaciji pokretnih spomenika izložio je način rada *Istituto centrale del restauro* u Rimu. Rad Instituta usporedio je s drugim sličnim ustanovama u drugim europskim zemljama. Obrazložio je način rada – od uključivanja različitih stručnjaka u određenim fazama do metoda konzerviranja i restauriranja na različitim vrstama umjetnina, primjerice: slike na platnu, na drvenoj podlozi, polikromirane drvene skulpture, zaštitni lakovi, patine i retuši.⁹⁰⁷ Na Savjetovanju su, među ostalim, doneseni zaključci u vezi sa zaštitom pokretnih spomenika. Kao prvo je navedeno poštivanje umjetničke izvedbe pod načelom „konzervirati, a ne restaurirati“. Potom je zaključeno da se restauratorski rad mora temeljiti na radu više raznorodnih stručnjaka: povjesničara umjetnosti, arheologa, povjesničara, laboratorijskih stručnjaka, fotografa i restauratora. Svi provedeni postupci na umjetnini moraju se dokumentirati. Predložena je suradnja među jugoslavenskim restauratorskim radionicama te osnivanje restauratorske škole.⁹⁰⁸

Savjetovanje u Ljubljani održano je od 22. do 27. kolovoza 1955., a teme su bile problematika zaštite spomenika NOB-a na terenu i u muzejima, prijedlog novog Zakona o zaštiti spomenika, problem organizacije službe zaštite u SFRJ, problem zaštite etnografskih spomenika i arheoloških iskopavanja. Na savjetovanju su kao predstavnici Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu sudjelovali Branko Lučić i Stanka Krstić.⁹⁰⁹

Treće savjetovanje konzervatora održano je u Vrnjačkoj Banji od 7. do 12. studenoga 1957. godine. U svrhu razvoja konzervatorske službe, boljih uvjeta rada i afirmacije konzervatora Jugoslavije odlučeno je da se konzervatori izdvoje iz Saveza muzejsko-konzervatorskih radnika, a na osnovi izlaganja profesora iz Ljubljane Nace Šumija *O značaju i potrebi osnivanja Društva konzervatorskih radnika Jugoslavije*; tako je savjetovanje pretvoreno u Kongres konzervatorskih radnika Jugoslavije sa svrhom osnivanja *Društva konzervatorskih radnika Jugoslavije*.⁹¹⁰

Usvojena su Pravila Društva i izabrana je uprava Društva. Predsjednikom Društva imenovan je Cvito Fisković, a članovi uprave bili su Šefik Bešlić, Vlado Mađarić, Zvonimir Turina, Edo Turher i Sveta Mandić.⁹¹¹

Podružnica Društva za Hrvatsku osnovana je u ožujku 1959. godine. Predsjednicom Društva imenovana je Greta Jurišić, članovi uprave bili su Boško Končar i Tomislav Marasović, a članovima nadzornog odbora imenovani su Lukša Beritić, Blažo Katušić i Josip Ladović.⁹¹²

Međurepublička zavodska konferencija zavoda za zaštitu iz svih republika održana je 17. listopada 1956. u Zagrebu, a bavila se problematikom zaštite spomenika NOB-a i konačnim prijedlogom prednacrta Općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture. U zaključcima Konferencije istaknut je problem nedovoljnog rada na zaštiti spomenika NOB-a (iznimka je bio Zavod u NR Sloveniji) u odnosu na druge spomenike. Republički zavodi za zaštitu trebali su provesti evidenciju na terenu u svrhu stjecanja uvida u cjelokupni materijal koji prikupljaju druge institucije. Evidencija se trebala provesti u suradnji sa Savezom boraca i muzejima Narodne Revolucije. U raspravi o prednacrta Općeg zakona najprije je obrazložen način izrade prednacrta. Prvi nacrt Općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture pripremio je Savezni institut za zaštitu i poslao svim zavodima na uvid. Zatim je Zavod u Srbiji izradio prvi nacrt Zakona s dopunama, a onda i drugi, koji je sadržavao sve primjedbe prijašnjih prednacrta i dostavio ga Zavodu u Sarajevu. Taj je zavod Zakon razradio i poslao na konačnu redakciju i dopunu svim zavodima. Vlado Mađarić iznio je primjedbe na nacrt zakona odnosu na novi Zakon o državnoj upravi, te na usklađivanje rada između Zavoda za zaštitu, Sekretarijata za kulturu i nauku, Saveznog instituta za zaštitu i Saveznog sekretarijata za kulturu i nauku.⁹¹³

Savjetovanje o problemima restauratorske službe u NR Hrvatskoj održano je 21. prosinca 1957. godine. Savjetovanju je prethodila anketa koju je proveo Konzervatorski

907 BLAŽIĆ, ZDRAVKO, 1955., 75-81.

908 Zaključci savjetovanja u Zborniku zaštite spomenika kulture. N. N. 1955., 116.

909 MKM-SDKB-A pod brojem 1495/1955., Izvještaj sa savjetovanja muzejsko-konzervatorskih radnika NOB-a u Ljubljani.

910 ZDRAVKOVIĆ, IVAN, 1958., 122.

911 *Vijesti muzealaca i konzervatora NR Hrvatske*, godina VIII., Zagreb 1959., 124.

912 Naručen je pečat: Društvo konzervatorskih radnika Jugoslavije, Podružnica za Hrvatsku, Zagreb MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 361/1-1959. od 18. lipnja 1959.

913 MKM-SDKB-A pod brojem 1422/1956. Međuzavodska konferencija.

protection service work on records and documentation of cultural monuments.

According to the General law and the laws of individual Republics, institutes had to keep files on monuments, and the competent bodies of the Ministry of Education and Culture had to provide instructions or the Regulation on the manner of keeping records. Since no such instructions or Regulation had been issued in any of the republics, the institutes, according to their capabilities and needs, established their own principles and systems of keeping records. Therefore, the purpose of the conference was to develop unique principles for the inventory, records and documentation of movable and immovable monuments.⁹¹⁴

The responses of the Croatian protection service⁹¹⁵ to the Federal Institute questionnaire are interesting: *What kind of records do you keep; Do you keep records from the point of view of protected monuments or by type of monument, topographically or otherwise?*⁹¹⁶

The Conservation Institute in Zagreb said that it kept general records (basic insight) and records on the condition of already known monuments. The Conservation Institute in Rijeka kept general records with topographic, historical and legal information, as well as on the condition of monuments, and the location of photographs and architectural documentation. Such records were kept for monuments that were registered, but only basic information was recorded for other monuments. The Commission in Hvar kept records by location. The Commission in Dubrovnik kept separate records for movable and immovable monuments. The records for movable monuments were divided into protected movable objects in collections, and objects in churches and monasteries.⁹¹⁷ The answer to the question: *Have all monuments in your territory been documented?* gave an insight into the number of documented movable objects. Until 1960, the Conservation

Institute in Rijeka did not document movable monuments, and Hvar and Dubrovnik also did not maintain records on movable monuments, only on immovable monuments. The Conservation Institute in Split started cataloguing privately owned movable monuments and those in churches and monasteries. The Conservation Institute in Zagreb used a form with basic information to document 10,000 movable monuments in Zagreb.⁹¹⁸ The responses to this question show that none of the republics had a single system for keeping records. Records on movable objects were far less extensive than those on immovable monuments.

Regarding monument registration, it was suggested that the Register should be kept in the form of a book or file, a single one for movable and immovable monuments, and the basic information the Register should include was proposed: entry number, certificate of entry, name and type of monument, location, cadastral reference for immovable monuments, description, date of origin and author, categorization, manner in which the monument was acquired or the basis on which the holder owned the monument, changes to the monument, information on conservation and restoration, maintenance cost data (mortgage, repair costs from public assets), signature of the clerk who made the entry, and note. Based on legal provisions, records had to be kept on monuments and their condition, as well as the work, organization, operation and problems of the protection service. Forms/schemes for particular types of monuments were not defined due to a lack of time, so the conclusions of the Conference stipulated that a committee should be formed to produce the necessary forms/schemes. The Commission met twice, in February and April 1961 in Zagreb, and drafted documents by type of monument: *Draft document for paintings* (created by Milorad Medić, painter – conservator of the Federal Institute), *Draft document for movable monuments of applied art, archaeology, ethnology and the National Liberation Movement* (created by Verena Han, curator of the Museum of Applied Arts from Belgrade, and Nadežda Pešić, ethnologist – con-

914 SKAKIĆ, BRANKA, 1961, 163.

915 The Conservation institutes in Zagreb, Rijeka and Split, and the Commissions for Dubrovnik and Hvar took part in the survey.

916 SKAKIĆ, BRANKA, 1960, 5.

917 SKAKIĆ, BRANKA, 1960, 5-6.

918 SKAKIĆ, BRANKA, 1960, 8.

zavod u Zagrebu uz elaborat Ane Deanović *Problemi restauratorske službe u NR Hrvatskoj*.⁹¹⁴ Savjetovanje je u velikoj mjeri pridonijelo svijesti o potrebi osnutka takve institucije.

Savjetovanje o radu službe zaštite – registraciji, evidenciji i dokumentaciji spomenika kulture održano je od 5. do 7. prosinca 1960. u Dubrovniku. Savezni institut je u okviru priprema za organizaciju Savjetovanja proveo anketu među konzervatorskim zavodima i uredima u FNRJ na osnovi koje bi se utvrdilo stanje evidencije i dokumentacije spomenika. Na kongresu su, među ostalim, održani slijedeći referati: *O Rezultatima ankete o stanju i problemima u radu službe zaštite na evidenciji i dokumentaciji spomenika kulture* (Branka Skakić), *Zaštita spomenika i uloga štampe* (Mustafa Karahasan), *Registrowanje spomenika kulture i vođenje evidencije o poslovima zaštite kod zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture* (Miodrag Maksimović), *Registracija, evidencija i dokumentacija spomenika kulture u muzejima od strane zaštite* (Nada Andrejević-Kun), *Sprovođenje opšteg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture na sektoru arhivske građe, a po pitanju registracije, evidencije i dokumentacije arhivalija kao spomenika kulture* (Franjo Biljan), *Pisan i štampan materijal kao spomenik kulture i njegovo registrovanje* (Vladimir Pitović), *Konvencija za zaštitu kulturnih dobara u slučaju oružanog sukoba* (Rajko Anđelić), *Evidencija spomenika kulture* (Rade Vlkov), *Dokumentacija arhitektonskih spomenika* (Milka Čanak-Medić), *Dokumentacija konzervatorskih radova na spomenicima iz oblasti slikarstva* (Milorad Medić) i *Dokumentacija konzervatorskih radova na spomeničkim predmetima iz oblasti primenjene umetnosti, arheologije i etnologije* (Mihailo Vunjak). Branka Skakić, konzervatorica Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture, izlagala je o *Rezultatima ankete o stanju i problemima u radu službe zaštite na evidenciji i dokumentaciji spomenika kulture*.

914 Anketa i elaborat dostavljeni su: *Konzervatorskom zavodu u Splitu i Rijeci, Institutu za likovne umjetnosti Jugoslavenske akademije u Zagrebu, Seminaru za historiju umjetnosti u Zagrebu, Arheološkom institutu Zagreb, Arheološkom muzeju Zagreb, Muzeju za umjetnost i obrt, Etnografskom muzeju, Društvu muzejsko-konzervatorskih radnika, Sekretarijatu za nauku i kulturu NOGZ, ULUH, Edi Kovačeviću i Vjeri Krajovan, MKM-SDKB-A Dopis broj 1805-1957. od 9. listopada 1957.*

Prema Općem i republičkim zakonima zavodi su bili dužni voditi kartoteke spomenika, a nadležna tijela Ministarstva prosvjete i kulture bili su dužni donijeti upute ili pravilnike o načinu vođenja evidencije. Budući da takve upute ili pravilnici nisu doneseni ni u jednoj republici, zavodi su prema svojim mogućnostima i potrebama utvrdili načela i sisteme rada na evidenciji i dokumentaciji. Stoga je namjera konferencije bila razrada jedinstvenih načela inventarizacije, evidencije i dokumentacije pokretnih i nepokretnih spomenika.⁹¹⁵

Zanimljivi su odgovori službe zaštite iz Hrvatske⁹¹⁶ na anketno pitanje Saveznog instituta: *Kakvu vrstu evidencije vodite; da li vodite evidenciju sa gledišta zaštićenih spomeničkih objekata ili po vrstama spomenika, topografski ili na koji drugi način?*⁹¹⁷

Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu u anketi je odgovorio da vodi opću evidenciju (osnovni uvid) i evidenciju o stanju već poznatih spomenika. Konzervatorski zavod u Rijeci vodio je opću evidenciju s topografskim, historijskim i pravnim podacima te o stanju spomenika i smještaju fotografija i arhitektonske dokumentacije. Takva evidencija vodila se za spomenike koji su bili registrirani, dok su se za druge spomenike bilježili tek osnovni podatci. Komisija na Hvaru evidenciju je vodila po mjestima. Povjerenstvo u Dubrovniku vodilo je evidenciju odvojeno za pokretne i nepokretne spomenike. Evidencija pokretnih spomenika provodila se odvojeno za zaštićene pokretne predmete u umjetničkim zbirkama, a odvojeno za predmete u crkvama i samostanima.⁹¹⁸ Iz odgovora na pitanje: *Da li su evidentirani svi spomenički objekti na teritoriji vašeg zavoda?* dobiven je uvid u broj evidentiranih pokretnih predmeta. Konzervatorski zavod u Rijeci do godine 1960. nije evidentirao pokretne spomenike, a ni u Hvaru ni u Dubrovniku nije provedena sustavna evidencija pokretnih spomenika, nego samo nepokretnih spomenika. U Konzervatorskom zavodu u Splitu počeli su s popisivanjem pokretnih spomenika u privatnom vlasništvu te unutar crkava i samostana. Konzervator-

915 SKAKIĆ, BRANKA, 1961., 163.

916 U odgovorima na anketu sudjeluju: konzervatorski zavodi u Zagrebu, Rijeci i Splitu te Povjereništvo Dubrovnik i Komisija na Hvaru.

917 SKAKIĆ, BRANKA, 1960., 5.

918 SKAKIĆ, BRANKA, 1960., 5-6.

servator of the Federal Institute), *Draft document for individual architectural monuments* (created by Milka Čanak-Medić, architect – conservator of the Federal Institute), and *Draft for registration, records and documentation in the field of archaeology* (Gordana Tomašević, architect – conservator of the Federal Institute).⁹¹⁹

The conference on heritage protection and the Third Congress of the Society of conservators of Yugoslavia were held from May 15 to 21, 1961 in Ohrid. Presentations at the conference included: *Social governance in the field of protection* (Antonija Nikolovski), *The work of the Society of conservators of Yugoslavia and its affiliates* (Nace Šumi), *The role and place of art historians in the protection service* (Jovan Sekulić), *Retouching problems in our conservation practice* (Ilija Kavkaleski), *Postgraduate studies for architects – conservators* (Ivan Zdravković), *Conservation of paintings from the churches of St. Nikola Bolnički and St. Bogorodica Bolnička* (Kosta Balabanov), *Conservation of the Church of St. Clement in Ohrid* (Dimitar Tornakov), *Conservation of the church of St. Pantolomey in the village of Nrezi* (Spase Spirovski).⁹²⁰

In order to resolve legal issues, the Third Congress authorized the Board of the Society of conservators of Yugoslavia to establish a legal commission of the Society, which would include lawyers working in the institutes for the protection of cultural and natural monuments. The role of the Commission was to study all legal issues concerning the organization and operation of the service for the protection of cultural and natural monuments, and to propose a new Regulation.

Through the cooperation of the Federation of Museum Societies of Yugoslavia and the Society of conservators of Yugoslavia, the Federal Institute for the protection of cultural monuments organized a conference *Museums and Conservation* in Rijeka from December 11 to 14, 1961. The conference was preceded by a survey conducted in all the republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The survey did not include private collections and church treasuries.

The basic work principles of museums and the protection service differed. Museums as institutions were concerned with collecting, recording and exhibiting movable heritage, and they played a role in monument protection. Conservation institutes sought to create the conditions for keeping movable monuments *in situ* and document them.

Presentations at the *Museums and Conservation* conference included: *General problems of Yugoslav museums regarding the protection of cultural monuments* (Franjo Baš), *The role and tasks of museums in the protection of cultural monuments* (Vlado Mađarić), *Museums and the protection of cultural and natural monuments with regard to the Regulation* (Fedor Moačanin), *Museums and their space* (Ivan Zdravković), *Organization of the protection service in museums* (Rajko Nikolić), *Conservation and preparatory workshops and laboratories* (Mihajlo Vunjak), *Protection of movable painted objects in museums* (Aleksandar Tomašević), *Inventory, records and documentation in museums* (Nadežda Andrejević-Kun, Verena Han), *The tendencies of transferring the functions of bodies for monument protection to museums in the field* (Edo Turnher), *The role of museums in the protection service* (Ivana Vrbanić).

According to the conclusions, the problem resided in the records on the work that had already been carried out – records which had not been kept or were incomplete, as well as the cooperation between various experts (restorers, art historians, chemists), which, according to the conclusions of the meeting, were non-existent. A solution was proposed to implement the keeping of inventory, records and documentation. The problem with respect to records was discussed at a conference held in Dubrovnik in 1960. It was decided to set up a committee to refer to the conclusions of the Dubrovnik conference, which related to the unique principles of keeping inventory, records and documentation of museum objects, drawing up inventory and records, keeping records on the condition of monuments in museums, and keeping records on conservation procedures. The Conference recommendation also referred to the

919 CVETKOVIĆ TOMAŠEVIĆ, GORDANA, 1962, 95.

920 KATANIĆ, NADEŽDA, 1962, 163-168.

ski zavod u Zagrebu pokretne spomenike evidentirao je putem obrasca s osnovnim informacijama, a u Zagrebu je na taj način bilo evidentirano ukupno 10.000 predmeta.⁹¹⁹ Iz navedenih odgovora vidi se da niti jedna republika nije imala jedinstvenu evidenciju. Evidencija pokretnih predmeta bila je daleko manjeg opsega nego evidencija nepokretnih spomenika.

U vezi s registracijom spomenika na Savjetovanju je predloženo da se Registar vodi u obliku knjige ili kartoteke, zajednički za pokretne i nepokretne spomenike, te je predložen minimum podataka koje Registar treba sadržavati: redni broj upisa, broj rješenja o upisu, naziv i vrsta spomenika, mjesto u kojem se nalazi, za nepokretne spomenike i katastarski broj, opis, vrijeme postanka i autor, kategorizacija, način na koji je spomenik pribavljen, odnosno osnova po kojoj imatelj drži spomenik, promjene na spomeniku, podatci o konzerviranju i restauriranju, podatci o troškovima održavanja (hipoteka, troškovi popravaka iz društvenih sredstava), potpis službenika koji je obavio upis i napomena. Evidenciju prema zakonskim odredbama trebalo je voditi o spomenicima i njihovu stanju i o poslovima, organizaciji, funkcioniranju i problemima službe zaštite. Na Savjetovanju nisu, zbog nedostatka vremena, utvrđeni obrasci/sheme za pojedine vrste spomenika te je u zaključcima bilo određeno da se formira komisija koja će izraditi potrebne obrasce/sheme. Komisija se sastajala dva puta, u veljači i travnju 1961. u Zagrebu, te je izradila prijedlog shema dokumentacije prema vrsti spomenika: *Shema dokumentacije za spomenike slikarstva* (izradio Milorad Medić, slikar – konzervator Saveznog instituta), *Shema dokumentacije za pokretne spomenike primjenjene umjetnosti, arheologije, etnologije i NOB-a* (izradile Verena Han, kustos Muzeja primjenjenih umjetnosti iz Beograda i Nađežda Pešić, etnolog – konzervator Saveznog instituta), *Shema dokumentacije za arhitektonske pojedinačne spomenike* (izradila Milka Čanak-Medić, arhitekt – konzervator Saveznog instituta) i *Shema registrovanja, evidencije i dokumentacije u oblasti arheologije* (Gordana Tomašević, arhitekt – konzervator Saveznog instituta).⁹²⁰

919 SKAKIĆ, BRANKA, 1960., 8.

920 CVETKOVIĆ TOMAŠEVIĆ, GORDANA, 1962., 95.

Savjetovanje o zaštiti spomenika i treći kongres Društva konzervatora Jugoslavije održan je od 15. do 21. svibnja 1961. u Ohridu. Izlaganja na savjetovanju bila su, među ostalim, slijedeća: *O društvenom upravljanju u oblasti zaštite* (Antonijo Nikolovski), *O radu Društva konzervatora Jugoslavije i podružnicama* (Nace Šumi), *Uloga i mjesto historičara umjetnosti u službi zaštite* (Jovan Sekulić), *Problemi retuša u našoj konzervatorskoj praksi* (Ilija Kavkaleški), *Postdiplomske studije za arhitekte – konzervatore* (Ivan Zdravković), *O konzervatorskim radovima na živopisu u crkvama sv. Nikole Bolničkog i sv. Bogorodice Bolničke* (Kosta Balabanov), *Konzervatorski radovi na crkvi sv. Klimenta u Ohridu* (Dimitar Ćornakov), *O konzervatorskim radovima na crkvi sv. Pantolomeja u selu Nerezi* (Spase Spirovski).⁹²¹

U svrhu rješavanja pravnih problema Treći kongres ovlastio je Upravu Društva konzervatora Jugoslavije da osnuje pravnu komisiju Društva, koju bi sačinjavali svi pravници koji rade u zavodima za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode. Uloga Komisije bila je proučavanje svih pravnih problema organizacije i rada službe zaštite spomenika kulture i prirode, te predlaganje novih propisa.

U suradnji Saveza muzejskih društava Jugoslavije i Društva konzervatora Jugoslavije, Savezni institut za zaštitu spomenika kulture organizirao je u Rijeci od 11. do 14. prosinca 1961. savjetovanje na temu *Muzeji i zaštita*. Savjetovanju je prethodila anketa koja je provedena u svim republikama SFRJ. Anketa nije obuhvatila privatne zbirke i riznice crkava.

U osnovnim značajkama rad muzeja i službe zaštite se razlikovao. Muzeji kao ustanove bavili su se prikupljanjem, evidentiranjem i izlaganjem pokretne građe, i u svojem su radu imali određenu ulogu u zaštiti spomeničke građe. Konzervatorski zavodi nastojali su stvoriti uvjete za čuvanje pokretnih spomenika *in situ* te ih dokumentirati.

Izlaganja na temu *Muzeji i zaštita* bila su: *Opšti problemi jugoslovenskih muzeja u vezi sa zaštitom spomenika kulture* (Franjo Baš), *Uloga i zadaci muzeja u oblasti zaštite spomenika kulture i prirode u ogledalu propisa* (Fedor Moačanin),

921 KATANIĆ, NADEŽDA, 1962., 163-168.

preventive protection and establishment of preparatory workshops in museums themselves, and to having better knowledge and implementation of laws.⁹²¹

The Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments

At the 1950 Conference of the *Council of Protection Experts* in Belgrade, the idea of establishing a Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments was adopted and a draft *Decree of the Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments* was proposed. Consequently, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia government, at the proposal of the Council for Science and Culture,⁹²² passed the *Decree on the Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments* on September 6, 1950.⁹²³ The *Decree* defined the goals, duties and tasks of the Federal Institute. Vladimir Mađarić was appointed director (Fig. 57). The Federal Institute worked on collecting data and requests for the restoration of cultural property damaged during World War II, drafting the Regulation for the control of exports of cultural and art objects from Yugoslavia, drafting the law on protection and the *establishment of central records*.⁹²⁴ The Federal Institute initiated the publication of the journal *Anthology for the protection of cultural monuments*, which addressed issues, methods and problems (professional and organizational) in the field of monument protection.

The report submitted by Mađarić on the Institute's ten-year anniversary is particularly interesting in terms of explaining the Institute's work related to collecting records on monuments in museums, archives and libraries abroad that were historically,

geographically and culturally related to the territory of Yugoslavia. The Federal Institute used the latest protection methods by visually examining paintings, using X-ray, infrared and ultraviolet imaging for paintings and icons, and conducted microscopic and chemical examinations of pigments at the *Painting and Conservation Atelier* and the *Laboratory for physical and chemical testing*.⁹²⁵ The Federal Institute also participated in the exchange and training of conservators in France (1953), Austria (1959) and Poland (1960),⁹²⁶ working closely with the *Instituto centrale del restauro* in Rome and the *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* in Brussels.⁹²⁷ The influence, cooperation and role of the Federal Institute in Croatia was to assist with complex restoration work, solve conservation issues, propose legislative changes, and organise conferences.⁹²⁸ In addition to the Institute performing a number of interventions and work at various sites and facilities, it is important to point out the Institute's involvement in the Pauline monastery in Lepoglava, where the conservation and restoration of the inventory and wall paintings by Ivan Ranger were carried out. The conference in Dubrovnik in 1960 should be singled out with regards to movable heritage. The conference, based on a survey conducted by the Federal Institute, determined the condition of monument records, documentation and registration. The systematic work on records and the registration of movable monuments in Croatia began, based on this conference and the Law on the protection of cultural monuments which

921 *Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture* 13/1962, V Conference on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and the 3rd Congress of the Society of Conservators of Yugoslavia.

922 The president of the Council for science and culture was Rodoljub Čolaković.

923 Published: *Službeni list* Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 54, vol. VI, 13 September 1950, Belgrade, p. 895-896. MAĐARIĆ, VLADO, 1953, 108.

924 MAĐARIĆ, VLADO, 1960, 40.

925 MAĐARIĆ, VLADO, 1960, 57. At the meeting in Split held in 1954, Mađarić had a presentation *Tasks, Role and Place of the Federal Institute in the system and organizational structure of the Protection of Cultural Monuments in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (Zadaci, uloga i mjesto Saveznog instituta u sistemu i organizacionoj strukturi zaštite spomenika kulture u FNRJ)*, in which he presented his thoughts on the work of the Institute. He believed that the Institute should train staff and equip laboratories with modern instruments, develop publishing activities and collect restoration studies and projects. MAĐARIĆ, VLADO, 1955, 109.

926 MAĐARIĆ, VLADO, 1960, 68.

927 ZDRAVKOVIĆ, IVAN, 1970-1971, 14.

928 The Federal Institute was preparing "the first exhibition on the protection service" which was to explain the organization and history of the protection service and the problems it encountered. JOVANOVIĆ, R., 1959.

Muzeji i njihov prostor (Ivan Zdravković), *Organizacija službe zaštite u muzejima* (Rajko Nikolić), *Konzervatorsko-preparatorske radionice i laboratorije* (Mihajlo Vunjak), *Zaštita pokretnih slikanih objekata u muzejima* (Aleksandar Tomašević), *Inventarizacija, evidencija i dokumentacija u muzejima* (Nadežda Andrejević-Kun, Verena Han), *O tendencijama prenošenja funkcija organa za zaštitu spomenika na muzeje na terenu* (Edo Turnher), *Uloga muzeja u službi zaštite* (Ivana Vrbanić).

Prema zaključcima, problem je bio u izradi dokumentacije o provedenim zaštitnim radovima – koja se uopće nije vodila ili je bila nepotpuna, te u suradnji među različitim stručnjacima (restauratorima, povjesničarima umjetnosti, kemičarima), koje, prema zaključcima skupa, nije bilo. Predloženo je rješenje problema provedbom inventarizacije, evidencije i dokumentacije. O problemu dokumentacije raspravljalo se na Savjetovanju koje je održano u Dubrovniku 1960. godine. Stoga je bilo odlučeno da se osnuje komisija koja bi se referirala prema zaključcima savjetovanja u Dubrovniku, a koji su se odnosili na jedinstvena načela inventarizacije, evidencije i dokumentacije muzejskih predmeta, izradu inventarnih listova i kartona, vođenje evidencije stanja spomenika kulture u muzejskim ustanovama, vođenje odgovarajuće dokumentacije konzervatorskih postupaka. Preporuka Savjetovanja odnosila se i na preventivnu zaštitu i osnivanje preparatorskih radionica u samim muzejima, te u boljem poznavanju i provedbi donesene zakonske regulative.⁹²²

Savezni institut za zaštitu spomenika kulture

Na konferenciji *Savjeta stručnjaka zaštite* u Beogradu 1950. godine prihvaćena je ideja o osnivanju Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture i predložen je nacrt *Uredbe Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture*. Stoga je vlada FNRJ, na prijedlog Savjeta za nauku i kulturu vlade FNRJ⁹²³, donijela *Uredbu o Saveznom institutu za zaštitu spomenika kulture* 6. rujna 1950. godine.⁹²⁴

922 Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture 13/1962, V Savetovanje o zaštiti spomenika kulture i III kongres društva konzervatora Jugoslavije.
923 Predsjednik Savjeta za nauku i kulturu bio je Rodoljub Čolaković.
924 Objavljeno: *Službeni list FNRJ*, broj 54., god. VI, od 13. rujna 1950., Beograd, str. 895-896. MAĐARIĆ, VLADO, 1953., 108.

Uredbom su određeni ciljevi, dužnosti i zadaci Saveznog instituta. *Direktorom* je imenovan Vladimir Mađarić (sl. 57). Savezni institut radio je na prikupljanju podataka i zahtjeva za restauriranje kulturnih dobara stradalih u Drugome svjetskom ratu, izradi Pravilnika za kontrolu izvoza kulturno-umjetničkih predmeta iz Jugoslavije, na izradi zakona o zaštiti te *osnivanju centralne evidencione kartoteke*.⁹²⁵ Savezni institut pokrenuo je izdavanje *Zbornika zaštite spomenika kulture*, u kojemu su obrađivana pitanja, metode i problemi (stručni i organizacijski) iz područja zaštite spomenika kulture.

U izvještaju koji je Mađarić podnio u povodu desetgodišnjice rada Instituta napose je zanimljiv dio koji se odnosi na objašnjenje poslova kojima se bavio Institut, a vezan je uz prikupljanje dokumentacije o spomenicima u muzejima, arhivima i knjižnicama u inozemstvu koji su povijesno, geografski i kulturološki vezani za područje tadašnje Jugoslavije. Savezni institut u svom *Slikarsko-konzervatorskom ateljeu* i u *Laboratoriju za fizička i kemijska ispitivanja* provodio je i najnovije metode zaštite optičkim ispitivanjem slika, snimanje slika i ikona rendgenskim, infracrvenim i ultraljubičastim zrakama te je provodio mikroskopska i kemijska ispitivanja pigmentata.⁹²⁶ Savezni institut sudjelovao je i u razmjeni i usavršavanju konzervatora u Francuskoj (1953.), Austriji (1959.) i Poljskoj (1960.),⁹²⁷ blisko surađujući s *Istituto centrale del restauro* u Rimu i s *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique* u Bruxellesu.⁹²⁸ Utjecaj, suradnja i uloga Saveznog instituta u Hrvatskoj bila je u pružanju pomoći pri složenim restauratorskim zahvatima, nastojanju oko rješavanja konzervatorskih problema, prijedloga zakonskih promjena te u organizaciji konferencija i savjetovanja.⁹²⁹

925 MAĐARIĆ, VLADO, 1960., 40.

926 MAĐARIĆ, VLADO, 1960., 57. Mađarić je ranije na Splitskom sastanku održanom 1954. imao izlaganje *Zadaci, uloga i mjesto Saveznog instituta u sistemu i organizacionoj strukturi zaštite spomenika kulture u FNRJ* u kojem je iznio svoja razmišljanja o radu Instituta. Smatrao je da bi se Institut trebao baviti osposobljavanjem stručnog osoblja i opremanjem laboratorija suvremenim instrumentima, razvojem izdavačke djelatnosti i prikupljanjem elaborata i projekata restauracije. MAĐARIĆ, VLADO, 1955., 109.

927 MAĐARIĆ, VLADO, 1960., 68.

928 ZDRAVKOVIĆ, IVAN, 1970.-1971., 14.

929 Savezni institut pripremao je „prvu izložbu o službi zaštite“ u kojoj je trebao obrazložiti organizaciju i povijest službe zaštite i probleme s kojima se služba zaštite susretala. JOVANOVIĆ, R., 1959.



57 Vlado Mađarić, direktor Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture od 1967. do 1976. god. (foto: Nino Vranić, 1967., MKM-FKB, inv. br. 37414)

Vlado Madaric, director of the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments (photo: Nino Vranić, 1967., inv. No.: 37414, MKM-FKB)

was passed in 1960. On January 1, 1962, the Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments became an independent institution and changed its name to the Yugoslav Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments.⁹²⁹ In 1962, when the Federal Institute stopped acting as the central coordinator in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia protection service, the organization of conferences on issues concerning monument protection was taken over by the Society of Conservators of Yugoslavia.

The Council of Conservation Institutes

In the 1950s, the basic principle of social order in Yugoslavia became self-governing socialism, which

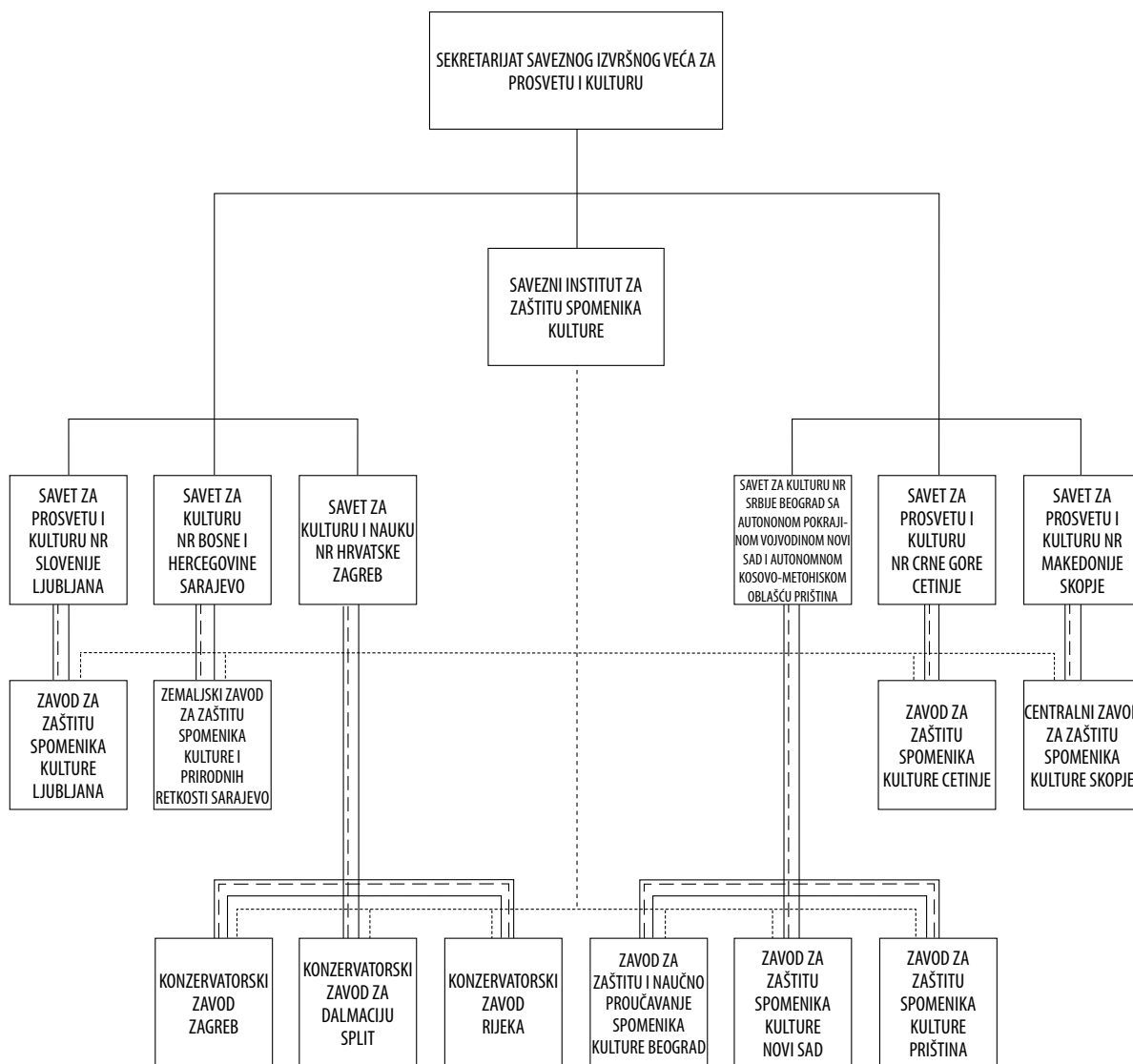
⁹²⁹ The Federal / Yugoslav Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Belgrade became an independent institution, which meant that it charged other institutions for all services. MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 444 / 2-1961, October 6, 1961.

meant a transition from state government to social self-government. Councils were founded that acted as governing bodies in all organizations.⁹³⁰

At its meeting on March 14, 1957, the Council of Culture and Science of the People's Republic of Croatia made a provisional decision on the introduction of *social governing bodies in conservation institutes*. Conservation institutes were managed by the *Council of Conservation Institutes* and the *director*, according to the decision of the Council of Culture and Science of the People's Republic of Croatia. Institute councils had from seven to eleven members. The Conservation Institute in Zagreb had eleven members and the ones in Split and Rijeka had seven. The number and composition of the councils of each conservation institute were determined by the Council for Culture and Science of the People's Republic of Croatia. The councils included representatives of national committees of the districts in which the conservation institute operated, members elected by the *working collective* of the conservation institute, with the director of the conservation institute being a council member. Other expert and public members who could contribute to the work of a conservation Institute were appointed by the Council of Culture and Science of the People's Republic of Croatia. Furthermore, the Council gave its opinion on the work of a conservation institute as well as guidelines (on keeping records, documents, supervision), passed conservation institute bylaws, and confirmed rules on the internal organization and the budget. The Council president was elected from members of the Council. The Council's expert and administrative work was performed by the Republic Institute.⁹³¹ After the Republican Law on the protection of monuments was passed, and after the supplementary Regulation was adopted,

⁹³⁰ The first 13-member workers' council was elected at the Solin Cement Factory on December 29, 1949. Preparations also began for the drafting of a law on workers' management of the economy. On June 27, 1950, the National Assembly adopted the Law on the Management of State-Owned companies and higher economic associations by labour collectives. Workers' councils had anywhere from 15 to 120 members, and were responsible for adopting self-governing acts, ordinances, financial plans, and work plans. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003, 306-307.

⁹³¹ MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 975/1957, March 15, 1957.



HEMA – SEKRETARIJAT SAVEZNOG IZVRŠNOG VEĆA ZA PROSVETU I KULTURU

— Neposredna veza između Sekretarijata Saveznog izvršnog veća za prosvetu i kulturu, republičkih saveta za prosvetu i kulturu odnosno nauku i Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture

== Neposredna veza između republičkih saveta za prosvetu i kulturu odnosno nauku i republičkih zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture odnosno konzervatorskih zavoda

..... Stručno-naučna veza između Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture i republičkih zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture odnosno konzervatorskih zavoda

Schema 3. Struktura organizacije zaštite spomenika u Jugoslaviji (preuzeta iz: MAKSIMOVIĆ, MIODRAG, 1960, 32.)

the Council for Culture and Science of the People's Republic of Croatia adopted the Decision on the council structure of the Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments.⁹³² Based on the Decision, the members of the council were: Branko Kosanović (Republican Commission for Religious Affairs of the People's Republic of Croatia), Milan Stovrag (Croatian Tourist Board), Andrija Mohorovičić (Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts), Svetozar Livada (Main Board of the Union of Fighters of the People's Republic of Croatia), Zdenka Munk (Museum Society of Croatia), Branko Lučić and Draginja Jurman Karaman (representatives of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb); the members appointed by the Executive Council of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia in Zagreb were not named. The

Director of the institute at that time was Rade Vlkov.⁹³³

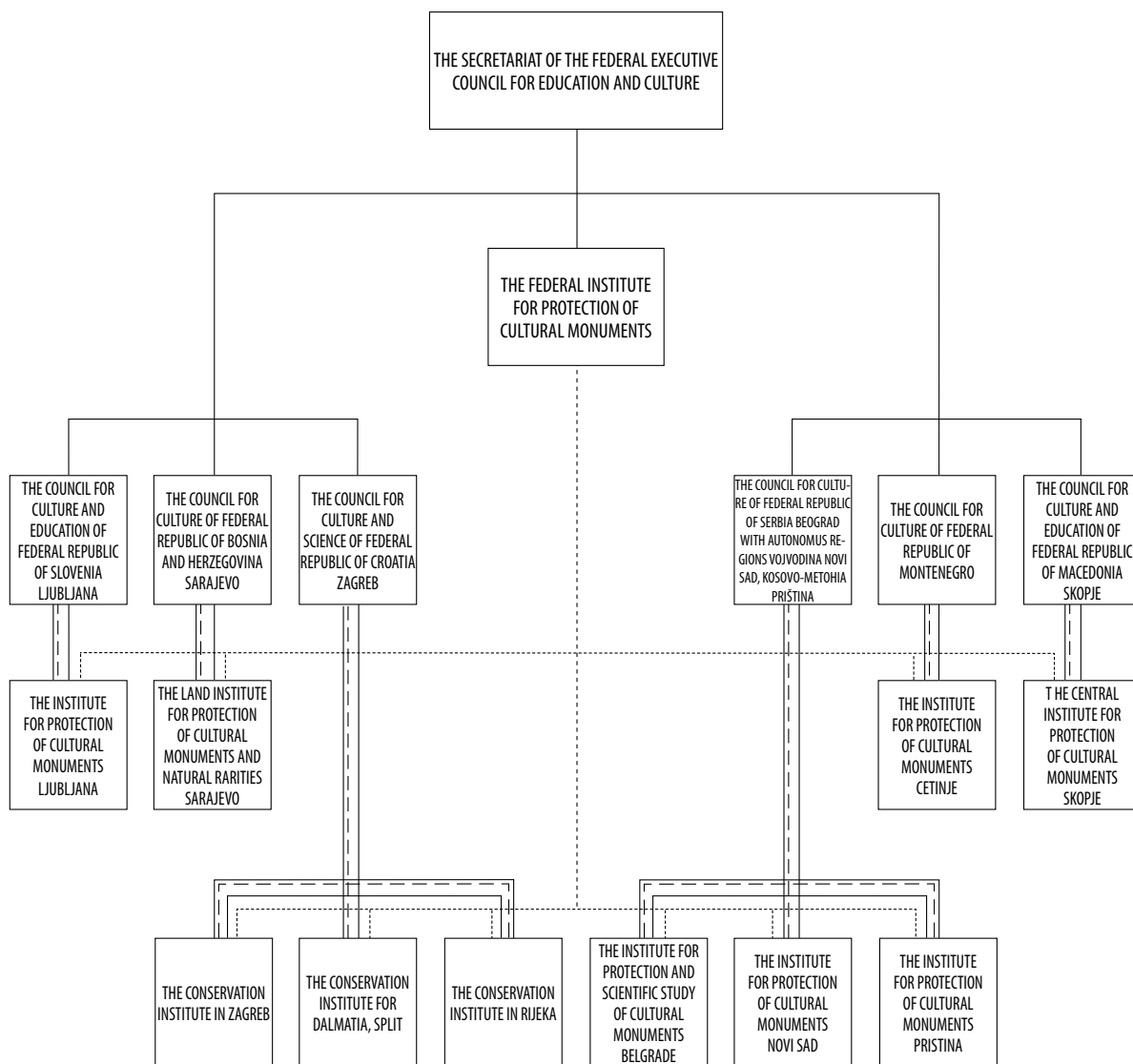
The Internal Work Commission for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb⁹³⁴

In 1955, the Internal work commission for the protection of cultural monuments established the Conservation Institute in Zagreb as an expert body to successfully solve the problem of monument protection. The

⁹³³ In the article *Objectivity instead of sympathy (Objektivnost umjesto simpatija)* published in the newspaper *Vjesnik* on March 31, 1963, Rade Vlkov presented his views on the approach to monument protection. In the article, Vlkov negatively referred to the expertise of conservators and others related to the protection service: "...From one dilettante, omniscient, cultural, defensive method, we should finally move to an objective method... This leads us to the necessary need for profiling (from omniscient to real expert) according to the subject matter of that expert." He then referred to the criteria for monument protection – monument values and the approach to solving problems in the protection service. Cvito Fisković, Grgo Gamulin, Mladen Kauzlarić, Andrija Mohorovičić, Milan Prelog and Petar Šegedin reacted to his views in the above article in a joint open letter in the *Telegram*. Disputed statements from the mentioned experts are stated, explained and commented on in seven points. Municipal institutes established after the decentralization of the protection service were quite often under a lot of pressure from investors, urban institutes, councils for construction and urbanism, etc., and they did not receive any professional help or support from the Republic Institute for protection. Moreover, in the mentioned article, Vlkov, with his *claims, assessments and conclusions*, did not advocate for monument protection, but defended the "other" side. His position on "the differentiation of monuments should be approached in the protection system" was controversial, because less valuable monuments would suffer at the expense of other interests; dividing monuments into "important" and "unimportant", they believe that the importance of each work of art in itself is in its value; the "number" of monuments that Vlkov cites as a problem, they believe that this is precisely the advantage and value of urban agglomerations; they believe that his attitude stemmed from a disregard for 19th century architecture; they also condemn the ironic attitude towards monument enthusiasts, the disrespect and appreciation for modern architecture and urbanism, and lastly, describe the disrespect for the work of conservators and all those connected with monument protection. VLKOV, RADE, 1963; FISKOVIĆ, CVITO; GAMULIN, GRGO; KAUZLARIĆ, MLADEN; MOHOR-OVIČIĆ, ANDRIJA; PRELOG, MILAN; ŠEGEDIN, PETAR, 1963. Franković also gave a review of Vlkov's article in the text *Meaning and scope of monument protection (Smisao i opseg zaštite spomenika)*. Franković tried to explain the reasons for Vlkov's attitude towards the protection service. He cited discussions and disagreements (the Split skyscraper, the Peristyle issue, the construction of Zadar, the water tower in Varaždin, etc.), which he considered the starting point for his opinions. He also questions Vlkov's understanding of the value of monuments (architectural complexes and urban units), not understanding their authenticity, uniqueness and irreplaceability, stating: "... Monument protection is a social function that should ensure the transfer of cultural heritage to modern times..." FRANKOVIĆ, EUGEN, 1963.

⁹³⁴ MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 2111/1955, December 16, 1955.

⁹³² MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 414 / 1-1961, February 9, 1961.



SCHEME - SECRETARIAT OF THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL FOR EDUCATION AND CULTURE

- The direct link between the Secretariat of the Federal Executive Council for Education and Culture, the Republic Council, and the Federal Institute for protection of cultural monuments
- — The direct connection between the republican councils for education and culture, that is, science, and the republican ones Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments or Conservation Institutes
- The professional-scientific connection between the Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and republican institutes for the protection of cultural monuments or conservation institutes

Scheme 3. The organization structure of the protection of monuments in Yugoslavia (from: MAKSIMOVIĆ, MIODRAG, 1960, 32.)

commission was made up of all the conservators of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, with the exception of the Department of Nature Conservation. The commission met every Friday. During the sessions, the conservators presented problems from their daily work. The work of the Commission was led by a conservator in charge of the area of concern. The secretary was in charge of the work of the Commission, preparations for the assembly, and keeping minutes and sessions. The first session was held on December 23, 1955, and it was attended by Ana Deanović, Štefica Habunek-Moravac, Anđela Horvat, Mladen Fučić, Draginja Jurman-Karaman, Ljubo Karaman, Stanka Krstić, Dubravka Mladinović and Tihomir Stahuljak.⁹³⁵ The Commission addressed all kinds of problems and proposals, and Angela Horvat's submission speaks of the desacralization of objects and their conversion into museums. A transcript of the submission is part of the minutes. According to the criteria she outlined, Angela Horvat maintained that the church of St. Jerome in Štrigova, the church of St. Catharine in Zagreb and the Jesuit church in Varaždin needed to be converted into a museum. She mentioned some interesting criteria:

"...It is a general conservation principle that monuments are maintained by function. And since a particular object was created because of a certain function, it functions in its original function. However, there are cases where the conservator, by chance, agrees to the change of function, and that is mostly when the change of function receives a guarantee that it is in this way that these general values will be able to be maintained..."⁹³⁶

She further described the church of St. Jerome in Štrigova and the reasons for desacralization: *"...The monument is valuable from an architectural point of view as well as because the interior was painted with quality wall paintings by our most prominent painter in the Baroque period, Ivan Ringer, and the inventory left in this space is congenial with the architecture and paintings, so that the whole ob-*

935 MKM-SDKB-A, Report No. 1, Internal Work Commission for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, December 23, 1955.

936 MKM-SDKB-A, Record No. 8, Internal Work Commission for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, February 11, 1956.

ject is a rounded work of Baroque Pauline activity from the mid-eighteenth century..."⁹³⁷

Angela Horvat's proposal was rejected at the next session of the Internal work commission.⁹³⁸ Although the submission was not approved, her thoughts on the different purposes of cultural monuments were subject to the ideological views of the society and worldviews of the time. The minutes of the Internal work commission kept from 1955 (when it was established) revealed that by 1960, a total of 113 sessions had been held. In addition to drafting bills and opinions on draft federal laws, the Internal Commission addressed problems of movable monuments, albeit to a lesser extent. One example is the case presented by Draginja Jurman Karaman; it was a letter from the Diocesan Museum asking the Conservation Institute for permission to move the old cathedral furniture, located in various institutions, to its original place. At the meeting of the Commission, it was concluded that the permit should be discussed at the Institute's meeting, according to the study, and the Diocesan Museum should be informed.⁹³⁹ Information on the solution to this problem was not found in the Institute records. We can clearly see that it was not resolved from the 1974 article by Đurđica Cvitanović *Relationship between Our community and Cultural and Art Monuments*.⁹⁴⁰ The article suggested, among other things, to gather all of the statues from the altar of bishop Franjo Ergeljski from the Zagreb Cathedral.⁹⁴¹ The problem was probably not solved because works of art of the Diocesan Museum were displaced in 1971.⁹⁴²

937 MKM-SDKB-A Record No. 8, Internal Work Commission for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, February 11, 1956.

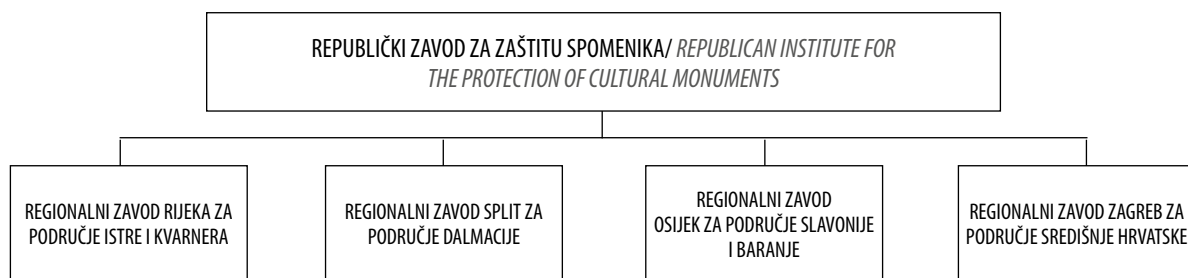
938 MKM-SDKB-A, Record No. 9, Internal Work Commission for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, February 17, 1956.

939 MKM-SDKB-A Minutes of the session of the Internal Work Commission for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, August 8, 1958.

940 CVITANOVIĆ, ĐURĐICA, 1974, 16.

941 CVITANOVIĆ, ĐURĐICA, 1974, 29.

942 From 1942, when the Diocesan Museum was opened, to 1971, it was open to the public. The museum closed when it was evicted from the manor of canon, Ivan Znika. The works of art were moved to several locations: the Kaptol Archives, the Archdiocesan Theological seminary, the Cathedral Treasury and Villa Šalda. MACAN, TRPI-MIR, 2006, 16-17.



Schema 4. Prikaz strukture službe zaštite u SR Hrvatskoj / Overview of the structure of the protection service in SR Croatia

Uz niz zahvata i radova na različitim lokacijama i objektima napose je važan angažman Instituta na pavlinskom samostanu u Lepoglavi u kojem su provedeni konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi na inventaru i zidnim slikama Ivana Rangera. U vezi s pokretnom baštinom treba izdvojiti savjetovanje u Dubrovniku 1960. godine na kojem je, na osnovi ankete koju je proveo Savezni institut, utvrđeno stanje evidencije, dokumentacije i registracije spomenika. Na osnovi tog savjetovanja i Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture donesenog 1960. godine, započeo je sustavni rad na evidenciji i registraciji pokretnih spomenika u Hrvatskoj. Savezni institut za zaštitu spomenika kulture od 1. siječnja 1962. prešao je u status samostalne ustanove te je promijenio ime u Jugoslavenski institut za zaštitu spomenika kulture.⁹³⁰ Prestankom djelovanja Saveznog instituta kao središnjeg koordinатора u službi zaštite SFRJ, organizaciju savjetovanja i konferencije o problemima vezanim za zaštitu spomenika od 1962. godine preuzelo je Društvo konzervatora Jugoslavije.

Savjet konzervatorskih zavoda

Pedesetih godina 20. stoljeća osnovno načelo društvenog uređenja u Jugoslaviji postalo je socijalističko samoupravljanje, što je značilo prelazak s državnog upravljanja

na društveno samoupravljanje. Ustanovljeni su savjeti kao tijela upravljanja u svim radnim organizacijama.⁹³¹

Savjet za kulturu i nauku NR Hrvatske na svojoj je sjednici 14. ožujka 1957. donio privremenu odluku o uvođenju organa društvenog upravljanja u konzervatorskim zavodima. Konzervatorskim zavodima je prema odluci Savjeta za kulturu i nauku NR Hrvatske upravljao Savjet konzervatorskog zavoda i direktor. Savjeti u zavodima imali su od 7 do 11 članova. Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu imao je jedanaest članova, a u Splitu i Rijeci po sedam. Broj i sastav savjeta pojedinoga konzervatorskog zavoda određivao je Savjet za kulturu i nauku NR Hrvatske. U sastavu savjeta bili su predstavnici narodnih odbora kotareva u kojima je djelovao konzervatorski zavod, zatim članovi koje je izabrao radni kolektiv konzervatorskoga zavoda, s time da je direktor konzervatorskog zavoda po svom položaju bio član savjeta. Ostale stručne i javne članove koji mogu pridonijeti radu konzervatorskog zavoda imenovao je Savjet za kulturu i nauku NR Hrvatske. Nadalje, Savjet je davao mišljenje o programu rada konzervatorskog zavoda kao i smjernice za rad (vođenje registra, evidencije i dokumentacije, nadzor), donosio statut zavoda, potvrđivao pravila o unutrašnjem ustrojstvu te proračun. Predsjednik Savjeta birao se među članovima Savjeta. Stručne i administrativne poslove Savjeta obavljao je Republički zavod.⁹³² Nakon što je stupio na snagu

930 Savezni/Jugoslavenski institut za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Beogradu prelazi u status samostalne ustanove, što je značilo da je sve usluge drugim ustanovama Institut naplaćivao. MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 444/2-1961. od 6. listopada 1961.

931 Prvi radnički savjet sastavljen od 13 članova izabran je u Tvornici cementa u Solinu 29. prosinca 1949. Tada su započele pripreme za izradu nacrtu zakona o radničkom upravljanju privredom. Narodna skupština usvojila je 27. lipnja 1950. Zakon o upravljanju državnim privrednim poduzećima i višim privrednim udruženjima od strane radnih kolektiva. Radnički savjeti imali su od 15 do 120 članova, a bili su nadležni za donošenje samoupravnih akata, pravilnika, financijskih planova, planova rada. MATKOVIĆ, HRVOJE, 2003., 306-307.

932 MKM-SDKB-A dopis pod brojem 975/1957. od 15. ožujka 1957.

MOVABLE ART PROTECTION FROM 1960 TO 1990

By 1960, the protection service had been established on the entire territory of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. With the adoption of the General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments in 1959 (Yugoslav) and the Republican Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments in 1960, the process of decentralization of the protection service and the establishment of county and municipal institutes could begin. Before the above-mentioned laws were passed, only governments of individual republics (republican executive councils) could establish Institutes. The institutional organization of monument protection before 1960 is shown on Diagram 3.

From 1965, there were four regional institutes in the Socialist Republic of Croatia in Zagreb, Split, Rijeka and Osijek, as well as communal institutes for the protection of cultural monuments in Dubrovnik (1960), Split (1961), Varaždin (1961), Zadar⁹⁴³ (1965) and Šibenik (1978) (Diagram 4). The Law on monument protection adopted in 1967 changed the name of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb to the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, as well as the Conservation Institute in Osijek and Rijeka, and the Conservation Institute for Dalmatia in Split, to regional institutes.⁹⁴⁴ In 1976, Zagreb needed a City Institute and a proposal was sent to the Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Croatia.⁹⁴⁵ At the session on May 27, 1976, the Council considered the proposal and approved the establishment of the City Institute.⁹⁴⁶ The study of the establishment of the council mentioned that a large number of items had not been documented or inventoried using the approved methodology, that they were falling behind with processing

and preparing documentation, as well as with entering monuments on the Register of Cultural Heritage.⁹⁴⁷ The Secretariat for Education, Culture and Physical Culture approved the establishment of the City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments covering the area of the regional centre for central Croatia.⁹⁴⁸

The formation of regional and municipal institutes for protection after 1960 enabled more work to be carried out on the protection of movable art: this primarily referred to more expert work on records, documentation and registration, the supervision of art exports, the examination of the condition of works of art in religious communities, and the protection of movable art in museums and galleries. After 1960, several institutions were founded to improve monument protection: the Council for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the Socialist Republic of Croatia as an advisory social governing body of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia (1967), the Conservation Institute of Croatia (1966) as an operational institution for the protection of cultural monuments, and a Self-governing community of interest in the field of culture to meet cultural needs (1974).

Records and documentation of movable art

The problems associated with a uniform approach to documentation (inventory, records), and the valorisation of movable art heritage, were discussed at conferences and interdepartmental professional meetings since 1945. However, the final agreement on unifying the documentation system between conservation institutes in the Socialist Republic of Croatia as well as the agreement by conservators at the inter-republic level, were not reached. However, there were proposals for schematics based on the type of monument at the *Conference on the work of the protection service on registration, records and documentation of cultural monuments* in Dubrovnik in 1960. The *Schematic of documentation of movable cultural monuments* (for art, archaeo-

943 Ksenija Radulić was appointed director of the Zadar Conservation Institute in 1968. According to Pavuša Vežić, "she modernized and increased the personnel structure and technical and professional equipment of the Institute." VEŽIĆ, PAVUŠA, 1975, 257-258.

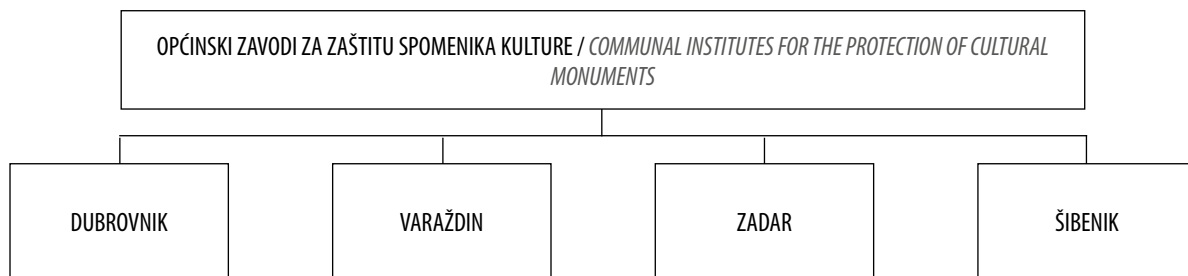
944 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 47/67, January 23, 1967.

945 The Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments was established as the highest socio-professional body on July 12, 1967.

946 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 1838/1-77, May 17, 1977.

947 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 06-206/1976, June 6, 1976.

948 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 06-206/76, March 12, 1976.



Shema 5. Prikaz strukture službe zaštite u SR Hrvatskoj – Općinski zavodi za zaštitu spomenika kulture / Overview of the structure of the protection service in SR Croatia - Municipal Institutes for the Protection of Cultural Monuments

Republički zakon o zaštiti spomenika i nakon donošenja dopunskih propisa, Savjet za kulturu i nauku NR Hrvatske donio je Rješenje o sastavu savjeta Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture.⁹³³ Prema Rješenju članovi savjeta bili su: Branko Kosanović (Republička komisija za vjerske poslove NRH), Milan Stovrag (Turistički savez Hrvatske), Andre Mohorovičić (Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti), Svetozar Livada (Glavni odbor Saveza boraca NR Hrvatske), Zdenka Munk (Muzejsko društvo Hrvatske), Branko Lučić i Draginja Jurman-Karaman (predstavnici Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu); članovi koje imenuje Izvršno vijeće Sabora NR Hrvatske

u Zagrebu nisu imenovani. Direktor zavoda tada je bio Rade Vlkov.⁹³⁴

934 Rade Vlkov je u članku *Objektivnost umjesto simpatija* iznio svoja stajališta u vezi pristupa zaštiti spomenika u *Vjesniku* 31. ožujka 1963. Vlkov se u samom članku negativno osvrnuo na stručnost u radu konzervatora i ostalih povezanih sa službom zaštite: „...*Od jednog diletantskog sveznadarskog kulturnog, obranaškog metoda, treba konačno prijeći na jedan objektivni metod... To nas vodi na nužnu potrebu profilacije (od sveznadara do stvarnog stručnjaka) prema materiji kojom se taj stručnjak bavi.*“ Potom se osvrnuo na kriterije zaštite spomenika – spomeničkih vrijednosti i pristup u rješavanju problema u službi zaštite. Na njegova iznesena stajališta u navedenom članku reagirali su u zajedničkom otvorenom obraćanju u *Telegramu*: Cvito Fisković, Grgo Gamulin, Mladen Kauzlarić, Andrija Mohorovičić, Milan Prelog i Petar Šegedin. U sedam točaka su navedene, obrazložene i komentirane sporne izjave od navedenih stručnjaka. Općinski zavodi koji su osnovani nakon decentralizacije službe zaštite vrlo često su bili u svom radu pod pritiskom investitora, urbanističkih zavoda, savjeta za građevinarstvo i urbanizam i dr., a u svojem radu od Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu nisu dobivali nikakvu stručnu pomoć ili podršku. Štoviše, u navedenom članku Vlkov se sa svojim tvrdnjama, ocjenama i zaključcima nije zauzeo za zaštitu spomenika, već braneci „drugu“ stranu. Sporanj je bio njegov stav „da se u sistemu zaštite treba pristupiti diferencijaciji spomeničke materije“, čime bi se manje vrijedni spomenici žrtvovali na račun drugih interesa; dijeljenje spomenika na „bitne“ i „nebitne“, smatraju da je bitnost svakog umjetničkog djela u njemu samome u njegovoj vrijednosti; potom „brojnost“ spomenika koju Vlkov navodi kao problem, smatraju da je to *upravo prednost i vrijednost urbanih aglomeracija*; smatraju da je taj stav proizašao iz nevrjednovanja arhitekture 19. stoljeća; potom osuđuju ironizirajući stav prema *ljubiteljima spomenika, nepoštivanje i vrednovanje moderne arhitekture i urbanizma* te kao posljednje navode nepoštivanje rada konzervatora i svih onih vezanih uz zaštitu spomenika. VLKOV, RADE, 1963.; FISKOVIĆ, CVITO; GAMULIN, GRGO; KAUZLARIĆ, MLADEN; MOHOROVIČIĆ, ANDRIJA; PRELOG, MILAN; ŠEGEDIN, PETAR, 1963. Osvrt na tekst Vlkova dao je i Franković u tekstu *Smisao i opseg zaštite spomenika*. Franković je pokušao objasniti razloge takvog stava Vlkova spram službe zaštite. Naveo je primjere oko kojih su vođene rasprave i neslaganja u mišljenjima (Špitski neboder, pitanje Peristila, izgradnja Zadra, vodotoranj u Varaždinu i dr.), a koje je smatrao ishodištem takvog stava. Upitnim smatra i njegovo razumijevanje vrijednosti spomenika (arhitektonskih kompleksa i urbanističkih cjelina) ne shvaćajući pritom njihovu autentičnost, neponovljivost i nezamjenjivost, navodeći: „...*Zaštita spomenika jest ona društvena funkcija koju treba da osigura prijenos kulturne baštine u suvremenost...*“ FRANKOVIĆ, EUGEN, 1963.

933 MKM-SDKB-A dopis pod brojem 414/1-1961. od 9. veljače 1961.

logical, ethnological monuments and monuments of the National Liberation War) was made by Verena Han, curator of the Museum of Applied Arts from Belgrade, and Nadežda Pešić, ethnologist-conservator from the Federal Institute.⁹⁴⁹ The schematic consisted of thirteen chapters: general information, historical and bibliographic data, monument analysis, valorisation, previous conservation interventions, monument condition and how they were stored, conservation testing, conservation proposal, commission evaluation of proposals for conservation, permission of the competent institute for conservation, reception of monuments – commission report, report on conservation and control of the condition of the monument and subsequent observations. The schematic shows a modern approach to conservation practice where all important elements for processing material in the field, classification and data analysis were included, enabling an overview of how many movable monuments were processed in areas under regional institutes in Yugoslavia, which also applied to the Republic of Croatia. (Diagram 8.).

The Schematic was partially implemented through index cards made in regional institutes, and a copy was sent to the Republican Institute. The problem with not having a unified approach to basic documentation partly lay in the independent status of regional institutes that approached records and the selection of jobs according to their own choice and priorities.

In Dalmatia, *albums* were made of the inventory by churches and monasteries that contained basic data (usually the name, age and a note before or after it was repaired) and a photograph. (Fig. 58, 59). These albums are still an important source of data on the inventory of a particular church or monastery, especially during the audits.

Due to the need for central records for cultural monuments, a proposal to establish a Centre for Records of Cultural Monuments⁹⁵⁰ appeared as one of the tasks of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb. The Centre was

provided for by the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments from 1967, but it was never formally established as a special organizational unit of the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. The purpose of the Centre was to collect, supplement, study and analyse collected data on cultural monuments in the area under the jurisdiction of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb.⁹⁵¹ The plan was for Anđela Horvat (Fig. 60) to become head of the Centre. The Republican Institute partially performed some of the functions of the Centre: data on monuments was collected by studying written sources, records, inspection and reambulation of the terrain, records on the list of private collections, photographs, architectural and geodetic surveys, artwork, books and newspaper articles, and reports on the inspection and condition of monuments. The collected material on monuments was organised in *files of individual monuments, monument files, records on the condition of monuments, records on monuments for which export abroad is prohibited and the institute's collections.*

In 1964, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb submitted a proposal for a seven-year plan for the Department of Records, Documentation and Study of Cultural Monuments. The proposed plan was prepared by Anđela Horvat, and the main tasks were: "...*basic records and reambulation, documentation, valorisation and categorization, cooperation for coordination with institutes for the protection of cultural monuments, cooperation with related institutions with municipalities, districts and social organizations, staffing problems, publications, propaganda and collections...*"⁹⁵²

The basic records and reambulation of the terrain included ethnological, archaeological, movable monuments and settlements. During 1963, data on movable monuments in private collections under the jurisdiction of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb was analysed and documented. Based on the minutes, a total of 15,630 items were documented. According to the

949 TOMAŠEVIĆ, GORDANA, 1962, 95.

950 MKM-SDKB-A, Act No. 01-267/14-1960, January 11, 1961.

951 I would like to thank Vladimir Ukrainčik for the information.

952 MKM-SDKB-A Letter, February 28, 1964.

Shema dokumentacije spomenika kulture • 101	102 • Zbornik zaštite spomenika kulture
<p>PRILOG I</p> <p>HEMA DOKUMENTACIJE POKRETNIH SPOMENIKA KULTURE</p> <p>(za spomenike primjenjene umjetnosti, arheološke, etnološke, spomenike NOB itd.)</p> <p>I. OPŠTI PODACI</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Regijski broj 2. Naziv objekta (opšti - lokalni), vrsta, karakter, grupa i broj primjeraka 3. Mjesto, općina, republika 4. Datiranje (oba, vek, godina, kultura) 5. Brojka i vrsta nepodnoš 6. Stil, škola, radionica, autor 7. Materijal, mere 8. Kategorizacija 9. Iste (naive) iznosi, korisnika - vlasnika, adresa, inventarski broj objekta <p>II. ISTORIJSKI I BIBLIOGRAFSKI PODACI</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Pisani izvorni podaci (arhivski, epigrafski itd.) 2. Prelozi 3. Ilustrativni materijal (stare gravure, fotografije itd.) 4. Podaci iz literature - izvodi 5. Opšta bibliografija <p>III. ANALIZA SPOMENIKA</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Opis površina <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) opšti podaci <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - opis, tema, sadržaj - vrsta, karakter - namena - položaj b) posebni podaci <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - materijal - tehnika - mere (vrijdima, težina) - posebni znaci itd. 2. Analize tehničkih svjetova <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - statika - hemijska 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Analize stilskih svjetova <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tip, grupa, vrsta - ikonografija - ornamentika, stil, škola, radionica - datacija 4. Analize historijskog razvoja objekta i istorijskog spomenika <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - povrsko spomenika, motiv - poručiti - datacija svih faza, pojedinih dijelova i rekonstrukcije - život spomenika 5. Tehnička dokumentacija <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - planovi, skice, kalodovi - fotografije <p>IV. VALORIZACIJA OBJEKTA</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Stična i estetska koncepcija, načini i struktura društva, stepen razvika, tehnika itd., vreme u kojemu je spomenik nastao i čiji je jedan od izvora 2. Značaj i funkcije spomenika u tim uslovima i promena kroz istoriju 3. Naučno dokumentarna vrednost spomenika <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - kao izvora podataka za ekonomika, sociološka, kulturna istorija, tehnika, itd. - njegova estetska - umetnička vrednost (stilsko, ikonografska, itd.) 4. Mogućnost uključivanja u savremeni život, uključivanje njegove posebne namene, funkcije ili sadržaja nove itd. <p>V. RANJE KONSERVATORSKE INTERVENCIJE</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Na osnovu izvosa, literature, starih planova i fotografija 2. Na osnovu prelozi i okruženja 3. Učena povratkom spomenika <p>VI. STANJE SPOMENIKA I USLOVI POD KOJIMA SADA ŽIVI</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ulici: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - klimatski - higijenski <p>E. Oštećenja:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - mehanička - biogeno - hemijska <p>4. Ugroženja:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - mehanička - biogeno - hemijska <p>4. Tehnička dokumentacija</p> <p>VII. KONSERVATORSKA ISPEITVANJA</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Analize spomenika u slučaju potrebe vještovanja podataka u cilju izraditajja konzervatorskih rešenja 2. Tehnička ispitivanja <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - statika - hemijska - biološka - klimatološka 3. Ispitivanja - jeste u cilju utvrđivanja konzervatorskog postupka 4. Tehnička dokumentacija <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - fotografije epigrafski izgleda i detalja o materijalnom stanju spomenika - fotografije IR, UV i rentgenski snimci <p>VIII. PREDLOG ZA RADOVE</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Služni predlog <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tekstočni dio - tehnička dokumentacija za zaku spomenika 2. Predlog za izvođenje <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - tekstočni dio - tehnička dokumentacija <p>IX. OCENA PREDLOGA ZA RADOVE OD STRANE KOMISIJE</p> <p>X. DOZVOLA NADLEŽNOG ZAVODA ZA IZVOĐENJE KONSERVATORSKIH RADOVA</p>
	<p>XI. PREGLED SPOMENIKA - IZVEŠTAJ KOMISIJE</p> <p>XII. IZVEŠTAJ O KONSERVATORSKIM RADOVIMA</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Deskripcija 2. Tehnička dokumentacija 3. Dnevnik radova 4. Tehnički <p>XIII. KONTROLA STANJA SPOMENIKA I KAMENJA ZAPAZANJA O NIJEMU</p>

Shema 6. Shema dokumentacije spomenika kulture
Scheme of documentation of cultural monuments

Interna radna komisija za zaštitu spomenika kulture Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu⁹³⁵

S ciljem uspješnijeg rješavanja problematike zaštite spomenika kulture u Konzervatorskom zavodu u Zagrebu kao stručno tijelo osnovana je godine 1955. Interna radna komisija za zaštitu spomenika kulture. Komisiju su činili svi konzervatori Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu, osim Odjela za zaštitu prirode. Komisija se sastajala svakog petka. Na sjednici su konzervatori iznosili probleme u svakodnevnom radu. Rad Komisije vodio je konzervator zadužen za područje kojega je problematika bila na dnevnom redu. O radu Komisije, pripremama za saziv, o vođenju zapisnika kao i odvijanju sjednice brinuo se tajnik. Prva sjednica održana je 23. prosinca 1955., a na

935 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 2111/1955., od 16. prosinca 1955.

njoj su sudjelovali Ana Deanović, Štefica Habunek-Moravac, Anđela Horvat, Mladen Fučić, Draginja Jurman-Karaman, Ljubo Karaman, Stanka Krstić, Dubravka Mladinov i Tihomil Stahuljak.⁹³⁶ Komisija se bavila svakojakim problemima i prijedlozima, a podnesak Anđele Horvat govori o desakralizaciji objekata i njihovu pretvaranju u muzeje. Taj je podnesak u prijepisu priložen zapisniku. Po kriterijima koje je iznijela u tom podnesku, Horvat je držala da crkvu sv. Jeronima u Štrigovi, crkvu sv. Katarine u Zagrebu i isusovačku crkvu u Varaždinu treba prenamijeniti u muzej. Pritom su zanimljivi kriteriji koje navodi:

„...Opće je konzervatorsko načelo, da spomenike održava funkcija. A pošto je određeni objekt nastao zbog određene

936 MKM-SDKB-A, Izvještaj br. 1, Interna radna komisija za zaštitu spomenika kulture Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu od 23. prosinca 1955.

work plan for 1964, movable monuments from sacral buildings in the districts of Bjelovar, Sisak, Karlovac and Varaždin were documented.⁹⁵³ The Institute's plan for 1964 mentioned that monuments were documented by teams of two to three members, including a photographer. Substrates for work in Dropkovac, Pintići, Kamešnica, Donji Prilišće, Gradišće, Erdelj and Venac were also made, and then the locations were inspected, with a description and photo documentation. In 1964, Horvat documented movable sacral inventory in Križ, Ludin, Kutina, Gojil and Kloštar Ivanić.

In addition to basic records, records on movable monuments in sacral buildings that were in danger of being stolen were also made. The report on *the Problems of Protection of Movable Cultural Monuments against Theft and the records of objects of monumental significance in the territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia* provides an answer as to why collecting records on movable monuments was a slow process – the problem was a lack of experts for movable monuments. The Report also states that institutes in Dubrovnik, Split and Zadar did not have a person in charge of movable monuments, Osijek had one, and the Regional Institutes in Zagreb and Split each had two.⁹⁵⁴

In 1964, movable monuments from a total of 38 sacral buildings were recorded. After the monuments in the field were documented, the issue of documenting inventory in sacral buildings came up, so the Institute considered different ways of processing collected material. The use of the form of the Yugoslav Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Belgrade for documenting movable monuments was recommended. The collected data would be used to make a record with a short description for each item. Six copies of the record were made, and two were kept by the owner of the registered items. One signed copy was kept by the parish priest, and the other by the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, while other copies were to serve as an

attachment to the file of the building and for other purposes.⁹⁵⁵

As already mentioned, the Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments was founded based on the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments from 1967⁹⁵⁶. Article 36 of the Law stipulated that the Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Croatia decided how registers, records and documentation of cultural monuments were kept.⁹⁵⁷ Therefore, the Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Croatia issued *Instructions on keeping records and documentation of cultural monuments*.⁹⁵⁸ The instruction stated Monuments are kept by a system of files: *Files of basic records, Files of basic records for groups of monuments, Files on protective (conservation-restoration) interventions on monuments, and Files on protective (conservation) interventions on groups of monuments* (Fig. 61, 62). It was determined that the format of the file should be 21 x 17 cm, and that each card should have a photograph. Records of the card file were kept in a special book. One copy of the card of the competent regional institute was submitted to the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments.⁹⁵⁹ According to the Instruction, the most important data for each individual immovable or movable monument were collected in the Basic Records File:

...monument, place, municipality, competent institute, monument register, monument category, insurance, monument file, condition of the monument, priority of protective works, owner, position (location), purpose, function, author, material, time of creation, dimensions, technique,

953 MKM-SDKB-A Minutes of the work of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb from January 1 to September 9, 1964.

954 MKM-SDKB-A Report from October 1975, prepared by Dubravka Mladinov, Jerica Ljubenko and Bianka Perčinić Kavur.

955 MKM-SDKB-A Meeting of the Records Department on May 19, 1964.

956 Published: NN 7/1967, February 15, 1967.

957 All conservation institutes had to keep records on cultural monuments in their area, organise the existing records and prepare photo documentation. Records on movable monuments were a priority in the programs of the conservation institutes in 1967, with funds from the Republic Fund for the Improvement of Cultural Activities. MKM-SDKB-A From the report by Milan Prelog, Service for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in the Socialist Republic of Croatia and its current problems (1967).

958 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 11/1-P-1967.

959 The municipal institutes for the area under their jurisdiction submitted two copies to the regional institutes, they kept one copy and sent the other to the Republican Institute.

funkcije, on sam po sebi djeluje u svojoj prvotnoj funkciji. No ima slučajeva, da konzervator sticajem prilika pristaje na izmjenu funkcije, a to je većinom onda, kad se tom izmjenom funkcije dobiva jamstvo, da će se upravo time te opće vrednote moći održavati...⁹³⁷

Nadalje je opisala crkvu sv. Jeronima u Štrigovi i razloge desakralizacije: „... Spomenik je vrijedan s arhitektonskog stajališta, kao i zbog toga, što je unutrašnjost oslikana kvalitetnim zidnim slikarijama našeg najistaknutijeg slikara u doba baroka Ivana Rangera, a i inventar, koji je preostao u tom prostoru kongenijalan je s arhitekturom i slikarijama, tako da čitav objekt pretstavlja zaokruženo djelo barokne pavlinske djelatnosti iz sredine XVIII stoljeća...⁹³⁸

Prijedlog Anđele Horvat na sljedećoj je sjednici Interne radne komisije bio odbijen.⁹³⁹ Iako spomenuti podnesak nije usvojen, njezina razmišljanja o različitoj namjeni spomenika kulture bila su podložna ideološkim stajalištima društva i onodobnim svjetonazorima. Uvidom u zapisnike Interne radne komisije od 1955. (kada je osnovana) utvrđeno je da je do 1960. održano ukupno 113 sastanaka. Uz izradu zakonskih prijedloga i mišljenja na prednacrtu saveznih zakona, Interna komisija bavila se problemima pokretnih spomenika, iako u manjoj mjeri. Primjer je slučaj koji je izlagala Draginja Jurman-Karman; riječ je bila o dopisu Dijecezanskog muzeja, kojim se od Konzervatorskoga zavoda tražila dozvola da se stari namještaj katedrale, koji se nalazio u raznim institucijama, premjesti na izvorno mjesto. Na sastanku Komisije bilo je zaključeno da zatraženu dozvolu treba iznijeti na sjednici zavoda prema načinjenom elaboratu, a o tome se trebao obavijestiti Dijecezanski muzej.⁹⁴⁰ Podatak o rješavanju ovoga problema nije pronađen u spisima Zavoda. No, da problem povratka nije bio riješen govori nam članak Đurđice Cvitanović iz 1974. godine o *Odnosu*

naše sredine prema kulturno-umjetničkim spomenicima,⁹⁴¹ u kojem je među ostalim predlagala okupljanje kipova s ergeljskog oltara.⁹⁴² Problem vjerojatno nije bio riješen i stoga što su umjetnine Dijecezanskog muzeja godine 1971. bile raseljene.⁹⁴³

ZAŠTITA POKRETNIH UMJETNIČKIH PREDMETA OD 1960. DO 1990. GODINE

Do godine 1960. u cijelosti je na području FNRJ uspostavljena služba zaštite. Donošenjem Općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture 1959. godine (jugoslavenski), potom i republičkog *Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture* 1960., započeo je proces decentralizacije službe zaštite i osnivanje kotarskih i općinskih zavoda. Do donošenja spomenutih Zakona zavode su mogle osnivati samo republičke vlade, odnosno republička izvršna vijeća. Institucionalna organizacija zaštite spomenika do 1960. godine prikazana je na shemi 3.

Shema 3. Struktura organizacije zaštite spomenika u Jugoslaviji (preuzeta iz: MAKSIMOVIĆ, MIODRAG, 1960., 32.)

Od godine 1965. u SR Hrvatskoj djeluju četiri regionalna zavoda: u Zagrebu, Splitu, Rijeci i Osijeku, a uz njih djeluju i komunalni zavodi za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Dubrovniku (1960.), Splitu (1961.), Varaždinu (1961.), Zadru⁹⁴⁴ (1965.) te Šibeniku (1978.) (shema 4). Zakonom o zaštiti spomenika donesenim 1967. godine, među ostalim, promijenjeno je ime Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu u Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, a Konzervatorski zavod u Osijeku i Rijeci te Konzervatorski zavod za Dalmaciju u Splitu u regionalne zavode.⁹⁴⁵ U Zagrebu se 1976. godine javila potreba za osnivanjem Gradskog zavoda pa je upućen prijedlog Savjetu za

937 MKM-SDKB-A, Zapisnik br. 8, Interna radna komisija za zaštitu spomenika kulture Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu od 11. veljače 1956.
938 MKM-SDKB-A Zapisnik br. 8, Interna radna komisija za zaštitu spomenika kulture Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu od 11. veljače 1956.
939 MKM-SDKB-A, Zapisnik br. 9 – Interna radna komisija za zaštitu spomenika kulture Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu od 17. veljače 1956.
940 MKM-SDKB-A Zapisnik sjednice Interne radne komisija za zaštitu spomenika kulture Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu od 8. kolovoza 1958.

941 CVITANOVIĆ, ĐURĐICA, 1974., 16.

942 CVITANOVIĆ, ĐURĐICA, 1974., 29.

943 Od otvorenja Dijecezanskog muzeja 1942. do 1971. muzej je bio otvoren javnosti. Iseļjavanjem muzeja iz Znikine kurije muzej je zatvoren. Umjetnine su premještene na nekoliko lokacija: u Kaptolski arhiv, Nadbiskupsko bogoslovno sjemenište, Riznicu katedrale i Villu Šalda. MACAN, TRPIMIR, 2006., 16-17.

944 Ksenija Radulić imenovana je direktoricom Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zadru 1968. godine. Kako navodi Pavuša Vežić, „modernizirala je i povećala kadrovsku strukturu i tehničku i stručnu opremljenost Zavoda.“ VEŽIĆ, PAVUŠA, 1975., 257-258.

945 MKM-SDKB-A Dopis broj 47/67 od 23. siječnja 1967.

construction, number, description, valorisation, causes of decay – maintenance conditions, photograph, documentation, monument inspections, remarks, bibliography, filled by, certified by." The Basic Records file for groups of monuments gathered data for urban and rural units, areas of historical significance, sets of buildings, collections, archives and library funds or collections: "...group of monuments, place, municipality, competent institution, monument register, monument category, insurance, monument file, condition of monuments, priority of protective works, position, location, time of creation, surface area, population density, number of buildings or objects, description, valorisation, preservation, causes of decay – maintenance conditions, documentation, inspections, remark, bibliography, filled by, certified by."

The Records file on conservation and restoration included the most important data on the condition, conservation and restoration that was being carried out or that had already been done on endangered movable or immovable individual monuments: *monument, place, competent institute, monument register, monument category, monument file, location after intervention, description of the damage, assessment, documentation, record number, year, intervention description, author, client, source of funds, amount in ND, reference, remark, filled by, certified by*. In addition to the Monument Records File, according to the *Instructions*, monument documentation was carried out using a system of files according to the type of monument (architectural monument, movable monument, wall paintings and mosaics, urban and rural units, monument complex, area of historical significance, etc.). The monument records file was kept in a special book, which was the same size as the book of records. Regional institutes had to submit one complete copy of the monument record for the area under their jurisdiction to the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, and the Municipal institutes submitted two copies.

Records of movable monuments, wall paintings and mosaics contained the following information:

– *Documents (decisions, monument insurance – tran-*

*scripts of insurance policies, contracts), historical data (author, contractor, client/donor, owners), sources and archival documentation (excerpts from sources, excerpts and signatures of archival materials), bibliography, description, valorisation, purpose and conditions of protection, inventory, basic photo-documentation, technical data and documentation (plans and drawings for movable monuments: drawing of signature, stamp/enlarged/or fittings, floor plan of the base – profile/for chalices, etc./, drawings of characteristic details, schematic drawing of painting/monument/with marked damage/damaged places/), reports and notes (Reports on the inspection of monuments, various notes, other various data), interventions – maintenance, conservation and restoration (Previous conservation interventions and other interventions, based on reference, based on the existing documentation, observed during inspection of monuments, studies, conservation and technical studies, opinions of the commission for approval of the study, performed interventions). The section *performed interventions* had two parts: *Reports and photo documentation (on the condition of monuments, on the course of work, possible new findings, on completed work, special images: infrared, ultraviolet, macro, micro-images, x-rays, technological analysis), and Documentation of finished work (data on investors and funds, contracts; report on funds, work diary, report of the commission on the completed project).**

The 1967 Work Program proposed by the regional institutes regarding the records on movable monuments provides an insight into the work on these types of monuments. The Regional Institute in Rijeka documented the interior of sacral buildings in the Buje, Novigrad, Umag, Pula and Labin municipalities. The Regional Institute of Split documented movable monuments in the Brač, Drniš, Hvar, Imotski, Knin, Korčula, Lastovo, Makarska, Metković, Omiš, Sinj, Šibenik, Trogir, Vis and Vrgorac municipalities. The Regional Institute in Osijek planned to document movable monuments in 135 buildings in the Beli Manastir, Donji Miholjac, Đakovo, Našice, Nova Gradiška, Orahovica, Podravska Slatina, Požega, Slavonski Brod, Valpovo, Vinkovci, Vukovar, Osijek and Županja municipalities. The Regional

zaštitu spomenika kulture Hrvatske.⁹⁴⁶ Savjet je na sjednici 27. svibnja 1976. razmatrao postojanje uvjeta za osnivanje i početak rada Gradskog zavoda te je dao suglasnost za osnivanje.⁹⁴⁷ U Elaboratu o osnivanju, među ostalim, spomenuto je da velik broj predmeta nije popisani i po jedinstvenoj metodologiji inventariziran, te da znatno zaostaje stručna obrada i izrada dokumentacije, kao i upis u Registar kulturnih dobara.⁹⁴⁸ *Sekretarijat za obrazovanje, kulturu i fizičku kulturu* očitovao se pozitivno o osnivanju Gradskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture s djelokrugom regionalnog centra za područje središnje Hrvatske.⁹⁴⁹

Shema 4. Prikaz strukture službe zaštite u SR Hrvatskoj (1967.)

Shema 5. Prikaz strukture službe zaštite u SR Hrvatskoj – općinski zavodi za zaštitu spomenika kulture (1967.)

Osnivanje regionalnih i općinskih zavoda za zaštitu poslije 1960. omogućilo je intenzivniji rad na zaštiti pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta: to se u prvom redu odnosilo na sustavniji stručni rad na evidenciji, dokumentaciji i registraciji, na nadzor nad izvozom umjetnina, utvrđivanje stanja umjetnina u vjerskim zajednicama i zaštitu pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta u muzejima i galerijama. Nakon godine 1960. osnovano je nekoliko institucija u svrhu unaprjeđenja zaštite spomenika: Savjet za zaštitu kulturne baštine SR Hrvatske kao savjetodavni društveni organ upravljanja Sabora SR Hrvatske (1967.), Restauratorski zavod Hrvatske (1966.) kao operativna institucija u funkciji zaštite spomenika kulture i Samoupravna interesna zajednica u kulturi radi zadovoljavanja kulturnih potreba (1974.).

Evidencija i dokumentacija pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta

Problem ujednačenoga pristupa izradi dokumentacije (inventarizacije, evidencije), a time i valorizacije pokretne umjetničke baštine sustavno je razmatran na

946 Savjet za zaštitu spomenika kulture osnovan je kao najviše društveno-stručno tijelo 12. srpnja 1967. godine.

947 MKM-SDKB-A Dopis broj 1838/1-77 od 17. svibnja 1977.

948 MKM-SDKB-A Dopis broj 06-206/1976. od 6. lipnja 1976.

949 MKM-SDKB-A Dopis broj 06-206/76. od 12. ožujka 1976.



58 Album inventara (foto: Hrvoje Vuletić, MKM-KOST)
Inventory album (photo: Hrvoje Vuletić, MKM-KOST)

konferencijama, savjetovanjima i međuzavodskim stručnim sastancima od 1945. godine. No, konačni dogovor o ujednačavanju dokumentacije između samih konzervatorskih zavoda u SRH te dogovor konzervatora na međurepubličkoj razini o toj temi nije postignut, iako treba napomenuti da su na spomenutom *Savjetovanju o radu službe zaštite na registrovanju, evidenciji i dokumentaciji spomenika kulture* u Dubrovniku godine 1960. odnosno u radu komisija koje su proizašle iz tog *Savjetovanja* dani prijedlozi shema za izradu dokumentacije prema vrstama spomenika. *Shemu dokumentacije pokretnih spomenika kulture* (za spomenike primijenjene umjetnosti, arheološke, etnološke, spomenike NOB-a) izradile su Verena Han, kustosica Muzeja primijenjene umjetnosti iz Beograda i Nadežda Pešić, etnolog – konzervator Saveznog instituta.⁹⁵⁰ *Shemu* čini trinaest poglavlja: opći podatci, historijski i bibliografski podatci, analiza spomenika, valorizacija objekta, ranije konzervatorske inter-

950 TOMAŠEVIĆ, GORDANA, 1962., 95.

Institute in Zagreb did not include records in its program, but it did include the registration of 100 groups of movable monuments with valorisation and temporary categorization.

A total of 3390 registration cards had arrived by September 6, 1982, which is far from the actual number of all movable monuments in Croatia. In her book *Cultural monuments – their distribution and general valorisation*, Anđela Horvat stated that there were about 16,000 preserved and recorded movable monuments on the territory of the Republic of Croatia which indicates a huge disproportion between the recorded monuments and the “official” records of the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. In a 1978 survey conducted by the Coordinating Committee for National Defence in cooperation with the Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Physical Education, a new number of movable monuments appeared, 42,000⁹⁶⁰ (the results of the survey were not verified or credible). The final number of movable monuments is difficult to determine, because it is a continuous process, with constant additions and corrections. Unfortunately, to this day, the inventory of movable monuments has not advanced significantly since the early 1980s. Even according to the existing data, the extent of documented movable cannot be determined.

The Registration of monuments

After collecting records, inventory and documentation on movable monuments, the final stage of monument protection is registration, i.e. entry in the register. Article 5 of the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities from 1949, stated that competent institutes for protection decided which objects were considered cultural monuments. According to Article 7, owners of such monuments had to allow the monuments to be inspected, described and photographed. Article 33 of the General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments from 1959 made keeping the Regis-

ter of Cultural Monuments mandatory. Each republic could regulate the keeping of the register through its own regulations, but it was important to include all objects that have monumental properties in the Register. Article 37 of the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Socialist Republic of Croatia from 1960 stated that any movable object or collection with the status of a monument should be entered on the Register. The decision was issued by the district institute for monument protection, and the Republican Institute kept a register in areas where there was no district institute.⁹⁶¹ From 1967, according to the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Republic of Croatia, the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Zagreb kept records of all monuments on the territory of the Republic (Article 38). *The Ordinance on the Registration of Cultural Monuments* was based on Article 43 of the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments.⁹⁶² According to the Ordinance, Institutes for the Protection of Cultural Monuments had to keep the Register of Monuments (separate for movable and immovable monuments) and a collection of documents as an integral part of the Register, as well as a directory of registered monuments in the form of a file. Movable monuments could be protected individually or as a collection. When listing collections, the total number of items had to be given. All decisions had to be submitted to the owner of the monument and to the council of the municipal and district national committee in the area where the monument was located. The application for registration had to contain information on the type of item, material, technique, dimensions, author, age, location and origin of the item (Article 14). The procedure for registering monuments was carried out by the municipal institute in the area under its jurisdiction, based on the authority of the Conservation Institute.⁹⁶³ Anđela Horvat drafted a proposal for the Announcement on monument registration, inviting owners of movable and immovable

960 MKM-SDKB-A Information on the state of valorisation and categorization of cultural monuments in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

961 From the daily press on the adoption of the ordinance on registration at the session of the Council for Culture of the People's Republic of Croatia. N. N. (1960b).

962 Published: *Narodne novine* No. 1, January 11, 1961, 3-4.

963 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 27/5, June 28, 1962.



59 Album inventara (foto: Hrvoje Vuletić, MKM-KOST)

Inventory album (photo: Hrvoje Vuletić, MKM-KOST)

vencije, stanje spomenika i uvjeti u kojima je smješten, konzervatorska ispitivanja, prijedlog za radove, ocjena prijedloga za radove od strane komisije, dozvola nadležnoga zavoda za izvođenje konzervatorskih radova, prijem spomenika – izvještaj komisije, izvještaj o konzervatorskim radovima i kontrola stanja spomenika i kasnija zapažanja o njemu. *Shema* pokazuje suvremeni pristup konzervatorskoj praksi gdje su obuhvaćeni svi bitni elementi za obradu građe na terenu i klasifikaciju i obradu podataka koji omogućuju pregled stupnja obrađenosti pokretnih spomenika po pojedinim područjima regionalnih zavoda unutar Jugoslavije, a što se odnosilo i na Republiku Hrvatsku (*shema* 8.).

Shema je djelomično bila provedena putem evidencijskih kartica koje su se izrađivale u regionalnim zavodima, a kopija se slala u Republički zavod. Problem neujednačenog pristupa izradi osnovne dokumentacije dijelom je ležao i u samostalnom i neovisnom statusu regionalnih zavoda koji su evidenciju i odabir poslova određivali prema vlastitom izboru i prioritetima.

Tako su na području Dalmacije izrađivani *albumi* inventara po crkvama i samostanima koji su sadržavali osnovne

podatke (najčešće naziv, dataciju i napomenu prije ili poslije popravka) i fotografiju (sl. 58, 59). Navedeni albumi i danas su važan izvor podataka o inventaru pojedine crkve ili samostana, napose prilikom revizije.

Radi potrebe uspostave centralne evidencije spomenika kulture pojavio se, kao jedan od programskih zadataka Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu, prijedlog o osnivanju Centra za evidenciju spomenika kulture⁹⁵¹. Centar je bio predviđen Zakonom o zaštiti spomenika kulture iz 1967. godine, no nikad nije formalno osnovan ni kao posebna organizacijska jedinica Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture. Svrha Centra bila je sakupljanje, dopunjavanje, proučavanje i sistematiziranje prikupljenih podataka o spomenicima kulture na području Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu.⁹⁵² Voditeljica Centra trebala je biti Anđela Horvat (sl. 60). Republički je zavod djelomično obavljao neke od funkcija koje je trebao obavljati taj Centar: podatci o spomenicima prikupljeni su proučavanjem pisanih izvora, evidencijom, inspekcijom i reambulacijom terena, zapisnicima

951 MKM-SDKB-A, Akt pod brojem 01-267/14-1960. od 11. siječnja 1961.

952 Na navedenim podacima zahvaljujem Vladimiru Ukrainčiku.

monuments to report them to the Municipal National Committees⁹⁶⁴. In the Announcement, under *Objects of artistic significance*, the following types of objects are listed: *paintings, paintings and sculptures, art made out of different materials, furniture, altar retables, iconostases, altar supplies, church utensils, jewellery, liturgical vestments and textiles*. A review of the list of all registration decisions by the Regional Institutes in Zagreb, Rijeka and Split provides an insight into the number of registrations per year⁹⁶⁵ (Fig. 64). The decisions began in 1963, and by 1990, a total of 821 movable monuments had been registered. The Regional Office in Zagreb registered 154 movable monuments; most monuments were registered in 1966 (20), 1969 (46), and 1974 (32).⁹⁶⁶ Between 1963 and 1990, the Regional Institute in Split registered 392 movable monuments – in 1966 (38), 1970 (49), 1972 (51), and 1974 (34). The Regional Institute in Osijek registered a total of 150 movable monuments, and the Regional Institute in Rijeka, 125.

After reviewing the registrations, it can be concluded that out of all the movable monuments, only small groups of extremely valuable and well-known monuments, a certain number of individual valuable monuments and some of the artwork that had been conserved and restored were registered. Most were famous works of art by medieval masters and the most significant works of the 17th and 18th centuries. It should be noted that the lists of registered monuments generally did not include works of art from the 19th century, or from the beginning of the 20th century, regardless of their high artistic value. Regarding artistic craftsmanship, only the most important objects were included, like the Chest of St. Simeon⁹⁶⁷, the Crucifix of Blaž, the son of Juraj of Trogir⁹⁶⁸, part of the polyptych by Girolamo da Santacroce, the altarpiece of Our Lady

of the Rosary by Mateo Ponzoni from Čiovo,⁹⁶⁹ and others. Movable inventory was often registered along with immovable monuments by mentioning it with the immovable monument: "...and the accompanying movable inventory", which covered a wide range of movable monuments – from paintings, sculptures, utility objects, reliquaries, and all kinds of early/rare books, to all types of archives as well as objects of artistic craft. At one of the inter-institutional meetings on the topic of records and monument registration, drawbacks in the work were presented.⁹⁷⁰ Registration problems were presented in relation to the registration of movable monuments *in situ* and collections outside specialized institutions, registrations connected with the act banning the export of monuments and the registration of funds, collections and individual items from museums, galleries, archives and libraries. The problem was the lack of defined criteria for the purpose of registration, and the amount of documentation required to make a decision.

Until 1990, although there was an elaborate methodology for preparing documentation, there was a lack of consensus on the necessary documentation that needed to be collected, and there was no uniform method for drawing up inventory, records and documentation, or registering monuments. The registration of movable monuments depended on the affinity of conservators in the field who often saw cultural heritage through their own, narrow professional interests, or their assessment depended on local interests.⁹⁷¹ Since the process of documenting movable monuments was sporadic or unplanned, some areas were thoroughly inspected and others were almost completely bypassed. There was the issue of knowledge, or lack thereof, about the material in some areas, so some less important items were often protected because it was assumed that the famous and valuable ones had already been protected.

964 MKM-SDKB-A Report on the work for 1961.

965 The list of registration decisions can be found in the Central Archives of the Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia.

966 UDOVIČIĆ, 1978.

967 MKM-SDKB-A Registration number Z-769.

968 MKM-SDKB-A Decision number 24/173-1966, December 12, 1966, internal registration number POK-35.

969 MKM-SDKB-A Decision number 24/84-1969, April 24, 1969, internal registration number POK-111.

970 MKM-SDKB-A Abstracts from the meeting (without number or date).

971 An obvious indicator of a lack of systematic criteria for registration is the Baška tablet, which was only recently registered, but fortunately, it was stored in the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

o popisu privatnih zbirki, fotografskim, arhitektonskim i geodetskim snimkama, grafkama, knjigama i novinskim člancima te izvještajima o pregledu i stanju spomenika. Prikupljena građa o spomenicima sistematizirana je u *dosjee pojedinih spomenika, kartoteke spomenika, evidenciju stanja spomenika, evidenciju spomenika za koje je zabranjen izvoz u inozemstvo i zavodske zbirke.*

Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu podnio je godine 1964. prijedlog sedmogodišnjega plana rada Odjela za evidenciju, dokumentaciju i proučavanje spomenika kulture. Predloženi program rada izradila je Horvat. Prema prijedlogu rada podijeljeni su glavni poslovi: „...*osnovna evidencija i reambulacija, dokumentacija, valorizacija i kategorizacija, suradnja zbog koordinacije sa zavodima zaštite spomenika kulture, suradnja sa srodnim ustanovama s općinama, kotarevima i društvenim organizacijama, kadrovski problemi, publikacije, propaganda i zbirke.*...“⁹⁵³

Osnovna evidencija i reambulacija terena uključivala je etnološke, arheološke, pokretne spomenike i naselja. U tijeku 1963. godine obavljena je evidencija i obrada podataka o pokretnim spomenicima u privatnim zbirkama koje su se nalazile na području Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu. Ukupno je putem zapisnika evidentirano 15.630 predmeta. Prema planu rada za 1964. godinu evidentirani su pokretni spomenici u sakralnim objektima na području kotareva Bjelovar, Sisak, Karlovac i Varaždin.⁹⁵⁴ U razradi programa Zavoda za godinu 1964. spominje se da evidenciju provode ekipe od 2 do 3 člana uz obvezno sudjelovanje fotografa. Izrađivane su i podloge za rad u Dropkovcu, Pintićima, Kamešnici, Donjem Prilišću, Gradišću, Erdelju, Vencu, a potom je obavljen obilazak, načinjena deskripcija i fotodokumentacija. Horvat je u 1964. godini evidentirala pokretni sakralni inventar u Križu, Ludinu, Kutini, Gojilu i Kloštar Ivaniću.

Uz osnovnu evidenciju obavljena je i evidencija pokretnih spomenika u sakralnim objektima koji su bili ugroženi od krađe. Upravo izvještaj o *Problemima zaštite pokretnih spomenika kulture protiv krađe i evidencija predmeta spomeničkog značaja na području SR Hrvatske* daje

953 MKM-SDKB-A, dopis od 28. veljače 1964.

954 MKM-SDKB-A Zapisnik o radu od 1. siječnja do 9. rujna 1964. Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu.



60 Andela Horvat ukazuje na bogatu opremu svetačke statue (foto: Nino Vranić, 1960., MKM-FKB)

Andela Horvat points to the rich details of a statue of a saint (foto: Nino Vranić, 1960, MKM-FKB)

odgovor zašto je evidencija pokretnih spomenika tekla sporo; problem je bio u manjku stručnjaka zaduženih za pokretne spomenike. Tako se u navedenom Izvještaju navodi da zavodi u Dubrovniku, Splitu i Zadru nisu imali osobu zaduženu za rad na pokretnim spomenicima, u Osijeku je bila zadužena jedna osoba, dok su Regionalni zavodi u Zagrebu i Splitu imali po dvije osobe.⁹⁵⁵

Evidencija pokretnih spomenika 1964. godine ukupno je provedena u 38 sakralnih objekata. Nakon obrađenog terena pojavilo se pitanje obrade inventara u sakralnim objektima, pa su u Zavodu razmatrali načine obrade prikupljenih materijala na terenu. Preporučena je evidencija pokretnih spomenika prema formularu Jugoslavenskog

955 MKM-SDKB-A Izvještaj iz listopada 1975. godine, izradile Dubravka Mladinov, Jerica Ljubenko i Bianka Perčinić Kavur.

There was also the problem of preventive protection, which often did not become permanent through the oversight of the profession.

The Commission for the review of items intended for export

The problem of movable monument protection, in addition to records, inventory and documentation, also involved their export. Although the export of movable monuments was regulated by various instructions and decrees as early as 1850,⁹⁷² the problem of taking art objects abroad was constantly present. In order to efficiently control the export of movable art, in 1949, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb sent a proposal to the Ministry of Culture and Science of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, to form a commission to assess the monumental value of objects for which an export permit was required, for the *protection zones* in the People's Republic of Croatia.⁹⁷³ Based on the proposal, the Ministry of Culture and Science issued a decision on the formation of a commission in the *protection zones* of Zagreb, Split and Rijeka.⁹⁷⁴ Representatives of museums and conservation institutes were appointed to the commission.

Bans and restrictions on the export of cultural monuments were defined by the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments, and the *Instruction on issuing permits for the export of cultural monuments*⁹⁷⁵ was passed in 1961. According to the Instruction and depending on the importance of the artwork, the export permit was issued by the Council for Culture and Science of the People's Republic of Croatia, the Republican Insti-

tute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments or the competent conservation institute. The Council for Culture and Science of the People's Republic of Croatia issued permits for the export of monuments: "...which are of special importance to the social community and whose export would represent a significant reduction of our monument fund, if it is necessary due to a special contribution to the affirmation of our art abroad, or due to special consideration for the owner of the monument..."⁹⁷⁶

The Conservation Institute issued a permit for monuments that did not have the character of an *exhibit for museums and galleries*, and if there were several identical items or family portraits and memories. For monuments of lesser artistic value, the permit was issued on the basis of the opinion of an expert commission appointed by the Council of the conservation institute. The permit for temporary export was issued by the competent conservation institute and based on the *Instruction*. In order to receive a permit, the owner of the monument was required to submit an application with a brief description and photograph of the object, information on the material, technique, author and origin. The commission determined the significance of the monument and issued their opinion. If the object did not have monumental properties, a positive decision was issued. In 1967, to simplify the procedure for commissions when issuing export licenses, the Republican Institute made a proposal to the regional institutes to amend the 1961 *Instruction* and consider the possibility of banning the export of certain types of items or setting a time limit for items older than one hundred years.⁹⁷⁷ Setting a time limit would allow the commission to pass an export ban without a special explanation. The Regional institutes in Split, Rijeka and Osijek gave their opinions. The Regional institute in Split considered that the protection of movable monuments, due to the specific development of certain

972 In Croatia and Slavonia in the second half of the 19th century, there were regulations on the *preservation of antiquities and procedures for finds of archaeological, artistic and antique value*: the Decree of the Court Office of June 16, 1846, the *Order of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Interior, Justice, Finance, Religion and Education, for trade, crafts and public buildings, the supreme command of the army and the supreme police* of December 16, 1858, which issued a regulation for the protection of the property of public scientific and art collections and other similar institutes. SMREKAR, MILAN, 1903, 44-45.

973 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 17094-VI-3-1949, April 12, 1949.

974 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 26524, December 15, 1949.

975 Published: *Narodne novine* 1, January 11, 1961.

976 Article 2 Instructions on issuing a permit for the export of cultural monuments, OG 1/61.

977 The time limit is a hypothetical term which determined the age limit of an object and its possible treatment as a cultural monument. In this case, 100 years was proposed.



61 Kartona kartoteke pokretnog spomenika – Šibenik, crkva sv. Martina, oltar, 18. st., prednja i stražnja strana kartona (MKM-SDKB-A)

The Basic Record file for an art object – Šibenik, Church St. Martin, Altar, 18th century, front and back side of the File of basic records (MKM-SDKB-A)

instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Beogradu. Od tako prikupljenih podataka načinio bi se zapisnik u koji se opis predmeta unosio u sažetijoj formi. Zapisnik je trebao biti prepisan u šest primjeraka od kojih bi dva čuvao vlasnik evidentiranih predmeta. Jedan potpisani primjerak čuvao se kod župnika, a drugi u Konzervatorskom zavodu u Zagrebu, dok su ostali primjerci trebali služiti kao prilog dosjeu objekta i za druge potrebe evidencije.⁹⁵⁶

Kako je već spomenuto, prema *Zakonu o zaštiti spomenika kulture* iz 1967.⁹⁵⁷ osnovan je Savjet za zaštitu spomenika kulture. Navedenim Zakonom prema članku 36. određeno je da Savjet za zaštitu spomenika kulture Hrvatske propisuje vođenje registra, evidencije i dokumentacije spomenika kulture.⁹⁵⁸ Stoga Savjet za zaštitu spomenika kulture Hrvatske donosi *Uputstvo o vođenju evidencije i dokumentacije spomenika kulture*.⁹⁵⁹ Uputstvom je propisano da se evidencija spomenika vodi sistemom kartoteka: *Kartoteka osnovne evidencije* (sl. 61), *Kartoteka osnovne evidencije za grupe spomenika* (sl. 62), *Kartoteka o zaštitnim (konzervatorsko-restauratorskim) zahvatima na*

spomenicima, te Kartoteka o zaštitnim (konzervatorskim) zahvatima na grupama spomenika. Određeno je da format kartona kartoteke bude 21 x 17 cm, i da svaki karton ima fotografiju. Evidencija kartona kartoteke vodila se u posebnoj knjizi. Jedna kopija kartona nadležnoga regionalnog zavoda dostavljala se Republičkom zavodu za zaštitu spomenika kulture.⁹⁶⁰ Prema *Uputstvu*, u Kartoteci osnovne evidencije prikupljeni su najvažniji podatci za svaki pojedinačni nepokretni ili pokretni spomenik:

„...spomenik, mjesto, općina, nadležni zavod, registar spomenika, kategorija spomenika, osiguranje, dosje spomenika, stanje spomenika, prioritet zaštitnih radova, vlasnik, položaj (smještaj), namjena, funkcija, autor, materijal, vrijeme nastanka, dimenzije, tehnika, konstrukcija, broj, opis, valorizacija, uzroci propadanja – uvjeti održavanja, fotografija, dokumentacija, pregledi spomenika, primjedbe, literatura, ispunio, ovjerio.“ U Kartoteku osnovne evidencije za grupe spomenika prikupljeni su podatci za urbanu i ruralnu cjelinu, područje historijskog značaja, sklop objekata, zbirku predmeta, arhivski i bibliotečni fond odnosno zbirku: „... grupa spomenika, mjesto, općina, nadležni zavod, registar spomenika, kategorija spomenika, osiguranje, dosje spomenika, stanje spomenika, prioritet zaštitnih radova, položaj, smještaj, vrijeme nastanka, površina, gustoća stanovništva, broj objekata ili predmeta, opis, valorizacija, sačuvanost,

956 MKM-SDKB-A Sastanak Odjela za evidenciju 19. svibnja 1964.

957 Objavljen: NN 7/1967, od 15. veljače 1967.

958 Svim konzervatorskim zavodima postavljena je obveza vođenja evidencije spomenika kulture na njihovu području, sređivanja postojeće evidencije te izrada fotodokumentacije. U programima rada konzervatorskih zavoda za 1967. godinu evidencija pokretnih spomenika unesena je kao prioritet, odobrena su i sredstva iz Republičkog fonda za unaprjeđenje kulturnih djelatnosti. MKM-SDKB-A Iz izvještaja Milana Preloga, Služba zaštite spomenika kulture u SR Hrvatskoj i njeni aktualni problemi (godina 1967.).

959 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 11/1-P-1967.

960 Općinski zavodi za područje svoje nadležnosti dostavljali su regionalnom zavodu dvije kopije kartona, tako da su regionalni zavodi jednu kopiju zadržavali za sebe, a drugu slali Republičkom zavodu.

areas (which prevented the establishment of the same time limit), should be decided by the commission. The Regional Institute in Rijeka proposed a ban on the export of objects of cultural and historical significance that were created before 1914. The Regional Office in Osijek accepted the proposal to ban the export of objects older than 100 years, and made a proposal to add an entry to the Instruction that the permit also applied to objects that were not entered in the Register of Cultural Monuments.⁹⁷⁸ Since the proposals and opinions of the regional institutes regarding the time limit differed, it was not possible to formulate a proposal for the *Instruction*. The new *Instruction* on issuing permits for the export of cultural monuments was prescribed by the Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in 1967.⁹⁷⁹ The difference compared to the *Instruction* from 1961 was the jurisdiction – the export permit was issued by the Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, and not the Council for Culture and Science of the People's Republic of Croatia.

The report on the work of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb for 1960 in connection with the protection of movable monuments, encouraged the control of the sale of movable monuments through the commissioners for protection in Osijek, Karlovac, Sisak, Varaždin and Slavonski Brod. Then came the need to establish a *Commission to control the movement of monuments and provide funds for the purchase of movable monuments*. For this purpose, the Art Purchase Fund of the National Committee of Zagreb was established to regulate the flow of more valuable monuments into museum collections. The issue of repairing movable monuments was also addressed in cooperation with the Restoration Institute of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, through the Commission for restoration issues, and the Draft Rules of the Procedure of that commission were prepared. Movable works of art intended for export were inspected – a total of 185 in-

spections were carried out, and the export of 54 items of monumental significance was banned.⁹⁸⁰

Illegal trade and theft of movable art

At the 1964 meeting and General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, a *Recommendation on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Export, Import and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property* was drawn up. The Recommendation listed the basic measures that each state should take in terms of enacting regulations, mutual cooperation of institutions dealing with monument protection, international cooperation in detecting the illegal trade of works of art, the restitution of illegally exported works of art, and education and raising awareness of universal heritage.⁹⁸¹ These measures were also implemented in terms of monument protection by all conservation institutes which, in cooperation with the competent authorities, developed additional measures. One example of such cooperation was connected with making 1966 the International Tourist Year. As tourism posed a "potential" threat to movable monuments in terms of taking objects abroad, the *Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Physical Culture*, together with experts from the protection service, in cooperation with the *Secretariat for Internal Affairs and Customs*, took several actions so that owners could protect movable monuments. The Council for Culture and Education warned all religious communities to take steps to protect movable monuments in churches or to relocate them to museums and archives. Institutions for protection were supposed to document monuments and prepare photo documentation as soon as possible, and special funds were approved from the Republic Fund for the Promotion of Cultural Activities.⁹⁸²

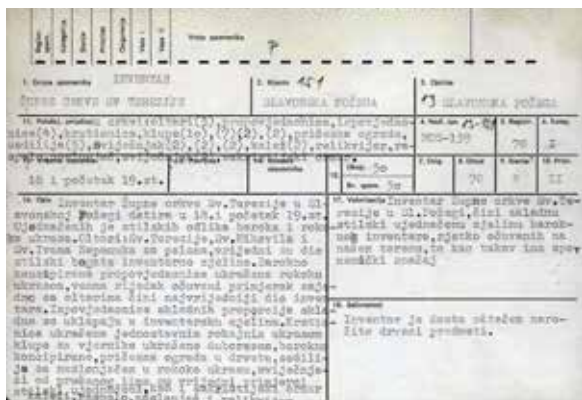
980 MKM-SDKB-A Report on work in 1960.

981 BRGULJAN, VLADIMIR, 1985,93-97.

982 The meeting and its conclusions were also mentioned in the daily press. In addition to responsible and competent institutions, the article draws attention to all citizens in terms of the care and storage of movable art. The article lists the activities of the Zagreb Archdiocesan Ordinariate and the Episcopal Ordinariates in Zadar, Pazin and Hvar, noting that other ordinariates also sent similar circulars. N. N. 1967; D. F. 1967.

978 MKM-SDKB-A letter entitled "Information with the Instruction on the issuance of a permit for the export of cultural monuments."

979 Published: *Narodne novine* No. 6, February 19, 1968.



62 Karton kartoteke pokretnog spomenika – Šibenik, crkva sv. Martina, oltar, 18. st., prednja i stražnja strana kartona (MKM-SDKB-A)
 The Basic Record file for art object – Šibenik, Church St. Martin, Altar, 18th century, front and back side of the File of basic records (MKM-SDKB-A)

uzroci propadanja – uvjeti održavanja, dokumentacija, pregled, primjedba, literatura, ispunio, ovjerio.“

Kartoteka o zaštitnim konzervatorsko-restauratorskim zahvatima sadržavala je najvažnije podatke o stanju i konzervatorsko-restauratorskom zahvatu koji se provodi, odnosno koji je proveden na ugroženom pokretnom ili nepokretnom pojedinačnom spomeniku: *spomenik, mjesto, nadležni zavod, registar spomenika, kategorija spomenika, dosje spomenika, smještaj nakon zahvata, opis oštećenja, nalaz, dokumentacija, broj evidencije, godina, opis zahvata, autor, naručilac, izvor sredstava, iznos u ND, literatura, primjedba, ispunio, ovjerio*. Osim Kartoteke spomenika, prema Uputstvu dokumentacija spomenika proizvodila se i *sistemom dosjea* prema vrsti spomenika (arhitektonski spomenik, pokretni spomenik, zidne slike i mozaik, urbane i ruralne cjeline, spomenički sklop, područje historijskog značaja i dr.). Dosje spomenika vodio se u posebnoj knjizi, koja je bila jednake veličine kao i knjiga kartoteke evidencije. Regionalni zavodi bili su dužni dostaviti Republičkom zavodu za zaštitu spomenika kulture jedan potpuni primjerak dosjea spomenika za područje svoje nadležnosti, dok su Općinski zavodi dostavljali dva primjerka.

Dosje pokretnog spomenika, zidnih slika i mozaika sa državao je sljedeće podatke:

– *Isprave (rješenja, osiguranje spomenika – prijepisi policaj, ugovora), historijski podaci (autor, izvođač, naručilac/*

donator, vlasnici), izvori i arhivska dokumentacija (izvodi iz izvora, izvodi i signature arhivskih materijala), bibliografija, opis, valorizacija, namjena i uvjeti zaštite, inventar, osnovna foto-dokumentacija, tehnički podaci i dokumentacija (nacrti i crteži za pokretne spomenike: crtež signature, punca /povećano/ ili okova, tlocrt podnožja – profil /kod kaleža i sl./, crteži karakterističnih detalja, shematski crtež slike /spomenika/ sa ucrtanim oštećenjima /oštećenim mjestima/), izvještaji i bilješke (Izvještaji o pregledu spomenika, razne bilješke, ostali razni podaci), zahvati – održavanje, konzervatorsko-restauratorski zahvati (Ranije konzervatorske intervencije i ostali zahvati, na osnovu literature, na osnovu postojeće dokumentacije, uočeno pregledom spomenika, elaborati, konzervatorsko-tehnički elaborati, mišljenja komisije za odobrenje elaborata, izvršeni zahvati). Rubrika *izvršeni zahvati* imala je dvije sastavnice: *Izvještaji i foto-dokumentacija (o stanju spomenika, o toku radova, eventualno novim nalazima, o dovršenim radovima, specijalne snimke: infracrvene, ultraljubičaste, makro, mikro-snimke, snimke x-zrakama, tehnološke analize), i Dokumentacija izvršenih radova (podaci o investitoru i sredstvima, ugovori; izvještaj o utrošenim sredstvima, dnevnik radova, izvještaj komisijskog pregleda dovršenog zahvata)*.

Iz Programa rada za 1967. godinu koji su predlagali regionalni zavodi u vezi s evidencijom pokretnih spomenika može se steći uvid u njihov rad na toj vrsti spomenika. Regionalni zavod Rijeka proveo je evidenciju u sakralnim objektima na području općina Buje, Novigrad, Umag,

As early as 1962, the Republican Council for Culture gave recommendations to national committees on the importance of compiling a list of objects of special artistic value.

Regional institutes for the protection of cultural monuments often took measures to prevent art theft and illegal trade. In 1972, the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Split sent a circular to the archbishop's ordinariates, provincials, and the administrations of monasteries and churches in Dalmatia to remove and secure all important objects from being stolen or damaged. In 1974, the Institute for the Protection of Monuments in Dubrovnik warned all parish offices and owners of private and public collections about frequent thefts of movable works of art and proposed a number of measures for their protection. The Institute for the Protection of Monuments in Zadar repeatedly sent circulars to parish priests, especially in rural churches, warning that valuable items are accessible and over-exposed. Therefore, in May 1974, experts from the Institute in Zadar inspected all critical sites in museums and churches, and proposed protection measures. In cooperation with these institutes, the Archdiocesan and Episcopal Ordinariates issued instructions on how to keep and record movable works of art in their official gazettes. Daily newspapers often reported on thefts or the discovery of stolen objects and tried to point out the importance of keeping and caring for movable art.⁹⁸³

According to the data from the study *Problems of protection of cultural monuments against theft and documenting objects of monumental significance on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia* from 1970 to 1974, there were 92 thefts and 421 objects were stolen. The highest number of icons were stolen in the Zadar hinterland, followed by liturgical objects in the Split and Istria areas, and paintings in the Dubrovnik area.⁹⁸⁴ The study proposed a series of measures to reduce theft. The measures included documenting

movable works of art, customs, the judicial system and securing the sites themselves with alarm devices.⁹⁸⁵

The Conservation Institute as a scientific institution

The idea of the Conservation Institute as a scientific institution appeared in 1910 when the Land Office was founded, and all through the period of the Independent State of Croatia, when Ljubo Karaman sent a letter to the General Directorate for General Public Enlightenment, explaining that the Conservation Institute is a scientific institution, a necessary supplement to the work of the Academy and University. The idea of the work of the Conservation Institute as a scientific institution continued after 1945. For example, at the conference of conservators of the People's Republic of Croatia on January 23 and 24, 1950, in a discussion on the draft *Decree on the Institutes for the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of the People's Republic of Croatia*, the mentioned draft omitted the definition of the institute as a scientific body. This kind of attitude prompted a discussion in which Karaman, Prelog and Perc participated.⁹⁸⁶

The Internal Working Commission also discussed the letter sent by the *Council for Scientific Work* on the organization and problems of scientific work at the Institute in Zagreb. In response to that letter, the Internal Commission stated that the Institute had a dual function, i.e. protection and research, and that they were closely linked.⁹⁸⁷

985 In the article "The theft of works of art – Rusty lock protects treasure" (*O krađi umjetnina – Zarđala brava čuva blago*) in the *Vjesnik*, Davor Domančić talked about the lack of investment in the protection of works of art by their owners, and explained that the Republic's self-governing interest community for Culture, together with the Republican Institute for Monument Protection, organised the installation of alarms in museums and church collections in Croatia. Alarms were installed in Zadar, Nin, Split, Trogir and Dubrovnik. With an indication that they were introduced in Trogir, the treasury still had no electricity. The program also included collections of the Franciscan monastery in Hvar, collections from Korčula and the monastery in Visovac. MIRKOVIĆ, VOJKO, 1981.

986 MKM-SDKB-A No. 213/50 Conclusions of the conference of conservators of the People's Republic of Croatia held on January 23 and 24, 1950.

987 MKM-SDKB-A Report of the Internal Working Commission, January 31, 1959.

983 DJ. L. 1967.

984 MK-UKBB-A Report from October 1975, by Dubravka Mladinov, Jerica Ljubenko (legal) and Bianka Perčinić Kavur (tables).

Pula i Labin. Regionalni zavod Split proveo je evidenciju pokretnih spomenika u općinama Brač, Drniš, Hvar, Imotski, Knin, Korčula, Lastovo, Makarska, Metković, Omiš, Sinj, Šibenik, Trogir, Vis i Vrgorac. Regionalni zavod Osijek planirao je provesti evidenciju pokretnih spomenika u 135 objekata na području općina Beli Manastir, Donji Miholjac, Đakovo, Našice, Nova Gradiška, Orahovića, Podravska Slatina, Požega, Slavonski Brod, Valpovo, Vinkovci, Vukovar, Osijek i Županja. Regionalni zavod u Zagrebu nije u svom programu predvidio evidenciju, nego registraciju 100 grupa pokretnih spomenika, što je uključivalo valorizaciju i privremenu kategorizaciju.

Broj pristiglih evidencijskih kartica do 6. rujna 1982. bio je 3.390 kartica, što je daleko od stvarnoga stanja i broja spomenika koji bi činio zaokružen inventar svih pokretnih spomenika na području Hrvatske. Anđela Horvat u svojoj knjizi *Spomenici kulture – njihova rasprostranjenost i opća valorizacija* iznosi podatak da na području RH ima sačuvanih i evidentiranih oko 16.000 pokretnih spomenika, što upućuje na golem nerazmjer evidentiranih u odnosu na „službene“ evidencije Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture. U anketi iz 1978. godine koju je proveo Koordinacijski odbor za narodnu obranu u suradnji s Republičkim sekretarijatom za prosvjetu, kulturu i fizičku kulturu, pojavio se novi broj pokretnih spomenika, njih 42.000⁹⁶¹ (rezultati ankete nisu verificirani ni vjerodostojni). Konačni broj pokretnih spomenika teško je utvrditi, jer je to kontinuiran i trajan proces, sa stalnim dopunama i korekcijama. No, nažalost, do danas se s inventarom pokretnih spomenika nije znatnije odmaklo od početka 1980-ih. Čak se prema postojećim podacima ne može utvrditi opseg dosad obrađenih pokretnih spomenika.

Registracija spomenika

Nakon evidencije, inventarizacije i dokumentacije pokretnih spomenika završni čin zaštite spomenika je njegova registracija, odnosno upis u registar. Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti iz 1949. godine u vezi s registracijom spomenika propisao je člankom 5.

961 MKM-SDKB-A Informacija o stanju valorizacije i kategorizacije spomenika kulture u SR Hrvatskoj.



63 Cvito Fiskovć, Vis, Poselje, (MKM- KOST, 1964.)

Cvito Fiskovć, Vis, Poselje, (MKM-KOST, 1964)

da nadležni zavodi za zaštitu odlučuju koji se predmeti smatraju spomenicima kulture i o tome donose rješenja. Prema čl. 7 vlasnici takvih spomenika bili su dužni dopustiti pregled predmeta, opis i fotografranje. Opći zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture iz 1959. godine u članku 33. propisao je obvezno vođenje Registra spomenika kulture. Svaka republika mogla je svojim propisima riješiti vođenje registra. Važno je bilo Registrom obuhvatiti sve predmete koji imaju spomeničko svojstvo. Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture SRH iz 1960. propisao je u Članku 37. da se svaki pokretni umjetnički predmet ili zbirka za koju se utvrdi da ima svojstvo spomenika treba upisati u Registar. Rješenje je donosio kotarski zavod za zaštitu spomenika, a Republički je zavod vodio registar ondje gdje nije bio osnovan kotarski zavod.⁹⁶² Od godine 1967., prema Zakonu o zaštiti spomenika kulture RH, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Zagrebu vodio je evidenciju svih spomenika kulture na području Republike (čl. 38.). Na temelju članka 43. Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture bio je donesen Pravilnik o registraciji spomenika kulture.⁹⁶³ Prema Pravilniku Zavodi za zaštitu spomenika kulture trebali su voditi Registar spomenika

962 U dnevnom tisku o usvajanju pravilnika o registraciji na sjednici Savjeta za kulturu NRH. N. N. 1960b.

963 Objavljeno: *Narodne novine* broj 1, 11. siječnja 1961., 3-4.

Conservation institutes do not have a scientific purpose, but their work is closely related to science. Conservation work requires knowledge of scientific results in various fields. With each intervention on a monument, it is necessary to study the bibliography, archives and the monument itself, which is undoubtedly a scientific procedure, the results of which contribute to gaining complete scientific knowledge about an object. The rich scientific bibliography in the field of art history, archaeology and urbanism is the result of the work of the conservation institute.⁹⁸⁸

The Community of institutes and institutions for the study of art in the territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia was founded on June 26, 1969. The Yugoslav Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments prepared a plan for a scientific research project in the field of monument protection and invited experts to develop it⁹⁸⁹. The basic idea of the project was to solve current problems of protection, based on the importance, value and type of monument (paintings, applied arts and crafts items, architecture). These monuments would be used for research into the *monumental content of the item*, construction techniques, material types and technologies, technical methods, conservation tools and procedures for the restoration and presentation of monuments. The work of the community did not become a reality.

Theory and its application

After 1945, basic methodological procedures in the protection of movable works of art were established in both domestic and world conservation theory and practice, primarily as a result of conservation practices. They were discussed at numerous conferences and published in essays, studies and talks.

One such work is the study by Ljubo Karaman *Discussions on the slogan "conserve, not restore,"* written in 1961. The *Study* initially served as a handbook for conservators, although it was not published immediately.

988 MKM-SDKB-A Act No. 163/1-1960, March 31, 1960
989 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 30/14, December 17, 1969.

In 1962, Karaman asked the Yugoslav Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Belgrade to publish the *Study*,⁹⁹⁰ but his request was denied. It was not published until 1965 in the Bulletin of the Institute of Fine Arts. The *Study* covered movable monuments in chapters related to *architecture, sculpture and paintings*. He explained protection procedures and restoration methods by comparing them with examples and discussions by foreign experts.⁹⁹¹ In the study, Karaman proposed three approaches to restoring sculptures: removing damage without replacing the missing elements, restoring without details and restoring the original condition of monuments. The approach depended on the future purpose of the restored monument, i.e. will it be in a museum or returned to its original location.⁹⁹² Karaman's theoretical thought was not strictly defined, and his approach changed on a case-by-case basis. It was based on the set premise of preserving monuments which he explained in the study by using individual examples.

Since the 1970s, art historian and conservator Ivo Maroević has also contributed to the development of theoretical principles for the protection of movable art. In his book *Reconstruction of wooden decoration process of interpretation* from 1973, Maroević first defined reconstruction: "*reconstruction is the replacement of lost, destroyed or missing material or form with new, in the form that is identical or similar to the old one, and according to preserved traces of the old form or material, by analogies with similar objects, or a combination of both.*"⁹⁹³ He further connected his theoretical reflections to the premise that each intervention on a monument is a personal interpretation of the monument, which he classified into three key areas: professional, utilitarian and technological, with certain conditions influencing the interpretation and determining the

990 KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1965, 69-71.

991 JURMAN-KARAMAN, DRAGINJA, 1971, 37.

992 KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1965, 76; Maroević believed that when it comes to the restoration of polychrome sculptures, Karaman failed to fully theoretically explain "*the legality of the relationship between the form and its treatment in order to achieve an artistic impression.*" MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1986, 157.

993 MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1986, 98.

odvojeno za pokretne i nepokretne spomenike, zbirku isprava kao sastavni dio Registra i imenik registriranih spomenika u obliku kartoteke. Pokretni spomenici mogli su biti zaštićeni pojedinačno ili kao zbirka. Kada se navodila zbirka, morao se navesti ukupan broj predmeta. Sva rješenja morala su biti dostavljena imatelju spomenika i savjetu općinskoga i kotarskoga narodnog odbora na čijem se području spomenik nalazi. Prijava za registraciju morala je sadržavati podatke o vrsti predmeta, materijalu, tehnicima, dimenzijama, autoru, dataciji, smještaju i podrijetlu predmeta (čl. 14). Postupak registracije spomenika mogao je provesti općinski zavod na svom području nadležnosti na osnovi ovlasti Konzervatorskog zavoda.⁹⁶⁴ Anđela Horvat izradila je prijedlog za Oglas o registraciji spomenika kojim su imatelji pokretnih i nepokretnih spomenika pozivani da takav predmet prijave Narodnom odboru općine⁹⁶⁵. U Oglasu su pod naslovom *Predmeti umjetničkog značaja* navedene vrste predmeta: *slike, slikarski i kiparski radovi, predmeti umjetničkog obrta izrađeni od različitih materijala, namještaj, retabl oltara, ikonostas, pribor za oltar, crkveno posuđe, nakit, misno ruho i tekstil*. Pregledom popisa svih rješenja registracija Regionalnih zavoda u Zagrebu, Rijeci i Splitu stječe se uvid u broj registracija po godinama⁹⁶⁶ (sl. 63). Rješenja počinju s godinom 1963., a do 1990. ukupno je registriran 821 pokretni spomenik. Regionalni zavod u Zagrebu registrirao je 154 pokretna spomenika; najviše je spomenika registrirao 1966. (20), 1969. (46), i 1974. (32).⁹⁶⁷ Regionalni zavod u Splitu od 1963. do 1990. godine ukupno je registrirao 392 pokretna spomenika: 1966. (38), 1970. (49), 1972. (51), i 1974. (34). Regionalni zavod u Osijeku ukupno je registrirao 150 pokretnih spomenika, a Regionalni zavod u Rijeci 125.

Nakon uvida u registracije može se zaključiti da su od pokretnih spomenika kulture registrirane samo manje skupine izrazito vrijednih i poznatih spomenika, određen broj pojedinačnih vrijednih spomenika te dio umjetničkih predmeta na kojima su obavljani

konzervatorsko-restauratorski zahvati. Većinom su to bila poznata djela srednjovjekovnih majstora i najznačajnija djela iz 17. i 18. stoljeća. Treba istaknuti da na popisima registriranih spomenika u pravilu nije bilo djela iz 19. stoljeća, kao ni djela s početka 20. stoljeća, bez obzira na njihovu visoku umjetničku vrijednost. Od predmeta umjetničkog obrta evidencijom i registracijom obuhvaćani su samo najznačajniji, kao što su Škrinja sv. Šimuna⁹⁶⁸, Raspelo Blaža Jurjeva Trogirana iz Trogira⁹⁶⁹, dio poliptiha Girolama da Santacroce, oltarna pala Gospa od ružarija Matea Ponzonija s Čiova⁹⁷⁰ i drugo. Često je uz registrirani nepokretni spomenik bio registriran i pokretni inventar tako da se uz opis nepokretnog spomenika spomene: „... i njemu pripadajući pokretni inventar“, čime je bila pokrivena široka paleta pokretnih spomenika – od slika, skulptura, upotrebnih predmeta, relikvija, svih vrsta ranih/rijetkih knjiga do svih vrsta arhivalija kao i predmeta umjetničkog obrta i slično. Na jednom od međuzavodskih sastanaka na temu evidencije i registracije spomenika izneseni su nedostaci u radu.⁹⁷¹ Problemi oko registracije sistematizirani su u odnosu prema registraciji pokretnih spomenika *in situ*, zbirkama izvan specijaliziranih ustanova, registraciji povezanoj s aktom o zabrani iznošenja spomenika u inozemstvo te registraciji fondova, zbirki i pojedinačnih predmeta muzejsko-galerijskih ustanova, arhiva i biblioteka. Problem je bio u nedostatku definiranih kriterija prema kojima se pristupalo registraciji i u opsegu dokumentacije potrebne za donošenje rješenja.

Do 1990., iako je postojala razrađena metodologija izrade dokumentacije, manjkao je konsenzus o potrebnoj dokumentaciji koju je trebalo prikupiti, nije ujednačena provedba inventarizacije, evidencije i dokumentacije, pa tako ni registracije spomenika. Registracija pokretnih spomenika ovisila je o afinitetu konzervatora na terenu koji su na kulturnu baštinu znali gledati kroz prizmu vlastitih, usko stručnih preokupacija, ili je njihova procjena

964 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 27/5 od 28. lipnja 1962.

965 MKM-SDKB-A Izvještaj o radu za 1961. godinu.

966 Popis rješenja registracija nalazi se u Središnjem arhivu Uprave za zaštitu kulturne baštine Ministarstva kulture RH.

967 MKM-SDKB-A Popis rješenja registracija

968 MKM-SDKB-A broj registracije Z-769.

969 MKM-SDKB-A Broj rješenja 24/173-1966. od 12. prosinca 1966., interni broj registracije POK-35.

970 MKM-SDKB-A Broj rješenja 24/84-1969. od 24. travnja 1969., interni broj registracije POK-111.

971 MKM-SDKB-A Teze sa sastanka (bez broja i datacije).

method of reconstruction. These conditions pertain to the state of the object, valorisation as a result of study and research, conservation and future use. Maroević explained his theory and applied it to polychrome wooden objects and concluded that only unique interpretations lead to good results in the reconstruction process. The restorer and other experts who take into account all of the above-mentioned conditions and interpretations, and decide on all of the factors (*social, economic, natural, physical and chemical*) that can affect the object itself, ensure the selection of the best restoration procedure.⁹⁹⁴

The edited text of the presentation *Documentation and information in museums and in the field of monument protection in light of the need for stronger integration of their IT content* from 1979 is Maroević's attempt to clarify the concept of museum and conservation documentation.⁹⁹⁵ The author cited documentation created in the process of monument protection: "*documentation created during research and connected to a certain scientific or professional discipline; documentation in a broader sense and that refers to the records and registration of monuments, professional and administrative procedures, monument topographies, records on the condition of monuments, external influences and social interests; then documentation on preservation which consists of work studies, work monitoring and technological procedures until the results are analysed.*"⁹⁹⁶ He also clearly defined the problems that unfortunately have not been resolved even fifty years later, but are still present, such as standardization of data, mixing data categories, lack of quality data exchange and the lack of a national documentation centre that would include the entire cultural heritage.

994 MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1986, 99.

995 He explains his reflections on the cultural monument as a document of time and a document of events in the 1988 article *Cultural monument as a document (Spomenik kulture kao dokument)*. More in: MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1988, 784.

996 MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1986, 258.

The Restoration service in Croatia after 1945

The restoration workshop of the Museum of Arts and Crafts continued to rescue movable art even after 1945, and, in 1948, Leonarda Čermak and Ivica Lončarić joined Zvonimir Wyroubal and Stanislava Dekleva.⁹⁹⁷ From 1948, the workshop was located within the Department of Fine Arts of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts⁹⁹⁸ and in 1961, it was merged into the Institute of Fine Arts. In 1974, it was separated from the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts and became an independent institution.⁹⁹⁹ After the war, the Conservation Institutes in Zagreb and Split participated in documenting and collecting movable art (over 100,000 objects). Unfortunately, due to the inappropriate storage in damp and dusty warehouses, most of the art had to be restored.¹⁰⁰⁰ However, the Workshop was more concerned with restoring objects from the galleries and museums of the Academy, and less with objects from warehouses.¹⁰⁰¹ Therefore, there was no satisfactory cooperation between the conservation institutes in Zagreb, Split, Rijeka and the Academy's workshop. Cvito Fisković tried to help and solve the problem, since the restoration workshop was founded in 1954 because of his involvement at the Conservation Institute in Split. The workshop developed successfully, despite problems with space, a lack of financial resources and a large number of works of art. Filip Dobrošević was the first restorer of the Split workshop until 1961, when Tomislav Tomas, Špiro Katić and Slavko Alač were hired.¹⁰⁰² Shortly after the "Split

997 During the work of the Land Office, Gjuro Szabo often hired Stanislava Dekleva to inspect the condition of restore works of art. Karaman gave her a recommendation. MKM-KOST-A.

998 Karaman states that the workshop had experts for repairing paintings on boards, canvas and walls, for cleaning statues made of stone and wood, and for textiles. KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1952, 155; The description of the professional work of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts Workshop was published in *Borba* to present the restoration profession and the way it functioned, and in order to prevent unprofessional restoration of works of art. V. S. 1951.

999 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2005-2006, 29-31.

1000 MKM-SDKB-A A. Deanović, Problems of the Restoration Service in the People's Republic of Croatia.

1001 The Academy workshop restored a total of 600 items over a five-year period, mostly from museum collections. MKM-SDKB-A. See study: *Problems of protection of movable monuments in the People's Republic of Croatia*.

1002 More in: ŠUSTIĆ, SANDRA, 2016, 146.

ovisila o lokalnim interesima.⁹⁷² Zbog sporadičnog odnosno neplanskog evidentiranja pokretnih spomenika, gdje su neki krajevi temeljito obrađeni, dok su drugi gotovo potpuno zaobiđeni, postojao je problem poznavanja/nepoznavanja materijala na pojedinim područjima. Često se moglo dogoditi da su zaštićeni i manje važni predmeti jer se podrazumijevalo da su oni vrlo poznati, vrijedni, već zaštićeni. Tu je i problem preventivne zaštite koja često nije prešla u trajnu zaštitu previdom struke.

Komisija za pregled predmeta predviđenih za izvoz u inozemstvo

Problem zaštite pokretnih spomenika, uz evidenciju, inventarizaciju i dokumentaciju bio je i izvoz u inozemstvo. Iako je izvoz pokretnih umjetničkih spomenika bio relativno rano reguliran različitim uputama i uredbama već od 1850.,⁹⁷³ problem iznošenja umjetničkih predmeta u inozemstvo bio je stalno prisutan. Radi učinkovitijeg nadzora izvoza pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta Konzervatorski je zavod u Zagrebu 1949. uputio Ministarstvu za kulturu i nauku FNRJ prijedlog o formiranju komisije za ocjenu spomeničke vrijednosti predmeta za koje se traži izvozna dozvola, za tadašnje *zaštitne zone* u NR Hrvatskoj.⁹⁷⁴ Na temelju prijedloga Ministarstvo za kulturu i nauku donijelo je rješenje o formiranju komisije u *zaštitnim zonama* Zagreb, Split i Rijeka.⁹⁷⁵ U komisije su imenovani predstavnici muzeja i konzervatorskih zavoda.

Zabrane i ograničenja izvoza spomenika bili su definirani zakonom o zaštiti spomenika kulture, a 1961. godine doneseno je *Uputstvo o izdavanju dozvole za izvoz spomenika kulture u inozemstvo*⁹⁷⁶. Dozvolu za izvoz prema Uputstvu, ovisno o značenju umjetnine, izdavao je

Savjet za kulturu i nauku NR Hrvatske, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture ili nadležni konzervatorski zavod. Savjet za kulturu i nauku NR Hrvatske izdavao je dozvolu za izvoz spomenika: „...koji su od osobitog značaja za društvenu zajednicu i čiji bi izvoz u inozemstvo predstavljao osjetno umanjenje našeg spomeničkog fonda, ako je to potrebno zbog naročitog doprinosa afirmaciji naše umjetnosti u inozemstvu, ili zbog posebnog obzira prema imaocu spomenika...“⁹⁷⁷

Konzervatorski zavod izdavao je dozvolu ako je bila riječ o spomeniku koji nije imao karakter *muzejsko-galerijskog eksponata*, u slučaju postojanja više istovjetnih primjera-ka ili obiteljskih portreta i uspomena. U slučaju spomenika manje umjetničke vrijednosti dozvola je izdavana na temelju mišljenja stručne komisije koju je imenovao Savjet konzervatorskog zavoda. Dozvolu za privremeni izvoz izdavao je prema *Uputstvu* nadležni konzervatorski zavod. Imatelj spomenika trebao je za izdavanje dozvole podnijeti molbu s kratkim opisom i fotografijom predmeta, podatke o materijalu, tehnici izvedbe, autoru i podrijetlu. Komisija je utvrđivala značaj spomenika i donosila mišljenje. Ako predmet nije imao spomenička svojstva, izdavano je pozitivno rješenje. Radi pojednostavljivanja postupka komisijama pri izdavanju dozvola za izvoz, Republički je zavod godine 1967. predložio regionalnim zavodima da daju prijedloge za izmjenu Uputstva iz 1961. godine i razmotre mogućnost zabrane izvoza pojedine vrste predmeta ili postavljanja vremenske granice za predmete starije od stotinu godina.⁹⁷⁸ Postavljanjem vremenske granice omogućilo bi se komisiji donošenje zabrane izvoza bez posebnog obrazloženja. Regionalni zavodi u Splitu, Rijeci i Osijeku dali su svoja mišljenja: Regionalni zavod u Splitu smatrao je da bi za zaštitu pokretnih spomenika, zbog specifičnog razvoja pojedinih područja (što onemogućuje uspostavu iste vremenske granice), o izvozu trebala odlučivati komisija. Regionalni zavod u Rijeci predlagao je zabranu izvoza za predmete kulturno-historijskog značaja koji su nastali

972 Očit pokazatelj nedostatka sustavnih kriterija za registraciju jest Bašćanska ploča, pohranjena u HAZU, koja je tek nedavno registrirana.

973 U drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji postojali su propisi o čuvanju starina i postupaka sa nalazima arheološke, umjetničke i antikvarne vrijednosti: Dekret dvorske kancelarije od 16. lipnja 1846, *Naredba ministarstva izvanjskih djela, unutarnjih djela, pravosuđa, financija, za bogoštovlje i nastavu, za trgovinu, obrte i javne gradjevine, vrhovnoga zapovjedništva vojske i vrhovne redarstvene* od 16. prosinca 1858. kojom se izdaje propis za zaštitu vlasništva javnih znanstvenih i umjetničkih zbirki i drugih sličnih zavoda. SMREKAR, MILAN, 1903., 44-45.

974 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 17094-VI-3-1949. od 12. travnja 1949.

975 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 26524 od 15. prosinca 1949.

976 Objavljeno: *Narodne novine* 1, 11. siječnja 1961.

977 Članak 2. Uputstva o izdavanju dozvole za izvoz spomenika kulture u inozemstvo, NN 1/61.

978 Vremenska granica je hipotetski pojam kojim se određivala granica starosnog vrednovanja nekog predmeta i njegovo moguće tretiranje kao spomenika kulture. U ovom slučaju predloženo je 100 godina.

Workshop", the *Restoration Workshop of the Institute for Historical and Economic Sciences of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts* in Zadar was founded in 1958. Three academic painters-restorers worked in the workshop: Ivan Tomljanović, Mario Kotlar and Vinko Fugošić.¹⁰⁰³

Given the large number of works of art that needed restoration, commissions were often set up in conservation institutes to establish a list of priorities.

According to the report of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb at the meeting of the *Department for monument protection* from 1958, an effort was made to compile a priority list of monuments for restoration, with the participation of Anđela Horvat, Ljubo Karaman, Ana Deanović, Stanka Krstić, Dubravka Mladinov, Joža Ladović, Branko Lučić and Štefica Habunek-Moravac. An interesting discussion took place at the meeting regarding the priorities for restoration:

*„...Dr. Karaman notes that in the discussion, one should primarily take into account the degree of damage to monuments, and not so much the degree of their value. Dr. Horvat believes that if the damage criterion is adopted, the restoration of tempera from Vratiščinac should be postponed until next year. In her opinion, the most urgent intervention would be the iconostasis in Pakra and the restoration of the Madonna Patroness, painted on the wooden formwork of the church of St. Barbara in Vel. Mlaka... Prof. Mladinov warns that the restoration of 54 paintings returned from Belgrade to Ilok should also be considered, which according to information, need to be repaired, so he suggests that a commission of the Restoration Institute come out to determine the extent of the damage...“*¹⁰⁰⁴

The restoration of the following movable monuments was proposed for 1958: two Gothic wooden sculptures from the Zagreb Cathedral, two royal portraits from the Franciscan monastery in Karlovac, and the 18th-century paintings from Miljana Castle.

Due to a large number of endangered monuments, the Conservation Institute proposed that a Conference be held on the problems of the conservation service, and sent the conservation institutes a survey and study by Ana Deanović *Problems of the Restoration Service in the People's Republic of Croatia*.

At its 23rd session¹⁰⁰⁵, held on April 11, 1958, the Council for Culture and Science of the People's Republic of Croatia reviewed the report from the *Conference on the Problems of the Restoration Service in the People's Republic of Croatia* held on December 21, 1957, and decided to establish the Commission for problems concerning monument restoration in the People's Republic of Croatia.

The first session of the Commission was held in Zagreb on November 20, 1959, based on the conclusions of the *Conference on the Problems of the Restoration Service in the People's Republic of Croatia*. Members of the commission were Rikard Marasović, Milan Prelog and Ana Deanović.¹⁰⁰⁶ The task of the commission was to determine: technical and expert conditions of restoration in the People's Republic of Croatia, the possibility of carrying out certain restoration processes, the exchange of experts from other republics and the Federal Institute for Monument Protection. Furthermore, based on the proposal of the Conservation Institutes, they were to make a list of the most endangered monuments and determine the basic principles and methods of preparing documentation for restoration. In cooperation with the Society of museum and conservation workers and institutions that have restoration workshops, the commission was to prepare a study on the development of the network of restoration services in the People's Republic of Croatia. Based on the condition and needs for restoration, the commission determined the centres of future workshops and how to educate needed experts. It was proposed that a commission be set up at the Republic Council for Culture and Science to evaluate the restoration work that was carried out.¹⁰⁰⁷

1003 CESTARIĆ, VESNA, 1961, 81.

1004 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 4/1958, February 20, 1958.

1005 MKM-SDKB-A April 17, 1958, No. 772/1-1958.

1006 MKM-SDKB-A Conclusions from the Conference on the Restoration Service in the People's Republic of Croatia.

1007 MKM-SDKB-A November 20, 1959, No. 54/1959.

prije 1914. godine. Regionalni zavod u Osijeku prihvatio je prijedlog o zabrani izvoza predmeta starijih od 100 godina, te je iznio prijedlog da se u Uputstvo doda stavka da se dozvola odnosi i na predmete koji nisu upisani u Registar spomenika kulture.⁹⁷⁹ Budući da su svi prikupljeni prijedlozi i mišljenja regionalnih zavoda bili različiti po pitanju vremenske granice, nije se mogao formulirati prijedlog za *Uputstva*. Novo *Uputstvo* o izdavanju dozvole za izvoz spomenika kulture u inozemstvo propisao je Savjet za zaštitu spomenika kulture 1967. godine.⁹⁸⁰ Razlika u odnosu na *Uputstvo* iz 1961. bila je u nadležnosti – dozvolu za izvoz izdavao je Regionalni zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, a ne Savjet za kulturu i nauku NR Hrvatske.

Iz izvještaja o radu Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu za 1960. godinu, u vezi sa zaštitom pokretnih spomenika potaknuta je kontrola prodaje pokretnih spomenika preko povjerenika za zaštitu u Osijeku, Karlovcu, Sisku, Varaždinu i Slavonskom Brodu. Tada se javila potreba za osnivanjem *Komisije za provođenje kontrole kretanja spomenika i osiguranje sredstava za otkup pokretnih spomenika*. U tu svrhu osnovan je Fond za otkup umjetnina Narodnog odbora Zagreb, kako bi se regulirao protok vrijednijih spomenika u muzejske zbirke. Zatim je rješavano pitanje popravka pokretnih spomenika koje se odvijalo u suradnji s Restauratorskim zavodom JAZU putem Komisije za restauratorska pitanja, te je izrađen Nacrt poslovnika o radu te komisije. Pregledavani su pokretni umjetnički predmeti namijenjeni izvozu u inozemstvo (obavljeno je ukupno 185 pregleda, a zabranu izvoza dobila su 54 predmeta koji su bili od spomeničkog značaja).⁹⁸¹

Ilegalna trgovina i krađa pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta

Na Generalnoj konferenciji Ujedinjenih naroda za prosvjetu, znanost i kulturu 1964. donesena je *Preporuka o mjerama za zabranu i sprečavanje nezakonitog uvoza i prijenosa prava svojine na kulturnim dobrima*. U Preporuci

979 MKM-SDKB-A dopis pod nazivom „Informacija uz Uputstvo o izdavanju dozvole za izvoz spomenika kulture u inozemstvo“.

980 Objavljeno: *Narodne novine* broj 6, od 19. veljače 1968.

981 MKM-SDKB-A Izvještaj o radu 1960. godine.

su navedene osnovne mjere koje svaka država treba poduzeti u smislu donošenja propisa, međusobne suradnje institucija koje se bave zaštitom spomenika, međunarodne suradnje na otkrivanju nezakonitog prometa umjetnina, restitucije nezakonito izvezenih umjetnina te edukacije i razvijanja svijesti o univerzalnoj baštini.⁹⁸² Te mjere implementirane su i u tadašnju praksu zaštite spomenika svih konzervatorskih zavoda koji su u suradnji s nadležnim tijelima razrađivali daljnje mjere. Jedan od primjera takve suradnje bio je vezan uz proglašenje 1966. godine Međunarodnom godinom turizma. Budući da je turizam predstavljao „potencijalnu“ opasnost za pokretne spomenike u smislu iznošenja predmeta u inozemstvo, *Republički sekretarijat za prosvjetu, kulturu i fizičku kulturu* sa stručnjacima službe zaštite u suradnji sa *Sekretarijatom za unutrašnje poslove* i carinom poduzeli su više akcija kako bi vlasnici zaštitili pokretne spomenike. Kulturno-prosvjetno vijeće upozorilo je sve vjerske zajednice da poduzmu mjere za zaštitu pokretnih spomenika u samim sakralnim objektima ili izmještanjem u muzeje i arhive. Zavodi za zaštitu trebali su što hitnije provesti evidenciju spomenika i izraditi fotodokumentaciju, za što su bila odobrena i posebna sredstva od Republičkog fonda za unaprjeđivanje kulturnih djelatnosti.⁹⁸³

Već 1962. Republički Savjet za kulturu dao je preporuke narodnim odborima o važnosti izrade popisa predmeta od osobite umjetničke vrijednosti.

Regionalni zavodi za zaštitu spomenika kulture često su poduzimali mjere u cilju sprječavanja krađe umjetnina i ilegalne trgovine. Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Splitu uputio je 1972. godine okružnicu nadbiskupskim ordinarijatima, provincijalima, upravama samostana i crkava u Dalmaciji da sve važnije predmete sklone i osiguraju od krađa i oštećivanja. Zavod za zaštitu spomenika u Dubrovniku 1974. pismom na sve župne urede, vlasnike privatnih i javnih zbirki upozorio je na česte krađe

982 BRGULJAN, VLADIMIR, 1985., 93-97.

983 Obavijest o navedenom sastanku i donesenim zaključcima popraćen je i u dnevnom tisku. Pored odgovornih i nadležnih institucija, u članku se skreće pažnja na sve građane u smislu brige i čuvanja pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta. U članku su navedene aktivnosti zagrebačkog nadbiskupskog ordinarijata i biskupskih ordinarijata u Zadru, Pazinu i Hvaru, uz napomenu da su i drugi ordinarijati upućivali slične okružnice. N. N. 1967.; D. F. 1967.

To develop the restoration service, establish and improve restoration and conservation methods and documentation on the condition of monuments, in 1959, the *Commission for problems concerning monument restoration in the People's Republic of Croatia* was established under the Conservation Institute¹⁰⁰⁸. Members of the Commission for dealing with general restoration problems were: Cvito Fisković, Grga Gamulin, Andrija Mohorovičić, Zdenka Munk, Iva Perčić, Danica Pinterović and Duje Rendić-Miočević. Vera Hršak and Vjera Krajovan dealt with problems regarding technological documentation. Edo Kovačević was in charge of expert issues of monument reintegration, and Ana Deanović was appointed by the Conservation Institute. The task of the Commission was to examine the possibility of certain types of restoration, review problems with respect to protecting and prioritizing damaged monuments, and to determine the basic principles of restoration. The mentioned Commission received a list of proposed works and planned interventions from the Department for Restoration of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts Workshop, inspected works of art after restoration, and asked for additional work on them if it was needed.

The Department of Fine Arts of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts sent a letter to the Conservation Institute in Zagreb to coordinate the work of the Restoration and Conservation Institute. They proposed: "...the development of a plan of the Restoration Institute for movable monuments that are outside the framework of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts; the development of the program of the Restoration Institute based on the data of the Conservation Institute on movable monuments; the exchange of restoration documentation between the Conservation Institute and the Restoration Institute; the revision of the plan for conservation and the restoration of architectural monuments..."¹⁰⁰⁹

While the Restoration Workshop of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts operated independently, but

1008 The Commission was founded further to the Decision on January 16, 1959.

1009 MKM-SDKB-A March 5, 1958, No. 272-1958.

cooperated with the Conservation Department in Zagreb, the Restoration Workshop in Split operated and developed directly under Cvito Fisković, the director of the Conservation Office for Dalmatia in Split. Fisković organized the work of the Workshop on the principle of teamwork between art historians and restorers, believing that only by joint analysis, valorisation, registration and selection of the most acceptable restoration can an art object be preserved from further decay. This interdisciplinary approach, in addition to the analysis and conservation valorisation, received scientific valorisation through the publication of research and procedures in the journal *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*.¹⁰¹⁰ If works of art of greater importance were restored, various commissions were established, consisting of Cvito Fisković, Davor Domančić and restorer Filip Dobrošević, and eminent experts in the field of art history such as Grgo Gamulin, Ljubo Karaman, Kruno Prijatelj and Ivo Petricoli.¹⁰¹¹

At its session on February 22, 1966, the Council for Education and Culture of the Croatian Parliament discussed the problems and reorganization of the cultural monument protection service, based on the study *Current Problems of the Protection of Cultural Monuments with a proposal for the organization of a more efficient conservation service and the establishment of the Conservation Institute of Croatia*¹⁰¹². In the part of the study about "...the condition of the monument fund and causes of endangerment" in Annex 3, *Endangered*

1010 DEMORI STANIČIĆ, ZORAIDA, 2014, 13.

1011 ŠUSTIĆ, SANDRA, 2016, 156-157; DEMORI STANIČIĆ, ZORAIDA, 2014, 13. Fisković confirmed the practice in an interview with the *Vjesnik* in February 1979: "...several experts are always consulted: art historians and restorers. For example, before cleaning the famous crucifix of the Zadar Franciscans of the living Christ with open eyes, which could be from Tuscany from the 12th/13th centuries, and therefore, the oldest such work of art in our country, we consulted Petricoli, Gamulin, Domančić and, of course, Dobrošević. We were always faced with the question of how much to clean. In principle, we primarily tried to preserve what is more valuable, and not what is older..." MIRKOVIĆ, VOJKO, 1979.

1012 The study of the Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Physical Culture on the Organization of the Service for the Protection of Cultural Monuments was prepared by experts from the Republican Institute. This study was the basis for the Law on amendments to the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments (1960) and resulted in the passing of the Law that was published in a consolidated text in February 1967.

pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta i predložio niz mjera za njihovu zaštitu. Zavod za zaštitu spomenika u Zadru u više je navrata slao okružnice župnicima, napose u seoskim crkvama, u kojima je upozoravao da su vrijedni predmeti pristupačni i suviše izloženi. Stoga su stručnjaci Zavoda u Zadru u svibnju 1974. pregledali sve kritične lokalitete u muzejima i sakralnim objektima te su predložili mjere zaštite. U suradnji s navedenim zavodima, Nadbiskupski i biskupski ordinarijati izdavali su upute o načinu čuvanja i evidentiranja pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta u svojim službenim listovima. Dnevne novine su vrlo često obavještavale o počinjenoj krađi ili pronalasku ukradenih predmeta te pokušavale ukazati na značaj čuvanja i brige o pokretnim umjetničkim predmetima.⁹⁸⁴

Prema podatcima iz elaborata *Problemi zaštite spomenika kulture protiv krađe i evidencija predmeta spomeničkog značaja na području SR Hrvatske* u razdoblju od 1970. do 1974. bile su 92 krađe u kojima je otuđen 421 predmet. Najviše je otuđeno ikona u zadarskom zaleđu, potom liturgijskih predmeta na splitskom i istarskom području te slika u dubrovačkom području.⁹⁸⁵ Navedeni elaborat predložio je niz mjera koje su trebale biti poduzete u cilju smanjenja krađa. Mjere su obuhvatile evidenciju pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta, carinu, sudstvo te osiguravanje samih lokaliteta alarmnim uređajima.⁹⁸⁶

Konzervatorski zavod kao znanstvena institucija

Ideja Konzervatorskog zavoda kao znanstvene ustanove provlačila se od samog osnutka Zemaljskog povjerenstva 1910. godine, preko razdoblja Nezavisne Države Hrvatske kada je Ljubo Karaman uputio dopis Glavnom ravnateljstvu za opće narodno prosvjetljenje, u kojem je

obrazlagao da je Konzervatorski zavod znanstvena ustanova, kao nužna nadopuna rada Akademije i Sveučilišta. Misao o radu Konzervatorskog zavoda kao znanstvene ustanove nastavila se i poslije 1945. godine. Primjerice, na konferenciji konzervatora NR Hrvatske 23. i 24. siječnja 1950. u raspravi oko nacrtu *Uredbe o zavodima za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti NRH*. U navedenom nacrtu *Uredbe* izostavljena je definicija zavoda kao znanstvenoga tijela. Takav stav potaknuo je diskusiju u kojoj su sudjelovali Karaman, Prelog i Perc.⁹⁸⁷

Interna radna komisija također je raspravljala u povodu dopisa koji je uputio *Savjet za naučni rad* o organizaciji i problemima znanstvenog rada u Zavodu u Zagrebu. Interna komisija je u odgovoru na taj dopis priopćila da Zavod ima dvojaku funkciju, tj. zaštitnu i istraživačku te da su obje usko povezane.⁹⁸⁸

Konzervatorski zavodi nisu ustanove sa znanstvenom namjenom, već je njihov rad usko vezan sa znanostima. Konzervatorski rad traži poznavanje znanstvenih rezultata na različitim područjima, pri svakom zahvatu na spomeniku potrebno je proučiti literaturu, arhiv i sâm spomenik, što je nedvojbeno znanstveni postupak, čiji rezultati pridonose cjelovitim znanstvenim spoznajama o nekom predmetu / objektu. Bogata znanstvena bibliografija s područja povijesti umjetnosti, arheologije i urbanizma rezultat je rada konzervatorskog zavoda.⁹⁸⁹

Zajednica instituta i ustanova za proučavanje umjetnosti na području SR Hrvatske osnovana je 26. lipnja 1969. godine. Jugoslavenski institut za zaštitu spomenika kulture izradio je idejni nacrt projekta znanstvenoistraživačkog rada na području zaštite spomenika kulture te je pozvao stručnjake na izradu projekta⁹⁹⁰. Osnovna ideja projekta bila je rješavanje aktualnih problema zaštite prema značaju, vrijednosti i vrsti spomenika (slikarstvo, predmeti primijenjene umjetnosti i obrta, arhitektura). Na tim spomenicima provodila bi se višegodišnja istraživanja *spomeničkog sadržaja djela*, tehnika izrade, vrste i tehnologije materijala

984 DJ. L. 1967.

985 MK-UKBB-A Izvještaj iz listopada 1975. godine, izradile Dubravka Mladinović, Jerica Ljubenko (pravni dio) i Bianka Perčinić Kavur (tablice).

986 U članku „O krađi umjetnina – Zarđala brava čuva blago“ u *Vjesniku* Davor Domančić iznosi problem nedostatka ulaganja u sigurnost umjetnina samih vlasnika te je obrazložio da je Republički SIZ za kulturu zajedno s Republičkim zavodom za zaštitu spomenika proveo akciju postavljanja alarmnih uređaja u muzeje i crkvene zbirke u Hrvatskoj. Uređaji su bili uvedeni u Zadru, Ninu, Splitu, Trogiru i Dubrovniku, s naznakom da je uveden u Trogiru, ali još nije bila uvedena struja u riznicu. U programu su još bile zbirke franjevačkog samostana u Hvaru, korčulanske zbirke i samostan u Visovcu. MIRKOVIĆ, VOJKO, 1981.

987 MKM-SDKB-A broj 213/50 Zaključci konferencije konzervatora NRH održane 23. i 24. siječnja 1950.

988 MKM-SDKB-A Izvještaj Interne radne komisije od 31. siječnja 1959.

989 MKM-SDKB-A Akt pod brojem 163/1-1960. od 31. ožujka 1960.

990 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 30/14 od 17. prosinca 1969.

movable cultural monuments, more than 260,000 endangered movable monuments are listed, so according to this data, the need to establish a restoration institute was fully justified.¹⁰¹³

Based on the conclusions of the Council for Education and Culture of the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia, the *Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments* had to establish the Conservation Institute of Croatia as an independent and *self-governing* institution. Funds were provided by the *Republican Fund for the Improvement of Cultural Activities*, but the Institute had to provide its own funds in the future. Based on the act of the Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Physical Culture of the Socialist Republic of Croatia no. 151/1-1966, a commission for the establishment of the Conservation Institute of Croatia was formed on February 3. The commission included: Branko Lučić, conservator of the *Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Zagreb*, Zlata Mikša, accountant of the *Conservation Institute in Zagreb*, Milan Mrkalj, advisor to the *Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Physical Culture of the Socialist Republic of Croatia*, Zvonimir Turina (lawyer), *Conservation Institute advisor*, and Rade Vlkov, *director of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb*.¹⁰¹⁴ The Commission defined the activities of the Conservation Institute of Croatia: „...cooperation with all bodies of the protection service, collecting records, documentation and the condition of endangered monuments, preparing documentation as a basis for restoration and conservation interventions, scientific analysis of conservation and restoration and their publication, providing expertise, and carrying out restoration and conservation of wall paintings, stone decorations, wood decorations, textiles and metals.”¹⁰¹⁵ They were adopted when the Conservation Institute of Croatia was founded.

At the session held on June 4, 1966, the Working Community of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb passed a decision on the establishment of the Conservation Institute of Croatia.¹⁰¹⁶ Branko Lučić was appointed *interim director*.¹⁰¹⁷ Based on the decision, the Conservation Institute of Croatia was registered at the Zagreb District Commercial Court in 1966, the Working Community was founded and the Statute of the Conservation Institute of Croatia was adopted, making it a *self-governing working organization*. According to the Statute, the Conservation Institute of Croatia had six departments: “the *General Department, the Documentation Department, the Laboratory for Conservation Research (chemical and physical), the Workshop for paintings, polychrome decorations and mosaics, and making conservation and restoration studies on wall paintings, polychrome decorations and mosaics, the Workshop for decorations made out of stone, ceramics and wood, and the Workshop for architecture and other immovable monuments*.”¹⁰¹⁸ The article *The Conservation Institute of Croatia, Development and work from its foundation to 1975* by Branko Lučić gives an overview of the work of the Conservation Institute of Croatia from 1966 to 1975,¹⁰¹⁹ and the *Catalogue of Works of the Croatian Restoration Institute from 1966 to 1986* was published, as a separate publication, with the *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 12/1986. Out of 624 projects that the Conservation Institute of Croatia dealt with (preparation of documentation, projects) in the mentioned period, 99 of them were movable monuments. Restoration was funded from various sources: municipal and republican funds, private clients, public universities and museums. There was no single method of valorisation to determine the priorities for restoration. Objects for restoration were selected if they were endangered and, if they were needed for an exhibition. In the restoration procedures, methodological procedures were applied mostly in accordance with the accepted theoretical assumptions which, according to

1013 MKM-SDKB-A The Conservation Institute of Croatia from “Current problems of protection of cultural monuments with a proposal for the organization of a more efficient conservation service and the establishment of the Restoration Institute of Croatia.”

1014 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 01-93/3-1966, March 14, 1966.

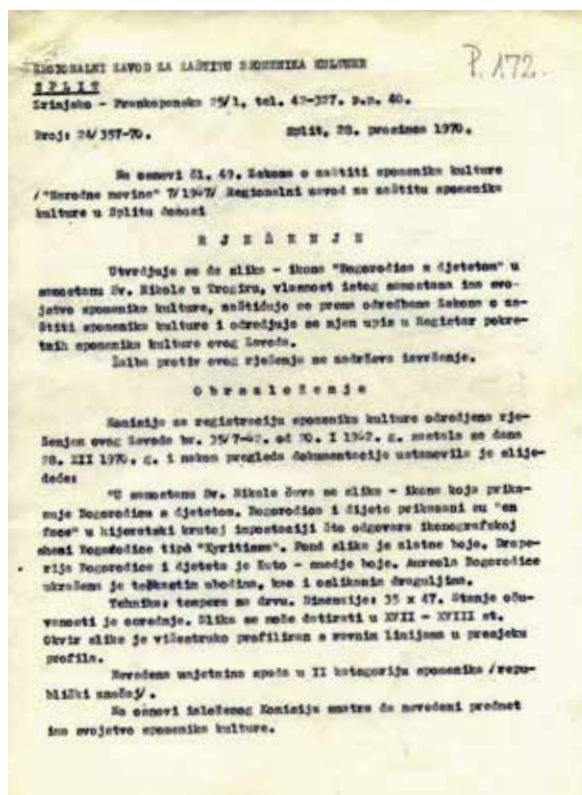
1015 MKM-SDKB-A Restoration Institute Socialist Republic of Croatia – main activity.

1016 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 01-93/5-1966, April 4, 1966.

1017 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 01-93/8-1966, May 1, 1966.

1018 LUČIĆ, BRANKO, 1975, 7.

1019 LUČIĆ, BRANKO, 1986, 15.-151.



64 Rješenje registracije, 1970. (MKM-SDKB-A)
Certificate of Incorporation, 1970 (MKM-SDKB-A)

spomenika te tehnička metoda, konzervatorska sredstva i postupci restauriranja i prezentacije spomenika. Rad zajednice nije zaživio.

Teoretske postavke i njihova primjena u praksi

Nakon 1945. godine u domaćoj i svjetskoj konzervatorskoj teoriji i praksi uspostavljeni su, prije svega kao rezultat konzervatorske prakse, osnovni metodološki postupci u zaštiti pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta. Raspravljani su na mnogobrojnim konferencijama i savjetovanjima te su publicirani u esejima, studijama i raspravama.

Upravo jedno takvo djelo jest studija Ljube Karamana *Razmatranja na liniji krilatice „konzervirati a ne restaurirati“* napisana 1961. godine. Navedena *Studija* služila je u početku kao priručnik konzervatorima, iako nije bila odmah publicirana. Naime, Karaman se godine 1962.



obratio Jugoslavenskom institutu za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Beogradu zbog izdavanja *Studije*,⁹⁹¹ no tada mu zahtjev nije usvojen. *Studija* je objavljena tek 1965. u *Bulletinu* Zavoda za likovne umjetnosti. *Studijom* su obuhvaćeni pokretni spomenici u poglavljima koja se odnose na *arhitekturu, skulpturu i slikarstvo*. Obrazložio je načine zaštite i metode restauriranja uspoređujući ih s primjerima i raspravama stranih stručnjaka.⁹⁹² U studiji je Karaman predložio tri pristupa restauriranju skulpture: odstranjivanje štete bez dodavanja dijelova koji nedostaju, obnova bez detalja i obnova izvornoga stanja. Pristup je ovisio o budućoj namjeni obnovljenog spomenika, odnosno o njegovom smještanju u muzej ili na izvorno

991 JURMAN-KARAMAN, DRAGINJA, 1971., 37.

992 KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1965., 69-71.

Zoraida Demori Staničić, were based on the principle of objectivity, truthfulness and authenticity, supported by scientific research.¹⁰²⁰ The international conference 5th triennial meeting of the ICOM Committee for the Conservation of movable monuments held in Zagreb in October 1978 and organized by the Conservation Institute of Croatia, in cooperation with ICOM and UNESCO, was very important in terms of the exchange of knowledge and experience in the theory and practice of art restoration. A total of 400 experts from all over the world took part in the meeting, divided into 23 working groups and about 150 presentations. Topics discussed at the meeting were about new applications of research methods, documentation, ethnographic material, polychrome sculpture, textiles, stone, theory and history of restoration, art trade, wall paintings and mosaics, wall paintings, training of restorers and protective coatings.¹⁰²¹ The meeting was also attended by the director of the International Centre for Conservation and Restoration of Monuments in Rome, Bernard Melchior Feilden. The conference was opened by Stipe Šuvar.¹⁰²² The first presentation at the *plenary session* was given by Stjepko Humel on the problems of organization and conservation in Yugoslavia.¹⁰²³ The international conference was a very important forum for the recognition of the restoration tradition and practice in Croatia.¹⁰²⁴

1020 Demori Staničić uses the restoration of the chasuble from the parish church of St. Stephen in Motovun to explain the essence of the "classical" theory of restoration, dominant since the mid-20th century, according to which *each procedure should be thoroughly explained and decisions within the process professionally and scientifically provable*. In doing so, she introduces the notion of modern restoration theory, which originated and developed from the critique of the "classical" method. DEMORI STANIČIĆ, ZORAIDA, 2013, 105-106. One of the most famous "classical" theorists was the Italian art historian Cesare Brandi, known for his 1963 *Theory of Restoration*, according to which restoration establishes the *uniqueness of a work of art* without erasing the past. In it he explains: the *Concept of restoration, Material of a work of art, Time in relation to a work of art and restoration, Restoration from the point of view of historicism*. BRANDI, CESARE, 2007, 110-117.

1021 M. Š. 1978.

1022 I. T. 1978.

1023 N. N. 1987.

1024 LUČIĆ, BRANKO, 1978.

The Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Socialist Republic of Croatia

At the session held on February 22, 1966, the Council for Education and Culture of Parliament discussed the problems and reorganization of the cultural monument protection service, based on the study *Current Problems of the Protection of Cultural Monuments with a proposal for the organization of a more efficient conservation service and the establishment of the Restoration Institute of Croatia*¹⁰²⁵. The study proposed the reorganization of the service by establishing the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, and regional institutes for protection in Split, Rijeka, Osijek and Zagreb. The proposal for the establishment of the Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Socialist Republic of Croatia was accepted at the session.¹⁰²⁶

The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Socialist Republic of Croatia of December 30, 1966 reorganized the service. The focus of work on monument protection was shifted to the regional institutes in Zagreb, Osijek, Rijeka and Split. The regional institutes started to record, document and register monuments in their regions, conduct studies, carry out protection work on monuments, and provide expert supervision of protection work and the work of municipal institutes for monument protection. The Republican Institute kept records on monument registration for the entire territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

When the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments was passed in 1967¹⁰²⁷, the highest socio-professional body, the *Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Croatia*, was established. The duty of the Council was determined by Articles 65-69. Article

1025 The study was prepared by the Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Physical Education. MKM-SDKB-A Letter Organization of the Service for the Protection of Cultural Monuments.

1026 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 01-93/7-1966, April 7, 1966.

1027 Published: NN 7/67, February 15, 1967.

mjesto.⁹⁹³ Karamanova teorijska misao nije strogo definirana, pristup ovisi od slučaja do slučaja. Počiva na zadanim premisama očuvanja spomenika, što je u studiji objasnio na pojedinim primjerima.

Od 1970-ih godina svoj doprinos u razvijanju teorijskih principa zaštite pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta dao je povjesničar umjetnosti i konzervator Ivo Maroević. U djelu *Rekonstruiranje drvene plastike proces interpretacije* iz 1973., Maroević polazi od definicije što je rekonstrukcija: „rekonstrukcija zamjena izgubljenog, uništenog ili nestalog materijala ili oblika novim, u obliku koji je identičan ili približan starom, a prema sačuvanim tragovima starog oblika ili materijala, analogijama na sličnim predmetima ili kombinacijom obojega“.⁹⁹⁴ Svoja teoretska promišljanja dalje vezuje uz postavku da je svaka intervencija na spomeniku određena osobna interpretacija spomenika koju pritom klasificira u tri najvažnije: stručnu, utilitarnu i tehnološku, s time da na sam način interpretacije utječu određeni uvjeti koji određuju način rekonstruiranja. Ti uvjeti su stanje predmeta, valorizacija kao rezultat proučavanja i istraživanja, konzerviranje i buduća namjena. Svoju teoriju Maroević je obrazložio i primijenio na polikromiranim drvenim predmetima te zaključuje da se samo jedinstvenom interpretacijom dolazi do odgovarajućih rezultata u postupku rekonstrukcije. Restaurator i ostali stručni sudionici koji u uzimaju u obzir sve navedene uvjete i interpretacije te odlučuju o svim činiteljima (*društvenim, gospodarskim, prirodnim i fizikalno-kemijskim*) koji mogu djelovati na sâm predmet, na taj način osiguravaju odabir najboljeg restauratorskog postupka.⁹⁹⁵

Redigirani tekst izlaganja *Dokumentacija i informacije u muzejima i u djelatnosti zaštite spomenika kulture u svjetlu potrebe čvršćeg integriranja njihovih informatičkih sadržaja* iz 1979. godine Maroevićev je pokušaj razjašnjenja pojma muzeološke i konzervatorske dokumentacije.⁹⁹⁶

993 KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1965., 76. Maroević smatra da po pitanju obnove polikromirane skulpture Karaman nije uspio do kraja teorijski obrazložiti „zakonitosti odnosa forme i njezine obrade radi postizanja umjetničkog dojma“. MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1986., 157.

994 MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1986., 98.

995 MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1986., 99.

996 Svoja promišljanja o spomeniku kulture kao dokumentu vremena i dokumentu zbivanja razlaže u članku *Spomenik kulture kao dokument* iz 1988. godine. Više u: MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1988., 784.

Autor navodi dokumentaciju koja se stvara u procesima zaštite spomenika: „na dokumentaciju nastalu u tijeku istraživanja a vezana je uz određenu znanstvenu ili stručnu disciplinu; dokumentacija u širem smislu a odnosi se na evidenciju i registraciju spomenika, stručni i administrativni postupci, spomeničke topografije, evidencije stanja spomenika, vanjski utjecaji i društveni interesi; potom dokumentacija o zaštitnim radovima koju čine elaborati radova, praćenje radova i tehnoloških postupaka do analize rezultata.“⁹⁹⁷ U nastavku vrlo jasno definira probleme koji nažalost ni pedeset godina poslije nisu razriješeni, nego su i dalje prisutni, kao što su standardiziranje podataka, miješanje kategorija podataka, nedostatak kvalitetne razmjene podataka te nepostojanje nacionalnog dokumentacijskog centra koji bi obuhvatio cjelokupnu kulturnu baštinu.

Restauratorska služba u Hrvatskoj nakon 1945. godine

Restauratorska radionica Muzeja za umjetnost i obrt i nakon 1945. nastavlja svoj rad na spašavanju pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta te su uz Zvonimira Wyrubala i Stanislavu Deklevu od 1948. zaposleni Leonarda Čermak i Ivica Lončarić.⁹⁹⁸ Od 1948. Radionica se nalazila unutar Odjela za likovne umjetnosti JAZU⁹⁹⁹, a od 1961. udružena je u Zavod za likovne umjetnosti da bi napoljetku 1974. bila izdvojena iz sastava JAZU-a i formirana kao samostalna ustanova.¹⁰⁰⁰ Konzervatorski zavodi u Zagrebu i Splitu sudjelovali su nakon rata u popisivanju i prikupljanju pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta (preko 100.000). Nažalost, zbog neprimjerenog smještaja tih predmeta u vlažnim i prašnjavim skladištima bilo je potrebno većinu hitno restaurirati.¹⁰⁰¹ No, Radionica se više

997 MAROEVIĆ, IVO, 1986., 258.

998 U vrijeme rada Zemaljskog povjerenstva Gjuro Szabo često je angažirao Stanislavu Deklevu za utvrđivanje stanja i restauriranje umjetnina. Karaman joj daje preporuku. MKM-KOST-A.

999 Karaman navodi da je radionica tada imala stručnjake za popravak slika na dasci, platnu i zidu, za čišćenje kipova u kamenu i drvu i za tekstil. KARAMAN, LJUBO, 1952., 155. Opis stručnog rada Radionice JAZU izašao je u *Borbi* s ciljem upoznavanja s restauratorskom strukom i načinom rada i kako bi se koliko je moguće spriječilo nestručno restauriranje umjetnina. V. S. 1951.

1000 VOKIĆ, DENIS, 2005.-2006., 29-31.

1001 MKM-SDKB-A A. Deanović, Problemi restauratorske službe u NR Hrvatskoj.

66 defined the work of the Council: discussing general issues in the field of monument protection, giving recommendations and opinions on improving the protection service, reviewing annual work plans and reports on the work of the institutes, discussing protection issues and making recommendations for resolving them. According to Article 67, the Council consisted of members and a president who were appointed for a period of two years. The President and six members of the Council were appointed by the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. One member each was appointed by: *"The Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, the University of Zagreb, the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, the regional institutes for the protection of cultural monuments in Osijek, Rijeka, Split and Zagreb, the Republican Institute for Nature Protection, the Society of Conservators of Yugoslavia – branch for Croatia, the Conservation Institute of Croatia, the Institute for Urbanism, Communal and Housing Affairs, the Croatian Association of Artists, the Museum Society of Croatia, the Croatian Society of Art Historians, the Archaeological Society, the Croatian Urban Planners Association, the Croatian Architects Association, the Croatian Tourist Board and the Ethnographic Society of Yugoslavia – branch for Croatia."* Furthermore, Article 68 defined that the Council "conduct certain tasks based on its competence, establish expert commissions and adopt rules of procedure, that its regulations are published in the *Narodne novine*, and its conclusions are adopted by a majority vote of the present members."

The constituent session of the Council was held on July 12, 1967. The first president of the Council was Milan Prelog.¹⁰²⁸ The Council established the *Commission for giving opinions in second instance proceedings*¹⁰²⁹, the *Commission for spatial planning and urbanism*, the

*Commission for Assessing the Priorities of conservation and restoration*¹⁰³⁰ and the *Commission for recording ethnographic material*. The expert and administrative tasks of the Council were performed by the Republican Institute. The financial resources for the Council were provided by the budget of the republic. At the second session of the Council held on October 13, 1967, the Ordinance on the registration of cultural monuments, the Instructions for issuing export permits and the Instructions for keeping records and documentation of cultural monuments were adopted. The proposal for territorial demarcation between regional institutes was adopted, and a draft program for activities and financing in 1968 was accepted.¹⁰³¹ The Executive Council of the Parliament appointed Vlado Mađarić, the former director of the Federal/Yugoslav Institute, as director of the Republican Institute for Cultural Monuments at the session of the Council.

At the session of the Council held on July 22, 1969, the idea of establishing a Community of Institutes for the Protection of Cultural Monuments was presented. It was conceived as a voluntary community of institutions working on monument protection, and its task would be to coordinate the work of institutions, ensuring professional cooperation and providing mutual expert assistance to institutions. The Initiative committee for the establishment of the Association of Institutes for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in 1972 consisted of: V. Mađarić from the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, B. Peršić from the Regional Institute in Rijeka, I. Babić from the Regional Institute in Split, V. Ukrainčik and D. Halić from the Zagreb Regional Institute and B. Lučić from the Conservation Institute of Croatia.¹⁰³² The Statute was adopted

1028 The appointment of Prelog and the establishment of the Council in general were covered in the *Vjesnik* and the *Narodni list*. M. M. 1967; N. N. 1967b.

1029 The members of the Commission were: R. Ivančević, D. Jurman-Karaman, B. Milić, B. Potkonjak, J. Singer, M. Suić, F. Wenzler – President. MKM-SDKB-A, Information on the involvement of the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in the work for the council, i.e. for the commissions of the Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Croatia, p. 2.

1030 The members of the Commission were: N. Filipović, G. Gamulin, M. Gamulin, A. Horvat, Z. Munk, A. Mohorovičić – President, MKM-SDKB-A, Information on the involvement of the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in the work for Council, i.e. for the commissions of the Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Croatia, p. 4.

1031 The decision on determining the area of activity of the regional institutes for the protection of cultural monuments in Osijek, Rijeka, Split and Zagreb was published in the *Narodne novine* No. 5, February 12, 1968.

1032 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 01-166/2-1972, March 31, 1972.

bavila restauriranjem predmeta iz Akademijinih galerija i muzeja, a manje ugroženim predmetima iz skladišta.¹⁰⁰² Stoga je izostala zadovoljavajuća suradnja između konzervatorskih zavoda u Zagrebu, Splitu, Rijeci i Akademijine radionice. U rješavanje problema uključio se Cvito Fisković, čijim je velikim angažmanom pri Konzervatorskom zavodu u Splitu 1954. osnovana restauratorska radionica (sl. 64). Radionica se uspješno razvijala, unatoč problemima s prostorom, manjkom financijskih sredstava i velikim brojem umjetnina. Prvi restaurator splitske radionice bio je Filip Dobrošević, sve do 1961., kada su primljeni Tomislav Tomas te Špiro Katić i Slavko Alač.¹⁰⁰³ Ubrzo nakon „Splitske radionice“ osnovana je *Restauratorska radionica Instituta za historijske i ekonomske nauke JAZU* u Zadru 1958. godine. U radionici su djelovala tri akademska slikara – restauratora: Ivan Tomljanović, Mario Kotlar i Vinko Fugošić.¹⁰⁰⁴

S obzirom na velik broj umjetničkih predmeta kojima je bila potrebna restauracija, često su u konzervatorskim zavodima osnivane komisije s ciljem utvrđivanja prioriteta.

Prema izvještaju Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu na sastanku *Odjela zaštite spomenika* iz 1958. godine, nastojalo se sastaviti prioritetsnu listu spomenika za restauratorske zahvate, a sudjelovali su: Anđela Horvat, Ljubo Karaman, Ana Deanović, Stanka Krstić, Dubravka Mladinov, Joža Ladović, Branko Lučić i Štefica Habunek-Moravac. Zanimljiva je diskusija koja se vodila na sastanku u vezi s određivanjem prioriteta za restauriranje:

„...Dr. Karaman primjećuje da u diskusiji treba prvenstveno voditi računa o stepenu oštećenosti spomenika, a ne toliko o stepenu njihove vrijednosti. Dr. Horvat smatra, ukoliko se usvoji kriterij oštećenosti trebalo bi prebaciti u iduću godinu restauraciju tempere iz Vratišince. Po njenom mišljenju bio bi najpotrebniji zahvat ikonostasa u Pakri i restauracija Madone zaštitnice, slikane na drvenoj oplati crkve sv. Barbare u Vel. Mlaki... Prof. Mladinov upozorava da treba

pomišljati i na restauraciju 54 slike vraćene iz Beograda u llok, koje prema informacijama treba popraviti, pa predlaže da izadje komisija Restauratorskog zavoda da utvrdi stanje oštećenosti...“¹⁰⁰⁵

Na sastanku su za restauriranje u slijedećoj, 1958. godini predloženi ovi pokretni spomenici: dvije gotičke drvene skulpture sa Zagrebačke katedrale, dva kraljevska portreta iz franjevačkog samostana u Karlovcu te slike iz 18. stoljeća iz dvorca Miljana.

Konzervatorski je zavod zbog velikog broja ugroženih spomenika predložio Savjetovanje o problemima konzervatorske službe te uputio konzervatorskim zavodima anketu i elaborat Ane Deanović *Problemi restauratorske službe u NR Hrvatskoj*.

Savjet za kulturu i nauku NR Hrvatske na svojoj je 23. sjednici¹⁰⁰⁶, održanoj 11. travnja 1958., razmotrio izvještaj sa *Savjetovanja o problemima restauratorske službe u NR Hrvatskoj* održanog 21. prosinca 1957., te na osnovi iznesenog odlučio pri Konzervatorskom zavodu u Zagrebu osnovati Komisiju za probleme restauracije spomenika u NR Hrvatskoj. Prva sjednica Komisije održana je u Zagrebu 20. studenoga 1959., a na osnovi zaključaka *Savjetovanja o problemima restauratorske službe u NR Hrvatskoj*. Članovi komisije bili su Rikard Marasović, Milan Prelog i Ana Deanović.¹⁰⁰⁷ Komisija je imala zadaću utvrditi: tehničke i stručne uvjete restauratorskog rada u NRH, mogućnost provedbe određenih restauratorskih radova, razmjenu stručnjaka iz drugih republika i Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika; nadalje, na osnovi prijedloga konzervatorskih zavoda izraditi listu najugroženijih spomenika i utvrditi osnovna načela i metode izrade dokumentacije za restauratorske zahvate. Potom, u suradnji s Društvom muzejsko-konzervatorskih radnika i ustanovama koje imaju restauratorske radionice izraditi elaborat o razvoju mreže restauratorske službe u NR Hrvatskoj. Na osnovi utvrđenog stanja i potreba restauratorskih radova komisija je trebala utvrditi središta budućih radionica i način obrazovanja potrebnih

1002 Akademijina radionica je u razdoblju od pet godina restaurirala ukupno 600 predmeta, većinom iz muzejskih zbirki. MKM-SDKB-A. Vidi elaborat: *Problemi zaštite pokretnih spomenika u NR Hrvatskoj*.

1003 Više u: ŠUSTIĆ, SANDRA, 2016., 146.

1004 CESTARIĆ, VESNA, 1961., 81.

1005 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 4/1958. od 20. veljače 1958.

1006 MKM-SDKB-A od 17. travnja 1958. broj 772/1-1958.

1007 MKM-SDKB-A Zaključci sa Savjetovanja o restauratorskoj službi u NRH.

at the meeting of the Initiative Committee on May 17, 1972, and sent to the assembly for procedure, and it was decided to hold the Founding assembly on June 8, 1972 in Zagreb.¹⁰³³ The Community was established: "...with the aim being that working organizations in the field of protection of cultural monuments in the Socialist Republic of Croatia have one specific self-governing body and mechanism for coordinating the work and development of all these institutions united from the point of view of the protection service of cultural monuments, to perform certain joint and general tasks that are of interest to all these institutions, and thus to the entire service."¹⁰³⁴

At the beginning of the Council's work, the *Commission for assessing priorities of protective conservation and restoration interventions* dealt with movable monuments, and not a separate commission. One of the problems that arose with processing movable monuments was valorisation. Valorisation of movable monuments was also carried out by institutions outside the protection of cultural monuments (taking into account only the material that the institution owned). Therefore, the Council proposed the valorisation of movable monuments based on six categories (zero category – international importance, 1st category – general Yugoslav, 2nd – national importance, 3rd – regional, 4th – local, and 5th – ambient importance). The goal of valorisation was to determine the value of monuments, based on scientific analyses, and to determine the system of protection measures and necessary procedures for their preservation.¹⁰³⁵ In practice, some monuments in poor condition were placed in a higher category than their actual value in order to gain priority for the purpose of restoration. Consequently, there were inconsistent priority lists for monument protection. The *Commission for assessing priorities of protective conservation and restoration interventions* proposed that a budget for emergency interventions be established for movable

monuments, for the most endangered objects (wood, leather and textiles). In 1974, the Commission for the Evaluation of the Priorities of Protective Conservation and Restoration Interventions was expanded by a special permanent Sub-commission to evaluate studies on conservation and restoration of movable cultural monuments. The commission was not in charge of wall paintings, mosaics and stucco. In addition to the officials of the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, six permanent external members were appointed to the Sub-commission, and representatives of the competent conservation institutes also participated. All restoration under the supervision of the Sub-commission was performed by the Conservation Institute in Zagreb and the Conservation Institute of Croatia.¹⁰³⁶

According to the work program from 1975 to 1977, the Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Socialist Republic of Croatia dealt with the proposed amendments to the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Croatia, as well as with the problem of valorisation and categorization, and the work of the Sub-commission.¹⁰³⁷

The problems related to the protection of movable cultural monuments from theft, as well as the systematic records of objects of monumental significance on the territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia were the topics of the 17th session of the Council held on October 29, 1975. At the session, it was concluded that urgent measures needed to be taken to address these issues. Proposals for taking a number of appropriate measures for the more effective protection and preservation of cultural monuments in the Republic of Croatia were adopted, and at the same time, the Council gave recommendations for resolving this issue to all the relevant institutions: the Parliament of the

1033 MKM-SDKB-A Minutes of the meeting No. 01-166/10-1972, May 18, 1972.

1034 MKM-SDKB-A Statute of the Association of Institutions for the Protection of Cultural Monuments.

1035 MKM-SDKB-A Proposal of the work program of the Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Croatia for the period from 1975 to 1977.

1036 MKM-SDKB-A, Information on the work of the commission for the evaluation of project studies for protection work on cultural monuments and the subcommittee for the evaluation of studies of conservation and restoration works on movable cultural monuments, with the 19th session of the Council on March 17, 1976, p. 2.

1037 The Council also dealt with other matters related to immovable monuments, ethnological heritage and archaeology.

stručnjaka. Predloženo je da se pri republičkom Savjetu za kulturu i nauku osnuje komisija za ocjenu provedenih restauratorskih zahvata.¹⁰⁰⁸

U svrhu razvoja restauratorske službe, utvrđivanja i poboljšanja restauratorsko-konzervatorskih metoda i dokumentacije o stanju spomenika 1959., pri Konzervatorskom zavodu osnovana je *Komisija za probleme restauracije spomenika NR Hrvatske*¹⁰⁰⁹. Članovi Komisije za rješavanje općih problema restauriranja bili su: Cvito Fisković, Grgo Gamulin, Andrija Mohorovičić, Zdenka Munk, Iva Perčić, Danica Pinterović i Duje Rendić-Miočević, a za probleme tehnološke dokumentacije Vera Hršak i Vjera Krajovan. Za uža pitanja reintegracije spomenika bio je zadužen Edo Kovačević, a od strane Konzervatorskog zavoda Ana Deanović. Zadatak Komisije bio je ispitivanje mogućnosti određenih restauratorskih zahvata, problema zaštite i prioriteta stradalih spomenika te utvrđivanje osnovnih načela restauriranja. Spomenuta Komisija dobivala je od Odjela za restauriranje Radionice JAZU na uvid popis predloženih djela i planiranih zahvata te po završetku restauriranja pregledavala djela, a u slučaju nedostataka tražila nadopune ili korekture.

Odjel za likovne umjetnosti JAZU poslao je dopis Konzervatorskom zavodu u Zagrebu u vezi s koordinacijom rada Restauratorskog i Konzervatorskog zavoda. Predlagali su: „... *izradu plana rada Restauratorskog zavoda za pokretne spomenike koji su izvan okvira Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti; izradu programa rada Restauratorskog zavoda na osnovu podataka Konzervatorskog zavoda o pokretnim spomenicima, razmjenu dokumentacije o restauratorskim radovima između Konzervatorskog zavoda i Restauratorskog zavoda, reviziju plana za konzerviranje i restauriranje arhitektonskih spomenika...*“¹⁰¹⁰

Dok je Restauratorska radionica JAZU djelovala samostalno, ali i u suradnji s Konzervatorskim odjelom u Zagrebu, Restauratorska radionica u Splitu je djelovala i razvijala se neposredno pod Cvitom Fiskovićem, direktorom Konzervatorskog ureda za Dalmaciju u Splitu. C. Fisković je organizirao rad Radionice na principu timskog

rada povjesničara umjetnosti i restauratora smatrajući da se samo zajedničkom analizom, valorizacijom, registracijom te odabirom najprihvatljivijeg restauratorskog zahvata umjetnički predmet može sačuvati od daljnjeg propadanja. Taj interdisciplinarni pristup, uz spomenu tu analizu i konzervatorsku valorizaciju, objavom provedenih istraživanja i postupaka u časopisu *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* bio je zaokružen i znanstvenom valorizacijom.¹⁰¹¹ U slučaju restauriranja umjetnina većeg značaja osnivanе su različite komisije koje su činili, uz Cvitu Fiskovića, Davora Domančića i restauratora Filipa Dobroševića, eminentni stručnjaci iz područja povijesti umjetnosti kao što su Grgo Gamulin, Ljubo Karaman, Krno Prijatelj i Ivo Petricioli.¹⁰¹²

Prosvjetno kulturno vijeće Sabora SR Hrvatske na sjednici 22. veljače 1966. raspravljalo je na osnovi elaborata *Aktualni problemi zaštite spomenika kulture s prijedlogom za organizaciju efikasnije konzervatorske službe i osnivanje Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske*¹⁰¹³ o problemima i reorganizaciji službe zaštite spomenika kulture i o osnivanju Restauratorskog zavoda. U dijelu elaborata koji se odnosi na „... *stanje spomeničkog fonda i uzroke ugroženosti*“ u prilogu 3, *Ugroženi pokretni spomenici kulture* navedeno je više od 260.000 ugroženih pokretnih spomenika pa je prema tim podacima potreba o osnutku restauratorskog zavoda bila u cijelosti opravdana.¹⁰¹⁴

Na osnovi zaključka Prosvjetno-kulturnog vijeća Sabora SRH, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture bio

1011 DEMORI STANIČIĆ, ZORAIDA, 2014., 13.

1012 ŠUSTIĆ, SANDRA, 2016., 156-157; DEMORI STANIČIĆ, ZORAIDA, 2014., 13. Potvrdu takve prakse Fisković je dao u intervjuu u *Vjesniku* u veljači 1979. godine: „... *uvijek se konzultira više stručnjaka: povjesničara umjetnosti i restauratora. Na primjer prije čišćenja poznatog velikog raspela zadarskih franjevaca sa živim Kristom otvorenih očiju, koji bi mogao biti toskanski rad iz 12/13. stoljeća, pa prema tome najstarija takva umjetnina u nas, konzultirali smo se s Petriciolijem, Gamulinom, Domančićem i, naravno s Dobroševićem. Uvijek smo se nalazili pred pitanjem o tome dokle ići u čišćenju. U načelu smo težili prvenstveno sačuvati ono što je vrednije, a ne što je starije...*“ MIRKOVIĆ, VOJKO, 1979.

1013 Elaborat Republičkog sekretarijata za prosvjetu, kulturu i fizičku kulturu o Organizaciji službe za zaštitu spomenika kulture izradili su stručnjaci Republičkog zavoda. Taj je elaborat je bio podloga za donošenje Zakona o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture (iz 1960. godine) i rezultirao je donošenjem Zakona koji je u pročišćenom tekstu objavljen u veljači 1967. godine.

1014 MKM-SDKB-A Restauratorski zavod Hrvatske, iz „Aktualni problemi zaštite spomenika kulture s prijedlogom za organizaciju efikasnije konzervatorske službe i osnivanje Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske“.

1008 MKM-SDKB-A od 20. studenoga 1959. broj 54/1959.

1009 Komisija je osnovana Rješenjem od 16. siječnja 1959.

1010 MKM-SDKB-A od 5. ožujka 1958. broj 272-1958.

Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Republican Secretariat for Justice and General Administration, the Federal Customs Administration, the Supreme Court, the Archives Council of Croatia, the Council for Libraries of Croatia, the Municipalities and Communities of municipalities.¹⁰³⁸ The proposals of the Council for the Service for the Protection of Cultural Monuments involved the following: records, lists of buildings containing movable monuments, the installation of alarms (according to the value/importance of monuments), technical security measures, recording (colour slides), monitoring antique shops, and developing a single criteria for issuing export licenses. According to the instructions of the Council, the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs was to control and document wholesalers, intermediaries and buyers; collect data on foreign and domestic wholesalers through Interpol; monitor all forms of theft; and train public security officers. The Republican self-governing community of interest in the field of culture was to provide funds for inventory, recording, photographs, the installation of alarms and for publishing special publications with photographs of stolen monuments.¹⁰³⁹ The Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Physical Culture had a role in encouraging the establishment of commissions with representatives of the Executive Council of municipal assemblies, municipal public safety bodies and competent protection institutes who were supposed to inspect all facilities with movable inventory to insure against theft and fire, and organise meetings with church authorities regarding the protection of movable property. The Law on Protection included sanctions in case of criminal acts, the establishment of an inspection for the protection of cultural monuments and the expansion of competencies for the protection of museum, archival and library materials, and the Council insisted they were all implemented. Judicial practice,

1038 MKM-SDKB-A Report on the work of the Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, May 8, 1975.

1039 The Republic Self-governing Interest Community for culture provided funds for the entire activity of monument protection, based on programs for regular activities of institutions for monument protection, and according to special programs (for protection work and special projects).

in the opinion of Council members, had been inadequate, as sentences were low or suspended. Customs were to keep records of items detained or seized at the border during illegal exports. Museum and gallery institutions had to prepare a cost estimate of the necessary technical and security measures.¹⁰⁴⁰

The work of the Republican Council, as well as the work of the protection service, was very often supported by daily newspapers, especially when topics such as the state of protection of cultural heritage were covered. In January 1985, at a session attended by Vladimir Ukrainčik, Branko Lučić, Ivo Maroević, Egon Bauman, Božidar Gagro, Ferdinand Meder and others, it was concluded that there was an emergency due to a lack of professional staff, a lack of equipment, a lack of systematic records and inconsistent criteria and methodology.¹⁰⁴¹

The Protection of art in museums and galleries

The Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments brought up the issue of resolving the problem of records, registration and upkeep of movable art in museums and galleries. At the session of the Council on July 22, 1969, it was decided to prepare a study on monument protection in museums and galleries. The Croatian Republic Fund for the Improvement of Cultural Activities approved funds for the Republican Institute to prepare the study *Protection of Cultural Monuments in Museums and Galleries in Croatia*.¹⁰⁴² The introduction stated the reason and purpose of the study: "*The unsatisfactory and even worrying condition of the storage, maintenance and presentation of cultural heritage in Croatian museums and galleries was*

1040 MKM-SDKB-A Conclusions of the 17th Session of the Council October 29, 1975.

1041 E. C. 1985; K. R. 1985; Vesna Kusin expressed a very critical view of the poor condition of monuments and the work of the protection service. She mentioned the number of conservators and restorers in Croatia (175), the lack of conservators and masters, insufficient financial resources, and a delay in amending the 1967 Law on the Protection of Monuments. KUSIN, VESNA, 1985.

1042 MKM-SDKB-A letter number 02-277/3-1970, July 23, 1970.

je dužan osnovati Restauratorski zavod Hrvatske kao samostalnu i samoupravnu ustanovu. Sredstva za početak rada osigurao je *Republički fond za unaprjeđivanje kulturnih djelatnosti*, a u daljnjem radu RZH trebao se financirati iz vlastitih prihoda. Na temelju akta Republičkog sekretarijata za prosvjetu, kulturu i fizičku kulturu SRH br. 151/1-1966 od 3. veljače formirana je komisija za osnivanje Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske. U komisiju su bili imenovani: *konzervator Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Zagreba* Branko Lučić, *računski referent Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu* Zlata Mikša, *savjetnik Republičkog sekretarijata za prosvjetu, kulturu i fizičku kulturu SRH* Milan Mrkalj, *savjetnik Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu* Zvonimir Turina (pravnik) i *direktor Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu* Rade Vlkov.¹⁰¹⁵ Komisija je definirala djelatnost Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske: „... suradnja sa svim tijelima službe zaštite, provođenje evidencije, dokumentacije i stanje o ugroženosti spomenika, izrada dokumentacije kao podlogu za restauratorsko-konzervatorske zahvate, znanstvena obrada postupka konzerviranja i restauriranja te njihovo objavljivanje, davanje stručne ekspertize, te provođenje restauriranja i konzerviranja zidnog slikarstva, kamene plastike, plastike od drveta, tekstila i metala.“¹⁰¹⁶ Navedene djelatnosti usvojene su osnutkom RZH.

Konačno je *Radna zajednica* Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu na sjednici 4. lipnja 1966. donijela rješenje o osnivanju *Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske*.¹⁰¹⁷ Branko Lučić imenovan je *privremenim rukovodiocem*.¹⁰¹⁸ Na temelju spomenutog rješenja RZH je registriran kod Okružnog privrednog suda u Zagrebu 1966. godine, osnovana je *Radna zajednica* i usvojen je Statut RZH, te je time postao *samoupravna radna organizacija*. Prema Statutu, RZH je imao 6 *radnih jedinica*: „*Opći odjel, Odjel za dokumentaciju, Laboratorij za konzervatorska istraživanja (kemijaska i fizička), Radionica za slikarstvo, polikromiranu plastiku i mozaik te izradu konzervatorsko restauratorskih elaborata na zidnom slikarstvu, polikromiranoj plastici i mozaiku, Radionica za plastiku izrađenu od kamena, keramike i*

drveta i Radionica za arhitekturu i ostale nepokretne spomenike.“¹⁰¹⁹ U članku *Restauratorski zavod Hrvatske, Razvoj i radovi od osnutka do godine 1975* Branka Lučića dan je pregled radova HRZ od 1966. do 1975. godine,¹⁰²⁰ a *Katalog radova Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske od 1966. do 1986.* izašao je, kao zasebna publikacija, uz *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 12/1986. Od ukupno 624 projekta kojima se RZH bavio (izrada dokumentacije, radovi) u spomenutom razdoblju 99 ih se odnosilo na pokretne spomenike. Restauriranje je financirano iz različitih izvora: općinskih i republičkih fondova, privatnih naručitelja, narodnih sveučilišta i muzeja. Nije postojala jedinstvena metoda valorizacije na temelju koje bi se određivali prioriteti za restauriranje. Predmeti za restauriranje birani su po načelu ugroženosti i prema potrebi prezentacije predmeta na izložbama. U restauratorskim postupcima primijenjeni su metodološki postupci većinom u skladu s tada prihvaćenim teorijskim postavkama koje su, kako navodi Zoraida Demori Staničić, počivale na načelu objektivnosti, istinitosti i autentičnosti potkrijepljenom znanstvenim istraživanjima.¹⁰²¹ Vezano uz razmjenu iskustava u teoriji i praksi restauriranja umjetnina važno je bilo međunarodno savjetovanje *Peto trijevalno savjetovanje ICOM-ovog Komiteta za konzerviranje i restauriranje pokretnih spomenika kulture* koje je održano u Zagrebu u listopadu 1978. godine u organizaciji Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske u suradnji s ICOM-om i UNESCO-om. Sudjelovalo je 400 stručnjaka iz cijelog svijeta, podijeljeno u 23 radne grupe i oko 150 izlaganja. Teme su bile vezane uz nove primjene metoda istraživanja, dokumentaciju, etnografski materijal, polikromiranu skulpturu, tekstil, kamen, teoriju i povijest restauriranja,

1019 LUČIĆ, BRANKO, 1975., 7.

1020 LUČIĆ, BRANKO, 1986., 15-151.

1021 Demori Staničić na primjeru restauratorskog zahvata na misnici iz župne crkve sv. Stjepana u Motovunu obrazlaže bit „klasične“ teorije restauriranja koja je bila dominantna u restauratorskim postupcima od sredine 20. stoljeća, po kojoj svaki postupak treba biti temeljito objašnjen a odluke unutar procesa stručno i znanstveno dokazive. Pritom uvodi u pojam suvremene teorije restauriranja koja nastaje i razvija se na kritici „klasične“ metode. DEMORI STANIČIĆ, ZORAIDA, 2013., 105-106. Jedan od najpoznatijih „klasičnih“ teoretičara bio je talijanski povjesničar umjetnosti Cesare Brandi, poznat po svojoj *Teoriji restauriranja* iz 1963., po kojoj se restauriranjem uspostavlja *jedinstvenost umjetničkog djela* bez brisanja tragova prošlosti. U njoj razlaže: *Koncept restauriranja, Materijal umjetničkog djela, Vrijeme u odnosu na umjetničko djelo i restauriranje, Restauriranje s gledišta historicizma*. BRANDI, CESARE, 2007., 110-117.

1015 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 01-93/3-1966. od 14. ožujka 1966.

1016 MKM-SDKB-A Restauratorski zavod SRH – osnovna djelatnost.

1017 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 01-93/5-1966. od 4. travnja 1966.

1018 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 01-93/8-1966. od 1. svibnja 1966.

*a reason to address this issue from a conservation point of view.*¹⁰⁴³ By answering a questionnaire, 115 institutions, 45 local and 70 specialized museums participated in the study. The study was prepared by Draginja Jurman Karaman and Dubravka Mladinov, and Greta Jurišić, Marija Gamulin, Štefica Habunek Moravac and other associates also took part – restorer and textile artist, Mira Kovačević Ovčarić, and painter – conservator of the National Museum in Belgrade, Milorad Medić. According to the study, inventory and valorisation of museum objects were the basis for research and protection. According to the data, only 50% of museums had inventoried their entire holdings. Due to unorganized inventories, museums were unable to register their collections. The Regional Institute for the Protection of Monuments in Rijeka registered most museum and gallery institutions under its jurisdiction. The Regional Institute in Split entered 14 collections in the Register of Movable Monuments, while the Institute in Osijek registered nothing in the Register of Cultural Monuments, nor did the Regional Institute in Zagreb. The study presented data on packaging and equipment for storing items, which in most cases, were not satisfactory. According to the survey, museums did not take into account the types of materials or conditions in which they were exhibited when choosing packaging. Making copies of documentation on museum objects was an integral part of the protection of cultural monuments, but unfortunately, very few museums carried out microfilming of the material. The study, in addition describing general problems related to the protection of museum objects, also gave an individual insight into the condition and the problems of the museums that responded to the survey. According to the survey, the total number of art objects in museums – exhibited and in the depot – was 1,339,500¹⁰⁴⁴. After analysing the situation in museums and galleries, specific protection needs and an action plan were presented. The study is interesting primarily because of the methodology

of work used to present the situation in museums and galleries in 1970-1971. Tables in the second part of the study have a great deal of interesting information, for example, on the number and level of preservation of museum objects by material (canvas/oil, paper, textiles, wood, stone, metal, glass, ceramics and photographs), also about the most endangered textile objects and the percentage of damage, as well as an overview of the professional training of museum staff. The special value of the study is that the condition of the museum collections is elaborated from the point of view of conservation.

In connection with the problems presented in the study, the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments organized a meeting of representatives of all the institutes for the protection of cultural monuments in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Republican Secretariat of Culture in Croatia, the Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Physical Culture, the Croatian Archives, the National and University Library and the Commission for Religious Affairs of the Executive Council of the Parliament, to put forward a single methodology for records and inventory, and for the registration of movable cultural monuments. The meeting was held on June 27, 1973 at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb. Expert theses with proposals for discussion, a model of the application form for the establishment of museum, gallery, archival and library institutions for registration, and a model of the solution for the registration of movable cultural monuments were prepared.¹⁰⁴⁵ Dubravka Mladinov elaborated on the theses presented at the meeting for movable material, which concerned records, inventory and registration. The main problem that had been dragging on for years, concerning movable material, was the slow process of keeping inventory and records, as well as registration. Therefore, the following was proposed:

1043 Problems of protection of cultural monuments in museums and galleries of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Zagreb, 1971.

1044 Protection Problems – 1971, appendix.

1045 MKM-SDKB-A Report on the work of RZZSK from 1973.

trgovinu umjetninama, zidne slike i mozaik, zidne slike, školovanje restauratora i zaštitne premaze.¹⁰²² Na skupu je sudjelovao i direktor Međunarodnog centra za konzerviranje i restauraciju spomenika u Rimu Bernard Melchior Feilden. Skup je otvorio Stipe Šušar.¹⁰²³ Uvodni referat na *plenarnoj sjednici* održao je Stjepko Humel o problemima organizacije i konzervatorstva u Jugoslaviji.¹⁰²⁴ Održavanje međunarodnog skupa bilo je vrlo važno priznanje restauratorskoj tradiciji i praksi u Hrvatskoj.¹⁰²⁵

Savjet za zaštitu spomenika kulture SR Hrvatske

Prosvjetno kulturno vijeće Sabora na sjednici od 22. veljače 1966. raspravljalo je, na osnovi elaborata *Aktualni problemi zaštite spomenika kulture s prijedlogom za organizaciju efikasnije konzervatorske službe i osnivanje Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske*¹⁰²⁶, o problemima i reorganizaciji službe zaštite spomenika kulture. U elaboratu je predložena reorganizacija službe osnivanjem Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i formiranjem regionalnih zavoda za zaštitu u Splitu, Rijeci, Osijeku i Zagrebu. Na sjednici je prihvaćen prijedlog o osnivanju Savjeta za zaštitu spomenika kulture SR Hrvatske.¹⁰²⁷

Zakonom o zaštiti spomenika kulture SRH od 30. prosinca 1966. provedena je reorganizacija službe. Težište rada na zaštiti spomenika prebačeno je na regionalne zavode u Zagrebu, Osijeku, Rijeci i Splitu. Oni su otad imali provoditi evidenciju, dokumentaciju i registraciju spomenika svoje regije, izrađivati elaborate i provoditi zaštitne radove na spomenicima, kao i stručni nadzor nad izvođenjem zaštitnih radova i rada općinskih zavoda za zaštitu spomenika. Republički zavod vodio je evidenciju o registraciji spomenika kulture za teritorij cijele SR Hrvatske.

Donošenjem Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture 1967. godine¹⁰²⁸ osnovano je najviše društveno-stručno tijelo *Savjet za zaštitu spomenika kulture Hrvatske*. Dužnost Savjeta bila je određena člancima 65-69 spomenutog Zakona. Člankom 66. definiran je rad Savjeta: raspravljanje o općim pitanjima iz područja zaštite spomenika kulture, davanje preporuka i mišljenja o unaprjeđenju službe zaštite, razmatranje godišnjih planova rada i izvještaja o radu zavoda te raspravljanje o spornim pitanjima u zaštiti i donošenje preporuka za njihovo rješavanje. Prema članku 67. Savjet su činili članovi i predsjednik koji su imenovani na dvije godine. Predsjednika i šest članova Savjeta imenovao je Sabor Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske. Po jednog su člana imenovali: „*Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, regionalni zavodi za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Osijeku, Rijeci, Splitu i Zagrebu, Republički zavod za zaštitu prirode, Društvo konzervatora Jugoslavije – podružnica za Hrvatsku, Restauratorski zavod Hrvatske, Zavod za urbanizam, komunalne i stambene poslove, Udruženje likovnih umjetnika Hrvatske, Muzejsko društvo Hrvatske, Društvo historičara umjetnosti Hrvatske, Društvo arheologa, Savez urbanista Hrvatske, Savez arhitekata Hrvatske, Turistički savez Hrvatske i Etnografsko društvo Jugoslavije – ogranak za Hrvatsku.*“ Nadalje, člankom 68. definirano je da Savjet „*za obavljanje pojedinih poslova iz svoje nadležnosti osniva stručne komisije, donosi poslovnik o svom radu, propisi koje donosi objavljuju se u Narodnim novinama, zaključci se donose većinom glasova prisutnih članova.*“

Konstituirajuća sjednica Savjeta održana je 12. srpnja 1967. godine. Prvi predsjednik Savjeta bio je Milan Prelog.¹⁰²⁹ Pri Savjetu su osnovane: *Komisija za davanje mišljenja u drugostupanjskom postupku*¹⁰³⁰, *Komisija za prostorno planiranje i urbanizam*, *Komisija za ocjenu prioriteta*

1022 M. Š., 1978.

1023 I. T., 1978.

1024 N. N. 1987.

1025 LUČIĆ, BRANKO, 1978.

1026 Elaborat je izradio Republički sekretarijat za prosvjetu, kulturu i fizičku kulturu. MKM-SDKB-A Dopis Organizacija službe za zaštitu spomenika kulture.

1027 MKM-SDKB-A Dopis broj 01-93/7-1966. od 7. travnja 1966.

1028 Objavljen: NN 7/67 od 15. veljače 1967.

1029 O imenovanju Preloga i uopće o osnivanju Savjeta popraćeno je u *Vjesniku i Narodnom listu*. M. M. 1967; N. N. 1967b.

1030 Članovi Komisije su bili: R. Ivančević, D. Jurman-Karaman, B. Milić, B. Potkonjak, J. Singer, M. Suić, F. Wenzler – predsjednik. MKM-SDKB-A, Informacija o iskustvima Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture u radu za savjet, odnosno za komisije Savjeta za zaštitu spomenika kulture Hrvatske, str. 2.

- “Systematic and planned records for the entire territory of the republic
- unique work methodology
- staff and cooperation required to perform the task
- financing modality
- establishment of a central record for movable cultural monuments.”¹⁰⁴⁶

Considering that the primary tasks of the protection service were the preparation of basic records and inventory, followed by the registration of cultural monuments as the final act of protection, Mladinov proposed an agreement on the scope of the documentation, the content and form of the application for registration, and the adoption of a registration form.

In 1972, at the request of the Museum Council, the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments began to prepare a study on the *Project of the Network of Museums and Galleries in the Socialist Republic of Croatia*.¹⁰⁴⁷ The aim of the Study was to review the condition of the network of museums and galleries in Croatia, their number, diversity, distribution, organization of work, the thematic and territorial issues of their activities, and the program for their development. All of the above were intended to be connected with an analysis of the economic, socio-political, cultural and historical development of Croatia, by region, with all their unique features. To prepare the study, questionnaires were elaborated in place of prepared and submitted to all the museums, museum collections and galleries for which they had records (160 museums and galleries). Another source for the analysis of museums and museum collections were the experts from the Republican Institute

1046 MKM-SDKB-A Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments – Zagreb, Theses for the meeting.

1047 At a meeting held on November 21, 1972, the Museum Council decided that the study should be prepared by the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, given that it had prepared two expert studies by then: “*Problems of professional staff in the field of protection of cultural monuments in the Socialist Republic of Croatia*” in 1968, and “*Problems of protection of cultural monuments and museums and galleries in the Socialist Republic of Croatia*” in 1971. MK-SDKB-K, Proposal of the network of museum and gallery institutions in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Zagreb, 1975.

who collected and organised data on the unique features that influenced the existence and activities of each institution.¹⁰⁴⁸ At the same time, external experts were hired for certain museum and gallery activities. In order to simplify the processing and analysis of data, while taking into account the geographical and historical features, the territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia was divided into five regions: Eastern Croatia, Central Croatia, the Mountainous region in Croatia, the Northern Croatian Littoral and the Southern Croatian Littoral.

The Study contained comprehensive data collected through the survey, and described the activities and history of the institution, geographical and thematic areas, professional, scientific, educational and publishing activities, storage conditions, the amount of processed museum material, the condition of the buildings, and financial resources.

Although a working group was formed at the request of Anica Magašić, *president of the Fund for the Improvement of Cultural Activities of the Socialist Republic of Croatia*, to draft the final proposal of the network of museums and galleries, this was never done.

The Republican self-governing community of interest in culture

The Self-governing community of interest in the field of culture was established in 1975 to meet the needs of those who create culture and art, and those who consume culture and art. The Self-governing community of interest coordinated and approved all programs for culture. Funds were also approved for the restoration of works of art, and among other things, the protection of movable and immovable cultural monuments evaluated as being in the zero and the first category; there were funding criteria for all program proposals.

1048 Data for the Study was collected and analysed by conservators of the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Zagreb: Vlasta Dvoržak, Gordana Goldstein Božić, Jagoda Kravar, Ivy Lentić-Kugli, Vlado Mađarić, Zvonimir Maković, Zofija Mavar, Ferdinand Meder, Ivan Mirnik, Marija Mirković, Katica Pavlović, Josip Šmic and Rastko Švalba. MK-SDKB-K Book I, Zagreb, 1975.

zaštitnih konzervatorsko-restauratorskih zahvata¹⁰³¹ i Komisija za evidenciju etnografskog materijala. Stručne i administrativne poslove Savjeta obavljao je Republički zavod. Financijska sredstva za rad Savjeta bila su osigurana republičkim proračunom. Na drugoj sjednici Savjeta održanoj 13. listopada 1967. prihvaćen je Pravilnik o registraciji spomenika kulture, Uputstvo za izdavanje dozvole za izvoz te Uputstvo o vođenju evidencije i dokumentacije spomenika kulture. Usvojen je prijedlog teritorijalnog razgraničenja između regionalnih zavoda i dogovoren nacrt programa rada i financiranja za 1968. godinu.¹⁰³² Na sjednici Savjeta konstatirano je da je Izvršno vijeće Sabora imenovalo Vladu Mađarića, dotadašnjeg direktora Saveznog / Jugoslavenskog instituta direktorom Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture.

Na sjednici Savjeta održanoj 22. srpnja 1969. iznesena je ideja o osnivanju Zajednice zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture. Zamišljena je kao dobrovoljna zajednica institucija koje rade na zaštiti spomenika, a zadaća bi joj bila koordiniranje rada ustanova i planova rada, osiguravanje stručne suradnje i pružanja međusobne stručne pomoći ustanovama. *Inicijativni odbor za osnivanje Zajednice zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture* 1972. godine činili su: V. Mađarić iz Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture, B. Peršić iz Regionalnog zavoda Rijeka, I. Babić iz Regionalnog zavoda Split, V. Ukrainčik i D. Halić iz Regionalnog zavoda Zagreb te B. Lučić iz Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske.¹⁰³³ Na sastanku *Inicijativnog odbora* od 17. svibnja 1972. usvojen je Statut koji je upućen u skupštinu na proceduru te je odlučeno da se Osnivačka skupština održi 8. lipnja 1972. u Zagrebu.¹⁰³⁴ Zajednica je osnovana: „... s ciljem da bi radne organizacije u oblasti zaštite spomenika kulture u SR Hrvatskoj imale jedno svoje specifično samoupravno tijelo i mehanizam za usklađiva-

nje rada i razvoja svih tih ustanova udruženih s gledišta potreba službe zaštite spomenika kulture kao cjeline, kao i za obavljanje određenih zajedničkih i općih poslova koji su od interesa za sve te ustanove, a time i za čitavu službu.”¹⁰³⁵

Pokretnim spomenicima kao cjelinom na početku rada Savjeta nije se bavila zasebna komisija, nego *Komisija za ocjenu prioriteta zaštitnih konzervatorsko-restauratorskih zahvata*. Jedan od problema koji se javljao uz obradu pokretnih spomenika bio je problem valorizacije. Valorizaciju pokretnih spomenika provodile su i institucije izvan zaštite spomenika kulture (pritom uzimajući u obzir samo građu koju je ta ustanova posjedovala). Stoga je Savjet predložio valorizaciju pokretnih spomenika prema načelu stupnjevanja vrijednosti u šest kategorija (nulta kategorija – međunarodno značenje, 1. kategorija – općejugoslavensko, 2. nacionalno značenje, 3. regionalno, 4. lokalno i 5. ambijentalno značenje). Cilj valorizacije bio je da se na temelju znanstvenih analiza utvrdi vrijednost spomenika i prema tome odredi sustav mjera zaštite i potrebne radove za njihovo očuvanje.¹⁰³⁶ Posljedica je bila neujednačenost popisa prioriteta za zaštitne radove. *Komisija za ocjenu prioriteta zaštitnih konzervatorsko-restauratorskih zahvata* predlagala je da se za pokretne spomenike osnuje proračun za hitne intervencije, za najugroženije predmete (drvo, koža i tekstil). Godine 1974. *Komisija za ocjenu prioriteta zaštitnih konzervatorsko-restauratorskih zahvata* proširena je posebnom stalnom *Potkomisijom za ocjenu elaborata konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova na pokretnim spomenicima kulture*. Ta komisija nije bila nadležna za zidne slike, mozaike i štukature. U *Potkomisiju* je, uz službenike Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture, imenovano šest stalnih vanjskih članova, a sudjelovali su i predstavnici nadležnih konzervatorskih zavoda. Sve restauratorske radove pod nadzorom *Potkomisije* izvodili su Restauratorski zavod u Zagrebu i Restauratorski zavod Hrvatske.¹⁰³⁷

1031 Članovi Komisije su bili: N. Filipović, G. Gamulin, M. Gamulin, A. Horvat, Z. Munk, A. Mohorovičić – predsjednik, MKM-SDKB-A, Informacija o iskustvima Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture u radu za savjet, odnosno za komisije Savjeta za zaštitu spomenika kulture Hrvatske, str. 4.

1032 Odluka o određivanju područja djelatnosti regionalnih zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture Osijek, Rijeka, Split i Zagreb objavljena je u *Narodnim novinama* broj 5 od 12. veljače 1968.

1033 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 01-166/2-1972. od 31. ožujka 1972.

1034 MKM-SDKB-A Zapisnik sastanka pod brojem 01-166/10-1972. od 18. svibnja 1972.

1035 MKM-SDKB-A Statut Zajednice ustanova za zaštitu spomenika kulture.

1036 MKM-SDKB-A Prijedlog programa rada Savjeta za zaštitu spomenika kulture Hrvatske za razdoblje 1975-1977.

1037 MKM-SDKB-A, Informacija o radu komisije za ocjenu projektnih elaborata za zaštitne radove na spomenicima kulture i potkomisije za ocjenu elaborata konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova na pokretnim spomenicima kulture, uz 19. sjednicu Savjeta od 17. ožujka 1976., str. 2.

The protection of movable cultural monuments was mainly provided as part of the regular activities of restoration workshops. Funds supplied by the republican self-governing interest communities at the request of the holder or user were used only for a small number of items. In the draft proposal of the plan for the protection of movable cultural monuments from 1981 to 1985, based on a list of priorities submitted by the institutes for the protection of monuments, museums and galleries, the following restoration projects were planned:

"... approx. 250-300 easel paintings and icons, 20% were socially owned monuments, while the rest were owned by religious communities; about one hundred individual, mostly wooden decorations, about 10% were socially owned; and 35 complete altars, i.e. iconostasis (two socially owned)..."

¹⁰⁴⁹ According to the Republican self-governing community of interest, 26.2 million dinars were spent between 1981 and 1985. Most programs for movable cultural monuments were carried out as part of the regular activities of the Conservation Institute of Croatia, the Institute for Art Restoration, the Restoration Workshop of the Regional Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Split, and the Restoration Workshop of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Zadar.¹⁰⁵⁰ With the help of special funds from the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, socio-political communities financed, among other things, the *Permanent Exhibition of Church Art in Zadar* and the opening of the treasury in Nin.¹⁰⁵¹ From 1976 until the end of 1985, according to the list of priorities, alarm devices were installed in 13 buildings in the Socialist Republic of Croatia, and the Republican self-governing community of interest in culture accepted to fund the regular maintenance and service of safety devices.¹⁰⁵²

1049 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 02-93/1981, March 1981.

1050 UKRAINČIK, VLADIMIR, 1987, 52.

1051 An article was published in the *Vjesnik* when the treasury in Nin was opened in May 1981. MILER, ĐURĐA, 1981.

1052 UKRAINČIK, VLADIMIR, 1987, 38.

Records and inventory of movable art from 1980 to 1990

The Recommendation for the protection of movable cultural property, adopted at the 20th General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization held in Paris from November 24 to 28, 1978, was certainly an impetus for the registration and conducting of inventory of movable objects. According to the *Recommendation*, the protection of movable monuments included the prevention of risks that may affect the endangerment of movable cultural property, such as inadequate storage, display, transport, lighting, humidity, temperature and pollution as well as the illegal export and trade of works of art. To prevent the risks, it was necessary to make an inventory and catalogue cultural goods, with comprehensive data and in accordance with methodology (standardized forms, photographs, microfilming).

The protection of private collections was made easy by providing professional assistance in terms of protection measures – inventorying collections, installing alarm devices and other types of protection. The recommendations also referred to protection measures in the organization of international exhibitions, especially in transport, packaging and handling, and insurance.¹⁰⁵³

The previously mentioned Recommendation and Circular *Congregation for the Clergy* which prescribed the obligation to organise the inventory for liturgical buildings and objects of artistic or historical value were an important stimulus to the efforts to finally start (intensify) the documentation process, which should include a complete inventory of an individual immovable cultural good¹⁰⁵⁴.

Republican and regional institutes and the protection of church-owned monuments

The continuous cooperation of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb with the Catholic Church began when

1053 MKM-SDKB-A Recommendations on the protection of movable cultural property, BRGULJAN, VLADIMIR, 1985, 131-139; BLAKE, JAN-ET, 2015, 8.

1054 Circular dated April 11, 1971; MARCHISANO, FRANCESCO; CHENIS, CARLO, 2003, 59.

Savjet za zaštitu spomenika kulture SR Hrvatske prema programu rada za razdoblje od 1975. od 1977. bavio se prijedlogom izmjena i dopuna Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture u Hrvatskoj, problemom valorizacije i kategorizacije i radom Potkomisije za ocjenu elaborata konzervatorsko-restauratorskih radova na pokretnim spomenicima.¹⁰³⁸

Problemi zaštite pokretnih spomenika kulture od krađe i sustavna evidencija predmeta spomeničkog značaja na području SRH bile su teme 17. sjednice Savjeta od 29. listopada 1975. godine. Na toj je sjednici zaključeno da je nužno poduzeti urgentne mjere za rješavanje navedenih problema. Usvojeni su prijedlozi za poduzimanje niza odgovarajućih mjera za djelotvorniju zaštitu i očuvanje spomenika kulture u RH i istodobno je Savjet uputio preporuke za rješavanje ove problematike svim nadležnim institucijama: *Saboru SR Hrvatske, Republičkom sekretarijatu za pravosuđe i opću upravu, Saveznoj upravi carina, Vrhovnom sudu Hrvatske, Arhivskom savjetu Hrvatske, Savjetu za biblioteke Hrvatske, Općinama i Zajednicama općina*.¹⁰³⁹ Prijedlozi Savjeta za Službu zaštite spomenika kulture bili su: evidencija, popis objekata u kojima se nalaze pokretni spomenici, instaliranje alarmnih uređaja (prema vrijednosti/važnosti spomenika), tehničko-sigurnosne mjere, snimanje (*kolor-dijapozitiva*), nadziranje antikvarijata, te izrada jedinstvenih kriterija za izdavanje dozvola za izvoz. *Republički sekretarijat za unutrašnje poslove* prema nalogu Savjeta trebao je kontrolirati i evidentirati prekupce, posrednike, nakupce, preko *Interpola* prikupljati podatke o inozemnim i domaćim prekupcima, zatim pratiti sve oblike otuđenja te provoditi edukaciju službenika tijela javne sigurnosti. *Republička samoupravna interesna zajednica u oblasti kulture* trebala je osigurati sredstva za inventariziranje, evidentiranje, fotografiranje, instaliranje alarmnih uređaja te sredstva za objavljivanje posebnih publikacija s

fotografijama ukradenih spomenika.¹⁰⁴⁰ *Republički sekretarijat za prosvjetu, kulturu i fizičku kulturu* imao je ulogu u poticanju osnivanja komisija sastavljenih od predstavnika Izvršnoga vijeća općinskih skupština, općinskih tijela javne sigurnosti i nadležnih zavoda za zaštitu koji su trebali pregledavati sve objekte s pokretnim inventarom radi osiguranja od krađe i požara, te u organiziranju sastanaka s crkvenim vlastima u vezi sa zaštitom pokretnih predmeta. U Zakonu o zaštiti bile su propisane sankcije u slučaju krivičnih radnji, osnivanje inspekcije zaštite spomenika kulture te proširenje nadležnosti i na zaštitu muzejske, arhivske i bibliotečne građe, a Savjet je inzistirao na njihovoj primjeni. Sudska je praksa, prema mišljenju članova Savjeta, dotad bila neadekvatna, jer su kazne bile niske ili uvjetne. Carina je trebala voditi evidencije predmeta koji su zadržani ili zaplijenjeni na granici pri nelegalnom izvozu. Muzejsko-galerijske ustanove trebale su izraditi troškovnik potrebnih tehničko-sigurnosnih mjera.¹⁰⁴¹

Rad Republičkog savjeta kao i sâm rad službe zaštite vrlo često su popratile i dnevne novine, posebno kad su obrađivane teme kao što je stanje zaštite kulturne baštine. U siječnju 1985. na sjednici na kojoj su sudjelovali Vladimir Ukrainčik, Branko Lučić, Ivo Maroević, Egon Bauman, Božidar Gagro, Ferdinand Meder i drugi zaključeno je da je stanje alarmantno zbog manjka stručnog kadra, nedostatka opreme, izostajanja sustavne evidencije te neujednačenih kriterija i metodologije.¹⁰⁴²

Zaštita umjetničkih predmeta u muzejima i galerijama

Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture pokrenuo je pitanje o rješavanju problema evidencije, registracije i održavanja pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta

1038 Savjet se bavio i drugim poslovima vezanim uz nepokretne spomenike, etnološku baštinu i arheologiju.

1039 MKM-SDKB-A Izvještaj o radu Savjeta za zaštitu spomenika kulture SR Hrvatske od 8. svibnja 1975.

1040 RSIZ kulture osiguravala je sredstva za cjelokupnu djelatnost zaštite spomenika kulture prema programima redovite djelatnosti ustanova zaštite spomenika i prema posebnim programima (za zaštitne radove i posebne projekte).

1041 MKM-SDKB-A Zaključci 17. sjednice Savjeta od 29. listopada 1975. 1042 E. C. 1985.; K. R. 1985. O lošem stanju spomenika i radu službe zaštite vrlo kritički stav iznijela je Vesna Kusin. Navodi se broj konzervatora i restauratora u Hrvatskoj (ukupno 175), manjak konzervatora i majstora, nedovoljna financijska sredstva, kašnjenje s izmjenama Zakona o zaštiti spomenika iz 1967. godine. KUSIN, VESNA, 1985.

the Land Office was founded in 1910. This cooperation continued after 1945 in the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. The Conservation Institute cooperated with the Church, i.e. the Archbishop's Spiritual Table in Zagreb, in drafting a circular for church authorities in order to warn and inform the clergy and the congregation about conservation principles and the legal regulations related to the protection of cultural heritage¹⁰⁵⁵. On several occasions, the Conservation Institute addressed the Archbishop's Spiritual Table regarding the implementation of the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and instructions on the protection of immovable and movable monuments, especially regarding the maintenance of church furniture and liturgical objects that were no longer in use, and were deteriorating or unprofessionally repaired. Therefore, the Conservation Institute offered professional assistance in the restoration/conservation of movable works of art in agreement with the church authorities. Despite best efforts, a number of movable monuments were destroyed, sold, stolen or removed due to changes in liturgical regulations, so the Conservation Institute proposed that the Croatian Bishops' Conference participate in the discussion and resolution of the protection of movable monuments. For the purpose of protection, church institutions were required to obtain opinions on the works from the Conservation Institute, regardless of their scope; conservators were supposed to ensure that the holders of sacral buildings were acquainted with monument protection. Furthermore, it was necessary to ensure the transfer of endangered and discarded movable items from churches to museums, provide insight into church inventories, and prevent unprofessional restoration.¹⁰⁵⁶ The Commission for the Protection of Church Cultural Heritage was established in July 1968 by the Republic Committee for Education, Culture, Physical and Technical culture. The commission had the task of coordinating all the activities associated with the preservation and protection

of church monuments. All dioceses also had committees for liturgy and ecclesiastical art that carried out the protection of the church inventory, together with the conservation institutes, but co-operation was almost non-existent. The report *Problems of Protection of the Monumental Heritage of Religious Communities in the Socialist Republic of Croatia* by regional and municipal institutes for the protection of cultural monuments from 1979, provides an insight into the state of the registration process of movable monuments in religious communities¹⁰⁵⁷. The Regional Institute in Split had lists of movable monuments only for registered collections. The islands of Hvar and Lastovo were inventoried, and the inventory on Brač, Trogir, Makarska, Drniš municipality, Šibenik, Sinj, Imotski and Vrgorac was partially processed. The Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Zadar did not have a list of church movable monuments, but only a list of smaller collections in churches, monasteries, convents, parish and parochial offices from the parish offices in Privlaka, Veli and Mali Iž, Sestrunj, Zverinac, Olib, Žman and Nin, for the monastery of St. Paul on the islet of Galevac and the monastery of St. Michael in Zadar, the parish church of St. Elijah in Zadar, the monastery of the Dormition of the Mother of God in Krupa, the parish and church in Biljani Gornji and Smoković.

According to the data of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Monuments in Dubrovnik, most churches had their own church inventories, and these lists were sent to the Institute, upon request. The mentioned lists were revised and corrected by the Institutes by including only those items that had monumental properties. The inventory was supplemented with neglected and discarded items that the owner did not include on the inventory. In this way, a large number of movable monuments in the Dubrovnik area was processed. The Institute for the Protection of Monuments in Rijeka worked on organising registered collections, like the church of St. Justine on Rab, the churches on

1055 MKM-SDKB-A Report on the work of the Conservation Institute for July 1946.

1056 MKM-SDKB-A Questions regarding the preservation and protection of cultural monuments owned by the church.

1057 MKM-SDKB-A Slavko Šterk, Problems of protecting the monumental heritage of religious communities in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

u muzejima i galerijama. Na sjednici Savjeta od 22. srpnja 1969. odlučeno je da se izradi elaborat o zaštiti spomenika u muzejsko-galerijskim ustanovama. Hrvatski republički fond za unaprjeđenje kulturnih djelatnosti odobrio je Republičkom zavodu sredstva za izradu elaborata *Zaštita spomenika kulture u muzejsko-galerijskim ustanovama u Hrvatskoj*.¹⁰⁴³ U uvodnom dijelu elaborata naveden je razlog i svrha izrade elaborata: „*Nezadovoljavajuće, pa čak i zabrinjavajuće stanje čuvanja, održavanja i prezentiranja kulturnih vrednota u muzejima i galerijama Hrvatske bilo je razlogom da sa konzervatorskog aspekta obradimo to pitanje.*“¹⁰⁴⁴ U izradi elaborata sudjelovalo je 115 ustanova, 45 zavičajnih i 70 specijaliziranih muzeja koji su odgovarali na upitnik. Elaborat su izradile Draginja Jurman-Karaman i Dubravka Mladinov, a surađivali su Greta Jurišić, Marija Gamulin, Štefica Habunek-Moravac i vanjski suradnici – restauratorica i tekstilna umjetnica Mira Kovačević Ovčarić i slikar – konzervator Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu Milorad Medić. Inventarizacija i valorizacija muzejskih predmeta bili su, prema elaboratu, osnova za proučavanje i zaštitu. Prema podatcima samo 50% muzeja inventariziralo je svoje funduse u cijelosti. Zbog nesređenih inventara muzeji nisu bili u mogućnosti registrirati svoje zbirke. Regionalni zavod za zaštitu spomenika u Rijeci registrirao je većinu muzejsko-galerijskih ustanova na svom području nadležnosti. Regionalni zavod u Splitu u Registar pokretnih spomenika upisao je 14 zbirke, dok Zavod u Osijeku upis u Registar spomenika kulture nije proveo, kao ni Regionalni zavod u Zagrebu. U elaboratu su izneseni podatci o ambalaži i opremi za čuvanje predmeta, koji u većini slučajeva nisu zadovoljavali. Prema anketi muzeji nisu vodili računa pri izboru ambalaže prema vrstama materijala ili uvjetima u kojima su bili izloženi. Izrada sigurnosnih kopija dokumentacije o muzejskim predmetima bila je sastavni dio zaštite spomenika kulture, no nažalost vrlo malo muzeja provodilo je mikrofilmiranje građe. Elaborat je, uz općenite probleme vezanih uz zaštitu muzejskih predmeta, dao i pojedinačni uvid u stanje i probleme muzeja koji su odgovorili na anketu. Prema anketi u muzejskim je

ustanovama ukupan broj pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta – izloženih i smještenih u depou – bio 1.339.500.¹⁰⁴⁵ Nakon analize stanja u muzejima i galerijama, iznesene su konkretne potrebe zaštite i akcijski plan. Elaborat je zanimljiv prije svega zbog metodologije rada na temelju koje su izneseni podatci o stanju u muzejima i galerijama 1970./1971. godine. U tablicama koje se nalaze u drugom dijelu elaborata može se iščitati čitav niz zanimljivih podataka, npr. o broju i stanju sačuvanosti muzejskih predmeta prema materijalu (platno/ulje, papir, tekstil, drvo, kamen, metal, staklo, keramika i fotografije), zatim o najugroženijim tekstilnim predmetima i o postotku oštećenja te pregled stručnog usavršavanja djelatnika muzeja. Posebna vrijednost elaborata jest u tome što je stanje muzejskih zbirki elaborirano s konzervatorskoga stajališta.

U vezi s utvrđenim problemima izloženim u elaboratu, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture organizirao je sastanak predstavnika svih zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture u SRH, Republičkog sekretarijata kulture u Hrvatskoj, Republičkog sekretarijata za prosvjetu, kulturu i fizičku kulturu, Arhiva Hrvatske, NSB, te Komisije za vjerska pitanja Izvršnoga vijeća Sabora, s ciljem ujednačavanja metodologije rada na evidenciji odnosno inventarizaciji te registraciji pokretnih spomenika kulture. Sastanak je održan 27. lipnja 1973. u Etnografskom muzeju u Zagrebu. Za sastanak su izrađene stručne teze s prijedlozima za diskusiju, model obrasca za prijavu osnivanja muzejsko-galerijskih, arhivskih i bibliotečnih ustanova u svrhu registracije i model rješenja za registraciju pokretnih spomenika kulture.¹⁰⁴⁶ Teze koje su iznesene na sastanku za pokretnu građu, a odnosile su se na evidenciju, inventarizaciju i registraciju elaborirala je Dubravka Mladinov. Osnovni problem koji se godinama provlačio, a bio je vezan uz pokretnu građu, jest sporost procesa inventarizacije i evidencije, a potom i registracije. Stoga je predloženo sljedeće:

„ – Sistematska i planska izrada evidencije za područje cijele republike

1043 MKM-SDKB-A dopis broj 02-277/3-1970. od dana 23. srpnja 1970.

1044 Problemi zaštite spomenika kulture u muzejima i galerijama SR Hrvatske, Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Zagreb, 1971.

1045 Problemi zaštite – 1971. u dodatku.

1046 MKM-SDKB-A Izvještaj o radu RZZSK iz godine 1973.

Kampor, Košljun, Osor and a collection in Poreč that also included inventory from churches in Plomin, Vodnjan and Pićan. The Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Zagreb had processed 54 church inventories.¹⁰⁵⁸

The medium-term plan for documenting and registering movable monuments for the period from 1981 to 1985 was to process 24 inventories from individual churches every year. Therefore, at the inter-institute meeting on documentation in the service of protection of cultural monuments held on May 11, 1982, the launch of a list of movable cultural monuments in churches, church collections and treasures that would be done by the Republican Institute and Regional Institutes was announced.¹⁰⁵⁹ Systematic lists of movable cultural monuments which were owned by religious communities and initiated by the director of the Republican Institute, Vladimir Ukrainčik, and conservator art historian, Želimir Laszlo, did not begin until 1985. In order to determine the state of documentation of movable cultural monuments, Laszlo travelled to Zadar, Split and Hvar from November 4 to 8, 1985. Lukrecija Pavičić Domijan documented movable monuments at the Institute for the Protection of Monuments in Zadar. A total of 30 collections or individual movable monuments were registered (the registration of monuments was carried out through the Regional Institute in Split), and an inventory book on movable monuments was introduced. In the Regional Institute for the Protection of Monuments in Split, in addition to an inventory, files were kept for objects that were processed in their workshop (about 1000 works of art). The Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Split registered about 50 collections or individual movable objects. Lists for the registration of mobile inventory under the jurisdiction of the Regional Institute in Split were based on documents and prepared by conservators: Davor Domančić, Ksenija Cicarelli, Marko Demicheli and Zoraida Demori Staničić. It should be mentioned that in 1979,

Domančić became the director of the Regional Institute in Split. He published part of his work in the form of studies and articles which provide an insight into the many years he spent working on the inventory of movable art, discovering, describing, valorising, connecting, and participating in the restoration process, until the items were displayed.¹⁰⁶⁰

The Centre for the Protection of Cultural Heritage on Hvar had a form for movable monuments in collections and drafted Decisions on the use or protection of an object or item (the decision was made by the municipality, and prepared by the Centre).¹⁰⁶¹

The systematic inventory that began in 1985 involved processing the complete inventory in religious communities, i.e. all items that had artistic, cultural and historical properties. One of the first inventories that was systematically processed in the continental part of Croatia was the parish church of St. Michael in Osijek, followed by Orthodox churches and three Franciscan monasteries (Vukovar, Ilok, Šarengrad) in the former municipality of Vukovar, the Franciscan monastery in Pridvorje in Konavle, the churches in the Split hinterland, all the churches in the parish of St. Anthony the Abbot on Veli Lošinj, and three parish churches in Kaštela.¹⁰⁶²

As a result, dossiers were produced which contained detailed descriptions, measures, dates, and the recording of the condition of objects with a black-and-white photograph. The dossier consisted of a description of the church and a complete inventory that was organ-

1058 MKM-SDKB-A Slavko Šterk, Problems of protecting monumental heritage of religious communities in the Socialist Republic of Croatia.
1059 MKM-SDKB-A Inter-institutional meeting, May 11, 1982.

1060 BELAMARIĆ, JOSIP, 2008, 9; *Gospa Blaža Jurjeva u Šibeniku, Izložba djela Blaža Jurjeva Trogirana, Benetovićeve slika u Komiži, Slika Giuseppa Zaisa na Braču, Bokaničev ninski oltar, Barokni oltar Pietra Coste' u Hvarskoj stolnici, Inventar umjetnina franjevačkog samostana na Hvaru iz 1671. godine, Moćnik dubrovačke stolnice, Slike Vittorea Crivellija u Dalmaciji*. Through these essays and studies, Domančić introduced us to life in a monastery or church with a historical overview and described his visits to assess their inventories. He described and valorised movable objects, listing the material, punches, technique, description of the iconography and location. He also mentioned restoration procedures that were carried out, mostly in the Workshop in Split, and gave an assessment of previous interventions. DOMANČIĆ, DAVOR, 2008.
1061 MKM-SDKB-A No. 02-89/11-1985, November 14, 1985.

1062 The files are still stored in the collection of church inventory files in the Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Croatia.

jedinstvena metodologija rada

kadar i suradnja potrebni za izvršenje zadatka

modalitet financiranja

*uspostavljanje centralne evidencije pokretnih spomenika kulture.*¹⁰⁴⁷

S obzirom na to da su primarni poslovi službe zaštite izrada osnovne evidencije i inventarizacija, a potom registracija spomenika kulture kao završni čin zaštite, Mladinov je predložila dogovor oko opsega dokumentacije, sadržaja i oblika prijave za registraciju te donošenje obrasca za registraciju.

Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture započeo je 1972. godine, na zahtjev Muzejskog savjeta, izradu elaborata o *Projektu mreže muzeja i galerija u SR Hrvatskoj*.¹⁰⁴⁸ Cilj *Elaborata* bio je prikaz stanja mreže muzejsko-galerijskih ustanova u Hrvatskoj, njihove brojnosti, raznovrsnosti, rasprostranjenosti, organizacije rada, tematske i teritorijalne problematike njihovog djelovanja te programa njihovog razvoja. Sve navedeno željelo se povezati s analizom ekonomskog, društveno-političkog i kulturno-historijskog razvoja Hrvatske po regijama sa svim njihovim specifičnostima. U svrhu izrade elaborata izrađeni su anketni listovi koji su bili dostavljeni svim muzejima, muzejskim zbirkama i galerijama o kojima je postojala evidencija (160 muzejsko-galerijskih ustanova). Drugi izvor za analizu muzeja i muzejskih zbirki bili su stručnjaci Republičkog zavoda koji su obilaskom prikupili i sistematizirali podatke o specifičnostima koje su utjecale na postojanje i djelatnost pojedine ustanove.¹⁰⁴⁹ Istovremeno su angažirani vanjski stručnjaci za

pojedina uža područja iz muzejsko-galerijske djelatnosti. Radi jednostavnije obrade i analize podataka te vodeći računa o geografsko-povijesnim osobitostima, područje SR Hrvatske razdijelili su u pet regija: *Istočna Hrvatska, Središnja Hrvatska, Gorska Hrvatska, Sjeverno hrvatsko primorje i Južno hrvatsko primorje*.

U Elaboratu se nalaze iscrpni podatci prikupljeni anketom, a odnose se na: funkcioniranje i povijest ustanove, geografska i tematska područja, stručnu, znanstvenu, obrazovnu i izdavačku aktivnost, uvjete čuvanja, količinu obrađene muzejske građe, građevinsko stanje objekta te financijska sredstva.

Iako je na traženje Anice Magašić, *predsjednice Fonda za unaprijeđenje kulturnih djelatnosti SR Hrvatske*, formirana radna grupa koja je trebala izraditi konačni prijedlog mreže muzeja i galerija, to nikada nije napravljeno.

Republička samoupravna interesna zajednica u kulturi

Samoupravna interesna zajednica na području kulture osnovana je godine 1975. u svrhu zadovoljavanja potreba onih koji kulturu i umjetnost stvaraju i onih koji ih konzumiraju. U SIZ-u su se usklađivali i odobravali programi za cjelokupnu kulturu. Odobravana su sredstva i za restauriranje umjetnina, a među ostalim propisana je zaštita pokretnih i nepokretnih spomenika kulture nulte i prve kategorije; za sve prijedloge programa postojali su kriteriji financiranja.

Zaštitni radovi na pokretnim spomenicima kulture izvođeni su pretežno u sklopu redovite djelatnosti restauratorskih radionica. Samo su za manji broj predmeta sredstva osigurana u republičkim samoupravnim interesnim zajednicama na zahtjev imatelja ili korisnika. U nacrtu prijedloga plana zaštite pokretnih spomenika kulture od 1981. do 1985., a koji je sastavljen na osnovi prioritetne liste koju su dostavili zavodi za zaštitu spomenika, muzeji i galerije, bili su planirani sljedeći restauratorski zahvati:

„...cca 250-300 štafelajnih slika i ikona, od toga su 20% spomenici u društvenom vlasništvu, dok je ostatak u vlasništvu vjerskih zajednica; stotinjak pojedinačnih, pretežno drvenih plastika, od čega cca 10% u društvenom vlasništvu;

1047 MKM-SDKB-A Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture – Zagreb, Teze za sastanak.

1048 Muzejski savjet na sastanku održanom 21. studenog 1972. godine odlučio je da navedeni elaborat izradi Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, s obzirom na to da je do tada izradio dva stručna elaborata: *Problemi stručnih kadrova u oblasti zaštite spomenika kulture na području SR Hrvatske* iz 1968. godine i *Problemi zaštite spomenika kulture i muzejima i galerijama SR Hrvatske* iz 1971. godine. MKM-SDKB-K, *Prijedlog mreže muzejsko-galerijskih ustanova u SR Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 1975.

1049 Podatke za Elaborat su prikupljali i obradili konzervatori Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Zagrebu: Vlasta Dvoržak, Gordana Goldstein Božić, Jagoda Kravar, Ivy Lentić-Kugli, Vlado Mađarić, Zvonimir Maković, Zofija Mavar, Ferdinand Meder, Ivan Mirnik, Marija Mirković, Katica Pavlović, Josip Šmic i Rastko Švalba. MKM-SDKB-K Knjiga I, Zagreb, 1975.

ised according to the location within the church, sacristy and parish court; different units and parts were treated independently, such as the altar, altarpieces, retable statues, etc.¹⁰⁶³ The dossiers were made in four copies: for the diocese, the parish, the competent regional institute and for the Republican Institute. Based on the condition of individual items, lists of priorities for restoration and conservation were prepared.

The medium-term plan for the period from 1986 to 1990 included a list of movable monuments for the entire period. The process of recording and reambulation of the terrain was a fundamental task of the protection service. Guidelines were also developed on what a list of movable cultural monuments should contain. Lists of movable monuments were systematically drawn up since 1987, and Želimir Laszlo and Ranka Saračević Würth took part. If the inventories of some sacral buildings, depending on the area, were extremely large, then the work of employees of the Republican Institute, with the help of experts from competent conservation institutes, was jointly carried out, and if necessary, museum curators (Ankica Babin from the Kaštela Museum and Sanja Acalija from the Dubrovnik museum) were hired. By 1990, 70 collections of movable art were documented through joint efforts.¹⁰⁶⁴

LEGISLATION FROM 1945 TO 1990

The legal protection of cultural monuments in Croatia from 1945 to 1971 was based on federal and republican regulations, and since 1971, it has been exclusively under the jurisdiction of individual republics. Federal and republican laws were based on the Constitution and other laws (Criminal Code, Basic Law on Expropriation, Law on Protection of Archival Materials and Archives, Law on Museums).¹⁰⁶⁵

1063 These files are stored in the Department for Movable and Intangible Cultural Heritage, Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Croatia.

1064 The files are kept in the Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage.

1065 In note number 2, J. Ljubenko mentions regulations which, in addition to the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments, regulate the protection of cultural monuments.

Prior to the establishment of authority over the liberated territory, the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia passed a *Decision on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities*¹⁰⁶⁶, which contained provisions of the law, although it was not a law, and the *Law on the Collection, Preservation and Distribution of Books and Other Cultural, Scientific and Artistic Objects That Became State Property by Decision of the Anti-Fascist Council of the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia*.¹⁰⁶⁷ The General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities was passed on July 23, 1945, placing the scientific, aesthetic, cultural and historical value of monuments under the protection of the state, regardless of the owner of the monument. After the adoption of the first *Decisions* and the *General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities*, further development continued of legislation on the protection of monuments. The promulgation of new laws and bylaws on protection was always preceded by a meeting or conference at the federal or republican level. Since it was founded in 1950, the Federal Institute for the Protection of Monuments took a major role in making proposals, and drafting ordinances and laws at the federal level. The Institute forwarded questionnaires and surveys on monument protection which were used as a basis for organizing conferences. Its central role was confirmed by Article 53 of the General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments of 1959. The Conservation Institute in Zagreb, which since 1967 was known as the Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, coordinated all of the work of the regional institutes for protection in Croatia on the issue of legal regulations, among other things. When federal and republican laws on monument protection were passed, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb actively participated with remarks, recommendations and proposals on the adoption of all legal regulations from 1945 to 1967, and also when the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments was passed, which, with the necessary amendments, was

1066 The decision was made on February 20, 1945.

1067 Published: *Službeni list 1 of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia* 36/45, November 21, 1944.

zatim 35 kompletnih oltara, odnosno ikonostasa (dva u društvenom vlasništvu)...¹⁰⁵⁰ Prema RSIZ-u od 1981. do 1985. utrošeno je 26,2 milijuna dinara. Najveći dio programa zaštitnih radova na pokretnim spomenicima kulture obavljen je u redovitoj djelatnosti Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske, Zavoda za restauriranje umjetnina, Restauratorske radionice Regionalnog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Splitu i Restauratorske radionice Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Zadru.¹⁰⁵¹ Društveno-političke zajednice su pomoću posebnih sredstva Sabora SR Hrvatske, među ostalim, financirale postav izložbe *Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti* u Zadru i otvorenje riznice u Ninu.¹⁰⁵² Od 1976. do kraja 1985., prema listi prioriteta, ugrađeni su alarmni uređaji na 13 objekata na području SR Hrvatske, a RSIZ kulture prihvatio je financiranje redovitog održavanja i servisiranja sigurnosnih uređaja.¹⁰⁵³

Evidencija i inventarizacija pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta od 1980. do 1990. godine

Poticaj evidenciji i inventarizaciji pokretnih predmeta svakako je bila i *Preporuka za zaštitu pokretnih kulturnih dobara* koja je donesena na 20. generalnoj konferenciji Organizacije Ujedinjenih naroda za obrazovanje, znanost i kulturu održanoj u Parizu od 24. do 28. studenoga 1978. godine. Prema Preporuci, zaštita pokretnih spomenika uključivala je i sprječavanje rizika koji mogu utjecati na ugroženost pokretnoga kulturnog dobra, kao što su neadekvatna pohrana, izlaganje, transport, osvjetljenje, vlaga, temperatura, zagađenost te nezakoniti izvoz i trgovina umjetninama. U svrhu sprječavanja spomenutih rizika bilo je potrebno provesti inventarizaciju i katalogizaciju kulturnih dobara, s iscrpnim podacima i u skladu s metodologijom (standardizirani obrasci, fotografije, mikrofilmiranje). Privatnim zbirkama trebala se olakšati zaštita na takav način da im se pruža stručna pomoć po pitanju mjera zaštite – inventariziranjem zbirki,

ugradnjom alarmnih uređaja i drugim vrstama zaštite. Preporuke su se odnosile i na mjere zaštite pri organiziranju međunarodnih izložbi, posebice pri transportu, pakiranju i rukovanju te osiguranju.¹⁰⁵⁴

Spomenuta Preporuka i Okružnica *Kongregacija za kler*, koja je propisivala obvezu uređivanja inventara za liturgijske građevine i predmete od umjetničke ili povijesne vrijednosti, bile su važan poticaj nastojanju da se i u nas konačno započne (intenzivira) s akcijama popisivanja, kojima je trebao biti obuhvaćen cjelokupni inventar pojedinih nepokretnog kulturnog dobra¹⁰⁵⁵.

Republički i regionalni zavodi i zaštita spomenika u crkvenom vlasništvu

Kontinuirana suradnja Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu s Katoličkom crkvom započela je od osnutka Zemaljskog povjerenstva 1910. godine. Ta je suradnja nastavljena i nakon 1945., u FNRJ. Konzervatorski zavod surađivao je s Crkvom, odnosno Nadbiskupskim Duhovnim stolom u Zagrebu, na izradi okružnice crkvenih vlasti u svrhu upozorenja i upoznavanja svećenstva i vjernika s konzervatorskim načelima i zakonskim propisima vezanim za zaštitu kulturne baštine¹⁰⁵⁶. U nekoliko navrata Konzervatorski se zavod obraćao Nadbiskupskom Duhovnom stolu u vezi s primjenom Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i s uputama o zaštiti nepokretnih i pokretnih spomenika, posebice u vezi s održavanjem crkvenoga namještaja i liturgijskih predmeta koji više nisu bili u upotrebi, a izloženi su propadanju ili nestručnom popravljivanju. Stoga je Konzervatorski zavod predložio stručnu pomoć pri restauriranju/konzerviranju pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta u dogovoru s nadležnom crkvenom vlašću. Unatoč nastojanjima, određeni broj pokretnih spomenika bio je uništen, prodan, ukraden ili uklonjen uslijed promjena liturgijskih propisa. Slijedom navedenoga Konzervatorski je zavod predlagao Biskupskoj konferenciji Hrvatske da sudjeluje pri razmatranju i rješavanju problema zaštite

1050 MKM-SDKB-A Dopis broj 02-93/1981. iz ožujka 1981.

1051 UKRAINČIK, VLADIMIR, 1987., 52.

1052 Povodom otvorenja riznice u Ninu izašao je članak u *Vjesniku* u svibnju 1981. MILER, ĐURĐA, 1981.

1053 UKRAINČIK, VLADIMIR, 1987., 38.

1054 MKM-SDKB-A Preporuke o zaštiti pokretnih kulturnih dobara; BRGULJAN, VLADIMIR, 1985., 131-139; BLAKE, JANET, 2015., 8.

1055 Okružnica je od 11. travnja 1971.; MARCHISANO, FRANCESCO; CHENIS, CARLO, 2003., 59.

1056 MKM-SDKB-A Izvještaj rada Konzervatorskog zavoda za srpanj 1946.

in force until 1999 in the Republic of Croatia. An important moment for monument protection arrived when it was included in the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1963, which meant that it became a constitutional category. In the 1974 Constitution, the protection of monuments was elaborated in more detail in three articles.¹⁰⁶⁸

The following text lists all the legal regulations passed from 1945 to 1990 regarding the protection of cultural heritage, with an emphasis on movable cultural monuments.

The Decision on the protection and preservation of cultural monuments and antiquities, 1945¹⁰⁶⁹

The Decision on the protection and preservation of cultural monuments and antiquities that was passed on February 20, 1945, placed all artistic and scientific objects (buildings of historical and artistic significance, public monuments, busts, paintings, libraries and archives from state and public institutions, scientific collections, museums) under the protection of the state.

According to Article 2 of the Decision, the Military headquarters of the *National Liberation Army* and the *Partisan Detachments of Yugoslavia* were to protect cultural and historical objects and entrust their handling to experts of the national education authorities after entering a liberated town. In accordance with Article 3, buildings containing art and scientific objects, antiques, archives, libraries, museums and other cultural monuments could not be repurposed. These buildings could be used for military purposes only in exceptional cases. If that happened, military authorities, in agreement with the nearest education authorities, had to take all necessary measures to ensure that the items in the buildings were fully protected. If the said objects were taken or destroyed, according to Article 4 of the

1068 ŽIVKOVIĆ, ZDRAVKO, 1979.

1069 Published: *Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredba*, year I, Zagreb, September 25, 1945, NN, volume II, number 124. The said Decision was repealed by the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on July 23, 1945 No. 498.

Decision, a penalty was determined based on the regulations provided for the destruction of state property. The implementation of the *Decision* was entrusted to the Commission for Education of the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia.

The Law on the Collection, Preservation and Distribution of Books and Other Cultural, Scientific and Art Objects That Became State Property by Decision of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, 1945¹⁰⁷⁰

According to the Law, the systematic care of the collection, storage and distribution of books, archival and museum objects, paintings and busts, scientific collections and all other objects of historical, scientific or artistic significance, which became state property by the Decision of the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia on November 21, 1944, was the responsibility of the Ministry of Education of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia. According to Article 2 of the Law, the Ministry was supposed to issue instructions on the method of collecting and storing collected objects until their distribution (museums, galleries).

On June 28, 1945, the Commission for gathering and protecting cultural monuments and antiquities on the territory of the Federal State of Croatia (KOMZA) was established, based on this law. The work of the Commission, as already mentioned in the chapter of the Commission for gathering and protecting cultural monuments (KOMZA), is connected to the inventory and collection of movable works of art that became state property.

The Ordinance on the transfer of activities under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Industry – State Administration of National Property – under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, 1945¹⁰⁷¹

1070 Published: *Službeni list of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia*, no. 10, April 3, 1945.

1071 Published: *Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba*, Year I, Zagreb, November 5, 1945, Vol. VI, Laws and Other Regulations of the Federal Authorities, No. 501, p. 427.

pokretnih spomenika. U svrhu zaštite nadležne su crkvene institucije trebale od Konzervatorskog zavoda pribaviti mišljenja o radovima, bez obzira na njihov opseg; konzervatori su trebali osigurati upoznavanje imatelja sakralnih objekata sa zaštitom spomenika. Nadalje, bilo je potrebno osigurati prijenos crkvenih ugroženih i odbačenih pokretnih predmeta u muzeje, omogućavati uvid u sakralne inventare, sprječavati nestručno restauriranje.¹⁰⁵⁷ Komisija za zaštitu sakralnih kulturnih dobara osnovana je u srpnju 1968. pri Republičkom komitetu za prosvjetu, kulturu, fizičku i tehničku kulturu. Komisija je imala zadatak koordinirati sve akcije čuvanja i zaštite sakralnih spomenika. U svim biskupijama također su postojali odbori za liturgiju i crkvenu umjetnost, koji su, zajedno s konzervatorskim zavodima, trebali provoditi zaštitu crkvenog inventara, no ta je suradnja izostala. Izvještaj *Problemi zaštite spomeničke baštine vjerskih zajednica u SR Hrvatskoj* regionalnih i općinskih zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture iz 1979. godine omogućuje uvid u pregled stanja evidentiranosti pokretnih spomenika u vjerskim zajednicama¹⁰⁵⁸. Regionalni zavod u Splitu imao je popise pokretnih spomenika samo za registrirane zbirke. Potpuna inventarizacija provedena je na otoku Hvaru i Lastovu, a djelomično je bio obrađen inventar na Braču, u Trogiru, Makarskoj, drniškoj općini, Šibeniku, Sinju, Imotskom i Vrgorcu. Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Zadru nije imao popis pokretnih spomenika sakralnoga karaktera, nego samo popis manjih zbirki u crkvama, samostanima, manastirima, župnim i parohijskim uredima: u župnom uredu Privlaka, Veli i Mali Iž, Sestrunj, Zverinac, Olib, Žman i Nin, za samostan sv. Pavla na otočiću Galevac i samostan sv. Mihovila u Zadru, u parohijskoj crkvi sv. Ilije u Zadru, manastiru Vaznesenja Bogorodice u Krupi, parohiji i crkvi u Biljanima Gornjim i u Smokoviću.

Prema podacima Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode u Dubrovniku većina crkava imala je vlastite crkvene inventare te su na traženje ti popisi bili dostavljeni Zavodu. Spomenute popise Zavod je revidirao

i korigirao uvrstivši samo one predmete koji su imali spomenička svojstva. Inventar je dopunjavao i zanemarenim i odbačenim predmetima koje vlasnik nije unio u popis inventara. Na taj je način osnovnom evidencijom bio obrađen velik broj pokretnih spomenika na dubrovačkom području. Zavod za zaštitu spomenika Rijeka radio je na uređenju registriranih zbirki, kao što je na Rabu crkva sv. Justine, crkve na Kampionu, Košljunu, Osoru i zbirka u Poreču, koju su činili i inventari iz crkava u Pločinu, Vodnjanu i Pićanu. Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Zagrebu imao je ukupno 54 obrađena crkvena inventara.¹⁰⁵⁹

U srednjoročnom planu evidencije i registracije pokretnih spomenika za razdoblje od 1981. do 1985. bilo je planirano da se godišnje obrade 24 inventara u pojedinim sakralnim objektima. Stoga je na međuzavodskom sastanku o dokumentaciji u službi zaštite spomenika kulture održanom 11. svibnja 1982. naveden početak izrade popisa pokretnih spomenika kulture u crkvama, crkvenim zbirkama i riznicama koje bi radili Republički zavod i Regionalni zavodi.¹⁰⁶⁰ No, tek su godine 1985. započele sustavne izrade popisa pokretnih spomenika kulture u vlasništvu vjerskih zajednica koje su inicirali direktor Republičkog zavoda Vladimir Ukrainčik i konzervator povjesničar umjetnosti Želimir Laszlo. U svrhu utvrđivanja stanja dokumentiranosti pokretnih spomenika kulture Laszlo je otputovao u Zadar, Split i Hvar od 4. do 8. studenoga 1985. godine. U Zavodu za zaštitu spomenika u Zadru dokumentiranjem pokretnih spomenika bavila se Lukrecija Pavičić Domijan. Ukupno je registrirano 30 zbirki ili pojedinačnih pokretnih spomenika (registracija spomenika provodila se preko Regionalnog zavoda u Splitu), a uvedena je inventarna knjiga o pokretnim spomenicima. U Regionalnom zavodu za zaštitu spomenika u Splitu, osim inventarizacije, izrađivani su i dosjei za predmete koji se obrađuju u njihovoj radionici (oko 1000 umjetnina). Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Splitu registrirao je oko 50 zbirki ili pojedinačnih pokretnih predmeta. Popise za registraciju pokretnog inventara u nadležnosti Regionalnog zavoda u Splitu izrađivali su

1057 MKM-SDKB-A Pitanja u vezi sa čuvanjem i zaštitom spomenika kulture u crkvenom vlasništvu.

1058 MKM-SDKB-A Slavko Šterk, Problemi zaštite spomeničke baštine vjerskih zajednica u SR Hrvatskoj.

1059 MKM-SDKB-A Slavko Šterk, Problemi zaštite spomeničke baštine vjerskih zajednica u SR Hrvatskoj.

1060 MKM-SDKB-A Međuzavodski sastanak 11. svibnja 1982.

The Ordinance was based on Article 1 of the *Law on the Collection, Storage and Distribution of Books and Other Cultural and Scientific Subjects*¹⁰⁷². According to Article 1 of the Ordinance, the District Administration of National property established district collection centres for the collection and storage of books, archival and museum objects, paintings and busts, scientific collections, musical instruments and other objects of historical, scientific, and artistic significance. The District collection centres were notified when competent courts made a decision on the confiscation of property. The property that was handed over was entered in the Minutes with a list and estimate of the property and the status (state property or sequestration). The assets were transferred to warehouses (Articles 2 to 4).

The Decree on the Establishment of the State Commission for War Damage, 1945¹⁰⁷³

According to Article 1 of the Decree, the State Commission was founded to collect data on all war damage in the country, verify and assess reported damage, and organise work and supervise the collected and analysed data on war damage in federal units. The *Presidency of the Council of Ministers*, at the proposal of the State Commission for War Damage, passed the Ordinance on the Organization and Work of the State Commission for War Damage (Article 8).

The process of ascertaining war damage on the territory of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia began when the State Commission for War Damage was established. The Decree was followed by a number of ordinances, decrees and decisions organising the work of commissions: the Commission for ascertaining war damages inflicted by occupying forces on cultural and historical objects and natural landmarks of Yugoslavia and their return to the country, and the Commission for gathering and protecting cultural monuments and antiquities on the territory of the Federal State of Croatia.

1072 As of May 24, 1945.

1073 Published: *Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba*, Year I, Zagreb, September 25, 1945, Laws and Other Regulations of the Federal Authorities, No. 239; Reprinted in NN, No. 19, September 15, 1945.

The Ordinance on reporting and determining war damage, 1945¹⁰⁷⁴

The Ordinance referred to war damage caused from April 6, 1941 to May 1945. The State Commission for War Damage at the federal level coordinated the work of state commissions operating in federal units. National Commissions assessed, verified and collected data on damage with the help of the *district commission for war damage and local national committees* (Articles 25 to 29). Article 31 of the Ordinance referred to damage caused to cultural and historical objects and natural landmarks inspected, checked and assessed by the *Commission for ascertaining war damages inflicted by occupying forces on cultural and historical objects and natural landmarks of Yugoslavia and their return to the country*. According to the Ordinance, the Ministry of Education of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia reported the damage to the State Commission for War Damage.

The Decree on the formation of the Commission for the Collection and Protection of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities in Federal Croatia, 1945¹⁰⁷⁵

Article 1 founded the Commission for the Collection and Protection of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities on the territory of Federal Croatia. The implementation of the Decree under Article 2 was entrusted to the general department of the Ministry of Education.

The Decree on training of the Commission for Determining War Damage to State Property under the Administration of the Ministry of Education, 1945¹⁰⁷⁶

Article 1 established the Commission for the Collection and Protection of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities in the territory of Federal Croatia under the administration of the Ministry of Education. According to Article 2, any change in the composition of the Commission

1074 Published: *Službeni list*, No. 44, June 10, 1945, No. 402, p. 342.

1075 Published: *Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba*, Year I, Zagreb, October 5, 1945, volume III, p. 165-166, No. 54.

1076 Published: *Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba*, Year I, Zagreb, October 5, 1945, volume III, p. 165-166, No. 55.

prema dokumentima konzervatori: Davor Domančić, Ksenija Cicarelli, Marko Demicheli i Zoraida Demori Staničić. Treba napomenuti da je Domančić 1979. godine preuzeo mjesto *direktora* Regionalnog zavoda u Splitu. Dio svog rada objavio je u nekoliko studija i članaka iz kojih se najbolje može iščitati njegov dugogodišnji rad na inventarizaciji pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta i to u otkrivanju, opisivanju, valoriziranju, povezivanju, sudjelovanju u procesu restauracije pa do njihove prezentacije.¹⁰⁶¹

U Centru za zaštitu kulturne baštine na Hvaru imali su formular za pokretne spomenike u zbirkama i izrađivali su Odluke o korištenju ili zaštiti nekog objekta ili predmeta (odluku donosi općina, a pripremu radi Centar).¹⁰⁶²

Sustavna inventarizacija koja je krenula 1985. podrazumijevala je obradu cjelovitog inventara u vjerskim zajednicama, svih predmeta koji imaju ne samo umjetnička, nego i kulturno-povijesna svojstva. Jedan od prvih inventara sustavno obrađenih u kontinentalnom djelu Hrvatske jest župna crkva sv. Mihovila u Osijeku, nakon koje slijede pravoslavne crkve i tri franjevačka samostana (Vukovar, Ilok, Šarengrad) na području bivše općine Vukovar, franjevački samostan u Pridvorju u Konavlima, crkve u splitskom zaleđu, sve crkve na području župe sv. Antuna Opata na Velom Lošinju i tri župne crkve u Kaštelima.¹⁰⁶³

Rezultat tog rada bili su dosjei koji su sadržavali detaljan opis, mjere, datacije i stanje predmeta s crno-bijelom fotografijom. Dosje se sastojao od opisa crkve i potpunog inventara koji je bio sistematiziran prema smještaju unutar crkve, sakristije i župnoga dvora, unutar kojih su

se razlikovale cjeline i dijelovi koji se tretiraju samostalno, kao npr. oltar, oltarne pale, kipovi retabla i slično.¹⁰⁶⁴ Dosjei su izrađivani u četiri primjerka: za biskupiju, župu, nadležni regionalni zavod i za Republički zavod. Na temelju stanja pojedinih predmeta iz tih dosjea izrađivane su liste prioriteta za zaštitne radove.

U srednjoročnom planu za razdoblje od 1986. do 1990. popis pokretnih spomenika bio je planiran za cijelo razdoblje. Proces evidencije i reambulacije terena bio je temeljni zadatak službe zaštite. Izrađene su i smjernice o tome što je popis pokretnih spomenika kulture trebao sadržavati. Od 1987. izrada popisa pokretnih spomenika sustavno se provodi i u njoj sudjeluju Želimir Laszlo i Ranka Saračević Würth. Ukoliko su inventari nekih sakralnih objekata, ovisno o području, bili izrazito mnogobrojni, tada su se provodile zajedničke akcije djelatnika Republičkog zavoda sa stručnjacima nadležnih konzervatorskih zavoda, a prema potrebi angažirani su i kustosi iz muzeja (Ankica Babin iz Muzeja Kaštela i Sanja Acalija iz Dubrovačkog muzeja). Zajedničkim evidencijama i inventarizacijama do 1990. popisano je 70 pokretnih umjetničkih zbirki.¹⁰⁶⁵

ZAKONSKA REGULATIVA U RAZDOBLJU OD 1945. DO 1990.

Pravna zaštita spomenika kulture u Hrvatskoj od 1945. do 1971. godine temeljila se na saveznim i republičkim propisima, a od 1971. isključivo je u nadležnosti republika. Savezni i republički zakoni doneseni su na temelju Ustava i drugih zakona (Krivični zakon, Osnovni zakon o eksproprijaciji, Zakon o zaštiti arhivske građe i arhivima, Zakon o muzejima).¹⁰⁶⁶

Prije uspostavljanja vlasti nad oslobođenim teritorijem Nacionalni komitet oslobođenja Jugoslavije donio je *Odluku o zaštiti i čuvanju kulturnih spomenika i starina*¹⁰⁶⁷, koja je sadržavala odredbe zakona iako kao for-

1061 BELAMARIĆ, JOSIP, 2008., 9. *Gospa Blaža Jurjeva u Šibeniku, Izložba djela Blaža Jurjeva Trogirana, Benetovićeve slike u Komiži, Slika Giuseppea Zaisa na Braču, Bokaničev ninski oltar, Barokni oltar Pietra Coste' u Hvarskoj stolnici, Inventar umjetnina franjevačkog samostana na Hvaru iz 1671. godine, Moćnik dubrovačke stolnice, Slike Vittorea Crivellija u Dalmaciji*. U navedenim esejima i studijama Domančić nas povijesnim pregledom uvodi u život samostana ili crkve, a pregledom vizitacija u njihove inventare. Pokretne predmete je opisivao i valorizirao navodeći materijal, punce, obradu, opis ikonografske teme te smještaj. Isto tako navodi restauratorske postupke koji su provedeni, većinom u Radionici u Splitu, a daje i ocjenu ranijih intervencija. DOMANČIĆ, DAVOR, 2008. 1062 MKM-SDKB-A Broj 02-89/11-1985. od 14. studenoga 1985.

1063 Dosjei su i danas pohranjeni u zbirci dosjea crkvenih inventara u Upravi za zaštitu kulturne baštine Ministarstva kulture i medija RH.

1064 Navedeni dosjei pohranjeni su u Odjelu za pokretnu i nematerijalnu kulturnu baštinu, Uprave za zaštitu kulturne baštine, Ministarstva kulture RH.

1065 Dosjei se čuvaju u Upravi za zaštitu kulturne baštine.

1066 J. Ljubenko navodi u bilježci pod brojem 2 propise koji pored Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture reguliraju zaštitu spomenika kulture. 1067 Odluka je donesena 20. veljače 1945.

had to be approved by the Ministry of Education, based on the proposal of the already appointed commission. After the Commission completed its work, it submitted a report to the Ministry of Education, which reported the damage to the National Commission for War Damage in Zagreb, in accordance with Article 3 of the Decree.

The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, 1945¹⁰⁷⁷

On July 23, 1945, the Presidency of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia, the provisional body of the supreme national authority in Yugoslavia, passed the *Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia*.

Article 1 placed all immovable and movable cultural, historical, art and ethnological monuments and natural rarities under the protection of the state. Movable monuments, according to Article 6, could not be taken, pledged or exported without the permission of the national institute for protection. In accordance with Article 12, movable works of art had to be offered to the national institute before being put up for sale.

The law also included the establishment of the Supreme Institute for the protection and scientific study of culture and natural rarities.¹⁰⁷⁸ The Supreme Institute, based in Belgrade, was to have broad powers and scope in monument protection, and supervise and give instructions to the National Institutes for monument protection in individual republics. Conservators in other republics, especially in Croatia, were not satisfied with this redistribution of work, because the law

was passed without the opinion and proposal of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb.

The General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities, 1946¹⁰⁷⁹

Certain articles in the *General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities* were amended as early as 1946.¹⁰⁸⁰ The new law transferred the protection of monuments to the institutes for the protection and scientific study of monuments, based in the capital of each republic, and the Committee, i.e. the Council for Science and Culture of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia government in Belgrade, was supposed to coordinate the work of the central institutes of the republics and provide them with the necessary assistance. This law abolished the establishment of the Supreme Institute for the Protection and Scientific Study of Culture and Natural Rarities. In the amendments pursuant to Article 3, the *Council for Science and Culture of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia* coordinated the work of the central institutes of the republics and provided assistance to the institutes directly or through the institutions established for that purpose. Article 7 of the Law referred to movable monuments, i.e. to the prohibition of their removal and relocation, without the prior approval of the competent institute for protection. In exceptional cases, the export permit could be issued by the President of the Council for Science and Culture of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia government. According to the previous Law from 1945, export permits were issued by the *National Institute for Protection*.

1077 Published: *Zbornik zakona, uredba i naredba*, Year I, Zagreb, November 5, 1945, volume VI, Laws and other regulations of the federal authorities p. 844-845, No. 498.

1078 The Supreme institute for the protection and scientific study of culture and natural rarities was not founded, although the Ordinance on the Scope and Organization of the Supreme Institute for the Protection and Scientific Study of Culture and Natural Rarities, was published in *Narodne novine, Zbornik zakona, uredba i naredba*, on November 7, 1945.

1079 Published: *Službeni list* Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 81/46, October 8, 1946.

1080 In April 1946, a working group was appointed at the Council of museum and conservation workers and Conservators to draft the Law on the Preservation of Monuments. The appointment was made by the Ministry of Education, Department of Culture and Arts that appointed: as director of the Archaeological Museum, Viktor Hoffiller; as director of the Museum of Arts and Crafts, Vladimir Tkalčić; Ljubo Karaman, director of the National Institute for the Protection of Natural Rarities in Zagreb; Gabrijel Divjanović and Ministry of Education clerk Aleksandar Perc. The bill was to be submitted by May 15. HDA – Ministry of Education, No. 33285-V-D-1946.

malno-pravni akt nije bila zakon, te *Zakon o pribiranju, čuvanju i raspodjeli knjiga i drugih kulturno-naučnih i umjetničkih predmeta koji su postali državna svojina prema odluci Antifašističkog vijeća narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije*.¹⁰⁶⁸ Nakon završetka rata, donesen je 23. srpnja 1945. *Opći zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti*, kojim je znanstvena, estetska, kulturna i povijesna vrijednost spomenika stavljena pod zaštitu države, bez obzira u čijem se posjedu spomenik nalazio. Nakon donošenja prvih *Odluka i Općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti* nastavljen je daljnji razvoj zakonske regulative u zaštiti spomenika. Proglašenju novih zakona i podzakonskih akata o zaštiti uvijek je prethodilo savjetovanje ili konferencija na saveznoj ili republičkoj razini. Savezni institut za zaštitu spomenika od osnutka 1950. godine preuzima glavnu ulogu u donošenju prijedloga i razradi pravilnika i zakona na saveznoj razini. Institut je prosljeđivao upitnike i ankete o stanju zaštite spomenika na temelju kojih je organizirao savjetovanja. Njegova središnja uloga bila je potvrđena člankom 53. *Općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture* iz 1959. godine. Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu, od 1967. Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, koordinirao je cjelokupan rad regionalnih zavoda za zaštitu u Hrvatskoj, među ostalim i po pitanju zakonske regulative. Prilikom donošenja saveznih i republičkih zakona o zaštiti spomenika Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu aktivno je s primjedbama, preporukama i prijedlozima sudjelovao u donošenju svih zakonskih propisa od 1945. pa do 1967., kada je donesen i *Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture* koji je uz nužne izmjene i dopune bio na snazi sve do 1999. godine u Republici Hrvatskoj. Važan moment za zaštitu spomenika bilo je njeno navođenje u Ustavu SFRJ 1963. godine, što je značilo da je postala ustavna kategorija. U Ustavu iz 1974. zaštita spomenika opširnije se razrađuje u tri člana.¹⁰⁶⁹

U daljnjem tekstu navedeni su svi zakonski propisi doneseni od 1945. do 1990. godine, a odnose se na zaštitu kulturne baštine, s naglaskom na pokretnim spomenicima kulture.

1068 Objavljeno: Službeni list 1 Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije 36/45 od 21. studenoga 1944.

1069 ŽIVKOVIĆ, ZDRAVKO, 1979.

Odluka o zaštiti i čuvanju kulturnih spomenika i starina, 1945.¹⁰⁷⁰

Odlukom o zaštiti i čuvanju kulturnih spomenika i starina donesenom 20. veljače 1945. svi su umjetnički i znanstveni predmeti (zgrade od historijskog i umjetničkog značaja, javni spomenici, biste, slike, biblioteke i arhivi državnih i javnih ustanova, znanstvene zbirke, muzeji) stavljeni pod zaštitu države.

Prema čl. 2 *Odluke Vojni štabovi Narodnooslobodilačke vojske i Partizanski odredi Jugoslavije* nakon ulaska u oslobođeno mjesto trebali su zaštititi kulturno-historijske predmete i rukovanje njima povjeriti stručnim osobama prosvjetnih narodnih vlasti. Sukladno čl. 3, zgrade u kojima se nalaze umjetnički i znanstveni predmeti, starine, arhivi, biblioteke, muzeji i drugi kulturni spomenici nisu se mogle prenamijeniti u druge svrhe. Samo u iznimnim slučajevima navedene zgrade mogle su se namijeniti za vojne potrebe. U tom su slučaju vojne vlasti u sporazumu s najbližim prosvjetnim vlastima trebale poduzeti sve potrebne mjere kako bi se predmeti koji su se nalazili u zgradama potpuno osigurali. U slučaju raznošenja ili uništavanja navedenih predmeta prema članku 4. *Odluke* određivala se kazna prema propisima predviđenim za uništavanje državne imovine. Provedba *Odluke* povjerena je Povjereništvu prosvjete Nacionalnog komiteta oslobođenja Jugoslavije.

Zakon o pribiranju, čuvanju i raspodjeli knjiga i drugih kulturno-naučnih i umjetničkih predmeta koji su postali državna svojina prema odluci Antifašističkog vijeća narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije, 1945.¹⁰⁷¹

Prema ovom Zakonu sustavnu skrb o prikupljanju, čuvanju i raspodjeli knjiga, arhivskih i muzejskih predmeta, umjetničkih slika i bista, znanstvenih zbirki i svih drugih predmeta od historijskog, znanstvenog ili umjetničkog značaja, koji su postali državno vlasništvo *Odlukom Antifašističkog vijeća narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije* od 21. studenoga 1944. preuzelo je Ministarstvo prosvjete

1070 Objavljeno: Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredba, godina I, Zagreb 25. rujna 1945., NN, svezak II, pod brojem 124. Navedena *Odluka* je stavljena izvan snage Zakonom o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnjčkih retkosti DFJ od 23. srpnja 1945. pod brojem 498.

1071 Objavljeno: *Službeni list DFJ*, br. 10 od 3. travnja 1945.

Immediately after this Law was published, the Conservation Department in Zagreb sent amendments to the Committee for Culture and Arts of the SFR Yugoslavia government. The Committee's response stated that this law did not violate the principles of monument protection in the republics and commented, according to them, on the most important objections; the changes in Article 7 involved the protection of objects, and not to *undermine the federal principle*, but to protect it. The Committee justified changing the jurisdiction for issuing export permits because the central body conducted a better evaluation than individual institutes.¹⁰⁸¹

The Order on the organization of the National Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, 1946¹⁰⁸²

According to the Order, the duty of the National Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in the People's Republic of Croatia was carried out by the Conservation Institute in Zagreb. The Institute had to coordinate its activities with the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of July 23, 1945.

The Decree on Institutes for the Protection and Scientific Study of Cultural Monuments and the Ordinance on Conservation Institutes, 1948¹⁰⁸³

The conservators in the People's Republic of Croatia applied their experience in the preservation of monuments in the Republican Law on the Protection of Monuments, but they later realised a change was needed in terms of having more precise wording of some of the articles of the law. Thus, conservators drafted the Decree on institutes for the protection of cultural monuments and natural rarities and the Ordinance on conservation institutes. The *Decree on the Institutes for the Protection and Scientific Study of Cultural Monuments* was passed by the People's Republic of Croatia government on June

18, 1948. According to the Decree, the protection and scientific study of cultural monuments on the territory of the People's Republic of Croatia was carried out by the Conservation Institutes in Zagreb, Split and Rijeka. The Conservation Institute in Zagreb was the central institute and coordinated the work of the Conservation Institutes in Split and Rijeka. Article 3 listed the activities of the Conservation Institutes:

1. *"decide which objects and immovable property are to be considered protected under Article 1 of the General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities;*
2. *organize and implement the protection of individual monuments, groups of monuments or entire settlements;*
3. *document cultural monuments, compile and publish central catalogues and files of monuments, photonegatives of monuments, reproductions and drawings;*
4. *perform scientific research on cultural monuments;*
5. *perform work necessary for the repair and maintenance of protected monuments or give instructions for such work and supervise the work;*
6. *perform all other tasks in terms of the General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities."*

The conservators in charge of the conservation institutes were appointed by the Minister of Education, with the consent of the People's Republic of Croatia government. The competent conservator, with the approval of the Minister of Education, appointed *permanent delegates from conservation institutes* and *local honorary conservators* to work in the field as auxiliary bodies. According to Article 7, more detailed regulations on the organization, work and field of activity were regulated by the Minister of Education.

1081 HDA-MP No. 76939, November 4, 1946. The Committee for Culture and Arts of the Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Croatia sent a letter to the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of Croatia, signed by Vlado Mađarić.

1082 Published: *Narodne novine*, No. 26, January 25, 1946, No. 9812.

1083 Published: *Narodne novine*, No. 50, Wednesday, June 23, 1948: 173-174.

Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije. Prema članku 2. Zakona Ministarstvo je trebalo donijeti upute o načinu prikupljanja i čuvanja prikupljenih predmeta do njihove raspodjele (muzeje, galerije).

Na osnovi ovoga zakona 28. lipnja 1945. osnovana je Komisija za sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina na području Federalne Države Hrvatske (KOMZA). Rad Komisije, kako je već ranije spomenuto, vezan je za popis i prikupljanje pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta koji su postali državno vlasništvo.

Pravilnik o prijenosu poslova iz nadležnosti Ministarstva industrije – Državne uprave narodnih dobara – u nadležnost Ministarstva prosvjete Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije, 1945.¹⁰⁷²

Pravilnik je donesen na temelju članka 1. *Zakona o pribiranju, čuvanju i raspodjeli knjiga i drugih kulturno-naučnih predmeta*¹⁰⁷³. Prema članku 1. Pravilnika okružna uprava Narodnih dobara osniva okružne sabirne centre za prikupljanje i čuvanje knjiga, arhivskih i muzejskih predmeta, umjetničkih slika i bista, znanstvenih zbirki, muzičkih instrumenata i drugih predmeta od historijskog, znanstvenoga i umjetničkog značaja koji su postali vlasništvo države. Na temelju odluke nadležnoga suda o konfiskaciji imovine obavještava se okružni sabirni centar. Imovina koja se predaje unosi se u Zapisnik u koji se unosi i popis i procjena imovine te status (državno vlasništvo ili sekvestar). Izdvojena imovina prenosi se u skladišta (od članka 2. do uključivo članak 4.).

Uredba o osnivanju Državne komisije za ratnu štetu, 1945.¹⁰⁷⁴

Prema članku 1. Uredbe Državna komisija osnovana je u svrhu prikupljanja podataka o cjelokupnoj ratnoj šteti u državi, provjere i procjene prijavljene štete te organizacije rada i nadzora nad prikupljenim i obrađenim podatcima o ratnoj šteti u federalnim jedinicama. *Predsjedništvo*

1072 Objavljeno: Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba, Godina I, Zagreb, 5. studenoga 1945., Sv. VI, Zakoni i drugi propisi saveznih vlasti, pod brojem 501, str. 427.

1073 Od 24. svibnja 1945.

1074 Objavljeno: Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba, godina I, Zagreb, 25. rujna 1945., Zakoni i drugi propisi saveznih vlasti, pod brojem 239; preštampano u N. N., broj 19 od 15. rujna 1945.

Ministarskog savjeta na prijedlog Državne komisije za ratnu štetu propisuje Pravilnik o organizaciji i radu Državne komisije za ratnu štetu (članak 8.).

Osnivanjem Državne komisije za ratnu štetu počinje proces utvrđivanja ratne štete na području DFJ. Nakon navedene Uredbe slijedi čitav niz pravilnika, uredaba i odluka kojima je propisan rad komisija: Komisije za utvrđivanje štete pričinjene od strane okupatora na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima Jugoslavije i za njihovo vraćanje u zemlju i Komisije za sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina na području Federalne Države Hrvatske.

Pravilnik o prijavljivanju i utvrđivanju ratne štete, 1945.¹⁰⁷⁵

Pravilnik se odnosio na ratnu štetu nastalu od 6. travnja 1941. do svibnja 1945. godine. Državna komisija za ratnu štetu na saveznoj je razini koordinirala rad zemaljskih komisija koje su djelovale u federalnim jedinicama. Zemaljske komisije provodile su procjenu, provjeru, prikupljanje podataka o šteti pomoću *sreske komisije za ratnu štetu i mjesnih narodnih odbora* (od članka 25. uključivo članak 29.). Članak 31. Pravilnika odnosi se na štetu počinjenu na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima, koju utvrđuje, provjerava i procjenjuje *Komisija za utvrđivanje štete od strane okupatora na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima Jugoslavije i za njihovo vraćanje u zemlju*. Štetu je Ministarstvo prosvjete Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije, prema Pravilniku, trebalo prijavljivati Državnoj komisiji za ratnu štetu.

Uredba o obrazovanju Komisije za sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina na području Federalne Hrvatske, 1945.¹⁰⁷⁶

Člankom 1. osniva se Komisija za sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina na području Federalne Hrvatske. Provedba Uredbe prema članku 2. povjerava se općem odjelu Ministarstva prosvjete.

1075 Objavljeno: *Službeni list*, broj 44. od 10. lipnja 1945. pod brojem 402, str. 342.

1076 Objavljeno: Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredba, godina I, Zagreb, 5. listopada 1945., svezak III, str. 165-166., pod brojem 54.

The Decree on the Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, 1950¹⁰⁸⁴

At a conference of the Council of experts in Belgrade on May 13, 1950, the idea of establishing a Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments was accepted, and a draft *Decree of the Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments* was proposed.

On September 6, 1950, the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia government, at the proposal of the Council for Science and Culture of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia government ¹⁰⁸⁵, passed the Decree on the Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. The Decree was based on Article 78, paragraph 2 of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia Constitution, and connected with Article 3 of the General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities, for the purpose of improving the work on the protection of cultural monuments. The decree had seven articles. The second article of the Decree listed the tasks of the Federal Institute: scientific analysis of data related to monument protection, coordinating the work of Republican institutes and assistance in research, excavation and conservation, cooperation with foreign institutions, training professional staff and propaganda. According to Article 5, the Federal Institute was financed from the budget of the Council for Science and Culture of the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia. Vlado Mađarić was the director of the Institute.

The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities, 1949¹⁰⁸⁶

The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities was based on the principles of the General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities from 1946.

The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities stated that all cultural and natural rarities are protected by the state, and that the scientific and aesthetic value of these items is a public good. The law made movable and immovable monuments or groups of objects, as well as architectural and urban units of cultural-historical, historical, artistic or ethnographic character, or of special national significance, cultural monuments. In accordance with the Law, the protection of cultural monuments was carried out by the institutes in Zagreb, Split and Rijeka which were under the jurisdiction of the People's Republic of Croatia government. Article 5 stipulated that the competent institutes should decide which items would be protected, as well as issue decisions and keep records.

Article 13 stipulated that cultural monuments and natural rarities cannot be removed, pledged or relocated without the prior consent of the competent protection institute, and that the export of cultural monuments was prohibited. Decisions on export permits were made by the Minister of Education of the People's Republic of Croatia, who sent it to the Ministry of Science and Culture of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia to issue the permit. A permit was also required for the scientific research of monuments. Article 17 of the law stipulated that all cultural monuments may, for research and study, be expropriated in accordance with the law on expropriation. According to Article 19, in the event of a sale, the owners were obliged to respect the right of first refusal of the competent protection institution. The owners of cultural monuments were obliged to maintain cultural monuments in accordance with the instructions of the competent protection institute. Article 23 stipulated that a description of objects that were made cultural monuments during the nationalization, confiscation and enforcement procedure had to be submitted to the competent protection institution. In the event of expropriation of cultural monuments, in accordance with Article 26, they fell under the jurisdiction of the institution for protection or an institution designated by the Minister of Education. Article 27 stipulated that the person who caused

1084 Published: *Službeni list* Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 54, vol. VI, September 13, 1950, Belgrade, p. 895-896.

1085 The President of the Council for Science and Culture was Rodoljub Čolaković.

1086 Published: *Narodne novine*, No. 84, vol. V (CXI), Zagreb, October 22, 1949, p. 246-248.

Uredba o obrazovanju Komisije za utvrđivanje ratne štete učinjene na državnoj imovini koja se nalazi pod upravom Ministarstva prosvjete, 1945.¹⁰⁷⁷

Člankom 1. pod upravom Ministarstva prosvjete osniva se Komisija za sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina na području Federalne Hrvatske. Prema članku 2. svaku promjenu u sastavu Komisije mora odobriti Ministarstvo prosvjete na prijedlog već imenovane komisije. Komisija nakon obavljenoga posla podnosi izvještaj Ministarstvu prosvjete koje prijavljuje utvrđenu štetu Zemaljskoj komisiji za ratnu štetu u Zagrebu, sukladno članku 3. Uredbe.

Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije, 1945.¹⁰⁷⁸

Privremeno tijelo vrhovne narodne vlasti u Jugoslaviji, Predsjedništvo Antifašističkoga vijeća narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije, donijelo je 23. srpnja 1945. *Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije.*

Člankom 1. svi nepokretni i pokretni kulturno-historijski, umjetnički i etnološki spomenici i prirodne rijetkosti stavljeni su pod zaštitu države. Pokretni spomenici, prema članku 6., ne smiju se otuđiti, založiti ili izvoziti u inozemstvo bez dozvole zemaljskoga zavoda za zaštitu. Sukladno članku 12. pokretni umjetnički predmeti prije iznošenja na prodaju moraju biti ponuđeni na otkup zemaljskom zavodu.

Zakon je predviđao i osnivanje Vrhovnog instituta za zaštitu i naučno proučavanje kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti.¹⁰⁷⁹ Vrhovni institut, sa sjedištem u Beogradu, trebao je imati široke ovlasti i djelokrug u zaštiti spomenika te provoditi nadzor i davati upute Zemaljskim zavodima za zaštitu spomenika u pojedinim republikama. Takvim

načinom preraspodjele poslova na zaštiti spomenika nisu bili zadovoljni konzervatori u ostalim republikama, posebice u Hrvatskoj, jer je zakon donesen bez mišljenja i prijedloga Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu.

Opći zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti, 1946.¹⁰⁸⁰

Već godine 1946. dolazi do izmjena pojedinih članaka u *Općem zakonu o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti.*¹⁰⁸¹ Novim zakonom zaštita spomenika predana je u nadležnost zavodima za zaštitu i znanstveno proučavanje spomenika sa sjedištem u glavnom gradu svake republike, a Komitet, odnosno Savjet za nauku i kulturu Vlade FNRJ u Beogradu trebao je uskladiti rad središnjih zavoda narodnih republika i pružiti im potrebnu pomoć. Ovim je zakonom ukinuto osnivanje Vrhovnog instituta za zaštitu i naučno proučavanje kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti. U izmjenama prema članku 3. *Savjet za nauku i kulturu Vlade FNRJ* usklađuje rad centralnih zavoda narodnih republika i pruža pomoć zavodima neposredno ili preko ustanova koje se u tu svrhu osnivaju. Članak 7. zakona odnosi se na pokretne spomenike, odnosno na zabranu otuđivanja i premještanja bez prethodnog odobrenja nadležnoga zavoda za zaštitu. U iznimnim slučajevima dozvolu za izvoz mogao je izdati predsjednik Savjeta za nauku i kulturu Vlade FNRJ. Prema prijašnjem Zakonu iz 1945. godine izvozne dozvole izdavao je *Zemaljski zavod za zaštitu.*

Odmah po objavi ovog Zakona, Konzervatorski odjel u Zagrebu uputio je izmjene i dopune Komitetu za kulturu i umjetnost vlade SFRJ. U odgovoru Komiteta navedeno je da ovim zakonom nisu prekršeni principi zaštite spomenika u republikama te su komentirali, po njima, najvažnije prigovore; izmjene u čl. 7. odnose se na zaštitu predmeta, a ne da bi se *okrnjio federalni princip* već zaštitio. Promjenu nadležnosti izdavanja izvoznih dozvola

1077 Objavljeno: Zbornik zakona, uredba i naredba, godina I, Zagreb, 5. listopada 1945., svezak III, str. 165-166., pod brojem 55.

1078 Objavljeno: Zbornik zakona, uredba i naredba, godina I, Zagreb, 5. studenoga 1945., svezak VI, Zakoni i drugi propisi saveznih vlasti str. 844-845, pod brojem 498.

1079 Vrhovni institut za zaštitu i naučno proučavanje kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti nije osnovan iako je propisan Pravilnik o djelokrugu i organizaciji Vrhovnog instituta za zaštitu i naučno proučavanje kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti koji je izašao u *Narodnim novinama*, Zborniku zakona, uredba i naredaba, 7. studenoga 1945.

1080 Objavljeno: *Službeni list FNRJ*, broj 81/46 od 8. listopada 1946.

1081 Na Savjetu muzealaca i konzervatora u travnju 1946. imenovana je radna skupina za izradu Zakona o čuvanju spomenika. Imenovanje je donijelo Ministarstvo prosvjete, Odjel za kulturu i umjetnost, a imenovani su: ravnatelj Arheološkog muzeja Viktor Hoffiller, ravnatelj MUO-a Vladimir Tkalčić, Ljubo Karaman, ravnatelj Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu prirodnih rijetkosti u Zagrebu Gabrijel Divjanović i referent Ministarstva prosvjete Aleksandar Perc. Prijedlog Zakona trebali su dostaviti do 15. svibnja. HDA – Ministarstvo prosvjete, pod brojem 33285-V-D-1946.

damage to a cultural monument, in accordance with the instructions of the competent protection institution, had to return the damaged monument to its original condition or to compensate the damage at his own expense. In case of intentional damage, the monument could be confiscated from the owner without any compensation.

It was possible to file an appeal against the decision on protection that was resolved in the second-instance procedure by the Minister of Education. Criminal offenses prescribed by Article 29 in connection with relocation, alteration and restoration, without the permission of the competent protection institution, fell under the jurisdiction of the district court¹⁰⁸⁷, and proceedings on violations referred to in Article 30 (prevention of scientific study of monuments by owners or possessors, and failure to notify about new sites)¹⁰⁸⁸ fell under the executive board of the county or municipal national committee.

The General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments, 1959¹⁰⁸⁹

The Council for Education of the Federal Executive Council organized the drafting of a new law in 1956, and established a work group which drafted the theses of the law on the basis of which the first draft law was created. The proposal was discussed at the previously mentioned *3rd Conference of Conservators* in Vrnjačka Banja. The proposal was also submitted to the Republican councils for culture and the republican executive councils, which forwarded it to the republican institutes.¹⁰⁹⁰

The Council for Science and Culture of the People's Republic of Croatia sent the draft General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments to the Conservation Institute in Zagreb, to give their opinion. At the meeting of the internal expert commission of the Institute,

remarks were made on the draft law which referred to the obligatory entry in the register of cultural monuments as a condition for the implementation of legal regulations on monument protection and organization.

The problem was the large number of immovable (2,000) and movable monuments (25,000) that could not formally come under protection in a short period of time, so they proposed the previous provision in the law in which the regulations applied, regardless of whether the monuments were registered. It was concluded that the law on protection should be amended, that amendments should be made according to previous experience, in practice, and that the decentralization of the conservation service be enabled by the Decree.¹⁰⁹¹ Some of these remarks were adopted, which can be seen in the General Law on the protection of cultural monuments from 1959.¹⁰⁹²

This law was the first time that holders of a cultural monument were identified in terms of an individual, legal entity, institution or association, and for the first time, it mentioned the right to manage as well as the right to use socially owned cultural monuments. The law determined the purpose of protection, i.e. the *preservation of cultural monuments in intact and original condition*. Jurisdiction for the protection of cultural monuments was given to national committee councils and Republican councils, which performed social management tasks of common interest for monument protection. Based on the Law, councils could be established as social management bodies and they could be entrusted with the performance of certain tasks. The law introduced tax, customs and other benefits for holders of cultural monuments.

Cultural monuments had to be accessible to the public in order to meet the cultural needs of the community. According to Article 22, in order to perform any action

1087 Offenses committed with intent are considered criminal offenses.

1088 Refers to acts committed with intent.

1089 Published: *Službeni list* Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 17, vol. XV, April 29, 1959.

1090 BEŠLAGIĆ, ŠEFIK, 1959, 2.

1091 MKM-SDKB-A, Minutes of the meeting of the internal expert commission of the Institute, September 4, 1957.

1092 An article was published in the *Vjesnik* about the proposal and "advantages" of the new law. JOVANOVIĆ, R. 1959.

Komitet opravdava boljom procjenom središnjeg tijela nego pojedinog zavoda.¹⁰⁸²

Naredba o organizaciji Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1946.¹⁰⁸³

Prema ovoj Naredbi dužnost Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture u NR Hrvatskoj obnašao je Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu. Zavod je svoje djelovanje morao uskladiti sa Zakonom o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti od 23. srpnja 1945. godine.

Uredba o zavodima za zaštitu i naučno proučavanje spomenika kulture i Pravilnik o konzervatorskim zavodima, 1948.¹⁰⁸⁴

Konzervatori NR Hrvatske su u republičkom Zakonu o zaštiti spomenika implementirali svoja iskustva u očuvanju spomenika, no kasnije se u praksi pokazala potreba za promjenama u smislu preciznije formulacije nekih članaka zakona. Stoga su konzervatori sastavili Uredbu o zavodima za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti i Pravilnik o konzervatorskim zavodima. *Uredbu o zavodima za zaštitu i naučno proučavanje spomenika kulture* donijela je Vlada NR Hrvatske 18. lipnja 1948. godine. Prema Uredbi, zaštitu i znanstveno proučavanje spomenika kulture na području NR Hrvatske provode Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu, KZ u Splitu i KZ u Rijeci. KZ u Zagrebu ima ulogu središnjega zavoda te usklađuje rad Konzervatorskih zavoda u Splitu i Rijeci. U članku 3. navedeni su poslovi Konzervatorskih zavoda:

„odlučuju koji se predmeti i nepokretnine imaju smatrati zaštićenim u smislu člana 1. Općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti;

organiziraju i provode zaštitu pojedinih spomenika, skupine spomenika ili čitavih naselja;

popisuju spomenike kulture, sastavljaju i publiciraju središnje kataloge i kartoteke spomenika, fotonegativa spomenika, reprodukcija i nacrti;

vrše naučna ispitivanja na spomenicima kulture;

vrše radove potrebne radi popravka i održavanja zaštićenih spomenika ili daju upute za te radove i vrše nad njima nadzor;

vrše sve ostale zadatke u smislu Općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti.“

Konzervatore na čelu konzervatorskih zavoda postavlja ministar prosvjete uz suglasnost Vlade NR Hrvatske. Nadležni konzervator, uz odobrenje ministra prosvjete, za rad na terenu kao pomoćna tijela postavlja *stalne izaslanike konzervatorskih zavoda i mjesne počasne konzervatore*. Prema članku 7. detaljnije propise o organizaciji, radu i području djelovanja uređuje pravilnikom ministar prosvjete.

Uredba o Saveznom institutu za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1950.¹⁰⁸⁵

Na konferenciji Savjeta stručnjaka u Beogradu 13. svibnja 1950. prihvaćena je ideja o osnivanju Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture i predložen je nacrt *Uredbe Saveznog instituta za zaštitu spomenika kulture*.

Vlada FNRJ na prijedlog Savjeta za nauku i kulturu vlade Federativne Narodne Republike Jugoslavije¹⁰⁸⁶ donosi Uredbu o Saveznom institutu za zaštitu spomenika kulture 6. rujna 1950. godine. Uredba je donesena na temelju članka 78. stavka 2. Ustava FNRJ, a u vezi čl. 3. Općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti, u svrhu unaprjeđenja rada na zaštiti spomenika kulture. Uredba ima sedam članaka. U drugom članku Uredbe navedeni su zadatci Saveznog instituta: znanstvena obrada podataka koji se odnose na zaštitu spomenika, usklađivanje rada republičkih zavoda i pomoć u radu u vezi s istraživanjem, iskopavanjem i s konzervatorskim radovima, suradnja s inozemnim ustanovama, osposobljavanje stručnih kadrova i propagandna djelatnost.

¹⁰⁸² HDA-MP pod brojem 76939 od 4. studenoga 1946. Komitet za kulturu i umjetnost vlade SFRJ upućuje dopis Ministarstvu prosvjete NR Hrvatske, u potpisu Vlado Mađarić.

¹⁰⁸³ Objavljeno: *Narodne novine*, broj 26, od 25. siječnja 1946. pod brojem 9812.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Objavljeno: *Narodne novine*, broj 50, od srijede 23. lipnja 1948., 173-174.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Objavljeno: *Službeni list FNRJ*, broj 54, god. VI, od 13. rujna 1950., Beograd, str. 895-896.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Predsjednik Savjeta za nauku i kulturu bio je Rodoljub Čolaković.

on a cultural monument, a permit was needed from the competent body for monument protection.

Permits for the export of cultural monuments were issued by the Republican council in charge of the protection of cultural monuments. The right of first refusal was regulated in more detail by the aforementioned Law in relation to the previously enacted laws on monument protection. It was the duty of the holder of cultural monuments to respect the right of first refusal. If the owner wanted to sell the monument, he first had to offer it to the district. Articles 26 to 28 regulated the procedure regarding the right of first refusal, the deadlines for accepting the offer for the purchase of a monument by the district, and legal remedies (lawsuits) in case of non-compliance with the right of first refusal. Provisions on the expropriation of cultural monuments were introduced. Expropriation was legally possible only if it was in the general interest. Article 33 stipulated that each cultural monument, as well as an object determined to have the status of a cultural monument, shall be entered in the register of cultural monuments kept by the competent institution for the protection of cultural monuments, which also decided whether the object had the status of a cultural monument by issuing a decision against which an appeal could be lodged.

According to the provision of Article 38, the institutes for the protection of cultural monuments were founded by the republican executive councils and national committees. On the territory of one people's republic, several republican institutes could be founded, or two or more national committees could establish an institute for monument protection for the area of two or more municipalities or districts. The Institute for the Protection of Monuments was responsible for enacting regulations and taking measures for the protection of cultural monuments, studying, researching and analysing using scientific methods, keeping a register of cultural monuments, using socially owned cultural monuments, and other professional and administrative tasks related to cultural monument protection.

The governing bodies of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments were the council and the director, defined by Article 42 of the General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments (1959). The republican institutes were managed by the republican council, and the institutes established for the area of two or more municipalities or districts were managed by national committee councils. Article 43 stated that the secretariat of the Republican council in charge of the protection of cultural monuments ruled in second-instance procedures regarding the decisions made in the administrative procedure for monument protection.

The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments, 1960¹⁰⁹³

The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the Socialist Republic of Croatia was based on the Federal General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments from 1959. It was adopted at the session of the Executive Council of the Croatian Parliament.¹⁰⁹⁴ The Republican Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments contained provisions on the jurisdiction of Municipal National Committees that establish citizen councils (as social governing bodies), which, along with individual associations and social organizations, were entrusted with certain tasks related to monument management. Furthermore, the law also listed the councils of national committees responsible for the protection of cultural monuments and the council for culture and science of the People's Republic of Croatia (Article 13). The decentralization of the protection service was initiated when the law was passed in the Socialist Republic of Croatia in 1960, with the possibility of establishing county and municipal institutes in areas with a higher density of significant monuments. According to Article 68, monument protection was under the Council for Culture and Science and National Committee Councils, which, according to the said article, discussed general issues of protection of cultural monuments such as: insurance of material resources

1093 Published: *Narodne novine*, No. 18, vol. XVI (CXXII), May 4, 1960.

1094 The adoption of the draft law was also reported in daily newspapers. N. N. 1960; N. N. 1960a.

Prema članku 5. Savezni institut financira se iz proračuna Savjeta za nauku i kulturu vlade FNRJ. Za direktora Instituta postavljen je Vlado Mađarić.

Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti, 1949.¹⁰⁸⁷

Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti donesen je na osnovi načela Općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti iz 1946. godine.

Temeljem Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti određeno je da svi spomenici kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti budu pod zaštitom države, te da je znanstvena i estetska vrijednost tih objekata opće narodno dobro. Predmetnim zakonom normirani su kao spomenici kulture pokretni i nepokretni spomenici ili skupina objekata kao i arhitektonske i urbanističke cjeline kulturno-historijskog, historijskog, umjetničkog ili etnografskog karaktera, ili od osobitog nacionalnog značenja. U skladu sa Zakonom, zaštitu spomenika kulture provode zavodi u Zagrebu, Splitu i Rijeci, koji su u nadležnosti vlade Narodne Republike Hrvatske. Člankom 5. određeno je da nadležni zavodi odlučuju koji se predmeti stavljaju pod zaštitu i o tome donose rješenja i vode evidenciju.

Člankom 13. propisano je da se spomenici kulture i prirodne rijetkosti ne smiju otuđiti, založiti ni premjestiti na drugo mjesto bez prethodne suglasnosti nadležnoga zavoda za zaštitu, a zabranjen je izvoz spomenika kulture. U slučaju traženja dozvole za izvoz odluku donosi ministar prosvjete NRH, koju upućuje Ministarstvu za nauku i kulturu FNRJ u svrhu izdavanja dozvole. U slučaju znanstvenog istraživanja spomenika potrebna je dozvola. Člankom 17. zakona određeno je da se svi spomenici kulture mogu, u svrhu istraživanja i proučavanja, ekspropirirati prema zakonu o eksproprijaciji. Sukladno članku 19. u slučaju prodaje vlasnici su dužni poštivati pravo prvokupa nadležnoga zavoda za zaštitu. Vlasnici spomenika kulture dužni su održavati spomenike kulture u skladu s uputama nadležnog zavoda za zaštitu. Člankom 23. propisano je da se obvezno nadležnom zavodu za zaštitu dostavi opis predmeta za koje se pri provedbi

postupka nacionalizacije, konfiskacije i ovrhe utvrdi da je spomenik kulture. U slučaju eksproprijacije spomenika kulture, sukladno članku 26., istima će upravljati nadležni zavod za zaštitu ili ustanova koju odredi ministar prosvjete. Člankom 27. određeno je da je onaj tko uzrokuje štetu na spomeniku kulture dužan, sukladno uputi nadležnog zavoda za zaštitu, oštećeni spomenik vratiti u prvobitno stanje ili nadoknaditi štetu o vlastitom trošku. U slučaju namjernog oštećenja spomenik se može oduzeti vlasniku bez ikakve naknade.

Protiv rješenja o zaštiti moguće je podnijeti žalbu, koju u drugostupanjskom postupku rješava ministar prosvjete. Za kaznena djela propisana člankom 29. u vezi s premještanjem, prepravljanim, restauriranjem bez dozvole nadležnog zavoda za zaštitu, nadležan je kotarski sud¹⁰⁸⁸, a za postupak po prekršajima navedenim u članku 30. (sprečavanje znanstvenog proučavanja spomenika od strane vlasnika ili posjednika kao i neobavještavanje o novim nalazištima)¹⁰⁸⁹ nadležan je izvršni odbor kotarskoga ili gradskoga narodnog odbora.

Opći zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture, 1959.¹⁰⁹⁰

Savjet za prosvjetu Saveznog izvršnog vijeća organizirao je 1956. godine izradu novog zakona te je osnovao radnu grupu koja ja izradila teze zakona na temelju kojih je stvoren prijedlog prednacrt zakona. O prijedlogu se raspravljalo na ranije spomenutom *Trećem savjetovanju konzervatora* u Vrnjačkoj Banji. Prijedlog je bio dostavljen i republičkim savjetima za kulturu i republičkim izvršnim vijećima koja su ga prosljeđivala republičkim zavodima.¹⁰⁹¹

Savjet za nauku i kulturu NRH poslao je na mišljenje Konzervatorskom zavodu u Zagrebu nacrt Općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture. Na sastanku interne stručne komisije Zavoda izrađene su primjedbe na nacrt zakona koje su se odnosile na obvezni upis u registar spomenika kulture kao uvjet za primjenu zakonskih propisa o zaštiti spomenika i organizaciju.

1087 Objavljeno: *Narodne novine*, broj 84, god. V (CXI), Zagreb, 22. listopada 1949., str. 246-248.

1088 Kaznenim djelima smatraju se djela počinjena s umišljajem.

1089 Odnosi se na djela učinjena s predumišljajem.

1090 Objavljeno: *Službeni list FNRJ*, broj 17, god. XV, od 29. travnja 1959.

1091 BEŠLAGIĆ, ŠEFIĆ, 1959., 2.

(repair, maintenance, conservation, etc.), and adoption of general guidelines for work, supervision of the Institute for Protection, deliberation on annual reports, and proposing and enacting regulations and measures for monument protection.

The Secretariat for Culture and Science supervised the implementation of regulations on monument protection and resolved appeals in second-instance proceedings against decisions rendered in administrative proceedings (Articles 67 and 70).

The Basic Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments, 1965¹⁰⁹⁵

The law was passed in order to unify the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments with the Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of April 7, 1963, which introduced a self-governing model applied in all spheres and at all levels of social life, and raised the protection of monuments to the constitutional norm¹⁰⁹⁶. The Basic Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments brought only basic issues of protection for the entire Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, while the republican laws were supposed to define the specifics of protection issues of individual republics.

The Basic Law regulated monument protection regardless of their ownership (social or civil). Article 1 stipulated that immovable and movable objects were considered cultural monuments as well as groups of objects that were of special significance for the social community due to their scientific, technical or other cultural value. The competent institute for monument protection determined the status of cultural monuments in accordance with republican regulations. The law further prescribed the rights of holders of cultural monuments (use and disposal) in accordance with the purpose of

the monument, the right of first refusal (Articles 12 to 16), the right of use and ownership (Article 17), the possibility of expropriation of cultural monuments for general interest, the duty to preserve cultural monuments, and the export or removal of cultural monuments. The law provided for the mandatory register of cultural monuments in which each monument and object was entered and was determined to have the properties of a cultural monument. The law did not prescribe the scope of data to be entered in the cultural monument register.

The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments, 1966¹⁰⁹⁷

The 1966 Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments provided a greater opportunity for the working community to participate in decision-making regarding the work of institutes under the 1965 Law. Pursuant to Article 70, the Conservation Institutes in Rijeka, Split and Zagreb also performed activities under the jurisdiction of the republican institute. When the amended Law passed in 1966, the Conservation Institute in Zagreb continued to operate as the Republican institute, and the Conservation institutes in Rijeka and Split continued to operate as regional institutes, thus establishing a hierarchy of jurisdiction of the Republican institute in relation to regional institutes, i.e. municipal institutes, and enabling the more successful protection of monuments.

The Law on Amendments to the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments, 1966¹⁰⁹⁸

At its session on December 28, 1966, the Education and Cultural Council and the Republican Council of the Parliament passed the Law on Amendments to the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments. The amended law that came into force on December 30, 1966 brought changes in terms of the decentralization of the protection service. The protection service was organized by regions: the Republican institute for the

¹⁰⁹⁵ Published: *Službeni list* Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, No. 12, March 24, 1965: 443-445.

¹⁰⁹⁶ The 1963 Constitution brought many changes to the structure of Yugoslavia; the name of the state was changed to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and self-government was introduced in all segments of society. Josip Mihaljević, *Constitutional arrangements of fundamental rights in Croatia 1946-1974* ČSP, no. 1:36.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Published: *Narodne novine*, No. 32, vol. XXI (CXXVII), July 30, 1965: 402-409.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Published: *Narodne novine*, No. 50, vol. XXII (CXXVIII), December 30, 1966.

Problem je bio u velikom broju nepokretnih (2.000) i pokretnih spomenika (25.000) koji nisu mogli formalno doći pod zaštitu u kratkom razdoblju, te su predlagali tadašnju odredbu u zakonu kojom se propisi primjenjuju bez obzira na to jesu li upisani u registar. Zaključeno je da se tadašnji zakon o zaštiti koji je bio na snazi novelira, da se načine izmjene i dopune prema iskustvu dotadašnje prakse, a da se decentralizacija konzervatorske službe omogući Uredbom.¹⁰⁹² Navedene primjedbe usvojene su djelomično, što se može iščitati iz donesenoga Općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture iz 1959. godine.¹⁰⁹³

Tim je zakonom po prvi put identificiran imatelj spomenika kulture u smislu pojedinca, pravne osobe, ustanove, udruženja, te se po prvi put spominje pravo upravljanja kao i pravo korištenja spomenika kulture u društvenom vlasništvu. Zakonom je određena svrha zaštite, *očuvanje spomenika kulture u neokrnjenom i izvornom stanju*. Nadležnost za poslove zaštite spomenika kulture dobivaju savjeti narodnih odbora i republički savjeti, koji će obavljati poslove društvenog upravljanja od zajedničkog interesa za zaštitu spomenika. Na osnovi spomenutoga zakona mogu se osnovati savjeti kao organi društvenog upravljanja i njima se može povjeriti obavljanje određenih poslova. Zakonom se uvode porezne, carinske i druge olakšice za imatelje spomenika kulture.

Spomenik kulture morao je biti pristupačan javnosti radi zadovoljavanja kulturnih potreba zajednice. Prema članku 22. za izvođenje bilo kakve radnje na spomeniku kulture potrebno je tražiti dozvolu nadležnog tijela za zaštitu spomenika.

Dozvolu za izvoz spomenika kulture daje republički savjet nadležan za poslove zaštite spomenika kulture. Pravo prvokupa navedenim Zakonom detaljnije je regulirano u odnosu na ranije donesene zakone o zaštiti spomenika. Dužnost je imatelja spomenika kulture da poštuje pravo prvokupa. Vlasnik je dužan prilikom prodaje prvo ponuditi spomenik općini. Članak 26. do uključivo članak 28. uređuje postupak povodom prava prvokupa, rokove

prihvaćanja ponude za kupnju spomenika od strane općine, te pravna sredstva (tužba) u slučaju nepoštivanja prava prvokupa. Uvedene su i odredbe o eksproprijaciji spomenika kulture. Eksproprijacija je po zakonu moguća jedino ako je bila od općeg interesa. Članak 33. propisuje da se svaki spomenik kulture kao i predmet za koji se utvrdi da ima svojstvo spomenika kulture upisuje u registar spomenika kulture koji vodi nadležni zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture koji i utvrđuje ima li predmet svojstvo spomenika kulture donošenjem rješenja protiv kojega se može izjaviti žalba.

Prema odredbi članka 38. zavode za zaštitu spomenika kulture osnivaju republička izvršna vijeća i narodni odbori. Na području jedne narodne republike moglo se osnovati više republičkih zavoda, dva ili više narodnih odbora mogli su osnovati zavod za zaštitu spomenika za područje dviju ili više općina ili kotara. U nadležnosti zavoda za zaštitu spomenika bilo je donošenje propisa i poduzimanje mjera za zaštitu spomenika kulture, proučavanje, istraživanje i obrađivanje znanstvenim metodama, vođenje registra spomenika kulture, korištenje spomenika kulture u društvenom vlasništvu te drugi stručni i upravni poslovi vezani za zaštitu spomenika kulture.

Tijela upravljanja zavodom za zaštitu spomenika kulture jesu savjet i direktor zavoda, a određeni su člankom 42. općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture (iz 1959. godine). Ako je riječ o republičkom zavodu, njime upravlja republički savjet, a zavodom osnovanim za područje dviju ili više općina ili kotara upravljaju savjeti narodnih odbora. U članku 43. navodi se da sekretarijat republičkog savjeta nadležan za poslove zaštite spomenika kulture odlučuje u drugostupanjskom postupku u povodu rješenja donesenih u upravnom postupku u poslovima zaštite spomenika.

Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture, 1960.¹⁰⁹⁴

Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture SR Hrvatske temelji se na saveznom Općem zakonu o zaštiti spomenika kulture iz 1959. godine. Usvojen je na sjednici Izvršnog

1092 MKM-SDKB-A, Zapisnik sastanka interne stručne komisije Zavoda od 4. rujna 1957.

1093 O prijedlogu i „prednostima“ novog zakona izdao je članak u *Vjesniku*. JOVANOVIĆ, R. 1959.

1094 Objavljeno: *Narodne novine*, broj 18, god. XVI (CXXII), od 4. svibnja 1960.

Protection of Cultural Monuments, the Regional Institutes for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Zagreb, Osijek, Split and Rijeka, the communal institutes in Dubrovnik, Split and Zadar, the Institute for the Protection of Monuments in Varaždin, the Regional Institute in Osijek which was an inter-municipal institute, and the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of the City of Zagreb. This law established the Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments as a body of socio-professional character that determined and implemented policy for monument protection for the entire territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments, 1967¹⁰⁹⁹

At its session on February 22, 1966, the Educational and Cultural Council of the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia discussed amendments to the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments (from 1960), based on the study *Current Problems of Protection of Cultural Monuments with a proposal for the organization of a more efficient conservation service and the establishment of the Conservation Institute of Croatia*¹¹⁰⁰. The *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* drawn up in Venice on May 31, 1964 was also the basis for drafting the new law. The Charter defined the notion of a historical monument and the process of conservation, restoration, documentation, and publication.¹¹⁰¹ Based on these two documents, the expert group drafted the Law which was passed in 1967.¹¹⁰²

The Law on the Protection of Monuments contained general provisions on monument protection, the rights and obligations of monument holders, the manner of registering monuments and other administrative measures, as well as provisions on institutes for

the protection of cultural monuments and penal provisions. According to the law, cultural monuments were protected under the law, regardless of ownership and legal status of protection. Immovable and movable objects as well as groups of objects that are important for the social community due to their archaeological, historical, ethnographic, artistic, sociological, architectural, urban, technical and other scientific or cultural values were considered cultural monuments. Article 3 prescribed the purpose of monument protection in terms of preserving monuments, taking measures for sustainability, preventing actions that could damage monuments and providing conditions for the needs of the community. Protection applied to the entire territory of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. The law distinguished between monument holders who were the owners or possessors of monuments and those who have the right to manage the monument or hold the monument on any basis, from those who have the right to use socially owned monuments. The right of use in social ownership belonged to the municipality where the monument was located, if this right had not been granted to another institution or *organization* by a special act of the competent body. Article 9 stipulated that, if the owner of the monument was not known, the *municipal administrative body* responsible for protection was responsible for the monument until an institution or organisation which would receive the right to the monument was decided, or until the owner was found. Under Article 11, certain tasks of managing and preserving monuments could be entrusted to citizens' councils as social management bodies, established by the municipal assembly, or to individual associations and social organizations. Monument protection was carried out by institutes for the protection of monuments if the jurisdiction was not transferred to other bodies. It was further stated that special institutions such as museums, galleries and libraries also dealt with the preservation, study and professional maintenance of monuments. Article 16 stipulated that the holders of monuments had tax, customs and other benefits prescribed by special regulations with regard to the maintenance and repair of monuments. The part of the law

¹⁰⁹⁹ Published: *Narodne novine*, No. 13, vol. XXIII (CXXIX), March 30, 1967.

¹¹⁰⁰ The study was prepared by the Republican Secretariat for Education, Culture and Physical Education. MKM-SDKB-A Letter Organization of the service for the protection of cultural monuments.

¹¹⁰¹ BRGULJAN, VLADIMIR, 1985, 171-175.

¹¹⁰² I would like to thank Vladimir Ukrainčik for the information.

vijeća Sabora Hrvatske.¹⁰⁹⁵ U republičkom Zakonu o zaštiti spomenika kulture sadržane su odredbe o nadležnosti Općinskih narodnih odbora koji osnivaju savjete građana (kao tijela društvenog upravljanja), kojima su, kao i pojedinim udruženjima i društvenim organizacijama, povjeravali obavljanje određenih poslova u vezi s upravljanjem spomenicima. Nadalje, u zakonu se navode i savjeti narodnih odbora nadležni za poslove zaštite spomenika kulture i savjet za kulturu i nauku NRH (članak 13.). Donošenjem republičkog zakona u SR Hrvatskoj 1960. godine inicirana je decentralizacija službe zaštite i to s mogućnošću osnivanja kotarskih i općinskih zavoda na područjima s većom gustoćom značajnih spomenika. Prema članku 68. nadležni za poslove zaštite spomenika jesu Savjet za kulturu i nauku i Savjeti narodnih odbora koji, prema navedenom članku, raspravljaju o općim pitanjima zaštite spomenika kulture kao što su: osiguranje materijalnih sredstava (popravak, održavanje, konzervacija i dr.) i donošenje općih smjernica za rad, nadzor nad radom zavoda za zaštitu, razmatranje godišnjih izvještaja te predlaganje i donošenje propisa i mjera zaštite spomenika.

Sekretarijat za kulturu i nauku provodio je nadzor nad provedbom propisa o zaštiti spomenika te rješavao žalbe u drugostupanjskom postupku protiv rješenja donesених u upravnom postupku (članci 67. i 70.).

Osnovni zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture, 1965.¹⁰⁹⁶

Zakon je donesen u cilju usklađivanja Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture s Ustavom SFRJ od 7. travnja 1963. kojim je uveden samoupravni model primijenjen u svim sferama i na svim razinama društvenog života, a zaštita spomenika podignuta je na razinu ustavne norme¹⁰⁹⁷. Osnovni zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture donosi samo osnovna i načelna pitanja zaštite za cijelu SFRJ, dok su

republičkim zakonima trebale biti definirane specifičnosti problematike zaštite pojedine republike.

Osnovnim zakonom regulira se zaštita spomenika bez obzira u čijem je vlasništvu (društvenom ili građanskom). Člankom 1. propisano je da se spomenicima kulture smatraju nepokretne i pokretne *stvari*, kao i grupe *stvari* koje su zbog svoje znanstvene, tehničke ili druge kulturne vrijednosti od osobitog značenja za društvenu zajednicu. Nadležni zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture utvrđuje svojstvo spomenika kulture u skladu s republičkim propisima. Zakon nadalje propisuje prava imatelja spomenika kulture (korištenje i raspolaganje) u skladu s namjenom spomenika, pravo prvokupa (članak 12. i uključivo članak 16.), pravo korištenja i pravo vlasništva (članak 17.), mogućnost eksproprijacije spomenika kulture u svrhu općeg interesa, dužnost čuvanja spomenika kulture i izvoz ili iznošenje spomenika kulture. Zakon je predviđao obvezno vođenje registra spomenika kulture u koji se upisuje svaki spomenik i predmet za koji se utvrdi da ima svojstva spomenika kulture. Zakon nije propisivao opseg podataka koji se trebaju unositi u registar spomenika kulture.

Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture, 1966.¹⁰⁹⁸

Zakonom o zaštiti spomenika kulture iz 1966. daje se veća mogućnost radnoj zajednici da sudjeluje u odlučivanju u vezi s radom zavoda prema Zakonu iz 1965. godine. Konzervatorski zavodi u Rijeci, Splitu i Zagrebu, temeljem članka 70. toga zakona obavljali su i poslove iz nadležnosti republičkog zavoda, a izmjenom Zakona donesenom 1966. Konzervatorski zavod u Zagrebu nastavlja s radom kao Republički zavod; konzervatorski zavodi u Rijeci i Splitu nastavljaju s radom kao regionalni zavodi, čime je uspostavljena hijerarhija nadležnosti Republičkog zavoda u odnosu na regionalne zavode, odnosno općinske, te je time omogućena uspješnija zaštita spomenika.

Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture, 1966.¹⁰⁹⁹

¹⁰⁹⁸ Objavljeno: *Narodne novine*, broj 32, god. XXI (CXXVII), od 30. srpnja 1965., 402-409.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Objavljeno: *Narodne novine*, broj 50, god. XXII (CXXVIII), od 30. prosinca 1966.

¹⁰⁹⁵ O usvajanju nacрта zakona izvještavale su i dnevne novine. N. N. 1960.; N. N. 1960a.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Objavljeno: *Službeni list SFRJ*, broj 12, od 24. ožujka 1965., 443-445.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ustav iz 1963. donio je mnoge promjene u ustroju Jugoslavije; promijenjeno je ime države u Socijalističku Federativnu Republiku Jugoslaviju, a u sve segmente društva uvedeno je samoupravljanje. Josip Mihaljević, *Ustavna uređenja temeljnih prava u Hrvatskoj 1946.-1974.* ČSP, br. 1, 36.

that regulated the rights and obligations of monument holders contained the obligation of the monument holder to report the object presumed to be a cultural monument to the *municipal administrative body* or the *Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments*, along with any changes to the monument after registration. The person or *organization* mediating in the trade of monuments had to inform the competent institute for protection about the monument they were selling. Article 19 regulated the obligation of the monument holder to cover the costs of regular maintenance of the monument, and in case they did not comply with this obligation, the Institute for Protection issued a warning, and set a deadline for repair. If the holder did not comply with the warning, the repair would be carried out and the holder would cover the cost. Article 22 stated that the holder of the monument had to make the monument accessible to the public in the manner and under the conditions determined by the decision of the *Municipal assembly body responsible for the protection of cultural monuments* if necessary, to meet the cultural needs of the community. At the request of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, the holder of the monument had to provide a monument for exhibitions, i.e. public presentation. In case of damage to the monument during collection, transfer and display, the cost was covered by the organizer. If it was determined that regular use of the monument could damage it, the holder of the monument had to, in accordance with Article 24, use the monument in the manner defined by the instructions of the institute for protection. According to Article 25, the competent Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments had the right to confiscate a monument from the holder who treated it negligently and hand it over for safe-keeping to a guardian appointed for that purpose. Articles 26 to 28 regulated the export of monuments: in accordance with Article 26, monuments could not be taken out of the country, except with the permission of the *Republic administrative body responsible for cultural affairs*, i.e. the Republican institute for Monument Protection. The *Republican administrative body in charge of cultural affairs* issued permits for export after obtaining

the opinion of the Republican institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. This opinion was prepared for the Institute by an expert commission. For exhibitions held abroad, the Republican institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments issued a temporary export permit with a deadline for returning the monument to the country, as well as a permit for the transfer of the monument. The third title of the Law, *Registration of Monuments and other administrative measures*, stipulated that monuments and objects determined to have the status of monuments were entered in the Register of Cultural Monuments, which was defined by the Decision of the Institute for the Protection of Monuments. It was possible to appeal the decision. Until the decision on entry in the register was made, the competent institution could issue a decision on preventive protection. Furthermore, Articles 32 and 37 regulated the registration of cultural monuments, if the register was kept by the municipal or regional institute for monument protection.

The Republican institute for the Protection of Monuments kept a register of monuments for areas where there were no municipal regional institutes, as well as a record of all cultural monuments in the territory of the Republic of Croatia. All decisions on the basis of which the entry in the register of monuments was carried out were submitted by the regional institutes to the Republican institute for the Protection of Monuments. Instructions on how to maintain the register, records and documentation of cultural monuments were prescribed by the Republic Secretary in charge of cultural affairs. Museums, galleries and libraries had to submit reports on visits to monuments, and annual reports on the restoration and conservation of monuments in their collections, or monuments that needed restoration or conservation, to the Republican institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. The fourth title of the Law outlined the organisation of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. According to the law, Institutions for monument protection were independent and self-governing institutions established by municipalities and republics. Several municipalities

Prosvjetno-kulturno vijeće i Republičko vijeće Sabora na sjednici 28. prosinca 1966. donijeli su Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture. Izmjena zakona koja je stupila na snagu 30. prosinca 1966. donosi promjene u smislu decentralizacije službe zaštite. Služba zaštite organizirana je na regionalnom principu: Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, Regionalni zavodi za zaštitu spomenika kulture u Zagrebu, Osijeku, Splitu i Rijeci, komunalni zavodi u Dubrovniku, Splitu i Zadru, Zavod za zaštitu spomenika u Varaždinu; Regionalni zavod Osijek je međuopćinski zavod te Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture grada Zagreba. Ovim zakonom osnovan je Savjet za zaštitu spomenika kulture kao tijelo *društveno-stručnog* karaktera koje za čitavo područje SR Hrvatske određuje i provodi politiku zaštite spomenika.

Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture, 1967.¹¹⁰⁰

Prosvjetno kulturno vijeće Sabora SR Hrvatske na sjednici 22. veljače 1966. raspravljalo je na osnovi elaborata *Aktualni problemi zaštite spomenika kulture s prijedlogom za organizaciju efikasnije konzervatorske službe i osnivanje Restauratorskog zavoda Hrvatske*¹¹⁰¹ o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture (iz 1960. godine). Donošenje *Međunarodne povelje o konzervaciji i restauraciji spomenika i mjesta* u Veneciji 31. svibnja 1964. također je bila podloga za izradu novog zakona. U Povelji je definiran pojam historijskog spomenika te proces konzervacije, restauracije, dokumentiranja i publiciranja.¹¹⁰² Na temelju tih dvaju dokumenata stručna skupina izradila je Zakon koji je donesen 1967. godine.¹¹⁰³

Zakon o zaštiti spomenika sadrži opće odredbe o zaštiti spomenika, prava i obveze imatelja spomenika, način registriranja spomenika i druge upravne mjere te odredbe o zavodima za zaštitu spomenika kulture i kaznene odredbe. Sukladno zakonu, spomenici kulture zaštićeni su samim zakonom bez obzira na vlasništvo i pravni

status zaštite. Spomenikom kulture smatraju se nepokretni i pokretni predmeti kao i grupe predmeta koji su zbog svoje arheološke, historijske, etnografske, umjetničke, sociološke, arhitektonske, urbanističke, tehničke i druge znanstvene ili kulturne vrijednosti od značaja za društvenu zajednicu. U članku 3. propisana je svrha zaštite spomenika kulture u smislu očuvanja spomenika, poduzimanja mjera za održivost, sprečavanja radnji koje bi mogle oštetiti spomenik i osiguranja uvjeta za potrebe zajednice. Zaštita se ostvaruje na čitavom području SR Hrvatske. Zakon razlikuje imatelje spomenika koji su vlasnici ili posjednici spomenika, one koji imaju pravo upravljanja spomenikom ili po bilo kojoj osnovi drže spomenik, od prava korištenja spomenika u društvenom vlasništvu. Pravo korištenja u društvenom vlasništvu pripada općini na čijem se području spomenik nalazi ako posebnim aktom nadležnoga tijela to pravo nije dano drugoj ustanovi ili *organizaciji*. Člankom 9. određeno je da, ukoliko imatelj spomenika nije poznat, do određivanja ustanove ili organizacije kojoj se daje pravo korištenja odnosno do utvrđivanja vlasnika o spomeniku brine *općinski organ uprave* nadležan za poslove zaštite. Sukladno članku 11. određeni poslovi upravljanja i čuvanja spomenika mogli su se povjeriti savjetima građana kao tijelima društvenog upravljanja, koje je osnivala *općinska skupština*, odnosno pojedinim udruženjima i društvenim organizacijama. Zaštitu spomenika provodili su zavodi za zaštitu spomenika ako nadležnost nije prenesena na druga tijela. Nadalje se navodi da se čuvanjem, proučavanjem i stručnim održavanjem spomenika bave i posebne ustanove: muzeji, galerije i biblioteke. U članku 16. propisano je da imatelji spomenika u pogledu održavanja i popravka spomenika uživaju porezne, carinske i druge olakšice koje su propisane posebnim propisima. Dio zakona u kojem su regulirana prava i obveze imatelja spomenika sadrži obvezu imatelja spomenika da predmet za koji se predmnijeva da je spomenik kulture prijavi *općinskom organu uprave* ili *Zavodu za zaštitu spomenika kulture*, kao i sve promjene na spomeniku nakon prijavljivanja. Osoba ili *organizacija* koja posreduje u prometu spomenicima dužna je obavijestiti nadležni zavod za zaštitu o spomeniku koji je preuzela radi prodaje. Članak 19. uređuje obvezu imatelja spomenika da snosi

1100 Objavljeno: *Narodne novine*, broj 13, god. XXIII (CXXIX), od 30. ožujka 1967.

1101 Elaborat je izradio Republički sekretarijat za prosvjetu, kulturu i fizičku kulturu. MKM-SDKB-A Dopis Organizacija službe za zaštitu spomenika kulture.

1102 BRGULJAN, VLADIMIR, 1985., 171-175.

1103 Na navedenim podatcima zahvaljujem Vladimiru Ukrainčiku.

could establish a joint institute for the protection of cultural monuments, and the municipal assembly first had to obtain the opinion of the republican administrative body responsible for cultural affairs. Financial resources and professional staff had to be secured to establish the institute for protection. Based on Article 47, the statute of the institute was adopted by the working community and the Council of the institute, and the statute was submitted to the municipal assembly for review or to the municipal assemblies, if the institute was founded by several municipalities. The statute of the Republican institute was submitted to the Parliament for review before it was adopted. Article 48 prescribed financing of institutes according to the regulations on financing independent institutions. The work of the institute was described in Article 49, and the institute was responsible for: reviewing, studying, researching and using scientific methods, resolving issues in the field of monument protection, regulating the use of socially owned monuments and professional, administrative and other affairs in the field of monument protection. According to Article 50, the tasks of the Republican institute were to:

- *“indicate the need to adopt regulations in the field of protection of cultural monuments;*
- *perform expert supervision of conservation on archaeological excavations and research;*
- *provide professional assistance to other institutions for the protection of cultural monuments;*
- *perform professional supervision of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, as well the work of other protection institutions (independent restoration workshops, restoration and preparation workshops in museums, libraries, etc.);*
- *prepare studies for conservation, restoration, repair of monuments and other similar works, i.e. approve such studies by municipal institutes;*
- *perform other similar and administrative tasks in the field of monument protection, placed under its jurisdiction*

by this law or other regulations, as well as other tasks if some of them are not under the jurisdiction of other bodies or institutions.”

Articles 51 and 62 prescribed the manner of managing the institute for the protection of cultural monuments and regulated the bodies (authority) of the institute for the protection. The Institute was directly managed by employees and through the management body: the *board of directors, the director* and the *institute council*. The council members were also representatives of the community. According to the Institute Statute, special professional bodies could be established for decision-making in scientific and professional matters. The employees of the institute made decisions through referendums and other forms of direct decision-making. The activities of work communities were regulated by the statute of the institute, and the president of the working community and his deputy were elected annually. The *director* of the institute could be the president of the working community. Article 53 prescribed the work of the institute's working community, which organised the institute's activities, took care of the institute's development, determined the institute's work and development plans, decided on the use and distribution of funds, regulated labour relations and elected management bodies. Article 54 prescribed the work of the institute's board of directors, which decided on the institute's operations, prepared proposals for general acts and the institute's work plan, and took care of the implementation of acts and conclusions of the working community and councils. The Council of the regional institute, on the proposal of the tender commission and the public tender, appointed the director of the institute. The Executive Council of the Parliament appointed and dismissed the director of the Republican institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. In the administrative procedure, the director of the institute made decisions in the field of protection of cultural monuments within the jurisdiction of the institute. Appeals against these decisions were resolved in the second instance by the republican administrative body in charge of cultural affairs. Articles 58 and

troškove redovitog održavanja spomenika, a u slučaju da se ne pridržava te obveze zavod za zaštitu će ga opomenuti i odrediti rok popravka. Ako imatelj ne postupi prema opomeni, popravak će biti izveden na njegov trošak. Člankom 22. navedeno je da je imatelj spomenika dužan učiniti spomenik pristupačnim javnosti na način i pod uvjetima određenim rješenjem *Organa općinske skupštine nadležnog za poslove zaštite spomenika kulture* ako je to nužno radi zadovoljenja kulturnih potreba zajednice. Na traženje zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture imatelj spomenika dužan je omogućiti korištenje određenog spomenika za izlaganje na izložbama, odnosno javnu prezentaciju. U slučaju oštećenja spomenika pri preuzimanju, prijenu i izlaganju troškove snosi organizator. Ako se utvrdi da bi redovitim upotrebom spomeniku mogla biti nanosena šteta, imatelj spomenika dužan je, sukladno članku 24., spomenik koristiti na način definiran uputama zavoda za zaštitu. Prema članku 25. Zakona nadležni Zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture ima pravo oduzeti spomenik imatelju koji se prema njemu nemarno odnosi i predati ga na čuvanje staratelju određenom u tu svrhu. Od članka 26. do uključivo članka 28. reguliran je izvoz spomenika: spomenici se sukladno članku 26. ne smiju iznositi iz zemlje, osim uz dozvolu *Republičkog organa uprave nadležnog za poslove kulture*, odnosno Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika. *Republički organ uprave nadležan za poslove kulture* izdaje dozvolu za izvoz nakon pribavljenog mišljenja Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture. To mišljenje za Zavod izrađuje stručna komisije koju sam imenuje. U svrhu izlaganja ili ekspertize spomenika u inozemstvu Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture daje dozvolu za privremeni izvoz s određenim rokom vraćanja spomenika u zemlju, kao i dozvolu o prijenu spomenika. U trećoj glavi Zakona *Registriranje spomenika i druge upravne mjere* određeno je da se spomenici i predmeti za koje se utvrdi da imaju svojstvo spomenika upisuju u Registar spomenika kulture, što se utvrđuje Rješenjem Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika. Protiv rješenja moguća je žalba. Do donošenja rješenja o upisu u registar nadležni zavod može donijeti rješenje o preventivnoj zaštiti. Nadalje, člankom 32. uključivo i članak 37. normirano je vođenje registra spomenika kulture u slučaju kada registar vodi općinski ili regionalni zavod za zaštitu spomenika. Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika

vodi registar spomenika za ona područja na kojima nema općinskog regionalnog zavoda i evidenciju svih spomenika kulture na području Republike Hrvatske. Sva rješenja na osnovi kojih se provodi upis u registar spomenika regionalni zavodi dostavljaju i Republičkom zavodu za zaštitu spomenika. Način vođenja registra, evidencije i dokumentacije spomenika kulture propisuje *republički sekretar* nadležan za poslove kulture. Muzeji, galerije i biblioteke dužne su dostavljati republičkom zavodu za zaštitu spomenika kulture izvještaje o obilasku spomenika i godišnje izvještaje o restauriranju i konzerviranju spomenika koji se nalaze u njihovim zbirkama ili su im bili povjereni u svrhu restauriranja ili konzerviranja. U četvrtoj glavi Zakona sadržan je ustroj zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture. Zavodi za zaštitu spomenika prema zakonu su samostalne i samoupravne ustanove koje osnivaju općine i republika. Veći broj općina mogao je osnovati zajednički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture te je prije donošenja akta o osnivanju općinska skupština bila dužna pribaviti mišljenje republičkog organa uprave nadležnog za poslove kulture. Za osnivanje i početak rada zavoda za zaštitu trebala su biti osigurana financijska sredstva i stručno osoblje. Statut zavoda temeljem članka 47. donosi radna zajednica i Savjet zavoda te se statut prije konačnog usvajanja podnosi na razmatranje općinskoj skupštini odnosno općinskim skupštinama ako zavod osniva više općina. Statut Republičkog zavoda prije konačnog usvajanja podnosi se na razmatranje Saboru. Člankom 48. propisano je financiranje zavoda po propisima o financiranju samostalnih ustanova. Rad zavoda opisan je člankom 49. prema kojem je zavod zadužen za: razmatranje, proučavanje, istraživanje i primjenu znanstvenih metoda, rješavanje pitanja iz područja zaštite spomenika, reguliranje korištenja spomenika u društvenom vlasništvu te za stručne, upravne i druge poslove iz područja zaštite spomenika. Prema članku 50. definirani su poslovi Republičkog zavoda:

„ ukazuje na potrebu donošenja propisa u oblasti zaštite spomenika kulture;

vrši stručni nadzor nad izvođenjem zaštitnih i konzervatorskih radova na arheološkim iskopavanjima i istraživanjima;

pruža stručnu pomoć drugim ustanovama za zaštitu spomenika kulture;

59 prescribed the work and composition of the institute council. It consisted of members elected by the *working community*, those appointed by the *competent municipal assembly* and a number of representatives of *interest organizations*. The council members were elected or appointed for two years, and half of them were appointed each year. The president of the council was elected by members of the council. The Institute council:

„-... considers the condition and results of the work of the institute;

– considers the material working conditions of the institute and encourages the responsible social factors of the interested organization to create the best possible conditions for the realization of the tasks of the institute“.

Article 60 of the Law stipulated that if there were many important monuments in a district without a municipal institute, the Municipal Assembly would appoint a commissioner for the protection of cultural monuments based on the proposal of the Republican institute. Supervision regarding the legality of the work of the institute was regulated in Article 62, which stipulated that supervision was carried out by the municipal administrative body responsible for the protection of cultural monuments. The Republic administrative body in charge of cultural affairs supervised the work of the Republican institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments. Damage or destruction of cultural monuments was regulated by law as a criminal offense or misdemeanour punishable by imprisonment and fines.

The Law on Self-governing Interest Communities in the Field of Culture, 1974¹¹⁰³

The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia from 1974 proclaimed the principle that real estate and other matters of special cultural and historical significance enjoyed special protection and were used under the conditions and in the manner prescribed by law. The provision on the Protection and Improvement of

the Human Environment appeared as a separate constitutional category, and cultural monuments were an integral part of the human environment. In accordance with the principles of the *Constitution*, the *Republican Self-governing Interest Community in the field of culture* was established, preceded by the Law on Self-governing Interest Communities in the Field of Culture.

Self-governing interest communities in culture were established to meet personal and common needs and interests in the field of culture, based on the principles of reciprocity and solidarity, thus encouraging cultural creativity and cultural development (Articles 1 and 2). The statute of the community determined how it operated. Communities were entered in the register of the commercial court (Article 9). According to Article 22, the organisation and work of the self-governing community of interest in the field of culture were regulated to ensure that workers decided on issues regarding the work of the community. Title 6 of the Law, under *General social needs in the field of culture*, Article 54 prescribed, among other things, the protection of movable and immovable cultural monuments classified as being in the zero or the first category, and the activities of the Institute for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Monuments. The establishment and the constitution of self-governing interest communities, basic communities and associations of self-governing interest communities were to be completed by February 28, 1975.

When the Law on the protection of cultural monuments was passed in 1967, it ended the period of intensive development of legislation in the field of monument protection, which began in 1945.

Shortly after the Law was passed, opinions and proposals for its amendment were put forward. As early as 1969, the Republican institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments made proposals for amendments to legislation related to movable monuments. The changes referred to keeping records and documentation, the export and temporary export of cultural monuments, the enactment of the Law on professional titles and

¹¹⁰³ Published: *Narodne novine*, No. 51, December 12, 1974.

vrši stručni nadzor nad radom zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture, kao i nad radom ostalih ustanova zaštite (samostalne restauratorske radionice, restauratorske i preparatorske radionice u muzejima, bibliotekama i slično);

izrađuje elaborate za konzerviranje, restauriranje, popravak spomenika i druge slične radove, odnosno odobrava takve elaborate općinskih zavoda;

vrši druge slične i upravne poslove u oblasti zaštite spomenika, koji su mu ovim zakonom ili drugim propisima stavljeni u nadležnost, kao i druge takve poslove ako pojedini od njih nisu stavljeni u nadležnost drugih organa ili ustanova.“

Člankom 51. uključivo i članak 62. propisan je način upravljanja zavodom za zaštitu spomenika kulture i normirana su tijela (*organ*) zavoda za zaštitu. Zavodom upravljaju zaposlenici neposredno te preko tijela upravljanja: *upravnog odbora, direktora i savjeta zavoda*. Članovi savjeta su i predstavnici *društvene zajednice*. Za odlučivanje u znanstvenim i stručnim poslovima, prema Statutu zavoda, mogu se osnovati posebna stručna tijela. Zaposlenici zavoda neposredno odlučuju na *zborovima* referendumom i drugim oblicima neposrednog odlučivanja. Način rada radnih zajednica uređuje se statutom zavoda, a godišnje se bira predsjednik radne zajednice i njegov zamjenik. *Direktor* zavoda ne može biti predsjednik radne zajednice. Člankom 53. propisan je rad radne zajednice zavoda koja organizira djelatnost zavoda, brine se o razvoju zavoda, utvrđuje planove rada i razvoja zavoda, odlučuje o upotrebi i raspodjeli finansijskih sredstava, uređuje radne odnose i bira ograne upravljanja te donosi opće akte. Člankom 54. propisan je rad upravnog odbora zavoda koji odlučuje o poslovanju zavoda, priprema prijedloge općih akata i plana rada zavoda te se brine o provedbi akata i zaključaka radne zajednice i savjeta. Savjet regionalnog zavoda na prijedlog natječajne komisije, a na osnovi javnog natječaja, imenuje direktora zavoda. Izvršno vijeće sabora imenuje i razrješava direktora Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture. Direktor zavoda donosi u upravnom postupku rješenja u poslovima zaštite spomenika kulture iz nadležnosti zavoda. Žalbe protiv tih rješenja rješava u drugom stupnju *republički organ uprave* nadležan za poslove kulture. Članci 58. i 59. propisuju rad i sastav savjeta zavoda; savjet zavoda čine članovi koje bira *radna zajednica*, oni koje imenuje nadležna *općinska skupština* te

određeni broj predstavnika *interesnih organizacija*. Članovi savjeta biraju se odnosno imenuju na dvije godine, od kojih se polovica imenuje svake godine. Predsjednika savjeta biraju članovi savjeta. Savjet zavoda :

„...razmatra stanje i rezultate rada zavoda;

razmatra materijalne uvjete rada zavoda i podstiče odgovorne društvene faktore zainteresirane organizacije na stvaranje što boljih uvjeta za ostvarivanje zadataka zavoda.“

Člankom 60. zakona određeno je da, ako na području općine u kojoj nije osnovan općinski zavod postoji veći broj značajnih spomenika, općinska skupština na prijedlog Republičkog zavoda imenuje povjerenika za zaštitu spomenika kulture. Nadzor u pogledu zakonitosti rada zavoda reguliran je u članku 62. kojim je određeno da nadzor provodi *općinski organ uprave* nadležan za poslove zaštite spomenika kulture. Republički organ uprave nadležan za poslove kulture provodi nadzor nad radom Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture. Oštećenje ili uništenje spomenika kulture Zakon je normirao kao kazneno djelo ili prekršaj za koje je propisao zatvorske i novčane kazne.

Zakon o samoupravnim interesnim zajednicama u oblasti kulture, 1974.¹¹⁰⁴

Ustavom SR Hrvatske iz 1974. godine proklamirano je načelo da nekretnine i druge stvari od posebnoga kulturnog i povijesnog značenja uživaju posebnu zaštitu i koriste se pod uvjetima i na način koji su propisani zakonom. Odredba o Zaštiti i unaprjeđivanju čovjekove okoline javlja se kao zasebna ustavna kategorija, a spomenici kulture su sastavni dio čovjekove okoline. U skladu s načelima *Ustava* osnovana je *Republička samoupravna interesna zajednica u oblasti kulture*, kojoj je prethodio Zakon o samoupravnim interesnim zajednicama u oblasti kulture.

Samoupravne interesne zajednice u kulturi osnivaju se radi zadovoljavanja osobnih i zajedničkih potreba i interesa na području kulture na načelima uzajamnosti i solidarnosti, čime potiču kulturno stvaralaštvo i razvoj kulture (članak 1. i 2.). Statutom zajednice pobliže se određuje način ostvarivanja njezina rada. Zajednice se upisuju u registar privrednog suda (članak 9.). Prema članku 22. organizacija

¹¹⁰⁴ Objavljeno: *Narodne novine*, broj 51, od 12. prosinca 1974.

education in institutions in the field of protection of cultural monuments, determining the conditions for acquiring professional titles, and professional exams. The Republican institute also proposed the establishment of the Republican Inspectorate for the Protection of Monuments with certain powers and the right to supervise the implementation of regulations and protection measures, as well as supervise the protection of monuments.¹¹⁰⁴

In 1981, the Republican institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, in cooperation with the expert service of the Republican Self-governing Interest Community in the field of culture, also proposed amendments to the 1967 Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments. The changes also applied to the obligations and rights of owners of movable monuments. There was a suggestion to use tax benefits and other incentives to encourage the acquisition of collections and their maintenance. Collections had to be reported to the protection service for inventory and categorization, and be available to the public (professional and wider audience).¹¹⁰⁵ The establishment of inspection in the protection service as an idea and as a proposal, was present since the 1950s, when each law on protection was passed. The Council for the Protection of Cultural Monuments of Croatia proposed the establishment of an inspection for the protection of cultural monuments at its session on January 23, 1967. It was accepted that the legal service of the Council examine the legal possibilities of constituting an inspection for the protection of cultural monuments.¹¹⁰⁶ The inspection was always mentioned in the draft laws that followed, but it was omitted when the laws were adopted. The real reasons for not including the inspection service in the law on the protection of cultural monuments could not be found by reading the available documents.

Despite the fact that immediately following the adoption of the 1967 Law, there were opinions and proposals regarding the revision of legislation, no new law on protection was adopted until 1999.

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This period significantly exceeded all previous periods of protection in terms of the number of processed, recorded, inventoried and registered movable works of art. Therefore, with all the shortcomings, it can be said that this period was very successful in the field of protection of movable monuments. This was especially confirmed in the next period, which began with the proclamation of the independent Republic of Croatia in 1991, when, after the destruction in the Homeland War, war damages had to be recorded and assessed quickly and efficiently. Systematically collected data on movable heritage were essential for their rescue, and later for the return of works of art that had been removed.

The organization, development and success of the protection service after 1990, as well as the questioning of the above findings in this review is a topic for some future research...

1104 MKM-SDKB-A Letter No. 01-171/2-1969, September 22, 1969.

1105 MKM-SDKB-A Elements for multi-year planning for the protection of cultural monuments, Zagreb, January 1981.

1106 MKM-SDKB-A Minutes of the 5th session of the Council held on November 19, 1968.

i način rada samoupravne interesne zajednice na području kulture uređuju se na takav način da radnicima osigurava odlučivanje o pitanjima rada zajednice. U 6. glavi Zakona, pod *Opće društvene potrebe u oblasti kulture*, u članku 54. među ostalim je propisana zaštita pokretnih i nepokretnih spomenika kulture nulte i prve kategorije, te djelatnost Zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode. Osnivanje i konstituiranje samoupravnih interesnih zajednica, osnovnih zajednica i udruženja samoupravnih interesnih zajednica trebalo se obaviti do 28. veljače 1975. godine.

Donošenjem Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture iz 1967. završilo je razdoblje intenzivnog razvoja zakonske regulative na području zaštite spomenika koji je započeo 1945. godine. Ubrzo nakon donošenja spomenutoga Zakona stizala su mišljenja i prijedlozi za njegovu izmjenu. Već godine 1969. Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture donosi prijedloge izmjena zakonske regulative vezane za pokretne spomenike. Izmjene su se odnosile na vođenje evidencije i dokumentacije, izvoz i privremeno iznošenje spomenika kulture u inozemstvo, donošenje Zakona o stručnim zvanjima i stručnoj spremi u ustanovama iz područja zaštite spomenika kulture, na određivanje uvjeta za stjecanje stručnih zvanja te na stručne ispite. Republički zavod predlaže i osnivanje Republičke inspekcije za zaštitu spomenika s određenim ovlastima i pravom nadzora nad provedbom propisa i mjera zaštite, kao i nadzor tijekom zaštitnih radova na spomenicima.¹¹⁰⁵

Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture u suradnji sa stručnom službom Republičke samoupravne interesne zajednice u oblasti kulture 1981. godine također predlaže izmjene Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture iz 1967. godine. Izmjene su se odnosile i na obveze i prava vlasnika pokretnih spomenika. Predloženo je da se poreznim i ostalim olakšicama stimulira kolekcionarstvo i održavanje zbirki. Zbirke bi obvezno trebale biti prijavljivane službi zaštite radi inventarizacije i kategorizacije i trebale bi biti dostupne javnosti (stručnoj i široj).¹¹⁰⁶ Osnivanje inspekcije u službi zaštite, kao ideja i kao prijedlog, javlja se stalno od 1950-ih, prilikom donošenja svakog zakona o zaštiti. Savjet za

zaštitu spomenika kulture Hrvatske predložio je osnivanje inspekcije zaštite spomenika kulture na sjednici 23. siječnja 1967. godine. Tada je prihvaćeno da pravna služba Savjeta ispita pravne mogućnosti konstituiranja inspekcije za područje zaštite spomenika kulture.¹¹⁰⁷ U sljedećim prijedlozima zakona inspekcija se uvijek spominjala, ali u donesenim zakonima je izostavljena. Iz pronađenih dokumenata nije se mogao iščitati pravi razlog neuvrštavanja inspekcijske službe u zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture.

Iako su odmah nakon donošenja Zakona iz 1967. donesena mišljenja i prijedlozi u vezi s revizijom zakonodavstva, do 1999. nije donesen novi zakon o zaštiti.

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Ovo razdoblje je količinom obrađenih, evidentiranih, inventariziranih i registriranih pokretnih umjetničkih predmeta brojčano znatno nadišlo sva dotadašnja razdoblja zaštite. Stoga se, uz sve nedostatke, može reći da je ovo razdoblje bilo vrlo uspješno na području zaštite pokretnih spomenika. To se napose potvrdilo u sljedećem razdoblju koje počinje proglašenjem neovisne Republike Hrvatske 1991. godine kada je, nakon razaranja u Domovinskom ratu, trebalo brzo i učinkovito evidentirati i procjenjivati ratne štete. Sustavno prikupljeni podatci o pokretnoj baštini bili su od esencijalne važnosti za njihovo spašavanje, a kasnije i za povrat otuđenih umjetnina.

Organizacija, razvoj i uspješnost službe zaštite nakon 1990. godine, kao i propitivanje navedenih spoznaja u ovom pregledu tema je za neka buduća istraživanja...

¹¹⁰⁵ MKM-SDKB-A Dopis broj 01-171/2-1969. od 22. rujna 1969.

¹¹⁰⁶ MKM-SDKB-A Elementi za višegodišnje planiranje zaštite spomenika kulture, Zagreb, siječanj 1981.

¹¹⁰⁷ MKM-SDKB-A Zapisnik 5. sjednice Savjeta održane 19. studenoga 1968.

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Provedbeni propisi / Implementing regulations / Pravni propisi / Legal Regulations

Hrvatski sabor (knjižnica i arhiv) / Croatian Parliament (library and archive)

Hrvatski državni arhiv / Croatian State Archive, Zagreb

Carski patent kojim se naređuju novi uvjeti za utemeljivanje raznih društva / Imperial Patent of November 26, 1852, which orders new conditions for establishing various societies, Zemaljsko-vladin list za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju 1853, Razdjel I, broj 4., od 26. studenog 1852.

Naredba kojom se izdaje propis za zaštitu vlastine javnih znanstvenih i umjetničkih sbiraka i drugih sposobnih zavoda / The Order issuing a regulation for the protection of the private sector of public scientific and artistic collections and other capable institutions, Zemaljsko-vladin list za Kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju 1858, Razdjel I, Komad XXIX, broj 229., Naredba ministarstva izvanjskih djela, unutarnjih djela, pravosuđa, financija, za bogoštovje i nastavu, za trgovinu, obrte i javne gradjevine, vrhovnoga zapovjedništva vojske i vrhovne vlasti redarstvene od 16. prosinca 1858.

Zakonski članak o privremenoj zaštiti predmeta, što će izložene biti na bečkoj Svjetskoj izložbi god. 1873 / The Legislative on the temporary protection of items to be exhibited at the Vienna World Exposition in 1873, Sbornik zakonah i naredabah 1873., komad I-XXI, br. 1-61, Zakonski članak 24, (1872) 29.

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Naredba Kraljevske hrvatsko-slavonske-dalmatinske vlade Odjela za unutarnje poslove od 2. veljače 1884., br. 1584. glede ustrojstva Hrvatsko-slavonskog zemaljskog povjerenstva za obćenitu godinu 1885. u Budimpešti održavat se imajući izložbu / The Order of the Department of Internal Affairs of the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia on February 2, 1884, no. 1584 regarding the organisation of the Croatian-Slavonian Land Office for the year 1885 in Budapest, and holding of an exhibition, Sbornik zakonah i naredabah 1884., komad III, broj 7, 15.

Odluka ministra za bogoštovlje i nastavu od 14. ožujka 1899. kojom se mijenja statut centralne komisije za istraživanje i uzdržavanje umjetničkih i historičkih spomenika / The Decision of the Minister of Religion and Education dated March 14, 1899 amending the Statute of the Central Commission for the Study and Maintenance of Historic and Artistic Monuments, List državnih zakona, Izdan i razaslan 29. ožujka 1899., Godina 1899., Komad XXI, 81-83.

Naredba kojom se određuje redovito sabiranje podataka za statistiku knjižnica i zbirka, koje su vlasnost pravnih osoba / The Order that determines the regular collection of data for statistics of libraries and collections owned by legal persons, Sbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1905., Komad IV, Broj 9., Kralj. Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinske zemaljske vlade, odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu u sporazumu s kralj. zemaljsko-vladinim odjelom za unutarnje poslove, od 30. ožujka 1905. br. 5382.

Okružnica kojom se upozorava na nepravilnosti u primjenjivanju propisa o crkvenoj građevnoj djelatnosti i o postupku kod crkvenih građevina / The Circular that warns of irregularities in the application of regulations on church building activity and procedure for church buildings, Sbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, Godina 1909., Broj 53., Okružnica kralj. Hrv.-slav.-dalm. Zemalj. Vlade, Odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu, od 9. lipnja 1909. br. 12371.

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Naredba kojom se izdaju odredbe o nabavi novog crkvenog namještaja te sačuvanju crkvenog namještaja i građevina historičke i umjetničke vrijednosti, kr. Zemaljske vlade, odjela za bogoštovlje i nastavu, od 16. studenog 1912. br. 16.022 / The Order that gives directives about the provision of new church furniture and the preservation of church furniture and buildings of historical and artistic value, Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, god. 1913., komad I.-X.-br. 1.-122., Tisak

kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, Zagreb, 1913., 103., Komad I., br. 5.

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Zakon od 26. lipnja 1918. o uređenju hrvatskog narodnog muzeja u Zagrebu / The Law on the Design of the National Museum in Zagreb, Zakon od 26. lipnja 1918., Zbornik zakona i naredaba valjanih za kraljevine Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, god. 1918., komad I.-XVII.- br. 1.-136., Tisak kraljevske zemaljske tiskare, Zagreb, 1919., 209, Komad IX., br. 58.

Naredba Pokrajinske uprave za Dalmaciju o zaštiti umjetničkih djela/The order of the regional administration for Dalmatia on the protection of works of art, 1921.

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Pravilnik Ratnog muzeja u Zagrebu/Regulations of the War Museum in Zagreb, Zbornik zakona i naredaba Nezavisne države Hrvatske, izdaje zakonodavno povjerenstvo, god. II., Zagreb, 11. ožujka 1942., 244-246.

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Odluka o zaštiti i čuvanju kulturnih spomenika i starina / The Decision on the protection and preservation of cultural monuments and antiquities, 1945, Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba, god. I, sv. II, br. 124., 25. rujna 1945.

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Pravilnik o prijavljivanju i utvrđivanju ratne štete / The Ordinance on reporting and determining war damage, Zbornik zakona,

uredaba i naredaba, god. I, sv. V., Zakoni i drugi propisi saveznih vlasti, br. 402. Službeni list, br. 44. 10. lipnja 1945., 342., br. 402.

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Objavljen u NN br. 5 od 17. kolovoza 1945.

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Pravilnik o djelokrugu i organizaciji Vrhovnog instituta za zaštitu i naučno proučavanje spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti / The Order on the organization of the National Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba, god. I, sv. XI., 22. prosinca 1945., Zakoni i drugi propisi saveznih vlasti, br. 842.

Pravilnik o izvršenju Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije / The General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities, Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba, god. I, sv. XI., 22. prosinca 1945., Zakoni i drugi propisi saveznih vlasti, br. 843.

Objavljen u službenom listu br. 88 od 13. studenog 1945.

Naredba o organizaciji Zemaljskog sabirnog centra / Instruction on the establishment and operation of collection centres, Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba, god. I, sv. XI., Zagreb, 22. prosinca 1945.

Od 1. siječnja 1946. u izdanju Narodnih novina, službenog lista Narodne Republike Hrvatske, počelo je izlaziti drugo godište Zbornika zakona, uredaba i naredaba. U Zborniku su tiskani svi zakoni, uredbe, naredbe, rješenja, obavezne upute i drugi propisi općeg karaktera koje su donijeli zakonodavni i naredbodavni organi Narodne Republike Hrvatske. U Službenom listu FNRJ su zakoni FNRJ, osim propisa sačinjavaju i međunarodne ugovore i konvencije.

Naredba o organizaciji Zemaljskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture / Decree on the organisation of the Land Institute for the protection of cultural monuments and natural rarities, Zbornik zakona, uredaba i naredaba, god. II, sv. I., Zagreb, siječanj-veljača 1946., 31.

Uredba o zavodima za zaštitu i naučno proučavanje spomenika kulture / The Decree on Institutes for the Protection and Scientific Study of Cultural Monuments and the Ordinance on Conservation Institutes, Narodne Novine br. 50. od 23. lipnja 1848., 173.

Zakon o potvrdi i izmjenama zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije / The General law on the protection of cultural monuments and natural rarities, Službeni list Federativne narodne republike Jugoslavije, god. II., br. 81., 8. listopada 1946., 1000-1002.

Uredbu o Saveznom institutu za zaštitu spomenika kulture / The Decree on the Federal Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Službeni list Federativne narodne republike Jugoslavije, god. VI., br. 54., 13. rujna 1950., 895-896, pod br. 488.

Zakon O zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti / The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities, Narodne Novine službeni list Narodne republike Hrvatske, 22. listopada 1949., br. 84, god. V (CXI), str. 246-248.

Ukaz o proglašenju zakona o ovlaštenju narodnih republika da mogu svojim zakonima o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti odstupati od saveznog općeg zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti, Službeni list Federativne Narodne republike Hrvatske, 31. prosinca 1957., br. 57, god. XIII, broj 714.

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Pravilnik o registraciji spomenika kulture / The Ordinance on the Registration of Cultural Monuments, Narodne Novine službeni list Narodne Republike Hrvatske, 11. siječnja 1961., br. 1, god. XVII (CXXIII).

Pravilnik o registraciji muzeja i evidenciji muzejskih zbirki / The Ordinance on museum registration and registration of museum collections, Narodne Novine službeni list Narodne Republike Hrvatske, 24. svibnja 1961., br. 20, god. V (CXI).

Uputstvo o načinu vođenja knjiga muzejske građe i kartoteka u muzejima i muzejskim zbirkama / Instructions on how to keep books of museum materials and files in museums and museum collections, Narodne Novine službeni list Narodne Republike Hrvatske, 26. srpnja 1962., br. 29, god. XVIII (CXXIV).

Osnovni zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture / The Basic Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Službeni list Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije, god. XXI, br. 12, 12. ožujka 1965., pod brojem 228.

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Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Narodne Novine službeni list Narodne Republike Hrvatske, 20. svibnja 1965., br. 20, god. XXI (CXXVII.)

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Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o zaštiti spomenika kulture / The Law on Amendments to the Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments, Narodne Novine službeni list Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske, 30. prosinca 1966., br. 50, god. XXII (CXXVIII.), pod brojem 216.

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Pravilnik o registraciji spomenika kulture / The decree on the registration of Cultural Monuments, Narodne Novine službeni list Narodne republike Hrvatske, 4. ožujka 1968., br. 8, god. XXIV (CXXX.)

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1881. ÉVI XXXIX. TÖRVÉNY-CZIKK A MŰEMLÉKEK FENTARTÁSÁRÓL, Kárták Könyve, ICOMOS Magyar Nemzeti Bizottság, 2002., str. 309-313.

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15. Josip Kaplan, Remetinec – izjava o završetku posla do 15. srpnja 1914. (MKM-SDKB-ZP)
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Gjuro Szabo (author: Tereza Paulić, MKM-SDKB-GZ)
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Identification Iva Vrbanić, 1945. (HR-DAZG-Ministarstvo prosvjete)

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Identification Anđela Horvat, 1945. (HR-DAZG-Ministarstvo prosvjete)

54. Cvito Fisković (u sredini) s konzervatorima Konzervatorskog zavoda u Splitu 1950-ih (Album Konzervatorskog zavoda u Splitu)

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55. Grga Oštrić i Zdenka Munk (foto: Milan Prelog, 1947., inv. br. 5194, br. neg. 1E37, MK-UZKB-F)

Grga Oštrić and Zdenka Munk (photo: Milan Prelog, 1947., MKM-SDKB-F Inv.No. 5194, 1E37)

56. Aleksandar Perc i Milan Prelog u Rijeci 1947. godine (inv. br. 5206, br. neg. I-h-37, MKM-SDKB-F)

Aleksandar Perc and Milan Prelog, Rijeka, 1947.(MKM-SDKB-F Inv.br. 5206, I-h-37)

57. Vlado Mađarić, direktor Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture od 1967. do 1976. god. (foto: Nino Vranić, 1967., MKM-SDKB-F, inv. br. 37414)

Vlado Madaric, director of Regional (foto: Nino Vranić, 1967., MK-SDKB-F inv. br.: 37414)

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Inventory album (MKM-KOST, photo: Hrvoje Vuletić)

59. Album inventara, Konzervatorski zavod u Splitu (foto: Hrvoje Vuletić)

Inventory album (MKM-KOST, photo: Hrvoje Vuletić)

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Andela Horvat points to the rich equipment of the saint statue (MKM-SDKB-F)

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64. Rješenje registracije, 1970. (MKM-SDKB-A)

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Str. /p. 22 – Zagreb, Riznica zagrebačke katedrale, vrč od srebra, 18. st. (foto: Vladimir Tkalčić, 1913., MKM, FKB) Zagreb, Treasury of the Zagreb Cathedral, silver jug

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Str./p. 113 – Gomirje, Manastir sv. Jovana Preteče, petohljebnica od srebra, (foto: Vladimir Tkalčić, 1938., MKM, FKB) Gomirje, Monastery of St. John the Baptist, a five loaf of silver

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Ljubo Karaman i Anđela Horvat – povratak s terena (foto: Tihomil Stahuljak, 1941., MKM, FKB)

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Zagreb, Zagrebačka katedrala, tanjurić od srebra (foto: Vladimir Tkalčić, 1913., MKM, FKB)

DODATAK / APPENDIX

Pitanja Društva za jugoslavensku povjesticu i starine

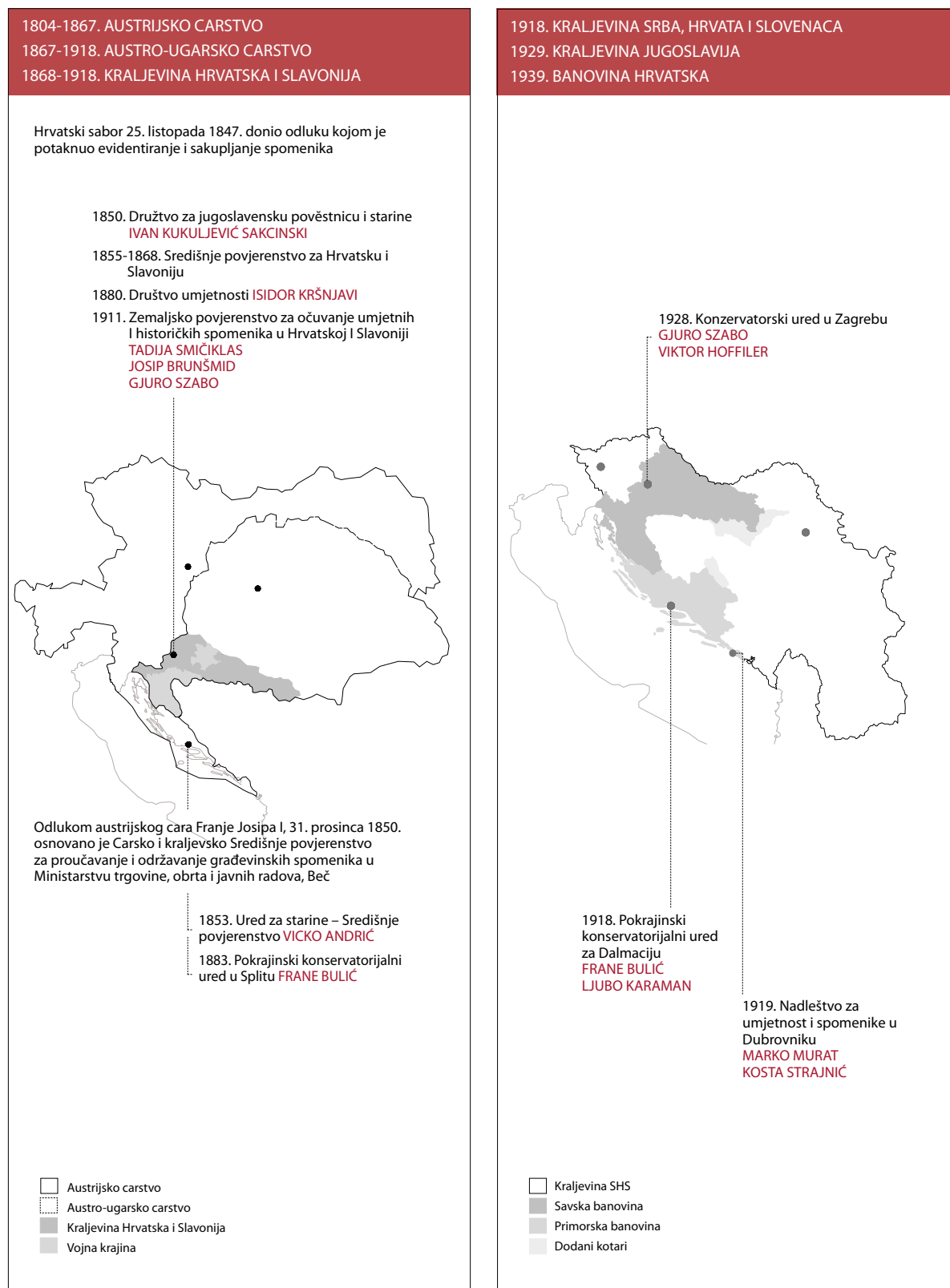
1. Ima li u vašoj okolini na gori ili na polju, malih okruglih brežuljakah, koji su od ljudskih rukuh nanešeni? Kako se zovu, i šta se od njih pripovjeda? Ima li stečakah i mašalah s natpisi, s uredi ili sa slikama?
2. Jesu li se ikada u vašoj okolini, podaleko od navadnoga groblja, slučajno izkopale kakove kosti i koje veličine?
3. Jesu li takove kosti ležale u zemlji, ili na zemlji? Jeda li je takovo mjesto, gdje su ležale, bilo ogradjeno kamenom ili opekom? I jeda li se je tu našlo također oružja, prstenja, novcah, dragoga kamenja, žarah, uglavlja, pepela itd.
4. Ima li u vašoj okolini starih zidinah nad ili pod zemljom? Oda šta su sagrađene, kada i od koga?
5. Nalaze li se kod vas stare opeke (cigle) s kakovimi urezanimi znakovima?
6. Ima li kod vas ostanakah starih vodovodah s gvozdjenimi, olovnimi ili zemljenimi cievima?
7. Jesu li se našle u vašoj okolini kod kopanja ili oranja stare posude, šta je u njih bilo? Ili su možebiti druge kakove podobne stvari izkopane?
8. Jesu li ikad u vašoj okolini izkopane ili nadjene slike, kipovi, novci, igle, prsteni, koplja, mamuze, mačevi, šlemovi, štitovi, kacige itd. od zlata, srebra, mjeda, čelika, bakra, gvozdja itd.
9. Nalaze li se kod vas kameni s napisima grčkimi, latinskimi, slavenskimi ili drugim kojim pismom?
10. Ako su ovakove stvari nadjene, gdje se nalaze sada?
11. Ima li kod vas imenah gorah, briegovah, poljah, dolinah, klanjajah, špiljah, ponorah, pećinah, liticah, skalinah, kamenah itd., koja na staru dobu, ili na historiju spominju, i šta se je ondje znamenita dogodilo?
12. Ima li u vas starih gradovah, samostanah, gradinah, crkvištah, ili drugih znamenitih sgradah, i što se o njih pripovjeda?
13. Ima li u vašoj okolini po crkvah, gradovih ili gdje drugdje znamenitih starih ikonah i slikah od dobrih umjetnikah? Ili zar ima tu slikah od gradovah, samostanah, crkvah i čitavih predjelah domaćih? Ima li slikanih ili s kamena djelanih podobah slavni muževah i ženah, ili narisanih narodnih nošnjah i dogadjajah?
14. Ima li u vašoj okolini gdjegdj starih rukopisah, urešenih sa slikama, ili knjigah sa bakro-, mēdo- i drvorēzi?
15. Ima li u vašoj okolini kakovih arkivah ili pismenih sbirkah, ili pako pojedinih starih, poveljah (diplomah), rukopisah, knjigah itd., bilo u kojemgdj jeziku? Kada i od koga izdana je takova stara knjiga? Tko ju je štampao i gdje?
16. Kod koga se nalazi takva knjiga i takav rukopis, može li se dobiti u pravopisu ili u prepisu?
17. Jeda li je vama poznato, gdje se nalaze vlastoručni rukopisi ili duge vrsti pisma znatnih muževah našega naroda? Mogu li se dobiti?
18. Koji su kod vas običaji pučki kod poroda, krštenja, ženidbe, kumovanja, smrti i pogreba? koji nadalje kod koledovanja oko nove godine, kod svetkovanja uskrsa (vuzma), kod ladovanja na Jurjevo, kod kresa na Ivanje? Što radi puk na dušni dan, na božić i na badnjak? Koje se pesme pevaju ovom prigodom?
19. Što kod vas pripovjeda puk o vilah, vještich, copnicah, viškah, bahornicah, viščaeih, krstnicah, coprnjacih, vilenjacih, vračarih i vračaricah? Što o Roojenicah, Sudicah, Dračicah, Letnicah, Polednicah? Šta o Ladu i Ladi, o Bjelbogu i Perunu, o Triglavu, o Svetovidu i Svetom Vidu, o zlatoj i Jagodi babi, o Dodi, Dundi i Dodoli, o Lelju i Lelivi, o Davoru, Turu i Turici, o Živi i Živani, o Jeki, o Jaseni i Jesi, o Gromovniku i Svetom Ilji, o Kurentu, o Vukodlaku i vučjem pastiru, o Crnombogu, Biesu, Črtu i Čartu, o Heli, o Maliku i Maliću, o Škrapcu i Škratelu, o Sablasti, o Mori i Morani, o Divih, Oriaših i Patuljcih, o Kugi i o Smrti? Što napokon o noćnih sviećicah, o živoj vatri? itd.
20. Koje godine zidana je glavna ili područna crkva vase okolice? Od kojeg graditelja? u kom stilu, da li sa oblim, šiljastima ili četvero-uglastima prozorima i vratima? Da li ima svod ili čemer na krst ili na oblo? Da li ima kamenitih rezarijah, stupovah, polustupovah itd.?
21. Šta pripovjeda puk u svojim bajkah ili pjesmah o mitologičkih pticah i zvjeradi; o sovi, kukavici, golubu, slavlju, bijeloj kući, kučarici ili o drugih zmijah, o zmaju i pozaju, o biku, o šarcu? itd. Šta o zori, suncu, mjesecu, zviezdah, o mlaju i mladoj Nedjelji? Šta o vjetrovih i oblacih, o gradu (tući) i o gromu?
22. Kako zove kod vas puk pojedine zviezde, što mu je mlični put ili nebeski pas? Šta pripovjeda o vlastaricah (Siebengestrin), o koscih, o kolih, o kresanju zviezdah? itd.
23. Kakove vrsti narodnih pjesmah pjeva kod vas puk? Šta se pripovjeda ili pjeva o starih naših kraljevih, banovih ili drugih vitezovih? Šta o bojevih, i razbojih?
24. Kakav se je znameniti čovjek bio on spisatelj, umjetnik, svetnjek, vojnik ili šta drugoga, porodio u vašem kotaru? Bi li se mogao dobiti njegov životopis?
25. Ima li u vas starih grobovah i nagrobnicah s napisom ili grbom (cimerom) u crkvi ili izvan crkve?
26. Bavi li se tkogodj u vašem kotaru sabiranjem ili popisivanjem starinah? Jeda li bi se moglo od njega štogodj kupiti ili na dar dobiti za narodni Zagrebački muzeum?

Questionnaire of the Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities

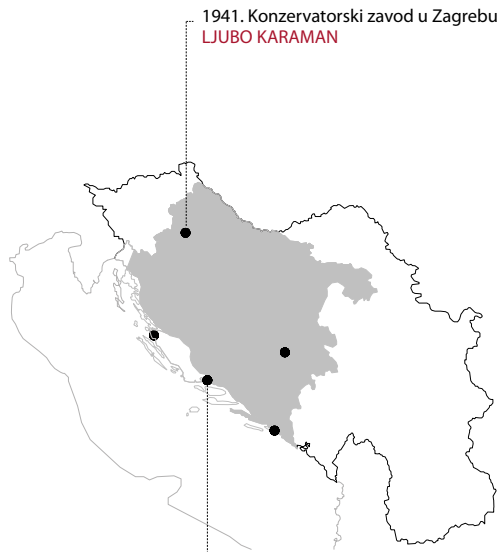
1. *Are there, in your area, small rounded hills on a mountain or in a field, which were made by human hands? What are they called, and what do people say about them? Are there tombstones with inscriptions, ornaments or pictures?*
2. *Have bones been accidentally dug up near graveyards in your area, and what size were they?*
3. *Were these bones found in or on the ground? Was the place they were found enclosed with stone or bricks? In addition, were weapons, rings, coins, precious stones, urns, coal, ashes, etc. also found?*
4. *Are there old walls above or under the ground in your area? Where were they built, when and by whom?*
5. *Are there any old bricks with carved markings in your area?*
6. *Are there remains of any water systems with iron, lead or stone pipes?*
7. *Was old pottery found in your area while digging or ploughing, and what was in them? Was anything else of interest dug up?*
8. *Were paintings, statues, coins, needles, spears, spurs, swords, helmets, shields etc. made out of gold, silver, brass, steel, copper, iron etc. dug up or found near you?*
9. *Were stones with inscriptions written in Greek, Latin, Slavic or any other language, found in your area?*
10. *If these things were found, where are they now?*
11. *Are there names of mountains, hills, fields, valleys, ravines, caves, chasms, caverns, cliffs, steps, rocks, etc. that mention old events and what happened there?*
12. *Do you have old towns, monasteries, forts, churches or other famous buildings, and what is said about them?*
13. *Are there, in your area, any churches, towns or anywhere else, famous old icons or paintings by good artists? Are there paintings of cities, monasteries, churches and entire local districts? Are there paintings or stone portraits of famous men and women, or drawings of folk costumes and local events?*
14. *Are there any old manuscripts in your area, decorated with paintings, or books with engravings in copper, brass or wood?*
15. *Are there, in your area, any kind of archives or collections of written documents, or old decrees, manuscripts, books, etc. in any language? When and who published these books? Who printed them and where?*
16. *Where are these books and manuscripts, can they be obtained in their original format or as a copy?*
17. *Do you know where manuscripts or other types of letters of famous men in your area are kept? Can they be obtained?*
18. *What are the local customs concerning births, baptisms, weddings, godparents, deaths and funerals? Also concerning carolling on New Year's, Easter, St. George's Day, St. John's Eve? What do the people do on All Souls' Day, Christmas and Christmas Eve? What songs are sung on these occasions?*
19. *What do the people say about fairies, witches, sorceresses?*
20. *When was the main or regional church built in your area? Who built it? What style is the church, does it have round, pointed or square windows and doors? Does it have stone engravings, columns, semi-columns, etc.?*
21. *What kind of fairy tales or poems about mythological birds and beasts do the people know; about owls, cuckoos, pigeons...? etc. What do they say about dawn, the sun, the moon, the stars, the young? What do they say about the winds and the clouds, about hail and thunder?*
22. *What do the people call the stars, what do they call the Milky Way? etc.*
23. *What kind of folk songs are sung in your area? What is sung about our old kings, bans and other knights? What about wars and battles?*
24. *Were there any famous people born in your area, a writer, an artist, a priest, a soldier, or someone else? Could we get his biography?*
25. *Do you have old graves and tombstones with an inscription or a coat of arms in a church or outside the church?*
26. *Does anyone in your district collect and record antiquities? Would it be possible to buy anything from him or to get as a gift for the Zagreb National Museum?*

KARTOGRAM POVIJESTI RAZVOJA
INSTITUCIJA ZA ZAŠTITU SPOMENIKA OD
1850. do 1990.

THE CARTOGRAM OF THE HISTORY OF THE
DEVELOPMENT OF INSTITUTIONS FOR THE
PROTECTION OF MONUMENTS FROM 1850
TO 1990



1941.-1945 RAZDOBLJE II SVJETSKOG RATA
1941. NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA

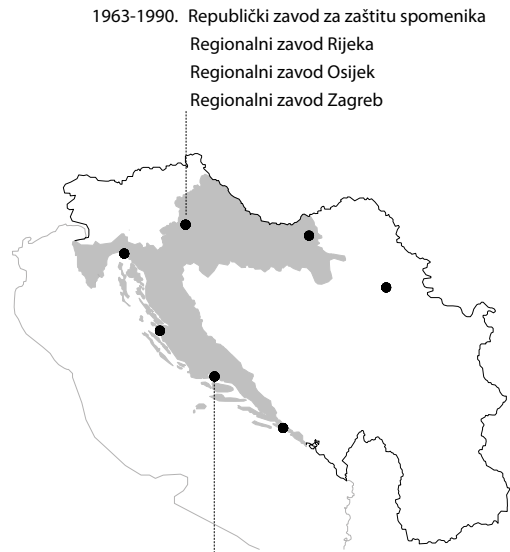


1941-1943. Povjerenstvo za starine,
spomenike i galerije slika Dalmacije
- Arheološki muzej Split
LUIGI CREMA
CVITO FISKOVIĆ

□ Kraljevina Jugoslavija
■ Nezavisna Država Hrvatska

1945. FEDERATIVNA NARODNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA
1963. SOCIJALISTIČKA FEDERATIVNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA

1945-1963. Konzervatorski zavod Zagreb
Konzervatorski zavod za Dalmaciju, Split
Konzervatorski zavod Rijeka
1952. Konzervatorski ured Zadar



1963-1990. Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika
Regionalni zavod Rijeka
Regionalni zavod Osijek
Regionalni zavod Zagreb

Regionalni zavod Split

Općinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture
Varaždin

Općinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture
Šibenik

Općinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture
Dubrovnik

Općinski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture
Zadar

□ Socijalistička Federativna Republika Jugoslavija
■ Socijalistička Republika Hrvatska

1804-1867. AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
 1867-1918. AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE
 1867-1918. KINGDOM CROATIA AND SLAVONIA

The Croatian Parliament issued a decision on October 25, 1847, that encouraged the recording and collection of monuments

1850. The Society for Yugoslav History and Antiquities
IVAN KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI

1855-1868. The Central Commission in Croatia and Slavonia

1880. The Art Society **ISIDOR KRŠNJAV**

1911. The Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in Croatia and Slavonia
TADIJA SMIČIKLAS
JOSIP BRUNŠMID
GJURO SZABO

On December 31, 1850, Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph I issued a decree that founded the Imperial Royal Central Commission for the Study and Preservation of Historic Buildings as part of the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Public Works

1853. Office for Antiquities – The Central Commission **VICKO ANDRIĆ**

1883. The Regional Conservation Office in Split **FRANE BULIĆ**

Legend:
 □ Austrian Empire
 □ Austro-Hungarian Empire
 ■ Kingdom Croatia and Slavonia
 ■ Military Frontier

1918. KINGDOM OF SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES
 1929. KINGDOM OF YUGOSLAVIA
 1939. BANOVINA OF CROATIA

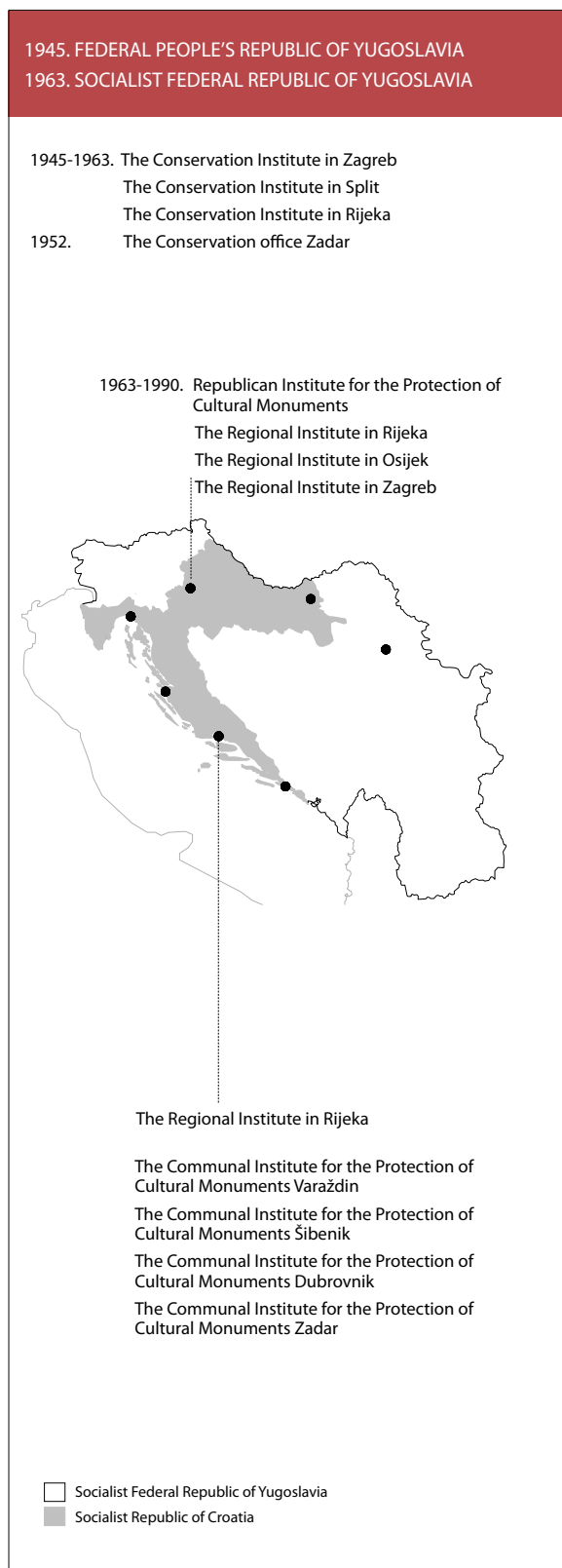
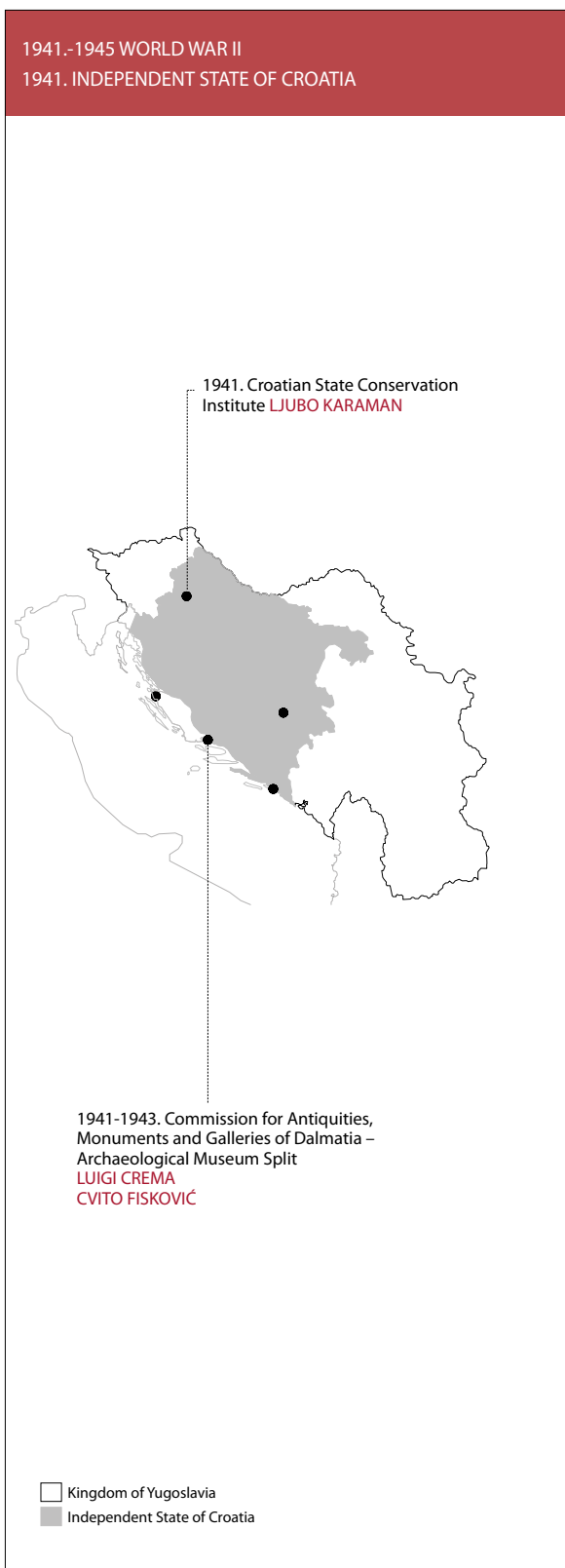
1928. The Conservation Office in Zagreb
GJURO SZABO
VIKTOR HOFFILER

1918. The Regional Conservation Office for Dalmatia
FRANE BULIĆ
LJUBO KARAMAN

1919. The Institute for Art and Monuments in Dubrovnik
MARKO MURAT
KOSTA STRAJNIĆ

Legend:
 □ Kingdom of SHS
 ■ Sava Banovina
 ■ The Littoral Banovina
 ■ Added districts

Kartogram/Cartogram: Mirna Mještrović – karte/maps, Martina Juranović Tonejc – tekst/text



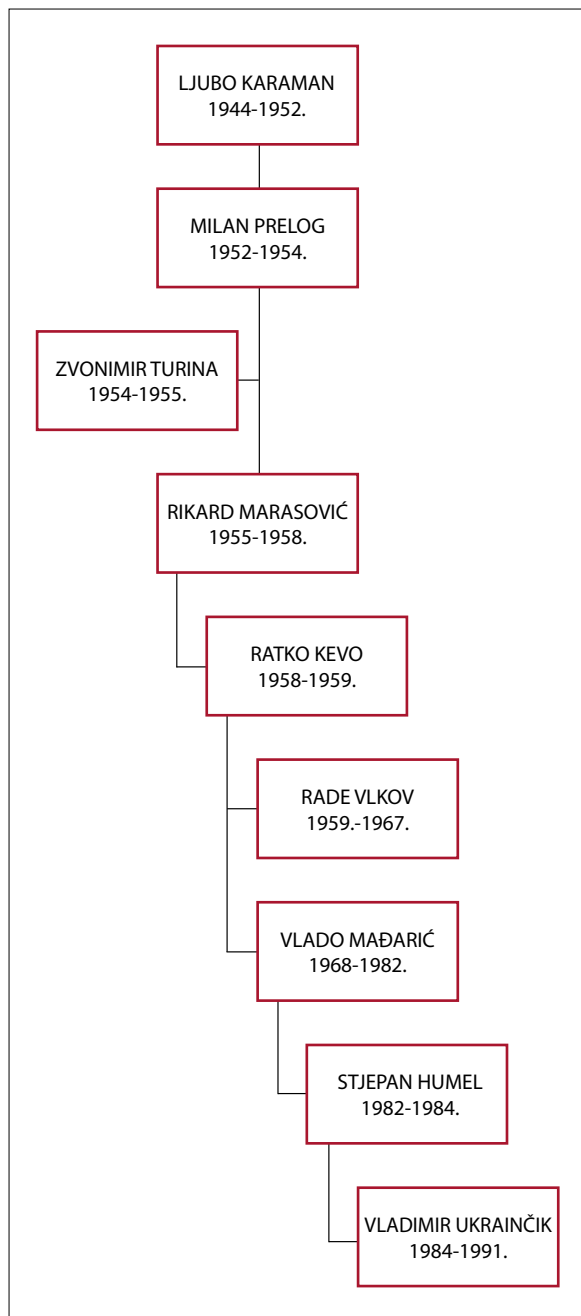
Pregled najvažnijih zakonskih odredbi koji se odnose na zaštitu pokretne baštine u Hrvatskoj

Review of the most important legal provisions related to the protection of movable heritage in Croatia

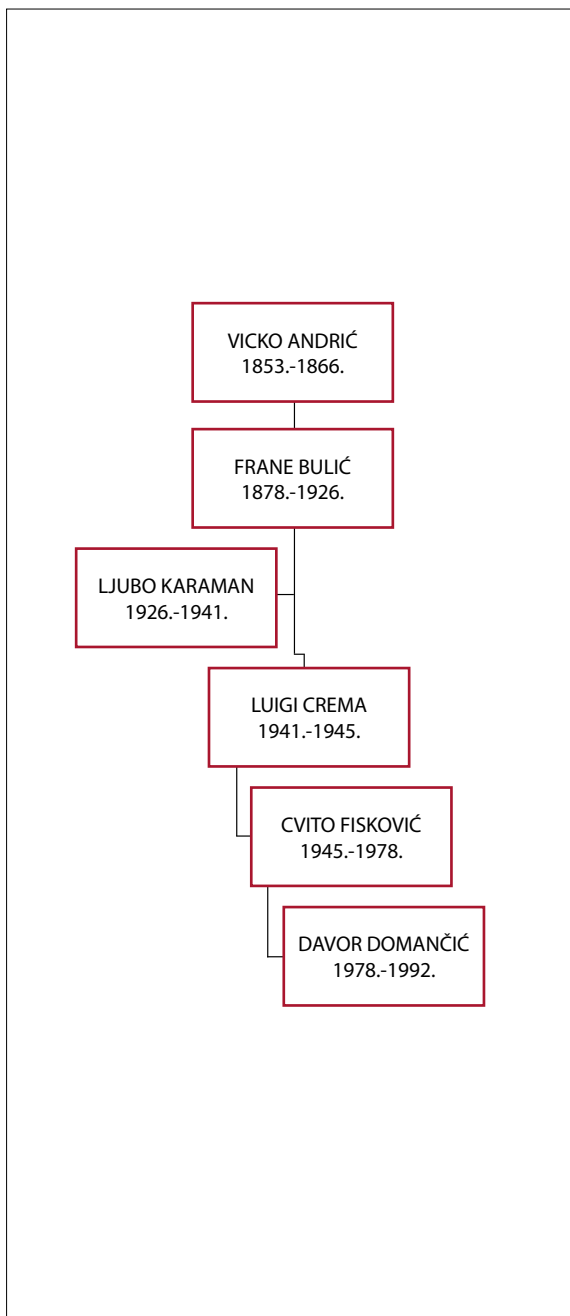
1850 - 1918	<p>1804.-1867. AUSTRIJSKO CARSTVO</p> <p>1867-1918. AUSTRO-UGARSKA MONARHIJA</p> <p>1868.-1918. HRVATSKO-UGARSKO KRALJEVSTVO</p>	<p><i>Naredba kojom se izdaje propis za zaštitu vlastnine javnih znanstvenih i umjetničkih sbiraka i drugih sposobnih zavoda/ The Order issuing a regulation for the protection of the private sector of public scientific and artistic collections and other capable institutions (1858.)</i></p> <p><i>Odluka ministra za bogoštovlje i nastavu kojom se mijenja statut centralne komisije za istraživanje i uzdržavanje umjetničkih i historičkih spomenika/The Decision of the Minister of Religion and Education amending the Statute of the Central Commission for the Study and Maintenance of Historic and Artistic Monuments (1899.)</i></p> <p><i>Naredba kojom se proglašuje ustrojenje i statut zemaljskog povjerenstva za očuvanje umjetnih i historičkih spomenika u kraljevinama Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji/ Declaring the establishment and statute of the Land Office for the Preservation of Art and Historical Monuments in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia (1910.)</i></p> <p><i>Naredba kojom se izdaju odredbe o nabavi novog crkvenog namještaja te sačuvanju crkvenog namještaja i građevina historičke i umjetničke vrijednosti/ The Order that gives directives about the provision of new church furniture and the preservation of church furniture and buildings of historical and artistic value (1913.)</i></p> <p><i>Naredba kojom se predstojnicima (ravnateljima) i činovnicima zemaljskih muzeja i sličnih zavoda u kraljevini Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji zabranjuje posjedovanje i sastavljanje privatnih zbirki i trgovanje umjetninama/ The Order forbidding the possession and creation of private collections and trading in antiques for heads (directors) and clerks of national museums and similar institutes in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia (1913.)</i></p>
1918 - 1941	<p>1918-1929 KRALJEVINA SHS</p> <p>1929-1939 KRALJEVINA JUGOSLAVIJA</p> <p>1939-1941 BANOVINI HRVATSKA</p>	<p><i>Naredba Pokrajinske uprave za Dalmaciju o zaštiti umjetničkih djela/ The order of the regional administration for Dalmatia on the protection of works of art (1921.)</i></p> <p><i>Uredba O čuvanju starina i prirodnih spomenika/ The Decree on the Preservation of Antiquities and Natural Monuments (1939.)</i></p>
1941 - 1945	<p>RAZDOBLJE DRUGOG SVJETSKOG RATA NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA (1941. – 1945.)</p>	<p><i>Zakonska odredba o hrvatskim kulturnim spomenicima/ Legislative provisions for Croatian cultural monuments (1941.)</i></p> <p><i>Pravilnik za izvoz umjetnina/ (1941.)</i></p> <p><i>Zakonska odredba o osnutku Hrvatskoga državnog muzeja u Osijeku /The Legislative provision for the establishment of the Croatian National Museum in Osijek (1941.)</i></p> <p><i>Zakonska odredba o zabrani otuđivanja i izvažanja starinskih i umjetničkih, kulturno-povijesnih i prirodnih spomenika na području NDH (1941.)</i></p> <p><i>Pravilnik Ratnog muzeja u Zagrebu/ Regulations of the War Museum in Zagreb (1942.)</i></p> <p><i>Zakonska odredba o zamjeni dviju slika Vittora Carpaccia iz Galerije Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu za krstionicu hrvatskog kneza Višeslava iz Museo Civico Correr u Mletcima/ Legislative provision for the exchange of two paintings by Vittore Carpaccio from the Gallery of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb and for the baptismal font of the Croatian Duke</i></p> <p><i>Višeslav from the Museo Civico Correr in Venice (1942.)</i></p>

<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">1945– 1963</p>	<p>FEDERATIVNA NARODNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA (29.11.1945- 7.4.1963.)</p>	<p>SAVEZNA RAZINA/ FEDERAL LEVEL</p> <p><i>Odluka o prelasku u državno vlasništvo neprijateljske imovine, državnoj upravi nad imovinom osoba koje su izbjegli ili su bili nasilno odvedeni i o sekvestru nad imovinom koju su okupatorske vlasti prisilno otuđile/ (1944.)</i></p> <p><i>Odluka o zaštiti i čuvanju kulturnih spomenika i starina/ The Decision on the protection and preservation of cultural monuments and antiquities (1945.)</i></p> <p><i>Zakon o pribiranju, čuvanju i raspodjeli knjiga i drugih kulturno-naučnih i umjetničkih predmeta koji su postali državna svojina prema odluci Antifašističkog vijeća narodnog oslobođenja Jugoslavije/ The Law on the Collection, Preservation and Distribution of Books and Other Cultural, Scientific and Art Objects That Became State Property by Decision of the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia (1945)</i></p> <p><i>Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije/ The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia (1945.)</i></p> <p><i>Opći zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti/ The General law on the protection of cultural monuments and natural rarities, (1946.)</i></p> <p><i>Opći zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture/ The General Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments (1959.)</i></p>	<p>REPUBLIČKA RAZINA/ REPUBLIC LEVEL</p> <p><i>Odluka o osnivanju Komisije za utvrđivanje ratne štete učinjene po okupatoru na kulturno-historijskim predmetima i prirodnim znamenitostima Federalne Države Hrvatske i za njihovo vraćanje u zemlju/ (1945.)</i></p> <p><i>Uredba o obrazovanju Komisije za sakupljanje i zaštićivanje kulturnih spomenika i starina na području Federalne Hrvatske/ The Decree on the formation of the Commission for the Collection and Protection of Cultural Monuments and Antiquities in Federal Croatia (1945.)</i></p> <p><i>Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture i prirodnih rijetkosti/ The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments and Natural Rarities (1949.)</i></p> <p><i>Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture (1960.)</i></p> <p><i>Pravilnik o registraciji spomenika kulture/ The Ordinance on the Registration of Cultural Monuments (1961.)</i></p>
<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">1963 – 1991</p>	<p>SOCIJALISTIČKA FEDERATIVNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA (7.4.1963-27.4.1992.)</p>	<p>SAVEZNA RAZINA/FEDERAL LEVEL</p> <p><i>Osnovni zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture/The Basic Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments (1965.)</i></p>	<p>REPUBLIČKA RAZINA/ REPUBLIC LEVEL</p> <p><i>Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture/ The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments (1965.)</i></p> <p><i>Zakon o zaštiti spomenika kulture/The Law on the Protection of Cultural Monuments (1967.)</i></p> <p><i>Pravilnik o registraciji spomenika kulture/The decree on the registration of Cultural Monuments (1968.)</i></p>

Od 1945. do 1990. direktori Konzervatorskog zavoda u Zagrebu/Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture / From 1945 to 1990, the directors of the Conservation Institute in Zagreb/Republican Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments



Shema 7. Direktori Konzervatorskog/Republičkog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika / *Directors of the Conservation / Republic Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments (in the Appendix)*



Shema 8. Direktori Pokrajinskog konzervatorijalnog ureda za Dalmaciju / *Regionalnog zavoda u Splitu / Directors of the Provincial Conservatory Office for Dalmatia / Regional Institute in Split (in the Appendix)*

ZAHVALE

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MINISTARSTVO KULTURE I MEDIJA REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE

MARTINA JURANOVIĆ TONEJC

Institucionalni razvoj zaštite pokretne umjetničke baštine u Hrvatskoj od 1850. do 1990. godine
The institutional development of the protection of movable heritage in Croatia from 1850 to 1990



Foto: Gordana Jerabek

Martina Juranović Tonejc rođena je 1973. godine u Zagrebu. Završila je studij povijesti umjetnosti i povijesti na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, a poslijediplomski doktorski studij na Sveučilištu u Zadru. Od 2003. do 2019. bila je zaposlena u Ministarstvu kulture RH u Odjelu za pokretna kulturna dobra kao konzervator povjesničar umjetnosti. U dosadašnjem stručnom i znanstvenom radu bavila se temama vezanim uz zaštitu pokretne umjetničke baštine.

Martina Juranović Tonejc was born in Zagreb in 1973. She received her MA in art history and history from University of Zagreb, and her PhD from Zadar University. From 2003 to 2019, she was employed in the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia in the Department for Movable Cultural Property as conservator art historian. In her professional and scientific work, she has dealt with topics related to the protection of movable heritage.

