

B A N S
K I D
V O R I



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UVODNA RIJEČ

WORDS OF INTRODUCTION

Veliko mi je zadovoljstvo što je u mandatu ove Vlade dovršena obnova *Dvorane Ban Jelačić*, što je i potaknulo izradu ove monografije. Namjera je priredivača ispričati priču o povijesti *Banskih dvora*, predstaviti proces obnove *Dvorane* u kojoj zasjeda hrvatska Vlada, ali i podsjetiti na njihovu ulogu i simboliku u neovisnoj i suverenoj Hrvatskoj.

Toponimi, nazivi ulica, trgova ili opisni nazivi pojedinih zgrada već su odavno ušli u politički žargon, tako da bez ikakva dodatnog objašnjenja svi znamo na što se misli kad se izvjestitelji javljaju ispred Bijele kuće, kad nam stižu vijesti iz Downing Streeta ili Elizejske palače.

U suvremenoj hrvatskoj povijesti takvu jasnu simboliku nedvojbeno ima i Trg svetoga Marka, gdje se, uz zgradu Vlade, nalaze i zgrade Hrvatskoga sabora, Ustavnoga suda i Skupštine Grada Zagreba. Pritom su *Banski dvori* u hrvatskome narodu, političkom i javnom životu postali istoznačnica za Vladu Republike Hrvatske i najvažnije odluke koje se u toj zgradi donose.

Obnavljati prostor takvoga iznimnog stvarnog i simboličkog značenja izazov je za

I am very pleased that during the mandate of this Government the *Ban Jelačić Hall* has been restored which inspired the creation of this monograph. The editor's intention is to tell the story of the history of the *Banski dvori*, to present the renovation process of the *Hall* in which the Government sessions are held, but also to remind everyone of its role and meaning in an independent and sovereign Croatia.

Toponyms, street and square names or descriptive names of particular buildings entered the political jargon a long time ago, so we all know what is implied when journalists report from the White House, or when we receive news from Downing Street or the Élysée Palace.

It is without doubt that St. Mark's Square, where the buildings of the Croatian Parliament, Constitutional Court and Zagreb City Assembly are located, has the same symbolism in the modern Croatian history. The *Banski dvori* has become synonymous with the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the most important decisions that are taken in that building.

To restore a location of such exceptional concrete and symbolic importance poses a

stručnjake jer treba pomiriti zahtjeve za očuvanjem baštinskih karakteristika arhitekture i interijera s potrebama suvremenog funkciranja Vlade. Prvi tekst u monografiji govori o povijesti zgrade, o njezinim vlasnicima i mijenama, a na kraju se opisuje posebno zahtjevna obnova *Dvorane Ban Jelačić*. Bogatim ilustracijama i slikovnim materijalom zorno se dočaravaju povjesne promjene *Banskih dvora* te njihovom pričom ujedno podsjeća na povijest Zagreba i Hrvatske u posljednja dva stoljeća.

Istodobno, upravo zbog toga što su *Banski dvori* u modernoj Hrvatskoj postali najvažnije mjesto donošenja ključnih političkih odluka, uoči tridesete obljetnice prvih slobodnih izbora i ostvarivanja sna o neovisnosti, monografija donosi pregled najvažnijih događaja koji se povezuju s *Dvorima*, ali i s osobama i političarima koji su u njoj dulje ili kraće djelovali.

Zgrade *Banskih dvora* postale su javni prostor prije dvjestotinjak godina, kad ih je Hrvatski sabor kupio od grofa Kulmera i baruna Raucha. Otada se u tim prostorima piše hrvatska povijest. Upravo se u *Banskim dvorima*, davne 1832. godine, u Sabornici prvi put čuo hrvatski jezik umjesto latinskoga, kada je general Juraj Rukavina zahvalio na imenovanju i časti potkapetana Kraljevstva. Donesen je tu i povijesni zaključak o uvođenju hrvatskoga kao službenog jezika, čemu je prethodio nadahnuti Kukuljevićev istup, prvi zastupnički govor na hrvatskom jeziku.

U *Banskim dvorima* otvoren je prvi telegrafski vod u Hrvatskoj, ali i u jugoistočnom

challenge for the experts who must reconcile the requirements of preserving the cultural features of its architecture and interior with the needs of a modern Government functioning. The first text in the monograph focuses on the building's history, its owners and shifts of ownership, while ending with the description of the complex renovation of the *Ban Jelačić Hall*. With the help of rich illustrations and images, the monograph strives to vividly illustrate the historical turns taking place in and around the *Banski dvori*, using its story as a reminder of the past two centuries in Zagreb's and Croatian history.

At the same time, due to the fact that the *Banski dvori* has become the most important place for reaching key political decisions in modern Croatia, on the eve of the 30th anniversary of the first free elections and the dream of independence coming true, the monograph also gives an overview of the key events related to the *Dvori* and talks about the persons and politicians holding offices there for longer or shorter periods of time.

The *Banski dvori* complex became public space around two hundred years ago, when the Croatian Parliament bought it from Count Kulmer and Baron Rauch. Ever since, these rooms have testified to the Croatian history in the making. It was precisely in the *Banski dvori* that the Croatian language was used in the Parliament for the first time instead of Latin back in 1832 in General Juraj Rukavina's words of gratitude for the honour of being appointed a Subcommander of the Kingdom. This is also

dijelu Europe. „Telegraf je u redu“, brzojavljeno je Morseovim signalima u rujnu 1850. godine iz *Banskih dvora*, a iz Beča je ban Jelačić uzvratio: „S radostju sam primio vašu viest.“

Odsjedali su u *Banskim dvorima* kraljevi, bio je tu Kraljevski zemaljski arhiv, uređi Kraljevine i Zemaljski sudbeni stol. Od sredine 20. stoljeća služili su kao rezidencijalni objekt, a nakon prvih demokratskih izbora u tim je prostorima bio smješten Ured predsjednika Republike dr. Franje Tuđmana. Hrvatsko je državno vodstvo u *Banskim dvorima* donosilo ključne političke odluke koje su prethodile osamostaljenju Republike Hrvatske, a isto tako, u početnoj fazi Domovinskog rata, i strateške odluke vojne naravi o kojima je ovisio opstanak Republike Hrvatske i hrvatskoga naroda u cjelini. U sklopu svojih državničkih aktivnosti, predsjednik Tuđman vodio je u *Banskim dvorima* i brojne razgovore s inozemnim dužnosnicima i državicima, nastojeći ih privoljeti na pomoć u zaustavljanju velikosrpske agresije te osigurati međunarodno priznanje mlade hrvatske države.

Tako je bilo sve do 7. listopada 1991. godine, kada je agresorski borbeni avion tzv. JNA, samo dan uoči isteka tromjesečnog moratorija na proglašenje hrvatske samostalnosti, u pokušaju atentata na prvoga hrvatskog predsjednika i hrvatske dužnosnike bivše države razorio *Banske dvore*. Dvorana Ban Jelačić je također stradala, a nakon obnove koja je trajala gotovo tri godine u *Banske dvore* dolazi Vlada Republike Hrvatske. Unatoč stradanju, ratu i bremenitom poratnim godinama, iz *Dvorane*

where the historic decision on introducing Croatian as the official language was adopted following an inspired address by Kukuljević, also known as the first speech held before the Parliament in the Croatian language.

The first telegraph wire in Croatia, but also in the south-eastern part of Europe, was installed at the *Banski dvori*. The message “Telegraph is in order” was telegraphed by Morse code from the *Banski dvori* in September 1850, followed by Ban Jelačić’s reply from Vienna: “It is with great joy that I receive your news.”

The *Banski dvori* was a place where kings resided, but it also housed the Royal State Archives, the Kingdom’s offices and the State judiciary. From the middle of the 20th century it had a residential purpose and following the first democratic elections the *Dvori* housed the Office of the President of the Republic, Franjo Tuđman. In the *Banski dvori* the Croatian national leadership brought essential political decisions that preceded the independence of the Republic of Croatia and, at the same time, in the early phase of the Homeland War, strategic decisions of a military nature, on which the survival of the Republic of Croatia and the Croatian nation as a whole depended. As part of his state activities, President Tuđman also held in the *Banski dvori* numerous conversations with foreign officials and statesmen, striving to persuade them to help stop the Greater Serbian aggression and to ensure international recognition of the young Croatian state.

The building served this purpose until 7th October 1991, when the aggressor combat air-

Ban Jelačić koordiniralo se složenim i osjetljivim procesom zbrinjavanja i povratka progonnika i izbjeglica te brigom za stradalnike velikosrpske agresije.

U poslijeratnim godinama suočili smo se s promijenjenim međunarodnim i domaćim gospodarskim prilikama. Stupanje Hrvatske u punopravno članstvo Sjeveroatlantskog saveza i Europske unije zasigurno su najvažnija vanjskopolitička postignuća proteklih vlada, a u ovom trenutku glavnina vanjskopolitičkih naporu usmjerena je na daljnje pozicioniranje Hrvatske u Europskoj uniji, ponajprije na ulazak u europolodručje i šengenski prostor.

Osim toga, u tom razdoblju hrvatske su vlade dobar dio svojih aktivnosti posvećivale sređivanju unutarnjih prilika, nužnih za integriranje gospodarstva u europski okvir te modernizaciju društva. Naporima sadašnje Vlade osigurana je politička stabilnost i sigurnost zemlje, ostvaruje se zdrav gospodarski rast potvrđen povratkom u investicijski kreditni rejting, provode se strukturne reforme, povećava društvena solidarnost, jača međunarodni položaj Hrvatske, čemu će značajno pridonijeti i hrvatsko predsjedanje Europskom unijom 2020. godine.

Nakon gotovo 25 godina vladinih sjednica u *Dvorani Ban Jelačić* i niza ključnih odluka, bila je nužna njezina temeljita obnova. No neočekivano smo tijekom rekonstrukcije otkrili dva oslika na sjevernom zidu i dijelu istočnoga zida dvorane. Ovo otkriće koje nas je istovremeno iznenadilo i razveselilo

craft of the so-called Yugoslav People's Army, merely a day before the expiry of the three-month moratorium on the proclamation of Croatia's independence, in an attempt to assassinate the first Croatian President and the Croatian officials of the former state destroyed the *Banski dvori*. The *Ban Jelačić Hall* was also damaged and after the renovation that lasted for nearly three years it became the seat of the Government of the Republic of Croatia. Despite the casualties, the war and the difficult post-war years, from within the walls of the *Ban Jelačić Hall* the complex and delicate process of returning displaced persons and refugees was coordinated as well as an effort to aid the victims of the Serbian aggression.

During the post-war years, Croatia faced altered international and domestic economic circumstances. Full membership in NATO and the European Union decidedly have been the most important foreign policy achievements of the previous Governments, while the majority of efforts of today's foreign policy are targeted towards further advancing Croatia's position in the European Union with an emphasis on entering the eurozone and the Schengen Area.

During the same period, Croatia's Governments also dedicated their activities to settling the internal affairs necessary for integrating the economy into the European framework and modernising the society. The current Government's efforts have ensured political stability and security of the country, a healthy economic growth is confirmed by return to investment credit rating, while structural reforms are being

usporilo je tijek obnove, ali danas, kad *Dvoranu* predstavljamo javnosti nakon dovršetka minucioznih konzervatorsko-restauratorskih i svih drugih radova, gotovo četvrt stoljeća od posljednje obnove, imam iznimnu čast predstaviti potpuno obnovljenu *Dvoranu Ban Jelačić*, kao doprinos dostojanstvenom radu naše i budućih vlada.

U trećem desetljeću hrvatske državnosti, povezujući priču o povijesti i obnovi *Banskih dvora* s onom o njihovoj ulozi u ključnim političkim procesima današnjice, ova monografija govori o vrijednom baštinskom graditeljskom pothvatu kao metafori kontinuiteta političkog i javnog života u Hrvatskoj, čijem smo razvoju bezrezervno posvećeni.

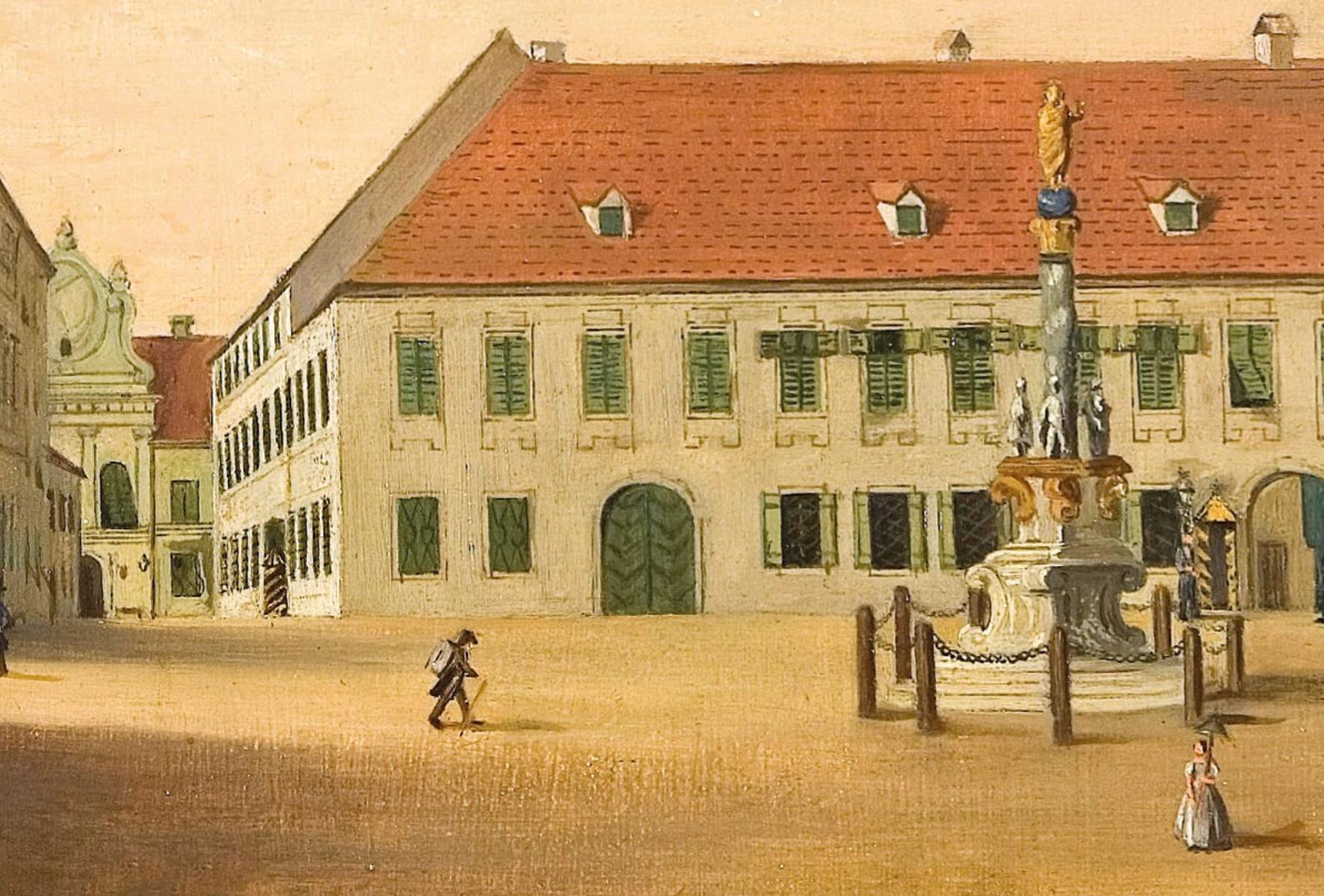
mr. sc. Andrej Plenković
predsjednik Vlade

implemented, social solidarity increased and Croatia's international positioning strengthened. All this will be further enhanced by the Croatian Presidency of the European Union in 2020.

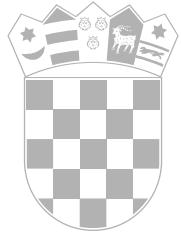
After nearly 25 years of Government sessions taking place in the *Ban Jelačić Hall* and an array of key decisions, it was in need of extensive renovation. In the course of the renovation the unknown wall paintings at the north wall and a part of the east side wall were unexpectedly discovered. This discovery, which surprised us and at the same time delighted us, slowed down the process of renovation but today, when we are presenting the *Hall* to the public following the completion of this meticulous conservation works, nearly a quarter of a century since the last renewal, I have particular pleasure to present the fully restored *Ban Jelačić Hall*, as a contribution to the dignity of the work of our and all future governments.

In the third decade of Croatia's statehood, connecting the story of the history and renovation of the *Banski dvori* with the story of its role in today's key political processes, the monograph speaks of this important renovation endeavour as a metaphor for the continuity of political and public life in Croatia to which we are fully committed.

Andrej Plenković
Prime Minister







POVIJEST BANSKIH DVORA

Naslov *ban* podrazumijevao je najvišeg političkog dužnosnika u Hrvatskoj još od srednjeg vijeka te se zadržao sve do 1921. godine. Po ovlastima i funkciji, ban je u najranijem vremenu bio vrhovni upravitelj nekog područja, a u novom vijeku označavao je predsjednika vlade. Proteći će, međutim, mnogo stoljeća prije nego što će hrvatski bani dobiti svoje *Dvore*, odnosno službeno sjedište u Zagrebu, glavnom gradu Hrvatske.

Banski dvori su tijekom svoje višestoljetne povijesti bili poprište važnih političkih i društvenih događaja u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj. Arhitektonska cjelina *Dvora* kakve danas poznajemo nastala je sukcesivnom gradnjom posljednja tri stoljeća, pri čemu je svako doba ostavilo trag, a upravo su najvažnije promjene na *Dvorima* nastale u vrijeme istaknutih protagonisti političkoga života Hrvatske. Povijest *Dvora* blisko je povezana s poviješću Zagreba i Trga sv. Marka, kojemu današnji sklop čini zapadni obod. Markov trg, kao središte društvenoga života, bio je mjesto održavanja sajmova, misa, javnih proslava, svečanih ustoličenja i drugih bitnih događaja u zagrebačkoj prošlosti.

THE HISTORY OF THE BANSKI DVORI

The title *ban* was used to designate the highest ranking political official in Croatia, all the way from the medieval period until 1921. The authority and function of the ban were originally those of the supreme governor, while in the early modern period ban was the head of government, in fact a prime minister. A long time had passed, however, until the Croatian bans obtained the *Dvori*, a palace for their official seat in Zagreb, the capital of Croatia.

Over the course of the centuries, the *Banski dvori* has been the centre of political and social events in Zagreb and in Croatia. The history of the *Dvori* is closely related to that of Zagreb and St. Mark's Square, which borders its eastern perimeter. St. Mark's Square used to be a setting of market, fairs, masses, public celebrations, ceremonial inaugurations and other important events in Zagreb's history. Each era left a mark on the *Banski dvori*, but interestingly, the most important changes took place during the times of the most notable protagonists in Croatian political life.

The *Banski dvori* now form a complex of two four-winged palaces that were gradually

Banski dvori danas čine cjelinu od dvije palače; svaka palača ima četiri krila, postupno sagrađena tijekom 18. i 19. stoljeća. Južna je palača podignuta za obitelj Sermage u 18. stoljeću, ali je naknadno povećana te je u njoj 1808. godine uspostavljeno sjedište banske vlasti, dok će sjeverna palača, nekadašnja palača Rauch, biti pripojena tek 1839. godine te se od tada obje nazivaju jednim nazivom – *Banski dvori*.

OD SREDNJEVIMA DO 17. STOLJEĆA

U građevnom bloku koji danas zapremaju *Banski dvori*, u srednjem vijeku nalazilo se više građanskih stambenih kuća koje su u 14. stoljeću pripadale obrtnicima i trgovcima. Jugoistočni ugao bloka zapremao je gradski hospital. Zgrada hospitala bila je zidanica, sagrađena između 1368. i 1384. godine te nadograđena oko 1440. godine. Istočno uz nju nalazila se hospitalna crkvica koja je najprije bila posvećena Blaženoj Djevici Mariji, a poslije sv. Uršuli. U prvoj polovici 17. stoljeća sagrađena je nova zgrada hospitala u današnjoj Radićevoj ulici pa je stara od tada služila kao oružarnica i skladište za žito.

U drugoj polovici 17. stoljeća zidanu kuću sjeverno od Uršuline crkve posjedovao je podžupan Zagrebačke županije Ivan Pucz, koji ju je 1661. godine prodao grofu Petru Zrinskom i njegovoј ženi Katarini rođ. Frankopan. Petar Zrinski bio je hrvatski ban od 1665. do 1670. godine i vođa Zrinsko-frankopanske urote, a obitelj Zrinski općenito je predstavljala najvažniju političku i gospodarsku snagu Hrvatske toga vremena. Zemljište kuće Petra Zrinskog

built during the 18th and 19th centuries. The southern palace was built for the Sermage family in the 18th century, but it was later expanded and in 1808 it became the seat of the ban. The north building, or the former Rauch palace, was integrated as late as in 1839, when both palaces were thence named the *Banski dvori*.

FROM THE MIDDLE AGES TO THE 17TH CENTURY

The building block of the present-day *Banski dvori* used to be the location of several residential buildings belonging to craftsmen and tradesmen in the 14th century. The southeastern corner of the block was occupied by the city hospital. The hospital building was structured between 1368 and 1384 and upgraded around 1440. On its eastern side, there was a hospital chapel, first dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and later to St. Ursula. A new hospital was built in the second half of the 17th century in today's Radićeva Street while the old one was converted to an armoury and a grain storage.

In the second half of the 17th century the masonry house north from St. Ursula's Church was owned by Zagreb county Deputy Prefect Ivan Pucz who sold it to Count Petar Zrinski and his wife Katarina née Frankopan in 1661. Petar Zrinski was Ban of Croatia from 1665 to 1670 and the leader of the Zrinski-Frankopan Conspiracy, a well known historical event, in which the Croatian noblemen stood up against the centralism of the Habsburg court. The Zrinski family was the most important po-

protezalo se od Markova trga do Matoševe ulice. S južne strane graničilo je s crkvicom sv. Uršule i nekadašnjim hospitalom, a sa sjeverne strane s kućom grofa Nikole Erdödyja. Tim trima građevinama bila je definirana zapadna strana Markova trga, a kuća Zrinski – s obzirom na status i ugled njezina vlasnika, ali i urbanistički položaj – morala je biti jedna od najreprezentativnijih u tadašnjem Zagrebu.

BAROKNA PALAČA ČIKULINI – SERMAGE – KULMER

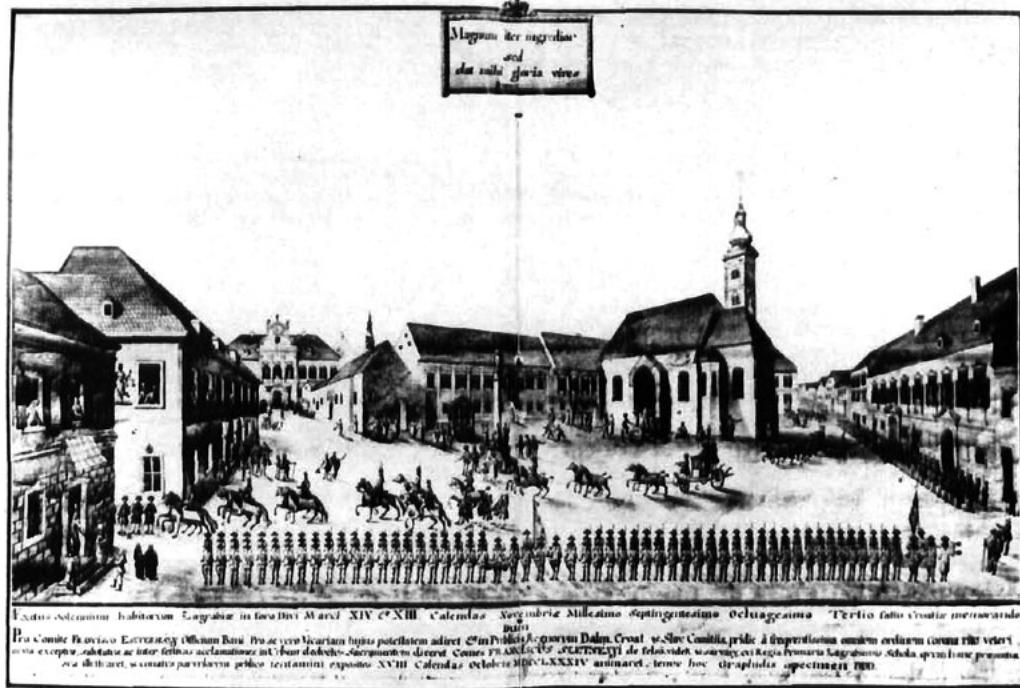
Nakon Zrinsko-frankopanske urote kuću Petra Zrinskog dobio je u vlasništvo barun Franjo Čikulini 1685. godine, a potom njegov sin Stjepan, koji ju je dao obnoviti te ju je iznajmio grofu Ivanu Draškoviću i njegovoženi Mariji Magdaleni Nádasdy. Nekoliko je desetljeća kuća bila u najmu pa je o njoj vođen sudski spor, ali je početkom 18. stoljeća došla u posjed Ivana Franje Čikulinija koji će je držati sve do smrti 1746. godine. S obzirom na to da nije imao djece, naslijedila ga je rođakinja Julijana Sermage rođ. Moscon. Iz nacrta kuće koji je u tom vremenu izradio zagrebački graditelj Matija Leonhart vidljivo je da je ona tada bila jednokatnica, tlocrta u obliku slova L, s glavnim krilom položenim prema Markovu trgu, a dugačkim bočnim krilom s trijemovima rastvorena prema dvorištu. Zauzimala je prostor između kapele sv. Uršule na jugu i palače Rauch na sjeveru, a od obje je bila odvojena propisanim razmakom od 80 cm, kao mjerom za sprječavanje širenja požara.

Požari su u to doba bili iznimno česti, pa je jedan izbio u samoj kući 1766. godine,

political and economic power in Croatia at the time. The property belonging to Petar Zrinski extended from St. Mark's Square to Matoševa Street. It bordered with the Chapel of St. Ursula and the former hospital to the south and with Count Nikola Erdödy's house to the north. Those three buildings defined the western part of St. Mark's Square. The Zrinski house, considering its urbanistic location, as well as the status and reputation of its owners – must have stood out among the most magnificent buildings in Zagreb.

BAROQUE PALACE ČIKULINI – SERMAGE – KULMER

After the Zrinski-Frankopan Conspiracy, the Zrinski house was taken over by Baron Franjo Čikulini in 1685, and later by his son Stjepan, who had it restored and rented out to Count Ivan Drašković and his wife Marija Magdalena Nádasdy. For several decades, the house was in lease, resulting in a litigation. At the beginning of the 18th century it came into possession of Ivan Franjo Čikulini, who retained it until his death in 1746. Since he had no children, it was inherited by his relative Julijana Sermage née Moscon. The plan of the house, made by a Zagreb builder Matija Leonhart in 1740s, reveals it was a single-storey building with an L-shaped floor plan. Its main wing was facing St. Mark's Square and a long lateral wing with porches stretching out into the yard. It occupied the area between St. Ursula's Chapel to the south and Rauch Palace to the north, with 80 cm of space separating it from both, as a fire safety measure.



teško je oštetivši. Grof Petar Troilo Sermage, Julijanin sin, pribavio je okolna zemljišta, crkvicu sv. Uršule i nekadašnji hospital te se obvezao sagraditi novu palaču, koja će „biti smještena na odličnom mjestu i pridonijeti nemalo samom ukrasu grada“. Iskoristio je zidane strukture stare oštećene kuće te ju je dogradio i proširio prema jugu i zapadu. Ne znamo koliko je gradnja uznapredovala kad je Petar Troilo umro 1771. godine, ali su njegovi nasljednici vjerojatno dovršili radove nekoliko godina poslije. Izgled nove Sermageove palače s baroknim pročeljem zabilježen je 1783. godine na znamenitoj veduti Markova

Fires were very common at the time and one even broke out in the house in 1766 and damaged it heavily. Count Petar Troilo Sermage, Juliana's son, acquired the nearby parcels, St. Ursula's Chapel and the former hospital, obliging to build a new palace, which was to be "situated in a great location and a valuable contribution to the aesthetics of the city." He used the wall structures of the old damaged house, upgrading and extending it towards the south and the west. It is unknown how much progress Petar Troilo had made before his death in 1771, but the works were probably finished by his successors in the

trga s prikazom ustoličenja podbana Franje Szechenya.

Daljnji zahvati na proširenju palače uslijedili su dvadesetak godina poslije, a počeo ih je zet Petra Troila, barun Ivan Emilijan Kulmer.

Godine 1801. Kulmer je dao porušiti crkvicu sv. Uršule i skladište te je istočno krilo palače produžio do južnog ruba građevnog bloka, a podignuo je i jednokatno južno i zapadno krilo. Glavno je pročelje prema Markovu trgu tada dobilo ukupno trinaest prozorskih osi, s dva simetrično postavljena kolna ulaza. Bio je to početak sveobuhvatnih promjena koje će zdanje doživjeti idućih godina.

OBNOVA I DOGRADNJA ZA BANSKU PALAČU

(1808. – 1811.)

Budući da do početka 19. stoljeća u Zagrebu nije postojalo službeno sjedište bana, nego su hrvatski banovi živjeli i radili u vlastitim palačama na Gornjem gradu, ili su palače unajmljivali (tako su i druge vladine institucije bile razmještene na više mjesta u gradu), zalaganjem Ignjata Gyulaya, koji je imenovan hrvatskim banom 1806. godine, razmatrala se ideja o kupnji zgrade za trajno sjedište banske vlasti. Ban Gyulay bio je poznat kao graditelj i mecena, a u njegovo je vrijeme Zagreb dobio prva šetališta i parkove, pa ne iznenađuje što je tada nastala ta inicijativa.

Na sjednici Hrvatskoga sabora 16. ožujka 1807. godine odlučeno je da se funkcije banskog ureda i Sudbenog stola okupe u istoj zgradi te da na istom mjestu bude dvorana za sjednice, sva tri arhiva te stan bana. Za taj

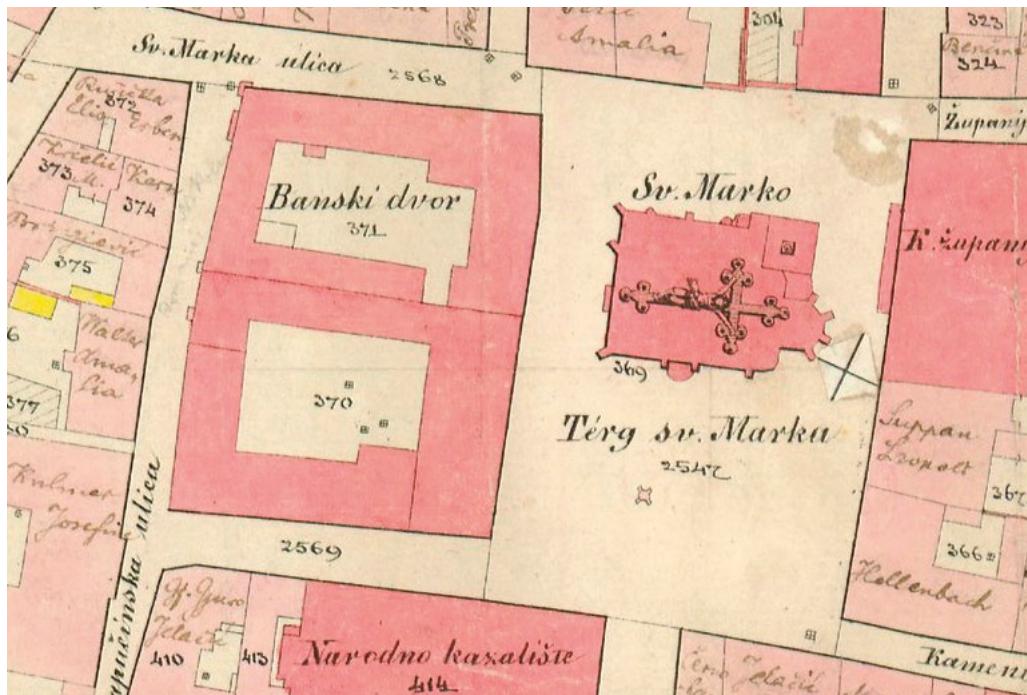
following years. The Sermage Palace with a new baroque façade could be seen in 1783 on the famous drawing of St. Mark's Square, depicting the Deputy Viceroy Franjo Szechenyi's inauguration.

Further interventions to expand the palace followed around twenty years later by Petar Troilo's son-in-law, Baron Ivan Emilijan Kulmer. In 1801, Kulmer had St. Ursula's Chapel and the storage demolished, expanding the palace's east wing up to the southern edge of the building block and adding another storey to the south and the west wing. The main façade facing St Mark's Square thence had a total of thirteen window axes, with two symmetrical entrances. This marked the beginning of extensive changes to the building carried out in the years to follow.

OVERALL REDESIGN FOR THE BAN'S PALACE

(1808–1811)

Until the beginning of the 19th century the Croatian bans did not have an official seat in Zagreb. They lived and worked in their own palaces in the Upper Town or rented other palaces, while the government institutions were scattered in various places around the city. Thanks to the engagement of Ignjat Gyulay, appointed Ban of Croatia in 1806, the idea of purchasing a building for the permanent seat of the Ban's administration was taken into consideration. Ban Gyulay was a famous builder and patron, during whose time Zagreb got its first promenades and parks, so it is not surprising that this initiative came into place at that moment.



projekt sastavljen je poseban odbor koji je donio odluku da se kupi Kulmerova palača na Markovu trgu. Njezin tadašnji vlasnik, barun Ivan Emilijan Kulmer, umro je 7. ožujka 1807. godine pa je u ime nasljednika pregovore vodio njegov sin Ferdinand. U ime Vlade pregovarao je grof Juraj Luketić, koji je naveo i razloge za odabir palače: „1. Ova kuća nalazi se na glavnom trgu i izlazi na tri ulice, pa je posljedično najprikladnija od svih u gradu za predviđene namjene; 2. U tri je četvrtine svojega opsega nova i ima sasvim novi krov, koji ne treba nimalo popravljati; 3. Ima 58 soba, 7 kuhinja i 5 zasebnih podruma“, zbog čega

It was decided on the Croatian Parliament session in 1807 that the functions of Ban's office and the Judiciary were to be housed in one building, which was to have a session hall, three archives, and the ban's residence. A special committee was set up for this project which made a decision to buy Kulmer's Palace on St. Mark's Square. Its owner at the time, Baron Ivan Emilijan Kulmer, died on 7th March 1807, so his son Ferdinand conducted the negotiations as successor. Count Juraj Luketić negotiated on behalf of the Government, stating the following reasons for selecting the palace: "1. This house is located on the

je Luketić zaključio da „u cijelom gradu nitko neće naći prikladnije mjesto ili kuću za potrebe banske časti i za javnu upotrebu“. Kupoprodajni je ugovor u Saboru potvrđen 12. siječnja 1809. godine.

Ban Gyulay je s radovima počeo već 1808. godine, a vodio ih je zagrebački arhitekt i graditelj Ivan Eyther pa je zacijelo on bio i autor projekta. Zbog potrebe za dodatnim prostorom dograđen je drugi kat nad južnim i zapadnim krilom, dok je istočno krilo moralo ostati jednokatno „kao što bijahu tada jednokatne sve palače u Zagrebu, a i sve druge kuće na Markovu trgu“. Banski stan zauzimao je cijeli prvi kat. U prizemlju istočnoga krila, prema Markovu trgu, bio je smješten Državni arhiv, a u južnom krilu, prema Freudenreichovoј ulici, dvorana za sjednice s pet prozora. Na drugom katu južnog i zapadnog krila nalazio se Sudbeni stol, a u prizemlju prema Matoševoj ulici bile su staje. Prema Markovu trgu zadržano je postojeće jednokatno krilo, ali je ono potpuno preoblikovano. Dokinuto je staro Sermageovo barokno pročelje te je izvedeno novo, današnje, s obilježjima klasicizma. Ono se očituje u nizu prozorskih osi i jednostavne arhitektonske kompozicije plitkih lezena i ploča, dok su iznad prozora motivi rastvorenih školjki.

Potrebe za dodatnim prostorom, međutim, s vremenom su postajale sve veće te je na Saboru 1836. godine odlučeno da se kupi susjedna, sjeverna palača, koja je sagrađena još u 18. stoljeću, a tada je pripadala Elizabeti Farkaš, udovici baruna Danijela Raucha. Kupovina je ugovorena 1839. godine, u doba bana Franje Vlašića (1832. – 1840.) pa je tada

main square and has exits onto three streets, making it the most suitable house in the city for its intended purpose; 2. Three quarters of it are new and it has a brand new roof which does not require any repair, 3. It has 58 rooms, 7 kitchens and 5 separate cellars,” which is why Luketić decided that “no one will find a more suitable place or house in the whole city for the purpose of carrying out the Ban’s duty and public use.” The contract was confirmed on 12th January 1809.

Ban Gyulay already started the works in 1808, which were supervised by Zagreb architect and builder Ivan Eyther, who was probably also the designer of the project. Due to the need for additional space, a second storey was added over the south and west wing, while the east wing had to remain single-storey since “all palaces in Zagreb used to have only one storey, as well the other houses on St. Mark’s Square.” The ban’s residence occupied the entire first floor. The state archives were placed in the east wing’s ground floor, facing St. Mark’s Square, while in the south wing towards Freudeneichova Street there was a session hall with five windows. The judiciary was located on the second floor of the south and west wings and the stables were in the ground floor towards Matoševa Street. The original single-storey wing towards St. Mark’s Square was retained, but it was completely redesigned. Sermage’s old baroque façade was replaced by a new, contemporary one with elements of neo-classicism: a simple architectural composition of shallow strips and plates, and motifs of open shells above the windows.

nazivom *Banski dvori* obuhvaćen cijeli građevni blok sa zapadne strane Markova trga.

OBNOVA U VRIJEME BANA IVANA MAŽURANIĆA (1875. – 1882.)

Velika obnova pokrenuta je u vrijeme Ivana Mažuranića (1873. – 1880.), najvažnijega hrvatskog bana u 19. stoljeću, koji je uveo reforme u javnu upravu, pravosuđe, školstvo i gospodarstvo, a bio je i znameniti književnik.

Valja napomenuti da je još u doba bana Josipa Jelačića (1848. – 1859.) bila planirana nadogradnja *Banskih dvora* za još jedan kat, ali ti planovi nisu realizirani – vjerojatno zbog banove prerane smrti 1859. godine. Petnaestak godina poslije dodatni je prostor bio nasušno potreban pa se pojavila želja za oživljavanjem Jelačićevih planova. Od 1875. godine *Dvori* su se obnavljali pod okriljem Građevnog odjela Zemaljske vlade, na čijem je čelu bio Đuro Augustin. Glavni je cilj bio razdvojiti banski stan i ured od Vlade i ministarstava, čije su prostorije, ali i funkcije, dotad bile nominalno povezane. Banski je stan proširen na prvom katu južnoga krila prema Freudenreichovoј ulici gdje su uređeni kabinet, sobe za audijenciju i sastanke, predsoblja i čekaonice. Sjeverni dio cjeline, odnosno Rauchova palača, nadograđena je za dva kata prema Matoševoj ulici i Ulici Tituša Brezovačkog, kako bi se u njoj smjestila nova velika vijećnička dvorana te Vladini uredi. Među njima su bili Predsjednički ured, Unutarnji odjel koji je imao I., II., III., IV. i V. odsjek, Registratura, Bogoštovni odjel, Pravosudni odjel, Statistički odsjek te Zemaljski

However, with the need for additional space, it was decided at the Parliament session in 1836 that the adjacent northern palace built back in the 18th century, then owned by Elizabeth Farkaš, Baron Danijel Rauch's widow, is to be bought for the government. The purchase was contracted in 1839, during Ban Franjo Vlašić (1832–1840), so thereupon the *Banski dvori* encompassed the entire building block on the western part of St. Mark's Square.

RENOVATION IN THE TIME OF BAN IVAN MAŽURANIĆ (1875–1882)

An extensive upgrade of the complex was initiated in the time of Ivan Mažuranić (1873–1880), the most important Croatian ban of the 19th century. Mažuranić implemented many reforms into public administration, justice, education and the economy, and was also a renowned writer.

It should be noted that an addition of another storey to the palace had already been planned in Ban Josip Jelačić's time (1848–1859), but these plans were never seen through – probably due to the ban's untimely death in 1859. About fifteen years later, additional space was greatly needed, so there was a desire to revive Jelačić's plans. The renovation of the *Banski dvori* began in 1875 under the auspices of the State government's Building Department headed by Đuro Augustin. The main goal was to separate the Ban's residence from the Government and ministry offices whose rooms, and sometimes even functions, had been nominally connected up to that point. The Ban's res-

arhiv. Tom su obnovom *Banski dvori* dobili ne samo novo, historicističko arhitektonsko oblikovanje u sjeverozapadnom dijelu nego je njome ostvareno znatno bolje funkcioniranje više namjena unutar iste cjeline, a provedena su i bitna tehnička poboljšanja, poput uvođenja plinskih instalacija i vodovoda.

Banski dvori su zabilježeni na više povijesnih fotografija i razglednica s kraja 19. i početka 20. stoljeća na kojima se vidi glavno pročelje palače prema Markovu trgu, a zanimljiva je i jedna fotografija sobe u unutrašnjosti, koja je bila uređena u „narodnom stilu“ za boravak princeze Stephanie, supruge prijestolonasljednika Rudolfa, prilikom njihova posjeta Zagrebu.

RADOVI U VRIJEME BANA NIKOLE TOMAŠIĆA (1910. – 1912.)

Ban Nikola Tomašić (1910. – 1912.), unatoč kratkom razdoblju na vlasti, pokrenuo je više važnih političkih reformi, a inicirao je i nov veliki zahvat na *Banskim dvorima*. Zahvat se sastojao od dogradnje trećeg kata nad sjeverozapadnim dijelom cjeline, izgradnje novog glavnog stubišta u sjevernoj palači i rekonstrukcije zapadnog stubišta u južnoj palači, dok su kolnice u zapadnom krilu postale garaže. Izvedena je adaptacija banskoga stana, gdje su na prvom katu prema Markovu trgu dvije sobe spojene u jednu rušenjem pregradnoga zida, čime je nastala i današnja *Dvorana Ban Jelačić*. *Dvorana* je dobila zrcalni svod sa štukaturom, ukrašena je crvenim tapetama te bijelom kaljecom peći. Ta će *Dvorana* postati novo mjesto održavanja sjednica hrvatske vlade.

idence was expanded to the south wing's first floor towards Freudenreichova Street, where there was a cabinet, reception and meeting room, a foyer and a waiting room. Two additional storeys were built in the northern part of the complex, towards Matoševa Street and Brezovačkog Street, so it could accommodate the new large council hall and the Government offices. Among them were the president's office, the Internal Department which had the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th division, Registry Office, Department of Religious Affairs, Justice Department, Statistics Department and the State Archives. With this upgrade, the *Banski dvori* not only obtained a new architectural design in the north-western part, but were also greatly improved in the interior, which gained a more functional space and technical improvements such as gas installation and plumbing.

The *Banski dvori* were documented on a number of historic photos and postcards from the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, mainly showing the exterior of the building on St. Mark's Square. Another interesting photo is that of an interior room, decorated in the “folk style” for Princess Stephanie, the wife of Rudolf, the heir to the Habsburg throne, during their visit to Zagreb.

WORKS DURING THE TIME OF BAN NIKOLA TOMAŠIĆ (1910–1912)

Ban Nikola Tomašić (1910–1912) initiated several important political reforms despite his short period in power, and moreover, a new large intervention at the *Banski dvori*. It



BANSKI DVORI U 20. STOLJEĆU

Nakon raspada Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, zgrada *Banskih dvora* služila je kao sjedište izvršne vlasti Kraljevine Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, a potom i institucija Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije te Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Dvadesetih je godina 20. stoljeća uređivan interijer za smještaj kralja Aleksandra Karađorđevića i njegove obitelji prilikom boravka u Zagrebu.

Veća obnova cjeline provedena je i u vrijeme Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. Prema projektima arhitekata Marijana Haberlea i Ljudevitom Gaja izgrađeno je novo reprezentativno stubište u zapadnom krilu južne palače, a uz njega i velika dvorana na prvom katu, nastala spajanjem manjih prostorija, koja je prema

consisted of adding the third storey above the Mažuranić's wings in the north-western part, a new main staircase in the northern palace and redesign of the western staircase in the southern palace. The coach houses were turned into garages. The ban's residence was adapted by combining two rooms on the first floor towards St. Mark's Square into one. The partition wall between them was taken down, and a new great hall was created – today's *Ban Jelačić Hall*. The hall was surmounted by a stucco vault, the walls were decorated with red wallpaper and a white ceramic stove was set in the corner. The hall became the central place for the government sessions.



dvorištu rastvorena francuskim prozorima. U južnom su krilu, zbog ugradnje dizala, uklonjena dva stubišta, uređeni su interijeri i obnovljena pročelja. Manje adaptacije u cijelini *Banskih dvora* izvođene su i tijekom druge polovice 20. stoljeća, kad su u njima smješteni uredi izvršne vlasti i predsjedništva Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske te se kompleks postupno osuvremenjivao.

Ako sagledamo prošlost *Banskih dvora* od vremena kad je na tome mjestu u 17. stoljeću stajala kuća Petra Zrinskog, znamenitoga bana i vođe Zrinsko-frankopanske urote, preko izgradnje današnje palače za grofove Sermage u 18. stoljeću, potom sveobuhvatne obnove za rezidenciju bana Ignjata Gyulaya 1808. godine,

THE BANSKI DVORI IN THE 20TH CENTURY

After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the *Banski dvori* building served as a seat for the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes' executive government, and later also for the institutions of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. In the 1920s, the interior was refurbished to accommodate King Aleksandar Karađorđević and his family during their stay in Zagreb.

An extensive renewal of the complex was carried out for the government of the Independent State of Croatia in the 1940s. Based on the projects by architects Marijan Haberle and Ljudevit Gaj, a new large staircase was built in the southern palace's west wing with a great hall in the first floor next to it. The hall was made by joining several smaller rooms



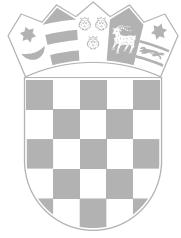
kad cjelina većim dijelom poprima današnji izgled i svoj povijesni naziv – *Banski dvori*, pa sve do uređenja za istaknute banove Ivana Mažuranića i Nikolu Tomašića u drugoj polovici 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća, kao i brojnih obnova koje je donijelo burno 20. stoljeće, možemo reći da je cjelina *Dvora* živo povjesno svjedočanstvo političkoga i društvenoga života u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj posljednja tri stoljeća.

and had French windows facing the courtyard. In the south wing, two staircases needed to be removed so an elevator could be installed, the interior was refurbished and the façade restored. Smaller adaptations to the *Banski dvori* were carried out continuously throughout the second half of the 20th century, with a gradual modernization of the complex, as it housed the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.

If we take a look at the history of the *Banski dvori* when Petar Zrinski's house occupied its place in the 17th century, over to the construction of today's palace for the counts Sermage in the 18th century, followed by a complete renovation for Ban Ignjat Gyulay's residence in 1808, when the complex took on most of its today's appearance and its historical name – the *Banski dvori*, up to the refurbishing for distinguished bans Ivan Mažuranić and Nikola Tomašić in the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, as well as changes in the turbulent 20th century, we can say that the *Dvori* has been a living historical testimony of the political and social life in Zagreb and in Croatia for the past three centuries.







MJESTO ODLUKA – DVORANA BAN JELAČIĆ, BANSKI DVORI I VLADA REPUBLIKE HRVATSKE U SAMOSTALNOJ HRVATSKOJ DRŽAVI

A PLACE OF DECISIONS – THE BAN JELAČIĆ HALL, THE BANSKI DVORI AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA IN THE INDEPENDENT CROATIAN STATE

Procesi političke demokratizacije i društvene liberalizacije uglavnom su na području istočne i jugoistočne Europe dovršeni početkom devedesetih godina prošloga stoljeća. Osnovno im je obilježje bio pad komunističkih režima i njihova zamjena demokratskim vlastima. Novo razdoblje moderne hrvatske povijesti, temeljeno na parlamentarnoj demokraciji, slobodnom tržišnom gospodarstvu te poštovanju ljudskih i građanskih prava, na simboličan je način počelo 30. svibnja 1990. godine. Tada je na Trgu sv. Marka održano prvo zasjedanje višestranačkog Sabora, izabranog na netom dovršenim slobodnim izborima. Središnji ishod toga zasjedanja bio je mirni prelazak vlasti u ruke izbornih pobjednika. Novo čelnštvo hrvatske republike izabrano je iz redova Hrvatske demokratske zajednice, među njima i predsjednik dr. Franjo Tuđman. Nakon višedesetljetne dominacije nedemokratskih režima, na čelo Hrvatske došli su dužnosnici s demokratskim legitimitetom.

Težeći konceptu hrvatske državnosti utečmeljenom u suverenitetu hrvatskoga naroda ili pravu na samostalno odlučivanje o vlastitoj sudbini, vlasti su ubrzo pristupile izradi novoga ustava. Nakon djelomičnih ustavnih

Political democratisation and social liberalisation processes were mostly completed in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe in the early 1990s. They were primarily characterised by the collapse of communist regimes and their replacement with democratic governments. The 30th May 1990 marked the symbolic beginning of a new period of modern Croatian history, based on parliamentary democracy, free market economy and respect for human and civil rights. It was then that the first session of the multiparty Parliament, elected at the recent free elections, was held in the St. Mark's Square. The main outcome of that session was the peaceful transfer of power to the election winners. New leaders of the Croatian republic, including President Franjo Tuđman, were chosen from the ranks of the Croatian Democratic Union. After decades of domination of non-democratic regimes, officials with democratic legitimacy became the leaders of Croatia.

Striving for Croatian statehood based on the sovereignty of the Croatian people and the right to make independent decisions concerning their own fate, the Government quickly started drafting a new constitution. Partial constitutional changes were made in the summer

promjena iz ljeta 1990. godine, koje su se ponajprije bavile odbacivanjem simbolike iz komunističkog razdoblja – pa je novi naziv republike postao Republika Hrvatska – potkraj iste godine donesen je i novi hrvatski Ustav. Zbog simboličnog trenutka donošenja, 22. prosinca 1990. godine, novi je Ustav Republike Hrvatske popularno nazvan „Božićnim Ustavom“. Njime je Republika Hrvatska ustanovila višestranačku demokraciju i vladavinu prava kao temeljne vrednote na kojima će se oblikovati moderno hrvatsko društvo. Novi je Ustav u Hrvatskoj ozakonio nacionalni suverenitet, odnosno načelo nedjeljivog, neprenosivog i neotuđivog suvereniteta hrvatskoga naroda, uz poštovanje nacionalnih i građanskih prava drugih etničkih skupina i manjina, zajamčeno i međunarodnim propisima, te građanski suverenitet, odnosno načelo punog poštovanja temeljenih sloboda te prava čovjeka i građanina.

Ustav je donio važne promjene u odnosa nositelja vlasti u Republici Hrvatskoj. Ustanovivši klasičnu demokratsku trodiobu vlasti, središnji je nositelj izvršne vlasti, napose na polju vanjske politike, postala institucija predsjednika Republike, definirana terminom državni poglavar. Svejedno se važan dio izvršnih ovlasti, osobito na polju unutarnje politike, nalazio i u domeni ovlasti Vlade. Vlada je bila odgovorna predsjedniku Republike, koji ju je predlagao, i Zastupničkom domu Sabora, a na dužnost je stupala nakon što bi dobila povjerenje većine svih zastupnika u Zastupničkom domu. Poslije će tome biti dodano pravilo polaganja prisege.

of 1990 that primarily addressed the removal of the symbols of the communist era – whereby the republic was renamed the Republic of Croatia. The changes were soon followed by the new Croatian Constitution enacted on 22nd December 1990, which was, therefore, popularly known as the “Christmas Constitution”. This Constitution established multiparty democracy and the rule of law as fundamental values in the Republic of Croatia that would shape the modern Croatian society. The new Constitution also legitimised the national sovereignty, that is, the principle of indivisible, non-transferable and inalienable sovereignty of the Croatian nation, respecting the national and civil rights of other ethnic groups and minorities that were guaranteed by international regulations, as well as the popular sovereignty, that is, the principle of full respect for fundamental freedoms and rights of humans and citizens.

The Constitution introduced important changes concerning the relations between the holders of power in the Republic of Croatia. After the introduction of the classical democratic tripartite separation of powers, the executive power, particularly in the field of foreign policy, was vested in the institution of the President of the Republic, defined as the Head of State, with an important part of executive power, particularly in the field of domestic policy, being also vested in the Government. The Government was accountable to the President of the Republic and to the Chamber of Deputies of the Parliament, and it assumed office after receiving a vote of confidence from the majority of all deputies in the Chamber of

Prije stupanja na dužnost, a nakon izglasavanja povjerenja, predsjednik i članovi Vlade pred predsjednikom Republike i Sabora izgovorit će sljedeće riječi: „Prisežem da će dužnost člana Vlade savjesno obnašati i držati se Ustava i zakona i poštivati pravni poredak te da će se zalagati za svekoliki napredak Republike Hrvatske.“ Navedena je arhitektura odnosa moći između pojedinih nositelja vlasti u Republici Hrvatskoj omogućila tako uspostavu hibridnog sustava ili onog koji će ujedinjavati elemente parlamentarne, predsjedničke i vladine države. Temeljni je pak razlog za takvo ustrojstvo počivao na sve nestabilnijoj političkoj situaciji u Republici Hrvatskoj, napose na rastućem srpskom pobunjeničkom djelovanju.

FORMIRANJE PRVIH VLADA I POČETAK AGRESIJE NA REPUBLIKU HRVATSKU

Prve su vlade Republike Hrvatske najprije zasjedale u obližnjem Saboru. U *Banskim dvorima*, rezidenciji koja će postati istoznačnicom za sjedište hrvatskih vlada, nakon demokratskih promjena i otprilike od kasne jeseni 1990. godine bio je smješten Ured Predsjednika Republike, zajedno s nekoliko manjih prostorija namijenjenih drugim visokim republičkim i poslije državnim dužnosnicima. Treba napomenuti da je cijeli kompleks *Banskih dvora* uoči demokratskih promjena bio poprilično zapušten te nije bio primjereno opremljen za svakodnevno djelovanje najviših institucija vlasti. Zbog toga su se početkom listopada iste godine reprezen-

Deputies. The rule on swearing an oath would be introduced later. According to that rule, prior to assuming office and after the vote of confidence, the President and the members of the Government would recite the following text before the President of the Republic and the Parliament: "I do solemnly swear that I, as a member of the Government, will conscientiously fulfil and uphold the Constitution and the law and respect the legal order, and that I will promote the overall progress of the Republic of Croatia." The mentioned division of powers between the individual holders of power in the Republic of Croatia enabled the establishment of a hybrid system, i.e. a system that would combine the elements of governmental, parliamentary and presidential states. The underlying reason for this organisation, however, was based on the increasingly unstable political situation in the Republic of Croatia, influenced by the intensified Serbian rebel actions.

FORMATION OF THE FIRST GOVERNMENTS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE AGGRESSION AGAINST THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA

Sessions of the early Governments of the Republic of Croatia were previously held in the nearby Parliament building. On the other hand, after the introduction of democratic changes, approximately from the late autumn of 1990, the *Banski dvori*, a residence that would become synonymous with the seat of the Croatian Governments, housed the Office of the President of the Republic, while several smaller rooms were intended for other high-lev-

tativni prostori *Banskih dvora* počeli uređivati, adaptirati i modernizirati. U stanje koje je dopušтало redoviti rad, *Banski dvori* su враћени отприлике mjesec dana poslije, potkraj studenoga 1990. godine.

Uobičajeno mirnodopsko uredovanje Vlade i drugih središnjih te lokalnih institucija Republike Hrvatske nasilno je prekinuto početkom ratnog sukoba. Od proljeća 1991. godine pobunjeničko djelovanje, tada za Hrvatsku najopasnijeg segmenta – velikosrpskog pokreta potaknutog i organiziranog u Beogradu i Republici Srbiji, usmjerenog na rušenje ustavnoga poretka te odcjepljenje velikih dijelova hrvatskoga teritorija, počelo je sve intenzivnije poprimati oružani oblik. Obrisi predstojeće oružane agresije postajali su sve očitiji, a ponegdje su pobunjenici, uz organizacijsku, kadrovsku i materijalnu pomoć Jugoslavenske narodne armije, odnosno savezne vojske koja je već uvelike postala oružanom silom Srbije, napali hrvatske policijske snage koje su nastojale smiriti napetosti. Uskoro su pobunjenici počinili prva ubojstva pripadnika policije, a počeli su i prvi progoni nesrpskog stanovništva s područja zahvaćenih sukobima. Rat je svom slijedom ubrzo nametnut Republici Hrvatskoj pa je njezino vodstvo, uključujući naravno i Vladu, bilo prisiljeno glavninu napora usmjeriti k ustroju nasušno potrebnih obrambenih oružanih snaga, ali i ubrzajući stjecanja položaja samostalne države, odnosno međunarodnom priznanju. Oslanjajući se na snažnu potporu hrvatskoga naroda, izraženu na referendumu iz svibnja 1991. godine, Republika

el republic and, subsequently, state officials. It should be remembered that the entire *Banski dvori* building complex had previously been quite neglected and lacked adequate equipment for the daily operations of the highest institutions of government. This prompted the refurbishment, renovation and modernisation of the *Banski dvori* state rooms in early October of the same year. It took approximately one month for the government to resume its regular operations since the *Banski dvori* was restored in late November 1990.

Regular operations of the Government in peacetime, as well as those of other central and local institutions of the Republic of Croatia, were violently interrupted by the advent of war. Rebel actions as part of the Greater Serbia movement, which was started and organised in Belgrade and the Republic of Serbia and had previously posed the greatest threat to Croatia, were aimed at destroying the constitutional order and separating large parts of the Croatian territory. From the spring of 1991, those actions began to involve armed violence. The upcoming armed hostilities became ever more apparent; and in some parts the rebels, together with the organisational, personnel and material support of the Yugoslav People's Army, i.e. the federal army that had basically comprised the armed force of Serbia, attacked Croatian police forces that sought to calm the tensions. Soon, rebels began killing police officers, and non-Serbian population was exiled from the territories affected by the conflicts. The war was quickly imposed on the Republic of Croatia, so its leaders, including the Government, had to focus their efforts on





Hrvatska najprije je 25. lipnja 1991. godine pokrenula postupak razdruživanja od ostatka jugoslavenske države i međunarodnoga priznanja, a onda je 8. listopada iste godine Sabor Republike Hrvatske napokon raskinuo sve veze s republikama i pokrajinama koje su tvorile dotadašnju Jugoslaviju. Međunarodno je priznanje ostvareno potkraj 1991. i početkom 1992. godine pa je od toga trenutka Republika Hrvatska dobila status međunarodnoga subjekta, odnosno međunarodno priznate države.

RAKETIRANJE BANSKIH DVORA – POKUŠAJ ATEN-

TATA NA DRŽAVNO ČELNIŠTVO

U namjeri da fizički ukloni čelne ljudi Republike Hrvatske, odnosno da obezglavi njegove obrambene napore, zrakoplovstvo Jugoslavenske narodne armije 7. listopada 1991. napalo je samo središte Zagreba. U središtu napada jurišne skupine (koja se sastojala od četiri zrakoplova) bio je kompleks *Banskih dvora*, gdje se u tom trenutku nalazio predsjednik države Franjo Tuđman, s nekoliko suradnika i gostiju. Dva su zrakoplova najprije doletjela iz smjera sjeverozapada te su potom, leteći jedan iza drugog, izbacili dvije bombe. Jedna je pogodila obližnju dvorišnu zgradu u Ulici Tituša Brezovačkog, dok je druga pala na južno krilo *Banskih dvora*. Učinak eksplozije bio je vrlo razoran. Oštećeni su veliki dijelovi kompleksa. Među prostorijama koje su pretrpjele posebnu štetu bila je upravo *Dvorana Ban Jelačić* – dostupne fotografije pokazuju razbijena prozorska stakla, izbačene žaluzine i prozorske okvire, uništen,

establishing the much-needed defence armed forces and obtaining international recognition as an independent state. Relying on the strong support of the Croatian people, given in a referendum in May 1991, the Republic of Croatia first initiated the process of disassociation from the rest of Yugoslavia and the procedure for international recognition on 25th June 1991. On 8th October of the same year, the Parliament of the Republic of Croatia finally broke all ties with the republics and the provinces that made up the former Yugoslavia. Eventually, in late 1991 and early 1992 the Republic of Croatia was granted the status of an international entity, i.e. an internationally recognised state.

AIRSTRIKE ON THE BANSKI DVORI – ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF THE STATE LEADERS

In an attempt to eliminate the heads of the Republic of Croatia, and thereby undermine its defence efforts, the Yugoslav Air Force attacked the very heart of Zagreb on 7th October 1991. The main target of the attack group (consisting of four jets) was the *Banski dvori* building complex, where the President of the State Franjo Tuđman was supposed to meet with several associates and guests. Two jets flew in from northwest dropping two bombs. One hit a nearby courtyard building in the Tituš Brezovački Street, while the other struck the *Banski dvori* south wing. The impact of the explosion was quite disastrous. Large parts of the building complex were severely damaged, including the *Ban Jelačić Hall* – available photographs show broken window glass, torn



oštećen i isprevrtan namještaj te napukle i oštećene zidove. Pukom igrom slučaja predsjednik Tuđman se u trenutku napada nalazio na ručku u Svečanoj dvorani – također vrlo oštećenoj prostoriji – koji je zbog njegovih neplaniranih obveza počeo kasnije. Drugim riječima, neplanirano kašnjenje vjerojatno mu je, kao i njegovim sugovornicima, spasilo život.

Osim pokušaja atentata na državno čelništvo, bombardiranje *Banskih dvora* iz listopada 1991. godine nesumnjivo treba promatrati i kao čin napada na zgradu koja simbolizira hrvatsku državnost. Također se smatra i činom kulturocida jer je cijeli kompleks imao status zaštićenoga kulturnog dobra, napose *Dvorana Ban Jelačić* u kojoj je bio izložen niz vrijednih umjetničkih djela. S obzirom na to da je napad

out blinds and window frames, destroyed, damaged and overturned furniture and cracked and damaged walls. It was by sheer chance that, at the time of the attack, President Tuđman was at lunch in the Grand Hall – also badly damaged – which was delayed due to the President's unforeseen commitments. This unanticipated delay probably saved his life and the lives of his guests.

The bombing of the *Banski dvori* in October 1991 should not only be viewed as an attempted assassination of the state leaders, but also as an attack on the building that symbolises Croatian statehood. This act was also considered cultural genocide as the entire complex was considered protected cultural heritage, particularly the *Ban Jelačić Hall* where a number of valuable works



zrakoplovstva Jugoslavenske narodne armije uzrokovao znatna oštećenja cijelog kompleksa *Banskih dvora*, oni više nisu pružali primjerene mogućnosti za redovito djelovanje državnih dužnosnika. Ured Predsjednika Republike premješten je u podsljemensku Vilu Zagorje (ubrzo preimenovanu u Predsjedničke dvore). Usljedilo je dugotrajno razdoblje obnove. No *Banski dvori* su samo privremeno prestali biti mjestom donošenja ključnih odluka.

of art were exhibited. Given that the airstrike of the Yugoslav Air Force significantly damaged the entire *Banski dvori* building complex, it no longer provided adequate facilities for the regular operations of state officials. The Office of the President of the Republic was moved to Villa Zagorje (soon renamed the Presidential Palace) near Sljeme. A lengthy period of renovation ensued, but the status of the *Banski dvori* as the place of key decision-making was only temporarily interrupted.

OBNOVA I PRESELJENJE VLADE U BANSKE DVORE

Premda su *Banski dvori* danas općepoznati kao mjesto sjedišta hrvatskih vlada, tek je u proljeće 1993. godine Vlada počela redovito održavati sjednice u tom kompleksu, i to samo

RENOVATION AND GOVERNMENT RELOCATION TO THE BANSKI DVORI

Despite the fact that the *Banski dvori* is today generally known as the seat of Croatian Govern-

u njegovu sjeveroistočnom dijelu, koji je u napadu pretrpio manja oštećenja. Dotadašnje vlade Republike Hrvatske koje je formirala Hrvatska demokratska zajednica – njih četiri, odnosno vlade kojima su predsjedali Stjepan Mesić (svibanj – kolovoz 1990.), Josip Manolić (kolovoz 1990. – srpanj 1991.), dr. sc. Franjo Gregurić (srpanj 1991. – kolovoz 1992.) te Hrvoje Šarinić (kolovoz 1992. – travanj 1993.) – središte su imale u prostorijama obližnjeg Sabora. Prvom Vladom Republike Hrvatske koja je održala sjednicu u *Dvorani Ban Jelačić* predsjedao je Nikica Valentić (travanj 1993. – studeni 1995.), također predsjednik Vlade iz redova Hrvatske demokratske zajednice. Njegova Vlada ili peta Vlada Republike Hrvatske od demokratskih promjena vratila je najvažniji dio rada svake vlade, to jest njezine sjednice, u najsvečaniju i najljepšu dvoranu *Banskih dvora* u svibnju 1995. godine. Trenutak u kojem je to učinila bio je više nego simboličan jer su netom prije hrvatske snage oslobođidle dio okupiranog područja Republike Hrvatske u zapadnoj Slavoniji. Do tog je trenutka *Dvorana Ban Jelačić* obnovljena te se u njoj sjednice Vlade Republike Hrvatske redovito održavaju do danas.

Na rad vlada u prvom desetljeću samostalne Republike Hrvatske – do prvog mjeseca novog tisućljeća to je, osim navedenih, bila još Vlada Hrvatske demokratske zajednice kojom je predsjedao mr. sc. Zlatko Mateša (studeni 1995. – siječanj 2000.) – ključan je utjecaj imao jedan čimbenik. Opseg i utjecaj ratnog sukoba u Hrvatskoj bili su toliki da su dobrim dijelom spriječili učinkovit rad Vlade na očekivanoj

ments, it was only in the spring of 1993 that the Government began to hold regular sessions in that building complex, and even then only in its northeast part that suffered only minor damage in the attack. Previous Governments of the Republic of Croatia formed by the Croatian Democratic Union – four in total, led by Stjepan Mesić (May – August 1990), Josip Manolić (August 1990 – July 1991), Franjo Gregurić (July 1991 – August 1992) and Hrvoje Šarinić (August 1992 – April 1993) – were seated in the nearby Parliament building. The first Government of the Republic of Croatia that held a session in the *Ban Jelačić Hall* was led by Nikica Valentić (April 1993 – November 1995), also from the ranks of the Croatian Democratic Union. It was in May 1995 that his Government, which was the fifth Government since the introduction of the democratic changes, began holding Government sessions in the grandest and most beautiful hall in the *Banski dvori*. The timing was nothing short of symbolic as the Croatian forces had just liberated a part of the occupied territory of the Republic of Croatia in Western Slavonia. The renovation of the *Ban Jelačić Hall* had been completed by that time and the sessions of the Government of the Republic of Croatia are still held at the *Hall* nowadays.

In the first decade of the independent Republic of Croatia, the country's circumstances had a key impact on the work of the Governments – which, in addition to the above, included the Government formed by the Croatian Democratic Union led by Zlatko Mateša (November 1995 – January 2000). The scope

modernizaciji te uređivanju države i društva: približno četvrtina državnog teritorija bila je okupirana, dok je barem jednako velik dio slobodnog teritorija također bio pod izravnim utjecajem rata, tisuće stambenih, gospodarskih i drugih objekata uništeno ili oštećeno, tisuće ljudi ubijeno i ranjeno, a Hrvatska se morala pobrinuti za stotine tisuća prognanih i izbjeglih osoba. Umjesto očekivanih prihoda od turizma ili drugih gospodarskih aktivnosti, Hrvatska se morala suočiti s golemlim troškovima izravnih ratnih šteta, ali i s neizravnim gubicima uzrokovanima prometnom blokadom Dalmacije ili okupacijom prirodnih bogatstava u Slavoniji, Srijemu i Baranji. U domenu Vlade došla je i problematika formiranja politike prema brojnim pripadnicima međunarodne zajednice koji su djelovali u ratnoj Hrvatskoj, poput promatrača Europske zajednice, mirovnih snaga Ujedinjenih naroda i dr. Uz to, još tijekom ratnog sukoba, napose u neposrednom poraću, morala se suočiti i s velikim troškovima obnove.

Unatoč navedenim ograničenjima, vlade ratne i poratne Hrvatske uspjele su postići nezanemarive učinke. Na polju humanitarne problematike uspješno su koordinirale složenim i psihološki osjetljivim procesom zbrinjavanja prognanika i izbjeglica, osmišljavanjem njihova povratka te skrbi za mnoge stradalnike ratnog sukoba. Na polju upravnog ustroja Hrvatske tijekom 1993. godine osmišljena je i, nakon usvajanja u Saboru, provedena nova administrativna podjela temeljena na županijama i općinama, novoustrojenim jedinicama regionalne i lokalne uprave. Na polju gospo-

and impact of the war in Croatia were so great that they prevented the Government from doing any effective work on the planned modernisation and regulation of the state and society: nearly a quarter of the state territory was occupied, while at least that much of the free territory was directly affected by the war, thousands of residential, commercial and other buildings were destroyed or damaged, thousands of people killed and wounded; and Croatia had to care for hundreds of thousands of displaced persons and refugees. Instead of the expected revenue from tourism and other economic activities, Croatia had to face enormous costs of direct war damage, as well as indirect losses caused by the blockade of Dalmatia and the occupation of areas with natural resources in Slavonia, Syrmia and Baranja. At the same time, the Government had to maintain its focus on forming policy towards a number of members of the international community operating in Croatia during the war, including observers of the European Community, the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces, etc. In addition, it had to face enormous reconstruction costs both during the war and immediately after the war.

Despite these setbacks, the Governments in wartime and post-war Croatia managed to produce significant results. With regard to the humanitarian issues, they were successful in coordinating a complex and psychologically sensitive process of caring for displaced persons and refugees, the arrangement of their return, as well as the provision of care to the many victims of the war. As regards to the ad-

darskog života uspješno je proveden osjetljiv projekt stabilizacije te je izbjegnuta opasnost pogubne inflacije. Vjerojatno se najsvečaniji trenutak u *Banskim dvorima* ratnih godina dogodio 30. svibnja 1994. godine, kad je Vlada proglašila uvođenje kune kao novčane jedinice Republike Hrvatske. U mjeri u kojima im je politički prostor dopuštao, vlade su aktivno sudjelovale u afirmaciji međunarodnog položaja Hrvatske, poput početka uspostave institucionaliziranih odnosa s Europskom unijom, Sjevernoatlantskim savezom i dr. Pretjerano bi ipak bilo reći da su vlade ratne i poratne Hrvatske uspjele u svim zamislima. Na protiv, osvit novog tisućljeća hrvatska država i društvo dočekali su s primjetnim problemima gospodarske učinkovitosti i socijalnih poteškoća, s posebnim naglaskom na rastućoj nezaposlenosti i zaostajanju u približavanju euroatlantskim integracijama.

Posebno treba istaknuti rad Matešine Vlade na području mirne reintegracije dijelova istočne Slavonije, Baranje i zapadnog Srijema u pravni perekop Republike Hrvatske u drugoj polovici devedesetih godina prošloga stoljeća. Slijedeći stratešku političku odluku predsjednika Tuđmana da to područje reintegriira na miran način, odnosno pregovaračkim procesima, i s krajnjim ciljem zadržavanja njegova multietničkog karaktera te uz pomoć važnih zakonodavnih čina Sabora i diplomatske pripreme mjerodavnog Ministarstva vanjskih poslova, Matešina je Vlada osmisnila te provela niz operativnih mjera koje su do siječnja 1998. godine rezultirale uspješnim završetkom toga politički iznimno osjetljivog

ministrative organisation of Croatia, a new administrative division into counties and municipalities, the newly established units of regional and local self-government, was developed and implemented in 1993 after it had been adopted by the Parliament. With regard to economy, the successful implementation of a sensitive stabilisation project helped avoid the risk of crippling inflation. One of the grandest moments in the *Banski dvori* during the war occurred on 30th May 1994, when the Government declared kuna as the official currency of the Republic of Croatia. To the extent possible in such a political situation, the Governments were active in the affirmation of the international position of Croatia, which included the establishment of institutionalised relations with the European Union, the North Atlantic Alliance and others. However, to say that the Governments in wartime and post-war Croatia were successful in all their endeavours would be an exaggeration. On the contrary, the Croatian state and society welcomed the new millennium facing significant problems concerning the economic performance and social difficulties, particularly the rising unemployment and delays in Euro-Atlantic integration.

Special emphasis should be given to the work of Mateša's Government on the peaceful reintegration of parts of Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Syrmia into the legal order of the Republic of Croatia in the second half of the 1990s. Pursuing the strategic political decision of President Tuđman to integrate this territory peacefully through negotiations, and with the ultimate aim of retaining its



procesa. Među tim mjerama nesumnjivo je najvažnija mjera bilo upućivanje „Pisma o dovršenju mirne reintegracije područja pod Prijelaznom upravom“ ili popularno nazvanog „Pisma namjere“ u siječnju 1997. godine na adrese najvažnijih međunarodnih organizacija, odnosno dokumenta kojim je Hrvatska zajamčila poštovanje građanskih prava priпадnicima srpske manjine u istočnoj Slavoniji, Baranji i zapadnom Srijemu te time presudno utjecala na uspješno privođenje kraju procesa mirne reintegracije. Djelovanje Republike Hrvatske na polju mirne reintegracije tog prostora s razlogom treba okarakterizirati jedinstvenim mirovornim procesom na europskom kontinentu tijekom 20. stoljeća, napose u odnosu na ratna i poratna događanja na prostoru jugoistočne Europe u njegovu posljednjem desetljeću.

USTAVNE PROMJENE I NOVA ULOGA VLADE U PARLAMENTARNOM SUSTAVU

Nakon smrti predsjednika Tuđmana u prosincu 1999. godine i parlamentarnih izbora održanih početkom siječnja 2000., u Republici Hrvatskoj nastupile su političke promjene. Hrvatska država i društvo zatvorili su početnu eru postojanja, obilježenu ponajprije nastankom samostalne hrvatske države, njezinom uspješnom obranom i početkom međunarodnog pozicioniranja u smjeru priželjkivanih euroatlantskih integracija. Pokazat će se također da se počeo oblikovati još uvijek vrijedeći obrazac donekle ujednačenih izmjena koaličijskih vlada desnog i lijevog centra.

multi-ethnic character, Mateša's Government, supported by important legislative acts of the Parliament and diplomatic preparations of the relevant Ministry of Foreign Affairs, designed and implemented a series of operational measures which resulted in the successful completion of this politically sensitive process by January 1998. The most important measure was certainly the sending of the "Letter on the completion of the peaceful reintegration of the region under the Transitional Administration" popularly known as the "Letter of intent" in January 1997 to major international organisations – this document guaranteed that Croatia would respect civil rights of members of the Serbian minority in Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Syrmia, and was a crucial step towards the successful completion of the process of peaceful reintegration. The actions of the Republic of Croatia in the peaceful reintegration of this territory should rightly be characterised as a unique peacekeeping process in Europe in the 20th century, particularly in relation to wartime and post-war events in Southeast Europe in the last decade of that century.

CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGES AND THE NEW ROLE OF THE GOVERNMENT IN THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

The death of President Tuđman in December 1999 and the parliamentary elections in early January 2000 marked the introduction of political changes in the Republic of Croatia. The early years of the Croatian state and society, marked primarily by the emergence of an independent

Najprije je dugogodišnja vladavina uglavnom jednostranačkih vlada Hrvatske demokratske zajednice prekinuta dolaskom na vlast koaličijske Vlade lijevoga centra, predvođene Socijaldemokratskom partijom Hrvatske. Njome je do kraja obaju mandata predsjedao Ivica Račan (siječanj 2000. – srpanj 2002. i srpanj 2002. – prosinac 2003.). Tu je Vladu pak tri i pol godine poslije na vlasti zamjenila prva koaličijska Vlada desnoga centra, predvođena Hrvatskom demokratskom zajednicom kojom je predsjedao dr. sc. Ivo Sanader (prosinac 2003. – siječanj 2008.). U ponešto izmijenjenom sastavu, ona je u siječnju 2008. godine počela drugi vladajući mandat. No zbog iznenadne ostavke njezina predsjednika Sanadera u ljeto 2009. godine, oformljena je jedanaesta Vlada Republike Hrvatske, opet predvođena Hrvatskom demokratskom zajednicom, na čelu s Jadrankom Kosor (srpanj 2009. – prosinac 2011.). Nova promjena političkog rasploženja hrvatskih birača potom je na vlast dovela drugu koaličijsku vladu lijevoga centra predvođenu Socijaldemokratskom partijom Hrvatske, kojom je predsjedao Zoran Milanović (prosinac 2011. – siječanj 2016.). Nju je na vlasti zamjenila nova, ali kratkotrajna koaličijska vlada desnoga centra predvođena prvim nestranačkim predsjednikom, neovisnim Tihomirom Oreškovićem (siječanj – listopad 2016.), ali uz potporu koja je počivala na saborškoj većini Hrvatske demokratske zajednice. Nakon izvanrednih parlamentarnih izbora, u jesen 2016. godine formirana je još jedna koaličijska vlada desnoga centra predvođena Hrvatskom demokratskom zajednicom na

Croatian state, its successful defence and the beginning of international positioning towards the desired Euro-Atlantic integration, came to a close, while the current pattern of somewhat consistent Government changes between the centre-right and centre-left coalitions began to take shape. The long-term rule of single-party Governments formed by the Croatian Democratic Union was first interrupted when the centre-left coalition Government, led by the Social Democratic Party of Croatia, came into office. This Government was led by Ivica Račan during both terms (January 2000 – July 2002 and July 2002 – December 2003). It was then replaced three and a half years later by the first centre-right coalition Government headed by the Croatian Democratic Union led by Ivo Sanader (December 2003 – January 2008). This Government went into its second term in office in January 2008 with a few alterations. However, the sudden resignation of Prime Minister Sanader in the summer of 2009 resulted in the formation of the eleventh Government of the Republic of Croatia, this time headed by the Croatian Democratic Union led by Jadranka Kosor (July 2009 – December 2011). The political mood of Croatian voters soon changed, which brought about the second centre-left coalition Government headed by the Social Democratic Party of Croatia led by Zoran Milanović (December 2011 – January 2016). This Government was then replaced by the short-term right-centre coalition Government led by Tihomir Orešković, the first independent, non-party Prime Minister (January – October 2016), which was, nevertheless, supported by the parliamentary majority of



čelu s predsjednikom mr. sc. Vlade Andrejem Plenkovićem (listopad 2016. – danas).

Ključno je za povijest institucije Vlade Republike Hrvatske u prvom desetljeću novoga tisućljeća uočiti da je njezin ustavni položaj doživio važne promjene. Račanova Vlada uspjela je početkom studenoga 2000. godine ishoditi saborsku potporu za duboke sadržajne promjene hrvatskoga Ustava. Među njima je nesumnjivo najvažnija bila drugačije normiranje odnosa između ključnih nositelja izvršne vlasti i uspostava funkcionalne diobe vlasti pa su ovlasti institucije Predsjednika Republike uvelike umanjene u korist institucije Vlade. Spomenutim izmjenama Ustava, Hrvatska uvodi parlamentarni sustav s jačom ulogom Vlade, koja postaje ključni kreator i provoditelj vanjske i unutarnje politike države.

Navedenih osam vlada poslijetuđmanovske Hrvatske suočilo se s brojnim izazovima, od kojih su neki bili karakteristični za društvo koje je još uvijek osjećalo mnoge posljedice ratnog sukoba, dok su drugi izazovi proizšli iz novonastalih geopolitičkih promjena te izmijenjenih međunarodnih i domaćih gospodarskih prilika.

NOVA ERA – PRISTUPANJE EUROATLANTSKIM INTEGRACIJAMA

Zasigurno je najvažniji strateški vanjskopolitički projekt bio ulazak Hrvatske u euroatlantske integracije, odnosno u punopravno članstvo Europske unije i Sjevernoatlantskog saveza. Znatan je dio pripremnih aktivnosti poduzet u razdoblju Račanove Vlade. Hrvatska je ušla u

the Croatian Democratic Union. Another centre-right coalition Government was formed after the early parliamentary elections in the autumn of 2016 and was headed by the Croatian Democratic Union led by Prime Minister Andrej Plenković (October 2016 – present).

Regarding the history of the institution of the Croatian Government, it is important to observe how significantly its constitutional position has changed. In early November 2000, Račan's Government successfully obtained Parliament's support to introduce profound substantive changes in the Croatian Constitution. The most important ones included the change in the relationship between the key holders of executive power and the establishment of a functional division of powers, where the powers of the Institution of the President of the Republic were greatly reduced in favour of the Government. These changes in the Constitution introduced a new parliamentary system in Croatia where the Government's role was increased, rendering it the key domestic and foreign policymaker.

The above mentioned eight Governments in post-Tuđman Croatia faced a number of challenges. Some of those were characteristic of a society that still suffered the consequences of the war conflict, while others were brought about by new geopolitical changes and altered international and domestic economic conditions.

NEW ERA – EURO-ATLANTIC INTEGRATION

Croatia's most important strategic foreign-policy project was certainly its Euro-Atlantic

Partnerstvo za mir u svibnju 2000. godine, u studenome iste godine u Zagrebu je organiziran zajednički sastanak čelnika država članica Europske unije i država uključenih u proces Sporazuma o stabilizaciji i pridruživanju, a pregovori o ulasku u okvir Sporazuma završeni su u listopadu 2001. godine. Potom su Vlade Hrvatske demokratske zajednice predvođene Ivom Sanaderom i Jadrankom Kosor uspjele postići iduće važne korake. Hrvatska je integrirala zajedničko zakonodavstvo (pravnu stečevinu) Europske unije u domaći zakonodavni okvir, promijenila negativnu percepciju Hrvatske u svijetu zbog poboljšanja odnosa s Međunarodnim sudom za ratne zločine počinjene na području bivše Jugoslavije, ali je i bolje integrirala nacionalne manjine u politički i javni život Hrvatske. Ugovor o pristupanju između Hrvatske i Europske unije potpisana je u prosincu 2011. godine. Hrvatska je formalno postala punopravna članica Europske unije 2013. godine. Proces ulaska Hrvatske u punopravno članstvo Sjevernoatlantskog saveza zaokružen je u ožujku 2009. godine. Tijekom prve polovice 2020. godine Republika Hrvatska predsjedat će Vijećem Europske unije. Ključni prioriteti mandata bit će jačanje unutarnje i vanjske sigurnosti Unije, gospodarski rast, proširenje Unije na jugoistok Europe, poboljšanje prometne povezanosti između država članica i zaštita temeljnih europskih vrijednosti, poput demokracije, socijalno orijentiranog tržišnog gospodarstva, socijalne pravednosti, multikulturalizma i tolerancije.

Dakako, navedeni datumi novoga međunarodnog položaja Hrvatske ne otkrivaju svu

integration, i.e. obtaining full European Union and North Atlantic Alliance membership. Significant preparations for this integration were made during Račan's Government. Croatia joined the Partnership for Peace in May 2000. In November of the same year, a joint meeting between the heads of the European Union Member States and the states included in the Stabilisation and Association Process was held in Zagreb, while the negotiations on entering the Agreement were completed in October 2001. Subsequently, the respective Governments led by Ivo Sanader and Jadranka Kosor of the Croatian Democratic Union successfully made following key steps. Croatia integrated the common legislation (*acquis communautaire*) of the European Union into the domestic legislative framework, changed the negative global perception of Croatia by improving its relations with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, and it also improved the integration of national minorities into the political and public life of Croatia. The Treaty of Accession between Croatia and the European Union was signed in December 2011. Croatia formally became a full member of the European Union in 2013. Its accession to full membership in the North Atlantic Alliance was completed in March 2009. The Republic of Croatia will preside over the Council of the European Union in the first half of 2020. Its key priorities will be the strengthening of the Union's internal and external security, economic growth, the enlargement of the Union to Southeast Europe, improvement of transport links between the member states



važnost, odnosno svu političku i društvenu težinu onoga što se dogodilo. Nakon izlaska iz nedemokratskoga konteksta komunizma, Hrvatska je – nakon brutalnoga rata kojemu je izložena i svih posljedica koje je on za sobom ostavio – uspjela zauzeti mjesto u društvu razvijenih i uređenih demokratskih država Europe, čemu je nesumnjivo težila još od proljeća 1990. godine. U međuvremenu su hrvatske vlade još od početka 2000-ih godina dobar dio svojih aktivnosti posvećivale uređivanju unutarnjih prilika, poput socijalne stabilizacije i obnove gospodarstva (2000. – 2003.), rasta industrijske proizvodnje, infrastrukturne obnove i demokratizacije države (2003. – 2007.), stabilizacije državnih financija (2009. – 2011.) i integriranja gospodarstva u europski okvir, izlaska iz dugotrajne gospodarske krize, promjene percepције Europske unije te modernizacije društva (2016. – danas).

Trenutak je za povratak *Banskim dvorima*, napose njegovu najljepšem prostoru – *Dvorani Ban Jelačić*. Nakon povratka Vlade u tu Dvoranu u svibnju 1995. godine, u njoj se donio niz važnih političkih i društvenih odluka, koje su potom uvelike utjecale na formiranje, provedbu i tijek javnoga života tek nastale samostalne hrvatske države. Početkom novoga tisućljeća i poslije, *Dvorana Ban Jelačić* stekla je dodatnu kvalitetu. U punom smislu riječi postala je središtem političkog odlučivanja u Republici Hrvatskoj ili mjestom donošenja najvažnijih odluka. Stoga je savsim prikladno što će od lipnja 2019. godine osvanuti u novom sjaju, jer ju je posljednja u

and the protection of fundamental European values, such as democracy, socially oriented market economy, social justice, multiculturalism and tolerance.

Clearly, the above dates marking Croatia's new international position do not fully reveal the political and social importance of all the achieved deeds.

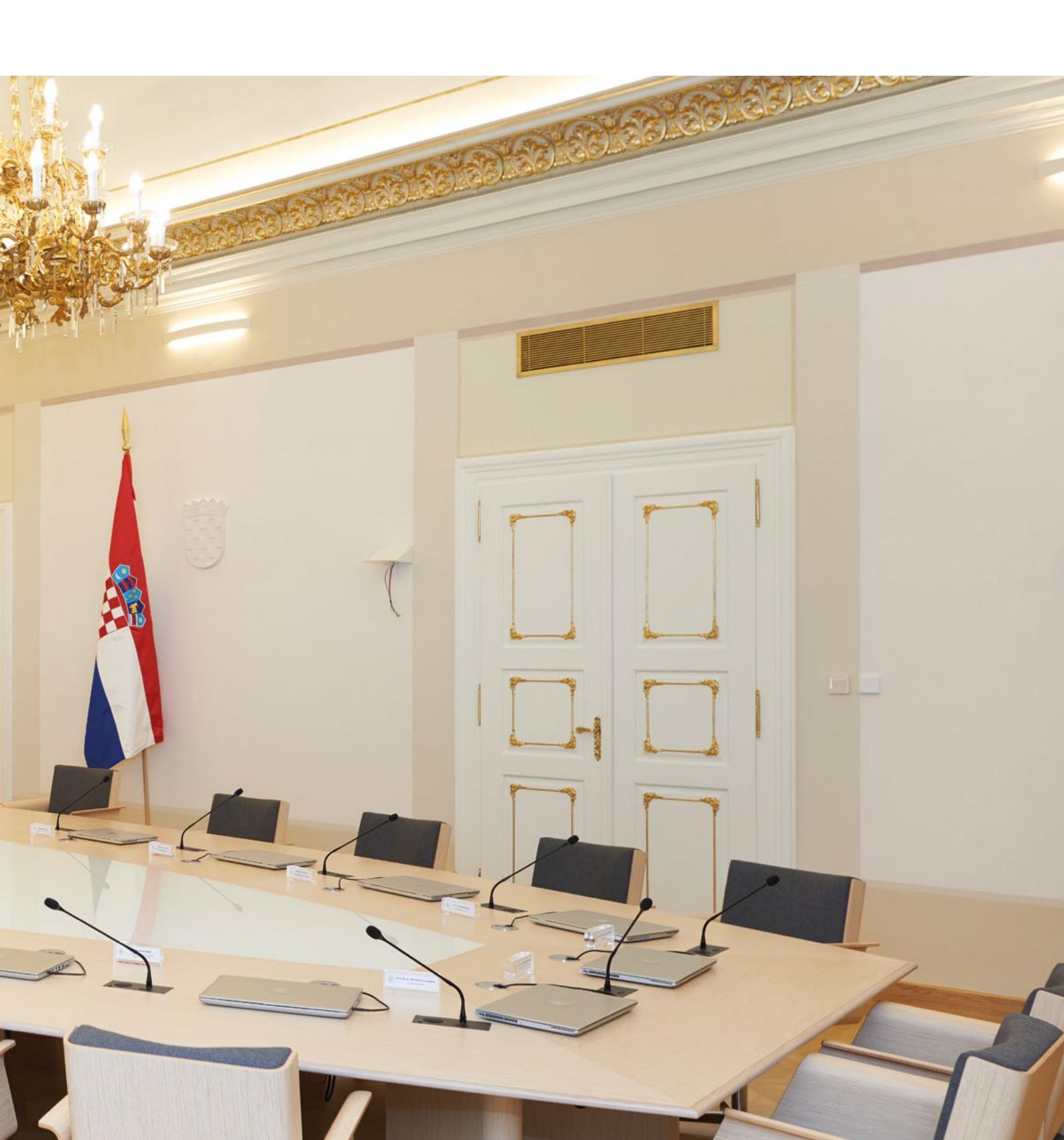
After abandoning the undemocratic communist system, and following a brutal war and all the consequences of that war, Croatia managed to occupy a place among developed and well-governed democratic states of Europe – undoubtedly the goal to which it aspired ever since the spring of 1990. In the meantime, even from the early 2000s, the Croatian Governments focused much of their activities on the arrangement of internal affairs, which included social stabilisation and economic recovery (2000–2003), the growth of industrial production, reconstruction of the infrastructure and democratisation of the state (2003–2007), stabilisation of the state finances (2009–2011) and integration of the economy into the European framework, exit from a long-term economic crisis, changing European Union's perception of Croatia, and the modernisation of society (2016 – present).

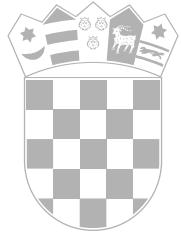
Coming back to the subject of the *Banski dvori*, and particularly the most magnificent room in that complex – the *Ban Jelačić Hall*, it should be mentioned that the *Hall* witnessed a series of important political and social decisions, which greatly influenced the formation, implementation and the course of the public

nizu obnova učinila jednim od umjetnički naj-vrjednijih, a estetski najljepših rezidencijalnih prostora Republike Hrvatske.

life of the newly created independent Croatian state. At the beginning of the new millennium, as well as in the years that followed, the *Ban Jelačić Hall* gained an additional role. It became the centre of political decision-making in the Republic of Croatia, so it is only appropriate that in June of 2019 the *Hall* should appear in its full splendour, as the last of a series of renovations has turned it into one of artistically most valuable and aesthetically most beautiful residential spaces in the Republic of Croatia.







OBNOVA DVORANE BAN JELAČIĆ

RENOVATION OF THE BAN JELAČIĆ HALL

U istočnome krilu južne palače *Banskih dvora* smještena je *Dvorana Ban Jelačić*, koja je formirana i uređena u obnovi zgrade 1910. – 1912. godine u vrijeme bana Nikole Tomašića. Nastala je spajanjem dviju manjih prostorija, kad je nad njima izведен novi, jedinstveni svod sa štukaturom, zidovi su ukrašeni crvenim tapetama, a postavljena je i neobarokna bijela kaljeva peć. Takav izgled *Dvorane* sačuvao se sve do 2018. godine, kad je tijekom radova na uređenju otkriven oslik na zidovima u njezinu sjevernom dijelu. Pronalazak oslike bio je poticaj da se izmjeni usvojeni projekt obnove i da se radovima pristupi s najvećom pozornošću prema otkrivenom povijesnom sloju. Ti su radovi povjereni Hrvatskom restauratorskom zavodu koji je 2018. i 2019. godine proveo interdisciplinarna istraživanja, a potom i konzerviranje te restauriranje zidnog oslike. Projektnu dokumentaciju za uređenje i opremanje *Dvorane* izradio je Arhitektonski ured Vulin & Ileković, građevinske radove izvela je tvrtka Hedom d.o.o., dok je za konzervatorsko-restauratorske radove na svodu angažiran obrt DOK-ART.

Oslik je pronađen samo na sjevernom zidu i sjevernom dijelu istočnoga zida te nije bio sačuvan u cijelosti. Potječe iz ranije faze uređenja

The *Ban Jelačić Hall* is located in the east wing of the *Banski dvori* south palace. It was first designed as part of the 1910–1912 renovation efforts during Ban Nikola Tomašić. The *Hall* was built by combining two smaller rooms into one, which was then surmounted by a stucco vault. The walls were decorated with red wallpaper, and a white neo-baroque ceramic stove was installed, along with other furnishings. This design was kept until 2018, when a wall painting was discovered during renovation. The discovery prompted changes in the adopted project, as the maximum attention was focused on the painting's presentation and conservation. The task was entrusted to the Croatian Conservation Institute, which first conducted interdisciplinary research in 2018 and 2019, and then carried out the conservation of the wall painting. The Architecture Firm Vulin & Ileković authored the project design for the furnishing, the company Hedom carried out the construction work and the DOK-ART did the conservation of the vault.

The wall painting was discovered only on the northern wall and the north part of the eastern wall, and was not preserved in its entirety. It dates from an earlier phase of the building construction at the beginning of the



zgrade s početka 19. stoljeća, vjerojatno iz vremena Ivana Emilijana Kulmera 1801. godine ili pak iz preuređenja za rezidenciju bana Gyulaya od 1808. do 1811. godine. Oslik je ukrašavao zidove prostorije koja je zapremala samo sjeverni dio današnje *Dvorane*, odnosno imala je tri prozora prema Markovu trgu, a u to je vrijeme bila reprezentativni glavni salon palače.

Zidni je oslik rad zasad nepoznatoga srednjoeuropskog slikara; ima likovnu, umjetničku i estetsku vrijednost te je odraz visoke kulture stanovanja s početka 19. stoljeća. Uz slično koncipiran oslik u kući Grlečić-Jelačić na Trgu sv. Marka 9, rijetko je sačuvan primjer vedutnog zidnog slikarstva u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj. Oslik prikazuje iluzionističku arhitekturu koja prati format i otvore zidova u

19th century, most likely from the period of Ivan Emilijan Kulmer in 1801, or soon after that, from Ban Gyulay's renovation from 1808 to 1811. The original hall from the time when the walls were painted was smaller and had only three windows facing St. Mark's Square, so that was the reason why paintings were not found on all walls. In the time of the painting's creation, it was the main salon of the palace.

The wall painting is the work of an unknown Central European painter; it has an artistic and aesthetic value that reflects the high standard of living in the early 19th century Zagreb. Similar to the wall paintings in the Grlečić-Jelačić House on 9 St. Mark's Square, it is a rare preserved example of a mural depicting vedute in continental Croatia. The composition is





prostoriji. Arhitekturu čini kompozicija stupova, položenih na parapete, koji podupiru vijenac te istovremeno čine okvir za prikaz veduta, ukupno njih četiri. Naslikanom se arhitekturom želio stvoriti dojam da promatrač s balkona gleda krajolik koji se pruža u dubinu prostora. Dvije vedute nalaze se na sjevernom zidu, lijevo i desno od vrata prema susjednoj prostoriji, a dvije na istočnom zidu, između dviju prozorskih niša. Na svakoj od veduta u prvom je planu kopneni krajolik s drvećem, a u daljini morska obala, gradovi i građevine. Prema prostornim odnosima krajolika i građevina, kao i samom izgledu građevina, može se sa sigurnošću reći da nije riječ o nekim određenim geografskim lokacijama, poznatim gradovima ili građevinama, nego o

made of illusionist architecture which frames the walls and openings in the room. Fluted columns are placed on parapets, supporting a cornice and thereby create a frame for the four vedute. The painted architecture was supposed to create the impression for an observer standing on an imagined balcony with a view of the landscape that extends far beyond. There are two vedute on the north wall, left and right from the door to the adjacent room, and two are on the east wall, between the windows. In the foreground of each veduta there is a land with trees, and the sea coast, cities and buildings stretching out in the distance. Judging by the space relation between the landscape and the buildings, as well as the appearance of the buildings, it is safe to say that the scenes do





imaginarnoj arhitekturi kakva je bila česta u slikarstvu toga vremena.

Analizom postojećega stanja i sondiranjem utvrđene su prostorne i oblikovne promjene *Dvorane* tijekom godina, kao i stupanj očuvanosti, odnosno oštećenja zidnog oslika. Zidni oslik izveden je tehnikom *secco* na žbuci vapnenog sastava, a na njemu su zatečene različite vrste oštećenja, osobito natučene površine nastale kao priprema za prihvat kasnijih žbuka. Provedena su laboratorijska ispitivanja na uzorcima pigmenata, veziva i žbuka da bi se utvrdila tehnologija i sastav oslika i žbuka te prema tome odredio daljnji postupak. Na oslikanim plohama izvedene su probe čišćenja i reintegracije, a cijela je *Dvorana* detaljno dokumentirana fotografiranjem i metodom 3D la-

not depict any specific geographic locations, known cities or buildings, but an imaginary architecture common in the painting of that time.

The analysis and probing in 2018 and 2019 indicated that changes were made in the design of the *Hall* over the years, revealing the amount of the preserved wall painting, and respectively its level of damage. The wall painting was done in a *secco* technique on lime plaster. Various types of damages were detected, especially hammered surfaces used to prepare the wall for subsequent plastering. Laboratory tests were carried out on pigment, binder and plaster samples to determine the technology and composition of the paint layer and the plaster, in order for the conservation procedure to be set accordingly. Cleaning and reintegra-



merskog skeniranja. Izrađena je i komparativna studija zidnog oslika s likovnom i sadržajnom analizom te komparativnim primjerima kako bi se mogli rekonstruirati nedostajući dijelovi oslika. Rezultati navedenih postupaka objedinjeni su u elaboratu završne prezentacije zidnog oslika i uređenja dvorane.

Konzervatorsko-restauratorski radovi počeli su čišćenjem oslika od naknadnih slojeva žbuka i naliča. Izvorni je sloj žbuke s oslikom konsolidiran i obrubljen. Reintegracija žbuke izvedena je slojevima grube i fine vapnenopješčane žbuke, a ožbukani su i dijelovi zida na kojima nema oslika te su uređeni spojevi nove i stare žbuke. Nanesen je završni sloj, tonirani glet, kao priprema za oslikavanje ploha na kojima oslik nedostaje. Na tako

tion tests were carried out on the painted surfaces, and the entire *Hall* was documented in detail by photographing and 3D laser scanning. A comparative study of the wall painting, which included an artistic, content and comparative analysis, was made for the purpose of reconstructing the missing parts of the painting. The results of these procedures are combined and presented in the study of the final presentation of the wall painting and the hall design.

The conservation began by removing the layers of plaster and paint applied during subsequent renovations. The original layer of plaster containing the painting was consolidated and its borders were fixed. The plaster was reintegrated in layers of coarse and fine lime sand plaster. The parts of the wall without

pripremljenoj podlozi izvedena je idealna rekonstrukcija izgubljenog dijela oslika *per analogiam*, koja se temelji na rekonstrukciji likovnog sadržaja prema srodnim i vremenski bliskim primjerima zidnoga slikarstva. Toj su fazi prethodile probne rekonstrukcije izvedeno zahtjevnijih elemenata na pokretnim podlogama. Reintegracija manjih oštećenja oslika na žbukanim površinama izvedena je kombinacijom lazurnog toniranja i metode retuša *tratteggio*.

Izvedenim konzervatorsko-restauratorskim radovima te općenito obnovom *Dvorane* ponovno je uspostavljena cjelovitost zidnog oslika, a jednostavnom geometrijskom kompozicijom u njezinom južnom dijelu, gdje oslika nije bilo, kao i opremom, unesen je nov, suvremen element te je u cjelini dobiven likovno i umjetnički vrijedan prostor.

the painting were also plastered and the joints between the new and old were neutralized. Toned skim plaster was applied as top-coat for priming the surfaces which had no wall painting. The ideal reconstruction of the missing parts of the wall painting was done *per analogiam* based on the visual content similar to examples of mural painting from the same era. Prior to this phase, reconstruction tests were carried out on movable surfaces. The reintegration of minor damage to the wall painting on plastered surfaces was done by combining lasure toning and the *tratteggio* retouching method.

The overall renovation of the *Hall* has resulted in the conservation of the wall painting in its entirety, while a simple geometric composition in its southern section, where no wall paintings were found, together with the furnishings, has introduced a new, modern element and created a space of exceptional visual and artistic value.

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