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# THE MEMORIAL HERITAGE OF WORLD WAR I IN CROATIA FROM 1914 UNTIL TODAY

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In this paper, the author offers a brief overview of the memorial heritage that was created/erected/set up in honour of the fallen Austro-Hungarian soldiers of World War I, including Croatian citizens from 1914 until today. Based on the extant research, the author presents a categorisation of *sites of memory* related to World War I and writes about the attitudes of the countries that existed on Croatian soil after the collapse of Austria-Hungary towards these sites up to the present.

Keywords: World War I, sites of memory, World War I memorials, Croatia



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## INTRODUCTION

Numerous papers about World War I have been published in Croatia during the past few years, prompted by the World War I centenary commemoration (Herman, 1999–2000, pp. 491–498; Hameršak, 2013, pp. 177–192; Herman Kaurić, 2016, pp. 21–44; Herman Kaurić, 2020, pp. 347–392). Among the numerous topics on which research had begun, the topic of the existing memorial heritage created in memory of Austro-Hungarian soldiers fallen in World War I (which includes many Croatian citizens) became a focus of research among Croatian historians. Since 2014, several papers analysing the circumstances in which various memorials to Austro-Hungarian soldiers – Croatian citizens – who fell in World War I were created were published (Huzjan, 2014, pp. 161–188; Kukić, 2015, pp. 123–125; Medvarić-Bračko

& Kolar-Dimitrijević, 2015, pp. 41–62; Dobrovšak, 2017a, pp. 53–66; Dobrovšak, 2017b, pp. 439–461; Huzjan, 2018, pp. 179–222; Dragoni & Mlikota, 2019, pp. 179–194; Dobrovšak, 2019a, pp. 331–349; Dobrovšak, 2019b, pp. 239–269; Huzjan, 2019, pp. 437–453; Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 399–426; Hameršak, 2020, pp. 375–398; Vukičević, 2020; Cvikić & Dobrovšak, 2021). All these papers, as well as those that indirectly address this topic, such as the numerous catalogues of World War I-related exhibitions, were consulted in the writing of this paper. Due to the lack of concrete sources – such as blueprints of the memorials – newspaper articles and parish books of remembrance, in addition to Croatian and foreign literature, were analysed. In some cases, the necessary data was acquired by analysing the memorials themselves during field research. The aim of this paper is to, through the analysis of all available sources, examine the relationship of states (countries) towards fallen Austro-Hungarian soldiers (Croatian citizens) from World War I and the number of memorials erected to these soldiers, and to establish where all these 'sites of memory' are located.

## The Culture of Memory of World War I

Before we say something about the memorial heritage of World War I, we must consider that there is no culture of memory of the victims and fallen soldiers of World War I in Croatia. Since a culture of memory regarding World War I was not cultivated in Croatia, and there were no commemorations or systematic censuses or research regarding sites of memory of World War I, most sites were forgotten, devastated, or removed. Although a registry of cultural goods is available on the web pages of the Croatian Ministry of Culture and Media, it does not contain all sites of memory that are related to World War I (Registar kulturnih dobara, 2022). Memorial heritage of Croatian citizens who were the victims of World War I was created outside of Croatia, but we do not know how many of these memorials exist or where they are located, and they are not considered in this paper (Tominac, 2016; Paščenko, 2016).

## Sites of Memory

Researching *sites of memory* or *sites of remembering* has recently become popular among scholars, particularly among historians and sociologists (Szpociński, 2016, p. 245). The study of sites of memory began with French historian, one of the key researchers of memory, Pierre Nora, in an article entitled *Mémoire collective*, published in the early 1970s. Nora never defined the term, but it seems that he used it primarily to refer to institutionalised forms of collective memories of the past (Szpociński, 2016, p. 246). The most important work of Pierre Nora, the organiser and inspiration behind an influential collection of

essays on sites of collective memory, was *Les lieux de mémoire*, published between 1984 and 1992 in seven volumes (Winter & Sivan, 1999, p. 1).

Nora identified a trend in historical debate which he called *Les lieux de mémoire* or *a place in our memory* (Nora, 1989, p. 7). Nora made the distinction between memory as a concept that exists in an almost mythical sense in the minds of common people, and 'history' as the 'story' written by an academic in a professional sense (Nora, 1989, p. 8). For Nora, *les lieux de mémoire* are places 'where memory crystallises and secretes itself, has occurred at a particular historical moment, a turning point where consciousness of a break with the past is bound up with the sense that memory has been torn – but torn in such a way as to pose the problem of the embodiment of memory in certain sites where a sense of historical continuity persists. There are *lieux de mémoire*, sites of memory, because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, real environments of memory' (Nora, 1989, p. 7). Memory is itself different from history, and as a result exists in cultural sites or 'lieux' that hold a specific significance for national identity (Nora, 1989, 8). Memory is blind to all but the group it binds, which is to say, as Maurice Halbwachs claims, that there are as many memories as there are groups, that memory is by nature multiple and yet specific, collective, plural, and yet individual (Nora, 1989, p. 9). Nora said these sites of memory 'are fundamental remains, the ultimate embodiments of a memorial consciousness that has barely survived in a historical age that calls out for memory because it has abandoned it'. The sites of memory originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organise celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and notarise bills because such activities no longer occur naturally (Nora, 1989, pp. 11–12). As Nora has said: 'without commemorative vigilance, history would soon sweep them away' (Nora, 1989, p. 12). For Nora, sites of memory 'are sites in three senses of the word – material, symbolic, and functional' and 'are created by a play of memory and history, an interaction of two factors that results in their reciprocal overdetermination'. Without the intention to remember, sites of memory would be indistinguishable from sites of history / *lieux d'histoire* (Nora, 1989, pp. 18–19).

Before and after Nora, there was much scholarly debate about sites of memory, culture memory, and collective memory (Halbwachs, 1992; Connerton, 2009; Assmann, 1995; Winter & Sivan, 1999, pp. 6–39; Szpociński, 2016, pp. 245–254). However, World War I historian Jay Winter went furthest in his search for a definition of a site of memory (Winter & Sivan, 1999; Winter, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2014). For Winter, *sites of memory* are places where groups of people engage in public activity through

which they express 'a collective shared knowledge [...], of the past, on which a group's sense of unity and individuality is based' (Winter, 2010, p. 312; Winter, 2008, p. 61). These groups that go to such sites inherit earlier meanings attached to the event as well as adding new meanings. Their activity is crucial for the memory and preservation of the commemorative sites. When such groups disperse or disappear, sites of memory lose their initial force, and may fade away entirely. As Winter pointed out, the term was first used by P. Nora but, in a brief essay published in 2008 and 2010, Winter defined the term more narrowly to mean physical sites where commemorative acts take place. During the 20th century, most of these sites marked the loss of life in war (Winter, 2008, p. 61; Winter, 2010, p. 312). For Winter, 'states do not remember; individuals do, in association with other people. When such people lose interest, or time, or for any other reason cease to act, when they move away, or die, then the collective dissolves, and so do collective acts of remembrance' (Winter, 2006, 4). Winter has said that agents of remembrance work in the borderlands, linking families, civil society, and the state. During and after a war, individuals, and groups, mostly obscure, come together to do the work of remembrance (Winter & Sivan, 1999, p. 40).

One could say that sites of memory are mostly created and defined in public, often en masse, in processes that happen ritually and cyclically. Most often, these involve the erection of memorials, opening museums, or organising public, often mass celebrations, meetings, and ceremonies, which, in the process of the secularisation of culture, preserve a form akin to religious ceremonies. Building on existing research, this paper offers a brief overview of the memorial heritage that was created as sites of memory of soldiers who fell in World War I, from the war until today.

Based on the existing research (Prost, 1997, pp. 307–330), the memorial heritage of World War I in Croatia has been categorised into: military cemeteries, memorials (memorial lindens...), war memorials, ossuaries, memorial plaques, crucifixes, cross trees, altars and votive chapels, paintings and frescoes, cenotaphs, individual graves, and family tombs (Dobrovšak, 2020, p. 409). Due to the scope of the analysis, we have placed the most emphasis on war memorials.

## **The Attitude of States in Croatia Towards Sites of Memory**

The idea of memorials as 'an honour to heroes' appeared already during World War I. On this occasion, the Imperial and Royal office for promoting crafts in Vienna (*Kunstverlag Schröll und Kopm*) published a work entitled *Soldatengräber und Kriegsdenkmal*. The catalogue was published in 1915 and made with

the cooperation of 25 distinguished Austrian artists. Here one can find a slew of blueprints for memorials using all sorts of materials, for individual and collective graves, for rural areas and cities, for lowlands and hilly regions (*Soldatengräber und Kriegsdenkmale*, 1915).<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the Austrian and German governments established a travelling exhibition called *Kriegergrab und Kriegerdenkmal* in 1916. The exhibition displayed artistically designed graves on the battlefields and behind the front lines and in military cemeteries in the homeland as well as performances of minor homages and the awarding of medals for courage to soldiers (Jezernik, 2014, p. 332). The exhibition was also written about in the Croatian press. The article 'In Honour of Our Heroes', published in the *Ilustrovani list*, opined that every soldier should have 'an honourable soldier's grave, that is, a warrior's headstone' (*U počast junacima...*, 1916, pp. 543–544). Next, a public debate developed in military circles during 1916 about what kinds of memorials should be raised in honour of fallen heroes. Military circles proposed the raising of classic memorials, one memorial post or plaque for each soldier on his native soil. There were also proposals to create a monumental collective memorial in the centre of each municipality or village, which would contain some trinket to preserve the memory of each fallen soldier hailing from there (Herman Kaurić, 2007, pp. 195–196). Civilian circles considered the proposal to erect individual graves unacceptable due to the economic situation in the country and proposed a completely different model: investing money gathered through various charity events in raising an orphanage for children of fallen soldiers (*Za spomenike...*, 1916, p. 3). Of all the listed proposals, almost nothing was implemented during the war, though there were a few exceptions. Although a *banal* order issued in May 1916 established the Land Cemetery and Grave Care Committee for the territory of Croatia and Slavonia, presided over by Count Teodor Pejačević and with the goal of establishing a foundation to fund permanent crosses and great collective memorials (Herman Kaurić, 2007, p. 196; *Domaće vijesti...*, 1916, p. 3), there were no large efforts or raising of memorials because the Committee ceased its activities in early 1917, though its secretary continued to handle its correspondence until the end of 1918 (MKM-PKB-OVK).

During the Committee's existence, an idea was put forth to erect a memorial to the unknown soldier and was supposed to be further developed by the then Committee secretary, Croatian architect Viktor Kovačić, but this was never realised (Galović, 2015, pp. 82–93; Kiš, 2014). Within the frame of the Military Command in Zagreb, there existed a separate Warrior Graves Department, which was mostly responsible for con-

structing and maintaining over 500 warriors' graves throughout Croatia and Slavonia (Herman Kaurić, 2007, p. 196). Although there were various ideas on what military cemeteries should look like, only the one in Karlovac's suburb Dubovac, made according to H. Bollé's plans, took on the proper form of a military cemetery (Damjanović, 2013, pp. 469–473). Only the *Glorieta* and several headstones attest to its existence today.

## Memorials Erected During World War I

The extent to which Croatian authors followed plans from Austrian and German magazines has not yet been sufficiently researched, but memorials were erected, and individual cities, towns, and villages did manage to put up some markers in memory of the soldiers who fell on the battlefields. War memorials of various forms were put up in public spaces, squares in the centres of towns or villages, city/town parks, near parish churches, but most commonly at the local cemeteries. For some of them, we know who initiated their construction, the circumstances in which they were built, and who were their authors, but for most we have no data. Memorials were erected by fellow soldiers, the families of fallen soldiers, civilian and military associations, and only rarely by town authorities or municipalities. They most often had the form of pyramids or obelisks. Some of them displayed the names of the fallen in alphabetical order, or simply the years 1914–1918, which point towards World War I. Of the other forms, there were memorials in the form of pavilions that stood separately or contained a sculpture of a Home Guardsman within the frame of the pavilion, usually made of wood. Several had the form of a cannon shell. However, most took the form of crucifixes, with a text explaining that the memorial was erected to the victims of World War I. In Punat on the island of Krk, a statue of an angel was put up in honour of the victims of World War I, while the cemetery in Varaždin included an obelisk bearing a sword, helmet, and cross. One of the few figural memorials was in Kopačevo and depicts a warrior. Another figural memorial was the *Pieta* erected above the ossuary in Mirogoj.

Memorials to Austro-Hungarian soldiers who fell in World War I were erected: at St James' cemetery in Ogulin (1915), in the city square in front of the Franciscan church in Varaždin (1915), in the city cemetery of the Holy Spirit in Koprivnica (1916), in the military camp Ivanovčani near Bjelovar (1916), within the military convalescent home in Osijek (1916), on the promenade in Novi Vinodolski (1916), in the city park in Sisak (1916), in the military cemetery in Karlovac (1916), in the square in Sušak (1916), in Hober Park on Korčula (1917), in the military camp in Orahovica (1917), outside the cemetery of the

village Klarići near Drivenik (1917), and at the Veprinac shrine near Makarska (1917). Two war memorials were raised in Otočac, one in the town park (1916), the other in the town cemetery (1917). (Barčot, 2015, pp. 247–250; Huzjan, 2019, pp. 437–453; Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 410–412) In addition to commemorating soldiers who fell in World War I, most of these memorials had attributes related to Emperor and King Franz Joseph I and were thus mostly removed or destroyed later. Among those that survived, albeit in bad shape, are those in Ogulin, Orahovica, Novi Vinodolski, and the Otočac town cemetery, while those in Korčula and Karlovac have been partially preserved (Nadgrobni spomenik..., 1916, p. 99; Dobrovšak, 2020, p. 412).

### **Memorials in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia**

Even though it was previously believed that the newly-created political circumstances in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia were an obstacle to erecting memorials to soldiers who fell fighting on the side of Austria-Hungary, this is only partially true. While certain memorials were removed from public spaces in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, these were mostly memorials to Emperor and King Franz Joseph I, the Austro-Hungarian state, and the Austro-Hungarian army. In addition, a part of the memorial heritage that had been created in numerous settlements with the goal of collecting material assistance for fallen soldiers and their families was also destroyed. Thus, numerous memorial lindens, shields, coats of arms, falcons, posts, statues, boats and similar were removed from public spaces in towns and cities (Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 405–406). As one example of this destruction, we can mention the memorial boat on the Nova Obala in Zadar, which had been made for hammering in nails and was not yet finished when it was destroyed during the unrest in the city in November 1918 (Zadar..., 1918, p. 662; Veliki rat, 2014, p. 21; Škiljan, 2014, p. 162).

War memorials continued to be erected in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia, a country that united the 'victors' (former citizens of Serbia) and the 'vanquished' (former citizens of Austria-Hungary, Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, and Bosniaks), though not with the same enthusiasm (Jezernik, 2014, p. 335; Jezernik, 2018). Thus, memorials in Serbia in honour of fallen Serbian soldiers were raised with state support, while those in other parts of the Kingdom were raised by fellow soldiers, or less often, veterans' associations or individuals (Šarenac, 2014a; Šarenac, 2014b, pp. 153–212; Lajbenšperger, 2015, pp. 330–336). According to research, approximately 150 memorials to fallen 'Slovenian heroes' were erect-

ed in Slovenia by summer 1926, and by 1935 there was no settlement in Slovenia without some form of marker (Jezernik, 2018, pp. 129–161; Hazler, 2021, pp. 41–86). In Croatia, this number was far lower. It should be mentioned here that, after Peter's death, King Alexander I Karađorđević attempted to impose himself as the main political factor – his influence became obvious within the ranks of all major Serbian parties, and the Ministry of War was directly under the Crown. The Serbian army was given a policing role in the 'newly liberated' lands and worse, its commanders believed that they were leading a preventive political war against non-Serbian national movements. The result of this policy was a series of tragic conflicts, with assaults and beatings by the military becoming commonplace in northern Croatia, Bosnia, and – to a lesser extent – Dalmatia. Because of this, the already questionable reputation of the Serbian army among the Croats was ruined. In Slovenia, which was never considered a part of Greater Serbia, the military authorities were much more restrained, and this was reflected in the greater number of memorials raised to Slovenes fallen in World War I (Banac, 1984, pp. 141–148). After the creation of the new state, the question of former Austro-Hungarian officers, and their integration in the Serbian/Yugoslav army, arose. The issue of the position of Austro-Hungarian officers is still a matter of debate. According to some authors, mostly representatives of Croatian historiography (Banac, 1984, pp. 141–148; Bičanić, 1938, pp. 120–125), as well as some foreign authors (Deak, 1990, pp. 205–212; Newman, 2015, pp. 14–15), former Austro-Hungarian officers were subjected to humiliation after the Unification; they had to request to be admitted into the army and were commanded by insufficiently educated Serbian officers, Serbian war veterans were favoured, etc. Serbian historian M. Bjelajac, however, offers a different opinion, claiming that the advancement of Serbian officers had been on hold during the war, that the quality of their education was not so bad when compared to those of Austria-Hungary, and that former Austro-Hungarian officers were not prevented from joining the army of the new state (Bjelajac, 1988, pp. 22–33, 91–106; Bjelajac, 1999, pp. 16–27). Without going deeper into this debate, if we limit our view to the attitude towards the culture of memory of Austro-Hungarian soldiers who fell on the battlefields of World War I, it comes as no surprise that only a few memorials to fallen Austro-Hungarian soldiers were put up in Croatia by 1925. In addition, Croatia celebrated the millenary of the crowning of King Tomislav and the founding of the Croatian kingdom in 1925, so most efforts to raise memorials in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were instead focused on the millenary jubilee (Jareb,

2017, pp. 109–176, 191–207; Matković, 1998, pp. 271–280; Kolar-Dimitrijević, 1998, pp. 281–306). The lack of efforts to raise memorials to those who fell fighting on the side of Austria-Hungary also had other, far more mundane reasons. Initiatives to raise memorials or put-up memorial plaques were led by small groups of individuals, associations, sometimes even lone individuals. City governments often could not reach agreements regarding the raising of memorials, or they did not have sufficient funds, or the competitions lasted too long, or there were bureaucratic obstacles when licenses needed to be procured. Smaller towns and villages usually lacked the funds for memorials, so they produced memorial plaques, printed photo-panels, or raised crucifixes. In those settlements where no memorials or plaques were set up, family members inscribed the names of those soldiers who were buried far from their homeland onto family tombs. Photos of fallen soldiers were also added to some tombs (Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 407–408). In addition to this, the difficulties regarding the raising of larger memorials and plaques were complicated by the provision that no memorial or memorial plaque could be raised anywhere in the country without the approval of the arts section of the Ministry of Education in Belgrade. Thus, in 1933, the Society of Brethren of the Croatian Dragon was forced to remove a high relief depicting King Tomislav that they had set up in Ozalj, because they had done so without permission (Kolar-Dimitrijević, 1998, p. 294). For this reason, memorials, memorial plaques, and crucifixes were mostly raised in cemeteries, around or inside parish churches. Most of these memorials have survived until today but are for the most part neglected, damaged, and the local population does not know the reason behind their raising.

During the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, memorials, memorial plaques, crucifixes, votive chapels, or altars were raised in Dol on Hvar (1918), Kalinovica (1919?), Orolik (1920?), Pakrac (1920?), Žrnovo-Korčula (1921), Ivanovčani near Bjelovar (1922), Veliko Trojstvo near Bjelovar (1923), Čazma (1924), Pleternica (1925), Jakšić (1925), Šemovci (1924 or 1925), Novigrad Podravski (1926), Slakovci (1926), Gotalovo (1927), Gola (1927), Vrbanj on Hvar (1928), Vukovar (1928), Čakovec (1929), Našice (1929), Punat on Krk (1930), Daruvar (1930?), Varaždin (1930), Karlovac (1930), Varaždinske Toplice (1933), Samobor (1934), Dol (?), Koprivnički Ivanec (?), Ciglenica (?), Kijevo (?), Belišće (?), Kastav (?), Rijeka (?), and Viškovo near Rijeka (?) (Medvarić-Bračko & Kolar-Dimitrijević, 2015, pp. 41–62; Barčot, 2015, pp. 247–250; Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 412–413; author's personal archive).

All these memorials were dedicated to all victims regardless of their nationality or religion. However, there are exam-

ples to the contrary (Dobrovšak, 2020, p. 413). These include the memorials erected to fallen Germans in Jarmina (1922), Breznica Našička (1925), and Krndija (1926), to Hungarians in Kopačevo (?), Novi Bezdán (1935), and Lug (?), and to Jews in Slavonski Brod (1919?), Zagreb (1930), Koprivnica (1934), and Križevci (1935) (Dobrovšak, 2017b, pp. 439–461; Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 413, author's personal archive). Here we can include memorials to fallen soldiers of the enemy armies who died in civilian and military hospitals in Croatia. There are several of these, mostly in city cemeteries. For example, the Zagreb city cemetery contains two such memorials, one to fallen French soldiers, and the other to Italians (Kukić, 2015, pp. 123–125). The circumstances under which these were erected remain unknown. Memorials and ossuaries for fallen Italians were built at local cemeteries in Zadar (1937 to 1939), Pula, and Rijeka (Sacari e cimiteri..., 2005, pp. 103–107; Dragoni & Mlička, 2018, pp. 179–194). A memorial plaque to Serbian soldiers was put up at the Split waterfront, on the side wall of today's St Peter's Quay (Kečkemet, 2009, p. 181).

In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the most significant effort to commemorate the soldiers fallen in World War I was linked to the raising of the *Memorial to the Unknown Hero* on Avala hill and another memorial in Mirogoj, Zagreb's main cemetery. The first memorial was built in the period between 1934 and 1938 by Ivan Meštrović and was supposed to be dedicated to all victims of World War I, but the years inscribed in it (1912–1918) show that it was also dedicated to the victims of the Balkan Wars (Ignjatović, 2006, p. 229; Ignjatović, 2010, pp. 624–651). The second memorial was the one in Zagreb, erected in the Mirogoj cemetery. Around 3,700 soldiers were buried there during the war and in the first months of 1919, including those who died in numerous civilian and military hospitals and Red Cross hospitals in Zagreb. According to the cemetery statute of 1878, the 3rd class graves, in which most of the soldiers were buried, had to be dug up after 15 years, so the 'Association of Reserve Officers and Warriors, Zagreb Sub-Committee' took charge of the effort. The initiative to raise a collective tomb, exhume, and transfer the mortal remains of soldiers buried at Mirogoj was launched by the Zagreb City Government in 1927. The construction of the ossuary was financed wholly through the Mirogoj Foundation, owned and administered by the city authorities. However, nothing was done until 1931 due to the administrative inertia of the city and state apparatus. The ossuary, whose construction was prompted in 1931 but prolonged for a whole decade due to lack of funding and poor organisation, is the work of Zagreb architect Ante Grgić, while the *Pieta* monument was made by Vanja Radauš and Jozo Turkalj. The lower part of the ossuary was

completed in 1934, the same year when the exhumation was performed. The ossuary is divided into several chambers and is actually a secondary tomb of the fallen soldiers. It contains the remains of around 3,300 soldiers of various national, religious, and military affiliation, including over 1,000 Croats, 450 Hungarians, 330 Serbian prisoners-of-war, over 150 soldiers from Bosnia and Herzegovina, 110 from Austria, and a smaller number of Slovenes, Montenegrins, and others. The tomb was built in 1939. Due to a lack of funds, the city budget did not consider the upper part of the tomb, i.e. erecting a memorial, until 1938. At a new competition for the memorial in 1938, after numerous financial and judicial dilemmas, the memorial *Pieta* by sculptors Vanja Radauš and Jozo Turkalj was selected, and finally put up in March 1940, when the tomb was officially presented to the public (Kukić, 2015, pp. 123–125).

Immediately after the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, the culture of memory regarding World War I and those who perished in it took a visible place on the Croatian public scene. The Croatian regime began to create a cult of the Croatian warrior, and for this reason reached for the heritage of World War I (Hrvati..., 1941, pp. 6–7; Delić-Dubički, 1942, p. 9) and began to commemorate its victims (Na grobovima..., 1941, p. 8; Svi sveti..., 1941, p. 9). However, as the war went on, the World War I heritage began to fade, and the cult of the Croatian warrior, hero, and martyr of World War II arose; commemoration of fallen warriors from World War I was cancelled in 1942. Several memorials to victims of World War I were erected during the Independent State of Croatia. Two were in the town cemetery of Nova Gradiška (1942) and in Zastrazišće on Hvar (1941) and survived the war, while a third, in Drnje (1942), was demolished by the Partisans in 1945 because they considered it associated with the Ustasha regime. It is not known who was responsible for raising the memorials on Hvar and in Drnje, while the inscription on the memorial in Nova Gradiška attributes it to the Association of Decorated Warrior Croats of 1914–1918, founded after the Independent State of Croatia was established (author's personal archive).

No further memorials were raised after World War II; in fact, some of them were transformed into memorials to fallen People's Liberation Struggle fighters (Dobrovšak, 2020, p. 414; Medvarić-Bračko & Kolar-Dimitrijević, 2015, pp. 41–62). This situation persisted until recently, when initiatives within the framework of the World War I centenary commemoration appeared in some settlements, including Zagreb, with the aim of putting up plaques in memory of soldiers who perished in World War I (Pali hrvatski vojnici..., 2015). Over the last several years, old memorials were restored and new ones erect-

ed. The memorial in Čakovec that had been removed in 1945 was restored and returned in 1994 but placed in a new location. The memorial at the Mirogoj cemetery was restored in 2014. The Croatian officers' choir of the Istria Municipality set up a plaque to Croatian sailors and soldiers in the naval cemetery in Pula in 2015. Collective memorials to victims of multiple wars were put up in some settlements, such as Prelog, Presečno near Varaždin (2014), and Donja Voća near Varaždin, while new memorial plaques to World War I soldiers were put up in Karlovac (2013), Pula (2014), Zagreb (2015), and Dugo Selo (2015) (Dobrovšak, 2020, pp. 414–415, author's personal archive).

## CONCLUSION

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We can conclude that the memorial heritage of World War I in Croatia does exist. However, due to historical circumstances and states that did not commemorate the victims of World War I, these sites of memory disappeared from collective memory. Although the official authorities in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia did not stop the raising of memorials to World War I victims who had fought on the 'enemy side', they also did not support it, so memorials were not built in adequate numbers, unlike in Slovenia and Serbia. One of the reasons for not commemorating those who fell in the war is related to the fact that most towns and cities did not have sufficient funds for building such memorials after World War I. Furthermore, the Yugoslav state promoted the erection of memorials dedicated to individuals or events that had contributed to its unitarist ideology, such as those dedicated to King Peter I and Alexander as well as those dedicated to King Tomislav during the millenary of the Croatian kingdom. Despite all these aggravating circumstances, memorials and memorial plaques to all Croatian citizens-soldiers who fell while serving in the Austro-Hungarian army were put up during the time of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes/Yugoslavia, mostly next to churches and in local cemeteries. These efforts were mostly initiated by various associations such as Croatian Women's (but not veterans' associations), local authorities, or the families of fallen soldiers, and only rarely by city administrations and state institutions. Furthermore, Austro-Hungarian World War I cemeteries were not removed and were sometimes maintained. Neglect and destruction of graves, military cemeteries, and memorials from World War I were commonplace after 1945 and World War II, when some of the memorials were transformed into memorials dedicated to fallen People's Liberation Struggle fighters. Memorials were ruined simply due to the passage of time, as

wooden crosses rotted away, while families forgot about them or moved to other regions, leaving nobody to care about them. Some iron crosses and plaques survived, but time has completely erased the inscriptions on them.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> The only example of this work in Croatia is found in the Croatian Ministry of Culture and Media. *Soldatengräber und Kriegsdenkmale*, Herausgegeben vom K. K. Gewerbeförderungs-Amte, Wien, 1915, Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co. Gesellschaft M.B.H. In addition to this work, several others proposing what memorials should look like were published: *Steirische Kriegerdenkmale*, Verein für Heimatschus in Steiermark, Graz im Jul 1915; *Denkschrift über Kriegsgräberanlagen*, Von der vom k.u.k. Kriegsministerium in den Bereich des k.u.k. Militärkommandos Krakau entsendeten Studienkommission, Wien, 1916; *Kriegsdenkmäler die beim wettbewerb des K.K. Ministeriums für Kultus und Unterricht durch preise oder ehrende Anerkennung Ausgezeichneten Entwürfe/Neunzig bilder und Pläne mit erklärendem text und einer Einleitung*, Wien, 1916, Kunstverlag Anton Schroll & Co., Ges M.B. H. in Wien; *Soldaten-Gräber, Krieger-Denkämler, Erinnerungszeichen Entwürfe und Vorschläge* herausgegeben vom Bauerischen Kunstgewerbe-Verein, München, 1916.

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DRUŠ. ISTRAŽ. ZAGREB  
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## Spomenička baština Prvoga svjetskoga rata u Hrvatskoj od 1914. do danas

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U ovom radu autorica daje kratak pregled spomeničke baštine koja je od 1914. godine do danas nastala/podignuta/postavljena u čast palim austro-ugarskim vojnicima iz Prvoga svjetskog rata hrvatskim državljanima. Autorica na temelju dosadašnjih istraživanja daje kategorizaciju spomeničkih mjesta vezanih uz Prvi svjetski rat te piše o odnosu država koje su nastale na hrvatskom tlu nakon raspada Austro-Ugarske prema tim mjestima sjećanja do danas.

Ključne riječi: Prvi svjetski rat, mjesta sjećanja, spomenici Prvoga svjetskog rata, Hrvatska



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