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Studia Carpathico-Adriatica, Vol. VI
Intercultural Encounters from an Ethnological Perspective

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Intercultural Encounters from an Ethnological Perspective

Edited by
Željko Holjevac, Martin Homza,
Nevena Škrbić Alempijević & Andrej Solár

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Andrej Solár *

Editorial

Uvodnik / Úvodník

Identity and culture are the driving forces behind the survival of every community. Economic, intellectual, and cultural exchanges serve as a source of mutual enrichment for all participants. Croatia and Slovakia have long borne witness to the fact that their international ties run deep in history. The Slovak-Croatian Commission for the Humanities — hereafter SCHCH — provides a platform for the professional study and presentation of these connections. For the first time since the commission was founded, the seventh meeting of the SCHCH included presentations of ethnological research by specialists from both countries. The topic "Intercultural Encounters from an Ethnological Perspective" was agreed upon during the sixth meeting of the commission, which took place in Košice in June 2024. Holding the international scholarly conference in the Croatian coastal city of Rijeka further underscored the importance of these encounters, and several scholarly papers also reflected the importance of the locality itself. The objective of this year's session was to direct attention toward cultural exchange between Croats and Slovaks. The significance of intercultural encounters, as well as the ties and relationships between our nations and countries, was emphasized through papers exploring several areas of cultural exchange, including language, minorities, and prominent figures.

Each session of the commission results in the organization of an international academic conference, culminating in the publication of the peer-reviewed scientific volume *Studia Carpathico-Adriatica*. The scholarly character of the event was further highlighted by the fact that the conference took place on the academic premises of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Rijeka between 11 and 14 June 2025.

Besides the commission members, the conference was attended by representatives of higher education institutions from both countries, together with representatives of the respective ministries: Ivana Fakac, representative of the Ministry of Science, Education and Youth of the Republic of Croatia, and Martina Klofáčová, representative of the Ministry of Education, Research, Development and Youth of the Slovak Republic. The opening of the conference was also attended by the hosts of the scholarly meeting, Goran Hauser, Dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Rijeka, and Davor Vašiček, deputy Rector of the University of Rijeka. The introductory addresses were delivered by the chairs of the two partner branches of the commission, Prof. Željko Holjevac and Prof. Martin Homza. All participants

* ANDREJ SOLÁR, PhD, Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia (Bratislava, Slovak Republic).

were also addressed by Her Excellency Hana Kováčová, Ambassador of the Slovak Republic to Croatia.

The conference was organized into four sections with thematically grouped presentations. Scientific cooperation among experts and universities constitutes an important component of intercultural collaboration. National minorities constituted a prominent subject of the presentations and individual contributions. To this day, the Croatian national minority in Slovakia and the Slovak national minority in Croatia represent a distinctive element of the cultural interconnectedness of the two countries. The opening paper of the first section was presented by Zuzana Beňušková of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Slovak Academy of Sciences under the title *Croatia at the Ethnofilm International Festival in Čadca*. In the fourth section, Juraj Janto from the Department of Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology at Comenius University Bratislava presented the remarkable topic *Czechoslovakia's Maritime Transport and Its Croatian Contexts*. A presentation focused on the exchange of contacts in a medical context, entitled *Beyond Borders toward Infinitely Rich Connections: The History of Some Early Medical and Non-medical Contacts between Slovaks and Opatija*, was delivered by the trio of contributors Robert Doričić, Toni Buterin, and Amir Muzur, all from the Faculty of Medicine and the Faculty of Health Studies at the University of Rijeka.

The topic of personalities who helped shape relations and cultural exchange between Croatia and Slovakia was explored in the first section by Ivan Grkeš from the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Zagreb. His presentation, *Encounters between Croatian and Slovak Ethnology through the Correspondence of the Ethnologists Milovan Gavazzi and Ján Podolák (1958–1978)*, focused on scholarly exchange between the two ethnologists. Another contribution was delivered by Nevena Škrbić Alempijević from the same department, entitled *Slovak Writer Martin Kukučín, a Figure of Memory on the Island of Brač*. The third section included the contribution *Vít Ušák and His Contribution to the Preservation of Slovak Ethnic Identity in Croatia*, presented by Sandra Kralj Vukšić of the Slovak Cultural Centre Našice. In the final fourth section, Marko Medved from the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Rijeka presented the paper *Adam Muchtin – a Slovak Priest and the First Parish Priest of Podvežica in Rijeka*.

In the area of material culture, Marta Botíková from the Department of Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology at Comenius University Bratislava presented her paper *Observations on the Folk Attire of Croats in Slovakia*. Likewise, Mária Garanová Krišťáková of the Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia presented the paper *Documentation of Religious Pilgrimages of Slovak Croats at the Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia*. The second section featured the contribution by Ján Botík entitled *Language as the Key Attribute of the Collective Identity of Croats in Slovakia*. I devoted my own contribution to the linguistic aspect of cultural exchange in the paper *Rural Toponyms as Traces of Croatian Identity in Slovakia*.

As part of the theme of national minorities, Žarko Španiček from the De-

partment for the Protection of Cultural Heritage in Požega at the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia delivered a presentation in the third section entitled *Traces of Slovaks in the History and Culture of Slavonia*.

As the results of the seventh session of the Slovak-Croatian Commission for the Humanities show, the connections between Slovak and Croatian cultures remain vibrant, and cultural exchange between the two countries is still ongoing. This is not only a historical phenomenon, but also a living and developing aspect of our culture today that clearly deserves our attention.

Intercultural encounters from an ethnological perspective

IVAN GRKEŠ*

A Dream Long Dreamed? On the Encounters between Croatian and Slovak Ethnology in the Second Half of the 20th Century

Dugo sanjani san? O susretima hrvatske i slovačke etnologije u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća / Dlho vysnívaný sen? O stretnutiach chorvátskej a slovenskej etnológie v druhej polovici 20. storočia

U radu se analiziraju dodiri hrvatske i slovačke etnologije u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća na temelju korespondencije etnologa Milovana Gavazzija i Jána Podoláka. Istraživanje zahvaća nedovoljno obrađeno razdoblje povijesti etnologije u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji, koje se u različitim preglednim radovima predstavlja kroz prizmu krize unutar kulturnopovijesne etnologije. U radu se nudi znatno nijansiranija slika ovog razdoblja: razumijevajući ga kao izrazito dinamičan period za razvoj discipline unatoč izazovnoj društveno-političkoj situaciji. Razdoblje socijalističke Jugoslavije za hrvatsku se etnologiju prikazuje u ponešto drukčijem svjetlu: kao razdoblje otvaranja novih prilika, obnavljanja nekadašnjih međuratnih intelektualnih veza i pokušaja međunarodnog povezivanja etnologa slavističke orijentacije. Zbog toga se istraživanje usmjerava na dvije teme: utjecaj političkih zbivanja na dodire dviju etnologija te mjesta susreta dviju etnologija u razdoblju socijalizma. Članak je strukturno podijeljen u dva dijela. U prvom dijelu prikazuje se povijesni okvir korespondencije. Drugi dio usmjerava se na mjesta susreta hrvatske i slovačke etnologije u razdoblju socijalizma.

Ključne riječi: Milovan Gavazzi, Jan Podolák, socijalizam, hrvatska i slovačka etnologija, povijest etnologije, susreti

Introduction

This text presents encounters between Croatian and Slovak ethnology in the second half of the 20th century on the example of the correspondence between ethnologists Milovan Gavazzi and Ján Podolák. It is one of the most comprehensive correspondences among those preserved in the *M. Gavazzi's Personal Archive*,[1] which is curated by the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb. The correspondence encompasses the period from 1958 to 1978, and its content not only offers an insight into the long-term collaboration between the two ethnologists, associates and colleagues – but also points toward the intellectual contact between the two national ethnologies during the period of socialism. In a wider sense this correspondence relates to a large topic of research, one that has

* IVAN GRKEŠ, mag. ethn. et cult. ant., mag. hist. et mag. inf., assistant. Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb (Republic of Croatia).

1 Croatian State Archives, Zagreb (deinde CNA): *Milovan Gavazzi's Personal Archives. Correspondence (deinde* MGPA COR), box. 88, nr. 1029.

not yet been systematically investigated within the history of Croatian ethnology and cultural anthropology – namely, the ethnology in the period of socialist Yugoslavia. Although somewhat neglected, due to disciplinary research focus on the period of the institutionalisation of Croatian ethnology at the end of the 19th and first half of the 20th century, this period has, in individual research contributions, shown itself as especially dynamic for the development of ethnology as a research discipline in Croatia: encompassing an increase in the number of professional ethnologists after WWII, specifically an increase in the number of women in the discipline, the opening of new museums and institutions, generational shifts, and the articulation of new directions of research at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s.[2]

This article builds on the findings of a limited number of works which understand the period of socialism as an especially dynamic period for the development of the discipline despite the very challenging socio-political situation, characterised by a constant oscillation between repression and relaxation of strictures imposed by the communist regime.[3] In this sense, the correspondence between Gavazzi and Podolák shows the period of socialism in a somewhat different light with regard to our discipline: as a period of the opening of new opportunities for Croatian ethnology, the renewal of former intellectual ties, and generally as an attempt to connect ethnologists interested in wider Slavistic topics internationally. Taking into account the scope of this correspondence, which lasted a full 20 years, I will attempt to select several groups of topics and on the basis of this pose two questions: 1) in which way did the political circumstances of the time influence the encounter of these two ethnologists and 2) what were the loci of the encounters between Croatian and Slovak ethnologies during the period of socialism.

In a thematic sense, this article is linked to recent trends within the domain of the history of ethnology and cultural anthropology which focus on research into intellectual networks and contacts, transfers and reception of ide-

[2] Despite the focus on the foundational period of Croatian ethnology and cultural anthropology, the institutionalisation of which begins within the framework of the Academy at the end of the 19th century, culminating in the establishment of the Chair of Ethnology and Ethnography in the first half of the 20th century, individual authors have written on certain aspects of ethnology during socialism in works of smaller or larger extent. See for example: GJETVAJ, Nada: *Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu.* Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1989; BELAJ, Vitomir: Povijest etnološke misli u Hrvata. In: ČAPO, Jasna et al. (eds.): *Etnografija: blagdan i svagdan hrvatskog puka.* Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1998a, p. 337-357; MARKS, Ljiljana – LOZICA, Ivan: Finitis decem lustris. Pola stoljeća folklorističkih (filoloških, etnoteatroloških, i njima srodnih) istraživanja u Institutu za etnologiju i folkloristiku. *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku* s. 35, nr. 1. (1998), pp. 73-110; POTKONJAK, Sanja: In Women's Arms: Croatian Ethnology Between 1945-1990. In: BOŠKOVIĆ, Aleksandar – HANN, Chriss (eds.): *Anthropological Field on the Margins of Europe, 1945-1991.* Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013, pp. 237-257; PETROVIĆ LEŠ, Tihana: Intelektualni krug Milovana Gavazzija: dopisivanje s kolegama iz Slovenije na primjeru prepiske s Angelosom Bašem od 1960. do 1973. godine. *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, a. 30, nr. 1 (2018), pp. 95-119; GRKEŠ, Ivan: *Od angažiranih do specifičnih intelektualaca. Etnolozi Milovan Gavazzi i Milenko Filipović u svjetlu intelektualne historije (1930-1969.).* Diplomski rad, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 2020. PETROVIĆ LEŠ, Tihana - GRKEŠ, Ivan: Between science and repression: intellectual circle of ethnologist Milovan Gavazzi and the Croatian ethnology in the period of 1945 to 1955. In: KUHN, Konrad– TURPEINEN, Lauri – SNELLMAN, Hanna (eds.): *Contested Knowledge. Political Dimensions of Ethnology and Folklore Studies in Post-War Europe.* Helsinki: Studia Fennica, 2026, pp. 110-130. Meanwhile, it is indicative that there is a lack of contributions which aim to elaborate on this period.

[3] RADELIĆ, Zdenko: *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991. Od zajedništva do razlaza.* Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2006; GOLDSTEIN, IVO: *Hrvatska 1918-2008.* Zagreb: Novi liber, 2008.

as within the discipline, the interaction of central figures and other participants within the profession, as well as an analysis of intellectual circles. It is indicative that in such works there is an attempt to refrain from earlier historicist and biographical approaches toward the articulation of a new approach termed the *critical paradigm* of the history of anthropology.[4]

This article is structurally divided into two parts. In the first part the historical framework of the stated correspondence will be shown, through which the correspondence of the two ethnologists will be contextualised in relation to the political circumstances and circumstances in the discipline at that time. The second part is directed to selected topics focusing on encounters between Croatian and Slovak ethnologies during the period of Socialism.

The Gavazzi – Podolák Correspondence in Light of the Biography of the Two Ethnologists

The Gavazzi-Podolák correspondence begins on 22nd of May 1958 and continues until 24th of March 1978. It consists of a total of 91 letters, typed on a typewriter, encompassing 132 pages of text in Croatian and Slovak.[5] The correspondence between these two ethnologists was not entirely continuous, as was the case with other domestic and foreign correspondents, which in itself poses a challenge in the analysis of this archival material.[6] Gavazzi and Podolák were most intensely in contact from the mid-1960s to the beginning of the 1970s, when they were engaged in the revivification of relations between Yugoslav and Slovak ethologists: these ties were broken in the first post-war years after the Yugoslav-Soviet split.

Despite the fact that one can occasionally find content of a private nature in this correspondence, Gavazzi and Podolák's correspondence can primarily be characterised as professional,[7] seeing as it largely deals with topics of mutual interest in the research of both ethnologists (e.g., Slavic ethnography, traditional economies, etc.), while at the same time it records the professional circumstances within two ethnologies. As a result, this correspondence provides exceptional material for research into the encounters between Croatian and Slovak ethnologies in the period of late socialism, as well as

[4] For more information see: DARNELL, Regna: A Critical Paradigm for the Histories of Anthropology. The Generalization of Transportable Knowledge. *BEROSE International Encyclopaedia of the Histories of Anthropology* (2022). https://www.berose.fr/article2718.html?lang=fr (accessed: 21 December 2025); DARNELL, Regna: *History of theory and method in anthropology*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2022; DARNELL, Regna – GLEACH, Frederic (eds.): *Centering the Margins of Anthropology's History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021; DELGADO ROSA, Frederico – VERMEULEN, Han F. (eds.): *Ethnographers before Malinowski. Pioneers of Anthropological Fieldwork, 1870-1922*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2022; D'AGOSTINO, Gabriella – MATERA, Vincenzo (eds.): *Histories of Anthropology*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023.

[5] The entire correspondence in this archive consists of a total of 29 boxes containing around 11 900 letters, exchanged with 1358 correspondents. The language of this correspondence often depended on the correspondents themselves. As Gavazzi was a polyglot, he was fluent in German, English, French, Italian, Russian, Czech – and, in the end, in Slovak. STIPANČEVIĆ, Mario: Korespondencija Milovana Gavazzija u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu. *Arhivski vjesnik*, a. 48, nr. 1 (2005), pp. 55-68.

[6] Such a situation is vividly apparent in this correspondence, characterised by various breaks in communication often reflecting (foreign) political circumstances, due to which certain events require reconstruction based on available facts.

[7] STIPANČEVIĆ, Mario: Korespondencija, p. 5.

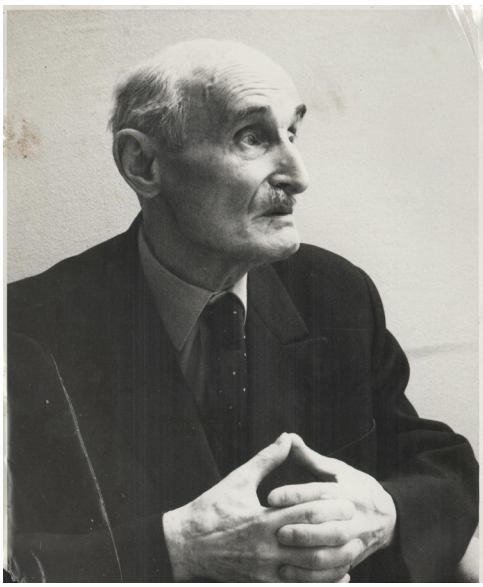

Figure 1: *Milovan Gavazzi, unknown author. (source: Archive of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb)*

the general state and development of Croatian (and Yugoslav) ethnology.

In the period when this correspondence began, both men were already established within their disciplines. At the time, Milovan Gavazzi (1895-1992) was a full professor at the Chair of Ethnology and Ethnography at the University of Zagreb, the foundations of which he had laid in the interwar period.[8] The period of socialist Yugoslavia was, in a professional sense, a particularly dynamic one for Gavazzi. Besides teaching and performing other duties at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb (he was dean in the academic year 1951/1952), he became highly engaged within his discipline: first as editor-in-chief of the journal *Etnološki pregled (Ethnological Overview)* from 1960, and then until 1970 as president of the Yugoslav Ethnological Society – the largest professional association of Yugoslav ethnologists.[9] Regarding his research profile, he was a representative of cultural-historical ethnology focusing on traditional Croatian culture and traditional cultures of other peoples of Yugoslavia, which he attempted to view from a wider comparative perspective. His approach to research was based on a *cultural-geographical* and *cultural-genetic* analysis: research into cultural elements from the field of traditional culture, first identifying the zone of their expansion, and then their origin.[10]

In the period when this correspondence began, Ján Podolák (1926-2017) was employed as a researcher at the Slovak Academy of Sciences and Arts.[11] At the then Slovak University (today the Come-

[8] The Chair of Ethnology and Ethnography at the Faculty of Philosophy (later Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences) was officially founded in 1925, with the ethnographer and folklorist Petar Bulat as its head. Due to uncertain political circumstances and P. Bulat's retirement the Chair was temporarily closed. Research and teaching activities were renewed in 1927 with Gavazzi's arrival as head of the Chair. After the restructuring of the Faculty in 1960, the Chair became the Department of Ethnology. See: PETROVIĆ LEŠ, Tihana: Povijest Odsjeka za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju. *Odsjek za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju*. https://etno.ffzg.unizg.hr/odsjek/povijest-odsjeka/ (accesed November 30, 2025); BELAJ, Vitomir: Povijest, pp. 353-354.

[9] GRKEŠ, Ivan: Od angažiranih do specifičnih intelektualaca, pp. 57-59.

[10] BELAJ, Vitomir: Milovan Gavazzi. *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 1998b. https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/gavazzi-milovan (accesed 20. 12. 2025); ČAPO ŽMEGAČ, Jasna: Two scientific paradigms in Croatian ethnology: Antun Radić and Milovan Gavazzi. *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, a. 32, nr. 1, pp. 25-37.

[11] PRIEČKO, Martin – SLOBODOVÁ NOVÁKOVÁ, Katarina (eds.): *Genius loci Jána Podoláka. Laudačná publikácia k profesorevej 90-tke.* Trnava: Dajama, Department of Ethnology and Central European Studies of the Cyril and Methodius University, 2016, p. 6. I would like to take this opportunity to thank professor dr. Marti Botikova for her assistance in locating the relevant Slovak literature related to the life and works of Jan Podolák.

nius University) he completed his study of ethnology and history in Bratislava in 1951, after which he was employed in the position of researcher at the Ethnographic Institute.[12] He defended his doctoral dissertation *Animal Husbandry in Horenhronie* (*Pastierstvo na Horehroní*) in 1961 at the Faculty of Arts, Slovak University, where he started working in 1964, first as an associate, and from 1966 as a permanently employed professor of Ethnology. The 1950s and 1960s period was a dynamic time for Podolák as well: in 1953 he was the cofounder of the journal *Slovenský národopis* (executive editor until 1960), in 1958 he was the cofounder of the *Slovak Ethnological Society*, while in 1959 he was the cofounder of the *International Association for Research into the Folk Cultures of the Carpathian Valley* (head secretary from 1959 to 1979).[13] In terms of research, he was interested in a vast array of subjects: traditional Carpathian agriculture and animal husbandry, ethno-cultural processes in Slovakia and Central Europe, the history of ethnology, Slovak minorities abroad, but also ethnic minorities in Slovakia.[14]

Figure 2: *Jan Podolak, Hiršava 1959. (Taken from: PRIEČKO, Martin – SLOBODOVÁ NOVÁKOVÁ, Katarina (eds.): Genius loci Jána Podoláka. Laudačná publikácia k profesorevej 90-tke. Trnava: Dajama, Department of Ethnology and Central European Studies of the Cyril and Methodius University, 2016, p. 7.)*

Comparing the scholarship and the career paths of these two ethnologists during the period of socialism, it appears that a similar scientific approach characterises their work in cultural-historical ethnology, an approach that was later criticised within both disciplines. The Canadian ethnologist David Scheffel criticises the approach in earlier Slovak ethnology which was primarily focused on the description and codification of folk culture, accentuating research into material culture, narratives and folk music, while topics such as social organisation and cosmology remained outside the discipline's domain.[15] A very similar situation is apparent in the case of earlier Croatian ethnology, which was criticised for its cultural-historical approach and its focus on peasant culture, due to which other contemporary socio-cultural processes remained outside of its focus (e.g., shifts and transformations of customs, urban culture and everyday life), as well as politics and power relations generally.[16]

[12] JANTO, Juraj: Dr.h.c. prof. PhDr. Ján Podolák – in recognition of his life and work. *Ethnologia Slovaca et Slavica*, a. 38, nr. 1 (2017), p. 101.

[13] JANTO, Juraj: Dr.h.c. prof. PhDr. Ján Podolák, p. 102.

[14] PRIEČKO, Martin – SLOBODOVÁ NOVÁKOVÁ, Katarina: *Genius loci*, pp. 6-7; JANTO, Juraj, Dr.h.c. prof. PhDr. Ján Podolák, p. 102.

[15] SCHEFFEL, David: Slovak Ethnology in the Post-Socialist Era. *Ethnologies*, a. 21, nr. 2 (1999), p. 56.

[16] RIHTMAN-AUGUŠTIN, Dunja: Hrvatska etnologija poslije Gavazzija i Bratanića. Razmišljanje o političkom angažmanu u etnologiji. *Etnološka tribina: godišnjak Hrvatskog etnološkog društva*, a. 27, nr. 20 (1997), p. 85-86.

The Historical Context of Gavazzi and Podolák's correspondence

The period which saw a higher intensity in the correspondence between the two ethnologists and their professional collaboration was also a dynamic one in terms of its political and socio-cultural aspects. For the social sciences and humanities – in this instance Croatian (and Yugoslav) ethnology in particular – the mid-1960s were a time of many great opportunities compared to the early years following the end of WWII.[17] This was a time of a brief respite from social strictures and political repression within the context of the internal-political (re)positioning of socialist Yugoslavia after the break of political relations with the Soviet Union in 1948. There was a political paradigm shift within the Communist Party of Yugoslavia itself, which led to the establishment of preconditions for a "limited" liberalisation of social life.[18] Despite the fact that this period in no way signified a change in the character of the country's communist regime, it was still important as it saw a relaxation of tensions and implementation of certain aspects of liberalisation of social life, indeed only to the extent in which deviations from and criticism of the political system were seen as tolerable.[19] In such circumstances certain advances emerged in foreign policy, culture, art, the economy – and what is most important to us – in the sciences.

In this period social realism was abandoned in literature and the fine arts, with avant-garde movements taking its place, and these movements emerged in Yugoslavia after the opening of its borders to the West.[20] The wider economy experienced an experiment in which there was a merger of a semi-closed market and the introduction of a worker self-management system.[21] Foreign policy saw a thaw

[17] The conflict between Tito and Stalin in 1948 led to a split in the diplomatic relations between the USSR and the countries of Eastern Europe with Yugoslavia. There was a break in all economic, cultural and scientific ties, while all inter-state contracts were repealed. The uncertain diplomatic situation saw a propaganda war against Yugloslavia and an increase of incidents along the border (e.g., with Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Albania) (GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, p. 451).

[18] According to: GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, p. 473; As stated by historian Hrvoje Matković, it was necessary to reinvent a system that would "preserve the Communist Party's rule but lead the country towards socialism of a different kind than practiced in the USSR" (MATKOVIĆ, Hrvoje: *Povijest Jugoslavije*. Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 1998, p. 306). In this effort, significant attention was awarded to considering the Communist Party's role in society. Namely, the Party was no longer seen as the governing center for activities and institutions in the fields of culture, art, education and science; rather, it became "*the source of ideas and an educator that directs and organizes social life in its entirety*" (GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, p. 473).

[19] According to: RADELIĆ, Zdenko: *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji*, pp. 293-294; As Goldstein's and Radelić's examples show, after this period of limited liberalisation there was a "period of stricture", especially relating to critics of the regime itself which led to the question concerning the party's monopoly on political governance (see GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, p. 487; RADELIĆ, Zdenko, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji*, p. 294).

[20] According to: GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, p. 478; BILANDŽIĆ, Dušan: *Hrvatska moderna povijest*. Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1999, p. 341; Younger generations became bearers of new artistic directions, for instance a group of young architects and artists called EXAT 51, whose 1951 manifesto refers to Bauhaus and constructivism as their points of origin (GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, p. 477). In literature, Miroslav Krleža's so-called *Ljubljana Paper* in 1952 marks the symbolic break with Socialist Realism (BILANDŽIĆ, Dušan, *Hrvatska moderna povijest*, p. 341; RADELIĆ, Zdenko, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji*, p. 292). Also, new journals are launched, promoting freedom in literary creation, such as the journal *Krugovi* (Circles) (1952), which focused on contemporary topics, existentialist poetry and surrealism, as well as literary criticism (GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, p. 478).

[21] RADELIĆ, Zdenko, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji*, pp. 284-290.

in relations with the West, the establishment of the Non-Aligned movement and the conclusion of a series of diplomatic agreements which also led to the opening of borders and the development of tourism.[22] Tourism brought along a surge in cultural activity, with a significant increase in the number of festivals along the Adriatic coast.[23] Finally, in 1955 relations with the Soviet Union were normalised, which led to a renewal of the political ties with Eastern Europe which were severed in 1948 – also including those with Czechoslovakia.[24] All these occurrences were reflected in the social sciences and the humanities. As a result of a decrease in anti-western rhetoric, there was an increase in translations of western literature, which led to the diffusion of new trends in research, while opening the borders to the West and East (from 1955) resulted in a renewal of scientific and intellectual contacts and consequently in an increased mobility among scholars.

It is interesting to note that it is primarily historians who have taken interest in this issue,[25] although the process cited above was not characteristic of historiography only, but also of other disciplines in the social-sciences and humanities, including ethnology and cultural anthropology.[26] In this period, in the context of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, there was also a renewal of intellectual ties between Yugoslav and Slovak ethnologists. Within Yugoslav (and Croatian) ethnology in the mid-1950s certain significant changes occurred. The Yugoslav Ethnological Society (further: YES) was established in 1957 in Belgrade – the central professional association of Yugoslav ethnologists.[27] This society emerged in part due to the necessity for professional ethnologists to form ties within one overarching professional organisation, following an increase in the number of domestic ethnologists and ethnological institutions (especially museums and other institutions) after WWII.[28] Along with its local branches in the federal republics and the central periodical *Etnološki pregled (Ethnological Review)*,[29] YES was a central platform for the exchange

[22] GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, p. 483; JAKOVINA, Tvrtko: *Treća strana Hladnog rata*. Zagreb: Fraktura, 2011.

[23] GRKEŠ, Ivan: Od lokalnog do najvažnijeg jugoslavenskog festivala. Osvrt na festivalizaciju Dubrovačkih ljetnih igara u formativnom razdoblju (1949-1959.). *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, a. 33, nr. 1 (2021), p. 175.

[24] For more see: BILANDŽIĆ, Dušan: *Historija SFRJ. Glavni procesi: 1918 – 1985*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1985, p. 218. Normalisation was officially established in the so-called *Belgrade Declaration* which was signed by Tito and Khrushchev, in which the basic principles in the relations between nations were postulated, such as respect for sovereignty, independence, integrity, and non-interference with the internal affairs of the other country (GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, p. 485).

[25] See: JANKOVIĆ, Branimir: *Mijenjanje sebe same: preobrazbe hrvatske historiografije kasnog socijalizma*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2016.

[26] It would be interesting to research the extent to which the proliferation of new research trends from Anglo-American and European ethnology in Croatian ethnology was accelerated by the context of Yugolavia's opening to the world in the 1960s and 1970s.

[27] The society was established on June 17th, 1957, in the form of a two-day meeting of ethnologists in Belgrade, where the founding assembly took place (GRKEŠ, Ivan: Od angažiranih do specifičnih intelektualaca, p. 77).

[28] NIKOLIĆ, Rajko: Etnološko društvo Jugoslavije. *Etnološki pregled* a. 1, nr. 1 (1959), p. 87.

[29] Since its founding in 1957 The Ethnological Society attempted to gradually decentralise itself with the establishment of branches in the different republics: In 1959 branches of YES were founded in Croatia and Serbia, in 1960 in Macedonia (GRKEŠ, Ivan: Od angažiranih do specifičnih intelektualaca, p. 77; MILIĆEVIĆ, Josip: Sedmo savjetovanje Etnološkog društva Jugoslavije (Pohorje, 6-10. X. 1964.). *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, a. 3, nr. 1 (1964), pp. 237-238); In 1958 the journal *Etnološki pregled* (*Ethnological Review*) was founded. It was published annually and its editor-in-chief from 1960 was Gavazzi.

of ideas and experiences among Yugoslav ethnologists. It was also a place for dialogue with ethnologists from abroad in annual conferences – *savjetovanja* – which were conducted in a selected city in one of the Yugoslav republics. At the time when their correspondence gained intensity, Milovan Gavazzi held the function of president of YES.[30] It is indicative that in this period Gavazzi managed to renew his scientific authority within this discipline. However, in contrast to the interwar period when he was especially active both publicly and politically,[31] in the post-war period his focus was primarily on work within the discipline: participating in the development of individual institutions, professional associations, the organisation of scientific conferences and the establishment of journals.

In the context of Yugoslavia opening itself to the world, from the mid-1950s Gavazzi spent more of his time abroad, which allowed him to renew old contacts with colleagues and establish new ones. Most of his travels were primarily of a professional nature, involving guest lectures as well as meetings within various scientific committees (e.g., *Alpes orientales*).[32] During one of these travels he met Podolák, after which their correspondence began in 1958. Not long after this, with the establishment of the *International Association for the Study of the Folk Culture of the Carpathian Region* (of which Podolák was the head secretary) both were engaged in its work. This contact was strengthened further by Podolák's visit to Zagreb at the end of summer in 1958 and 1959, as well as continuous shorter visits in the following years.

Encounters between Croatian and Slovak Ethnology in the Second Half of the 20th century

The period of the second half of the 20th century in the history of ethnology and cultural anthropology has not been sufficiently researched, especially questions regarding intellectual contacts and the transfer of ideas among Croatian ethnologists and cultural anthropologists. In the limited body of literature which chronologically encompasses this period, the accent is placed on the crisis within cultural-historical ethnology and the emergence of new approaches to research at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s within the scope of the Institute for Folk Art, which have been subsumed in various overviews under the collective title of *new* or *cultural -anthropological paradigm*.[33] Based on my

[30] After the founding of YES in 1957 the Serbian ethnologist Borivoje Drobnjaković was appointed its first president, with this position being accepted – quite reluctantly – after Drobnjaković's sudden death, by Gavazzi himself.

[31] LEČEK, Suzana – PETROVIĆ LEŠ, Tihana: *Znanost i svjetonazor: etnologija i prosvjetna politika Banovine Hrvatske 1939-1941.* Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010; PETROVIĆ LEŠ, Tihana - GRKEŠ, Ivan: Between science and repression, pp. 110-130.

[32] I will cite the following as an example: participation in the CIAP congress in Arnheim in 1955, in the conference for Eastern-Alpine ethnology 1959, the CIAP congress in Paris in 1960 and in Moscow in 1964. Gavazzi visited Finland, Sweden and Denmark as guest lecturer in 1957, while in 1960 he delivered guest lectures in East Germany and Austria; in 1958 he took part in an academic exchange in Poland, where he met his colleague and friend Kazimierz Moszyński for the last time. See: GRKEŠ, Ivan: Od angažiranih do specifičnih intelektualaca, p. 59.

[33] ČAPO, Jasna – GULIN ZRNIĆ, Valentina: Introduction: Un siècle d'ethnologie croate. Une réflexion critique. *Ethnologie française*, a. 43, nr. 2 (2013), pp. 192-193; ČAPO, Jasna – GULIN ZRNIĆ, Valentina – ŠANTEK, Goran Pavel (eds.): *Etnologija bliskog: poetika i politika suvremenih etnografskih istraživanja*. Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, Naklada Jesenski i Turk, 2006, pp. 10-17.

own experience in research and archival work on the Gavazzi-Podolák correspondence, it appears that one cannot assess the period of the second half of the 20th century only in the context of crisis and the formation of new directions in research within Croatian ethnology. As this correspondence shows, the period of the second half of the 20th century should be observed with more nuance: on the one hand, it was certainly characterised by a crisis within the dominant cultural-historical anthropology, but also by the opening of Croatian (and Yugoslav) anthropology to the world; thus, as a period offering new opportunities for its development: the renewal of old and establishment of new intellectual ties with scholars from other ethnological traditions and the creation of international platforms for collaboration and the exchange of ideas and experiences.[34] In accordance with this, in this chapter I will select specific examples which contribute to this claim.

The Renewal of Intellectual contacts between Croatian and Slovak Ethnologists

After the Yugoslav-Soviet split in 1948, collaboration between Croatian and Slovak ethnologists was briefly ceased. In later correspondence in which Gavazzi and Podolák look back on the post-war period, we learn that only indirect contact between the two disciplinary communities was maintained through the exchange of literature from the Slovak academy of Sciences and Arts as well as from some related institutions.[35] The first official contacts occurred not long after the reestablishment of relations between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union in 1955. This is evident in letters from this period. The first encounters occurred in international conferences, and later in collaborative research committees, such as *The International Committee for Research into the Folk Culture of the Carpathian Region*, members of which Gavazzi and Bratanić became at Podolák's recommendation.[36] Not long after this, academic exchange was established with Gavazzi's visit to the Ethnographic Institute in Bratislava in 1958 and with Podolák's two-week visit to Yugoslavia at the end of summer in the same year, during which he visited the Chair of Ethnology and Ethnography in Zagreb, the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts as well as its Archive of the Committee for Folk Life and Customs.[37] As Podolák emphasised in his letter, the aim of the visit was *"(…) within the given possibilities to attempt to establish personal contacts with Yugoslav colleagues with the aim to exchange common experiences."*[38]

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[34] One generally gains the impression that in all overviews which pertain to the development of Croatian ethnology and cultural anthropology in different ways there is failure to emphasise the Yugoslav context and there is more emphasis on national ethnology – as if it were not part of a wider disciplinary framework and the result of dialogue among ethnologists from the different Yugoslav republics.

[35] Hrvatski državni arhiv, Zagreb (deinde HDA): *Osobni fond Milovana Gavazzija. Korespondencija* (deinde OFMG KOR), box 88, dat. June 24, 1969., nr. 1029. On suggestion by Podolák, who in the post-war years was editor of the periodical *Slovenský národopis*, collaboration was established with 19 partners in Yugoslavia, amongst them practically all ethnological institutions in the country (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. June 24, 1969, nr. 1029).

[36] HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. June 24, 1969, nr. 1029.

[37] HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. May 22, 1958, nr. 1029.

[38] HDA-OFMG KOR, box. 88, dat. June 27, 1958, nr. 1029.

Although the intensity of the correspondence between these two ethnologists was not as frequent as it was later, it is indicative that this attempt to renew Yugoslav-Slovak ethnological relations must certainly be seen in the wider context of opening Slovak ethnology to the wider world, as is evident in several letters. Podolák, thus, describing the state of the discipline in a letter from 1958 states that:

> *"Slovak ethnology is mostly represented by young people. We have only one university professor and one lecturer in ethnography ([Rudolf] Bednárik). If we want to develop the discipline, we must seek the assistance of older colleagues, especially Slavic colleagues from abroad, who have pursued Slavic topics for years."*[39]

In this sense Slovak ethnologists showed interest in collaborating with various researchers who had focused on Slavic topics, so that they collaborated with the Polish ethnologists Kazimierz Moszyński, Witold Dynowski, the German ethnologists and folklorists Wolfgang Steinitz, Alois Schmaus and the Austrian ethnologist Leopold Kretzenbacher.[40] Therefore, collaboration with Yugoslav ethnologists should be seen as part of a network of Slavic ethnologists which Podolák was building after the war. It is because of this that he relied so greatly on Gavazzi, an older colleague who, even in the interwar period, established ties with European ethnologists involved in Slavic ethnography. This collaboration was further strengthened after Gavazzi was appointed an honorary member of the *Slovak Ethnographic Society* in 1967.[41] This is exactly why Podolák quite often addresses Gavazzi in these letters – especially in the 1960s when the correspondence intensifies – with various requests and advice. At Podolák's request, for example, in Munich in 1967, Gavazzi inquired with L. Kretzenbacher and A. Schmaus about the possibilities of exchange between German and Slovak students. This finally resulted in the departure of the Slovak student Magdalena Barančokova for an academic exchange in Munich, the very first Slovak student of ethnology in Germany after WWII.[42] The success of this initiative opened the possibility for a wider Yugoslav-Slovak exchange on the basis of reciprocity, that is, an invitation to a Yugoslav student to study West-Slavic languages for one or two semesters.[43]

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39 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. June 27, 1958, nr. 1029.

40 The ethnologists cited above were invited to Slovakia as guest lecturers for this reason, and this was an opportunity for the exchange of knowledge, experience and new approaches to research. In 1958, the Slovak Academy of the Sciences invited the folklorist W. Steinitz and ethnologist W. Dynowski, while they planned to invite Gavazzi again in 1959; in 1960 they planned to invite the Slovenian ethnologist Vilko Novak (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. June 27, 1958, nr. 1029).

41 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. November 5, 1967, nr. 1029.

42 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. November 19, 1967, nr. 1029. According to Gavazzi's conversation with Kretzenbacher and Schmaus, there were two possibilities for establishing academic exchange in Germany: via the Humboldt foundation or the local office for international exchange students. The condition for achieving this exchange was a written statement on the aims of research, language proficiency, and information on the duration of the stay in West Germany (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. November 5, 1967, nr. 1029).

43 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. November 19, 1967, May 22, 1969, nr. 1029. The only condition was that this must be a student of ethnology who, after approval, would receive a monthly stipend of 700 Czechoslovakian kruna. Podolák considered this an excellent opportunity for students to acquaint themselves with (Czecho)slovak ethnology and Slovak culture generally (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. November 19, 1967, nr. 1029).

Podolák's collaboration with Yugoslav colleagues was further strengthened in the 1960s when he participated in several brief field-work investigations. In the summer of 1969 he visited Zagreb, where he participated in the International Folklore Festival, and then left to conduct some brief fieldwork. At the initiative of *Matica slovačka* and *Matica hrvatska* he spent two weeks in Slavonia involved in field-work among the Slovak minority there, researching traditional economics (agriculture and cattle breeding) and individual aspects of social culture.[44] In this period he also planned to visit Ruthenian villages with the aim to compare Slovak and Ruthenian folk cultures in Croatia.[45] His research in Yugoslavia continued in Macedonia and South Serbia, where he conducted research among pastoral communities with the intention of publishing these results in the form of a monography.[46]

Podolák's visits cited above did not only result in the deepening of scholarly ties between these two ethnologists, among whom correspondence intensified in the mid-1960s – but also led to the renewal of the old idea of creating a network among Slavic ethnologists present since the interwar period, for which, within the context of the renewal of relations between Yugoslavia and the Eastern Bloc, essential political conditions now existed.

A long-dreamed dream becoming a reality? The attempt to establish an association among Slavic ethnologists

The largest part of this correspondence is directed at Podolák's attempts to establish ties and networks among Slavic ethnologists in the period of the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. The direction of these attempts was twofold: 1) to establish a collective periodical which would gather researchers with related interests in one place and 2) to establish an association of ethnologists-slavists.

A genuine opportunity emerged on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Comenius University in Bratislava in 1969.[47] The Slovak

[44] HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. June 22, 1969., nr. 1029.

[45] HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. November 19, 1967, nr. 1029. After participating in the international folklore festival in Zagreb from the 20th to the 24th of July, he left to participate in field research, which was realised by means of cooperation between the two institutions (the Slovak and Croatian Matica) and a bilateral agreement. Gavazzi informed him on this occasion of the recent state of research, as Czechoslovak minorities in Croatia had already been researched by the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore of the Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts in Prague, albeit with more focus on the Czech minority – while Croats in Slovakia were researched by researchers from what was then the Institute for Folk Art, who researched Croats in the area around Bratislava (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. July 3, 1969., nr. 1029). It is for this reason he was directed after his arrival in Croatia to refer to the Secretary of the *Matica Hrvatska*, Šercoricij for technical detail, and to the ethnologist Ján Mjartan for matters concerning the Ruthenian and Slovakian minority (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. July 3, 1969., nr. 1029).

[46] HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. October 5, 1969, nr. 1029.

[47] The Comenius University was founded in 1919 during the period of the First Czechoslovak Republic (1918–1938). As in the Croatian case, the final phase of the institutionalization of ethnological science occurred here in 1921, with the establishment of the Department of Ethnography and the introduction of the first program in general ethnology within the new state. Although the faculty was composed predominantly of Czech scholars, teaching and research were directed toward Slovak folk culture (SCHEFFEL, David: Slovak Ethnology, p. 55). It is noteworthy that in 1936 the renowned Russian semiotician and ethnographer Pyotr Bogatyrev was appointed there (SCHEFFEL, David: Slovak Ethnology, p. 55).

ethnological circles planned to mark this occasion with the publication of a collection of articles, which was initially to be titled *Studia ethnologica Universitatis Comenianae*, which would include contributions by colleagues from Yugoslavia.[48] The idea of this new publication was heartily welcome from Zagreb with the remark that this "*(…) would be a great success for Slavic ethnography, as such publication does not exist – and Lud Słowiański was ceased a long time ago.*"[49] Besides accepting to write a contribution for the journal – which was thematically tied to a lecture he delivered in Liblice on the occasion of Lubor Niederle's 100th birthday – Gavazzi proposed the journal be titled *Studia ethnologica Slavica Universitatis Comenianae*, adding the label *Slavica* to mark it as generally Slavic.[50] Eventually, a compromise solution was accepted so that for many years the publication was titled – *Ethnologica Slavica*.[51] Despite difficulties at the start, when the first issue of this journal was approaching publication in 1969, Podolák enthusiastically – albeit, as it later proved, prematurely– claimed that "*an old dream has become reality*."[52]

From the very beginning the original idea was for this publication to have a wider reach: that it should not involve only topics of Slovak interest, but rather that it should have a wider Slavic impact as a journal for Slavic ethnology. The idea was for the journal to gather in one place contributions by Slavic ethnologists and folklorists focusing on the study of Slavic folk cultures and the cultures of individual Slavic peoples, in the form of various case studies, discussions and reviews.[53] More specifically, the journal focused on publishing comparative studies from the domain of the folk culture and life of Slavic peoples, as well as individual ethnic groups in a diachronic perspective.[54] In a certain way, as can be read in the correspondence, this publication was considered the continuation of a similar idea conceived in the interwar period around the journal *Lud Słowiański*, the editor of which was the Polish ethnologist K. Moszyński, which ceased publication not long after the beginning of WWII.[55] The cited journal was a platform which connected ethnologists who studied Slavic ethnology. By all accounts, a similar task was assigned to this newly established collection of articles, with the idea that after the success of the first two issues in 1969 and 1971 it could become a full-fledged journal.[56] Several decades later, with some temporal distance, Podolák

48 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, November 19, 1967, no. 1029. Along with Gavazzi, Podolák noted that he also expected contributions from colleagues from Poland (Mieczysław Gładysz), Bulgaria (Hristo Vakarelski), and Hungary (Béla Gunda) (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. November 19, 1967, no. 1029).

49 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. January 4, 1968, no. 1029.

50 He delivered the presentation in Liblice (today in the Czech Republic) in 1965, under the title "General Overview of Slavic Culture". In earlier letters regarding his contribution, he stated that this particular work "*(...) would be suitable for such a journal*" (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. November 4, 1967, no. 1029).

51 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 24, 1968, no. 1029.

52 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. May 22, 1969, no. 1029.

53 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 3, 1968, nr. 1029.

54 As Olgica Vlašić reports, despite the journal's proposed wide thematic approach, it is noticeable that contributions on folklore predominated in the first few numbers, with fewer linguistic, archeological and historiographic studies (VLAŠIĆ, Olgica: Ethnologia Slavica. *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, a. 2., nr. 1, p. 234).

55 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 24, 1968, nr. 1029.

emphasised that his intention was to link this journal to the scholarly heritage of the founder of Slavic ethnology J. Šafarik and those who followed him: Niederle, Moszyński, Gavazzi and Vakarelski.[57]

Yet Podolák's vision was somewhat broader than initiating a Slavic journal. This collective periodical publication was meant to signify the first step toward initiating an association of ethnologists-slavists, which had never been achieved in the interwar period, and which no-one had succeeded in establishing as a separate section in international congresses.[58] As he emphasised in one of his letters, his intention was to establish Slavic ethnology as a separate field of research:

> *"(…) I firmly believe that with our collective efforts we'll create a tradition of Slavic ethnography, the collective work of Slavic ethnologists, which will be able to make a united appearance in Slavistics congresses".*[59]

Besides making united appearances at congresses, this association would also, through its collective journal, put forward its views related to the needs and development of this academic field.[60] This collective journal, thus, was not only to select and publish relevant contributions from the field of ethnology and ethnography, but also to promote *"the concept of ethnographic Slavistics' in Slavic and socialist countries."*[61] In this sense, Gavazzi offered his full support to this idea, which he linked directly to the *Lud Słowiański*, an active partner of which he had been since its first volume and he suggested for several Yugoslav colleagues to be asked to collaborate.[62]

The idea of creating a network of ethnologists-slavists, meanwhile, was not a new one. This was in fact a decades-old idea. Podolák himself spoke about this with Moszyński not long after the war, to whom he proposed the establishment of the *Society of Slavic Ethnographers* (*Društvo slavenskih etnografa).* Moszyński agreed with the suggestion under the condition that only western and southern Slavs be represented in it, without eastern ones, on which Podolák concluded that *"such a concept (…) under our conditions"* – here referring to Slovakia's ties to the Soviet Union – *"would be politically untenable."*[63] After Moszyński's death, the idea was re-

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56 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 3, 1968, nr. 1029. According to the original idea, there would be a predominance of various slavistic studies, and in the following issues selected topics and concrete case studies would be represented. In this respect, there was already correspondence with Gavazzi on his paper which was to be written in either German or French, and which was to be a study on material and spiritual culture (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 3, 1968, nr. 1029). Podolák emphasises that, among other Yugoslav ethnologists, he will invite for collaboration Persida Tomić, Milenko Filipović, the Bulgarian ethnologist Hristo Vakarelski, the Slovenian ethnologist Vilko Novak and Branimir Bratanić (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 3, 1968, nr. 1029).

57 VLAŠIĆ, Olgica: Ethnologia Slavica, p. 234.

58 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 3, 1968, nr. 1029.

59 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 24, 1968, nr. 1029.

60 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 24, 1968, nr. 1029.

61 VLAŠIĆ, Olgica: Ethnologia Slavica, p. 234.

62 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 12, 1968, nr. 1029. He suggested a contribution by the ethnologist Đurđica Palošija, namely her dissertation on the practice of cutting hair by godparents among South Slavs with a focus on the Old Slavonic component. Among non-Slavic ethnologists he suggested Alois Schmaus, Leopold Kretzenbacher, Richard Wolfram and Evel Gasparini, the last of whom he had reservations about, stating *"not to mention some of his strange theses and conclusions"*). (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. 12. 3. 1968, nr. 1029).

63 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 24, 1968, nr. 1029.

vived, and was very close to realisation in Prague during a slavistics congress, where Gavazzi and Podolák met again. Here Podolák proposed the initiation of a society/committee for ethnographic research, with Gavazzi as president of the organisation board and its secretariat in Bratislava.[64]

However, the establishment of a society of ethnologists-slavists was never realised, although the idea was welcomed among contemporary ethnologists-slavists: e.g., Peter Bogatyrev, Kirill Chistov and Yulian Bromley from the Soviet Union and Hristo Vakarelski from Bulgaria.[65] Discussions concerning the establishment of this society were first weighed down by the unstable political situation in Czechoslovakia, and then further thwarted by Soviet intervention in August 1968 with the quelling of the *Prague Spring*. During these events there was a (brief) disruption in scholarly contacts between Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, which was also reflected in the activities of the journal *Ethnologia Slavica*.[66] It seems that this was the reason why the idea of establishing a society was put aside for a certain period. Besides this, finding collaborators from Yugloslavia proved an even greater challenge, with Yugoslav ethnologists appearing not to be particularly prepared for collaboration, as Podolák resignedly remarked in one of his letters:

> *"I still haven't received anything from Croatia or Yugoslavia at all. I don't know where the problem is, either Yugoslav colleagues don't value the importance of this periodical, or they're too lazy to write, or they have reservations towards our intentions. I really cannot explain this. I kindly ask you that you use your authority both as a scholar and person to encourage your Yugoslav colleagues and obtain something for our collection of papers, preferably for volume V."*[67]

Gavazzi himself observed on this state of affairs, referring in one of his earlier letters to the passivity of Yugoslav ethnologists concerning collaboration with their Slovak colleagues:

> *"I have attempted to ensure something, yet still without success; our colleagues lack the time to write papers; some are researching local topics in ethnology or those of a limited regional interest (which are inappropriate for ES) or they lack the ability to work on wider slavistic research. And yet I hope that one (or two) contributions of this type will be available in the near future."*[68]

Although it initially seemed that Podolák's ambitious attempt at creating a network of Slavic ethnologists did not succeed, he did eventually succeed in establishing the internation journal *Etnologia Slavica* in 1969 with its annual symposia. A year earlier he succeeded in establishing an international student field-work seminar titled *Seminarium Ethnologicum*

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64 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. May 22, 1969, nr. 1029; VLAŠIĆ, Olgica: Ethnologia Slavica, p. 233. Recalling these events with a time distance of twenty years, Podolák tersely notes that the proposal for the establishment of a society (as O. Vlašić cites in her text, to be named the *"Commission for the Ethnological Research of the Slavs"*) was refused (VLAŠIĆ, Olgica, Ethnologia Slavica, p. 233).

65 VLAŠIĆ, Olgica: Ethnologia Slavica, p. 233.

66 After political intervention in August, there was difficulty in obtaining contributions from Poland, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. May 22, 1969, nr. 1029). For this reason he made the request to Gavazzi to ensure the obtainment of contributions from Yugoslavia, as it was his aim that Croatian and Yugoslav ethnologists be represented (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. May 22, 1969, nr. 1029).

67 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. April 22, 1972, nr. 1029.

68 HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 9, 1972, nr. 1029.

at the Comenius University.[69] This was an international seminar based on field-research in the Carpathian mountains: this was an excellent opportunity for creating ties between Slovak and other European ethnologists.[70] As can be noted in the correspondence, the journal, symposia and seminars became especially active spaces for the intellectual encounters of two ethnologies, despite Podolák never relinquishing the idea of establishing a society:

> *"I haven't given up hope of establishing an All-Slavic ethnographic organisation, which was proposed by the late prof. Moszynski and which you'll certainly live to see. Until then we must satisfy ourselves with a Slavic folk periodical."*[71]

It is clear from this very correspondence that the *Ethnological Seminar* and the symposium *Ethnologia Slavica* became spaces of encounter between two ethnologies: for example, Branimr Bratanić participated in the Second Ethnological Seminar with students from Zagreb. There were 15 participants in all, and the topic was traditional agriculture.[72] The following *Ethnological Seminar* took place in Upper Orava in 1970 with a thematic focus on spiritual and social culture. The programme lasted a total of three days and consisted of a two-day symposium and fieldwork for students. The symposium's participants took part in discussions regarding comparative Slavic ethnography and the similarities and differences in the folk cultures of the Slavs, while students researched topics related to spiritual and social culture in the villages of Upper Orava.[73] After the symposium there was a meeting arranged for the editors of the journal *Ethnologia Slavica* and a meeting for the *Committee for Research into the Folk Cultures of the Carpathian Region*.[74] On the

[69] PRIEČKO, Martin – SLOBODOVÁ NOVÁKOVÁ, Katarina, *Genius loci*, p. 6.

[70] EDLUND, Lars-Erik: Jan Podolák 1926-2017. *Royal Gus's Tomb Adolf's Academy for Swedish Folk Culture*, 2017. https://gustavadolfsakademien.se/personer/person/jan-podolak (accessed December 21, 2025) The Swedish linguist Erik-Lars Edlund in his obituary for Podolák emphasises that this seminar was an *"important source of inspiration for an entire generation of then young European ethnologists"*. (EDLUND, Lars-Erik: Jan Podolák, 2017).

[71] HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. May 22, 1969, nr. 1029. On the occasion of the publication of the jubilee – twentieth – issue of *Etnologiae Slavicae* in 1988, the editors proposed that the journal continue to be published as an international journal of Slavic ethnology and that *"a 'commission for ethnographic research' be established to facilitate a more intense comparative research into the material and spiritual culture of the Slavs"* (VLAŠIĆ, Olgica, Ethnologia Slavica, p. 234).

[72] HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. May 22, 1969; June 7, 1969, nr. 1029. The Department of Ethnology at the University of Zagreb had three applied students and Podolák claimed this was the highest number of students from a foreign university, two applicants being the previous record for an individual university (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. May 22, 1969, nr. 1029.). It seems that this type of seminar was an example of the innovation in collaborative fieldwork which characterised Slovak ethnology during the period of socialism, as David Scheffel noted (SCHEFFEL, David: Slovak ethnology, p. 56).

[73] HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. October 5, 1969, nr. 1029. Gavazzi was asked to use his personal authority to ensure wider participation of Yugoslav ethnologists in terms of contributions for this journal (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 7, 1970, nr. 1029). Among Yugoslav ethnologists, Podolák planned to invite Gavazzi, Vilko Novak, Branimir Bratanić, Mirko Barjaktarević and Branimir Rusić. From other countries he planned to invite ethnologists Witold Dynowski, Mieczysław Gładysz, Józef Burszt and Roman Reinfuss, the Soviet ethnologists Sergey Tokarev and Yulian Bromley, the Bulgarian ethnologist Hristo Vakarelski, the Hungarian ethnologist Béla Gunda, the Austrian ethnologist Leopold Kretzenbacher and the Sorbian ethnologist Pawoł Nedo. The organisation was to be financially supported by the *Matica slovenská* and the Slovak Ethnological Society (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. March 7, 1970, nr. 1029). In the end Gavazzi himself did not participate in the symposium due to other academic obligations at the time: guest lecturer in Austria, participation in the Balkanological Congress in Styria, etc. (HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. September 20, 1970, nr. 1029).

[74] HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. October 5, 1969, nr. 1029.

basis of this correspondence we learn that in the same year individual members of the Department of Ethnology resided in Bratislava. Vitomir Belaj, then assistant, came to Bratislava substituting for Professor Marija Išgum, who could not participate due to illness, and afterwards carried out fieldwork among members of the Croatian minority. It appears that a student from Zagreb University was with him at the time, Ivanka Ivankec, later curator at the Ethnographic Museum in Zagreb.[75] One year later Yugoslav ethnologists participated in the symposium *Ethnologiae Slavicae*, led by Mirko Barjaktarević and Blaže Ristovski. As these shorter academic formats proved generally successful, an idea emerged to organise them outside Slovakia. In relation to this, the idea to establish national branches of *Ethnologia Slavica* was proposed – it appears that this was in line with the previous idea of establishing an association of ethnologists-slavists – who would coordinate work on the journal and the organisation of symposia, which were to be conducted in a country of choice, with Ohrid in Macedonia suggested as the first location.[76] A postcard dated 1972 has been preserved, signed by participants in the symposium, among whom we find the student Milivoj Vodopija from Zagreb, which shows that the ties between these two ethnologists continued.[77]

As the correspondence became less frequent from 1972, it is difficult to further trace the link between these two ethnologists, but in later correspondence it can be noted that their collaboration continued until the mid-1970s, when the final letters were exchanged. The vibrant loci of the encounter of the two disciplinary communities proved to be the periodical *Ethnologia Slavica*, its annual symposium, as well as student seminars in fieldwork. These occassions undoubtedly indicate that the period of the late 1960s and the early 1970s was an especially dynamic time for Croatian/Yugoslav and Slovak ethnology, marked by a renewal of former academic and intellectual ties – simultaneously opening new opportunities for the development of two ethnologies as well as their interactions with other European ethnologies. This certainly would not have occurred had it not been for significant social-political changes within Yugoslavia that created the preconditions in which intellectual contacts among scholars could occur at all, and consequently the encounter of two ethnologies.

Conclusion

The Gavazzi-Podolák correspondence illuminates the insufficiently researched period of socialism in the history of Croatian ethnology and cultural anthropology, which, due the primary focus on institutionalisation, has remained outside the interests of research. In various review papers, this period is presented through the prism of the crisis of the cultural-historical paradigm and the emergence of new directions in research. Although I am not challenging this contention, this paper displays a different view of this period on the basis of the correspondence between two ethnologists that throws something of a different light on the period of socialism: on the one hand, a period noticeably marked by a crisis within domestic ethnology,

[75] HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. December 5, 1970, nr. 1029.
[76] HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. June 8, 1972; December 18, 1972, nr. 1029.
[77] HDA-OFMG KOR, box 88, dat. September 14, 1972, nr. 1029.

while on the other a dynamic time for the development of Croatian and Slovak ethnology. More specifically, despite a challenging socio-political situation, the period of socialism was marked by an opening of new opportunities for Croatian ethnology in view of the renewal of interwar intellectual ties and an attempt to create a network of ethnologists oriented toward slavistics. This occurred at the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, when the circumstances were favourable for the opening of Croatian (and Yugoslav) ethnology to the world. These circumstances emerged as a result of socio-political changes within socialist Yugoslavia during the period of the the so-called limited liberalisation: the period of gradual easing of oppression by the communist regime, during which there was a relaxation of tensions and an opening of borders to the East and West. This period also saw an increase in the academic mobility of scholars in the humanities and social sciences, among them sociology, historiography, as well as ethnology and cultural anthropology. In this context contact was established between Gavazzi and Podolák, which would result in concrete activities that tied these two ethnologists, ties which were broken after 1948, following the split in relations with the Soviet Union. Taking into account that this correspondence not only concerns the narrow professional relations between the two colleagues and collaborators, but, in a wider sense, encompasses events between two ethnologies – it is possible for us to display in this work the ties between Croatian and Slovak ethnology. Although Podolák's aspirations were very ambitious in view of his attempts to renew ideas that began in the interwar period – the establishment of a collective society of ethnologists oriented toward slavistics - due to various political circumstances this was not achieved. The initiative, nevertheless, resulted in a partial success: the establishment of a slavistics journal, collective symposia and an international fieldwork seminar, which, despite the unrealised idea, became spaces for the intellectual encounter of the two disciplinary communities and their interactions with other European ethnologies. In light of these achievements this paper has attempted to show, based on selected excerpts from their correspondence, the encounters between two ethnologists and two ethnologies in the second half of the 20th century. Still, for a more comprehensive understanding of the ties between Croatian and Slovak ethnology in the period cited here, it is necessary to widen the scope of archival research toward other material (official institutional documentation, photographs in archives, etc.).

Zuzana Beňušková*

Croatia at the Ethnofilm International Festival in Čadca**

Participácia Chorvátska na MFF Etnofilm v Čadci / Sudjelovanje Hrvatske na MFF-u Etnofilm u Čadcu

Od roku 1980 sa na Slovensku koná bienálny festival etnografických a antropologických filmov Etnofilm Čadca. Po politických zmenách v roku 1989 sa festival stal medzinárodným a do jeho súťažného programu sa začali zapájať aj chorvátske dokumentárne filmy. Tento článok ponúka prehľad týchto dokumentov, ich tvorcov a ocenení, ktoré na festivale získali. Štúdia porovnáva vývoj vizuálnej antropológie a etnografickej filmovej tvorby na Slovensku a v Chorvátsku a identifikuje podobnosti aj rozdiely medzi týmito dvoma tradíciami. Vyzdvihuje tiež dva dokumentárne filmy, ktoré v Chorvátsku nakrútili etnológovia z Moravy a Slovenska. Prvý z nich, Pokladový festival na ostrove Lastovo, ponúka nové pohľady na dokumentáciu karnevalových zvykov na ostrove a skúma historické aj súčasné formy tejto tradície. Druhý film, Slováci v Chorvátsku, zachytáva každodenný život a kultúrne zvyky časti slovenskej menšiny žijúcej v Chorvátsku. Článok ďalej rozoberá dôvody, prečo Chorvátsko na festival Etnofilm Čadca prihlasuje predovšetkým filmy vyprodukované chorvátskou verejnoprávnou televíziou. Prostredníctvom tejto analýzy sa autorka snaží podporiť a posilniť slovensko-chorvátsku spoluprácu v oblasti vizuálnej antropológie.

Kľúčové slová: etnografický/antropologický film, filmový festival, vizuálna antropológia, nehmotné kultúrne dedičstvo, Chorvátsko, Slovensko

The documentation, study, and promotion of cultural heritage through film has become a highly topical issue in the contemporary world of visual technologies. In ethnology and anthropology — fields traditionally focused on written texts — visual anthropology is a subfield that studies the visual side of culture and captures and communicates cultural phenomena through audiovisual methods. Although it now includes many strands experimenting with film, this subdiscipline is fundamentally rooted in ethnographic film, which serves both as documentation and as a genre for specialists and general audiences alike. Over the past century, it has developed in response to technological changes as well as to international debates that have shaped and refined it. Discussions about what counts as ethnographic film, what standards it should meet, and how it should be used in the social sciences and cultural practice are still ongoing in conferences, publications, and university teaching.

As ethnographic film developed as a subgenre of documentary cinema, film

* ZUZANA BEŇUŠKOVÁ, Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava (Slovak Republic).

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festivals — including showcases and competitions — also emerged to present current work and highlight the best productions in the field. As ethnographic filmmaking stands at the crossroads of ethnology/anthropology and documentary practice, such festivals provide a space for interaction between anthropologists and filmmakers. This was also the founding principle behind the Slovak film festival Etnofilm Čadca, which, over 45 years as a biennial event, has grown into an international forum for the presentation of ethnographic films. Croatian ethnographic cinema has been featured in eleven editions of the festival, while two Czech and Slovak productions have drawn on film material from Croatia. This study offers an overview of this production in the context of a century of ethnographic film development in both countries.

Comparing the Development of Ethnographic Film in Slovakia and Croatia

Founding Personalities

The first ethnographic films in Slovakia and Croatia began to emerge after the breakup of the Habsburg Monarchy, when both countries became part of multinational states. This similar timing was influenced by developments in film technology and by the global rise of documentary film, especially after the release of *Nanook of the North* (1922) by the American filmmaker Robert J. Flaherty. In both countries, ethnographic film was shaped by two key figures who were almost the same age — their births were only five months apart. In Slovakia, this was Karel Plicka (1894 – 1987), and in Croatia, Milovan Gavazzi (1895 – 1992).

Karel Plicka, a Czech born in Vienna, was a multifaceted artist who referred to himself as a "man of nine crafts." His work spanned photography, cinematography, film directing, folklore studies, and musicology, and he was also active as a performer, singing in the choir of the Vienna Court Opera. He became deeply fascinated by Slovakia, which at the time was seen as a region little affected by modern civilisation, with a rich and well-preserved folk culture. From 1924, he worked at *Matica slovenská*, where he founded a photographic archive, and from 1926 he used a film camera provided by the institution during his travels across Slovakia.

He lived in Slovakia until the beginning of World War II, after which, due to rising nationalism following the creation of the Slovak Republic, he returned to Prague.[1] He co-founded a film department in Bratislava in 1938 and later, in 1949, established the Film and TV School of the Academy of Performing Arts, FAMU, in Prague where he served as dean.

Milovan Gavazzi had strong links with both Czechoslovakia and Croatia. He studied ethnology with Professor Lubomír Niederle at Charles University, and from 1927 until his death he worked as a professor of ethnology at the university in Zagreb. "Throughout his life, he maintained a warm relationship with Czech and Slovak ethnography, shown not only through personal contacts with scholars but also through his participation in conferences and contributions to academic publications..."[2] When the

[1] This information is captured in the documentary *Magická osmička – muži roku 1938* at the 33rd minute. Directed by Rudolf Urc, RTVS, 2008. Available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Zo33VxTC-Sw

[2] PODOLÁK, Ján: Milovan Gavazzi (1895 – 1992). Slovenský národopis / Slovak Ethnology, a. 40, nr. 2 (1992), p. 222.

International Commission for the Study of Folk Culture in the Carpathians and the Balkans (MKKKB) was being established, Milovan Gavazzi contributed valuable experience from his work with the *Alpes orientales* organization. He also helped found the yearbook *Ethnologia Slavica* and remained on its editorial board until his death. A special volume of the yearbook was dedicated to him on the occasion of his 80th birthday. He was also an honorary foreign member of the Slovak Ethnological Society at the Slovak Academy of Sciences. In his obituary, Ján Podolák wrote that "he had a warm and supportive relationship with Slovakia and the Slovak people, especially in times when it was most needed."[3]

The two figures differed in their approach to filmmaking, especially in their aims and interests. Karel Plicka leaned toward an artistic style that stood somewhere between documentary and stylisation. Like Robert J. Flaherty working with the Inuit,[4] he combined staged scenes with real ones, often asking people to act out moments from their everyday lives in front of the camera. The technical limitations of a large camera prevented him from filming unobtrusively among rural populations. His most important work is *Zem spieva* (1933), the first Slovak feature-length sound film. Through a poetic structure, it presents the cyclical nature of rural life across the four seasons. The film was awarded the City of Venice Cup for Best Direction at the Venice Film Festival in 1934 and received strong international critical acclaim. [5]

Karel Plicka was foremost an artist — a filmmaker, photographer, and collector of folk songs — whose work was not explicitly linked to ethnology as a scholarly discipline. However, he played a significant role in educating future filmmakers. Among his students at FAMU was Martin Slivka, trained in both ethnology and film, who became the first "anthropological filmmaker" in Slovakia and contributed to bringing Slovak ethnographic film closer to the field of visual anthropology.

Like the versatile artist Karel Plicka, the ethnologist Milovan Gavazzi documented aspects of traditional culture in Croatia at a time when village life was changing and many traditional forms were disappearing. He began working with film in 1922, using an amateur silent camera in his ethnological research.[6] As a self-taught filmmaker, he recorded whatever caught his professional interest. He admired the films of Robert J. Flaherty and Jean Rouch, especially their work in Africa, which he said he had seen almost all of.[7] Gavazzi emphasized the primary function of ethnographic film as visual testimony capable of preserving or producing enduring images. Most of his recordings of rural traditions in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina remained unedited as raw footage. His best-known film, *Seljačka svadba u Hrvat-*

[3] *Ibidem*.

[4] FLAHERTY, Robert: *Nanook of the North* (2022) and *Moana of South Seas* (1926).

[5] Other films by Karel Plicka include *Za slovenským ľudom* (1928), *Po horách, po dolách* (1929), and *Jaro na Podkarpatské Rusi* (1929). See also the documentary about Plicka, *Na počiatku bola pieseň*, available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DeXCPVl7DmE.

[6] At the same time, valuable documentary film recordings were also produced in Croatia within the framework of the School of Public Health in Zagreb, where they were initiated by Andrija Štampar with the aim of public health education and awareness.

[7] KRIŽNAR, Naško: Razgovor z Milovanom Gavazzijem. *Etnološka tribina*, a 22, nr. 15 (1992), pp. 187-200. Available online https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/119990.

skoj (1922),[8] is also essentially a filmed record and is part of the unfinished series *Narodni život i običaji*.[9]

Milovan Gavazzi tried to process his silent documentaries using the methodology of the Institute for Scientific Film Göttingen (IWF),[10] with which he collaborated. At one stage in his career, he also thought about methodological issues, though later he left these questions to younger colleagues. He described film as both a "strictly scholarly document" and a "general document" of culture, stressing the importance of accuracy and authenticity. He was one of the first to attempt a classification distinguishing ethnographic — or fact-based — film from ethnological film, which he saw as still taking shape. He discussed this in one of his two studies on ethnographic film: *Etnografski film. Njegovo značenje i primjene* (1964).[11] Milovan Gavazzi characterises purely factographic ethnographic film as a descriptive form that systematically records and documents facts as they exist. Such films are made as part of research by ethnographers who are well trained in ethnology, ethnography, photography, and film. By contrast, he saw ethnological film as a planned scientific work that presents existing knowledge or raises questions that can be explored further through film. Even so, greater emphasis is placed on ethnographic film as the direct result of field research. He also believed that the filmmaker should ideally be a trained ethnologist to avoid mistakes during filming, arguing that "the risk of error is much lower if the ethnologist himself makes the recording, especially if he is both an experienced researcher and filmmaker."[12] He developed this idea of film classification in a paper first presented in French at a congress in Timișoara, Romania, in the late 1960s, but it was published only twenty years later in Slovene translation as *O nujnosti kategorizacije etnografsko-folklornih filmov* (1987).[13] According to Naško Križnar, an expert on ethnographic film in Southeastern Europe, Milovan Gavazzi can be considered the first Croatian visual anthropologist to deal with the concept of ethnographic film or visual anthropology.[14] However, as several authors point out, his ideas and reflections on ethnographic filmmaking methods had little practical impact in Croatia, mainly because ethnographic film was not institutionally developed there. Tanja Bukovčan and Aleksej Gotthardi-Pavlovsky evaluate his classification critically: "In short, it was a very elaborate system, but based only on Gavazzi's own theoretical ideas, without any real practical foundation, and it did not lead to further training or the creation of a school of ethnographic film."[15]

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8 GOTTHARDI-PAVLOVSKY, Aleksej: *Hrvatska etnografska audiovizualna produkcija u okviru svjetskih dostignuća*, Master's thesis, University of Zagreb, 2009, pp. 23–24.

9 The documentary is also known under the title *Seljački svatovi iz Sunje*.

10 The institution is currently known as IWF Wissen und Medien gGmbH. https://filmundgeschichte.com/institut-fuer-den-wissenschaftlichen-film-iwf.

11 GAVAZZI, Milovan. Etnografski film, njegovo značenje i primjena. *Slovenski Etnograf* 16/17 (1964), pp. 57–64. Available online. https://www.etno-muzej.si/sl/etnolog/slovenski-etnograf-1617–1963.

12 KRIŽNAR, Naško: Razgovor z Milovanom Gavazzijem, pp. 194-195.

13 GAVAZZI, Milovan: O nujnosti kategorizacije etnografsko-folklornih filmov. *Glasnik SED* 27 (1987), pp. 111–114.

14 KRIŽNAR, Naško: Razgovor z Milovanom Gavazzijem, pp. 187–200.

15 BUKOVČAN, Tanja – GOTTHARDI-PAVLOVSKY, Aleksej: *Misliti kamerom*: *teorije i prakse vizualne etnografije*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu, FF press, 132: 2025, p. 132. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17234/9789533792293

From the late 20th century into the early 21st century

Slovakia

Over the past 45 years, the development of ethnographic film in Slovakia has been closely linked to the biennial Etnofilm Čadca. The festival has showcased films identified as ethnographic by their creators or organisers and has provided a space for discussions between ethnologists and filmmakers. These discussions have inspired academic reflections on ethnographic film, later published in major ethnological journals.[16] In this way, Etnofilm Čadca has established a lasting connection between ethnologists and filmmakers through the documentation of ways of life.

Etnofilm Čadca was established as a result of film and television production from three independent sources in the 1950s to 1970s:[17]

1) From the 1960s onward, a research team at the Institute of Musicology at the Slovak Academy of Sciences[18] began using film cameras in their scholarly work. This effort was led mainly by Oskár Elschek and a group of ethnomusicologists and filmmakers who strongly believed in the importance of using audiovisual technology in research, even though they did not always receive full support. Equipped with professional technology and supported by skilled filmmakers, the team even developed an original audiovisual field vehicle. Their work resulted in some of the earliest scholarly productions that successfully combined cinematic techniques with scholarly rigor.

From the 1960s onward, ethnomusicological seminars became a key platform for new ideas in Slovakia, including discussions on film documentation. A turning point came in 1979 with the seminar "Film and Video Technology in Ethnomusicological Research," where Martin Slivka presented his films in person. It was here that the concept of the Etnofilm Čadca festival began to take shape. By then, the ethnographic film event Etnofilm in Rožnov pod Radhoštěm[19] had already been running for three years and played a significant role in inspiring this initiative. Unlike its Czech counterpart, which focused on amateur films, Etnofilm Čadca was conceived as a platform for professional filmmakers. The two festivals alternated every two years, creating a balanced structure.

2) In the latter half of the 20th century, Martin Slivka became a key pioneer of ethnographic documentary filmmaking in Slovakia. Trained both as a filmmaker and an ethnologist, and a student of Karol Plicka, he brought a distinctive interdisciplinary approach to his work. He joined the Short Film Studio in Bratislava in 1967 as a director, creating a substantial body of influential documentaries.20 From 1977 onward, he also taught documentary filmmaking at the Academy of Performing Arts in Bratislava, where he later served as Dean of the Film and Television Faculty in 1990, which he had

16 This refers to the journals *Slovenský národopis* and *Etnologické rozpravy*.

17 For a more detailed discussion, see BEŇUŠKOVÁ, Zuzana – JURISOVÁ, Daniela: Slovenský etnografický film na hojdačke. *Biograf*, a. 73, nr. 1–2 (2022), pp. 51–77.

18 The former name is the Institute of Art History at the Slovak Academy of Sciences.

19 According to the statute of the Etnofilm Čadca of 1 January 1984, the festival maintained close cooperation with the amateur ethnographic film festival Etnofilm Rožnov pod Radhoštěm.

20 MAYEROVÁ, Ingrid – URC, Rudolf – LUŽICA, René: *Ostáva človek – Martin Slivka*. Bratislava: Tigon, 2009.

co-founded. Over his career, he was involved in more than 140 films,[21] uniting the roles of screenwriter, director, and ethnographer. As a pupil of Karol Plicka, Martin Slivka brought together ethnography and cinematic expression in a creative and original way. With strong expertise in film as well, he was able to confront and connect these two worlds, helping shape the development of ethnographic cinema in a broader sense. He was equally at home in ethnology and anthropology, and was particularly influenced by the French Cinéma vérité movement and the work of Jean Rouch. He collaborated with artists and academics across Eastern Europe. As he disagreed with the political developments in his country after the Warsaw Pact invasion of Czechoslovakia, he withdrew from public life for the whole duration of the normalization period (1970–1989). In this time, he worked on his major publications *Slovak Ethnographic Film I* and *II* (published in 1982 and 1994),[22] as well as authoring two notable ethnological monographs: *Folk Masks* (1990) and *Slovak Folk Theatre* (2002).

3) Another important stimulus for the creation of the Etnofilm Čadca festival came from Slovak Television. At the time, film and television production focused on folk culture within the institution was considered inadequate, and there was a growing effort among specialists to steer it in a more meaningful direction. Television broadcasting in Slovakia had begun in 1956, but by the 1970s and 1980s, production trends were increasingly developing in an uncontrolled and somewhat self-contained way. At the same time, professional exchange between artists and academics was weakening. As a result, television output often drifted toward stylisation and commercial kitsch.

These three factors can be seen as the main driving forces behind the creation of the Etnofilm Čadca festival. The event has helped create an overview of Slovak documentary filmmaking, particularly works exhibiting what might be called ethnographicity — defined by Karl Heider as "an ethnographic film is a film that reflects ethnographic understanding."[23] Yet the very vagueness of this definition is mirrored in the films themselves: many of the documentaries screened at Etnofilm Čadca, including some award-winning ones, only loosely meet such criteria. In reality, the festival never clearly defined what it considered an ethnographic film, which limited its ability to become a member of international associations of anthropological film festivals. Even so, it occasionally opened a window onto Western traditions of visual anthropology.

From its earliest years, the organisers envisioned Etnofilm as an event with international ambitions. In 1984, the festival was meant to symbolically cross the borders of Czechoslovakia with a screening of *The Human Pyramid* (1961)[24] by the French filmmaker Jean Rouch, introduced by Martin Slivka. Despite efforts to borrow the film, the organisers did not receive support from their

[21] He received more than forty major awards for his filmmaking at both domestic and international festivals. His film *Odchádza človek* (1968), focusing on funeral traditions in Bulgaria and produced in professional collaboration with Christo Vakarelski, was included by UNESCO in 1995 on the list of world cultural heritage. His most significant films can be accessed at: https://dafilms.sk/director/9259-martin-slivka. Several of them are available on YouTube.

[22] Ingrid – URC, Rudolf – LUŽICA, René: *Ostáva človek – Martin Slivka*.

[23] HEIDER, Karl. G: *Ethnographic Film: Revised Edition*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.

[24] Original name: *La Pyramide humaine*, 1961.

colleagues at the Czechoslovak Film Institute in Prague, as the available copies were considered extremely rare. The film was replaced by a Yugoslav feature, and Rouch's work was not screened at Etnofilm until 1986.

The socio-political transformations after 1989 had a strong impact on the further development of the Etnofilm Čadca festival. During the 1990s, the festival sought to define its place within newly emerging festival structures, as well as within the cultural landscape of Slovakia. During this time, documentary films created with the involvement of ethnologists were produced almost exclusively in collaboration with public television. At the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, processes during the 1990s led to a gradual decline and eventual cessation of documentary film production. Researchers faced shrinking opportunities for fieldwork and decreasing financial support for technical development.

In the 1990s, Martin Slivka remained a central figure in Slovak ethnographic filmmaking. At the same time, television production in Slovakia was professionally shaped by the ethnologist René Lužica, who, after studying ethnology, spent nearly two decades working at Slovak Television as a dramaturg and co-author of ethnographic documentaries. This decade saw the creation of two major television series. One was the 13-part co-production with Germany, *Children of the Wind* (1990), directed by Martin Slivka, focusing on the cultural traditions of Roma communities across Europe. The other was the 15-part series *Ethnographic Atlas of Slovakia* (1994), written by Dušan Luther and other experts,[25] based on a cartographic scientific publication of the same title from 1990. Both series were showcased at Etnofilm Čadca through representative episodes and were awarded prizes.

Throughout the 1990s, the notion of ethnographic film at Etnofilm Čadca underwent a significant transformation. The older term associated with folk-oriented film gave way to *ethnographic film*. This had to do with the broader shift from ethnography to ethnology as a discipline. As ethnologists became less involved in the festival, its scope widened to include documentaries closer to sociology, psychology, and philosophy — films that reflected contemporary society, its rapid transformations, and shifting values. Within ethnology itself, particular attention was paid to themes of ethnic identity. At the same time, the once-strong dialogue between scholarship and filmmaking weakened. Around 2000, as ethnologists nearly disappeared from the festival, Etnofilm Čadca became increasingly international and, after a period of uncertainty, began to regain momentum.

It was not until 2010 that the festival briefly reconnected with world cinema, through a screening of *Nanook of the North* by Robert J. Flaherty. The film was accompanied by an expert commentary from Daniela Jurisová, who had studied visual anthropology in London and later wrote the dissertation *Developmental Aspects of Ethnographic Film in Slovakia up to 1990* (2019) under the supervision of Zuzana Beňušková. In the same year, Naško Križnar served on the festival jury and gave a lecture on his research program and the

[25] A documentary on the historical development of traditional folk culture in Slovakia, directed by Martin Plch, consists of the following parts: 1. *Agrarian culture*, 2. *Family Rituals*, 3. *Crafts and Production*, 4. *Dance*, 5. *Theater*, 6. *Food*, 7. *Animal Breeding*, 8. *Clothing*, 9. *Villages and Streets*, 10. *Winemaking*, 11. *Art*, 12. *Houses*, 13. *Trade and markets*, 14. *Seasonal customs*, 15. *Music*.

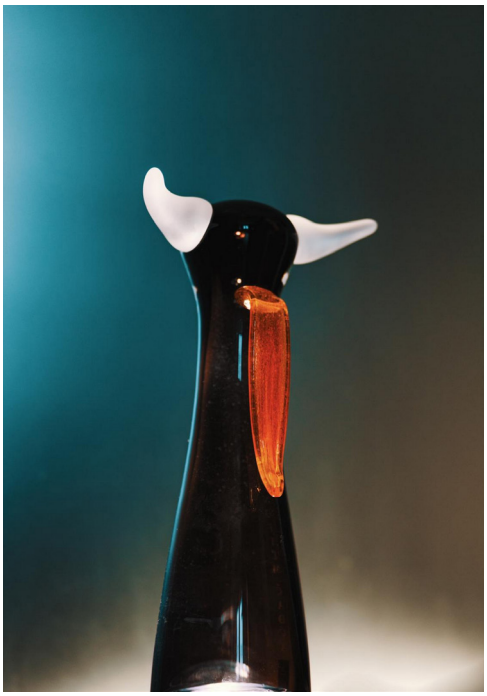

Figure 1: *Zlatý Turoň – Golden Turoň – the main prize of the Ethnofilm International Festival in Čadca.*

ISE (International Summer School of Ethnographic Film) audiovisual laboratory at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana.[26]

In recent decades, visual anthropology has become part of the curriculum at Slovak ethnology departments, yet only at Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra is it combined with hands-on training that introduces students to filmmaking practice. Although these skills are applicable in education, culture, and public outreach, they fall short of preparing students for professional film production. Only a handful of ethnologists or anthropologists have received formal university training in documentary filmmaking, or have developed amateur practice of near-professional quality. Among the former are Jaroslava Panáková (Film and TV School of the Academy of Performing Arts in Prague), Petr Nuska (PhD at Durham University), and Daniela Jurisová (Goldsmiths, University of London).[27] The latter group includes Soňa Lutherová, affiliated with the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology at the Slovak Academy of Sciences, who works as a film director with professional production companies, as well as Miroslav Bartoš.

Many other ethnologists collaborate with filmmakers, both professional and amateur, and their works are showcased at Etnofilm Čadca and, since 2014, at the amateur festival *Folklore and Traditions*, organised and archived by the town of Hriňová.

This invites a broader reflection: did the high artistic standards established by Karol Plicka and later Martin Slivka, together with the persistent call for professionalism and the continual comparison with professional filmmaking at Etnofilm Čadca, inadvertently inhibit Slovak ethnologists? Did it diminish their willingness to experiment with filmmaking themselves or to create a platform akin to international anthropological film festivals?[28] Yet ethnology remains a discipline where lost time is difficult—if not impossible—to recover.

Croatia

In their monograph on visual anthropology, Tanja Bukovčan and Aleksej Got-

[26] BEŇUŠKOVÁ, Zuzana – JURISOVÁ, Daniela: Visions of visual ethnography (Interview with Prof. Dr. Naško Križnar, research advisor). *Slovenský národopis*, a. 62, nr. 4 (2014), pp. 547–554.

[27] Daniela Jurisová is a co-author of the study on which this text draws; however, she does not work in the field of ethnology but is a camerawoman for a foreign news team of ČT24.

[28] Ethnographers from museums in Slovakia have only in recent years begun to engage with film documentation. Multimedia elements are still used only minimally in exhibitions, which is also related to the insufficient financial resources of museums in Slovakia.

thardi-Pavlovsky argue that "the central issue of visual anthropology in Croatia is the lack of a disciplinary perspective — film is not recognized within the academic ethnological community as a sufficiently significant tool of professional expression…"[29]

Even so, Milovan Gavazzi managed to plant the seeds for future development, which were later taken up by his academic colleagues. The 1960s became the most productive decade for filmmaking at the Ethnological Institute in Zagreb — today the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. A key figure in this development was Andrija Stojanović, who became an important collaborator of Gavazzi from the 1960s onward. A talented draftsman during his studies, he later became an accomplished photographer and cameraman. Gavazzi kept him at the faculty and gradually entrusted him with the filming work.

Between 1960 and 1970, the institute produced more than fifteen films. Gavazzi directed two himself and collaborated with Stojanović on four others.[30] Andrija Stojanović participated in these productions both as a cinematographer and as a co-author. During the 1960s, he went on to make nine additional films, taking on different roles — at times working independently as a cameraman, at other times combining the roles of ethnologist, director, and screenwriter, or collaborating with other ethnologists and cinematographers in shared authorship. From 1971 to 1976, the Ethnological Institute in Zagreb produced five films, all directed by Stojanović. These works were shot without synchronised sound, placing emphasis on visual expression. In some cases, commentary or soundscapes were added later during editing, such as music played on traditional instruments from the region depicted.[31]

> *"The film resembles what would today be called an educational documentary television program. In stylistic terms, it stands out as the only production of the Institute of Ethnology that aligns with what was then — and later internationally — recognized as ethnographic film. In television terms, it could be described as a documentary report. A similar stylistic approach characterized many documentary programs produced by the Department of Folk Music and Customs of Television Zagreb during that period and well into the 1990s. (...) Ultimately, most Croatian ethnographic filmmaking of the 1960s remained at the level of visual recording, based on the idea that researchers document their own field of study (…) even if not driven by explicit ethnological or anthropological intentions, their subjects occasionally overlap with ethnological themes. It is therefore inappropriate to evaluate them by the standards of professional ethnographic documentation. Furthermore, these are films rather than scholarly works. For this reason, instead of labelling them 'ethnographic,' it is more accurate to describe them as 'ethnographically oriented' or 'ethnographically useful.'"*[32]

In a manner comparable to Slovakia, Yugoslav state television produced a substantial number of music and enter-

[29] BUKOVČAN, Tanja – GOTTHARDI-PAVLOVSKY, Aleksej: *Misliti kamerom*, p. 133

[30] *Ibidem*, p. 134. These were the films: *Rakaljsko lončarstvo iz Istre* and *Izrada pokljuka* from the Požegy region and with Stojanovič: *Jerovečki lončari, Šestinski opanci* from the Zagreb Prigorje region and *Prevlačenje drvene kuće* from Turopolje and one film with the working title *Život na Neretve*zostal unfinished.

[31] *Ibidem*, p. 136.

[32] *Ibidem*, p. 140.

tainment programs intended to cultivate a shared national identity within a multi-ethnic state. These productions varied widely in quality, and ethnologists and folklorists were frequently involved as scriptwriters, co-authors, or expert advisors.

> *"While some of these programs adopted the format of documentary reportage, complete with educational commentary and narrative voice-over, others moved closer to documentary film, echoing the artistic documentary practices emerging in Croatia at the time."*[33]

At the Ethnological Institute in Zagreb, filmmakers focused on documenting traditional dances in the field and at festivals, as well as folk production and customs, particularly those related to carnival traditions. The films were made by Ivan Ivančan and Josip Milićević. Due to the use of silent cameras, sound could not be recorded simultaneously, and much of the footage remained in its raw, unedited form. Milana Černelić organized student-based filming of field research in Lika, while Tomo Vinšćak Pavlovsky later documented his research journeys in Tibet and Nepal. Tihana Petrović, Tomislav Pletenac, and Tomo Vinšćak later collaborated with Croatian Radiotelevision (HRTV) as consultants or screenwriters. Zorica Vitez also made a film together with her husband, the renowned cinematographer Ivica Rajković.

Starting in the 1960s, a wave of author-driven documentary filmmaking emerged in Croatia, focusing on the lived experiences of ordinary people and communities. "As for Croatian documentary filmmakers, the creative trend that emerged in the 1960s continued throughout the 1970s (…) these films were not made with an ethnographic purpose, nor did they follow ethnological methods, since their creators were not ethnologists. However, they dealt with themes that had already attracted the attention of Croatian ethnology, while other contemporary phenomena in rural and urban settings became relevant at the same time. (…) Most of these films are short. "While some of these films can be considered genuinely ethnographic — capturing human behavior in specific contexts in ways relevant to professional ethnography — others are overtly artistic, striving to distill film into pure idea, perception, emotion, or passion."[34] Among the more prominent figures associated with this approach are Ivo Škrabalo, Krsto Papić, and Petar Krelja. This helps clarify why Croatia has primarily submitted films produced by Croatian Radiotelevision to Etnofilm Čadca.

In the 1970s, Croatia also hosted three smaller festivals dedicated to ethnographic films and other film works of interest to ethnology. These events were organized by Zorica Vitez within the framework of the International Folklore Festival Zagreb. The program featured Milovan Gavazzi's film recordings, along with selected documentary films by Croatian directors outside the field of ethnology.

Croatia also hosted its own Etnofilm festival, organized by the Ethnographic Museum of Istria in Pazin from 2009 to 2021. Held in Rovinj, the festival served as a platform for documenting, interpreting, sharing, rediscovering, and promoting living heritage, using visual anthropology as its methodological framework. The festival included three categories of films:

[33] *Ibidem*, p. 144.
[34] *Ibidem*, p. 161.

1. Professional ethnologists/anthropologists
2. Ethnologists/anthropologists in television production
3. Students of ethnology and anthropology

The festival brought together notable figures in visual anthropology. Among them were Evgenij Alexandrov, head of the Russian Center for Visual Ethnology, and the late internationally acclaimed scholars Jay Ruby and Marcus Banks. They attended the Croatian ethnographic film festival to present their then newly published book *Made to Be Seen: Perspectives on the History of Visual Anthropology*. The festival was directed by Tamara Nikolić-Đerić, an expert in intangible cultural heritage at UNESCO.

Overview of Croatian films and films shot in Croatia at the MMF Etnofilm Čadca
Attached is the revised list in landscape orientation; please substitute it for the highlighted version

2002

Pučka intima – Episode 1 / Ľudská intimita – časť 1 / People's Intimacy – Episode 1 (Vladka Vorkapić)

Od samice do fenderice / Od tamburíny po elektrickú gitaru / From the Tambourine to the Electric Guitar (Tomislav Mršić, Aleksej Pavlovsky)

2004 0

2006

Stratený poklad / Izgubljeno blago / The Lost Treasure (Branko Istvancic, Vido Bagur)

Poklad na ostrove Lastovo / Poklad na otoku Lastovu / The Poklad Festival on the island Lastovo (Pavel Popelka – ČR)

N[35]/Ribanje / Trenie / Rubbing (Irena Škorić)

N/Vatra, voda, brašno / Oheň, voda, múka / Fire, Water, Flour (Irena Škorić)

2008

Kto sa môže stať zvončarom? / Ki more bit zvoncar / Who Can Become a Bell Ringer? (Ivo Kuzmanić) – cena primátora mesta Čadca

Slováci v Chorvátsku / Slovaci u Hrvatskoj / Slovaks in Croatia (Miroslav Bartoš – SR) - Chairman of the Žilina Region Award

2010

Badnjica u Cisti Velikoj / Štedrý deň v dedine Cista Velika / Christmas Eve in Cista Velika (Ivo Kuzmanić, Aleksej Pavlovsky).

N/ Kruha služiti / Zarábanie na chlieb / Earning One's Bread (Ivo Kuzmanić)

N/ Sevdalinka/ Sevdalinka/ Sevdalinka (Marina Andree Skop - Studio dym 66')

N: Etnoforenzičari: U gradu Dugom Selu / Etnoforenzný výskum v meste Dlhá dedina/ Ethno-Forensic Experts: In the Town of Dugo Selo / (Ivo Kuzmanić)

2012

Korizmene pjesme u Rogotinu / Pôstne spevy v Rogotine / Lenten songs in Rogotin (Ljiljana Mandić)

Etnoforeza: proizvodnja vina / Etnoforenzia: výroba vína / Ethnophorensis: Wine Production/ (Ivo Kuzmanić)

2014

40 sati molitve iz Komiže / 40 hodín modlitieb z Komiže / 40 Hours of Prayer in Komiža (Davor Borić)

Etnofikcia žatvy / Harvest Ethnofiction (Ivo Kuzmanić)

[35] Note N – the film did not make it into the competition screening.

N/ Svetog Patrika u Zagrebu / Svätý Patrik v Záhrebe / Saint Patrick in Zagreb (Marko Dimić)

2016

Djeca na prodaju / Deti na predaj / Ivo Kuzmanic – Mayor of Čadca Award

N/ Samson među suncobranima / Samson medzi slnečníkmi / Samson Among the Parasols (Davor Borić)

2018

Prijevoz vina s Pelješca / Prevážanie vína z Pelješacu / Transporting Wine from Pelješac (Davor Borić)

2020

Da mi Uskrs dođe / Nech príde Veľká noc / Let Easter Come to Me/ Ljiljana Šišmanović, Davor Borić

2022

Tak je bilo na Sesvete / Tak to bolo na Všechsvätých / That's How It Was on All Saints' Day (Ljiljana Mandić) Mayor of Čadca Award

N/Tragovi / Stopy / Traces (Luka Klapan)

N/Animo jato / Pod kŕdeľ / Come On, Flock! (Aleksej Istvancic, Ivo Kuzmanić)

2024

Slamené medvede – symbol lokálnej identity josipovských Slovákov / Slamnati medvjedi – simbol lokalnog identiteta josipovačkih Slovaka / Straw Bears: Local Identity of the Josipovac Slovaks (Igor Miličić)

Potkalnički ugljenari / Uhliari spod Kalnice / Kalnik Charcoal Burners (Ivan Sukalić)

Zvona za mrtve / Zvony pre mŕtvych / Bells for the Dead (Ljiljana Mandić)

N/Maškare u Končanici / Karneval v Končanici / The Končanica Carnival (Ivo Kuzmanić)

N/Rijeka moje mladosti 1. epizoda / Rijeka moje mladosti , 1. epizóda/ Rijeka of My Youth Episode 1 (Davor Borić)

The Croatian documentary films presented at Etnofilm Čadca are predominantly drawn from the production of Croatian Radiotelevision and directed by television professionals. Among them, Ivo Kuzmanić (eight films) and Davor Borić (five films) stand out, while Ljiljana Mandić is represented by three films. The directorial styles of the two most frequent contributors are easily recognisable. Many of their films explore customary culture or particular traditional skills and are structured according to television time slots, i.e. up to 30 minutes. Although they offer engaging insights, from an ethnologist's point of view it is clear that they were produced rather quickly, without deeper immersion in the topic. This helps explain why many submissions did not reach the competition stage. One of the most memorable films for audiences was *Who Can Become a Bell-Ringer?*, which examines the functioning of carnival bell-ringer groups.

Czech and Slovak films on Croatia at Etnofilm Čadca:

"The *Poklad* Festival on the Island of Lastovo," directed by Pavel Popelka, Czech Republic (2006)

The filmmaker, Pavel Popelka, is an ethnologist closely associated with the Jan Amos Comenius Museum in Uherský Brod, where he served for many years as director. His work has been dedicated to documenting living cultural heritage in Moravia, within the Czech Republic, and he successfully integrated this focus into the museum's activities. Since the late 1990s, the museum has organized the MUSAIONfilm festival. Popelka has also co-organized the long-running carnival festival *Fašank Strání*, which reached its 38th edition in 2025.

Figure 2: *Screenshot from the BBC series* Dancing for the Camera: European Roots, *depicting František Pospíšil's footage of sword dancers and the burned Poklad effigy at the Lastovo carnival.*

Expanding his engagement with carnival traditions, Pavel Popelka undertook a research project on sword dances, tracing the legacy of František Pospíšil,[36] who had documented sabre dances in Western Europe and on Croatian islands during the interwar period. When the BBC prepared a documentary for its series *Dancing for the Camera: European Roots*, it required up-to-date footage from the island of Lastovo. This prompted Popelka to travel there with his camera in 2005, to an island known for its rich carnival traditions.

The carnival traditions of Lastovo had long been a subject of interest for Croatian filmmakers and ethnologists. In 1970, the television documentary *The Lastovo Carnival* was created, directed by Igor Michieli, with Ivan Ivančan contributing as both consultant and screenwriter. However, the film involved substantial staging and reorganisation of certain customs for the purposes of filming — something not revealed to the audience. The film also omitted the masks of the "beautiful dancers", which became a subject of criticism by Iva Niemčić.[37]

Reflecting on these transformations, Tanja Bukovčan and Aleksej Gotthardi-Pavlovsky argue:

> *"A single ethnologist with a camera would probably introduce far less distortion than a ten-person television or film crew equipped with lighting, sound and image recording devices, tripods, and cables.* (...) *The very process of organizing the recording alters the*

[36] František Pospíšil (1885–1985) was an ethnographer and museologist who employed modern recording technologies—such as the phonograph, camera, and film camera—in his research. He likely made his first film in 1922. He specialized in the study of sword dances, and his recordings also come from the islands of Lastovo and Korčula in Croatia. For his research on Balkan martial dances, he was awarded the Yugoslav Order of St. Sava, 4th Class. He published the study: u POSPÍŠIL, František: Mečový (zbrojný) tanec na slovanské půdě. *Národopisný věstník československý*, 6 (1911), pp. 25–55

[37] NIEMČIĆ, Iva: Tragom nevidljive plesačice. *Narodna umjetnost*, a. 39, nr. 2 (2002), pp. 77–92

authenticity of the moment, since there is no time to wait for events to occur naturally, and they therefore have to be staged. (...) It is also crucial to bear in mind that this is a national public television broadcaster—that is, television as a mass medium—whose output, whether a program or a film, reaches a wide audience, which is of great importance for the community being documented."[38]

Even though the film was not entirely trustworthy in all its segments, it had an unexpected effect: it inspired the *pokladari* (carnival performers) of Lastovo to sustain a tradition that had been on the verge of disappearing, and to do so with renewed vigour.[39] In 1999, Croatian Radiotelevision produced a documentary on the transformations of this tradition, titled *Poklad lastovski i njegove mijene* (The Lastovo *Poklad* and Its Changes). The film explored, among other things, the influence of the 1970 recording and the various ways it had been interpreted. It was directed by Dražen Piškorić, with a script by Ivan Lozica and his student Sanja Puljar D'Alessio. Notably, the film also functioned as the first master's thesis in Croatian ethnology and cultural anthropology to explicitly engage with visual anthropology.[40]

In 2006, Pavel Popelka created a documentary in which he took on multiple roles — director, cameraman, editor, and narrator. Rather than intervening in the filmed events, he positioned himself as an observer, commenting on the action from an ethnological perspective. In his narration, he refers to the effigy of *Poklad* as *Mouřenin*, a Czech term derived from a smoking figure. However, the film does not explain that *poklad* represents the carnival itself; the effigy is also a personification of carnival and a symbol of the departing winter, which needs to be ritually eliminated. Similar practices can be found in parts of Italy, where *Carnival* is symbolically burned in public squares, or in Slovakia, where the effigy of *Morena* is destroyed roughly a month later. Unaware of earlier films on the Lastovo carnival, Popelka nevertheless produced a compelling one-hour documentary, which was awarded at Etnofilm Čadca.

"Slovaks in Croatia," directed by Miroslav Bartoš, Slovakia

Miroslav Bartoš works as a freelance filmmaker, although he has no formal film education, having learned the craft through hands-on experience. Alongside completing his ethnology studies at the Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, he gained experience as a television cameraman and collaborated with *Matica slovenská* on documenting Slovak communities abroad while developing his own films.

His documentary *Slovaks in Croatia* was originally conceived as his diploma thesis — supervised by the author of this article. Since the film was not accepted as a final thesis format in ethnology, a written version was also produced, outlining the concept, script, and context of the film. Similarly to Pavel Popelka, Bartoš took on all production roles himself—serving as screenwriter, cameraman, sound recordist, editor, and narrator. The film was financed by Bartoš him-

[38] BUKOVČAN, Tanja – GOTTHARDI-PAVLOVSKY, Aleksej: *Misliti kamerom*, p. 169.

[39] PULJAR D'ALESSIO, Sanja: *Lastovski poklad u filmskom mediju*. Master's thesis. IEF ms. 1712. 2000, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb.

[40] Sanja Puljar D'Alessio is a cultural anthropologist at the University of Rijeka.

self, which inevitably limited his fieldwork. He worked in cooperation with the Department of Ethnology at the Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, whose researchers were conducting fieldwork in the area around Našice at the time. He also received important support from his then classmate Sandra Kralj Vukšić, now director of the Slovak Cultural Centre in Našice and a key figure in the Slovak community in Croatia. At Etnofilm Čadca, the film was awarded the Chairman of the Žilina Region Award — a fitting recognition, as Slovaks in the Našice area originally come from this very region, where the festival takes place and where part of the film is set. The film has also been broadcast several times by RTVS, the public service broadcaster in Slovakia.

Conclusions

A comparative perspective on ethnographic film and visual anthropology in Slovakia and Croatia highlights a number of striking parallels. These are rooted in the geopolitical realities of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia as part of the Eastern Bloc, which brought with it a certain isolation from Western developments — developments that largely shaped the trajectory of this subdiscipline. Both contexts shared a strong emphasis on traditional folk culture, faced technological limitations, and made extensive use of cultural traditions in public media as a tool for constructing national identity in multi-ethnic states — often from an ethnological standpoint, though not always with consistent quality.

In both Slovakia and Croatia, the foundations of ethnographic filmmaking were laid by influential figures such as Milovan Gavazzi and Karol Plicka, who actively engaged in field recording and film production while creating institutional frameworks for this work. The 1960s were marked by relatively strong cooperation between the two countries, each participating in international developments in its own way. In both cases, the development of ethnographic film depended largely on committed individuals, as visual ethnology remained outside the main focus of ethnological institutions. Notably, both countries established national festivals under the identical title "Etnofilm." The Slovak festival in Čadca began during the socialist period and has continued for 45 years, though with fluctuating quality and limited audiences. In contrast, the Croatian Etnofilm in Rovinj achieved 13 successful editions before being discontinued during the pandemic.

In both countries, scholarly reflection on ethnographic film and visual recording has remained limited, shaped by a small number of committed authors. In Slovakia, the topic gained visibility primarily through the Etnofilm Čadca festival, particularly during the 1980s, when it fostered seminars and dynamic debates between filmmakers and ethnologists. Yet, beyond studies devoted to Karol Plicka and Martin Slivka, no comprehensive monograph on ethnographic film or visual anthropology has emerged in Slovakia, while several have appeared in the Czech Republic. In 2014, a special issue of the journal *Slovenský národopis* was published, dedicated to visual anthropology; however, aside from an interview by Daniela Jurisová and Zuzana Beňušková with Naško Križnar, it did not include any contributions specifically addressing ethnographic film.

Only three Slovak ethnologists with filmmaking skills have been identified as capable of presenting their work at

ethnographic film festivals — Jaroslava Panáková, Soňa Lutherová, and Miroslav Bartoš — although many others collaborate with professional or amateur filmmakers. Since 2014, the town of Hriňová has hosted an amateur film festival focused on traditional culture and creative individuals, while also building an archive of valuable material.

In Croatia, ethnologists have authored a single academic monograph devoted to visual anthropology, which was published in 2025.

In both countries, academic institutions tend to express interest in ethnographic film more in principle than in sustained practice. Although master's and doctoral research on the topic does occasionally emerge, it rarely translates into sustained creative or scholarly activity after completion.

Through its retrospective programming, the international Etnofilm festival in Čadca offers a picture of the state of visual anthropology and ethnographic film in participating countries. In the case of Croatia — represented largely by productions from Croatian Radiotelevision — this prompts the question of how accurately such a picture reflects the real situation in the field. This study has contributed to clarifying the development and current condition of this subdiscipline in both Slovakia and Croatia, while also offering insight into Czech and Slovak documentary production focused on Croatian culture and society.

Nevena Škrbić Alempijević*

Literary Memoryscapes in an Island Community – the Case of Martin Kukučín in Selca on the Island of Brač[1]

Književni krajolici sjećanja u otočnoj zajednici – primjer Martina Kukučína u Selcima na Braču / Literárne krajiny pamäti v ostrovnej komunite – príklad Martina Kukučína v Selciach na ostrove Brač

Rad analizira mehanizme kojima se u suvremenosti oblikuju otočni krajolici sjećanja povezani s glasovitim slovačkim književnikom Martinom Kukučínom. Iako nije rođen u Selcima, nekadašnji općinski liječnik, koji je sa zajednicom dijelio otočnu i iseljeničku svakodnevicu, profilirao se kao važan simbol lokalnog identiteta. Njegova se prisutnost danas očituje u procesima stvaranja mjesta, toponimiji, komemorativnim praksama i školskim inicijativama, koje potiču međugeneracijski prijenos sjećanja i jačaju hrvatsko-slovačke kulturne veze.

Ključne riječi: krajolici sjećanja, Martin Kukučín, Selca na otoku Braču

Introduction

My first encounter with Martin Kukučín – born Matej Bencúr (Jasenová, Slovakia, 1860 – Lipik, Croatia, 1928), one of the leading figures of Slovak literary realism in the late 19th and early 20th century—took place during my secondary school years in Bol, on my home island of Brač. That encounter, however, did not occur through textbooks or reading Kukučín's literary works. Rather, it emerged when pupils from the neighbouring village of Selca joined our grammar school class in the 1990s.

Classroom dynamics were marked by collegial teasing, minor rivalries, deep friendships, and a constant effort to present one's own home place as superior to the other. "We", the children from Bol, proudly pointed out that our school was housed in the building of the first winegrowers' cooperative in all of Dalmatia. "We" also laid claim to Zlatni rat, declaring it the most beautiful beach in Croatia – a boast that, inevitably, also implied mass tourism. "They", the children from Selca, emphasised their connection to a long tradition of highly skilled stonemasons. As inhabitants of a village located in the island's hinterland, unlike "us", they could not draw on a maritime

* NEVENA ŠKRBIĆ ALEMPIJEVIĆ, Tenured Professor, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb (Republic of Croatia).

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identity. Instead, they invoked their cultural heritage – the fact that Selca is filled with monuments dedicated to prominent political, religious, and literary figures. Finally, they had their "good doctor", Martin Kukučín – a figure who had established himself in his homeland as a respected prose writer, but who was known to the people of Selca primarily as their municipal physician. Through both his profession and his marriage to Perica from the distinguished Didolić family, Kukučín was firmly integrated into the local community, sharing their life trajectories to such an extent that he became part of the island's emigrant groups, joining their transatlantic movements to Punta Arenas, Chile.[2]

This autoethnographic fragment is not only a glimpse of personal memory intended to explain my motivation for engaging with this topic. Rather, it also seeks to convey deeper semantic layers related to processes of collective identity-building. Relationships between different island places, such as those evoked in the opening section, have been repeatedly examined in island studies through the concept of campanilism.[3] Campanilism can be understood as a value system that interprets the specific traits of a place through strongly localized lenses, reflecting the complex and heterogeneous ways in which island communities draw mental boundaries in space and construct their identity landscapes. It is often grounded in the stereotyping and mocking of the Other, as well as idealizing and glorifying one's own place.[4]

This perspective aligns with the ethnological approach to the symbolic construction of community as articulated by Antony P. Cohen, who argues that communities are formed not only from within, but also through perceived difference in relation to other groups.[5] In that sense, local identity is relational and depends on the careful selection of recognisable symbolic markers that community members themselves regard as the most representative manifestations of their distinctiveness.

The aim of this article is to analyse the mechanisms through which the figure of Martin Kukučín is established as a local symbol among the inhabitants of Selca, and the ways in which island memoryscapes of this writer are constructed in the contemporary context. This case of group identity construction based on a prominent symbolic marker is particularly interesting because the literary figure in question was neither born in the community nor can be interpreted as someone who naturally "belonged" to it. Kukučín moved to Selca in his mid-thirties, after completing his medical studies in Prague.[6] In order to become a symbol through which present-day islanders express their sense of belonging, Kukučín had to be made "one of us", or, as one of

[2] A situation in which a man moves into the woman's family in an island community deviates from the then-prevalent patrilocal pattern, which may have contributed to the perception of the writer as an exceptional figure within the place.

[3] PERINIĆ LEWIS, Ana – ŠKRBIĆ ALEMPIJEVIĆ, Nevena: Nothing without neighbours – interlocal relations and campanilistic narratives on two Croatian islands. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* a. 23, nr. 2 (2014), pp. 153–168.

[4] GILMORE, David: Anthropology of the Mediterranean area. *Annual Review of Anthropology* a. 11 (1982), p. 178.

[5] COHEN, Anthony P.: *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. London – New York: Routledge, 2003.

[6] Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, Zagreb (deinde LZMK): *Hrvatski biografski leksikon, online edition* (1983–2025), entry BENCÚR, Matěj. https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/bencur-matej (accessed: 12 October 2025)

my Selca-based interlocutors put it, *"our Slovak"*.

Literary Memoryscapes – Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Several researchers have systematically analysed the work of Martin Kukučín from the perspective of cultural and linguistic bridges between Slovakia and Croatia. These studies have primarily focused on textual analysis, intercultural contacts and influences, as well as the literary-historical context and the contribution of Kukučín's oeuvre. In this regard, the work of scholars from the Department of West Slavic Languages and Literatures at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Zagreb, is particularly noteworthy: Zrinka Stričević Kovačević,[7] who, among other things, has focused on Croatian motifs present in Kukučín's prose, and Dubravka Sesar,[8] who examined the use of the Brač Chakavian dialect in his writing.

Kukučín has also been the focus of studies produced on Brač itself. For example, the long-serving parish priest of Selca, Don Stanko Jerčić, wrote an account of the writer's life intertwined with the island and its emigrant community, as well as of the role that the then already renowned Slovak author – known to the people of Selca primarily as their "*šjor likar*" (Mr. Doctor) – played within the local community.[9] Other local history enthusiasts, such as Željana Štambuk, have also explored the relationship and interaction between the island and the Slovak writer who wrote about it.[10]

My ethnological and cultural-anthropological approach to this writer as a figure of memory takes a different methodological standpoint, focusing on the contemporary perspective of the local community. Accordingly, I aim to analyse meanings that present-day inhabitants of Selca inscribe into the figure and work of Martin Kukučín, treating him as a symbol constructed within the local cultural imagery. Drawing on Pierre Nora's concept of realms of memory (*lieux de mémoire*) in all its multivalence,[11] I will examine the spheres, narratives, and practices through which social memory of Kukučín is (re)created in Selca and among its inhabitants today.

This ethnographic research was based on a combination of methods. I applied discourse analysis to various types of texts addressing Kukučín's role in Selca, specifically local popular and media representations, public-policy documents, and cultural tourism strategies. During 2025, I also conducted multiple fieldwork sessions, including site mapping and participant observation at locations where memory of the writer has been materialized. Finally, ethnographic material was gathered through interviews with secondary school students

[7] STRIČEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ, Zrinka*: Hrvatski motivi u djelu Martina Kukučína*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske – Društvo hrvatsko-slovačkoga prijateljstva, 1998.

[8] SESAR, Dubravka: O jeziku Kukučínove „hrvatske" proze. In: FRANČIĆ, Anđela – KUZMIĆ, Boris – MALNAR JURIŠIĆ, Marija (eds.): *Kroz prostor i vrijeme: Zbornik u čast Miri Menac-Mihalić*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2022, pp. 257-266.

[9] JERČIĆ, Stanko: Martin Kukučin (1860–1928). *Bračka crkva*, nr. 17 (1985), Supetar, p. 7.

[10] ŠTAMBUK, Željana: *Martin Kukučin u Selcima na Braču i Brač u djelu Martina Kukučina*. Selca – Zagreb: Mala biblioteka Selački korijeni, 2010.

[11] NORA, Pierre: *Realms of Memory. The Construction of the French Past*, vol. 1: Conflicts and Divisions. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

from Selca and neighbouring villages, enrolled at Bol Grammar School.

As a theoretical starting point, this study adopts approaches to the shaping of literary memoryscapes. These represent a specific type of postscapes, in which different social agents inscribe meanings related to writers, their works, and literary imaginaries. The prefix *post-* signals the temporal displacement in the creation of these memoryscapes – they do not emerge at the moment of the literary works' production, but rather through their later, in this case contemporary, readings, experiences, and reinterpretations. Memory thus functions as an attitude towards the past constructed in the present, shaped by contemporary social, political, and cultural contexts, as well as by the collective and individual notions, expectations, and interests of the actors who constitute the community of memory. Such memory does not need to be autobiographical, grounded in face-to-face encounters with the person or events remembered by an individual or a society. It often takes the form of historical memory, a mnemonic dimension in which members of a group do not directly recall an element that represents an important component of their identity.[12] In these cases, images of the past are preserved and transmitted through cultural and educational institutions, growing up within a specific environment, and oral tradition—precisely the mechanisms through which, as I will show, the memory of Kukučín is kept alive in Selca.

The term *"literary memoryscape"* refers to the creation of places through engagement with their literary heritage. This process is based on the perceptions, experiences, and attitudes of individuals and groups towards specific authors and their works. It becomes visible in cultural policies, historiographical reinterpretations, the construction and transmission of adequate narratives, commemorative and other practices, as well as the embedding of literary memory in materiality and space.[13]

For the theoretical grounding of research on literary memoryscapes, particularly influential were the concepts developed by the literary theorist Nicola Watson in her book *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain*.[14] Starting from the premise that places are formed in relation to literary works, or more precisely by contemporary readers' interpretations of those texts, Watson examines various modes through which literature, authorship, and space intersect. She pays particular attention to the ways in which readers' relationships with writers and their works are materialized in the landscape, distinguishing four fundamental modes: visiting writers' graves; memorializing their birthplaces; transforming spaces in which authors lived and worked into realms of memory; and, finally, evoking and recreating fictional literary geographies in real space, oriented either towards the settings of literary works or towards landscapes that served as the source of literary inspiration.[15]

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12 HALBWACHS, Maurice: *The Collective Memory*. New York – London: Harper and Row, 1980.

13 SELBERG, Torunn – Nevena ŠKRBIĆ ALEMPIJEVIĆ: Turning Fiction into Reality: the Making of Two Places within Literary Geography. *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, nr. 25 (2013), pp. 183-206.

14 WATSON, Nicola J.: *The Literary Tourist. Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain*. Basingstoke – New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

15 WATSON, Nicola J.: *The Literary Tourist*, pp. 9-15.

In this analysis, I will deal with certain categories of literary places as described by Nicola Watson. In the case of Selca, I focus on a combination of memorialization associated with the spaces of Kukučín's life and work on the island, and the localization of his fictional worlds within the physical landscape. This approach is particularly pertinent given that Kukučín's literary production consistently engaged with life on Brač and among Brač islanders in emigration, thereby establishing Selca and its surroundings as a lasting point of reference within his literary topography.

In the following text, I will first point to the ways in which Brač is inscribed in Kukučín's literary work, using his *Bračke priče* (*Brač Stories*) for this analysis.[16] I will then demonstrate how Kukučín, as a figure of memory, is inscribed into the space of Selca, as well as how he is perceived by young inhabitants of Selca today.

Figure 1: *Postcard featuring a portrait of Martin Kukučín, Orava Museum. (Source: https://eshop.oravskemuzeum.sk/product/martin-kukucin/)*

Selca and its Inhabitants in Snippets from Kukučín's Biography

Since his arrival in Selca in 1894, the life story of Matej Bencúr – as well as the literary worlds he authored under the name Martin Kukučín – has been inextricably linked to the island of Brač.[17] His personal connection to the island and its inhabitants was solidified by his marriage to Perica Didolić in 1904. Kukučín gained insight into the functioning of the local community through his work as a physician, providing medical care to the inhabitants of Selca, Selački Zaselci, Sumartin, Novo Selo, and Povlja. He was also active in other spheres of local social life, as evidenced by his appointment as the president of the society "*Hrvatski sastanak*".

In 1907, together with his wife and in the company of other fellow villagers, he emigrated to Chile, initially settling in Santiago de Chile and later in Punta Arenas. In the collective memory of this community, his role as the first physician of the International Red Cross in the Patagonian region is particularly noted. Shortly after his arrival, he became an

[16] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*. Translated from Slovak by Dubravka Dorotić Sesar. Split: Naklada Bošković, 2020.

[17] This brief overview of the writer's biography is based on the following literature and sources: STRIČEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ, Zrinka*: Hrvatski motivi u djelu Martina Kukučína*, pp. 9-25; LZMK: *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, entry BENCÚR, Matěj.; ŠKRBIĆ ALEMPIJEVIĆ, Nevena: Bilješke o narodnom životu u romanima Martina Kukučína. *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, nr. 16 (2004), pp. 141-180.

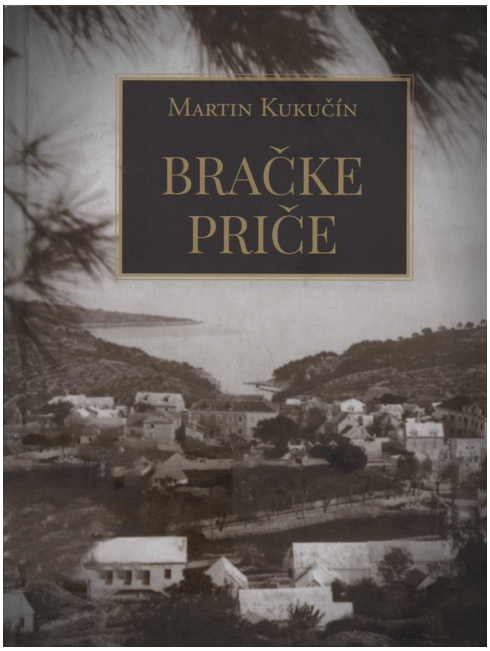

Figure 2. *Cover of the short story collection* Bračke priče.

active participant in the dynamic social life of the Croatian emigrant community. He engaged in the work of Croatian cultural societies and served as the president of the society "*Dalmacija*". His identification with the emigrant community is reflected both in his public activity and in his literary production, primarily in the novel *Mať volá* (*Mother is Calling;* 1926–1927), in which the narrator employs the pronoun "we" when depicting the Croatian diaspora.[18] Thanks to his professional, cultural, and literary contributions, Kukučín also emerged as a figure of memory in Chile, inscribed into the urban toponymy: a polyclinic and a street in Punta Arenas bear his name. According to Ján Botík, during his time in Chile, Kukučín also undertook an *"entrepreneurial experiment"*, becoming a co-owner of a sheep farm in Patagonia.[19]

In 1922, the newly established Czechoslovakia experienced a brief return of its prominent writer. During his stay in Prague, Kukučín received numerous literary awards and an offer to assume a position in the Ministry of Health, which he declined. Due to the deterioration of Perica's health, the couple relocated to Croatia, and Kukučín spent the final years of his life in Lipik, remaining there until his death in Pakrac in 1928. He was initially buried at Mirogoj Cemetery in Zagreb, in a tomb constructed of Brač stone,[20] and later that same year his remains were transferred to Slovakia, to Turčiansky Svätý Martin.

Kukučín's most influential work, which depicts the often arduous everyday life on the island, marked by profound differences between social strata, is *Dom v stráni* (*Kuća u strani*, 1903 – 1904). On the basis of this novel and the novel *Mať volá*, I previously explored how literary works can simultaneously serve as a source of ethnographic data.[21] In the following chapter, I will adopt a similar approach to analyse Kukučín's short stories published in the collection *Bračské motívy* (*Bračke priče*).[22] This collection consists of seven stories: "Prva razmirica" (The First Dispute), "Svadba" (The Wedding), "Parobrod" (The Steamer),

[18] ŠKRBIĆ ALEMPIJEVIĆ, Nevena: Bilješke o narodnom životu u romanima Martina Kukučína, p. 147.
[19] BOTÍK, Ján: Patagónsky experiment Martina Kukučína, *Studia Carpathico-Adriatica*, nr. 2 (2021), pp. 189-193.
[20] ŠAROVIĆ, Slavica: *Značajni pripadnici nacionalnih manjina u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Zajednica Roma Hrvatske „Romski san", 2024, p. 60.
[21] ŠKRBIĆ ALEMPIJEVIĆ, Nevena: Bilješke o narodnom životu u romanima Martina Kukučína, pp. 159-177.
[22] DOROTIĆ SESAR, Dubravka: Oravljanin Martin Kukučín i njegove bračke priče. In: KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*. Split: Naklada Bošković, 2020.

"Badnjak" (Christmas Eve), "Baldo & Comp." (Baldo & Co.), "Leše" (Leše), and "Iz lovčevih zapisa" (From the Hunter's Notes). They were originally published separately, beginning in 1896, and were later gathered into a complete Bratislava edition in 1960. In Croatia, the collection appeared in 2020 in a translation by Dubravka Dorotić Sesar. This translation by a prominent specialist in West Slavic languages can itself be considered a form of cultural mediation: being of Brač descent, Dorotić Sesar has made it possible for contemporary Croatian readers to experience the collection as a true *"story of Brač"*, both in terms of language and in the recreation of island atmospheres. This is further supported by the *Mali bračći glosar* (The Small Brač Glossary) included by the translator in this edition.[23]

In the first part of my analysis, I will focus on the ethnographic dimension of *Bračke priče*, while in the second part I will consider how Kukučín's belonging to both cultural spheres is expressed – namely, that of his origin and that which he conveys to his Slovak readership through his work.

Kukučín's *Bračke priče*

> *"He stands in a circle he had never even dreamed of. Around him is a whole wreath of faces never seen before; he hears sounds he had never even imagined. Everything is so new, yet not strange. They do not treat him as a stranger. Something from their beings reaches out to him, something that brings him joy, calms him, warms him, and feels gentle. Something that also makes him feel he is not an outsider. Their life truly resonates within him; more than that – he lives at least a fragment of their life. Their interests are his interests, their sorrows and their vices are also his suffering. He knows about them at least as much as they know about one another. And perhaps he even knows what they themselves do not yet know..."*[24]

With these words, in the story "Leše" (Mišo II), Kukučín reflects on his position within the island community. In *Bračke priče*, it is clear from which perspective his authorial gaze is directed – namely, from the position of *Mr. Doctor*, ranked in the upper social stratum, whom *a boy* transports on a mule or donkey to all the settlements in eastern Brač to help people in need, yet at the same time a fellow villager who shares with the Brač inhabitants all the blessings and hardships brought by island life. His stories are rich in descriptions of everyday life on Brač at the turn of the 19th to the 20th century. This is especially evident in his attention to the economic activities that formed the basis of life on the island. In this context, depictions of Brač's winegrowing and winemaking, of taking the sheep to pasture, of hunting, fishing, seafaring, and trade stand out. They provide insight into the skills, techniques, and tools used in these activities, sometimes with very concrete descriptions, such as the author's vignette of a squid lure in the story "Badnjak" (Christmas Eve): *"They showed me a fish made of wax, with sharp hooks stuck around it. 'The squid grabs it with its arms, and the fisherman pulls it out.'"*[25] It is with equal vividness and attention to detail that *Bračke priče*

[23] DOROTIĆ SESAR, Dubravka: Oravljanin Martin Kukučín, pp. 177-180.

[24] All quotes from the Croatian version of *Bračke priče* were translated into English by the author of this article. KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 129; DOROTIĆ SESAR, Dubravka: Oravljanin Martin Kukučín, p. 185.

[25] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 87.

depict the role these activities played in the self-identification of the local community. For example, in the story "Prva razmirica", when describing the dirty work clothes in which the inhabitants of Selca sat at the municipal table, Kukučín comments: *"But it is* jematva*—the grape harvest. It cannot be otherwise. And a local man will surely not feel ashamed because of it. He is proud to be dressed in such clothing and will apologize to you – though not without a touch of coquetry: 'Forgive me for being so untidy. It is the time of jematva, and the poor peasant must wipe himself on all sorts of things, so something always ends up stuck to his suit…'"*[26] However, in *Bračke priče* these activities are not anchored in a narrative of timeless, *longue-durée* island time. In these short stories, Kukučín offers a clear insight into the ways in which broader political and social tendencies, as well as technological advances, shape the lives of his Brač characters, sketched through the departures of local young men to Pula to serve in the Austro-Hungarian army and through the encounters of old sailing ships and steamships off the island's harbours.[27]

In addition, the author is deeply attentive to the materiality of the island, offering descriptions of the built, cultivated, and natural environment. Kukučín constructs scenes for his characters through rich depictions of architecture: compact houses rising in concentric rows from the shore; clusters of enclosed, terraced vineyards and olive groves; local *pjace* (squares) and the benches on them; and stone *gustirne* (cisterns) that supply the settlement with precious water. All of these literary topoi are permeated by the dynamics of interpersonal relations, marked not by major events or social upheavals, but by seemingly ordinary yet affectively powerful interactions that structure everyday island lives. In some stories, the construction of communal infrastructure functions as a central driver of the plot – as in the short story "Baldo & Comp.", in which the building of the Selca lime kiln activates an entire network of agents, local politics, and practices. Detailed and varied are also the descriptions of Selca interiors from that period, through which Kukučín clearly points to contrasts in living conditions among people of different economic status, while simultaneously expressing admiration for the creativity of the most modest households:

> *"The house itself is not partitioned by interior walls into separate rooms and small chambers. It forms a unified space, comprising the sitting room, sleeping quarters, entryway, kitchen, pantry, and even the cellar – all in one continuous whole. To the left of the door, you step onto a floor laid with wooden planks. Upon it stand two beds, the mothers of all beds – so wide are they. One is reserved for the parents and the smallest child, whom his younger brother has displaced from the cradle; the other is for the middle and older children. These beds were not crafted by trained masters of the trade, that is, by formally educated carpenters, but by Ilija himself, with his own hands. He placed planks across two trestles, laid a straw mattress upon them, and thus fashioned a bed the like of which, surely, not even royalty such as the legendary epic hero Kraljević Marko would object to sleeping in. The remainder of the house is not floored with mosaic, oak planks, or tiles, not even partly, yet neither does it consist of tamped earth or clay, levelled and smoothed as in our Slovak*

[26] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 7.
[27] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 70.

huts… Here, the floor is of bare, living stone, roughly evened out."[28]

In this passage, alongside his meticulous attention to the detailed description of the elements from which the islanders constructed their living spaces, another of Kukučín's characteristic tendencies becomes apparent – one that is particularly pronounced in his depictions of island landscapes and people. This tendency lies in their constant comparison with the remembered landscapes of his Slovak homeland. From this perspective, for example, his literary character Leše is described as follows: "*His* opanci *(traditional leather peasant shoes) are neatly sewn and not coarse; his legs are not wrapped in* obojci *(cloth leg-wraps) as with our Orava highlanders; he wears only a single stocking knitted from homespun wool."*[29]

From an ethnographic perspective, Kukučín's work also provides a valuable insight into the customary practices of the islanders. Customs serve as a thematic basis for certain stories, as suggested even by their titles ("Svadba"/The Wedding, "Badnjak"/Christmas Eve). The author explicitly points to the multiple roles of these customs in maintaining the cohesion of the local community, showing how they function within a religious register while also fulfilling a range of practical functions that structure everyday lives of the community and the gender in a patriarchal rural setting. In this context, he conveys a sense of reverence for spirituality, manifested in the observances of Holy Week and the singing of lamentations during the procession,[30] while the significance of the May Day celebration is summarized in his words: *"The day when every young man places flowers on the window or in front of the door of his beloved."*[31] In addition, the author presents a wealth of ethnographic detail related to local customs, striving to achieve a vividness of description that would render the specific features of life on this distant island more tangible to the Slovak reader. In this respect, he depicts culinary practices associated with specific feast days, such as the preparation of cod for Christmas Eve.[32] He also cites, in the Chakavian vernacular, Christmas carols, one of *"those ancient pastoral hymns in which, with naïveté and simplicity yet with immediacy, the entire holy day of the Lord's Nativity is sung. 'At this time of the year, peace is proclaimed to the world, The birth of the Child by the Virgin Mary…'"*[33] Not without sympathy, and indeed with considerable detail, Kukučín likewise portrays those beliefs and practices that lie beyond his own sensibility, whether for professional or worldview-related reasons. Thus, the belief in the evil eye and the procedures deemed necessary for its removal – such as passing a rifle through a trouser leg – become, in the narrator's account, a convenient excuse by which he may justify his lack of success to his fellow hunters.[34] In a similar spirit, Kukučín's physician in the story "Leše" expresses a certain respect for the skills and knowledge of folk medicine as practised by the *"old medicine woman"* Dandula, who *"treats with herbs and leeches."*[35]

[28] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 35.
[29] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 112.
[30] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 56.
[31] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 59.
[32] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 76.
[33] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 92.
[34] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 168.
[35] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 126.

A pronounced characteristics of Kukučín's short fiction is its attention to the sociability of the local community, its structure, social divisions, and the tensions to which these give rise. The dynamics of cooperation, but also of friction, among different social strata in the island places frequently constitute both the framework of the plot and the impetus for the characters' actions. Thus, for example, in the story "Svadba", the protagonist Marko's decision to leave his paternal home is interwoven with reflections on the complex relationship between the landowner and his live-in farmhands.[36] In certain instances, the author playfully engages with images of the people of Brač as generated by the coastal urban centres, especially those that position the islanders as Split's constitutive Other. Such a stereotype – that of the Brač man who never ventures anywhere without his *lumbrela* (umbrella) – is recalled by Kukučín's Leše, who addresses the doctor in the story with the words: *"An umbrella always comes in handy, sir, especially in the sun, for the sun, sir, shows no mercy when it beats down…"*[37] However, in terms of the construction of symbolic geographies and the island Other in *Bračke priče*, the most fully developed dichotomy is convincingly that between the Brač islanders and the *Vlachs*, inhabitants of the Dalmatian hinterland. In the collection, they regularly appear as workers who assist the local inhabitants with seasonal tasks. Concerning the characteristics of these two groups and their mutual relations, the writer notes:

> *"As an islander, he considers himself a superior being, while the Vlach's humanity is scarcely acknowledged. Indeed, observing an islander and a Vlach, one might doubt that they belong to the same people. The islander is enterprising, skillful, and relatively industrious, whereas the Vlach is clumsy, slow, and conservative. Yet, as a person, the Vlach is more likable. He is not conceited, but extremely, extremely humble; obedient, gentle, very kind, and obliging (provided this does not require too much effort). He can also be cunning, capable of pretence, and makes no extravagant promises. These two types stand in contrast to one another, each full of prejudices about the other. There are villages where legends circulate about the Vlachs – how they supposedly found a 'mare's egg' and cut off the mare's legs so that she could sit on it, how they rolled a church on a pea, how they sowed salt, and how they went to Venice to buy brains…"*[38]

The reflection and recreation of island microcosms in Kukučín's short stories, which, as I have shown, can be analyzed from an ethnographic perspective, do not aim to elicit cultural astonishment among Slovak readers. On the contrary, they function as vignettes of the everyday life of the local community, which the writer shapes as his "ethnography of the familiar", written from the position of a participant observer in numerous local events. Accordingly, in considering the ethnographic dimension of *Bračke priče*, it is important to take into account yet another level of interaction between the islanders and those who are not (fully) one of them, or those who are becoming so – the position of the author himself, and the question of his (self-)identification. The phrase *"our Slovak"*, employed by my interlocutor from Selca, corresponds to the strategies by which the author situates himself within these communi-

[36] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 53.
[37] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 114.
[38] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 118.

ties – to the ways in which he establishes spaces of belonging and determines the boundaries and the people included within the scope of the pronoun "our". In certain instances, Kukučín counts himself among the group of *"us from there"*, *"from the north"*, for whom the rippling of the sea brings to mind the swaying of the grain fields in his Slovak homeland.[39] In these instances, the Brač landscape in which he is immersed is established as *"their homeland"*, *"so magnificent and so rich in beauty, yet, unfortunately, only in natural beauty"*.[40] Elsewhere in Kukučín's texts, being on Brač is simultaneously expressed as a form of belonging – in those cases, a two-story house in the town centre becomes *"our municipality building"*;[41] the settlement in which he lives is described as *"our town"* or *"our place"*; [42] the stony terrain he climbs is referred to as *"our island,"* on which he is surrounded by *"our people"*.[43] In this way, the home constructed in *Bračke priče* is established transnationally, within a fluid semantic field that connects distant locales and diverse temporalities, intertwined within Kukučín's literary worlds. Such positioning of the author provides a solid foundation for the shaping of island memoryscapes, which define Kukučín as "one of us".

Contemporary Politics of Remembering Kukučín in Selca

Kukučín inscribed Selca and its inhabitants into his literary works; in return, the islanders inscribed their memory of him into the local symbolic imagery. Their connection to this writer was evident even during his lifetime, marked by the installation of a memorial plaque on the building that housed his medical practice. This link was further expressed through covering Kukučín's grave with Brač stone. Today, nearly a century after his death, Kukučín continues to function as an active figure of memory in Selca. Certain local realms of memory are dedicated to him, maintained and activated by living communities, thereby recreating a sense of continuity with a past they consider worth preserving, while simultaneously adapting these images of the past to their current interests, expectations, and identity strategies.[44]

In this chapter, I will present several local realms of memory in which the islanders' relationship with Martin Kukučín is materialized. As I will argue, some of these memorial sites are still in the process of becoming, indicating that this is a dynamic phenomenon, continually being reconstructed and adjusted to the contemporary needs of the local community. It is important to emphasise, however, that commemorating this literary figure in Selca is not a recent development, but has its own tradition. This is corroborated by the testimony of my interlocutor, a seventy-year-old man who spent his childhood in Selca. He recalled that during the 1960s, while he attended the local elementary school, celebrations were organized to commemorate Kukučín's birthday: his literary works were

[39] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 121.
[40] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 86.
[41] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 7.
[42] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 93.
[43] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 81.
[44] NORA, Pierre: Između pamćenja i historije. Problematika mjestâ. In: BRKLJAČIĆ, Maja – PRLENDA, Sandra (eds.): *Kultura pamćenja i historija*. Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2006, pp. 23-43.

Figure 3: *Memorial space dedicated to Martin Kukučín on the municipal building, used for the cultural and tourism promotion of Selca. (Source: https://www.visitselca.com/en/cultural-heritage/)*

read in class, pupils were writing essays on his significance for Selca, and delegations from Slovakia visited the school and the place.

In the local landscape, memory of this writer takes on a material form through the creation of sites that commemorate his life and work in Selca. Memorial elements related to Kukučín are particularly visible on the building located in Selca's main square, a space that is central both physically and symbolically. This building now houses the Selca Municipal Office, the Municipal Library and the general medical and dental clinics, making it both the administrative centre and one of the key sites of everyday life for the local community. It is also the building where Kukučín maintained his medical practice and to which he devoted the opening pages of *Bračke priče*, referring to it as *"our municipality building"*.[45] A memorial plaque in Croatian was installed on the building during the writer's lifetime, highlighting that Dr. Matej Bencur (Martin Kukučín) worked there and that he immortalized Selca in his novel *Dom v stráni*.[46] Subsequently, additional memorial elements were added. In August 2011, on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the writer's birth, a plaque in Slovak was installed at the initiative of the Ministry of Foreign and European Affairs of the Slovak Republic, in collaboration with the Municipality of Selca. This commemorative act, announced as the *"installation of a plaque to the father of Slovak literature, Martin Kukučín"*, and held within the framework of the *Selaško lito* festival, was accompanied by the opening of a documentary exhibition entitled *"Martin Kukučín: Life and Work"*.[47] On the same day, a poetry competition *"Croatia rediviva: ča-kaj-što"*

45 KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, p. 7.

46 OPĆINA SELCA. Kulturna baština – Selca. 2023. https://www.selca.hr/defaultcont.asp?id=151&n=2 (accessed: 8 September 2025)

47 OPĆINA SELCA. Program Selačkog kulturnog ljeta. 2011. https://selca.hr/default_vijest_wide.asp?sid=6123 (accessed: 8 September 2025)

was held. In its effort to establish Selca as a recognized stage for the promotion of literary heritage, this festival invokes Kukučín's figure as an emblem of cultural and literary continuity in the place.[48] Finally, in 2017, a bust of the writer was unveiled in Selca, with the then President of the Slovak Republic, Andrej Kiska present at the ceremony. The bust was a gift from the Secondary School of Arts in Kežmarok, which, in memory of Kukučín, established a student exchange programme with the elementary school in Selca.[49] This centrally located site functions as a commemorative focal point: representatives of the Selca Municipality, the Tourist Board, cultural societies, and the local school regularly mark significant dates related to the writer's life there, sometimes accompanied by delegations from Slovakia. My interlocutors from Selca emphasised with pride that, thanks to Kukučín, their place is among those most frequently visited by Slovak presidents and other high-ranking officials.

Another location that evokes the writer's stay in Selca is gradually being established as a new realm of memory: the now-ruined Didolić estate complex. It is a representative example of residential architecture from the second half of the nineteenth century, which, due to the social position of the wealthy Didolić family in the community – into which Kukučín's wife was born – functioned as the heart of local cultural and political activities, as well as the space in which Kukučín resided.[50] Within the framework of the project "Selca – the Cultural Heart of Brač", the Municipality, across two project cycles beginning in 2016, secured funding from the European Union through the Integrated Territorial Programme (ITP) for regional development, with the aim of revitalizing the local cultural heritage. Among the sites slated for renovation and adaptation, alongside churches and the memorial park, is the Didolić complex. The project's vision is for this complex to function as a *"kind of centre of the place, integrating a tourist and interpretive centre, exhibition and gallery space, a multifunctional hall with workshops, a restaurant, a souvenir shop, and a church collection."*[51] In the project description, the figure of Martin Kukučín is invoked to underscore the representativeness and cultural significance of the Didolić estate. According to the reconstruction plan, one of the key exhibition spaces in the restored complex will be the Kukučín Memorial Room, dedicated to the *"writer and physician of Slovak origin who left a significant impact on local cultural development"*.[52]

This initiative is integrated in the broader cultural and tourism strategy of Selca, in which Kukučín plays a significant role, particularly in attracting visitors from Slovakia. The writer's persona and name are prominently featured in

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48 JURDANA, Vjekoslava. Ovjenčani maslinâ vijencem: Croatia rediviva kao pisanje povijesti i pisanje književnosti. *Kolo. Časopis Matice hrvatske za književnost, umjetnost i kulturu*, nr. 4 (2016). https://www.matica.hr/kolo/510/ovjencani-maslina-vijencem-croatia-rediviva-kao-pisanje-povijesti-i-pisanje-knjizevnosti-26688/ (accessed: 8 September 2025)

49 OPĆINA SELCA. Predsjednik Kiska u Selcima. 2017. https://selca.hr/default_vijest_wide.asp?sid=6590 (accessed: 8 September 2025)

50 OPĆINA SELCA. Kulturna baština – Selca. 2023. https://www.selca.hr/defaultcont.asp?id=151&n=2 (accessed: 8 September 2025)

51 OPĆINA SELCA. *Projektni zadatak za izradu projektno-tehničke dokumentacije rekonstrukcije Didolića dvora u Selcima*. 2016. https://www.selca.hr/Dokumenti/PTD-%20%20SELCA_%20Didolica%20dvori.pdf (accessed: 8 September 2025)

52 OPĆINA SELCA. *Projektni zadatak*. 2016, p. 9.

local tourist materials,[53] and the Municipality and the Selca Tourist Board's documents note that Slovak tourists often come specifically to visit sites connected with Kukučín.[54] Along with locations that can be directly linked to his life and work in Selca, there are also attempts to identify spaces mentioned in *Dom v stráni*. Since the descriptions of places in the novel are often abstract and do not point to a single, precisely determined house or location, situating the literary landscape within the physical island space is largely left to the imagination of readers and visitors.[55] In this process, Kukučín's figure provides an incentive for the development of cultural tourism and thus acquires economic value.

Examples of such use of literary heritage can be observed in certain property listings on popular online platforms. In an English-language advertisement offering an old, detached stone ground-floor house, the seller notes: *"Of the 30 memorial plaques, the one that stands out is on the house where Martin Kukučin (Martin [sic!] Bencur), a doctor and the founder of modern Slovak prose, lived and worked. Among other topics, he wrote about the life of islanders in their homeland and abroad"*.[56] In this case, Kukučín's figure is used as a kind of local brand and additional attraction, presenting Selca as the island's cultural centre and a desirable environment for investment.

Along with the Municipality and the Tourist Board, another important sphere for creating and conveying local social memory related to Kukučín is the elementary school in Selca, where key dates in the writer's life are systematically commemorated. For over a decade, an intensive exchange programme has been in place, enabling pupils from Croatia and Slovakia to become acquainted with the history, culture, and significance of Martin Kukučín for both countries. Within this exchange scheme, pupils from Selca travel to the Tatra Mountains region in winter for skiing, while children from Jasenová visit Brač during the summer. In addition, the school delegation from Selca actively participated in the commemoration of the 150th anniversary of Kukučín's birth in his birthplace in Slovakia.[57]

The examples presented can be viewed as manifestations of memory politics, a local mnemonic system established and maintained by institutions. Its materializations and embodiments are most often found in monuments, memorial buildings, official commemorations, celebrations, and other organized practices. These are forms of cultural memory,[58] which emerge from institutional frameworks through which symbolic value is inscribed in the figure of Martin Kukučín, local significance is emphasized, and the community's sense

[53] ŠTAMBUK, Nataša i TURISTIČKA ZAJEDNICA OPĆINE SELCA. 2018. *Vaš vodič istočnim dijelom otoka Brača*. Sumartin: Turistička zajednica Općine Selca, 2018.

[54] OPĆINA SELCA. Predsjednik Kiska u Selcima, 2017. https://selca.hr/default_vijest_wide.asp?sid=6590 (accessed: 8 September 2025)

[55] SELBERG, Torunn – Nevena Škrbić Alempijević: Turning Fiction into Reality, p. 192.

[56] NJUŠKALO. Kamena kuća u Selcima otok Brač-a stone house in Selca, island Brač (prodaja), 2025. https://www.njuskalo.hr/nekretnine/kamena-kuca-selcima-otok-brac-a-stone-house-in-selca-island-brac-oglas-46995961 (accessed: 8 September 2025)

[57] OPĆINA SELCA. S obljetnice rođenja Martina Kukučína. 2010. https://www.selca.hr/default_vijest_wide.asp?sid=6019 (accessed: 8 September 2025)

[58] ASSMANN, Jan: Communicative and Cultural Memory. In: ERLL, Astrid – NÜNNING, Ansgar (eds.): *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008, pp. 109–118.

of identity is (re)shaped. However, the reach of such memory politics is not confined to what is recorded in the canon or the official narrative about Kukučín in Selca. Owing to its actualisation in various local public spheres, this writer is resemanticised as a figure of memory that is also evoked in oral communication, with his symbolic role transmitted transgenerationally, as I will discuss in the following chapter. In that way, he becomes even more firmly inscribed in the local mental geographies, confirming his status as *"our Slovak"*.

Kukučín in the Memories of Young Islanders

However, the figure of this writer in the local context is not evoked only in memory politics and realms of memory. As a result of his regular reinterpretation in the island's public sphere and within cultural initiatives and institutions, memory of Kukučín is also present in the oral domain, in the collective and individual narrations of islanders about the role he once played – and, transposed into a symbol, continues to play – for the local community. I therefore set out to explore how the memory of this writer is transmitted transgenerationally, from which components younger inhabitants of Selca and its surroundings construct their contemporary perceptions of him, and how they situate him within the local context. Within this segment of the research, three secondary school students living in the Municipality of Selca, who had completed their primary education at the local elementary school, were asked the following questions: What did you learn, while growing up in Selca and its surroundings, about Martin Kukučín? What is his connection to Selca? How is the memory of Martin Kukučín preserved in Selca? Should his memory be kept alive in Selca, and if so, why and in which ways? All three research participants were familiar with Kukučín's connection to Selca; they were acquainted with his major literary works and certain biographical elements, and had formed vivid impressions of his stay in Selca, although it occurred more than a century ago. As the primary sphere in which they had acquired these memories, they identified the local elementary school, noting that they had participated each year in commemorations of the writer's birthday. One of the pupils described these Kukučín-related events as follows: *"On May 17, his birthday, we would go to the library in Selca to read excerpts from his works. Around that time, posters are also put up around the school, including his photographs and his biography."* According to the pupil's accounts, an important school-based platform for sustaining the memory of this figure is the student exchange programme, which they depicted in these terms: *"Sometimes students from Selca go to Dolný Kubín and Horný Kubín, in northern Slovakia, to visit his birthplace. It's a small place called Jasenová. Students from Slovakia also come to Selca."* They recalled that this exchange programme, initiated in 2010, was suspended during the COVID-19 pandemic, but was revived after that break.

Apart from the Selca elementary school, the pupils also highlight the activities of other institutions that they consider crucial for the ongoing actualisation of the writer's figure in the local context. In this regard, they point to initiatives carried out by the Municipality and the Municipal Library, which, as they state, include various cultural events, visits by delegations from Slovakia, the installation of busts and commemorative plaques, as well as the publication of

Figure 4: *Commemorative collector's coin issued on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Kukučín's birth. (Source: https://365brac.wordpress.com/2014/05/02/martin-kukucin-a-doctor-an-author-a-slovak-and-a-selcanin/)*

books dedicated to Kukučín's presence in Selca. They associate the writer's presence in Selca with specific locations – the building that once housed his medical practice, marked with commemorative inscriptions, as well as the estate where he lived: *"He was accommodated in the so-called Didolić house."*

Due to a continuous evocation within the community, memories of Kukučín are also transmitted within the family sphere, which thus becomes another space for sharing knowledge, experiences, and narrations about this writer. The images that pupils form of him are reflected in the following statement: *"He is still spoken of in the place today as perhaps the most important person who ever stayed in Selca."* Kukučín's role as the municipal physician remains crucial for the contemporary recreation of his figure, as illustrated in the following quote: *"He served as the municipal doctor, thus becoming part of the everyday life of the local population."* Another pupil adds: *"He is known as someone who cared for those in need and who was highly educated at a time when very few people were educated and had completed university studies"*. Alongside his medical profession, the pupils consider equally important the fact that he dedicated his literary works to the islanders, across various social strata. They think that his writings offer valuable insight into the way of life on the island at the time: *"When reading his books, one has the feeling that he described the life of the people of Selca exactly as it was a hundred years ago. It is interesting to compare the descriptions in his works with the present situation and to notice the enormous differences in the way of life."*

The research participants are aware of the active role this figure of memory plays in the contemporary bringing together of two communities – the one from which he originated and the one in which he settled – as well as in promoting cooperation between the two countries. They regard him as Slovak, yet at the same time as a fellow resident. They summarize this view in the following words: *"He symbolizes the connection between Croatian and Slovak culture. This connection can be further strengthened through continued cooperation between the municipalities and the development of joint cultural projects."*

Conclusion

The analysis of the various memoryscapes associated with Martin Kukučín shows that in Selca this writer is not perceived only as a relic of the past, but as an active and dynamic symbol in the present. Contemporary evocations of his work set in motion processes of place-making, through which his figure becomes inscribed into the island's toponymy. Local policymakers recognize him as an important asset in branding Selca as the cultural heart of Brač, and his figure triggers a range of commemorative practices within the local community.

School initiatives and mobility programmes ensure the intergenerational transmission of memory related to

Kukučín and strengthen intercultural ties between Croatia and Slovakia. Yet narrations about Kukučín have moved beyond exclusively formal frameworks – stories about him are also shared orally, within the family context. In order to become a recognizable symbol of local identity, Kukučín had to be accepted as "one of us": a figure who, while still belonging to the Slovak literary and cultural sphere, has also become part of the island's everyday life.

An illustrative example of this dual symbolic belonging occurred on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of Kukučín's birth, when the National Bank of Slovakia issued a commemorative 10-euro collector's coin featuring his likeness. Reflecting on this event, a local resident Nataša published a blog on the platform *365 Reasons for/against moving to Brač*, entitled "Martin Kukučín – a doctor, an author, a Slovak, and a Selčanin", concluding with the words: *"And he's immortalized on a special commemorative 10 Euro Slovak coin, which is pretty cool for a Selčanin :)"*.[59]

[59] https://365brac.wordpress.com/2014/05/02/martin-kukucin-a-doctor-an-author-a-slovak-and-a-selcanin/ (accessed: 12 October 2025)

Ján Botík*

Language as the Key Attribute of the Collective Identity of Croats in Slovakia

Prečo je jazyk najdôležitejším atribútom skupinovej identity Chorvátov na Slovensku / Zašto je jezik najvažniji atribut grupnog identiteta Hrvata u Slovačkoj

Po rozpade Rakúsko-Uhorskej monarchie a vzniku Československej republiky v roku 1918 sa Chorváti žijúci na Slovensku stali predmetom zvýšeného záujmu vedcov. Jazykovedec Václav Vážný konštatoval, že ich materinský jazyk predstavoval najvýznamnejší prejav ich národného života. Zo všetkých prvkov duchovného a kultúrneho dedičstva, ktoré si priniesli zo svojej pôvodnej vlasti, sa jazyk ukázal ako najodolnejší a odolával asimilačným tlakom okolitého prostredia vytrvalejšie a dlhšie ako akákoľvek iná zložka. Toto pozorovanie je východiskovým bodom pre túto štúdiu, ktorá sa snaží vysvetliť, prečo materinský jazyk zohrával v životoch chorvátskych osadníkov takú kľúčovú úlohu. Skúma, ako relatívne malá chorvátska enkláva na Slovensku dokázala odolávať asimilačným tlakom viac ako päť storočí, a to do takej miery, že materinský jazyk naďalej funguje ako charakteristický znak menšinovej identity aj v 21. storočí. Štúdia sa preto zaoberá otázkou, ktoré faktory umožnili tejto komunite zachovať si kolektívnu identitu a udržať kľúčové atribúty chorvátskej identity počas takého dlhého historického obdobia.

Kľúčové slová: jazyk, identita, menšina, Chorváti, kultúrne atribúty

Historian Květa Kučerová, who dedicated extensive study to Croatian colonists in Slovakia and across Central Europe, described the five centuries of survival of their language, traditions, and sense of Croatian origin as a truly remarkable miracle.[1] Linguist Václav Vážný, in turn, wrote of the Croatian minority in former Czechoslovakia: *"The Croatian language represents the most prominent manifestation of their distinctive way of life. Of all the cultural elements carried from their ancestral homeland, it has endured the longest and resisted the pressures of assimilation most persistently."*[2]

It is no mere coincidence that present-day linguists consider language the foremost attribute among the various indicators of ethnicity.[3] This idea led me to focus this paper on the factors that helped a small community of Slovak Croats resist outside pressures for five centuries — so much so that their mother tongue still plays a vital role in their minority life even today, in the 21st century.

Let us bear in mind that the 1900 census recorded 4,023 inhabitants within the territory of present-day Slovakia who identified Croatian as their moth-

* JÁN BOTÍK, PhDr, Professor Emeritus, Bratislava (Slovak Republic).

1 KUČEROVÁ, Květa: Chorváti na Slovensku: Historický náčrt. BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorváti na Slovensku: Dejiny, jazyk, kultúra, súvislosti*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1996, p. 23

2 VÁŽNÝ, Václav: Mluva chorvátskych osad v Republice Československé. In: *Československá vlastivěda*, vol. 3: *Jazyk*. Praha: Bohumil Janda, 1934, p. 518.

3 ONDREJOVIČ, Slavomír: *Jazyk, veda o jazyku, societa*. Bratislava: Veda, 2008, p. 75

er tongue. In 2011, however, only 1,022 individuals declared Croatian nationality.[4] Today, from the more than 50 settlements once established by Croatian colonists, both Croatian origin and the Croatian mother tongue are preserved in only four communities—Chorvátsky Grob, Devínska Nová Ves, Jarovce, and Čunovo.

The presence of Croatian colonists in the territory of present-day Slovakia can be traced back to the 16th century. They were not an isolated group, but part of a larger Croatian migration wave whose members, under pressure from the expansion of the Ottoman Empire, moved during the 16th and 17th centuries from their original homeland to the Middle Danube region. Within the domains of the Habsburg Monarchy — namely present-day Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic — approximately one hundred thousand Croatian migrants established themselves in around two hundred villages that had been ravaged by plague epidemics and military conflict and left largely depopulated.[5] Given that the most numerous segment of Croatian colonists concentrated in the Austrian region of Burgenland, the term '*Burgenland Croats*' — in Croatian, *Gradišćanski Hrvati* — became established for the population of this extensive linguistic 'island.' Croatian colonists settled in what is now Slovakia also formed an integral part of this geographically widespread and populous linguistic formation.

A number of factors influenced the relatively favorable ethno-cultural development of the Croatian enclave in the territory of Slovakia. Chief among these was the compact nature of their settlement in the surroundings of Bratislava and along the Little Carpathians. Of the more than 50 settlements in which they resided, Croatian colonists constituted a majority in approximately two-thirds when compared with the indigenous Slovak population.[6] The most numerous component of the Croatian colonist population consisted of peasants. Their strongly agricultural lifestyle meant that their families were largely self-sufficient — they produced everything they needed and used everything they produced. Because of this, almost all family members worked on the family farm. As a result, these families were not only economically but also socially closed. This strengthened the community's ability to preserve itself through endogamy — that is, by choosing marriage partners only from within their own minority group.[7]

The aforementioned demographic, economic, and social factors were of such importance that they enabled Slovak Croats, even in a newly settled environment, to reproduce themselves not only biologically but also in linguistic, cultural, and ethnic terms.

The key question is why the mother tongue was so important in the lives of Croats in Slovakia. Scholars engaged in migration and minority studies have advanced numerous insights and reflections on this issue, which are likewise applicable to the enclave–diasporic formation of Burgenland and Slovak Cro-

[4] BENŽA, Mojmír: *Národnostný atlas Slovenska.* Bratislava: Dajama, 2015, pp. 15–37.

[5] KUČEROVÁ, Květa: Chorváti na Slovensku, p. 21.

[6] KLAČKA, Jozef: Urbáre červenokamenského a stupavského hradného panstva o chorvátskej kolonizácii v 16. storočí. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku: História, onomastika, národopis.* Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, p. 26; BOTÍK, Ján. *Slovenskí Chorváti: Et nokultúrny vývin z pohľadu spoločenskovedných poznatkov.* Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Lúč, 2001, p. 73.

[7] UHEREK, Zdeněk – BERANSKÁ, Veronika: Diaspora. In: BLAHUŠEK, Jan (ed.): *Malý etnologický slovník*. Strážnice: Národní ústav lidové kultury, 2011, p. 12.

ats. They underscore that the mother tongue is the language most frequently employed, most fully mastered, and the primary medium of self-identification. In this sense, language forms the core of who we are. It shows who we are and where we belong[8] — something most clearly expressed in an ethnonym, the name of a nation. In documentary records of Croatian colonists in Slovakia, personal names were frequently entered using surnames of an ethnonymic character, manifested in diverse variants across multiple linguistic systems— *Horvath*, *Chorvat*, *Carwat*, *Crowat*, *Korwat*, *Krabat*, *Croata*, *Horvatovič*.[9]

In the 16th and 17th centuries, Croatian colonists inscribed their presence in the territory of Slovakia by incorporating markers of Croatian identity into the toponyms of settlements they established, revitalised, or came to dominate. Thus, not only contemporary Chorvátsky Grob, but also Mást — now part of Stupava — was designated as the 'Village of the Croats' (1533 *Villa Crovacorum*). Likewise, Jarovce bore the name 'Croatian Village' (1522–1598 *Horváthfalu*, 1659 *Horváth Jandorf*), Devínska Nová Ves was referred to as 'Croatian New Village' (1552 *Horwath Wyfalw*), and Lamač as 'Croatian Village' (1547 *Krabatendorf*). Malé Šenkvice even had unofficial names like *Cerovo Brdo* and *Malý Sisek*."[10]

For Slovak Croats, their mother tongue served many functions. Besides being a means of communication and a marker of identity, Croatian was also used in church, in education, and in writing and literature. It played a significant role in the processes of rooting and adapting to the newly settled environment. Croatian settlers in Slovakia put down roots not only by building homes and farming the land, but also by naming different parts of their villages and the surrounding countryside. Some of the oldest examples come from the place names of Šenkvice, recorded in the early 18th century: *Klanica*, *Glanac*, *Zrinska gora*, *Glogovac*, *Kozara*, *Jagned*, *Mure*, *Vrtla*, *Lisiče jame*, *Ledina*, Gluhak, *Mrlugy*, *Priko*, *Polusela*, *Graba*, *Novosad*, *Grafty*, *Kandija*, and *Krče*.[11]

Croatian toponyms used by Croatian colonists to designate parts — particularly cadastral areas — of the settlements they inhabited persisted until the late 20th century. This is evidenced by data from thirteen settlements with former Croatian populations, in which the Institute of Linguistics of the Slovak Academy of Sciences documented local field and terrain names during the 1960s within the framework of a nationwide research project. In places like Blatné, Záhorská Bystrica, Čunovo, Devínska Nová Ves, Dúbravka, Chorvátsky Grob, Jarovce, Karlova Ves, Lamač, Mokrý Háj, Stupava, Šenkvice, and Zohor, words and names with Croatian features were recorded. Linguist Milan Majtán conducted a linguistic analysis of approximately two hundred such items, subsequently classifying them into three groups:[12]

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8 SKUTNABB-KANGAS, Tove: *Menšina, jazyk a rasizmus*, trans. Zuzana Drábeková. Bratislava: Kalli gram, 2000, p. 9

9 KLAČKA, Jozef: Urbáre, p. 25.

10 MAJTÁN, Milan: Svedectvo terénnych názvov o Chorvátoch na Slovensku. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku: História, onomastika, národopis*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné mú zeum, 1999, p. 66.

11 KOVACHICH, Martin Juraj: *Commentatio de patria, vita fatis et scriptis nobilis Gabriel Kolinovich Senqui cziensis Gabriel Kolinovich Senquicziensis*. Pest: Litteris Tranttnerianis, 1789, p. 5.

12 MAJTÁN, Milan: Svedectvo, p. 73.

1. Words that, in their vocabulary, meaning, and word formation, show the Croatian ethnic background of their speakers in the West Slovak dialect area, such as *brdo*, *kameňača*, *ledina*, *sičovina*, and others.
2. Lexemes that served as reminders of the ancestral homeland, e.g. *Kozara*, *Sisek*, *Zrinska gora*, among others.
3. Slovak words that were adapted in pronunciation to the local Croatian dialect, such as *ciesta*, *jarak*, *zelňica*, and others.

An exceptionally rare and valuable testimony to the presence of Croats in Slovakia, as well as to the unifying and identity-constituting role of their mother tongue, is provided by Croatian inscriptions on funerary monuments in Jarovce and Čunovo. These are unique, because no similar written records exist in any other Croatian-settled village in Slovakia.[13] Like the church, the cemetery played several important roles in the lives of the colonists. It was mainly a place where the whole community came together. By burying their first dead there, they were also putting down roots. As the cemeteries grew, they helped strengthen the community and became both a record of its families and a unique kind of chronicle.

The main purpose of tombstone inscriptions is to give information about the person buried there, for example: *Ovde pocsiva Mate Dedovich* ('Here rests Mate Dedovich') and *Ovde pocsiva Malešich Rozina* ('Here rests Malešich Rozina'). They often also mention the person's relationship to their family, such as *naša majka* ('our mother'), *pokojni otac* ('our late father'), *moji starji* ('my parents'), *pokojni hižniki* ('the late householders'), or *njihova verna družica* ('their faithful companion').

The Croatian character of the epitaph inscriptions is further evidenced by surnames such as *Vuk*, *Dedovich*, and *Vuketich*, as well as by given names including *Miko*, *Stefe*, *Jako*, *Jive*, *Jandre*, *Hedica*, *Mare*, *Rozina*, *Katica*, and others.

Besides the name and the dates of birth and death, tombstone inscriptions also include elements of Christian belief and religious wisdom:

- *Neka počivaju v miru, Amen → "May they rest in peace, Amen."*
- *Szvitlost nekonecsna neka njim sviti → "May eternal light shine upon them."*
- *Muka Kristuševa spasi je → "May the suffering of Christ save her."*
- *Szlatko Srdce Jezusa smiluj sze nyim → "Sweet Heart of Jesus, have mercy on them.*
- *Neka te primi Gospodin ki te je pozvao i neka te sprohodu andjeli u pokoj vjekovječni → "May the Lord who has called you receive you, and may the angels lead you into eternal rest.*

Longer inscriptions describing the person buried there are less common on tombstones:

- *Služil sam Bogu i za domovinu, smrt nemila mej pokosila va punom cvecu → "I served God and my homeland; a cruel death cut me down in the full bloom of life."*
  Roztužena srdca utišite se, ar i ovo je Božia vola bila → "Grieving hearts, find peace, for this, too, was the will of God."

Toponyms of settlements bearing the attribute of Croatian identity, together with Croatian nomenclature for their constituent parts and cadastral areas, as

[13] BOTÍK, Ján: Chorvátske náhrobné texty v Jarovciach a Čunove. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorvátska národ nosť na Slovensku: História, onomastika, národopis*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, p. 66, pp. 81-107.

well as cemeteries featuring Croatian epitaphic inscriptions, constituted not only tangible evidence of the process of rooting among Croatian colonists, but also symbolically legitimised their claim to the newly established homeland.

The separation of the Burgenland Croats from their original homeland played a key role in the fact that, from the 16th century onward, the Croatian language developed differently in the homeland and in the Burgenland area. The dialects of the colonists in the Middle Danube basin retained an earlier stage of phonological development. Depending on where they settled, they adopted words from German, Hungarian, or Slovak into their language. This process ultimately culminated in the formation of a distinct Burgenland Croatian language, which diverged substantially from the standard Croatian of the original ethnic homeland.[14] The standard language of the Burgenland Croats developed from *Čakavian* dialects, while in the homeland it was based on *Štokavian* ones. From the 17th century, religious books were published in Burgenland Croatian, followed over time by textbooks, newspapers, poetry, prose, and other forms of writing. These materials also reached Slovak Croat households, which is why they are now part of the collection of the Museum of Croats in Slovakia.[15]

It should nevertheless be noted that the standard of Croatian codified by Ljudevit Gaj in 1836 also gained adherents among Burgenland and Slovak Croats. Among these was Fabian Hauszer, a Catholic priest serving in Rusovce. However, he was not successful in promoting it, even though he published a Croatian–German dictionary for schools.[16]

By contrast, the novel *Velika ljubov*, composed in the standard Croatian codified by Ljudevit Gaj and authored by the prominent Croatian national figure Josip Andrić, was met with a favorable reception. It was published in Slovak translation in two editions. The novel attracted special attention because it used the life of a traditional farming community in Chorvátsky Grob to highlight the weakening sense of Croatian origin and group identity among its inhabitants.[17]

The literary image of the language, culture, and mode of life of Slovak Croats was also significantly enriched by Ivan Blazović,[18] a Catholic priest from the Danubian settlement of Jarovce. In his poems, stories, and plays, he was inspired by traditional village life, which led people to say that *'in every word of his you can feel his love for the Croats and for the Burgenland homeland.'*[19]

In ethnic enclaves and minority communities — including Croats in Slovakia — language use usually developed in one direction: from the mother tongue, through bilingualism, to the language of the surrounding majority. This pattern is also evident in the evolution of linguistic

[14] BREU, Josef: Prostorni opseg i posljedice za Sliku naselja. In: KAMPUŠ, Ivan (ed.): *Povijest i kultura gradišćanskih Hrvata*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus, 1995, p. 88.

[15] NEWEKLOWSKI, Gerhard: Päť storočí prítomnosti Chorvátov v Burgenlande. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorváti na Slovensku: Dejiny, jazyk, kultúra, súvislosti*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1996, p. 65; BOTÍK, Ján: *Slovenskí Chorváti*, p. 78.

[16] HAUSZER, Fabian: *Hrvatsko-njemački rječnik za školske učitelje*. Becs: Schulbucher Verlage, 1858.

[17] ANDRIĆ, Josip: *Velika ljubav: Roman iz života slovačkih Hrvata*. Zagreb: Naklada Hrvatska državna tiskara, 1942.

[18] Ivan Blazović published his literary works under the pseudonym Ivan Blažević.

[19] BENČIĆ, Nikola: Ivan Blažević – pjesnik u sinju. In: *Ivan Blažević – proza*. Željezno: Hrvatsko štam parsko društvo, 1996, p. 269.

conditions among Slovak Croats. However, these processes did not proceed in parallel across all Croatian-inhabited localities, i.e., they did not occur uniformly in time. The resulting differences were shaped by multiple factors, which were not identical in each case.

In most Croatian-inhabited areas of Slovakia, the Croatian language begun to decline already in the 17th century, especially where Croats were a minority. By the 18th century, Croatian was used as a spoken, liturgical, educational, and written language in only twelve villages: Čunovo, Jarovce, Rusovce, Devínska Nová Ves, Dúbravka, Lamač, Záhorská Bystrica, Mást, Chorvátsky Grob, Šenkvice, Blatné a Naháč. At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, Croatian remained in use in only seven of these locations, namely in Čunovo, Jarovce, Rusovce, Devínska Nová Ves, Dúbravka, Lamač and Chorvátsky Grob. While bilingualism was widespread, Croatian remained the main language only in Jarovce and Čunovo. In the Záhorie region and along the Little Carpathians, Slovak predominated, relegating Croatian to a secondary role.[20]

Present-day research into the Croatian language in Devínska Nová Ves and Chorvátsky Grob at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries indicates that the conclusions reached by the dialectologist Václav Vážný in the first half of the 20th century — when the local Croatian dialects functioned as a living and fully developed means of communication — are now of predominantly historical relevance.[21] Today, these dialects persist only as relics, fragments of an earlier linguistic reality. Their communicative function and competence are limited, and their developmental outlook is problematic. Croatian in these communities is currently confined to use by the older generation and in formal organisational contexts.[22]

What, then, can be concluded? The mother tongue of Croats in Slovakia, even in its diminished, relic form, continues to shape identity. It carries their sense of origin and cultural heritage, quietly indicating who they are and where they belong.

[20] BOTÍK, Ján, *Slovenskí Chorváti*, p. 99.
[21] VÁŽNÝ, Václav: Mluva chorvátskych osad.
[22] RIPKA, Ivor: Reliktné chorvátske nárečia v okolí Bratislavy. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorváti na Slovensku: Dejiny, jazyk, kultúra, súvislosti*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1996, p. 52.

Marta Botíková*

Observations on the Folk Attire of Croats in Slovakia

Poznámky k ľudovému odevu Chorvátov na Slovensku / Bilješke o narodnoj odjeći Hrvata u Slovačkoj

Téma chorvátskeho ľudového kroja na Slovensku bola spracovaná v mnohých kresbách, maľbách, fotografiách a vedeckých štúdiách. Medzi najstaršie záznamy patria farebné rytiny a akvarely od Józsefa Heinbuchera-Bikessyho a Jánosa Pacsicha. V 30. rokoch 20. storočia sa tejto téme ďalej venovali etnografi Antonín Václavík a Václav Pražák. V druhej polovici 20. storočia výskum západného Slovenska – vrátane obcí s pôvodným chorvátskym obyvateľstvom – vykonali Viera Nosáľová a Jarmila Pátková, ako aj výskumníci z ÚĽUV. Neskôr k tomuto odboru prispeli aj kurátori múzeí a miestni zberatelia. Na základe týchto zdrojov tento článok ponúka prehľad vývoja dvoch odevných prvkov – pánskych viest a mentieky nosenej mužmi aj ženami – v oblasti chorvátskeho osídlenia na západnom Slovensku.

Kľúčové slová: Chorváti na Slovensku, ľudový odev, vesta, mentieka

Croatian folk costume in Slovakia has been recorded in various drawings, paintings, photographs, and studies. Some of the earliest examples are hand-coloured engravings and watercolours by Johann Christoph Brand, Jacob Adam, József Heinbucher-Bikessy, and János Pacsich.[1] In the 1930s, the topic was examined by ethnographers Antonín Václavík and Václav Pražák. In the second half of the 20th century, the western Slovak region—including villages with originally Croatian populations—was researched by Jarmila Paličková-Pátková, Viera Nosáľová, Mojmír Benža, and staff of Slovakia's Centre for Traditional Folk Crafts (ÚĽUV). In later years, museum curators also engaged in this research, including Júlia Domoracká of the Slovak National Museum, as well as local collectors Henrich Lančarič (Šenkvice) and Radoslav Jankovič (Jarovce). Drawing on these sources, as well as on Clara Prickler's catalogue,[2] this paper focuses on two garments that represent clothing forms and, in part, their transformations within the Croatian settlement region of western Slovakia.

Croatian settlement in western Slovakia can be traced back to the 16th century, when Croatian populations permanently settled in numerous villages throughout the region. They played a role in shaping the ethnic composition of the area and,

* MARTA BOTIKOVÁ, PhD, Department of Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava (Slovak Republic).

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1 BEŇOVÁ, Katarína: "Námety z vidieckeho prostredia vo výtvarnom umení 19. storočia v Uhorsku. *Národopisná revue* 34, no. 1 (2024), pp. 39–55. https://doi.org/10.62800/NR.2024.1.04

2 PRICKLER, Clara: *Historische Trachtendarstellungen der burgenländischen Kroaten – Historične slike nošnjov Gradišćanskih Hrvatov.* Eisenstadt/Željezno: Kroatisches Kultur- und Dokumentationszentrum/ Hrvatski kulturni i dokumentarni centar, 1998.

Figure 1: *Croatin mit Zwiebel, Wien museum, Online sammlung, Inv.N. 20553/73.*

over the centuries, maintained elements of their ethnic distinctiveness in certain aspects of their culture and way of life, while simultaneously adapting in others to the surrounding environment. These migration processes show a dual pattern of ethnocultural development — a balance between maintaining traditions and adapting to change — shaped both by broader historical developments and by specific events that affected life in the region.

Records of serfs and other documents from the 16th and 17th centuries indicate that about thirty villages in what is now Slovakia had Croatian settlers making up either a majority or at least half of the population. These were mainly located in the Záhorie region, below the Little Carpathians, and in the Transdanubian region.[3]

Croatian settlement in Slovakia encompassed representatives of all social strata of early modern society — nobles, craftsmen, and townspeople. The most numerous group was the agrarian population, which itself was internally differentiated into property-based categories, including peasants and landless labourers. On the basis of this social differentiation, it can be assumed that social status and material means played a decisive role in determining the cost and form of specific types of folk costume.

It should also be noted that, within Croatian communities, various cultural particularities not only persisted, but in certain regions Croats significantly contributed to shaping the cultural character of the area. Some researchers have even claimed that "the entire folk culture of western Slovakia and southern Moravia was heavily influenced by the Croatian presence."[4] At present, it is exceedingly difficult—if not impossible—to determine the extent to which one group influenced the other. Over the course of more than four centuries, the region has evolved within its own spatial framework and micro-historical processes, giving rise both to cultural continuity and to adaptive change among its inhabitants. In this context, what may be regarded as ethnically specific phenomena?

[3] KUČEROVÁ, Květa: *Chorváti* a Srbi v strednej Európe. Bratislava: Veda, 1976, pp. 221–74; KLAČKA, Jozef: Urbáre červenokamenského a stupavského panstva o chorvátskej kolonizácii v 16. storočí. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorvátska* národnosť na Slovensku. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, pp. 25–36.

[4] SIROVÁTKA, Oldřich: K problematice folklóru chorvátske menšiny v Československu. In: LALEVIĆ, Miodrag S. (ed.): *III. kongres folklorista Jugoslavije, držan od 1 do 9. IX. 1956 g. u Crnoj Gori.* Cetinje: [s.l.], 1958, str. 21–27.

Ethnological research mainly looks at phenomena and relationships typical of "folk" social groups, especially rural communities. Such an approach gives us an "emic" perspective, reflecting the viewpoint of the people themselves. The common phrase "*our folk costume*" clearly shows how strongly it functions as a marker of identity.[5]

The folk costume of the rural population in villages settled or subsequently resettled by Croatian inhabitants has been documented in descriptive accounts as well as in period visual representations. I first studied the clothing forms of Transdanubian Croatian villages for practical reasons — designing costumes for the university folklore ensemble *Ekonóm*, which performed the dance "Rusovce Carnival" in 1978. The choreography was created by Juraj Kubánka, and the music composed by Aladár Móži.

The course of my research led me to the village of Jarovce, where I had earlier established personal contacts, and it yielded highly productive results. In the Jankovič family, I found a beautiful portrait that later became an iconic image of a Croatian woman after it was published. Valuable insights were also gained from photographs documenting a ceremonial banderium[6] of young people from Jarovce welcoming a new church bell in

Figure 2: *Eine Slowakische Bauerin und ein Knecht um Pressburg. Webumenia, č.2386.*

1925.[7] This naturally led to further research, and here I have the opportunity to mention some of these sources.

The earliest surviving hand-coloured drawings and engravings[8] can be dated to the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The work entitled "Croatian Woman Selling Onions" is a hand-coloured engraving by Johann Christian Brand,[9] who documented scenes of everyday life

[5] BOGATYREV, Peter: *Funkcie kroja na Moravskom Slovensku*. Turčiansky Svätý Martin: Matica slovenská, 1937.

[6] A ceremonial mounted procession or unit, usually dressed in folk costume. See SEGEŠ, Vladimír – ŠEĎOVÁ, Božena (eds.): *Pramene k vojenským dejinám Slovenska*, vol. I/3: 1387–1526. Bratislava: Vojenský historický ústav, 2013, p. 126.

[7] In the published chronicle by BOTÍK, Ján – BENČIĆ, Nikola (eds.): *Jure Treuer, Naše selo, Hrvatski Jahrndorf*. Željezno – Bratislava, 2005, pp. 73–76, the event is described in detail, including the names of the young men who formed the ceremonial mounted procession.

[8] Visual materials from archives and galleries were identified with the assistance of ChatGPT (GPT-4, 2024), a large language model developed by OpenAI. https://chat.openai.com.

[9] Johann Christian Brand (1722–1795): Kroatin mit Zwiebel, 1775, Engraver: Johann Ernst Mansfeld (1739–1796). Collection, Wien Museum, inventory number 160461 Description: This work is part of the series *Zeichnungen nach dem gemeinen Volke besonders Der Kaufruf in Wien* (Drawings of the Common People, Especially the Street Cries of Vienna).

Figure 3: *Croatian peasant and tinker from the Nitra region. (Source: Markov, J., fig. 83)*

in Vienna as well as the surrounding rural population, in a manner comparable to his contemporary Jacob Adam.[10] Both artists depicted, based on descriptions, a Croatian woman who had come to Vienna to sell onions.

An important source is the collection of costume plates from the album of József Heinbucher-Bikessy (Hungarian spelling: József Bikkessy Heinbucher), who was an army officer and artist.[11] He was born in Bratislava (Pressburg) in 1776 and died in Graz, Austria, in 1833. His work provides valuable depictions of Slovak, Hungarian, and Croatian folk dress. The plates were originally published as separate sheets, at first without attribution, but by 1820 they appeared with authorial identification. The introductory study and commentaries on the individual images were authored by Ján Čaplovič.[12] One particularly interesting image is "Tinker from Nitra County and a Croatian Peasant"[13] (plate 14)[14], although its description is slightly inaccurate. Ján Čaplovič describes the man on the left as a peasant from Wieselburg County (Stoličný Belehrad / Székesfehérvár), while the figure on the right, shown from behind, is identified as a tinker. It is, however, highly probable that the tinker—rather than the peasant—originates from Nitra County, and that the Croatian peasant depicted here comes from one of the settlements on the opposite bank of the Danube, whether in Fehérvár or the Vass County. Another image (plate 33) presents two female figures. Under the title "Woman from the vicinity of Eisenstadt" (Železno), it illustrates women's folk dress. The woman in traditional attire, distinguished by a prominent head covering, is shown in conversation with another woman—an onion vendor from the Záhorie region—who offers her goods.[15]

An important source documenting distinctive clothing features in the multiethnic region of Austria's Burgenland is an album of ten watercolour representa-

[10] Jakob (Jacob) Adam (1748–1811): *Croatin mit Zwiebel*, 1777 Collection: Wien Museum, inventory number 20553/73. Description: This engraving is part of the series *Abbildungen des gemeinen Volks zu Wien* (Depictions of the Common People of Vienna). It portrays a Croatian woman with onions, reflecting the everyday life and commerce in Vienna during the 18th century.

[11] https://www.webumenia.sk/autor/3714 [accessed May 24, 2025].

[12] URBANCOVÁ, Viera: *Počiatky slovenskej etnografie*. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1970, pp. 334–42.

[13] *Ibidem*, p. 335.

[14] See also MARKOV, Jozef: *Slovenský ľudový odev v minulosti.* Bratislava: SVKL, 1955, illustrative section, fig. 83 (unpaginated).

[15] MARKOV, Jozef, *Slovenský ľudový odev*, illustrative section, fig. 90 (unpaginated).

tions of the inhabitants of Kittsee, supplemented by detailed descriptions of individual garment components. Given that Kittsee is located in immediate proximity to Jarovce, Rusovce, and Čunovo in Slovakia — and that these settlements belonged to the same dialect region as well as to a shared matrimonial network — they collectively constituted a common clothing region. The album was created by János Pacsich.[16] It includes depictions and descriptions of male, female, and child figures belonging to various occupational categories (peasants, burghers, musicians, a waiter, a shoemaker, a bailiff, a journeyman), as well as to multiple ethnic groups (Croats, Germans, Jews, and Roma). The depictions make it evident that each represented age, gender, occupational, and ethnic group is characterised by a distinct form of dress. This is further explained in the texts accompanying the figures, which describe the materials, colours, and decorative details of each garment. The author of these descriptions demonstrates a highly refined awareness of even the most subtle formal distinctions in the attire of various population groups in Kittsee. It appears that the document was created specifically to highlight the many social and ethnic roles of clothing in Kittsee, as also suggested by the descriptions attached to each figure.

As mentioned earlier, the folk clothing of the region where Croatian rural populations settled in present-day Slovakia shows several shared features. These are also described by Viera Nosáľová in

Obr. 4: *Croatian peasant from the surroundings of Kőszeg. Webumenia č. 2346.*

connection with the Záhorie region and the area around Trnava.[17] She also points to other social influences, such as contacts with cities like Bratislava and Vienna, and the presence of textile workshops in places like Bratislava, Devín, and Šaštín. Of particular importance, as emphasized in the literature, are garments made of homespun hemp cloth, which were extensively used both in villages with Croatian colonisation and in their surrounding areas. Hemp cloth used for clothing and household textiles — such as corner curtains and towels — was often decorated with white and red

[16] Pacsich János, festő, ny. kapitány Köpcsényben. A köpcsényi népviseletről 1808. tíz fólió lapon akvarelleket készített, melyei a magyarázó szöveggel együtt a M. Nemzeti Múzeum könyvtárában vannak. See *Műveszeti Lexikon*, vol. 2: *L–Z* (Budapest: Győző Andor Kiadás, 1935), 256. According to PRICKLER, Clara: *Historische Trachtendarstellungen*. Eisenstadt: Kroatisches Kultur- und Dokumentationszentrum, 1998, p. 9, born in Baja, Hungary. The source includes reproductions of paintings by János Pacsich, accompanied by descriptions on pp. 20–29, 34–35, 40–41, and 46–47.

[17] NOSÁĽOVÁ, Viera: *Slovenský ľudový odev*. Martin: Osveta, 1982, p. 27.

Figure 5: *Men's Jačkar singing group Hrvatski Jandrof (male singing ensemble Jarovce), 2019. Photo: R. Jankovič.*

embroidery made from coarse cotton. This form of decoration was closely conditioned by the nature of the material — specifically the counted-thread technique — and by the presence of Renaissance motifs (deer, birds, lamb), which presumably held a symbolic or apotropaic function within the folk milieu.

Of all the clothing items, I was most interested in the men's vest and in the cloth-covered sheepskin coat, the *mentieka*, worn by both men and women. These two garments will be examined in turn, one as a distinguishing feature and the other as a unifying element within the wider Central European region.

The vest especially caught my attention when I first studied the folk dress of Croatian villages in the Transdanubian region. It is known as the *flígl*'.[18] This garment was — and apparently still is — functional, so it can be described as a kind of chest piece, trimmed with ribbon. It was produced from decorative textiles such as brocade, satin, or cashmere and was secured at the back by means of straps or braces. It appears to have been primarily associated with younger men, while older men wore a front-fastening vest with buttons. This vest had several pockets, including even a "hidden" one under the arm, and was made from similar materials such as cashmere, damask, brocade, or satin. Men wore it as part of festive clothing. In the localities of Chorvátsky Grob and Šenkvice,

[18] *Flígl*' is probably derived from the German *Flügel*, meaning "wing" (e.g. of a bird or a building), or *Fliege*, meaning "fly." The term for a men's or bachelors' vest is also found in Croatian villages in Burgenland.

Figure 6: *Radoslav Jankovič Jr. in traditional folk costume from Jarovce, 2022. Photo: R. Jankovič.*

it was known as *prucel* or *pruclek*.[19] The form described here corresponds closely to the visual representations by János Pacsich and József Heinbucher-Bikessy with regard to adult male attire. This type of vest, called a *prucel*, can also be seen in a photograph of a recruit from Šenkvice.[20] Similar vests have also been recorded among Croatian populations in Moravia.[21]

It appears, then, that whereas adult men wore a vest over their shirts on ceremonial occasions, unmarried and young-

Figure 7: *Women's mentieka, Chorvátsky Grob, Senec district, early 20th century. Benža, 2015, p. 151.*

er men in the Croatian villages along the Danube wore a light, decorative chest ornament. This was also the attire of the members of the mentioned ceremonial banderium at the consecration of a new

[19] DOMARACKÁ, Júlia: Odev a textil v Chorvátskom Grobe. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorv*átska národnosť na Slovensku: Hist*ória, onomastika, národopis*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, p. 151; LANČARIĆ, Henrich: Ľudový odev v Šenkviciach. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorv*átska národnosť na Slovensku, Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, p. 159.

[20] LANČARIČ, Henrich: Ľudový odev v Šenkviciach, p. 160.

[21] NOVÁKOVÁ, Lenka: Příspěvek k vývoji kroje moravských Charvátů ve druhé polovině 19. a v první polovině 20. století. In: KOPŘIVOVÁ, Lenka – LEISSEROVÁ, Eliška (eds.*). Barvy chorvátske Moravy*. Jevišovka: Sdružení občanů chorvatské národnosti v ČR, 2017, p. 152.

bell in Jarovce in 1925. Based on information from Jarovce, the garment known as *flígľ* was widespread across the northern Burgenland region, including the villages of Jarovce and Čunovo in Slovakia, Pama, Parndorf and Neudorf in Austria, and Bezenye in Hungary. Even today, it continues to be worn by members of the Jarovce Men's Singing Association (*Muško jačkarno društvo Hrvatski Jandrof*) and by the folklore ensemble from Bezenye (Bizonja) in Hungary.

The *mentieka* — a sheepskin coat covered with broadcloth or another woollen fabric — was worn by adult men and women alike. Unlike most other fur garments, it was often trimmed with the fur of wild animals such as fox, otter, hare, or marten. It was a craft-made item of clothing, and obtaining one likely required a significant financial investment, which also gave it a certain social status. In Slovak ethnographic literature, the *mentieka* is described as a valuable and often borrowed part of wedding attire in entries devoted specifically to this garment, as well as in entries on wedding dress by Magdaléna Kaňová, Mojmír Benža, Jarmila Paličková-Pátková, and later again by Mojmír Benža.[22] In a similar vein, Antonín Václavík, in his monograph on Chorvátsky Grob, refers to a "broadcloth-trimmed sheepskin coat," called šuba, as clothing worn at weddings, funerals, and festive events.[23]

The authors connect this garment with the attire of the lower nobility and gentry, as well as with affluent rural populations, locating its distribution in western and northern Slovakia. Pacsich's illustrations of Kittsee's inhabitants show long *mentieky*, which can clearly be interpreted as markers of the wearers' economic prosperity. While they formed part of wedding dress, they also constituted a permanent element of one's lifetime wardrobe. Naturally, we cannot determine how common they were — how many such coats existed in each village — though an indication is offered by Antonín Václavík, who observed that "fifty years ago (around 1875, editor's note) these garments sold for 80–100 gulden. Today, there is only one šuba left in the entire village, and it has been damaged by moths."[24] It can be assumed that availability played a key role, particularly the presence of towns and market centers where craftsmen, tailors, and furriers lived or regularly arrived; these centers also influenced clothing trends.[25] Period visual sources depict a worn *mentieka* on an onion seller, while another image presents an elegantly dressed woman wearing a refined *mentieka* as she goes to buy onions. The fact that this garment was widespread across a wider Central European region is already evidenced by the research of Jarmila Paličková-Pátková.[26]

Through the examples of two elements of Croatian folk dress in present-day Slovakia, we have highlighted both their unique characteristics and their ties to a wider Central European ge-

[22] KAŇOVÁ, Magdaléna – BENŽA, Mojmír: *Ľudové kožuchy.* Martin: Osveta, 1970; PALIČKOVÁ-PÁTKOVÁ, Jarmila: *Ľudové kožušníctvo na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Veda, 1981, pp. 91–92; BENŽA, Mojmir: *Mentieka*. https://www.ludovakultura.sk/polozka-encyklopedie/mentieka/ (accessed June 1, 2025).

[23] VÁCLAVÍK, Antonín: *Podunajská dedina v Československu*. Bratislava: Družstvo, 1925, p. 78.

[24] VÁCLAVÍK, Antonín: *Podunajská dedina*, p. 78.

[25] Among the prominent master tailors and creators of "national dress" was, for example, Štefan Horník (1816–1883). After completing his training as a tailor and undertaking a seven-year journey across Europe, he returned to Bratislava, where he opened a tailoring workshop in 1846. See *Sokol* 1, no. 7 (1862), p. 248.

[26] PALIČKOVÁ-PÁTKOVÁ, Jarmila: *Ľudové kožušníctvo*, p. 92.

ographical, cultural, and economic — and therefore also sartorial — context. Whereas the chest vest, especially associated with younger men, has been preserved and continues to function as part of traditional costume or stage attire in folklore performances, the second garment — the sheepskin-and-broadcloth *mentieka* — no longer serves such a role and survives instead as evidence of the cultural heritage of the broader region.

Mária Garanová Krišťáková*

Documentation of Religious Pilgrimages of Slovak Croats at the Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia

Dokumentácia náboženských pútí slovenských Chorvátov v SNM – Múzeu kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku / Dokumentacija vjerskih hodočašća slovačkih Hrvata u SNM – Muzeju kulture Hrvata u Slovačkoj

Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum chorvátskej kultúry na Slovensku je pamäťová a zbierková inštitúcia, ktorá dokumentuje históriu a kultúru Chorvátov na Slovensku. Jedným z trvalých prejavov kultúrnych a náboženských tradícií chorvátskej národnostnej menšiny sú náboženské púte. Tieto púte naďalej predstavujú nielen prejavy zbožnosti, ale aj významné spoločenské udalosti, ktoré presahujú hranice Slovenska a smerujú k pútnickým miestam a chorvátskym komunitám v Rakúsku a Maďarsku. Tento príspevok čerpá zo zbierok a dokumentačných fondov múzea a predstavuje hlavné skupiny zbierkových predmetov súvisiacich s touto témou, pričom zároveň uvádza vybrané objekty a archívne materiály. Na tomto základe sa múzeum prostredníctvom svojich výskumných aktivít snaží zachytiť historické aj súčasné formy chorvátskych náboženských pútí a zdôrazniť ich význam v náboženskom, spoločenskom a kultúrnom živote chorvátskej menšiny.

Kľúčové slová: slovenskí Chorváti, menšina, náboženské púte, múzeum, zbierkové predmety

This contribution aims to present documentation of Croatian religious pilgrimages kept at the Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia.[1] These pilgrimages are a significant manifestation of the Croatian minority's culture, preserved through periods of political and social change, and today they remain an important part of the spiritual, social, and cultural life of Croats in Slovakia.

This text focuses on the sources and research materials available at the Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia and suggests possible directions for future research within the museum's available time and expertise. It is based mainly on the museum's collections, along with recent findings and contemporary minority press.

Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia

The Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia is a

* MÁRIA GARANOVÁ KRIŠŤÁKOVÁ, Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, curator, Bratislava (Slovak Republic).

1 Hereafter referred to as: SNM – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, SNM – MCKCS, or "the Museum."

nationwide institution dedicated to preserving cultural memory and building collections. It serves as a specialized centre for documentation, research, as well as cultural and educational activities and operates within the museum network of the Slovak National Museum.[2] As one of eight museums focused on national minorities in Slovakia, it collects, professionally processes, scientifically evaluates, presents, and makes accessible material evidence documenting the history and culture of Croats in Slovakia from their arrival to the present day.

The Museum was preceded by the Documentation Centre of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, which functioned as part of the Slovak National Museum – Historical Museum. The Documentation Centre was founded in 1996 as a result of an initiative by the Croatian national minority aimed at creating a separate museum. During its period of operation, the professional staff succeeded in building an important foundation for the museum's collection holdings and in presenting the first research results in several publications.[3]

The Museum operates from a purpose-built building that also serves as a cultural and community centre in the Bratislava district of Devínska Nová Ves. Its first exhibition opened in 2005, and it has operated as an independent museum since 2006,[4] marking its 20th anniversary in 2026. The building is also home to the Croatian Cultural Association in Slovakia and the Croatian Cultural Society in Devínska Nová Ves.

The Museum cares for a modest in size but diverse and valuable collection. Today, it includes more than two thousand objects from the fields of history and ethnography. Textiles are the most strongly represented, but the collection also includes glass and ceramic items, furniture and interior accessories, as well as traditional farming tools. The most valuable objects include books, old prints, photographs, and documents related to family and community life. A considerable part of its collection has not yet been fully professionally processed, as it lacks detailed descriptions, photographic documentation, and more specific information about the use and function of the different items. This work is currently underway and is being carried out gradually, with attention also given to retrospectively processing earlier acquisitions. A recent professional review, together with ongoing cataloguing, has led to the formulation of a research topic, to which this paper represents a partial contribution.[5]

Pilgrimages of the Croatian Community

Religious pilgrimages have always been an expression of human faith. In

[2] *The Slovak National Museum is the central collection-building, research, methodological, and cultural-educational institution with nationwide competence in the field of core professional activities*." Act No. 206/2009 Coll. on Museums and Galleries and on the Protection of Objects of Cultural Value, § 7(5). It is a state institution established by the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Republic. The Slovak National Museum comprises 18 specialized museums, as well as an archive and a library.

[3] BOTÍK, Ján: Dokumentačné centrum chorvátskej kultúry na Slovensku. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorváti na Slovensku: Dejiny, jazyk, kultúry, súvislosti*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum – Historické múzeum Bratislava, 1996, pp. 193–94.

[4] SOLÁR, Andrej: Chorváti na Slovensku a v múzeu. *Múzeum* 69, no. 2 (2023), p. 77.

[5] Research project of the Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia in the field of ethnology: *Religious Pilgrimages of Slovak Croats as One of the Expressions of Croatian Culture.*

Slovakia and neighbouring countries, Christian pilgrimages are most often directed to sites dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Over time, these journeys have taken on additional social and economic functions — markets were held, dances were organized, and opportunities arose for trade and meeting potential partners. In this paper, the main focus is on their importance in building relationships between people.[6]

When speaking about pilgrimages among Slovak Croats, past or present, one must take into account the broader historical and geographical context of Croatian settlement in Central Europe — covering western Slovakia, Burgenland in Austria, Moravia, and parts of Hungary.[7] It was within this space that cultural and religious traditions took shape and were preserved, with religious pilgrimages playing a key role among them.

Religious pilgrimages have not yet been systematically studied or documented as a separate cultural phenomenon, either in available sources or in the work of the Documentation Centre or the Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia. Both scholarly literature and primary sources tend to include only brief references to particular pilgrimage sites visited by the Croatian population, while collective memory continues to play a key role in preserving this knowledge.[8]

The museum's collections, however, include tangible evidence documenting the religious pilgrimages of Croats from present-day Slovakia from the mid-19th century until the period preceding the Second World War, with occasional later instances. These materials are most often connected with pilgrimages to Marianka in Slovakia — German: *Mariathal*, Hungarian: *Máriavölgy* — and Mariazell in Austria — Croatian: *Celje*. After 1945, religious life in Slovakia was strongly suppressed due to the political situation,[9] affecting both traditional pilgrimages and cross-border contacts of Slovak Croats.[10] For this reason, the history of Croatian pilgrimages before 1989 still requires more thorough historical and archival research.

After the political changes in 1989, ties with Croats in Austria and Hungary were gradually renewed, the minority became more active through associations, and the activities of Slovak Croats grew more organised.[11] As parish life across Slovakia revived, so too did the tradition of religious pilgrimages among Slovak Croats.[12] In 1990, pilgrims from Devínska Nová Ves reportedly visited

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6 ZAJICOVÁ, Katarína: Profánne aktivity na púťach v Marianke v prvej polovici 20. storočia. *Slovenský národopis*, a. 42, nr. 1 (1994), pp. 102–106.

7 Burgenland, also referred to in Croatian as Gradišće. See BOTÍK, Ján: *Slovenskí Chorváti*: *Etnokultúrny vývin z pohľadu spoločenskovedných poznatkov.* Bratislava : Lúč, 2001, p. 15.

8 Individual sites are mentioned in scholarly literature and popularising articles; however, they only rarely refer to specific sources.

9 ZAJICOVÁ, Katarína: Ľudová nábožnosť na Slovensku. *Etnologické rozpravy* III, nr. 2 (1996), p. 9; POKORNÝ, Viliam: *Spoľahlivý most priateľstva: Chorváti na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Chorvátsky kultúrny zväz na Slovensku, 2011, pp. 12–17.

10 20 – Obljetnica putovanja Horvatov u Marianku: dvadeseto jubilarno horvatsko hodišće – 2018. *Hrvatska Rosa: časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* 17, no. 3 (2018), p. 6.

11 CVEČKO, Juraj: Konštituovanie Chorvátskeho kultúrneho zväzu na Slovensku a jeho aktivity v prvom desaťročí jeho činnosti. In: POKORNÝ, Viliam (ed.): *Oživená ratolesť.* Bratislava: Chorvátsky kultúrny zväz na Slovensku, 2000, pp. 21–24; POKORNÝ, Viliam: *Spoľahlivý most priateľstva*, p. 17.

12 ZAJICOVÁ, Katarína: Ľudová nábožnosť na Slovensku, p. 9.

Figure 1: *Pilgrims during the Stations of the Cross at the pilgrimage site of Marianka. (Source: archive of J. Daničová)*

Željezno — Eisenstadt — bringing back the prayer book *Kruh Nebeski* to learn the liturgy and songs in Burgenland Croatian.[13] In recent decades, references to pilgrimages to different sacred sites can be found mainly in minority media. The most commonly mentioned are Mariazell in Austria and Marianka in Slovakia.[14] Additional mentions appear in several issues of the magazine *Novosielski Glas*.[15] Further research will aim to map all the pilgrimage sites referred to in these sources. These pilgrimages served not only religious purposes but also helped restore cross-border contacts after their long interruption due to political conditions.[16]

Pilgrimages to Marianka were renewed in 1998 thanks to the initiative of the Burgenland Croatian priest Branko Kornfeind, who has since organized them regularly in cooperation with committed members of the community and other priests from Croatian communities in Slovakia and Burgenland.[17] Older residents still remember that in the past pilgrims — such as those from Devínska Nová Ves — would sometimes travel on foot. Today, pilgrims usually travel by bus or private car. The pilgrimage typically begins with the Stations of the Cross, followed by Mass, often enriched by music and singing performed by Croatian ensembles from the region.

[13] Viera a jezik. In: POKORNÝ, Viliam (ed.): *Hrvatsko etnikum v Devinskom Nuovom Seli*, vol. II. Bratislava: Hrvatski kulturni savez u Slovačkoj, 1993, p. 43.

[14] Based on a synthesis of articles published in *Hrvatske novine* (2020–2025), *Hrvatska Rosa* (2002–2025), and *Novosielsky Glas* (1994–2001). Future research will aim to map all pilgrimage sites mentioned in these sources.

[15] See LUDVIG, Blaž: Putovanje za Muravu i za Dunaj. *Novosielksi glas*, nr. 10 (1997), p. 2.

[16] *Ibidem*.

[17] MAÁSZ, Jive: Shodišće u Marianku-Marijance: Deseto jubilarno shodišće, – 2008. *Hrvatska Rosa: časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* VII, nr. 3 (2008), p. 8; 20 – Obljetnica putovanja Horvatov u Marianku: dvadeseto jubilarno horvatsko hodišće, p. 7.

After the service, participants gather for an *agape*, sharing food, conversation, singing, and occasionally a cultural program. The pilgrimage is usually held on the first Sunday of August.[18]

Religious pilgrimages of Croats — both in Slovakia and across Central Europe — have a distinctly international character. They not only help maintain connections between different communities, but also create opportunities for specific forms of cooperation. A good example is the choir *Pax et Bonum* ("peace and good"), which brings together vocal ensembles from Hungary, Slovakia, and Austria. In addition to its concert activities, the choir occasionally performs at major pilgrimage events. The Slovak group Rosica is also part of this ensemble.[19]

Another form of connection can be seen in the tradition of the travelling statue of the Virgin Mary from Mariazell. Each year, during the pilgrimage there, the statue is taken over by believers from a Croatian community in Austria, Slovakia, or Hungary. Over the following months, the statue circulates within that community, where local pilgrimages are organized, helping to strengthen both social ties and religious connections across communities.[20]

In 2017, Croats from Hungary, Slovakia, and Austria came together for their first joint pilgrimage to Zagreb.[21]

Croatian Pilgrimages in the Collections of the Museum

The collections of the Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia include a wide variety of items that directly or indirectly document the religious pilgrimages of Slovak Croats from the mid-19th century to the present day. The exact number of such items is still being determined through ongoing research and depends on how the objects are interpreted in different contexts. For the purposes of this paper, the items have been tentatively divided into the following groups, although in reality these categories often overlap.

The first category includes gifts and souvenir items, often intended for relatives who could not attend the pilgrimage.[22] Made of materials such as wood, glass, ceramic, or paper, these objects — such as jugs, decorative plates, glasses, postcards, holy water fonts, medallions, and images — reflected both contemporary tastes and the financial means of the pilgrims.[23] The museum preserves items of this kind made from wood, glass, paper, and ceramic, sometimes combining several of these materials. One example is a ceramic mug — *Keramický krčiažtek* — with a handle and the Hungarian inscription *Máriavölgy* from 1914, commemorating the pilgrimage site of Marian-

[18] Synthesis of information from multiple articles published in various issues of *Hrvatske novine* (2020–2025), *Hrvatska Rosa* (2002–2025), and *Novosielsky Glas* (1994–2001).

[19] GREGOR, O.: Rosica i Pax et Bonum na 100. obljetnici hodočašća gradišćanskih Hrvata kod Maria zella. *Hrvatska Rosa: časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* XXII, nr. 3 (2023), pp. 10–11; Novosielci na horvatskom shodišću u Nardi. *Hrvatska Rosa: časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* XVIII, nr. 2 (2019), pp. 20.

[20] Novosielci na horvatskom shodišću u Nardi. *Hrvatska Rosa: časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* XVIII, nr. 2 (2019), p. 20; STRECK, Rudi: Putujuća celjanska Marija va Hrvatskom Jandrofi. *Hrvatska Rosa: časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* XVI, nr. 2 (2017), pp. 16–19.

[21] Povijesno hodočašće Hrvata iz Austrije, Mađarske i Slovačke u Zagreb. *Hrvatska Rosa: časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* XVI, no. 2 (2017), pp. 14–15.

[22] KAFKA, Luboš: *Dárek z pouti: poutní a pouťové umění*. Praha: Lika klub, 2009, p. 101.

[23] For a detailed discussion of pilgrimage gifts, see, for example, KAFKA, Luboš: Dárek z pouti.

Figure 2: *Ceramic mug bearing the inscription 'Máriavölgy', 1914, a souvenir from the pilgrimage site of Marianka. (Source: SNM – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, inv. no. CHK 1009)*

Figure. 3: *Glass holy water font with the inscription 'Marianka', depicting the Basilica of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary; first half of the 20th century, a souvenir of the pilgrimage site Marianka. (Source: SNM – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, inv. no. CHK 1024)*

ka.[24] Another is a glass holy water font — *Sklenená svätenička* — from the early 20th century, marked "*Marianka*" and decorated with an image of the Basilica of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary.[25] The collection also includes a devotional picture in a beaded frame depicting the Virgin Mary of Eisenstadt — Željezno in Croatian — and the Church of the Visitation.[26]

Another group includes small paper "holy cards" and devotional prints, often found tucked inside prayer books. Typically, one side shows an image of a pilgrimage site — sometimes with a caption — while the other side contains a

[24] Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, *Cross from Pilgrimage Sites*, inventory no. CHK 1009.

[25] Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, *Glass Holy Water Font with the Inscription "Marianka"*, inventory no. CHK 1024.

[26] Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, *Framed Image of Saints from the Pilgrimage Site in* Eisenstadt, inventory no. CHK 1011.

Figure 4: *Image in a beaded frame depicting St Mary of Eisenstadt and the Church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary; first half of the 20th century, a souvenir from the pilgrimage site of Eisenstadt. (Source: SNM – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, inv. no. CHK 1011)*

Figure 5: *Image, a souvenir from the pilgrimage site of Loretto; first half of the 20th century. (Source: SNM – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, inv. no. CHK 652/3)*

printed prayer. The museum holds many such images and prints, covering almost the entire 20th century.

Among the most interesting and valuable items are photographs that record either the memory or the actual presence of specific individuals at pilgrimages. The museum preserves photographs from the first half of the 20th century, typically created to commemorate visits to pilgrimage sites. These are mostly stylised studio photographs. In some cases, they were printed on firm card with pre-printed postcard backs. In most cases, the place and year of the pilgrimage can be identified.

A special category includes objects that reflect personal memories and experiences. The Museum keeps manuscripts by Jure Treuer from Jarovce, called *Hrvatski Jandrof* in Croatian. Among them is a diary or commemorative album titled *Kiticze szpominki od szakorjacskich mesztov i dugovanji*, containing entries from 1899 to 1908.[27] In it, the author recorded memories of places and events encountered on his journeys — often pilgrimage sites and churches — sometimes adding notes on details such as the weather. The entries are frequently accompanied by dried flowers, leaves, or other small keepsakes collected from the locations described.[28]

[27] Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, Handwritten Notes from Visits to Pilgrimage and Other Notable Places, recorded by Jure Treuer, 1899, inventory no. CHK 219.

[28] Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, *Handwritten Notes from Visits to Pilgrimage and Other Notable Places*, recorded by Jure Treuer, 1899, inventory no. CHK 219; Jure Treuer, *Naše selo Hrvatski Jandrof: kronika sela na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće*. (Željezno – Bratislava: Hrvatsko štamparsko društvo. 2005), p. 122; for more on Treuer's manuscripts in the context of religious

Figure 6: *Photograph of Jure Treuer and his wife on a pilgrimage in Mariazell, 1926. (Source: SNM – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, inv. no. CHK 217)*

Figure 7: *Photograph mounted on cardboard, inscribed 'Souvenir from Mariazell', 1910. (Source: SNM – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, inv. no. CHK 514/1)*

Some objects in the collection are only indirectly connected to pilgrimages, as they were also used in other situations. These include personal religious items like rosaries and crosses, as well as prayer books and hymnals. The Museum preserves a range of such materials used in Slovakia from the mid-19th century through the second half of the 20th century, both in printed and handwritten form. A notable example is the Burgenland Croatian prayer book *Kruh Nebesky: molitvenik za hrvatski narod Gradišća*, published in 1976 in Eisenstadt. It includes songs intended for Marian pilgrimages[29] and continues to be used today in its newer editions.

Periodicals

One of the richest and most readily accessible sources for documenting and studying the life of the Croatian minority — not only in Slovakia but throug-

pilgrimages, see BOTÍKOVÁ, Marta: Pilgrimage sites in the Bratislava region and their reflection in the life and writings of a Croatian folk chronicler. *Ethnologia Slovaca et Slavica* 36. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2014, pp. 67–76, accessed February 26, 2025, https://ojs.uniba.sk/eses/article/view/228/259.

[29] Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, *Kruh Nebeski: Molitvenik za hrvatski narod Gradišća*, Eisenstadt, 1976, inventory no. CHK 1668.

Figure 8: *Jure Treuer, Kiticze szpominki od szakorjacskih mesztov i dugovanji, 1899–1908; sample record of memories from pilgrimage sites. (Source: SNM – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, inv. no. CHK 219)*

hout Central Europe since the end of the 20th century — is minority press, both periodical and non-periodical. This also applies to research on modern religious pilgrimages.

Based on individual reports and articles found in these printed — and more recently also online — media, it is possible to document pilgrimage sites in considerable detail. This includes both regularly and less frequently visited locations, traditional pilgrimage dates, the organisers involved, and in some cases even the specific towns and villages with Croatian populations from which pilgrims travelled in a given year, along with approximate numbers of participants. These reports often also mention cultural programmes, the weather, and interesting or funny stories.[30]

This is why, since 2019, the Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia has maintained a detailed archive of minority press, including the journal *Hrvatska Rosa – časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj*, the occasional publication *Novosielski Glas*, and the periodical *Hrvatske Novine*.[31]

The journal *Hrvatska Rosa – časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* has been published quarterly since 2002 by the Croatian

[30] Synthesis of information from multiple articles published in various issues of *Hrvatske novine* (2020–2025), *Hrvatska Rosa* (2002–2025), and *Novosielsky Glas* (1994–2001).

[31] *Hrvatska Rosa: časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj*. Bratislava: Croatian Cultural Association in Slovakia, 2002; *Novosielsky Glas*. Bratislava: Croatian Cultural Society in Devínska Nová Ves, 1994–2001; *Hrvatske Novine: Tajednik gradišćanskih Hrvatov.* Željezno: Hrvatsko Štamparsko družstvo, 1910.

Cultural Association in Slovakia.[32] It regularly brings reports and articles on the history and culture of the Croatian minority, along with coverage of cultural, political, and social events, the work of associations and the museum, as well as topics related to Croatia. It also includes brief records of annual Croatian pilgrimages, both to the well-known site of Marianka and to other pilgrimage destinations. Articles are written either in local Croatian dialects or in standard Croatian, depending on the author. The Museum keeps a complete archive of all issues from 2002 to today.

Novosielsky Glas was published irregularly from 1994 to 2001 by the Croatian Cultural Society in Devínska Nová Ves for its members in the local Croatian dialect. Over this period, 16 issues were produced.[33] The Museum preserves several copies from each issue.

The weekly *Hrvatske Novine – tajednik gradišćanskih Hrvatov*, currently published by the Hrvatsko Štamparsko družstvo, has been in print since 1910. Initially issued under the title *Naše Novine* until 1922, it has developed into a major periodical of the Burgenland Croats, with a wide geographical and thematic reach.[34] The newspaper focuses on the Burgenland Croats and covers topics such as culture, politics, and sport, as well as language and identity. Although its main focus is on Burgenland in Austria, it also reports on developments in Hungary and Slovakia. The newspaper is also available online.[35] The Museum archive includes issues from 1990 to the present, though not in a complete series.

Future Perspectives

Future collection-building at the Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia should develop along two lines. The first involves more thorough documentation of historical religious pilgrimages, especially those before the mid-20th century. This could be achieved by involving older generations of Croats in Slovakia in planned ethnological research focusing on this phenomenon. The second line would be a targeted public appeal to collect objects in communities with an active Croatian minority, which could provide valuable material for future historical research, both within the museum and for the broader academic community. The first step, however, must be to properly process existing collections and identify the areas where the collection needs to be systematically expanded.

At present, research on religious pilgrimages at the Museum is directed primarily toward the recent past and contemporary developments. As already indicated, minority media represent one of the most important available sources. In the coming period, it will be necessary to analyse individual reports and articles in order to create a comprehensive overview of pilgrimage sites and their distinctive features as documented

[32] POKORNÝ, Viliam, *Spoľahlivý most priateľstva*, p. 51.

[33] Literatúra, dokumentácia, časopisy. In: POKORNÝ, Viliam (ed.): *Ožívená ratolesť*. Bratislava: Chorvátsky kultúrny zväz na Slovensku, 2000, p. 69; POKORNÝ, Viliam: *Spoľahlivý most priateľstva*, p. 51.

[34] 100 ljet hrvatskih novin iz gledišća Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice. *Hrvatske novine*, December 17, 2010, accessed April 13, 2016, https://web.archive.org/web/20160413134700/http://hrvatskenovine.at/clanak/17-12-2010/100-ljet-hrvatskih-novin-iz-gledisca-nacionalne-i-sveucilisne-knjiznice; POKORNÝ, Viliam: *Spoľahlivý most priateľstva*, p. 39.

[35] The online edition of *Hrvatske novine* is available at https://hrvatskenovine.at/, accessed March 22, 2026.

in these materials. In the context of today's digital era, the number of tangible objects suitable for acquisition is limited. Nevertheless, modern recording technologies offer considerable potential for both acquisition and documentation, particularly in the form of invitations, posters, digital photograph archives, audiovisual recordings capturing the course and atmosphere of pilgrimages, as well as records of song repertoires and interviews with participants.

Based on this, the Museum wants to further develop its research and documentation work. A field study is currently being prepared to take place during a pilgrimage to Marianka. In addition to gathering basic data such as the age and ethnic composition of participants, the research will focus on practical aspects, including organisation, transportation, the course of the event, as well as its material and human resources. An important part of the study will be to record pilgrims' motivations and how the pilgrimage is perceived by both older and younger generations. By analysing the places of origin of pilgrims, clergy, and performers, it will also be possible to map relationships between communities and cross-border connections among Croatian settlements.

Recapitulation

Based on the findings to date, it can be concluded that religious pilgrimages represent a key element of the spiritual, social, and cultural life of the Croatian minority in Slovakia, while also maintaining strong links with pilgrimage sites and Croatian communities across neighbouring countries.

So far, no comprehensive study has documented this phenomenon in its historical and cultural context. As a result, documenting Croatian religious pilgrimages remains an open and ongoing process. Although the collections of the Museum reflect this phenomenon in a variety of ways, they do not yet form a cohesive set of sources. Finding and filling these gaps will be the goal of future research.

Special attention should also be paid to documenting how religious pilgrimages look today, also in the form of field research. Using museum collections, archival sources, minority media, and fieldwork together offers strong potential to better understand this phenomenon and its role in the life of the Croatian minority in Slovakia.

Andrej Solár*

Rural Toponyms as Traces of Croatian Identity in Slovakia

Chotárne názvy ako stopy identity Chorvátov na Slovensku / Toponimi kao tragovi identiteta Hrvata u Slovačkoj

Chorváti prišli na územie dnešného Slovenska v 16. storočí v štyroch samostatných osadníckych vlnách. Vďaka jazykovým podobnostiam s miestnym obyvateľstvom prebiehala ich asimilácia pomerne rýchlo a už v 17. storočí bola značná časť týchto komunít slovakizovaná. Chorvátski osadníci sa usadili v približne 60 až 100 osadách na západnom Slovensku. Dodnes sa zachovala fungujúca chorvátska komunita v štyroch obciach v blízkosti Bratislavy, z ktorých tri sú dnes súčasťou hlavného mesta. Jednou z trvalých stôp chorvátskej diaspory na Slovensku sú názvy polí (katastrálne názvy) nachádzajúce sa v obciach, ktoré v minulosti obývala táto etnická skupina. Tento príspevok sa zameriava predovšetkým na osady nachádzajúce sa na území bývalého Bratislavského župy, najmä v jeho východnej časti. Jeho hlavným cieľom je poukázať na jeden z posledných viditeľných prvkov, ktoré dokumentujú prítomnosť Chorvátov v tomto regióne.

Kľúčové slová: Chorváti, Slovensko, diaspora, názvy katastrálnych obvodov, toponymia

This paper begins by outlining the causes and consequences of Croatian migration as a background to Croatian settlement in Slovakia. It also describes the settlement structure, which defines the scope of the research. The discussion will first consider the broader Central European context before focusing specifically on Slovakia. A key part of the study is establishing a methodology for analysing and connecting Croatian field names, along with identifying the localities under investigation. Finally, it presents the sources used in the research, culminating in the recording of field names in both written works and historical maps.

Toponomastics — the study of place names — is very useful in this field, as it helps researchers gather information about settlement patterns and the possible ethnic origins of populations. In addition to Slovak settlement, the territory of Slovakia has also been significantly shaped by German and Hungarian populations. Even though Croatian is linguistically close to Slovak, Croatian place names can still be identified on some maps. However, such identification is not possible in the earliest maps from the 16th and 17th centuries, as they were not sufficiently detailed and their scale did not permit the depiction of landscape features in detail.[1]

Toponymy in Slovakia has deep historical roots. Every piece of land carries a name left behind by our ancestors. Since ancient times, people named riv-

* ANDREJ SOLÁR, PhD, Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia, Bratislava (Slovak Republic).

1 SOLÁR, Andrej: *Viticulture and Winemaking in the Culture of Croats in Slovakia*. Rigorózna práca – univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, Bratislava, 2021.

ers, fields, and hills not only to navigate the landscape more easily, but also to express their connection to the places where they lived or from which they came.[2] These landscape names represent a significant source of historical information. Among Croats, field names often arose as reminders of their homeland, as many settlers were aware they would never return to it. Many of these names developed within a broader context, and my research suggests that they seem to mirror the routes leading to safer areas. Several of the names discussed later are located along the paths these people had to take. In terms of mapping-based research, key sources include the military surveys of the Kingdom of Hungary from the 18th and 19th centuries, namely the First, Second, and Third Military Surveys.

The First Military Survey provides only brief information, whereas the Second and Third Surveys offer more accurate place names. It is important to note that the Third Survey was already strongly influenced by the era of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise and no longer consistently recorded specific names, partly due to the effects of the Magyarization campaign that took place within the Kingdom of Hungary. The Second Survey reveals Croatian place names across many estates near the Little Carpathians, most notably in the region of Záhorie. By contrast, on the eastern side of the Little Carpathians — specifically in the localities of Červený Kameň Castle, Svätý Jur, and Pezinok — their presence is much more limited.

Cadastral maps represent another valuable source for research in this field. They include field names that were widely known among the population and still in use around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.[3]

Apart from archival materials, a number of other sources are useful for studying Croatian settlement in Slovakia. These include especially older academic works, which provide essential information and, in many cases, corroborate conclusions drawn from map-based analysis.

These include especially key works by prominent 18th-century scholars in the Kingdom of Hungary, such as Matej Bel's — Matthias Bel — *Notitia Hungariae novae historico-geographica*[4] and Ján Matej Korabinský's — Johann Mathias Korabinszky — *Geographisch-historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn*.[5]

One of the most valuable and unique sources documenting settlement and the preservation of Croatian names is a lesser-known work by Šenkvice native, historian, and archivist Martin Juraj Kovačič, titled *Chronicon militaris ordinis equitum Templariorum*.[6] The work is an edition devoted to the life and work of

[2] KRAJČOVIČ, Rudolf: Terénne a chotárne názvy – zrkadlo dejín, *Vlastivedný časopis*, a. 15, nr. 3 (1966), p. 125.

[3] For this purpose, we consulted Hungaricana Maps, a digital database of cadastral maps of the Kingdom of Hungary. www.maps.hungaricana.hu

[4] BEL, Matthias: *Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica: divisa in partes quatuor, quarum prima, Hungariam Cis-Danubianam; altera, Trans-Danubianam; tertia, Cis-Tibiscanam; quarta, Trans-Tibiscanam: Universim XLVIII. Comitatibus Designatam, Expromit*: *Tomus Secundus*. Viennae: Straubius, 1742.

[5] KORABINSKY, Johann Mathias: *Geographisch-historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn in welchen die vorzüglichsten Oerter des Landes in alphabetischer Ordnung angegeben, ihre Lage bestimmt...* Pressburg: Weber und Korabinskyscher Verlag, 1786.

[6] KOLINOVICS, Gabriel: *Senquiciensis Chronicon militaris ordinis equitum Templariorum: e bullis papalibus, diplomatibus regiis, ceterisque instrumentis publicis, tum coaevis, aliis[q]ve probatissimis scriptoribus collectum nunc primum ex autographo desumsit; notis illustravit; de patria, vita, fatis & scriptis autoris commentatus*

Gabriel Kolinovič, who uniquely captures the history and the contemporary state of Šenkvice in the 18th century.

For a more precise specification of Croatian settlement, tax registers from the years 1715 and 1720 are also of considerable importance.[7]

Causes and Consequences of Migration

The migration of Croats to Central Europe and Slovakia was mainly triggered by the expansion of the Ottoman Turks into the Balkans from the late 14th century, which posed a direct threat to local populations. The military conflicts of the 15th and 16th centuries were especially decisive, as they reshaped the political map of the Balkan Peninsula. The territorial expansion of the Ottoman Empire caused gradual northward population movements from the southern Balkans. This is reflected in the structure of Croatian settlement in Central Europe. From the early 16th century to its close, four major migration waves occurred:[8] in the 1520s–1530s, the 1540s, the 1550s–1560s, and in the 1580s–1590s, by which time the influx of new settlers had already begun to decline.

In the territory of Slovakia, Croatian settlers concentrated mainly in what is now western Slovakia. This process included the settlement of estates across Bratislava County. The effects of Croatian migration on social conditions in western Slovakia were considerable — not only in terms of ethnicity and language, but also in their broader economic impact on the region.

As most of the settlers were peasants, they settled primarily in rural areas, with only a smaller presence in towns. Assimilation happened relatively quickly, and aside from a few enclaves, the Croatian population had been largely assimilated by the early 18th century. What remains today are Croatian surnames and traces preserved in field names.

Research Methods for Historical Settlement

A chronological approach to mapping the occurrence of place names of Croatian origin in Slovakia requires first identifying the settlements themselves. This step makes it possible to confirm whether a name is truly of Croatian origin. Alongside detailed archival research, it is important to draw on earlier scholarly literature dealing with the geography of the region, especially the works of Matej Bel and Ján Matej Korabinský. These publications offer brief descriptions of settlements, including information on the origin and language of their inhabitants at the time. Tax records, together with earlier portal registers and urbarial documents of the different estates, provide a detailed view of these settlements and their inhabitants. They record taxpayers' names, their economic status, and the size of their cultivated land. By comparing the names recorded in urbaria with those in portal and tax registers, and through careful cross-checking, we

est; ejusque, & Templarii icones aeri incisas praefixit; seriem magnorum magistrorum, bullam Clementis V. & puncta inquisitionis in Templarios, ac denique seriem ordinum religiosorum & equestrium olim florentium, qui jam desierunt, appendicis loco adjecit junctimque, ed. Martinus Georgius Kovachich Senquicziensis. Pestini: Litteris Trattneriansis, 1789.

7 For this purpose, I also consulted the digital database Arcanum. https://www.arcanum.com/sk/.

8 PAVLIČEVIĆ, Dragutin: *Moravski Hrvati.* Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1994.

can confirm whether a locality is of Croatian origin or not. This allows us to analyse historical mapping of the studied region within the Kingdom of Hungary, especially through the military surveys of the 18th and 19th centuries mentioned earlier. Although these surveys were primarily intended for military purposes and focused on key landscape features, they still include place names that can be identified and matched to the studied area. The abolition of serfdom in the mid-19th century reshaped land ownership and created a need for more efficient record-keeping. This led to the introduction of cadastral mapping, which for the first time systematically captured traditional place names used for generations, both within settlements and in their surrounding areas.

Field Names Reflecting Croatian Heritage in Slovakia

Field names in Slovakia have been the subject of research by several scholars. Place names in Croatian diaspora areas were also studied by Milan Majtán.[9] The goal of this study, however, is to connect these names more closely with their homeland and to examine why they were chosen.

Examples include the following names: *Glavica* — a cone-shaped hill near Devínska Nová Ves; *Dúbrava* and *Grba* — a locality in Devínska Nová Ves, today consisting mainly of terraced family houses. This name is also found in Vysoká pri Morave in the forms *Na Grbje* and *Pod jeleni Grubu*, and appears on the Third Military Survey map as *Jeleni Grb*. The name *Klanec*, recorded in Šenkvice, means a pass, while *Záluhy* denotes a valley between the Bratislava districts of Karlova Ves and Lamač. Its present name is a distorted form of the original *Za lugi*. The name *Glavica* was also recorded near Karlova Ves. Other examples include *Glogovec*, found in Šenkvice and today used as a street name, as well as *Ravnica*, *Rakiti*, *Poluselky*, *Ledini*, *Jagnet*, and *Cerové* (*Cerovo brdo*). The name *Mláka* now refers to a stream flowing from the Little Carpathians into the Morava River at Devínska Nová Ves. Interestingly, *Mláka* is also the name of two villages near Zagreb — *Velika Mlaka* and *Mala Mlaka*. Further names include *Kandija*, *Kozara*, *Novosad*, *Novine*, and *Bresty Veľké* and *Malé*.

Croatian place names can also be found in Mokrý Háj, the northernmost village in Slovakia with Croatian settlement, which was historically known as *Charvátska Ves*.

As the Croatian population in Slovakia consisted predominantly of peasants, their main economic activity in western Slovakia was the cultivation of grapevines and wine production. Upon settling in the region, they largely continued and developed the already established tradition of this agricultural activity.

Viticulture has left more than just physical traces in the Little Carpathians region. Its legacy survives in vineyard field names recorded in written sources, even in places no longer used for farming. Vineyard names were shaped by a variety of factors. They primarily described the terrain where vines were planted, but also referred to original vegetation, local fauna, or grazing areas for livestock. Some names preserve the memory of early owners, while others

[9] MAJTÁN, Milan: Svedectvo terénnych názvov o Chorvátoch na Slovensku. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku. História, onomastika, národopis*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, pp. 66–74.

arose from nicknames, personal traits, or events that left a lasting impression on the local community and became permanent labels for particular vineyards.[10]

To better understand migration and the role of memory in field names — their choice for particular locations and the deeper stories behind them — the field names in Šenkvice offer especially useful insight.[11]

As the present-day village of Šenkvice is composed of two formerly separate settlements, I have chosen to describe their cadastral areas individually. Veľké Šenkvice is bordered in the northwest by the cadastral territory of the former free royal town of Modra, in the southwest by a short boundary with Pezinok and a longer one with Viničné. From the southeast, it is surrounded by the large cadastral area of Senec and the territory of Malé Šenkvice, while to the northeast it borders Vištuk. The cadastral territory of Veľké Šenkvice is relatively large compared to neighboring municipalities and includes almost an entire, and likely the only remaining, independent oak forest known as Šenkvický háj. Šenkvice is among the few villages in Slovakia where field names have retained their original Croatian form with very little change. The names of both the village parts and the surrounding land are still actively used by residents and farmers.

The following lines present and describe the individual parts of the cadastral area. However, for the purposes of this study, the most important are the agricultural sections of the cadastral area. Slovak field names coexist here alongside Croatian and German ones.[12]

All the field names mentioned below were originally located outside the built-up area, though many are now part of the expanded village of Šenkvice. The analysis relies mainly on the work of Henrich Lančarič, who carried out field research for the Ľudovít Štúr Institute of Linguistics at the Slovak Academy of Sciences, in 1967. He documented the original names of the cadastral divisions as well as both historical and contemporary street names within the village. Originally, however, the settlement consisted of a single main street forming the central axis toward Malé Šenkvice and further to the royal town of Senec.[13]

An interesting aspect of studying a specific village is the possibility of overlaying military survey maps of the Kingdom of Hungary, cadastral maps, and aerial mapping of Slovakia from 1950.[14] This makes it possible to follow the development of the village structure across time, including settlement patterns,

[10] BENKOVÁ, Eva: *Dejiny vinohradníctva na Červenokamenskom panstve od druhej polovice 16. storočia do konca 18. storočia*: *Dissertation thesis.* Bratislava: Katedra slovenských dejín Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského, 2014.

[11] LANČARIČ, Henrich: *Chotárne názvy obce Šenkvice*. For the Ľudovít Štúr Institute of Linguistics. Šenkvice, 1967.

[12] This can be explained by the fact that the village lies in a culturally mixed area. When Croats settled here, the region was already largely populated by German-speaking inhabitants. As a result, the newcomers naturally adopted existing place names from neighboring settlements. Šenkvice also experienced considerable ethnic mixing. See SOLÁR, Andrej: *Viticulture and Winemaking in the Culture of Croats in Slovakia*.

[13] LANČARIĆ, Henrich: *Chotárne názvy obce Šenkvice*. In 1945, the Slovak Onomastic Commission organised a systematic survey of Slovak terrain (field) names. As part of this questionnaire-based field research, relatively comprehensive material was collected from across the entire Slovak linguistic territory. See MAJTÁN, Milan: Chorvátske prvky v slovenských terénnych názvoch. In: HORÁK, Emil (ed.): *Slovensko-chorvátske jazykové a literárne vzťahy.* Bratislava: T.R.I. Medium, 1999, p 139.

[14] See https://mapy.tuzvo.sk/hofm/.

roads, and vineyards. In the earliest maps, only the stream name *Sisek*, which extends toward Veľký Grob, can be identified. Later cadastral maps already capture individual field names within the area, thereby confirming the statements of Gabriel Kolinovič from the previous century.

Cadastral Field Names in Veľké Šenkvice

The following section systematically lists and describes the different parts of the cadastral area in order to better understand their likely origins.

Originally, the intravilan of Veľké Šenkvice consisted solely of the built-up core of the village — the main street with a church and gardens attached to the northern and southern rows of houses. Today, the settlement has expanded into the former extravilan, which has led to changes in land use and cultivation. As a result, many modern streets reflect older field names, occupying the areas once designated by those names.

Henrich Lančarič made a significant contribution by mapping the cadastral areas of Veľké Šenkvice and Malé Šenkvice, studying early cadastral maps, and recording all established place names. He linked Slovakized forms to their original Croatian versions and explained their meanings. However, his focus remained mainly linguistic, without exploring their broader spatial context.[15]

As we know that the settlers arrived from various regions, including Bosnia, the study of field names in Šenkvice raises the possibility of tracing migration routes from the southern Balkans to Slovakia. The following section attempts to explain this hypothesis using materials by Martin Juraj Kovačič, which indicate that members of the nobility from southern Bosnia also settled in Šenkvice. It is precisely from this region that one of the field names — *Kandija* — may originate. Apart from a single exception, no locality with a similar name has been identified elsewhere in Croatia or Bosnia. That exception is a village near Bugojno, northwest of Sarajevo and south of Banja Luka.[16] Although Kovačič suggests a possible connection to an island named *Kandija* in southern Dalmatia or Albania, this study has not confirmed such a link.

The closest related locality appears to be *Kozara*, a mountain range in northern Bosnia whose slopes extend down to the Una River, where they meet Croatian territory. Nearby are the border towns of Kozarska Dubica[17] and Kostajnica. And precisely Kostajnica functioned as a fortified refuge for people fleeing from southern regions. It is likely that inhabitants left the town before a potential Ottoman siege and moved north toward Sisak. Historically, Kostajnica belonged to the domain of Zrín Castle and the Zrinski family, a name that also appears in the cadastral area of Šenkvice as *Zrinska Gora*.

From there, the refugees most likely continued toward Sisak, which lies on the route to Zagreb.

Refugees seeking a new home would have naturally moved toward the region-

[15] SOLÁR, Andrej: *Viticulture and Winemaking in the Culture of Croats in Slovakia.*

[16] *Ibidem*. Accessible online: https://www.google.sk/maps/place/Kandija,+Bugojno,+Bosna+a+Hercegovina/@44.0319278,17.4695652,3325m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x475fa73b7b5709c9:0x4dc7911b9022d7ec!8m2!3d44.0343666!4d17.4783464?hl=sk. The same name also occurs in a district of Novo Mesto in Slovenia.

[17] At present in the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina.

al center of Zagreb. For security reasons, they likely avoided the city itself, passing to the west in an arc around the Medvednica range. Another important clue is the field name *Ledine*. A likely stopping point was Ledine Klanječke, probably part of Klanjec.[18] This serves as another point of comparison with the field name Klanec found in Šenkvice. Both locations are located in the Croatian region of Hrvatsko Zagorje. It appears that this route was indeed used by migrating populations, as *Klanec*, according to Henrich Lančarič, refers to a narrow valley or pass. This interpretation is supported by the description of the road between Malé Šenkvice and Veľké Šenkvice by Martin Juraj Kovačič, who notes that part of the route runs between steep slopes and allows passage for only one cart. The town of Klanjec is likewise located in a mountain pass and became a trading station in 1598. The area was protected by Cesargrad Castle[19] and later came under the control of the Erdődy family from 1521. Many Croatian place names have also been preserved in other parts of Slovakia.

The aim of this paper was to provide insight into current research and to highlight ways in which traces of the Croatian community in Slovakia can still be identified today, even centuries after its natural assimilation. It serves as a starting point for further study of field names of Croatian origin from historical, ethnological, and linguistic perspectives.

[18] This is further supported by evidence that the Erdődy family resettled populations even from areas not directly threatened, including estates of Cesargrad Castle near Klanjec in Hrvatsko Zagorje, as well as Okić and Jastrebarsko in Prigorje. This contributed to the depopulation of Croatia. See PAVLIČEVIĆ, Dragutin: *Moravski Hrvati*, p. 38.

[19] The inhabitants of the estate associated with Cesargrad Castle possessed extensive vineyards. See ADAMČEK, Josip: *Agrarian Relations in Croatia from the Mid-15th to the End of the 18th Century*. Zagreb: Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1980, p. 195.

ŽARKO ŠPANIČEK*

Slovak Traces in the History and Culture of Slavonia

Tragovi Slovaka u povijesti i kulturi Slavonije / Stopy Slovákov v dejinách a kultúre Slavónie

Rad nastoji provjeriti koliko su župni arhivi rimokatoličkih župa u istočnoj hrvatskoj pokrajini Slavoniji, na čijem su području u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća nastala nova naselja slovačkih doseljenika, vrijedan izvor povijesnih podataka o novim doseljenicima i organizaciji njihova života u novoj domovini. Na nekoliko izabranih primjera župnih arhiva autor nastoji pokazati da bi dokumentarno gradivo koje se ondje čuva trebalo biti nezaobilazan predmet svakog istraživanja o doseljavanju i doprinosu Slovaka povijesti i kulturi Slavonije i Hrvatske.

Ključne riječi: Slovaci, doseljavanje, župni arhivi, dokumenti

Introduction

The primary goal of this paper is to verify the relevance of one of several possible sources of new data on the history and culture of Slovaks in Slavonia, the Croatian region in which Slovaks are most numerous. This source consists of parish archives from Catholic parishes whose territories include settlements where Slovaks form a significant or majority share of the population. Based on earlier research experience, it could be assumed that parish memorials (*Liber memorabilium*), registers of parishioners (*Status animarum*), parish customaries, and other parish records might contain previously unknown information about the settlement and life of Slovaks in their new homeland, which could enrich the understanding of the role of the Slovak population in the history and culture of Slavonia—and of Croatia. The goal is, therefore, to identify a possible source of data on Slovaks in Slavonia, and not to investigate the contribution of the Slovak population to the history and culture of the observed area.

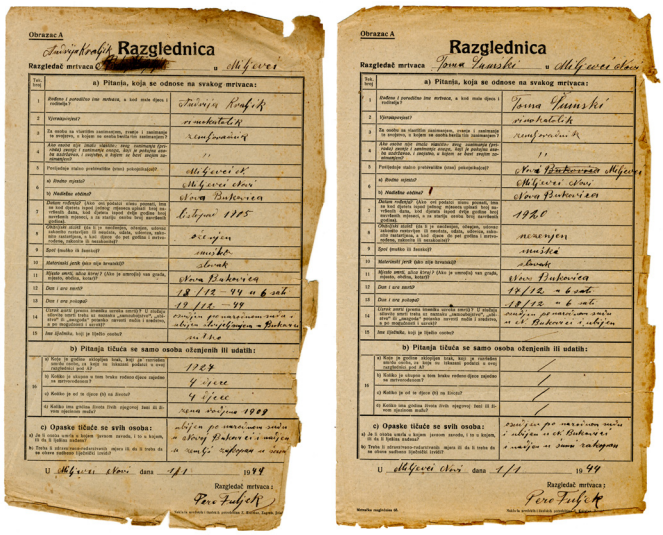
In this short research, archives were reviewed in only three parish offices in the area of which there are five settlements with a predominantly Slovak population: Nova Bukovica in Virovitica-Podravina County for Miljevci, Punitovci for Josipovac Punitovački and Jurjevac Punitovački in Osijek-Baranja County and the archives of the Franciscan monastery in Našice for Markovac Našički and Jelisavac, also in Osijek-Baranja County.

Early examinations of parish records already uncovered pertinent information about Slovak immigrants to Slavonia.

Miljevci

Miljevci settlement belongs to the Parish of the Assumption of the Bless-

* ŽARKO ŠPANIČEK, PhD, Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Croatia, Head of Conservation Department in Požega for the areas of the Požega-Slavonia and Virovitica-Podravina Counties.



Figures 1a and 1b: *"Postcards" (coroner's records). (Source: Miljevci. Register of Souls. Parish Archives of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Nova Bukovica)*

ed Virgin Mary in Nova Bukovica near the town of Slatina in Virovitica-Podravina County. In ecclesiastical terms, the parish belonged to the Archdiocese of Zagreb until 1997, and since then to the Diocese of Požega.

Although some sources state that Slovaks founded the village around 1836, this is not correct, because on the first cadastral survey of the Habsburg Monarchy, carried out in Slavonia from 1781 to 1783, a village called Millievacz was mapped at the same location, formed in the midst of a dense forest at a crossroads.[1] In addition, thanks to the published data, we have a basic insight into the demographic situation of the settlement of Miljevci immediately before the arrival of the wave of migrants from Slovakia. According to statistical data for the period from 1828 to 1830, in the area of the then Virovitica County, 38 families (households) totaling 222 inhabitants; all were Catholics, and there were no Orthodox, Protestants, or Jews.[2] The very first parish document relating to Miljevci — a hardbound book with the village name handwritten on the cover, and which by content is a *Status animarum* (register of souls) — contains several very valuable documents inserted at the front behind the cover. Chief among these are four *Postcards*, all created at the end of 1944 or in early 1945. Behind the benign title of these handwritten printed forms lie records of the dramatic events that struck the local community in December 1944. All four documents refer to young or middle-aged men from Miljevci who are stated to be Slovaks by nationality, Roman Catholics by religion, and farmers by occupation. Toma Rajnoha (b. 1903), Ivo Prisuda (1903), Andrija Kraljik (1905) and Toma Šumski

[1] https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/firstsurvey-slavonia/?layers=155&bbox=1976623.988588891%2C5726028.323811363%2C1994825.5559492987%2C5732802.555443138 (accessed: 1 August 2025)

[2] KORUNIĆ, Petar: *Naselja i stanovništvo hrvatskih pokrajina 1828/1830. godine.* Zagreb: FF press, 2019, p. 217.

(1920) died violently. For all four, the entry under the heading "Cause of death" is almost identical: *"convicted by the People's Court in N. Bukovica and executed."* Only for Andrija Kraljik, it is added in the same heading that he was executed by shooting. A new detail appears in the final "Remarks" column of this mortuary record. For all four men it contains an almost identical entry: *"convicted by the People's Court, executed in N. Bukovica and found buried in the forest."* (Fig. 1a and 1b). The printed forms state the date and time of death as 17 December 1944 at 6 a.m., only Andrija Kraljik is stated to have been executed the day after, also at 6 a.m. All of them were buried the day after the execution. Another detail visible on the printed forms could indicate the chaotic situation at that time in Nova Bukovica and the surrounding area. Only two are signed and dated, those relating to Andrija Kraljik and Toma Šumski. They were signed by Pero Fuljek, whose name is on the list of parishioners of the village of Miljevci and who apparently served as a coroner. Both are incorrectly dated as "1/1 1944", while the more likely date of compilation of these records is 1 January 1945.

Several other records from the parish documentation partly confirm, partly expand the information about this event, when the war events in the vicinity of the town of Slatina became more and more intense.[3] *The death register of the parish of Nova Bukovica* for the period from February 10, 1924 to August 22, 1948, which is kept in the Historical Archives of the Požega Diocese in Požega,[4] confirms the Partisan sentence of four Miljevci residents to execution and adds that all four were buried on the same day, December 20, 1944, in Novi Miljevci. But they were not the only victims of the "People's Court". On December 18, 1944, Franjo Pokrivka, a married cooper from Nova Bukovica, was also *"sentenced to execution by the Partisan court"*. The sentence was apparently carried out immediately, because the date and place of burial are given as December 19, 1944 in Nova Bukovica. In addition to the surname of this Nova Bukovica resident, most likely also of Slovak origin, attention is drawn to the record that all five received the holy sacraments of the dying, probably confession, communion and anointing, which means that they were allowed to meet with a priest and that their spiritual needs were considered. There is no information anywhere about what they were charged with, significantly limiting insight into these tragic events, which are only briefly reported in the parish memorial, a hardbound book with a decoratively printed cover and the title *Liber memorabilium*

[3] There is more information about this in publications dealing with local history during the Second World War from different perspectives (PELIKAN, Dragutin: *Slatina u vjetrovima povijesti.* Slatina: Gradsko poglavarstvo Slatina, 1997; PELIKAN, Mira – GAZDA, Miroslav: *Spomenar hrvatskim žrtvama Virovitičko-podravske županije stradalim 1941-1945. i 1991-1995.* Osijek: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2011; GAZDA, Miroslav: *Krvavi slatinski Uskrs: ratna zbivanja u Slatini za II. svjetskog rata.* Slatina: Hrvatski domobran, udruga ratnih veterana Hrvatske, branch Slatina, 2015; RADANOVIĆ, Milan: *„Slavonijo triput si gorila…" Kotar Podravska Slatina u Drugom svetskom ratu 1941-1945.* Zagreb: Srpsko narodno vijeće, 2019, etc.), but also correspondence from local priests, especially the Slatina parish priest Julije Bürger with the archiepiscopal spiritual chair in Zagreb. He himself lost his life in the turmoil, approximately at the same time as these Miljevci people (ŠPANIČEK, Žarko: *Župna crkva svetog Josipa u Slatini. Spomenik trajniji od mjedi,* second supplemented and expanded edition. Slatina: Matica Hrvatska branch in Slatina, 2023, p. 106).

[4] I would like to thank the head of the Historical Archives of the Požega Diocese, Tomislav Miličević, for permission to use the archive materials.

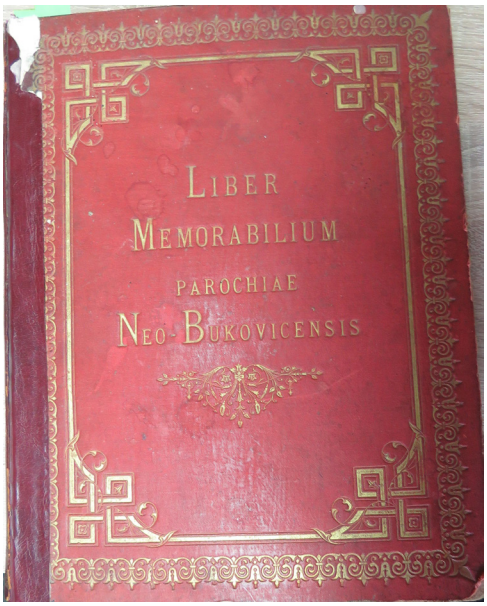


Figure 2: *Liber memorabilium parochiae Neo-Bukovicensis. Nova Bukovica Parish Archives.*

parochiae Neo-Bukovicensis, kept in the parish office in Nova Bukovica, and has been kept, judging by the first entry, from approximately 1902 to the present day (Fig. 2).[5]

At the beginning of the memorial, the parish chronicler notes that the Nova Bukovica parish was founded in 1812 as a very small parish with about *"500 souls"* and only one filial settlement, Kozice. At the beginning of the 20th century, the parish had 3,390 souls, most of whom, 760, lived in Nova Bukovica itself, while Miljevci at that time had 390 souls. From page 111 onwards, a chronology of events is recorded in three columns for events at the parish, archdiocese and then-Croatia. The entry on p. 213 for the year 1836 is particularly interesting: *"in suis Miljevci neo incolarum possesio 1 hora a matre distat."* The mention of Miljevci as a newly settled estate one hour (walk) away from the parish seat[6] for the year 1836 indicates not only the time of arrival of new settlers, undoubtedly Slovaks, but also provides an explanation for the change of the name of the settlement from *Miljevci*, as stated in the Second Cadastral Amendment of the Habsburg Monarchy, carried out in Croatia from 1865 to 1869, into *Novi* and *Stari Miljevci* documented in the Third Cadastral Survey carried out from 1869 to 1887 (Fig. 3). Therefore, parish documentation from the first half of the 20th century often mentions Stari and Novi Miljevci, although it is a spatially unique settlement, thus preserving the memory of the strong wave of Slovak immigration from the 1830s.

The memorial records some other important events for the people of Miljevci, such as the establishment of a new cemetery in 1886 (p. 221), the purchase of a new bell weighing 87 kilograms from a foundry in Maribor in 1924 (p. 101), or the blessing of a new fire engine in 1940 (p. 230). However, the most important are the records of the difficult wartime conditions in Nova Bukovica and the surrounding area, especially in 1943 and 1944. The records are very short, written in Latin with many abbreviations, perhaps as a precaution against them falling into the wrong hands, which makes it difficult to understand the events they report on. The sequence of harrowing events begins with records of the partial relocation, or Partisan expulsion of

[5] I would like to thank the pastor of the Parish of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Nova Bukovica, Rev. Ivan Štivičić, for his kindness in using the parish archive materials.

[6] An hour (*hora*) is a common measure of distance that could be covered in one hour. In the mountains it was 4,000 meters, in the plains 6,000 m (TVRTKOVIĆ, Tamara – VRBANUS, Milan (eds.): *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama, knjiga I. (1739-1787*). Našice – Slavonski Brod – Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2010, p. 334).

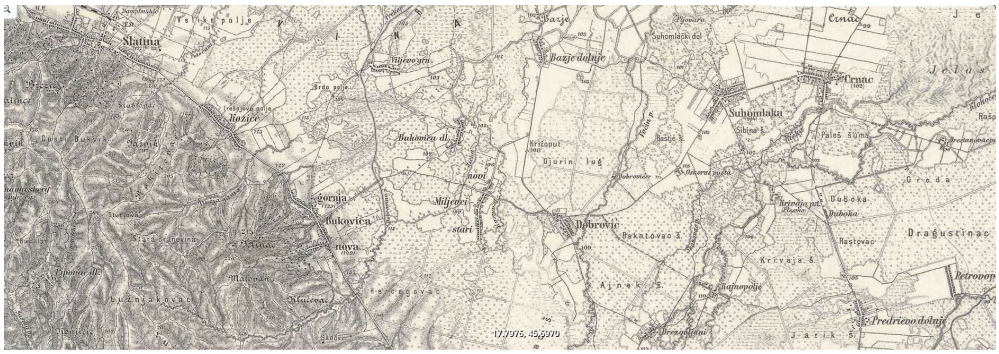


Figure 3: *Novi and Stari Miljevci, Habsburg Empire (1869-1887). Third Military Survey. (Source: https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/thirdsurvey75000/?layers=43&bbox=1967441.000670152%2C5721763.90739608%2C2003844.1353909674%2C5735312.370659627, accessed: 6 October 2025)*

German families from Nova Bukovica in March 1943, as well as the murder of the parish priest, Josip Martinac, in Voćin and the parish priest from Orahovica, Ivo Gjanić, who were shot by the Partisans in the same year. The chaotic nature of the events is also indicated by the fact that the events are not recorded in chronological order. After the chronicler, probably the parish priest of Nova Bukovica, Josip Selak at the time, recorded that on March 22, the Partisans took parish priest Martinac from Voćin, and that the parish priest of Orahovica, Ivo Gjanić, was killed around June 29, he reports on the expulsion of German families on March 11, 1943.[7] According to the record, the emigration of German families continued in the following year, in 1944. It seems that March 1943 was dramatic for the parish priest of Nova Bukovica, Selak[8] himself. According to an incomplete and unclear sentence in Latin, it seems that on the evening of March 20 (1943), two Partisans locked the parish priest Selak in a tower (probably the church bell tower), after which they returned to the forest with a woman.[9] However, the most dramatic events recorded in this memorial occurred in December 1944. It is clear from several brief, unfinished records in Latin that Partisans attacked and then conquered the village and on December 17 held a trial in the school in Nova Bukovica, at which they sentenced some Miljevci residents to death by shooting, while another parish document written in Croatian shows that it was forbidden to hold mass in the church at the time of the trial.[10] The parish memorial, and especially *the Death Register*, records several deaths and targeted liquidations, mostly

[7] The entry in the memorial (p. 231) reads: *"11 – III familias Germanorum maxima a parta a par. NB in 'patriam' imovaro ex nec 'a' germ. Dicandos .... Dux : ' Orislaiter ' in NB fac. Stribl, tempore in Kanada…"*

[8] More about the priest Josip Selak (1881–1966) in a short biographical review from 2018 on *the Podravske širine website*: https://podravske-sirine.com.hr/arhiva/8101 (accessed: 8 August 2025)

[9] The memorial reads: *"20 – III – vesperis 2 part. nobi parish Sel. in turrorum comicere … munitiones sclopet … possidere … tradere val in silvas .... Femina una reliquit parochum abducens secum et illos 2..."* (p. 231).

[10] In terms of content and form, the document represents a registration record in which a letter received on December 16, 1944, sent by the Municipal People's Liberation Committee of Nova Bukovica, is recorded. In the column "Content of the file", the parish priest wrote: *"The Municipal People's Liberation Committee of Nova Bukovica prohibits any mass after 9 a.m. on December 17 because of the People's Court."*

carried out by the Partisans, in the first half of 1945.[11]

The parish archive also preserves other documents mentioning Slovaks in Miljevci, such as *the Announcement of the Engagement* (*Notificatio sponsalium)* from 1954, announcing the marriage of Đuro Fuljek from Miljevci to Anka Prišć from Markovac. This simple document, drawn up in the parish office of the Franciscan monastery in Našice, confirms the common tendency to marry within the same ethnic group, even when the newlyweds come from somewhat distant settlements. The parish memorial notes that in 1954 religious education began in Miljevci, because the parish priest complained that due to the distance from the parish, the people of Miljevci rarely attended mass, and the chapel in Miljevci was renovated in the same year. Of particular interest is the record for December 1974, when missions were held in Miljevci, led by Father Vit Ušák,[12] a Salesian from Rome, of Slovak origin, who was particularly engaged in researching the immigration of Slovaks to Croatia, and in pastoral work among Slovaks in Slavonia. The missions were quite successful, many confessed and received communion, especially young people, the parish priest notes.

Josipovac Punitovački and Jurjevac Punitovački[13]

Josipovac Punitovački and Jurjevac Punitovački are branches of the Parish of St. Ladislaus the King in Punitovci, of the Đakovo-Osijek Archdiocese. They are located near Đakovo in Osijek-Baranja County and represent newer settlements from the late 19th century for which the year of their foundation is known. Slovak settlers founded Josipovac in 1881, and Jurjevac in 1882. The intensive settlement of this part of Slavonia at the end of the 19th century is also confirmed by the nearby village of Krndija, founded by German and Hungarian settlers in 1883.[14]

The parish archive in Punitovci has proven to be an even more abundant source of historical material about the parish and its, as they are often called, Slovak villages, the larger Josipovac and the smaller Jurjevac, than the one in Nova Bukovica. By the richness and importance of their data, the *Liber memorabilium parochiae Punitovci,* the *Statistics of the Parish of Punitovci,* and especially the *History of the Slovak village Josipovac (*fig. 4*)* stand out, and the handwritten book *Parish customary of Punitovci* provides a useful supplement.

The parish memorial (*Liber memorabilium*) begins with a transcript of the history of the village of Vuka, the birthplace

[11] *Register of the Dead of Nova Bukovica Parish dated 10 Feb 1924-1948. (Augustus, vigesima secunda),* p. 260.

[12] More information about Father Vít Ušák (1923-2019) in the obituary from 2019 on the portal of the Slovak Salesians: https://saleziani.sk/vo-veku-96-rokov-zomrel-salezian-knaz-a-basnik-vit-usak-info-o-pohrebe (accessed: 8 August 2025); father Ušák is known, among other things, for his book *Slováci v Chorvátsku, historický náčrt* (1978).

[13] According to researchers of local history, the villages of Josipovac Punitovački and Jurjevac Puntovački from their foundation until 1990, were called Josipovac and Jurjevac, without the adjective 'Punitovački' (DEVIĆ, Antun – ZEFIQ, Frok: *Župa Vuka.* Vuka: Pauk, 2006, p. 79, 82).

[14] Krndija is usually stated to have been founded by German immigrants in 1883, who later, until World War II, made up the vast majority of the population of this settlement. However, parish documentation states that the first wave of immigrants also included a significant number of Hungarians who did not get along with the Germans and later moved away, which shall be discussed later.

of Milko Cepelić,[15] a prominent priest of the Đakovo diocese, which was part of the Punitovci parish until 1942.[16]

After the transcription of Cepelić's history, there is an extensive overview of the history of the Punitovci parish under the title *The Parish of Punitovci in the Past and Present* on several unpaginated pages, authored by parish priest Ivan Berti, who served in Punitovci from 1920 to 1930.[17] Pastor Berti states that *"our predecessors"* at the priests' convocation in 1897 concluded that a *Liber memorabilium*, a book of memories, should be kept in every parish and serve in the future for writing a more systematic account of ways of life in the past.[18] He does not provide information on the immigration of Slovaks, but he does provide several interesting facts about the history of this region and notes: *"after 1870, they began to immigrate more frequently from all sides."*

Another interesting piece of information from the Memorial states that the village of Vuka, when founded in the mid-18th century, was initially called "Josipovac" after the then Bishop of Đakovo, Josip Ćolnić ,[19] who built the church of St. Joseph in the village between 1760 and 1770. After Ćolnić's death, explains the author of the memorial, the village was renamed "Vuka" after the river along which it was built.

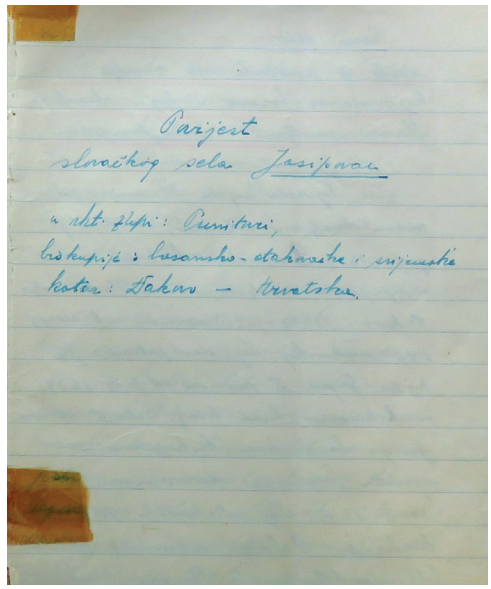


Figure 4: *History of the Slovak Village of Josipovac, manuscript, Parish Archives of the Parish of St. Ladislaus the King, Punitovci.*

More important data about the Slovaks of the Punitovci parish is provided by the *Statistics of the Punitovci Parish*, a

[15] Milko Cepelić (1853-1920) ethnographer and historian, an important figure in Croatian history and culture in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, himself descended from a family that moved to Legrad from Slovakia in 1725. More about Cepelić in the article: CEPELIĆ, Milko. *Hrvatski biografski leksikon (1983–2024.), online edition.* Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2025. https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/cepelic-milko (accessed: 11 August 2025)

[16] DEVIĆ, Antun – ZEFIQ, Frok: *Župa Vuka*, p. 11.

[17] The information is visible from the large, very neat handwritten table *History of the Parish of St. Ladislaus the King in Punitovci* with the subtitle *The parish was founded by Bishop Josip Ćolnić in 1767. Since then they have been:* followed by a table with four basic columns for popes, bishops, parish priests and chaplains with the years of their entry into and exit from the service. Framed and glazed, the table hangs on the wall in the parish office.

[18] Actually, the need and obligation to keep memorial registers in parishes were decided on several occasions by higher church authorities, bishops and diocesan synods. Relevant for this area is Bishop Strossmayer's 1863 order to keep a Liber memorabilium. Strossmayer issued a second circular on the matter in March 1897 (BÄUERLEIN, Stjepan: "Župski 'Liber memorabilium'," *Bogoslovska smotra*, a. 36, no. 2, 1966, p. 495). Therefore, the entry in the Punitovci memorial register probably refers to a decision by the diocesan or deanery clergy to implement the bishop's order.

[19] There are several printed and online sources about Bosnian–Đakovo Bishop Josip Antun Ćolnić (1699–1773), for example: ĆOLNIĆ, Josip Antun. *Hrvatski biografski leksikon (1983–2024.), online edition.* Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2025. https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/colnic-josip-antun (accessed: 11 August 2025)

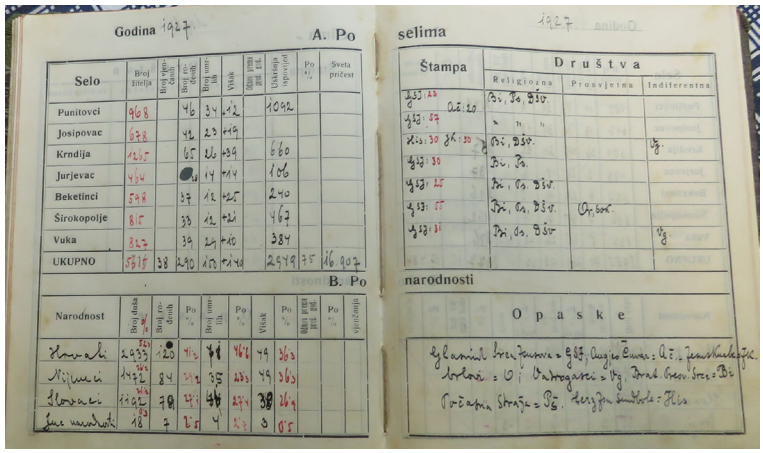


Figure 5: *Parish Statistics Punitovci. (Source: Punitovci Parish Archives)*

small-format hard-bound manuscript book that was kept from 1921 to 1980, discontinuously, with a break between 1930 and 1950 and not always with the same data. For example, from 1958 to 1980, only the number of marriages and deaths was recorded by settlements within the parish, while other statistical data on parishioners were also listed earlier. For the initial year, 1921, it is evident that the parish then consisted of the settlements of Punitovci, Josipovac, Krndija, Jurjevac, Beketinci, Široko Polje (written as one word, "Širokopolje") and Vuka. The parish has a total of 5,085 inhabitants, of which 874 are in the parish seat of Punitovci, 590 in Josipovac, and 406 in Jurjevac. The largest village is Krndija with 1150 inhabitants. As a starting point, the first page lists the number of children born by nationality in 1900. The numerical data are particularly interesting for 1927 (Fig. 5). It is evident from them that the parish has a total of 5615 inhabitants in seven settlements. The most numerous settlement is still Krndija, where the number of inhabitants has increased to 1265, followed by Punitovci with 968 inhabitants. Josipovac has 678 inhabitants, and Jurjevac 464 inhabitants. The data on the nationality of the parishioners and their percentage share in the total number of parishioners are particularly interesting. It is stated that there are 2933 Croats, 1472 Germans, and 1192 Slovaks.

The already scanty data expands the demographic picture in the settlements of the parish at that time, because it is evident that not all Germans lived in Krndija, nor all Slovaks in Josipovac and Jurjevac, but that there were also some in other settlements of the parish. In 1927 and the following two years, the Statistics records the titles of printed periodicals received by parishioners in the various settlements—periodicals that are exclusively religious in nature—and notes the existence of religious and secular societies in the villages. The *Statistics* also documents the drastic decline in the number of inhabitants of Krndija after World War II. After a twenty-year break in keeping parish statistics, in 1951, 800 inhabitants of Krndija and 977 inhabitants of Punitovci were recorded, which now became the largest village in the parish, immediately followed by Josipovac with 864 inhabitants out of a total of 5,650 inhabitants. Demographic

growth is still present, despite the strong emigration of Germans from Krndija. The demographic picture of the parish has changed significantly today, or rather, has deteriorated dramatically. Today, the parish consists of only four villages: Punitovci, Jurjevac Punitovački, Josipovac Punitovački and Krndija with a total of 1562 inhabitants, while the remaining settlements belonged to other parishes. The largest settlement in the parish became Josipovac Punitovački with 693 inhabitants, followed by Punitovci with 566 and Jurjevac Punitovački with 264 inhabitants, while Krndija fell to only 39 inhabitants.[20] The parish, which according to this book in 1930 had 6082 inhabitants (Punitovci 1010, Josipovac 749, Krndija 1429, Jurjevac 505), has lost three quarters of its inhabitants to this day due to demographic decline and the separation of three villages into another parish.

The most important document for the topic of this paper is certainly the manuscript *History of the Slovak Village of Josipovac in the Parish of Punitovci* which consists of 38 paginated pages written in a small-format notebook. According to the final note, the *History* was written by parish priest Stjepan Lukić *"quickly before my departure from this parish,"* with a note that the manuscript was completed in Punitovci on 27 Sept. 1951. The fact that the priest, despite being hurried because of his transfer, devoted time and attention to the filial village of his parish deserves special notice and indicates an awareness of Josipovac's significant role in local history.

The manuscript is divided into three main chapters:

I. Part One. Some notes on the history of this land, which is today inhabited and farmed by Slovaks settled in the village of Josipovac (pp. 1–10).

II. The second part. The ties of the Slovak people with the Croatian people, especially with Bishop JJ Strossmayer (pp. 11–18).

III. Part Three. The Foundation of the Slovak Village of Josipovac (pp. 19–38).

It is already clear from the title and scope of the third chapter that it is the main content of the manuscript, which is emphasized by two smaller chapters within it: *The New Church of St. Michael in Josipovac* (pp. 29–35) and *The School* (pp. 35–38). By including these two topics, as well as the two introductory chapters, in the text, the parish priest demonstrated the correct understanding that a settlement is not a mere collection of houses and their inhabitants, but a living community determined by the social and historical context and the institutions operating within it.

The most important content of the first chapter relates to the settlement of the Punitovac parish. In 1881 Slovaks settled Josipovac, in 1882 Jurjevac, and in 1883 Krndija was settled by Germans and Hungarians (pp. 8–9). The author continues that these three villages were settled by the Đakovo bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer on his large estate, so the new Slovak villages were named after him, while Krndija was named after the forest in which it was located. The Hungarians gradually emigrated from Krndija because they had constant quarrels and brawls with the Germans; once the army even had to intervene to quell the unrest. Before the outbreak of the Second World War, Krndija had over 300 houses and about 1,500 inhabitants, and the village field (*hatar*) covered 4,000 jutras of arable land. In 1945 most of Krndija's

[20] *2021 Census:* https://dzs.gov.hr/u-fokusu/popis-2021/88 (accessed: 2 October 2025)

inhabitants withdrew with the German army, leaving only five German families, while the residents of Josipovac and Jurjevac *"weathered the storm of the Second World War"*, the chapter concludes, and *"remained in their homes and on their land"* (pp. 9–10).

In the second chapter, the writer looks at the poor position of the Slovaks during the 19th century as part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the cooperation of the Slovak champions with Bishop Strossmayer in the fight for their national rights. He mentions by name the connections of the bishop of Đakovo with the Slovak bishop and Zagreb canon Stjepan Mojzes,[21] another person who connects Slovakia and Croatia, and a laudatory article by the Slovak writer Svetozar Hurban Vajanski[22] about Bishop Strossmayer from September 20, 1900, published in the newspaper *Narodnieh Noviny*.[23]

The third and most important part of the manuscript, *History of the Slovak Village of Josipovac*, as the subtitle suggests, talks about the settlement around the parish in Punitovci and the founding of three villages: Josipovac, Jurjevac and Krndija. However, the author does not limit himself to a brief historical account from the end of the 19th century, but his text sometimes turns into a short story. As the owner of the Đakovo estate, Bishop Strossmayer decided to clear the previously densely forested area next to Punitovci, obtain new arable land and establish three new villages. This decision was based on an imperial order of December 23, 1858, as is emphasized at the beginning of the chapter.[24] The conditions of the "parcelation", as stated, were:

- Each family receives 10 acres of forest at a price of 50 forints per ral[25], and the amount will be paid *through amortization*, i.e. a repayment of 7.5%, so that 5% is calculated as interest and 2.5% as principal.
- The installments are due on January 1 and July 1 of each year, beginning

[21] There is more extensive literature in Croatian on Stjepan Mojzes (1797–1869), for example the collected volume *Med Hrvati stanak moj! Zbornik radova o Stjepanu Moysesu* (1797–1869.) published by Matica hrvatska in 2020 (ed. Zrinka Stričević-Kovačević). Basic information is also available in the online article: MOJZES, Stjepan. Hrvatska enciklopedija, online edition. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013–2025. https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/mojzes-stjepan (accessed: 13 August 2025)

[22] Writer Svetozár Hurban Vajanský (1847–1916) wrote travelogues about Croatian regions. Compare: VAJANSKÝ, Svetozár Hurban. *Hrvatska enciklopedija, online edition.* Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013–2025. https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/vajansky-svetozar-hurban (accessed: 13 August 2025)

[23] An online search confirmed the existence of this newspaper from the late 19th and first half of the 20th century, but their contents could not be verified: https://adt.arcanum.com/en/collection/NarodnieNoviny/?decade=1900#collection-contents (accessed: 13 August 2025). That Vajanský was in some relationship with Bishop Strossmayer is indicated by a letter from his brother Vladimir Hurban dated 29 March 1901 to Vajanský, in which he mentions a request from Milko Cepelić that Vajanský write something about Bishop Strossmayer and his relationship with the Slovaks for a commemorative book dedicated to Strossmayer's jubilee, the fiftieth anniversary of his episcopal service. This is letter no. 159 of March 29, 1901. Compare: https://zlatyfond.sme.sk/dielo/1902/Vajansky_Korespondencia-Svetozara-Hurbana-Vajanskeho-II/11?utm_source=chatgpt.com (accessed: 13 August 2025).

[24] KRANJČEVIĆ, Jasenka: *Zanemarena baština. Prostorne strukture sela u Hrvatskoj.* Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2018, pp. 23-24; 33-25). The book contains sources and literature for a more detailed study of this topic, as well as data on other Slavonian settlements with Slovak populations.

[25] 1 ral = 1 jutro (≈0.5755 ha; ≈1.423 acres) denotes the area of land that can be plowed in one day = 5754.42 m². (TVRTKOVIĆ, Tamara – VRBANUS, Milan (ed.): *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama, knjiga II. (1788–1820.).* Našice – Slavonski Brod – Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2012, p. 523).

January 1, 1891, that is, ten years from the date of settlement.

- In addition to this basic condition, other in-kind and monetary contributions were prescribed: 50 kg per acre of crops sown on that field annually, 2 forints per ral of meadows annually, and 1 fathom of[26] wood from each cleared ral of forest *once and for all*, i.e. a one-time payment.

Since the indigenous population showed very little interest in this "parcelation", an opportunity arose for foreign settlers to settle in this area, which Pastor Lukić reports on in a narrative style that we will briefly recount.

Around the Slavonian town of Orahovica, four Slovak villages were inhabited *"since ancient times"*: Zokov Gaj, Duga Međa, Petrovo Polje and Podrumine.[27] The inhabitants of Duga Međa and Podrumine each acquired a bell for their village and, as good Catholics, wanted the bells to be blessed. Their villages belonged to the Archdiocese of Zagreb, and since Zagreb was far away, they came with the bells to Đakovo and asked Bishop Strossmayer to bless them. At first, the bishop apologized because they were not from his diocese, *"but as an old, close friend of the Slovaks"* he finally agreed and blessed the bells. After the blessing, the bishop began a conversation with the envoys, among whom were Vavrin Kanisek and Štefan Zelnik, both from Podrumine. He learned about their difficult situation and their hardships, took pity on them and offered them the manor land under the above conditions. It was in the autumn of 1880. Already on the feast of St. Anthony the Hermit, January 17, 1881, 40 people came from these villages to take over the land, or rather the forest for clearing. They went through deep snow to the forest where they were given "numbers". In addition to the families from Slavonian villages whose names he mentions, families from Slovakia also came, mostly from the towns of Stara and Nova Bistrica, Klubine, Radostka and Zborova.[28] In this group, the writer also mentions the names and surnames of the father's family. Already in the autumn of the same year, 1881, about 53 wooden houses were built in the forests of Polovinje, Struka and Pašina, whose Slovak inhabitants diligently felled the centuries-old Slavonian oaks day after day and turned the old forest into a fertile meadow. The author emphasizes the diligence and great effort of the Slovak immigrants who gradually progressed, so that little by little the smoke-filled wooden huts disappeared, replaced by neat and beautiful houses in two rows. He also emphasizes the piety of the Slovaks, who immediately built a wooden chapel in 1882, which was replaced in 1923 by the brick church of St. Michael, which he discusses in the next chapter, underscoring that the people of Josipovac built the church themselves with the help of the then bishop Akšamović, and the cost was 53,000 dinars (p. 29). The original dimensions of the church were 6 x 11 m with a 6 m high bell tower, and it was built in the center of the village. Later, it was repeatedly expanded and

[26] 1 Vienna fathom is 1.896 meters (HERKOV, Zlatko: *Naše stare mere i utezi*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1973, p. 80). Accordingly, a square fathom would be 1.896 x 1.896 m, which would give a volume of 3.594 m.

[27] The priest's time frame of *"since ancient times"* is in fact the middle of the 19th century (KRANJČEVIĆ, Jasenka: *Zanemarena baština. Prostorne strukture sela u Hrvatskoj.* Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2018, pp. 23-24; 33-25).

[28] The parish priest writes the names of the Slovak settlements slightly altered. These are the settlements of Nová and Stará Bystrica, Klubina, Radôstka and Zborov.

enlarged. The parish priest adds that in the church nave a statue of the Mother of God was brought from Poland (p. 30).[29] The following pages provide information on the arrangement and furnishing of the church throughout the period from its construction to the writing of this small history of the village, and the pastor ends the chapter on the Josipovac church with a kind of summary of the entire manuscript that emphasizes his fascination with Slovak immigrants. He emphasizes that the people of Josipovac bought 500 acres of land in 1881, and today (i.e. in 1951) they own 1,600 acres and 380 acres of their own forest, while in Croatia at that time there were only three private forests. He expresses his admiration for the diligence and success of the Slovaks by calculating that *"the people of Josipovac have been richer by two acres every month since their arrival until today: So, two acres more land every month"* (p. 33). At the end of this chapter, the pastor emphasizes the beautiful folk customs of the Slovaks and their *social awareness*, which he calls the readiness to help each other in regular situations (building a house) or in extraordinary circumstances, which was so-called *obaveza* (obligation) after World War II.[30]

The history ends with a short chapter on the Josipovac school, written on three pages. The author tells how, after settling Josipovac, the Slovaks did not have a public school for a long time, but only a private school. The children were taught by a more intelligent, enlightened and naturally gifted peasant in his house, and only in the winter, when the children were not employed in the fields and with herding cattle (p. 35). The author even lists the names of these teachers in chronological order: Martin Kolembus, Jozo Kmet, Ivan Škorvaga and Jozo Pajeska. The fifth in line was Alojz Lašak, a retired teacher from Slovakia. As an interesting fact, the parish priest Lukić points out that from the beginning, the children were taught in the Croatian language at school, while at home, as today (1951), they spoke Slovak. After that, without specifying when this was, the author states that the children attended the state school in Punitovci. Since 1946, the people of Josipovac have had a public school in their village, attended by about 120 children. The school was temporarily housed in an unsuitable peasant house, and at the time of writing the *History*, the construction of a large one-story cooperative building, which impressed the parish priest, was being completed, in order to also house the school.

On the same page where the manuscript *History of the Slovak Village of Josipovac* ends, below the date and signature of the parish priest Stjepan Lukić, there are two more interesting pieces of information written in a different handwriting and ink, obviously added later.

[29] The website of the Municipality of Punitovci, which talks about the parish, states that the statue of the Blessed Virgin Mary was brought by Slovaks when they immigrated from their home parish church in Nova Bistrica, a hilly town on the border with Poland: https://www.punitovci.hr/zupa-punitovci/ (accessed: 14 August 2025). Nová Bystrica is actually located near the Slovak border with Poland.

[30] *Obaveza* is a common popular term for compulsory purchase, the forced giving of agricultural products to the state by peasants in the post-war years at fixed, low prices and in prescribed quantities imposed by the state, which caused numerous social and political problems. For more on compulsory purchase in Croatia after World War II, see for example: SPEHNJAK, Katarina: Seljački otpor politici obveznog otkupa u Hrvatskoj 1949. godine. *Časopis za suvremenu povijest,* a. 27, no. 2 (1995), pp. 209-231. https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/311965 (accessed: 17 August 2025)

The first entry says that the first person born in Josipovac was Ivan Kristek, son of Matija and Sofija, born as Konjuh on 27 April 1881. Beneath it is a second entry stating that the first settler, Kanisek Vavrin, arrived in 1873, and that the 80th anniversary of the village's settlement was being celebrated. From this it is evident the entry was made in 1961 (p. 38). After Lukić's account of Josipovac's history, one of the subsequent parish priests—judging by the handwriting and black ink, the same one who entered two brief notes about the first birth and the first Slovak settler[31]—transcribes *Notice* No. 117 from 1898. The notification was sent by *DR* (District Region, probably the Đakovo District Region). Its content fully justifies the transcriber's assessment that it closes the account of Josipovac's origin and development. It is an agreement in four articles between the administration of the Đakovo estate and the inhabitants of the villages Krndija, Jurjevac and Josipovac, by which the settlers regulate their obligations to the estate for the land or forest they received. The document calls this agreement a "liquidation" carried out by the Royal District Authority in Đakovo for each village separately, beginning on 19 April 1898 in Krndija, continuing on 4 July that year in Jurjevac, and concluding on 5 July in Josipovac. The liquidation has the force of a decision that has become final because no one has challenged it. The document cites the original conditions under which the settlers took over the land, which we have already mentioned above, and states the new, milder terms of the agreement to which all parties agreed:

- Repayment only began on January 1, 1899, 8 years later than originally stipulated, and was to be made in two semi-annual installments in 44 equal installments continuously. This means that repayment was scheduled to end in 1920.
- An interest rate of only 2.5% is set for the period from January 1, 1891 to the end of 1898, and the settlers are exempted from interest on the kilograms of crops that they were obliged to hand over according to the original agreement by the end of 1890.
- The settlers have to settle the remaining debt according to their special bonds, about which there is no detailed information here.
- Repayment installments are due every January 1st and July 1st until the debt is fully settled.

The parish records also contain other information about the life and activities of Slovaks in these two villages. In a tabular list *titled Register of Pious Endowments in the Parish of Punitovci* the founders of the "endowments" are recorded, i.e., in modern terms, benefactors and donors, as well as the purpose and date of establishment of each endowment. First on the list are "Štens and partner," who on 26 Sept. 1901 gave 40 kruna for the upkeep of a wooden cross in Josipovac. It also notes that Ivan Mihalina, probably from Josipovac, gave 40 kruna on 16 Aug. 1910 for the maintenance of an iron field cross (along the village road) from Josipovac toward Tomašanci, while Andrija Strbik from Jurjevac likewise donated 40 kruna on 26 Oct. 1911 for the upkeep of a

[31] According to the tabular overview *History of the parish of St. Ladislaus in Punitovci*, this was Petar Markovac, who served as parish priest in Punitovci from 1951 to 1996. More information about the longtime Punitovci priest is available in the notice of the Informative Catholic Agency on 19 August 2003 about the funeral of priest Petar Markovac. https://ika.hkm.hr/novosti/pogreb-svecenika-petra-markovca/ (accessed: 2 October 2025)

Figure 6: *Markovac, Habsburg Empire (1869-1887). Third Military Survey. (Source: https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/thirdsurvey25000/?layers=129&bbox=2011148.1498186458%2C5698362.535291527%2C2029349.7171790535%2C5705136.766923302, accessed: 6 October 2025)*

field cross between Punitovci and Jurjevac. Besides proving the existence of religious patronage in rural communities and among ordinary people in the early 20th century, these entries confirm what other sources show: statues and crucifixes — the so-called small sacred architecture that marked the rural public space in Slavonia and Croatia — were typically erected and maintained by individuals and families, who thus sacralized the space as a particular form of marking and appropriation.[32]

Markovac Našički and Jelisavac

Markovac Našički and Jelisavac, located along the Našice – Koška – Osijek road, since their establishment in the late 19th century, belonged to the parish of St. Anthony of Padua, which was governed by the monks of the Franciscan Monastery in Našice, the only Franciscan monastery in Slavonia which, with a short interruption in the late 16th and early 17th centuries, has been active since the Middle Ages, through most of the Ottoman period all the way to the present day.[33] With the establishment of the Diocese of Požega in 1997, there were changes in the church organization, so Markovac became the seat of the parish of St. Mark in 2004, and Jelisavac belongs to it as a branch.[34] From this information it was clear where to look for sources about the origin and early history of Slovak settlements near Našice. Published sources and their descriptions in professional literature have drawn attention to the currently unpublished, manuscript second volume *of the Records of the Franciscan Monastery in Našice,* which covers the period from 1864 to 1956.[35]

[32] ŠPANIČEK, Žarko: Mala sakralna arhitektura u Slavoniji. *Etnološka tribina,* a. 18 (1995), pp. 9-46; BELAJ, Marijana – UREM, Sandra: Pirovačke kapelice i poklonci: mjesta interakcije, sjećanja i identifikacije. *Studia ethnologica Croatica,* a. 22 (2010), pp. 255-282.

[33] Basic information about the history of the Franciscan parish and monastery in Našice is available on the website of the Franciscan Parish of St. Anthony of Padua in Našice: http://novi.zupa-nasice1.hr/?page_id=12454 (accessed: 9 September 2025). A more detailed insight into the history of the Slavonian Franciscans and the Našice monastery is offered by numerous historical accounts, especially the works of Fra Franjo Emanuel Hoško, Robert Skenderović, Milan Vrbanus and other historians and the Franciscans themselves.

[34] Data available at the same link listed in the previous note.

According to electronic and printed sources, Markovac and Jelisavac were created according to the same model as Josipovac and Jurjevac near Punitovci, so that the Našice lord Count Pejačević tried to clear forests and gain more arable land by settling Slovaks.[36] The somewhat older Markovac was created in the late 1870s[37] as a simple settlement in a row next to the Našice-Koška road, and was recorded in the third cadastral survey of the Habsburg Monarchy (Third military survey) which was carried out between 1869 and 1887, and which does not yet include Jelisavec (Fig. 6). Therefore, it could be expected that the manuscript *of the Records* from the period 1864–1956 would provide more information about the time of settlement, the provenance of the settlers, the regulation of their relations with the Našice estate, the construction of new settlements along the Našice–Koška road, and other issues.

However, during the visit to the Našice monastery, this manuscript was not found, and there was no opportunity for a more detailed review of the monastery archives. Nevertheless, another manuscript entitled *Historia domus Našice anno 1957 Dñi (1957 – 10 Jun. 1969)* was found, which continues the second manuscript volume *of the Records.* Apart from the title itself, the manuscript is written in Croatian, and its main topic is the construction of the Catholic church in Jelisavac.

In a note dated 13 February 1967, the chronicler states that Jelisavac is one of the largest branches of the Našice parish, yet it does not have a worthy and large enough church in which people could gather for mass and devotions. The existing chapel is about 35 m², the ceiling is low, and during mass the windows have to be removed so that the faithful outside can follow the mass and hear the sermon. Therefore, the people of Jelisavac decided to build a new church on donated land that was donated for this purpose by Ana Zavada and her son Andrija (*Historia* 123-124). Preparatory work began in 1967 when a donation contract was signed for the land on which the church would be built according to the design of the Našice architect Julijan Domanovac, who was born in nearby Bizovac. Work on the church itself began in early September 1968, after the construction was approved by secular and church authorities, the then Municipality of Našice, and the Archiepiscopal spiritual chair in Zagreb. The beginning of construction is documented with a few photographs pasted into the chronicle, and according to the scant descriptions of the construction process in the first half of 1969, it seems to have proceeded slowly, meaning that most of the work was carried out after June 1969, a period not covered by this manuscript.

An interesting detail is the visit of the Salesian Father Josip Babjak, a Slovak by birth, on Pentecost, 14 May 1967. Father Babjak came from Rome and was seeking young men to go to the seminary there. In Jelisavac he celebrated Mass and preached in Slovak, however, the chronichler notes, the younger men understood him poorly *"because he speaks*

[35] PATAFTA, Danijel: Zapisnik franjevačkog samostana u Našicama, knjiga III. (1821–1842.). *Croatica Christiana Periodica,* no. 41, no. 80 (2017), pp. 246-248.

[36] KRANJČEVIĆ, Jasenka: *Zanemarena baština. Prostorne strukture sela u Hrvatskoj,* p. 24.

[37] According to local journalism, this was in 1878 (BAKSA, Vesna: *O načinu života i običajima Slovaka doseljenih u Markovac Našički.* Markovac Našički: Savez Slovaka u Hrvatskoj: Matica slovačka Markovac, 2005, p. 12), but the website also lists other years of immigration, for example 1877 and 1879. https://www.ms-markovac.com/o-nama/povijest/ (accessed: 12 September 2025)

pure Slovak" (*Historia* 129). Babjak's efforts were not without result: three young men decided to attend the seminary in Rome.

Another manuscript book about Jelisavac has been preserved in the monastery archives, the cover of which only says *Jelisavac*, while the label of the monastery archives bears the inscription: *STATUS ANIMARUM – STATUS OF THE SOULS OF THE PARISH OF NAŠICE – BRANCH JELISAVAC*, and next to the bundle and file number is the time stamp: *20th century.* The parish register was kept according to the address of residence, that is, according to house numbers, and provides a good overview of the number of inhabitants in Jelisavac at the beginning and in the first decades of the 20th century, as well as insight into the number and structure of family members, their surnames, the frequency of individual family surnames, etc., which shall not be the subject of analysis here, in accordance with the basic orientation of the work, seeking to identify new sources of data on Slovaks in Slavonia, and not to analyze their content. The book lists 120 house numbers with all family members who lived at that address. After this overview, the then inhabitants of Jelisavac are listed, without specifying the house number (address) at which they lived. For some, their occupation is stated: forester Mato Katavić, railwayman Grekša and his wife Liza, fisherman Antun Csombor. Their occupations, as well as their surnames, suggest that they did not belong to the predominantly agrarian community of Slovaks in Jelisavac. The most common surnames in the census are Mohila, Kraljik, Kurtek and Kuric, and other interesting surnames that are still found among the population of Slavonia and Croatia today are: Belaj, Podoljak, Straka, Prisuda, Škorvaga and others.

For the settlement of Markovac, I found three books in the monastery archive: the first one bears the original inscription on the cover *Markovac* and a later archive label with the inscription *PARISH SEAT OF NAŠICE: BRANCH: MARKOVAC* and the date: *end of the 19th century, beginning of the 20th century.* The other two represent *Status animarum – Register of Souls.* The smaller, hard-bound book refers to the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, and the larger one, also hard-bound, to 1909. In both lists, the surnames Kučera, Strapač, Bucha (Buha), Tribuljak, Vakula, Pokrivka, Kubaša, Javorček, Prišć, Kanis, Čavajda and others are mentioned several times, some of which we encounter in Croatia to this day (Jančula, Šimašek, Kralik).

Concluding Remarks

Based on this overview of the documentation found in the parish archives, it can be concluded that the initial expectation about the relevance of the parish archives for the history of Slovak communities in Slavonia has been fully met, and more detailed reviews of the parish historical material would probably reveal other documents and data about Slovaks and their immigration to the area of Slavonia. Therefore, any future research into the historical contribution of Slovak immigrants to this part of Croatia should also include archival research into parish documents. It should be borne in mind that some of the parish documentation, especially that which has a narrative character, such as parish memorials and manuscript "histories", should not be primarily considered a source of authentic historical data, but a document of the

individual experience and understanding of the recorders, most often parish priests, of Slovak immigrants and their role in the new parish environment. Therefore, the data from parish sources should be checked and compared with data from other documents, literature and other sources, and through critical analysis, an attempt should be made to understand historical events. An example of this is the settlement of Krndija in the parish of Punitovci. Although it has nothing to do with Slovak immigrants, it is an illustrative example of the discrepancy between the data from parish documentation and literature. While Krndija is usually considered a settlement with an exclusively German population, parish data indicate a significant presence of Hungarian immigrants in the first decades of Krndija's existence. On the other hand, literature states that almost all the inhabitants of Krndija moved out in just one night, on October 17, 1944.[38] However, this did not permanently end life in the settlement, although it did change it drastically. Parish statistics record a significant number of inhabitants in the settlement after the war, as many as 800 in 1951, with three married couples and 29 newborns recorded in the same year. Further research should only determine the origin, ethnic and religious composition of the post-war population of Krndija. In any case, parish documentation on Slovaks as a whole, and especially individual documents, such as *postcards* from Nova Bukovica referring to Miljevci, are extremely stimulating for further research and efforts to place the events they testify to in a broader historical context. It should be noted that only three parish archives were reviewed, and only at an initial level. More detailed research in the examined parish archives, as well as in other parishes in Slavonia that include settlements with a significant Slovak population, would likely yield further discoveries about the influence and contributions of Slovak settlers to the history and culture of Slavonia.

[38] KRANJČEVIĆ, Jasenka: *Zanemarena baština*, p. 35; GEIGER, Vladimir: Logoraško groblje Krndija. *Zbornik Muzeja Đakovštine*, a. 8, no. 1 (2007), p. 91.

Sandra Kralj Vukšić*

Vít Ušák and His Contribution to the Preservation of Slovak Ethnic Identity in Croatia

Vít Ušák i njegov doprinos očuvanju slovačkoga etničkoga identiteta u Hrvatskoj / Vít Ušák a jeho prínos k zachovávaniu slovenskej etnickej identity v Chorvátsku

Predkladaná práca prináša poznatky o Vítovi Ušákovi a jeho prínose k zachovávaniu slovenskej etnickej identity v Chorvátsku. Úvodná časť je venovaná jeho životopisu a je rozdelená na dve časti. Prvá časť životopisu prináša informácie o Ušákovi ako rehoľníkovi, saleziánovi, rímskokatolíckom kňazovi a pedagógovi. Druhú časť tvoria informácie o jeho pôsobení ako spisovateľa, historika a prekladateľa. Nosnú časť tvorí text o literárnom spracovaní témy Slovákov v Chorvátsku, a najmä analýza jeho diela Slováci v Chorvátsku – historický náčrt. Ďalej sa venuje jeho prínosom k uchovvávaniu slovenskosti v Chorvátsku, ako je napríklad neskoršie pôsobenie odchovancov Slovenského ústavu sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Ríme v kultúrno-spoločenskom živote slovenskej komunity v Chorvátsku. Základným metodickým postupom, na ktorom je práca založená, je analýza dostupných prameňov, hlavne diela Slováci v Chorvátsku – historický náčrt. V práci sú využité aj poznatky z vlastného výskumu, ako aj údaje zo sekundárnych zdrojov. V tejto práci toponymá píšeme v podobe, ako ich uvádza Ušák vo svojej práci.

Kľučové slová: Vít Úšák, etnická identita, kňaz, salezián, pedagóg

Introduction

The descendants of Slovak emigrants to Croatia received only fragmentary and marginal scholarly attention until the establishment of an independent Croatian state, that is, until 1991. In this context, the territorial proximity of Vojvodina often played a decisive role, as the region, then part of the same state, offered exceptionally rich and accessible material that directly attracted researchers. Here, researchers were confident that they would return home with a wealth of valuable material. Mentions, brief sketches, overviews, or statistical analyses regarding the existence of Slovaks in Croatia during the period of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia were prepared by Jan Auerhan, Michal Topoľský, František Karas, Ján Svetoň, Ján Podolák, Jozef Štolc, Rudolf Bednárik, Ján Siracky, and Milan Krajčovič.

Why is this the case? Research on this branch of Slovak emigrants is challenging due to the distance between the Slovak settlements they established. The dispersed settlement of Slovaks in Slavonia, who arrived as economic migrants within the so-called "bread emigration", as Catholics among a majority population of the same faith and a related Slavic language, without clergy or intelligentsia among their ranks, and also without

* SANDRA KRALJ VUKŠIĆ, PhD, Slovak Cultural Center Našice, director.

contact with Catholics from Slovakia, along with strong Magyarization during their migration, led to their rapid adaptation and subsequent assimilation. Research is further complicated by the language of members of the Slovak community in Croatia, who speak a mixture of Slovak dialect and Croatian, while in written form elements of Slovak are almost absent. Studying written sources, which are exclusively in Croatian (and sometimes in Hungarian), requires knowledge of additional languages.

From the period before the establishment of an independent state (up to 1991), the only comprehensive work dedicated to Slovaks in Croatia is the publication Slováci v Chorvátsku[1] by the Salesian priest Vít Ušák, who, alongside his pastoral duties, also devoted himself to writing.

Biography

Vít Ušák – religious figure, Salesian, Roman Catholic priest, and educator

Vít Ušák was born in Radošovce near Trnava on June 9, 1923, as the third child in a farming family. In 1937, at the age of 14, he enrolled in the Salesian grammar school in Šaštín. After completing the fifth grade of elementary school, at the age of eighteen he decided to join the Salesian Society. After a year of novitiate in Hronský Beňadik, he took his first religious vows in 1942. He continued his gymnasium and pedagogical studies in Trnava, where he graduated in 1945. He completed his teaching practice in Šaštín from 1945 to 1948. He began studying theology in Svätý Kríž nad Hronom. In the fourth semester, in April 1950, he was affected by the regime's crackdown on religious orders in Slovakia, known as the "barbaric night". He was first deported to the "concentration monastery" in Šaštín, then to Podolínec, and subsequently in September to Pezinok, from where he was released home for health reasons. During that period, he lived with his parents in Radošovce but maintained contact with Salesians who were still at liberty.

At the age of twenty-eight, in December 1951, he secretly left for Italy – escaping across the Morava River to Austria and from there to Italy. In Bolengo near Turin, he completed his theological studies and was ordained a priest on July 1, 1953, and became a member of the Salesian Society. After expressing his desire to serve in the missions, he was assigned to work in northern India; however, due to health reasons, he never reached his destination.

During the period in which he was arranging documents for the mission, he taught at the grammar school in Mirabello Monferrato. Due to health problems, he remained there until 1962. As his health did not improve, he was sent for recovery to Colle Don Bosco (the birthplace of the founder of the Salesians) from 1962 to 1965, and in 1967 he was appointed to parish service. In 1968, he visited Slovakia for the first time since his escape, and on this occasion, he celebrated his first Mass in his hometown of Radošovce on June 23 – fifteen years after his ordination.

As a chaplain, he served in the cities of L'Aquila (1968) and Forlì (1968–1973), where he became a member of the diocesan commission for sacred music. He carried out pastoral work in several departments of the Salesian Sisters. In 1973, he was invited to the Slovak Institute of St. Cyril and Methodius in Rome, where

[1] UŠÁK, Vít: *Slováci v Chorvátsku*. Rím: Slovenský ústav, 1978.

he worked as a teacher and research scholar. There, he taught at the associated grammar school and maintained active contacts with Slovaks from Slavonia (a region of present-day Croatia, which from 1943 to 1990 was part of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, one of six republics and two autonomous provinces forming the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), from where he brought to Rome several boys who aspired to priesthood[2].

Until 1977, he served as a catechist at the Salesian institute in Genzano near Rome (1976–1977), and later returned to pastoral work as a chaplain at the Salesian Parish of Pio XI in Rome (1977–1990). In 1990, after nearly four decades in Italy, he returned to his native Slovakia. In 1991, he became director of the Salesian community in Hronský Beňadik for seven years. After two canonical terms as local superior, in 1997 he was transferred to Poprad, where during the first years he taught Italian to novices, assisted in the Salesian novitiate as a confessor and translator, and also devoted himself to literary work.

Vít Ušák spent 77 years in the Salesian Society and 66 years in priesthood. He passed away on December 10, 2019, at the age of 96, at the Casa Charitas of St. John Bosco in Spišská Kapitula. His funeral took place on December 14 in Poprad, and he was buried at the Velický Cemetery.

Figure 1: *Obituary of Vít Ušák.*

Vít Ušák – Writer, Historian, Translator

Vít Ušák was also active in literature from a young age. He most often published his literary works under the pseudonyms Ján Vetva or Vetva-Ušák. He is the author of spiritual, meditative poetry grounded in a firm devotion to God, and at the same time, he was a person who loved his homeland, having spent four decades in exile.

His poetry and essays were published in many Slovak periodicals abroad (Slovenské hlasy from Rome, Slobodné Slovensko, Černákov odkaz, Jednota, Kanadský Slovák, and others). His poetic works were also published in standalone collections: Prikladám na vatru (Rome 1981, 1991), Od Tibera k Popradu (Bratislava 1998), and the children's poetry book Na detskej vlne (Rome 1981, 1991).[3] His diverse poetic output thematically explores motifs of childhood, religion, nature, and specific

[2] KURIC, Andrija: *Lexikon Známi Slováci v Chorvátsku*. Našice: Savez Slovaka, MS Osijek, Certis d.o.o., 2024.

[3] Bibliografia niektorých kňazov (https://www.knihydominikani.sk/hlavna_bibl_b4?autor_id=1003) Accessed: 20. 5. 2025

TITLE OF THE ARTICLE	YEAR	NUMBER
V Markovci sme všetci Slováci In Markovac- We Are All Slovaks	1979	8-9
Dr. Andrija Šuljak, Djakovo — biskupskí grad Dr. Andrija Šuljak, Đakovo — Episcopal Town	1980	11
Julijen Jančula, Franjevci u Cerniku Julijen Jančula, Franciscans in Cernik	1980	11
Významná storočnica — všeslovanská púť do Ríma založenie slovenskej osady Josipovac An Important Centenary — the All-Slavic Pilgrimage to Rome and the Founding of the Slovak Settlement Josipovac	1981	2
Strieborné jubileum otca biskupa Zvekanoviča The Silver Jubilee of Bishop Zvekanović	1981	5
Incharted areas for Research on the history of Slovakia and the Slovaks	1981	6

Figure 2: *Titles of Vít Ušák's authored articles, including the years and issue numbers in which each article was published in the magazine* Hlasy z Ríma *for Slovak Catholics abroad* [4]

life experiences. In the poetry collection Pohľadnice zo života, published on the occasion of the poet's jubilee, the author reflects on his life, observing and contemplating the environment in which he lives.

He published a short travelogue Dojmy zo Svätej Zeme (Rome, 1986) and historical monograph, based on archival sources, field research and chronicles Slováci v Chorvátsku (Rome, 1978).

He published numerous contributions in magazines, collections, almanacs, and yearbooks, including Slovenské hlasy from Rome, Slovák v Amerike, Jednota, Most, Dialogo mensile parrochiale Roma, La stanza letteraria, the literary almanac of Slovák v Amerike, Kalendár Jednota, Slovenský denník, Katolícke noviny, Slovenský kňaz, and Don Bosco dnes.

He was also engaged in translation work from Italian. Together with Štefan Vagovič, he translated the meditations of Gabriela by St. Magdalene: Dôverne s Bohom (Rome, 1990). Other translations include: Bosco, Teresio: Žil iba pre druhých (Rome, 1983); Sangalli, Gianni: Devätnásťročný mladík kňazom (Rome, 1983); Tescaroli, Cirillo: Misionár černochov (Rome, 1988); Bosco, Teresio: Svätci saleziánskej rodiny (Rome, 2003)[5].

He collaborated on the translation of the handbook by Anselm Gunthör: Moral Theology (V. The Ten Commandments). His manuscripts also included translations of other Italian religious literature titles.

[4] Bibliografia niektorých kňazov (https://www.knihydominikani.sk/hlavna_bibl_b4?autor_id=1003) Accessed: 20. 5. 2025

[5] Bibliografia niektorých kňazov (https://www.knihydominikani.sk/hlavna_bibl_b4?autor_id=1003) Accessed: 20. 5. 2025

Literary Treatment of the Topic of Slovaks in Croatia and Ušák's Contribution as a Writer to the Preservation of Croatian Slovaks' Ethnic Identity

Vít Ušák devoted part of his literary work to the Slovaks of Croatia—not only through the book published in 1978, but also through more than 50 contributions in Slovak émigré periodicals. In addition to his literary talent and dedication to writing, the shared fate of separation from the homeland, which he experienced in a similar fashion as the Slovaks in Croatia, allowed him to draw on his own knowledge of life abroad when processing the collected material. It was likely his empathy for the emigrants' destiny that led him to record his experiences and impressions from Croatia repeatedly in written form, thereby helping to make them more visible in academic circles. On the other hand, he also expressed gratitude to his compatriots in Slavonia for their longstanding cooperation during his visits by commemorating them in his published works.

In the magazine of Slovak Catholics abroad, Hlasy z Ríma, several contributions by Vít Ušák were published between 1979 and 1981.

The book *Slováci v Chorvátsku – historický náčrt* represents one of the first comprehensive attempts to document the existence of Slovak enclaves in this area, based on a combination of archival sources and long-term field research. It was created based on previously published records (statistical data) and several years of the author's own repeated field research (parish chronicles, oral testimonies, and personal observation).

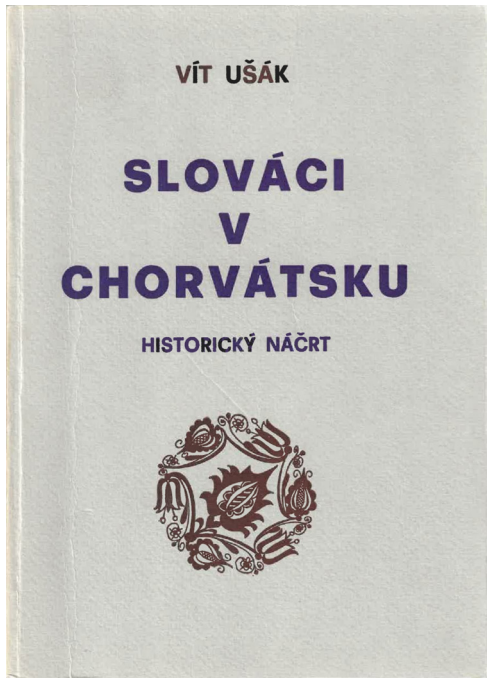


Figure 3: *The title page of Vít Ušák's book* Slováci v Chorvátsku – historický náčrt, *archive of the Slovak Cultural Center Našice.*

It was published in 1978 in Rome, and its publisher was the author's then-affiliation, the Slovak Institute of St. Cyril and Methodius in Rome.

Despite its title, the publication is not focused on the entire territory of Croatia. Already in the introduction, the author states: *"The subject of the study is therefore the history of individual settlements in Slavonia where Slovaks live."*[6] To bridge the gap that arose between the title and the content, in the concluding overview the author provides data from the census, or rather a statistical summary of Slovaks throughout Croatia.

The cover page of the A5-format book is color-divided into two sections—the title and subtitle of the publication, printed in blue, occupy the central part. The

[6] UŠÁK, Vít: *Slováci v Chorvátsku – Historický náčrt*, p. 5.

author's first and last name, located at the top, and an illustration depicting vegetative motifs within a circle, located at the bottom, form a unified whole thanks to the same brown coloring. A simple font and printed typeface are used for the text on the cover page, especially for the book's title and the author's name. The illustration, reminiscent of Slovak embroidery, can be interpreted as the author's inclination toward ethnography.

The 231-page publication presents the ethnic and cultural development of Slovak immigrants from both a historical and ethnographic perspective. It provides descriptions and data referring to the past and the contemporary state of individual Slovak settlements. Within Slavonia, these settlements are territorially divided into seven regions, which include a total of 21 recorded settlements.

The publication is divided into an Introduction, seven main chapters, a Concluding Overview, a Summary in Croatian, Appendices, Sources, and References. It also includes a 22-page photographic appendix (29 photographs, 4 copies of documents, and 2 maps of Slavonia), which is not listed in the table of contents. What is, however, missing from the publication is information about the author.

The first chapter describes the works published so far and the interest of scholars in this part of the Slovak world.

The next chapter, The Arrival of Slovaks in Slavonia – The First Period, as the title itself indicates, depicts the initial period of their arrival and identifies the year when the first Slovaks came to this territory.

The following five chapters are devoted to the regions where Slovaks lived at the time they began traveling to Slavonia. The regions are named after the towns to which the Slovak-settled villages are adjacent – the Našice Region, the Đakovo Region, the Pakrac Region, the Požega Region, and the last one is called Eastern Slavonia. For each locality, the author lists the corresponding villages:

Našice Region – villages Ledenik (Podgorač, Bračevce, and their surroundings), Miljevce, Zokov Gaj (Dlhá Medza and Podrumina, vicinity of Orahovica), Markovac, Jelisavac;

Đakovo Region – villages Josipovac, Jurjevac, Beketince, Piškorovce;

Pakrac Region – villages Lipovljani, Medjurič, Antunovac (Gaj, Kukunjevac);

Požega Region – Kneževac (vicinity of Čaglin), Grabárie, Jakšić (and surroundings), Kutjevo (and surroundings).

In the seventh chapter, titled Eastern Slavonia, Ušák included Osijek (Čepin), Ilok, Soljani, Komletince, Babska, and Lipovac.

For each village, the author paid attention to its origin—especially its name—location, local or regional determination of the origin of the Slovak immigrants, the development of the settlement, cultural, educational, and religious life, the state of the language, and national awareness. From this, it follows that the book primarily focuses on the elements of ethnic affiliation of the individual Slovak enclaves in Croatian Slavonia, as indicated by the titles of the subchapters.

The subchapter Slovakness appears for the villages Zokov Gaj (pp. 60–62), Markovac (pp. 85–90), Jelisavac (pp. 100–106), Josipovac (pp. 121–123), Jurjevac (pp. 134–138), and Lipovljani (pp. 162–163). In it, the author regularly presents the texts of a songs as well as mentions audio recordings of songs in the specific village: from Ledenik (sung by Katica Macangová), Miljevce (sung by Tonka Tončaljeková and Jelka Zniková), Zokov Gaj (sung by Marica Birová), Markovac (sung by Anka Zajacová), Jelisavac (singer of the

text not indicated), Josipovac (singer of the four-stanza text not indicated), Jurjevac (singer of the six-stanza text not indicated), and Lipovljani (sung by Tónka Ječmenicová). In addition to songs, the publication records the main customs of the calendar cycle, especially Christmas customs, but pays less attention to family customs or life-cycle customs.

The author focused not only on the history of settlement but also on manifestations of Slovak cultural identity, such as language, national consciousness, song tradition, and religious and educational life. Particular attention was devoted to the subchapters entitled "Slovenskosť", in which folk songs and references to their sound recordings were documented, thereby contributing to the preservation of the intangible cultural heritage of Slovaks in Croatia. The documentation of calendar customs, especially Christmas traditions, further enhances the ethnographic value of the work.

Through this study, Vít Ušák not only documented the condition of the Slovak minority in the 1970s but also actively contributed to the preservation of collective memory, cultural continuity, and the identity of Slovaks in Croatia.

For historians, ethnographers, ethnologists, and other researchers, a valuable part of the publication, in addition to its content, is the list of sources and the list of references used.

Although the author was not an ethnographer, he prepared the publication of an ethnographic nature, as he himself stated in the book, out of the need to support Slovak awareness and the sense of solidarity among Catholic compatriots, because the Lutherans in the Vojvodina region in Serbia, the then Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as in Ilok and Soljani, on Croatian territory, were in a much better position in this regard. The undeniable contribution of the publication is discussed in an article published in the journal *Jednota*, written by an unknown author who signed their evaluation of Ušák's work with the initials „Om".[7]

Vít Ušák personally spoke about his experiences and encounters with Slovaks in Croatia, which were not included in the book, at a professional seminar on December 3, 1999, organized as a parallel event to the exhibition Slovaks in Croatia, whose opening took place on December 2, 1999. The exhibition was the result of research conducted by the staff of the House of Slovaks Abroad, Ľubica Bartalská and Andrea Jančárová, with professional assistance from Kvetoslava Kučerová. According to one of the authors, Ľubica Bartalská, the exhibition introduced the Slovak public, for the first time, to the spiritual and material culture of this Slovak community through words, documents, photographs, and displays, highlighting its engaging history while preserving the primary elements of its identity—language and cultural values—under new socio-economic conditions. The exhibition was first held from December 3, 1999, to June 1, 2000, at the headquarters of the House of Slovaks Abroad on Štefánikova 25 in Bratislava.[8] On the occasion of the exhi-

[7] Om: Daruvar: Vít Ušák, Slováci v Chorvatsku. *Jednota*, a. 34, no. 3 (1979), p. 15.

[8] The exhibition then travelled to Našice (4–20 October 2000 at the Homeland/Regional Museum of Našice), Josipovac (6–15 November 2000 at the elementary school), Osijek, Ilok (17–28 December 2000 at the Slovak House in Ilok), and Rijeka, Zagreb (on 28 February 2021 at the Czech National House in Zagreb, it was opened by the Ambassador of the Slovak Republic to Croatia, Ján Petrík). The exhibition contains texts in the Slovak language and photographs depicting the life of Slovaks in Našice, Osijek, Ilok, Zagreb, Rijeka, and smaller villages inhabited by members of the Slovak national minority in Croatia.

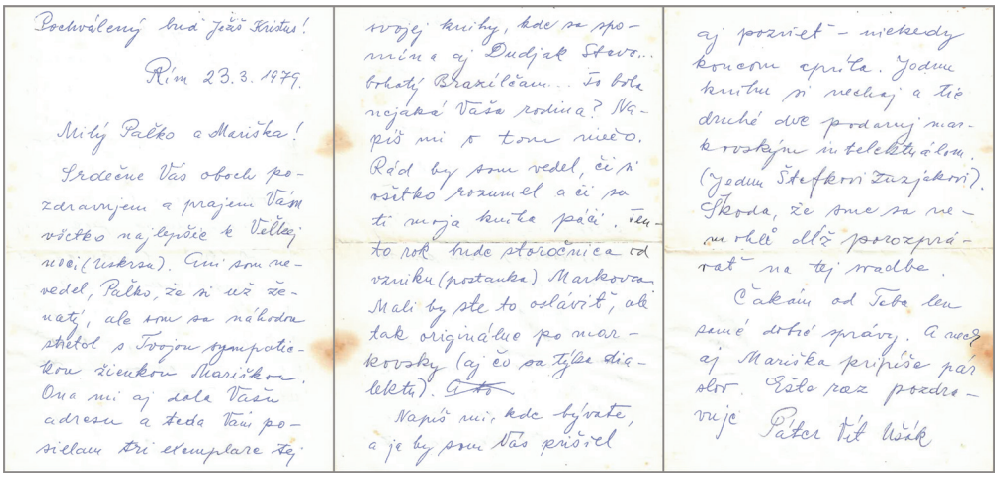


Figure 4: *Letter from Vít Ušák to Markovac to the couple Marija and Pavel Dudjak dated 23 March 1979.*

bition opening, a professional seminar was organized, during which Vít Ušák also addressed the attendees with a presentation entitled "Memories of My Stay Among Slovaks in Croatia", which was published in the anthology *Slovaks in Croatia – Past and Present*. He spoke about his experiences from 25 trips undertaken between 1972 and 1984, with the main goal of *"searching for young men suitable for priesthood and bringing them to the Slovak Institute of Saints Cyril and Methodius in Rome."*[9] The first trip lasted for three months, and only on this occasion did he stay in Vojvodina; afterwards, he focused solely on Croatia, and especially Slavonia. As he notes in his contribution, his *"trips aimed primarily to search for students for the USCM, to contribute to the spiritual uplift of our compatriots, but also indirectly to awaken their Slovak awareness and sense of solidarity. This took place both at the popular level and in interaction with church authorities."*[10] From an interview with Josip Kvasovský,[11] we learn that Ušák was expelled from the country by the Yugoslav police; thus, by 1981 he was no longer recruiting students in Slavonia himself, although he continued to visit Slavonia.

Further Contributions of Vít Ušák to the Preservation of Slovak Identity in Croatia

During his twelve years of travel among members of the Slovak minority in Croatia, Vít Ušák established numerous personal contacts and friendships, which he later maintained through written correspondence with the local intelligentsia. The Slovak Cultural Centre Našice preserves, from his private correspondence, a letter addressed to the Dudjak family in Markovac, dated 23 March 1979. This letter was sent shortly after the publication of the book, three copies of which Vít Ušák enclosed with the shipment addressed to Pavol Dudjak.

[9] UŠÁK, Vít: Spomienky na môj pobyt medzi Slovákmi v Chorvátsku. *Slováci v Chorvátsku – minulosť a prítomnosť*. Dom zahraničných Slovákov (2000), p. 108.

[10] UŠÁK, Vít: Spomienky na môj pobyt medzi Slovákmi v Chorvátsku, p. 108–109.

[11] Josip Kvasnovský, personal interview by author, Našice, April 18, 2025.

One copy was intended directly for the addressee of the letter, while the other two were meant for intellectuals from Markovac, one of them being specifically addressed to Štefan Zuzjak.

In addition to personal distribution of the book by the author, nearly 20 years after its publication, the Union of Slovaks purchased 110 copies. Books valued at 1,450.00 HRK (one thousand four hundred fifty Croatian kuna) were delivered from Slovakia to Croatia in 1997 by the then Consul of the Slovak Republic in Zagreb, Svätopluk Zeman, and the Advisor to the Ambassador of the Slovak Republic in Zagreb, Dr. Pavol Danič, to the Embassy of the Slovak Republic in Zagreb.[12] Each member organization, of which there were twelve (MS Ilok, MS Jelisavac, MS Josipovac, MS Jurjevac, MS Lipovljany, MS Markovac, MS Međurić, MS Našice, MS Osijek, MS Rijeka, MS Soljani, MS Zagreb), received a certain number of copies to distribute within their communities. This action was evidently carried out with the aim of promoting and encouraging Slovak identity among the descendants of Slovak immigrants.

Ušák's travels through Slavonia over the years benefited the Slovak community and contributed to its preservation not only through his writings but especially through his priestly work and the promotion of education at the Catholic high school among boys of appropriate age. In 1967, the first wave of boys from Slovak villages in Slavonia (including Selenča in Vojvodina) went to study at the Anton Bernolák Slovak Grammar School at the Slovak Institute of Saints Cyril and Methodius. According to Michal Kaňa the following students from Josipovac attended: Adam Pastva, Josip Kvasnovski, Zvonko Ďunďa, Jožko Gavljak, Ivica Kanisek, Željko Komar, Andrija Kuric, and Vladimir Stuhli; from Jelisavac: Vinko Šišan, Jozef Krúpa, Štefan Tribuljak, Belaj, Kralik, Kubala, and Marček; from Antunovac: Peter Domislovič; from Osijek: Ivica Kováček and Martin Mazúr; from Jurjevac: Ivica Getoš; from Cerovac near Požega: Pavel Treger; from Staré Mikanovce: Tomislav Vrapčeniak; from Kneževac: Štefan Knatek; and from Ostrošiniec: Mirko Hlobík. The author states that around 90 boys went to study in Rome.[13]

The Slovak community in Croatia directly benefited from the graduates of the Slovak Institute in Rome, as many of them became priests and/or active and conscious members of the Slovak minority. Priests included Vladimir Stuhli from Josipovac, Štefan Tribuljak from Jelisavac, and Štefan Knatek from Kneževac.[14] One of the founders and the first chairman of the umbrella organization of Slovaks in Croatia, the Union of Slovaks, editor-in-chief of the cultural and social magazine Prameň—the only Slovak periodical in Croatia—Slovak language teacher, and announcer on Radio Đakovo, was/is the aforementioned Josip Kvasnovski (1992–2002). The second chairman of the Union of Slovaks, editor-in-chief of Prameň, advisor for teaching in the language and script of the Slovak national minority, Slovak language teacher, and announcer on Radio Slatina and Radio Osijek, was Andrija Kuric (2002–2014). The founder and chairman of Matica slovenská Kukučín Kuntarić, and Slovak language teacher in Jakšić, is Pavel Treger (2007–present).

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12 Archive of the Union of Slovaks – letter from the Embassy of the Slovak Republic in Zagreb

13 KAŇA, Michal: Prvé medzinárodné stretnutie odchovancov Slovenského ústavu sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Josipovci pri Djakove (12. – 13. augusta 2011). *Prameň*, 7-8 (2011), pp. 49-51. Zväz Slovákov, Osijek.

14 KAŇA, Michal: *Exodus do Ríma*. Nový Sad: Združenie Talent, 2021.

Vít Ušák was involved with Slovaks in Croatia from 1972 until 2000 through:

- field research on Slovaks in the Slavonia region (12 years),
- publishing articles and a standalone 250-page publication,
- recruiting young men for Catholic education at the Catholic Institute in Rome.

Although Ušák's professional work was not primarily focused on the local Slovaks, his efforts continue to resonate to this day and influence Slovak life in the form of: various written materials (books, articles, memoirs, etc.), provision of clergy (through the training of priests or missionaries), and the formation of conscious individuals committed to preserving ethnic identity through cultural and social work (through the training of teachers and local leaders).

For all of this, Vít Ušák deserves proper recognition. His native village expressed its gratitude on the occasion of the centenary of his birth by unveiling a memorial plaque on June 13, 2023, on the building of the municipal office in Radošovce.

Conclusion

The present study focuses on the personality of Vít Ušák and his multifaceted contribution to the preservation and promotion of Slovak ethnic identity in Croatia, particularly in the region of Slavonia. Based on an analysis of available sources—especially the publication *Slováci v Chorvátsku – historický náčrt* —as well as secondary literature and the author's own research findings, it is possible to highlight the significance of Ušák's activities not only in documenting the life of the Slovak minority, but also in the practical sphere of its spiritual, cultural, and social development.

Although Vít Ušák was not a professional ethnographer or historian in the narrow academic sense, his work nevertheless represents a unique and comprehensive source of knowledge about Slovaks in Croatia in the period prior to the establishment of the independent Croatian state. His book was produced at a time when research on this segment of Slovak emigration was minimal and marginal, due to geographical distance, language barriers, and rapidly progressing assimilation. Ušák's publication therefore acquires not only a documentary but also a safeguarding character—it captures the state of the community at a time when many expressions of its ethnic identity were still alive, yet already endangered.

Special attention should be paid to the author's field research carried out during repeated journeys to Croatia, his systematic work with parish chronicles, oral testimonies, and personal observation. These methodological approaches made it possible to record not only historical facts, but also the linguistic, cultural, and religious expressions of the Slovak community. It is precisely the emphasis on the identifying features of the Slovak community—language, songs, customs, religious life, and national consciousness—that makes Ušák's work an important source for further historical, ethnological, and cultural research.

Equally important is the practical dimension of Ušák's activities. Through the systematic identification of young men from Slovak settlements in Croatia and their guidance toward studies at the Slovak Institute of St. Cyril and Methodius in Rome, he contributed to the formation of a generation of educated and

nationally conscious individuals. After their return, these individuals became not only spiritual leaders but also active bearers of Slovak identity within the cultural and social life of the community. Their engagement in ecclesiastical, educational, and associative settings had a long-term and tangible impact on the preservation of Slovak national awareness in the Croatian environment.

From the above, it follows that the contribution of Vít Ušák cannot be reduced to a single area of activity. His work represents a comprehensive model of individual engagement, through which he significantly contributed to the preservation of the ethnic identity of a minority community by means of spiritual service, literary production, historical documentation, and personal commitment. The effects of his work extend beyond the period in which he was active and remain visible in the contemporary life of Slovaks in Croatia.

In conclusion, it can be stated that the personality of Vít Ušák deserves a permanent place in the history of Slovaks abroad. His work represents not only a valuable source of knowledge but also an inspiration for further research and for contemporary generations facing similar challenges in preserving cultural and national identity in a minority context.

Figure 5: *Tombstone/monument of Vít Ušák, virtual cemeteries (https://www.cintoriny.sk/src/index.php?advancedSearch&type=dostupnost&city=Poprad%20Ve%C4%BEka&surname=Vetva&name=J%C3%A1n&deathDateFrom=2019-12-10&deathDateTo=2019-12-10)*

Commemorating his legacy—whether through memorial sites, awards, or further scholarly examination of his activities—is therefore not only an expression of respect, but also an important step toward maintaining the historical memory of the Slovak community at home and abroad.

Marko Medved*

Adam Muchtin – Slovak Priest and the First Parish Priest of Podvežica in Rijeka

Adam Muchtin – slovački svećenik i prvi župnik Podvežice u Rijeci / Adam Muchtin – slovenský kňaz a prvý farár Podvežice v Rijeke

Autor iznosi biografiju svećenika Adama Muchtina (1908-1994.). Rodio se u Slovačkoj, u mjestu Veľké Rovné, smještenom u sjeverozapadnom dijelu Slovačke, odakle se seli na Trsat. Zaređen je za svećenika Senjsko-modruške, odnosno Riječko-senjske nadbiskupije, a pastoralno je djelovao u gradskoj četvrti Podvežica, u istočnom dijelu Rijeke. Ondje je izgradio i opremio Župnu crkvu sv. Terezije od Djeteta Isusa. Veličina Adama Muchtina očituje se u ključnom doprinosu izgradnji pastoralnih struktura župe Podvežice, ali osobito u činjenici da je to postigao uz vrline jednostavnosti i skromnosti.

Ključne riječi: Adam Muchtin, Rijeka, Podvežica, Riječka nadbiskupija, sv. Terezija od Djeteta Isusa

Introduction

Adam Muchtin was an important figure in the religious life of the eastern part of the city of Rijeka in the 20th century.[1] Considering that the Archdiocese of Rijeka is celebrating its 100th anniversary this year, it is fitting that we take this opportunity to remember the deserving priests throughout its history. When it comes to Slovaks who were active in the Catholic Church among the Croats, perhaps one of the most significant figures in the 19th century was Slovak Juraj Haulik — Bishop of Zagreb, its first Archbishop and Cardinal (born in 1788, bishop from 1837 to 1869). However, in this article we remain at the local level, presenting the biography of a priest of Slovak nationality who became a prominent figure in the religious history of Rijeka.

Muchtin's Slovak origins and family

Muchtin's birthplace is Veľké Rovné, located in the northwestern part of Slovakia (Veľké Rovné is a village and municipality in Bytča District in the Žilina Region of northern Slovakia). He was born on December 4, 1908, and was baptized the same day in the parish church of St. Michael in the village of Velké Rovné, in the Žilina district of Slovakia. His parents, father Adam, born on December 24, 1880, and mother Veronika née Huserik, born on October 19, 1879, were both born and resided in the same village.

* MARKO MEDVED, University of Rijeka, Faculty of Medicine, Braće Branchetta 20, HR-51000 Rijeka, Croatia.

1 In 2015, a research conference entitled *Msgr. Adam Muchtin (1908–1994), Priest, Artist, and Builder* was organized by the Archdiocese of Rijeka and the Faculty of Theology in Rijeka, and its proceedings were published in a special issue of the journal *Riječki teološki časopis* (2019). The images used in this paper are taken from the aforementioned issue of the *Riječki teološki časopis* (2019).

The traditional craft to which the locals devoted themselves through generations was wire manufacturing, for which they became famous even outside of Slovakia. The craft of wireworking emerged in what is known as the "wireworking triangle," formed by the northwestern Slovak towns of Bytča, Žilina, and Čadca. This area belongs to the Trenčín County, where difficult economic and social conditions pushed the population to seek sources of income outside of agriculture. It is estimated that each year, around 10,000 wireworkers from Trenčín County traveled across Europe in search of work. Adam Muchtin's father also practiced the same trade.[2]

In the years surrounding the birth of Adam Muchtin, this craft from Veľké Rovné was at its peak. Historical research has shown that before the First World War, more than 915 craftsmen emigrated from Veľké Rovné, many of whom successfully established trades around the world. The writer Rudolf Bergner, in his work *Journey Through the Land of the Wireworkers/Tinsmiths* (*Eine Fahrt durchs Land der Rastelbinder*), expressed fascination with Slovakia, the cradle of this craft.[3] Passing through Muchtin's birthplace, the writer described how, apart from a few fruit sellers, most of the local population were engaged in wireworking. They produced various types of utensils—plates, military bowls, toys, soap containers, and numerous funerary items, especially for the American market; lamps for the Belgian market; pitchers and teapots for Russia; Christmas and Easter decorations for Germany; postcard holders for France, and more. It is interesting to mention that this profession is the subject of the play Drotári (Wireworkers, Tinsmiths), which premiered in 1863 at the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb and was written in 1860 by the Slovak author Ján Palárik.

In 1910, the Muchtin family moved to Croatia and settled in Trsat, near the Marian sanctuary. There, his father Adam opened a tinsmith workshop. He produced kitchenware and various items made of tin, wire, and iron used in households and agriculture. He mainly worked for shops in Rijeka, as well as for larger fairs in the Primorje region, on the islands of Krk and Rab, and to some extent in Dalmatia. The end of the First World War marked the decline of the wirecraft trade, which completely disappeared after the Second World War. In the Muchtin family, in addition to little Adam, there were two other children.[4]

Muchtin's formation

Between 1915 and 1919, young Adam attended elementary school in Trsat. Adam quickly learned Croatian and embraced his new environment. He received his education in the Croatian language. From 1919 to 1923, he studied at the Sušak Realgymnasium, and from 1923 to 1927, he attended the Commercial school, where he graduated in 1927. During these eight years, Adam went to school in the mornings, and in the afternoons, he delivered the ordered and crafted goods to homes in Rijeka. Adam was raised in the Catholic faith and in the Slovak tradition. He learned the sim-

[2] PAVLÍK, Alojz. Drotárstvo. In: FERKO, Milan (ed.) *Svetom*. Martin: Osveta, 1980, p. 81 quoted by HROMJAK, L'uboslav. Društvene i crkvene okolnosti u Slovačkoj na prijelazu 19. u 20. stoljeće – porijeklo Adama Muchtina. *Riječki teološki časopis* vol. XXVII, no. 54 (2019), pp. 185-202.

[3] HROMJAK, L'uboslav: Društvene i crkvene okolnosti, p. 199.

[4] HROMJAK, L'uboslav: Društvene i crkvene okolnosti, p. 200.

plicity of life and trust in the Lord. This is where one should look for the reasons behind his decision to become a priest.[5] He studied theology at the Faculty of Theology in Zagreb from 1927 to 1931.

He was ordained a priest in Zagreb in 1931. He began his priestly ministry in Senj, but already in 1932, he became a chaplain at the central hospital in Sušak, which was under construction at the time.

Between the two world wars, the city of Sušak became the most important transportation and port city of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. With the growing population, there was a shortage of churches in various neighborhoods. Even before the First World War, there had been unsuccessful attempts to build a small church, but later everything was halted by the war. Unlike today, Trsat and Rijeka were historically separated in civil and religious terms. The city of Rijeka was located on the western bank of the Rječina River, and Trsat, or Sušak, on the eastern bank. Rijeka was under Italy, while Sušak was under Yugoslavia and the Diocese of Senj. In the context of the discussion about this priest, we focus exclusively on Sušak, which was only merged with the city of Rijeka after World War II.

At that time, there was only one parish in Trsat. Then, a new one was established in Sušak in 1938, and another in Podvežica in 1941, thanks specifically to Muchtin (Viktor Burić, by decree dated January 13, 1938, dismembered the parish of Trsat and established the parish of Sušak of Sts. Cyril and Methodius. On December 6, 1941, he founded the parish of St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus in Podvežica (This very title and specifically this saint, Thérèse of Lisieux 1873-1897, was Muchtin's decision because it was close to his spirituality, which was characterized by humility). By decree dated January 28, 1963, he established the parish of the Holy Family in Pećine.[6]

Figure 1: *The altar of the Church of St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus.*

Muchtin and the Church of Saint Thérèse of the Child Jesus (Podvežica)

Adam Muchtin was the key figure behind the construction of the church in Podvežica. He was responsible for organizing the building process and later for furnishing the church. The Church Construction Committee was established on August 4, 1938. According to the design by Zagreb architect Velimir Jamnicki,

[5] HROMJAK, L'uboslav: Društvene i crkvene okolnosti, p. 201.

[6] ŠARIĆ, Ivan: Crtice iz života mons. Adama Muchtina. *Riječki teološki časopis* vol. XXVII, no. 54 (2019), pp. 177-178.

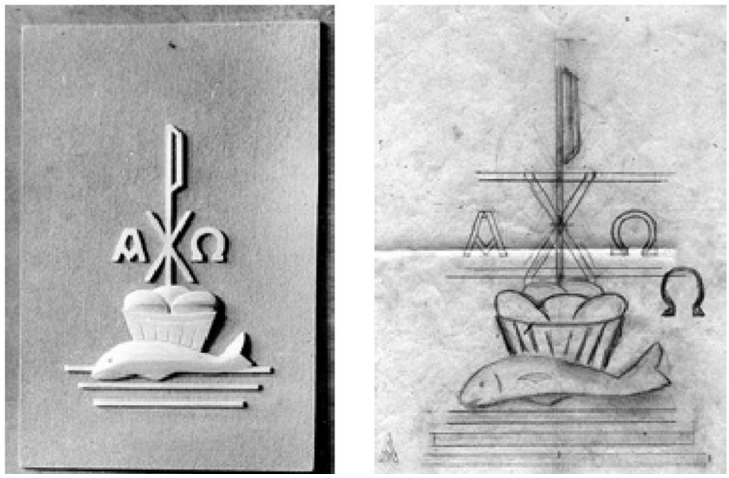


Figure 2: *Relief on the door of the tabernacle and a sketch for the relief for the tabernacle door.*

Figure 3: *Parts of the 1942 Stations of the Cross, formerly in Podvežica, now on the island of Krk (Our Lady of Gorica).*

the church features the main characteristics of an early Christian basilica, with the plans adapted to the construction site and its surroundings.

At the committee's second meeting, Muchtin proposed that the church be dedicated to Saint Thérèse of the Child Jesus (Lisieux in France), which was unanimously accepted. It was the first church in Croatia dedicated to this saint.

The building permit was issued on January 4, 1940. The cornerstone was blessed by Rev. Adam Muchtin. By decree dated December 10, 1940, Adam Muchtin was appointed administrator of the newly built Church of Saint Thérèse of the Child Jesus. The construction was finally completed on September 26, 1942. The church still needed to be equipped, the bell tower completed, the porch roofed, a surrounding wall built, and

the area in front of the church arranged. The altar was brought from the hospital chapel, along with two chasubles, a monstrance, six candlesticks, a veil, and a sacristy cabinet. Later, the parish would be fitted with modest furnishings from the chapel of the Sušak Gymnasium, the chapel from the lazaretto in Martinšćica, and parts of the inventory from the chapel of the Banovina Hospital. As of July 13, 1941, Rev. Adam Muchtin also became the administrator of the Trsat parish of St. George, which included Vežica. The Bishop of Senj accepted the proposal, and on December 6, 1941, the Podvežica parish was established. On December 31, 1941, Adam Muchtin was appointed pastor of the newly founded parish of Saint Thérèse of the Child Jesus.

Muchtin began spiritual work and pastoral care for the residents of Vežica. Rev. Adam would invest a great deal of effort and love in proclaiming Christ. He had his own way—teaching more by example than by words. He installed side altars dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary and Saint Joseph, and he painted their images himself. With the help of painter Carmino Butković – Visintin, he adorned the sanctuary with a beautiful mural of Saint Thérèse of the Child Jesus in heavenly glory.[7]

He had a baptismal font and a harmonium installed, and each year during the Christmas season, he designed nativity scenes that were highly appreciated and visited by many, even from distant places. From the very beginning of the Church of Saint Thérèse of the Child Jesus, special attention was given to liturgical singing. Muchtin's mother contributed to the cost of the organ by selling their family home.

Figure 4: *Drawing of Muchtin's mother.*

Muchtin and sacred art

The spiritual legacy of Msgr. Muchtin goes far beyond his role as parish priest, the construction of the Church of Saint Thérèse of the Child Jesus in Podvežica, and the restoration of the Church of Saint George in Trsat.

Muchtin was also a painter. For the parish church in Podvežica, he painted images of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Saint Joseph, an altarpiece of Saint Thérèse, and a depiction of Saint Thérèse as a sacristan. For the church in Bakarac, he painted altarpieces of the Holy Family and Saint Thérèse of the Child Jesus.

In the sanctuary of Our Lady of Gorica on the island of Krk, there are fourteen Stations of the Cross painted by Muchtin, known for their distinct style. A considerable number of his sketches, drafts, and several smaller works of art have also been preserved.

Muchtin was a translator as well. From Slovak, he translated Christ and the Modern Man by Andrej Kliman and several educational and spiritual articles. From Italian, he translated The Life of Saint Louise de Marillac by Angelo Troisi, likely for the Sisters of Charity

[7] See Figure 1.

Figure 5: *The church in Podvežica under construction.*

with whom he worked at the Banovina Hospital in Sušak. From Slovenian, he translated part of the work Church Art by Franc Stele.

He also translated the play The Sacrifice of the Seal of Confession by Joseph Spillmann for the Crusaders Brotherhood in Sušak. Other translations from various foreign languages were related to his role as a lecturer in church art at the Higher Theological School in Rijeka. For his lectures on church art, which he gave from 1948 to 1955 at the Higher Theological School in Rijeka, he wrote several lecture manuscripts - *Art Criticism*, *Stone, Wood, Metals and Colors*, *History of Christian Art*, and *Church Furnishings*—only the last of which is preserved in his legacy as it was published by the Theological Seminary in 1949.

Although he had no formal education in the arts, Muchtin's interest in art can be traced through several avenues. The first is his theoretical exploration of art history, art criticism through the study of form and idea in art, and the purpose of art—particularly in the context of sacred art and its applicability. Muchtin wrote lecture notes on these subjects for the purposes of teaching at the Theological School in Rijeka.[8]

The second aspect of his interest in art is practical work, visible in the form of sketches, drawings, paintings, and the architecture of the church in Podvežica, as well as in the design of the sacred objects found within it. Muchtin cooperated with the painter Carmine Butcovich Visintin, who in 1942 painted a fresco of St. Therese in glory in the apse of the church. This painter greatly influenced the quality of the Rev. Muchtin's paintings. The biggest and most complex of Muchtin's achievements is the floor of the church, with paving stones producing a very suggestive play of symbols and shapes. As parish priest, Adam Muchtin constantly enriched the church with his efforts, liturgical utensils, paintings and he also became widely known for his compositions of Christmas cribs.

Among the clergy of the time, Adam Muchtin was the most productive in terms of art and the design of sacred spaces. He practiced his art not only in Rijeka but also in the wider area. He was often consulted by various dioceses.[9]

He also wrote and edited two parish chronicles for the Parish of Podvežica, a chronicle on the construction of the Church of Saint Thérèse of the Child Jesus, and two chronicles for the Parish of Saint George in Trsat. He ventured into journalism as well, publishing articles—mainly historical—in the monthly *Zvona*, and earlier, in his youth, in the weekly *Istina*. Adam Muchtin was also an avid photographer and collector.

He passed away on August 21, 1994. He was first buried at the Trsat cemetery and later reinterred in the parish church in Podvežica.

Conclusion

The greatness of the person and historical figure presented in this article does not primarily lie in the deeds he accomplished during his life, but rather in the way he acted. He was a humble and simple man, far from centers of power and close to the common person. I believe this is the reason why his mem-

[8] KARLOVIĆ, Tihana: Umjetnički talent msgr. Adama Muchtina. *Riječki teološki časopis,* vol. XXVII, no. 54 (2019), pp. 249-276.

[9] DE CANZIANI, Theodor: Adam Muchtin – snoviđenje i realizacija crkve svete Terezije od Djeteta Isusa na Podvežici. *Riječki teološki časopis,* vol. XXVII, no. 54 (2019), pp. 203-235.

ory is still alive in Vežica, and the parish priest Ivan Šarić, who performed this duty until a few years ago, recognized Muchtin's value, convinced that there are even elements of holiness present — which is technically referred to as *fama sanctitatis*.

Muchtin respected the freedom of others and the diversity of views and opinions. He loved the Church with filial devotion. At every level of Church life—diocesan, national, or global—he sought to stay informed. He read, studied, and in particular followed conciliar developments closely. He acted and aligned his views according to the Church's guidance. He was open to all that was new.

In the sphere of religious and church life, this was the time of the novelties of the Second Vatican Council and the challenges of the Church's mission in a difficult social context. Nevertheless, Muchtin succeeded in bearing witness to humility, simplicity, and closeness to every person. This is still remembered today in Sušak.

His life and work remained relatively unknown for quite some time, until a research conference dedicated to his life and contributions was organized in 2018, with the participation of the parish, the archdiocese, and Matica slovenská.

An artist of the little way — these are the words Ivan Šarić used to describe Muchtin's virtue of humility. Muchtin saw as his ideal none other than St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus (Thérèse of Lisieux), the saint of the Little Way.[10]

[10] ŠARIĆ, Ivan: Crtice iz života mons. Adama Muchtina, pp. 181-184.

Juraj Janto*

Czechoslovakia's Maritime Transport and Its Croatian Contexts

Námorná doprava Československa a jej chorvátske kontexty / Pomorski promet Čehoslovačke i njegov hrvatski kontekst

Hoci bolo Československo vnútrozemskou krajinou, začalo svoju námornú flotilu vážne rozvíjať až v polovici 20. storočia, po skorších, prevažne neúspešných medzivojnových pokusoch. Tento rozvoj bol úzko spätý s jeho politickým spojenectvom s komunistickou Čínskou ľudovou republikou a inštitucionálne sa opieral o Československú námornú lodnú dopravu so sídlom v Prahe. K podstatnejšiemu rozmachu štátneho námorného dopravného sektora došlo od konca 60. rokov 20. storočia, keď do tohto odvetvia vstúpila aj spoločnosť Czechoslovak Danube Shipping Company so sídlom v Bratislave ako druhý prevádzkovateľ námorných plavidiel. Súčasné Chorvátsko zohralo v tomto vývoji kľúčovú úlohu. Jeho námorné akadémie v Rijeke a iných pobrežných centrách poskytovali Slovákom a Čechom vzdelanie a odbornú prípravu na dôstojnícke pozície, a to ako v období Rakúsko-Uhorska, tak aj v medzivojnových rokoch. Rovnako dôležitú úlohu zohrali chorvátske lodenice, najmä v Rijeke a Pule, ktoré slúžili ako miesta na stavbu a opravy československých plavidiel. Samotná Rijeka sa stala kľúčovým prevádzkovým centrom: jedným z najdôležitejších prístavov pre československé lode a od 70. rokov 20. storočia hlavným prístavom pre Bratislavskú dunajskú lodnú spoločnosť. V tomto ohľade bol príspevok Chorvátska zásadný pre rozvoj a fungovanie československej námornej dopravy.

Kľúčové slová: Námorná lodná doprava, Československo, Chorvátsko, 20. storočie

A landlocked state such as Czechoslovakia operated its own maritime fleet during the twentieth century, a phenomenon that remains relatively little known to the broader public. This study examines selected aspects of the establishment and operation of this fleet, from its initial efforts in the interwar period to its dissolution in the 1990s. Particular attention is devoted to the role of Croatia, then part of the former Yugoslavia, and its significance for the maritime transport of a landlocked country. The study draws on published scholarship on the subject as well as contemporary newspaper articles, supplemented by ethnographic research conducted among Slovak seafarers.[1]

Overview of the Scholarship on the Subject

The most comprehensive account of Czechoslovak maritime shipping is offered in Lenka Krátká's book *Home Port Prague: Czechoslovak Maritime Navigation, 1948–1989*.[2] The work follows maritime

* JURAJ JANTO, PhD, Department of Archaeology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, Comenius University in Bratislava (Slovak Republic).

1 The study was prepared as part of the VEGA 1/0778/25 project, titled "Passenger Shipping in Slovakia in the 1970s and 1980s".

2 KRÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský přístav Praha. Československá námořní plavba v letech 1948 až 1989*. Praha: Univerzita Karlova, Nakladatelství Karolinum, 2016.

navigation under the Czechoslovak flag, from its tentative interwar beginnings, through the systematic development of the fleet in the 1950s and its peak in the 1960s and 1970s, to its gradual disappearance in the 1990s. Alongside economic considerations, the author engages with the broader political and social context of the phenomenon and, drawing on interviews with seafarers, provides insight into their experiences and everyday realities aboard ship. Particular attention is given to Czechoslovak Maritime Transport (ČNP), based in Prague, which functioned as the key company managing the maritime shipping of the former country (after 1993, it operated as Czech Maritime Transport).

Another major work is the popular-science publication *A Century of Czechoslovak Maritime Navigation* by Zdeněk Bastl, whose perspective is informed by his experience as a former economic deputy director of ČNP.[3] The publication provides an overview of maritime vessels, a chronological year-by-year account of key developments accompanied by selected anecdotes, and a table listing ČNP personnel. A notably extensive body of memoir literature has emerged from former captains, deck and engineering officers, seafarers, physicians, cooks, and stewards. Among these are the recollections of Slovak seafarers Michal Svoreň,[4] a chief engineer, and Pavol Machovič.[5] Lenka Krátká's study offers a broader overview of additional works.[6] Krátká argues that these memoirs highlight romance, adventure, and a sense of nostalgia for the lost fleet, yet lack a wider contextual framework that might call into question their predominantly positive portrayal.[7]

Before 1989, relevant publications typically depicted the state's maritime transport through factual descriptions of ships and their voyages. One of the earliest examples is Václav Švarc's illustrated book *Across Seas and Oceans* (1958),[8] featuring photographs from the voyage of the vessel *Republika I* from the Polish port of Gdynia to Canton in China. Another of his works,[9] predominantly textual in nature, addresses the global history of seafaring and includes a chapter devoted to Czechoslovakia. A publication that combines factual information with personal recollections is *Atlas of Ships* (1984) by Jaroslav Pacovský and Vladimír Podlena.[10] The subject of Czechoslovak maritime navigation has also been treated in selected works of fiction and documentary films.[11] Considerably less scholarly attention has been paid to maritime navigation undertaken, from 1965 onward, by Cze-

[3] BASTL, Zdeněl: *Století československé námořní plavby*. Praha: Marek Prikryl – Mare-Czech, 2021.

[4] SVOREŇ, Michal: *Slaný chléb. Odysea socialistického námořníka*. Praha: Mare-Czech, 2013. The book, published in Czech, offers a detailed account of the specific characteristics of engine-room operations.

[5] MACHOVIČ, Pavel: Spomienky obyčajného námorníka. Trnava: Ivan Klestch, 2013. The author presents a diary-style account of his experiences from voyages aboard the vessel *Kladno* in 1963 (from Gdynia to Cuba) and, in the following year, aboard the vessel *Mír* (to China).

[6] K RÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský přístav Praha*, pp. 13–15.

[7] *Ibidem*, pp. 13–16.

[8] ŠVARC, Václav: *Přes moře a oceány*. Praha: Naše vojsko, 1958.

[9] ŠVARC, Václav: *Na vlnách řek a oceánů. Vybrané kapitoly z dějin mořeplavby*. Praha: Albatros, 1984. This is an expanded and revised edition; the original edition was published in 1977.

[10] PACOVSKÝ, Jaroslav – PODLENA, Vladimír: Atlas lodí. Československé námořní loďstvo. Praha: Nakla datelství dopravy a spojů, 1984.

[11] See, for example, FÁBRY, Rudolf: *Stará dobrá loď*. Bratislava: Slovenský spisovateľ, 1962. For an overview of further works, see RÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský přístav Praha*, pp. 16–17.

choslovak Danube Shipping (ČSPD, or Dunajplavba), based in Bratislava, which operated as the second enterprise of this kind in the country. Zdeněk Bastl touches on the topic only briefly, whereas more comprehensive information is available in *The Danube Fleet: History of the Ship Fleet since 1922* by Juraj Bohunský and Karol Puh. A dedicated chapter[12] introduces seven seagoing vessels operated by the company. A key source of information on Dunajplavba's maritime transport is contemporary periodical press, especially the company journal *Náš Dunaj* / *Our Danube*. Further information and observations may also be drawn from popular articles, as well as interviews with and memoirs of Slovak seafarers.

Czechoslovakia and Maritime Navigation

Despite the fact that Czechoslovakia was established in 1918 as a landlocked country with no direct access to the sea, many Slovaks and Czechs had previously served as members of the Austro-Hungarian navy. At the beginning of the 20th century, they are estimated to have comprised about 11% of the monarchy's naval forces (roughly 6,000 men).[13] Among the most prominent Slovak seafarers of the 18th century is Count Móric Beňovský of Vrbové, a traveller and adventurer remembered for his exploits and for becoming king of Madagascar.[14] The first Slovak to be officially certified as a sea captain was Július Thurzo (1882–1950), who studied in Rijeka — then Fiume — and obtained his captain's license there in 1906.[15] Slovaks also took part in the well-known mutiny in the Bay of Kotor in February 1918 during the First World War — with Czechs and Slovaks reportedly accounting for more than 12% of the mutineers alongside predominantly Croatian participants[16] — which began aboard the armoured cruiser *Sankt Georg*. Naturally, Slovaks came into contact with the sea not only as sailors[17] but also as passengers travelling to distant parts of the world, especially during the period of overseas emigration. They also, in a sense, "got in touch" with the sea as raftsmen, transporting timber and goods along the

[12] BOHUNSKÝ, Juraj – PUHA, Karol: *Dunajská flotila*: *História lodného parku od roku 1922*. Bratislava: Slovart, 2012, pp. 227–46.

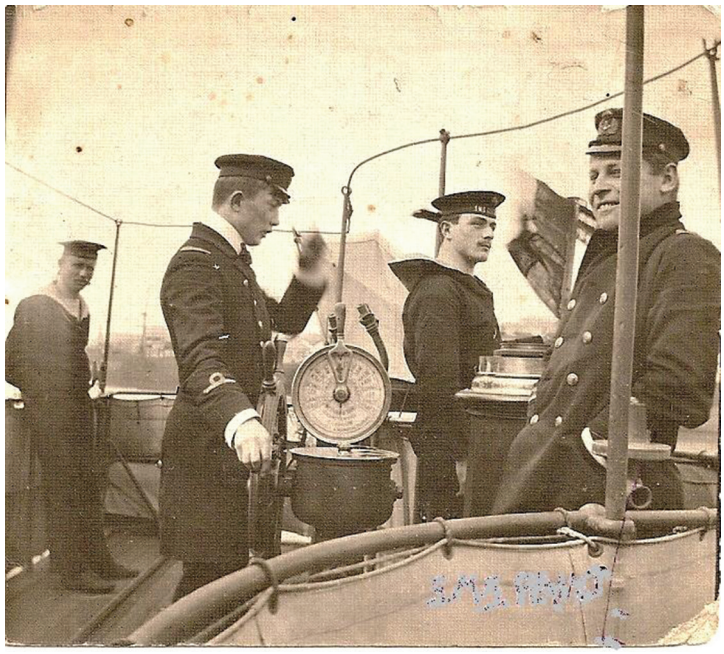
[13] BASTL, Zdeněk: *Století československé námořní plavby*. Praha: Mare-Czech, 2021, p. 9. However, no source is provided for this claim.

[14] Popular accounts state that in 1241, when king Bela IV of Hungary fled before the Mongol army to Dalmatia, he established a fleet composed of seven galleys and appointed a Slovak, Marínus Blažovský of Blažovce in Turiec, as its first captain ("admiral") (see, for example, PACOVSKÝ, Jaroslav – PODLENA, Vladimír:, *Atlas lodí*, p. 12). According to these accounts, the king elevated him to the nobility, whereupon he adopted the title Count Černatošský. However, as noted by Vladimír Segeš, this claim has no basis in historical sources. The actual origins of a Hungarian fleet can be dated only to 1358, when Louis I of Hungary regained Dalmatia (retained until 1420). See SEGEŠ, Vladimír: The Hungarian Military in the High Middle Ages with Particular Reference to the Reign of Louis I the Great. In: *Military History: Journal for Military History, Museology and Archival Studies* 24, no. 1, 2020, p. 39.

[15] A posthumous volume of his memoirs and travel writings was published as THURZO, Július: Po svetových moriach. Bratislava: Obzor, 1973.

[16] LENORMAND, Paul: Cattaro, Mutiny of. 1914–1918-online. *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, October 8, 2014, https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/cattaro-mutiny-of/#toc_nationalisms_and_pan-slavism

[17] PATEK, Artur: Spiš v rokoch 1849 – 1918: V predvečer prvej svetovej vojny. In: HOMZA, Martin – SROKA, Stanislaw A. (ed.): *Historia Scepusii*, vol. 2: *Dejiny Spiša od roku 1526 do roku 1918*. Bratislava – Kraków: Univerzita Komenského, 2016, p. 485.



Figures. 1–3: *Slovak sailors from Prakovce serving in the Imperial and Royal Navy (K.u.K. Kriegsmarine). (Source: archive of Martin Homza)*

Figure 4: *Postcard from Dalmatia. (Source: archive of Martin Homza)*

Danube and the Vistula, reaching nearly to the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea.

For Czechoslovakia (ČSR), one of the countries formed after the collapse of Austria-Hungary, the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles were especially significant, as they guaranteed free navigation in German ports and along Germany's inland waterways. These provisions also secured free international navigation along the Elbe, Oder, and Danube rivers. Furthermore, Czechoslovakia acquired a 99-year lease on port facilities in Hamburg and Stettin.[18] Collectively, these arrangements established the framework that enabled the new landlocked country to access the sea and engage in maritime transport. In addition, the Covenant of the League of Nations (Article 23(e), 1919) ensured freedom of transit for member states,[19] a principle further defined by the Barcelona Convention of 20 April 1921. Upon ratification, Prague was recognised as a registered port for the maritime vessels of the new country.

During the interwar period, twelve ships operated by six companies were registered in the Prague maritime registry. The most significant was the ship *Legie*, owned by Legiobanka. It departed on its first voyage from Vladivostok to Trieste on 24 August 1920 and reached its destination on 28 October—the day marking the founding of Czechoslovakia—when it was ceremonially renamed, having originally been the Japanese ship *Taikai Maru*.[20] The vessel's operation, however, was not adequately utilised and failed to become profitable. It was eventually sold in 1933 to a Greek shipping company and was reportedly destroyed by German forces during the Second World War.[21] Legiobanka likewise made an unsuccessful attempt to found a maritime shipping company.[22] In the early 1930s, the Baťa company operated two seagoing vessels (*Morava* and *Little Evy*), though these were eventually sold due to their economic unviability. Besides these ships, other privately owned vessels sailing under the Czechoslovak flag — such as five ships owned by Ervin Spitzer and two by Gerhard Weiss — were involved in smuggling alcohol into Finland, where prohibition was in force between 1919 and 1932.[23] The lack of direct control, combined with the limited experience of state authorities, allowed an additional nineteen vessels to operate under the Czechoslovak flag despite not being formally registered in the state's maritime registry.[24]

The real development of the Czechoslovak maritime fleet began only in the mid-twentieth century, driven largely by cooperation with the communist People's

[18] Peace Treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany. In: *Collection of Laws and Regulations of the Czechoslovak State*, issue 53 (June 22, 1921), accessed via https://www.aspi.sk/products/lawText/1/2498/0/2/mirova-smlouva-c-217-1921-sb-mezi-mocnostmi-spojenymi-i-sdruzenymi-a-nemeckem-a-protokol-podepsane-ve-versailles-dne-28-cervna-1919/mirova-smlouva-c-217-1921-sb-mezi-mocnostmi-spojenymi-i-sdruzenymi-a-nemeckem-a-protokol-podepsane-ve-versailles-dne-28-cervna-1919.

[19] The Covenant of the League of Nations. In: *League of Nations-Official Journal*, Feb 1920, accessed via https://libraryresources.unog.ch/ld.php?content_id=32971179.

[20] KRÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský prístav Praha*, p. 33.

[21] KRÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský prístav Praha*, p. 34.

[22] PACOVSKÝ, Jaroslav – PODLENA, Vladimír: *Atlas lodí*, p. 14.

[23] For an account of the smuggling vessel *Dalibor* (1933), see ŠVARC, Václav: *Na vlnách řek a oceánů*, p. 202.

[24] In the interwar period, the Czechoslovak flag was used by a total of 31 vessels. See KRÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský přístav Praha*, pp. 239–40.

Republic of China. Confronted with an embargo and maritime blockade imposed by Western powers led by the United States, China faced significant challenges and sought to overcome them by operating its vessels under foreign flags. Czechoslovakia, as a friendly socialist country, became one of these and signed a secret *Protocol on the Development of Maritime Transport* with China in June 1953. Negotiations on this cooperation had been in progress since 1950.[25] This developing cooperation also led to the acquisition of the first seagoing vessel, *Republika*, in September 1951. The ship had originally been the British steamship *Michigan*, built in 1920; it was later sold to Greece and renamed *Evanthi*, and at the time of purchase sailed under the Costa Rican flag.[26] After undergoing essential repairs, the ship set sail from Poland in May 1952 on its maiden voyage to China. Its return journey, however, was disrupted when it was wrecked by a typhoon; subsequent complications in carrying out repairs meant that it did not resume service for nearly two years. From 1954 to 1958, Czechoslovakia formally owned four seagoing vessels — *Július Fučík*, *Lidice*, *Dukla*, and *Mír I*[27] — which were used primarily to serve the needs of the People's Republic of China. Under a secret agreement between the two countries, Czechoslovakia was the nominal owner, while the Chinese side exercised effective control. Czechoslovakia provided administrative, logistical, and commercial support for the vessels, as well as a significant portion of their crews, and simultaneously made intensive use of their transport capacity.[28] These ships operated both as part of the state-controlled system of production and foreign trade, as well as service providers within the broader market.[29] In socialist Czechoslovakia, maritime transport was initially administered by the company Metrans, established in 1948, before being transferred in 1952 to the newly established enterprise Čechofracht. In 1959, Czechoslovak Maritime Shipping (ČNP) was created, with the discreet involvement of the People's Republic of China. Officially, the vessels operated under the Czechoslovak flag, with Prague serving as their home port.[30]

With the relaxation of the embargo and the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations, the rationale for cooperation and the "cover" provided by Czechoslovakia to China gradually diminished. This was compounded by the deterioration of relations between China and the Soviet Union, which extended to the wider socialist bloc. Moreover, newly introduced reform-oriented economic measures within ČNP, designed to improve efficiency, came into increasing conflict with the Chinese economic model. Taken together, these factors led to the termination of the agreements — the 1953 Protocol on the Development of Maritime Transport and the 1959 Agreement on the Establishment of Czechoslovak Maritime Shipping — and to the end of cooperation with the People's Republic of China at the turn of 1966/1967, with the agreements expiring in March 1967.[31] In

25 KRÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský prístav Praha*, p. 43.
26 *Ibidem*, p. 46.
27 *Ibidem*, p. 58.
28 *Ibidem*, p. 70.
29 *Ibidem*, p. 74.
30 *Ibidem*, pp. 75–77.
31 *Ibidem*, pp. 95–96.

its early phase, Czechoslovak maritime transport was closely tied to the needs of the People's Republic of China, which operated seven vessels under the Czechoslovak flag. Although a more extensive collaboration had initially been planned, China also sought support from other countries, especially Poland, while the embargo imposed upon it was gradually lifted. The vessels were staffed by mixed crews.

The use of domestically operated Czechoslovak seagoing vessels yielded significant economic benefits — reducing transport costs for state enterprises and enabling the chartering of ships for foreign currency — as well as important political advantages, particularly in the transport of military materiel and hazardous cargo. Together with the end of cooperation with China, this led to the expansion of the enterprise and the development of an independent maritime transport sector.[32] Czechoslovakia thus developed its maritime shipping primarily for political reasons, although its subsequent utilisation proved to be economically beneficial. It also offered an important propaganda opportunity to showcase the success of the socialist regime in building a maritime fleet for a landlocked country. The vessels were chiefly employed to support Czechoslovak overseas foreign trade, with any surplus capacity used for the commercial transport of foreign goods.

Published accounts indicate that in 1984, with 14 active seagoing vessels, Czechoslovakia ranked 65th among countries engaged in maritime transport and second among landlocked states, after Switzerland.[33] It was also noted that the operation of these vessels yielded returns approximately 24% higher than the investment in their acquisition.[34] By 1990, Czechoslovakia ranked 74th among countries operating maritime transport under their own flag, yet first among landlocked states, ahead of Switzerland and Austria.[35] The political and economic transformations of the 1990s significantly weakened Czechoslovak Maritime Shipping, which, as a privatised enterprise, could no longer match the strength and competitiveness it had enjoyed under the centrally planned system. As a consequence, maritime shipping in the successor states of the federation—Slovakia and the Czech Republic—gradually declined and ultimately vanished.

In 1965, Czechoslovak Danube Shipping (ČSPD), known as Dunajplavba and based in Bratislava, began its maritime operations by acquiring its first vessel, built in Budapest shipyards. The initial strategy was to link inland ports such as Bratislava and Komárno directly with routes to Africa and Asia, taking advantage of transshipment-free transport. Accordingly, the first vessels, *Bojnice*[36] and *Lednice*, were constructed as river-sea ships. It soon became evident that the Danube lacked sufficient depth along certain stretches to accommodate the navigation of fully loaded vessels of this type. In addition, these ships faced certain limitations on the open sea. Consequently, navigation along the Danube

[32] *Ibidem*, pp. 232.
[33] PACOVSKÝ, Jaroslav – PODLENA, Vladimír: *Atlas lodí*, p. 9.
[34] *Ibidem*, p. 7.
[35] BASTL, Zdeněk: *Století československé námořní plavby*, p. 26.
[36] The vessel *Bojnice* embarked on its maiden voyage on January 4, 1966, sailing from Komárno to Alexandria in Egypt, then to Beirut, and subsequently returning to the lower Danube ports in Romania. See BOHUNSKÝ, Juraj – PUHA, Karol: *Dunajská flotila*, p. 228.

was abandoned, and subsequent vessels were designed exclusively as seagoing ships. With their increased tonnage, they were able to reach only the lower Danube ports of Brăila and Galați in Romania. These included the vessels *Kremnica*, *Zvolen*, and *Banská Bystrica*. After the split of Czechoslovakia in 1993, the company, now renamed Slovak Danube Shipping, received two additional vessels — *Otava* (later *Golden Trader*) and *Žilina* (formerly *Vltava*) — as compensation for Slovakia's share in ČND. However, as operating costs rose and conditions for small maritime enterprises deteriorated, the company ultimately abandoned its maritime transport activities. The last two vessels, *Golden Trader* and *Žilina*, were sold to Greek companies in February 2002, after having been chartered for a long period by foreign operators. Czech Maritime Shipping had already sold its final vessels in 1998. Maritime transport carried out within the framework of Czechoslovak Danube Shipping — later Slovak Danube Shipping and subsequently Slovak Shipping and Ports — thus lasted from 1965 to 2002.[37]

The vessel *Lednice* had a particularly eventful history. After embarking its crew in Bratislava and loading 500 tons of steel plates from the East Slovak Ironworks in Komárno, it departed in January 1967 on a voyage downstream along the Danube. On the lower Danube, it became trapped among ice floes until it was freed by Romanian and Soviet icebreakers. Following a technical inspection in Constanța, it proceeded into the Black Sea and subsequently through the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas to North Africa. After passing through the Suez Canal, it entered the Red Sea, where it unloaded asbestos-cement pipes in Saudi Arabia before continuing to Massawa in Ethiopian Eritrea.[38] On its return journey, carrying a cargo of raw cattle hides, the vessel was detained in the Suez Canal in June 1967 during the Six-Day War. It was then forced to anchor in the Great Bitter Lake for eight years, until May 1975, during the prolonged blockade of the canal. During this period, it formed part of the so-called Yellow Fleet, a group of fifteen vessels of various nationalities stranded there. After the canal reopened, it was towed to Rijeka in Croatia for repairs at the Viktor Lenac shipyard. Following 1989, it was decommissioned and sold, and in 1994 it was sunk in Sri Lanka after an attack by Tamil insurgents.[39]

The Role of Croatia in Czechoslovak Maritime Transport

As part of Austria-Hungary until 1918, Slovakia — together with the Czech lands — formed part of a polity with direct access to the sea, enabling it to develop a maritime fleet. This access to the Adriatic Sea extended across the territories of present-day Croatia, Slovenia, Montenegro, and Italy. Coastal cities served as centres of both port activity and maritime education, with naval officers trained in Pula, Rijeka, Bakar, and Dubrovnik (in present-day Croatia), as well as in Kotor (Montenegro) and Koper (Slovenia). The first Slovak sea captain, Július Thurzo, studied in Rijeka — then Fiume. Following the collapse of the monarchy, Slovaks and Czechs continued to attend maritime institutions in Yugo-

[37] *Ibidem*, pp. 227–44.
[38] ŠVARC, Václav: *Na vlnách řek a oceánů*, p. 214.
[39] BOHUNSKÝ, Juraj – PUHA, Karol: *Dunajská flotila*, pp. 234–35.

slavia during the interwar period, until 1940.[40] After the Second World War, maritime education was centred primarily in Soviet Odesa and in the Polish port of Gdynia.[41] Other crew members, particularly non-officers, were usually trained at vocational schools in Děčín or Bratislava. Croatian shipyards, particularly those in Pula and Rijeka, contributed to the construction of the Czechoslovak maritime fleet. Between 1958 and 1989, they produced eight seagoing vessels for Czechoslovak Maritime Shipping, representing a portion of its total fleet of 44 ships. Two were built in Pula — *Mír I* (1958–1967) and *Ostrava* (1959–1965) — while six came from Rijeka: *Orlík II* (1980–1996), *Slapy* (1981–1998), *Lipno* (1981–1998), *Orava II* (1981–1997), *Vítkovice II* (1989–1997), and *Košice* II (1989 – 1997). Most were general cargo G-category ships, two were bulk carriers — *Vítkovice II* and *Košice II*, category B — and one, *Ostrava*, functioned as an oil tanker transporting crude oil from the Black Sea to China.[42]

While the main ports used by Czechoslovak Maritime Shipping after 1945 were the Polish ports of Szczecin and Gdynia, Czechoslovak ships frequently started or concluded their voyages in Yugoslav — Croatian — ports, particularly Rijeka. A notable example is the vessel *Košice I*, the first Czechoslovak ship to circumnavigate the globe in 1965. Under the command of Captain Jakub Frey — a graduate of the maritime school in Bakar — it departed from Szczecin and completed its voyage in Rijeka. The vessel *Orlík* also departed from Rijeka for Shanghai — at the time carrying Milan Handlovič from Sečovce as a deck cadet[43] — while the ship *Jiskra* and other vessels made frequent calls at the port. By the mid-1960s, Rijeka had come to be regarded as the largest "Czechoslovak" seaport,[44] with more than one third of its cargo throughput made up of goods from Czechoslovakia with approximately 2 million tons annually.[45]

Following early experiments with river-sea transport along the Danube via Romanian ports, vessels operated by Dunajplavba increasingly turned towards Yugoslavia. They primarily operated through the Croatian port of Rijeka and, occasionally, the Slovenian port of Koper, serving routes in the Mediterranean and the Near and Middle East.

In 1964, the seafarer Pavel Malachovič travelled aboard the *Mír* from the Polish port of Gdynia to China, which called at Rijeka on its return voyage to Constanța in Romania. He recorded his impressions of the city in his diary as follows:

> *"1 September 1964. We managed to go ashore on the very first evening. We walked around the city a bit, but didn't sit down anywhere, as we didn't yet have any Yugoslav dinars. The city is nice and very modern, set in an*

40 BASTL, Zdeněk: *Století československé námořní plavby*, pp. 234–35.

41 Following WWII, Czechoslovak naval officers received training at maritime academies in Soviet Klaipėda (Lithuania) and Kaliningrad (Russia), as well as in Szczecin (Poland) and Varna (Bulgaria). Between 1950 and 1989, these institutions produced 112 captains for Czechoslovak Maritime Shipping. See BASTL, Zdeněk: *Století československé námořní plavby*, pp. 235–38. Officer posts required university-level education, typically obtained abroad, while deck crews were trained domestically within Czechoslovak river shipping companies and subsequently completed practical training aboard seagoing vessels.

42 BASTL, Zdeněk: *Století československé námořní plavby*, pp. 51–66.

43 Greetings from Home. *Náš Dunaj* 18, no. 12 (1966), p. 4, April 22, 1966. The person in question later became a maritime captain and completed several circumnavigations of the globe.

44 Mikrobusom 2000 km po Juhoslávii. *Náš Dunaj*, a. 18, no. 17 (1966), p. 2, 10. 6. 1966.

45 Mikrobusom 2000 km po Juhoslávii. *Náš Dunaj*, a. 18, no. 18 (1966), str. 2, 21. 6. 1966.

even more beautiful landscape… The weather here is always pleasant and warm, so swimming in the blue Adriatic is truly wonderful. There is a beautiful beach about ten kilometres from Rijeka, known as Opatija. What I liked most, however, was the surrounding nature, which is very interesting. I walked through valleys with lovely meadows. I visited an old castle rising on one of the many hills above the city. Most beautiful of all is the deep valley of an almost dried-up river, full of smooth stones and boulders…

The city shows good American films, mostly Westerns. You can find almost everything for sale there — though not yet as in Western countries — but prices are fairly high, especially for manufactured goods. Entertainment in higher-end venues is even more expensive.

The people of Yugoslavia are often said to be principled and warm, and I believe this to be true. They are very fond of Slovaks and Czechs. They are also relatively easy to understand, perhaps comparable to Poles in this regard. Rijeka is a tourist city, which explains the large number of foreigners, especially those travelling by car. The roads are also good.

10 September 1964. We are still in Rijeka and will remain here for at least another week. I occasionally go to the cinema, but I mostly spend my time walking through the city, its surroundings, and even the nearby hills. I am growing increasingly fond of the place — if only I had more money… In the evenings, there is a promenade where many beautiful girls stroll, though they seem rather reserved — the complete opposite of Poland. Interestingly, there is no black-market trading here, unlike in Poland or Romania… The climate allows figs and even small lemons to grow. Figs are everywhere, and we've already had our fill of them." [46]

One of our respondents[47] also recalls his experiences in Rijeka. He first worked as an engineer on a Dunajplavba vessel and later, in the late 1970s, was employed in the company's maritime operations. After receiving a telegram with orders, he travelled from Bratislava to Rijeka by train, a journey that took nearly two days. In the port, he boarded the ship, which most often operated routes in the Mediterranean, unloading and loading cargo along the way. These voyages usually lasted about a month. After returning to Rijeka, the crew would wait for their next voyage with a new cargo. In this way, he completed several sea voyages in six-month cycles, after which he returned home. After some time off, he would receive orders for the next cycle. The intervals between voyages offered seafarers opportunities to spend time in the port city, where, together with colleagues, they formed friendships with local Croats in taverns and met sailors from other countries. Serbo-Croatian effectively functioned as a "seafarers' Esperanto". He also recalls attending a summer music festival in nearby Opatija, featuring Croatian artists such as Mišo Kovač and Tereza Kesovija.

Conclusions

Czechoslovak maritime transport constituted a brief but important chapter in the history of the common state, one that remains relatively little known. Prior to 1918, Slovaks and Czechs had already acquired maritime experience through service in the navy of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The operation of maritime transport under the Czechoslovak

[46] MACHOVIČ, Pavel: *Spomienky obyčajného námorníka*, pp. 51–52.

[47] The respondent is anonymised. The interview was conducted on March 11, 2025.

flag, as well as that of other landlocked states, was made possible by post-war agreements, while access to the sea and to ports such as Hamburg and Stettin was secured by the Treaty of Versailles.

During the interwar period, among the twelve vessels registered in the state's maritime registry, the most prominent were the ship *Legie*, owned by Legiobanka, and two vessels operated by the Bat'a company. Their operation proved short-lived, however, as they were sold due to unprofitability. The real development of the Czechoslovak maritime fleet began only in the mid-20th century, driven initially by political motives and cooperation with the People's Republic of China, which used the Czechoslovak flag and, officially, its vessels for its maritime transport. The establishment of Czechoslovak Maritime Shipping in Prague in 1959 marked a key step, as it assumed responsibility for the state's maritime transport from earlier institutions. Gradually, Czechoslovakia recognized the economic benefits of maintaining its own maritime fleet, and after cooperation with China came to an end, it operated its vessels entirely under its own management. From 1965, Czechoslovak Danube Shipping, based in Bratislava, also began operating seagoing vessels as the second company of its kind in the country. Maritime transport reached its peak in the 1970s and 1980s. However, in the 1990s, under new economic conditions, the formerly state-owned enterprises, once privatised, were unable to compete with global companies, and the vessels operated in Slovakia and the Czech Republic were eventually sold off.

Present-day Croatia played a pivotal role in the development of Czechoslovak maritime transport. Its maritime academies in Rijeka and other coastal centres trained generations of Slovak and Czech seafarers for officer positions, both during the Austro-Hungarian period and later in the interwar years. Croatian shipyards, particularly in Rijeka and Pula, were also instrumental in building the fleet: eight vessels — nearly one fifth of the total — were constructed there for Czechoslovakia, while many others underwent repairs in these facilities. Equally important was the function of Rijeka as a major operational hub. For Czechoslovak ships it became one of the key ports, and from the 1970s it even served as the principal base for the Bratislava-based Dunajplavba. In this sense, Croatia's contribution was not merely supportive but fundamental to the emergence and functioning of Czechoslovak maritime transport.

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Urednici
Željko Holjevac, Martin Homza,
Nevena Škrbić Alempijević & Andrej Solár

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Uredništvo:
Krešimir Filipec, Željko Holjevac, Martin Homza, Maja Matasović, Maroš Melichárek, Mirjana Repanić Braun, Andrej Solár, Zrinka Stričević Kovačević, Nevena Škrbić Alempijević, Zvonko Taneski, Andrej Vrteľ, Svorad Zavarský

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Andrej Solár *

Úvodník

Uvodnik/Editorial

Identita a kultúra sú hybnou silou pri prežití každého spoločenstva. Obchodné, intelektuálne a kultúrne kontakty sú zase vzájomným obohatením zúčastnených strán. Chorvátsko a Slovensko dlhodobo dokazujú, že medzinárodné prepojenia siahajú hlboko do histórie. Existencia Slovensko-chorvátskej komisie humanitných vied (ďalej ako SChKHV) umožňuje tieto prepojenia odborne skúmať a prezentovať. Siedme zasadnutie SChKHV prinieslo prvýkrát od vzniku komisie prezentáciu etnologických výskumov odborníkov z oboch krajín. Téma „Medzikultúrne stretnutia z etnologickej perspektívy" bola dohodnutá na šiestom stretnutí komisie, ktoré sa konalo v Košiciach v júni 2024. Výber miesta konania medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie v chorvátskom prímorskom meste Rijeka len zdôraznil význam týchto stretnutí a na lokalitu nadviazali aj niektoré odborné príspevky. Cieľom tohtoročného zasadnutia bolo upriamiť pozornosť na kultúrnu výmenu medzi Chorvátmi a Slovákmi. Tému medzikultúrnych stretnutí a dôležitosť väzieb a vzťahov medzi našimi národmi a krajinami podčiarkovali príspevky, ktoré mapovali hneď niekoľko oblastí kultúrnej výmeny – jazyk, menšiny, či osobnosti.

Odborným výstupom každého zasadnutia komisie je organizácia medzinárodnej vedeckej konferencie, ktorej zhmotnením je vydanie vedeckého recenzovaného zborníka *Studia Carpathico-Adriatica*. Odbornosť podujatia zdôraznil aj fakt, že konferencia sa konala na akademickej pôde Lekárskej fakulty Univerzity v Rijeke, a to v dňoch od 11. do 14. júna 2025.

Okrem členov komisie boli prítomní predstavitelia z oblasti vysokého školstva oboch krajín a rovnako aj zástupcovia oboch ministerstiev: Ivana Fakac, zástupkyňa Ministerstva vedy, vzdelávania a mládeže Chorvátskej republiky a Martina Klofáčová, zástupkyňa Ministerstva školstva, výskumu, vývoja a mládeže Slovenskej republiky. Na začiatku konferencie boli prítomní aj hostitelia nášho vedeckého stretnutia Goran Hauser, dekan Lekárskej fakulty Univerzity v Rijeke a Davor Vašiček, zastupujúci rektor Univerzity v Rijeke. Na úvod sa zúčastneným prihovorili predsedovia oboch partnerských strán komisie prof. Željko Holjevac a prof. Martin Homza. Všetkým prítomným sa prihovorila aj veľvyslankyňa Slovenskej republiky v Chorvátsku, Jej Excelencia Hana Kováčová. Konferencia bola rozdelená do štyroch sekcií s tematicky rozdelenými príspevkami. Dôležitým prvkom medzikultúrnej spolupráce sú vedecké spolupráce odborníkov medzi univerzitami.

* ANDREJ SOLÁR, PhD, Slovenské národnú múzeum – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku (Bratislava, Slovenská republika).

Výrazným predmetom prezentácií a tém jednotlivých príspevkov boli národnostné menšiny. Chorvátska národnostná menšina na Slovensku a slovenská národnostná menšina v Chorvátsku vytvárajú do dnešného dňa osobitý prvok kultúrneho prepojenia oboch krajín. V úvode prvej sekcie odznel príspevok Zuzany Beňuškovej (Slovenská akadémia vied, Ústav etnológie a kultúrnej antropológie) s názvom *Participácia Chorvátska na MFF Etnofilm v Čadci*. S pozoruhodnou témou *Chorvátsko a československá námorná doprava* sa v štvrtej sekcii prezentujúcich predstavil Juraj Janto (Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, Katedra archeológie a kultúrnej antropológie). S témou zameranou na výmenu kontaktov v lekárskom kontexte *Bez hraníc k nekonečne bohatým súvislostiam: História niektorých lekárskych a nelekárskych raných kontaktov Slovákov s Opatijou* sa predstavila trojica prispievateľov Robert Doričić, Toni Buterin a Amir Muzur (všetci traja Univerzita v Rijeke, Lekárska fakulta, Fakulta zdravotníckych štúdií).

Témou osobností, ktoré formovali vzťahy a kultúrnu výmenu medzi Chorvátskom a Slovenskom, sa spomedzi prezentujúcich zaoberali v prvej sekcii Ivan Grkeš (Univerzita v Záhrebe, Filozofická fakulta, Katedra etnológie a kultúrnej antropológie) s príspevkom *Stretnutia chorvátskej a slovenskej etnológie na príklade korešpondencie medzi etnológmi Milovanom Gavazzim a Jánom Podolákom (1958 – 1978)* a Nevena Škrbić Alempijević (Univerzita v Záhrebe, Filozofická fakulta, Katedra etnológie a kultúrnej antropológie) s príspevkom *Slovenský spisovateľ Martin Kukučín ako postava pamäti na ostrove Brač*. V tretej sekcii zaznel príspevok *Vít Ušák a jeho prínos k zachovaniu slovenskej etnickej identity v Chorvátsku*, ktorý predstavila Sandra Kralj Vukšić (Slovenské kultúrne centrum Našice). V poslednej štvrtej sekcii prezentoval Marko Medved (Lekárska fakulta Univerzity v Rijeke) príspevok s názvom *Adam Muchtin – slovenský kňaz a prvý farár Podvežice v Rijeke*.

Z oblasti materiálnej kultúry predstavila svoj príspevok s názvom *Výsledky výskumu ľudového odevu Chorvátov na Slovensku* Marta Botíková (Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, Katedra archeológie a kultúrnej antropológie) a Mária Garanová Krišťáková (Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum chorvátskej kultúry na Slovensku) prezentovala príspevok *Dokumentácia náboženských pútí slovenských Chorvátov v zbierkach SNM – Múzea kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku*. V rámci druhej sekcie odznel príspevok Jána Botíka *O jazyku ako atribúte skupinovej identity slovenských Chorvátov*. Jazykovednej stránke kultúrnej výmeny som sa venoval svojím príspevkom *Chotárne názvy ako stopy chorvátskej identity na Slovensku*, ktorý odznel v úvode tretej sekcie.

V rámci témy národnostných menšín sa predstavil počas tretej sekcie Žarko Španiček (Ministerstvo kultúry Chorvátskej republiky, Oddelenie pre ochranu pamiatok v Požege) s príspevkom *Stopy Slovákov v dejinách a kultúre Slavónie*.

Ako dokazuje výsledok siedmeho zasadnutia SChKHV, téma prepojenia kultúr Slovenska a Chorvátska je stále živá, kultúrna výmena medzi týmito dvoma krajinami stále funguje. Nejde iba o historický fenomén ale aj v súčasnosti sa vyvíjajúcu vrstvu našej kultúry, ktorá si doslova pýta našu pozornosť.

Interkulturni susreti iz etnološke perspektive

Medzikultúrne stretnutia z etnologickej perspektívy

IVAN GRKEŠ*

Dugo sanjani san? O susretima hrvatske i slovačke etnologije u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća

Dlho vysnívaný sen? O stretnutiach chorvátskej a slovenskej etnológie v druhej polovici 20. Storočia / A Dream Long Dreamed? On the Encounters between Croatian and Slovak Ethnology in the Second Half of the 20th Century

In this article the encounters between Croatian and Slovak ethnology are analysed on the basis of the correspondence between ethnologists Milovan Gavazzi and Ján Podolák. The research focuses on an insufficiently investigated period in socialist Yugoslavia, which has been presented in various review papers through the prism of a crisis within cultural-historical ethnology. In this work a considerably more nuanced view of the period is proposed; namely, it is understood as an especially dynamic period for the development of the discipline, despite the highly challenging socio-political situation. The period of socialist Yugoslavia with regard to Croatian ethnology is shown in a somewhat different light: as a period of opening of new opportunities and renewal of interwar intellectual ties in an attempt to link ethnologists of slavistic orientation. Due to this, research is directed toward two topics: the influence of political circumstances on the encounter of the two ethnologies, as well as the loci of the encounters between them during the period of socialism. This article is structurally divided into two parts. In the first part the historical framework of the correspondence is presented. The second part is directed toward the loci of the encounters between Croatian and Slovak ethnology during the period of Socialism.

Key words: Milovan Gavazzi, Jan Podolák, socialism, Croatian and Slovak ethnology, history of ethnology, encounters

Uvod

Ovaj tekst usmjerava se na dodire hrvatske i slovačke etnologije u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća na primjeru korespondencije etnologa Milovana Gavazzija i Jána Podoláka. Riječ je o korespondenciji koja predstavlja jednu od najopsežnije sačuvanih korespondencija unutar *Osobnog fonda M. Gavazzija*,[1] koja se čuva u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu u Zagrebu. Korespondencija u kronološkom smislu obuhvaća razdoblje od 1958. do 1978. godine, a sadržajno pruža ne samo uvid u dugogodišnju suradnju dvojice etnologa, suradnika i kolega – već upućuje i na intelektualne kontakte između dviju etnologija u razdoblju socijalizma. U jednom širem smislu ova korespondencija pokriva veliku istraživačku temu koja još uvijek unutar povijesti hrvatske etnologije i kulturne antropologije nije su-

* IVAN GRKEŠ, mag. ethn. et cult. ant., mag. hist. et mag. inf., asistent na Odsjeku za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (Republika Hrvatska).

1 Hrvatski državni arhiv, Zagreb (deinde HDA): *Osobni fond Milovana Gavazzija. Korespondencija* (deinde OFMG KOR), kut. 88, br. 1029.

stavno obrađena – etnologija u razdoblju socijalističke Jugoslavije. Iako pomalo zanemareno, zbog fokusa na institucionalizacijski period hrvatske etnologije krajem 19. i u prvoj polovici 20. stoljeća, ovo se razdoblje u pojedinim radovima pokazalo izrazito dinamičnim za razvoj etnologije kao znanstvene discipline u Hrvatskoj: od povećanja broja profesionalnih etnologa nakon rata, posebno porasta broja žena unutar discipline, otvaranja novih muzeja i institucija, smjene generacija pa sve do artikuliranja novih istraživačkih pravaca krajem 60-ih i početkom 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća.[2]

Ovaj članak nadovezuje se na manji broj radova koji zahvaćaju temu etnologije u razdoblju socijalizma razumijevajući ga kao izrazito dinamičan period za razvoj discipline unatoč izazovnoj društveno-političkoj situaciji obilježenoj neprestanom oscilacijom između represije i popuštanja stege komunističkog režima.[3] U tom smislu korespondencija između Gavazzija i Podoláka razdoblje socijalizma prikazuje u ponešto drukčijem svjetlu za našu disciplinu: kao razdoblje otvaranja novih prilika za hrvatsku etnologiju, obnavljanja nekadašnjih intelektualnih veza te uopće pokušaja međunarodnog povezivanja etnologa zainteresiranih za šire slavističke teme. S obzirom na opsežnost takve korespondencije, koja je trajala punih 20 godina, u radu ću nastojati izdvojiti nekoliko tematskih čvorišta na temelju kojih ću se baviti dvama pitanjima: 1) na koji su način tadašnja politička zbivanja utjecala na dodire dviju etnologija te 2) koja su bila mjesta susreta hrvatske i slovačke etnologije u razdoblju socijalizma.

U tematskom smislu ovaj se rad nadovezuje na recentne trendove u okviru područja povijesti etnologije i kulturne antropologije, koji naglasak stavljaju na istraživanje intelektualnih mreža i kontakata, transfera i recepcija ideja unutar discipline, interakcije središnjih ličnosti i ostalih dionika unutar profesije te analizu intelektualnih krugova. Indikativno je da je u takvim radovima prisutan pokušaj odmaka od starijih historicističkih i biografskih pristupa ka pokušaju artikuliranja novog pristupa iskazanog u tzv. *kritičkoj paradigmi* povijesti antropologije.[4]

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[2] Unatoč fokusu na utemeljiteljsko razdoblje hrvatske etnologije i kulturne antropologije, čija institucionalizacija najprije započinje u okviru Akademije krajem 19. stoljeća, a potom kulminira s uspostavom Katedre za etnologiju i etnografiju u prvoj polovici 20. stoljeća, pojedini su autori u manjim pregledima i kraćim studijama slučaja obradili određene aspekte etnologije u socijalizmu. Vidi primjerice: GJETVAJ, Nada: *Etnografski muzej u Zagrebu*. Zagreb: Etnografski muzej, 1989; BELAJ, Vitomir: Povijest etnološke misli u Hrvata. U: ČAPO, Jasna et al. (ur.): *Etnografija: blagdan i svagdan hrvatskog puka*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1998a, str. 337-357; MARKS, Ljiljana – LOZICA, Ivan: Finitis decem lustris. Pola stoljeća folklorističkih (filoloških, etnoteatroloških, i njima srodnih) istraživanja u Institutu za etnologiju i folkloristiku. *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku* a. 35, br. 1. (1998), str. 73-110; POTKONJAK, Sanja: In Women's Arms: Croatian Ethnology Between 1945-1990. U: BOŠKOVIĆ, Aleksandar – HANN, Chriss (ur.): *Anthropological Field on the Margins of Europe, 1945-1991*. Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2013, str. 237-257; PETROVIĆ LEŠ, Tihana: Intelektualni krug Milovana Gavazzija: dopisivanje s kolegama iz Slovenije na primjeru prepiske s Angelosom Bašem od 1960. do 1973. godine. *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, a. 30, br. 1 (2018), str. 95-119; GRKEŠ, Ivan: *Od angažiranih do specifičnih intelektualaca. Etnolozi Milovan Gavazzi i Milenko Filipović u svjetlu intelektualne historije (1930-1969.).* Diplomski rad, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 2020. PETROVIĆ LEŠ, Tihana - GRKEŠ, Ivan: Between science and repression: intellectual circle of ethnologist Milovan Gavazzi and the Croatian ethnology in the period of 1945 to 1955. U: KUHN, Konrad– TURPEINEN, Lauri – SNELLMAN, Hanna (ur.): *Contested Knowledge. Political Dimensions of Ethnology and Folklore Studies in Post-War Europe*. Helsinki: Studia Fennica, 2026, str. 110-130. Međutim, indikativno je da nedostaju radovi koji ciljano obrađuju ovo razdoblje.

[3] RADELIĆ, Zdenko: *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991. Od zajedništva do razlaza*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2006; GOLDSTEIN, IVO: *Hrvatska 1918-2008*. Zagreb: Novi liber, 2008.

[4] Za više informacija vidi: DARNELL, Regna: A Critical Paradigm for the Histories of Anthropology. The Generalization of Transportable Knowledge. *BEROSE International Encyclopaedia of the Histories*

Članak je strukturno podijeljen u dva dijela. U prvom dijelu prikazat će se povijesni okvir korespondencije, čime će se dopisivanje dvojice etnologa kontekstualizirati s obzirom na tadašnja politička i disciplinarna zbivanja. Drugi dio rada usmjerit će se na odabrane teme koje upućuje na mjesta susreta hrvatske i slovačke etnologije u razdoblju socijalizma.

Korespondencija Gavazzi – Podolák u svjetlu biografije dvojice etnologa

Korespondencija Gavazzi-Podolák započinje 22. svibnja 1958. i traje sve do 24. ožujka 1978. godine. Sastoji se od ukupno 91 pisma, ispisanih pisaćim strojem na 132 lista teksta na hrvatskom i slovačkom jeziku.[5] Dopisivanje dvojice etnologa nije se odvijalo u kontinuitetu, kao što je to bio slučaj s nekim drugim domaćim i inozemnim korespondentima, što ujedno predstavlja i izazov u analizi arhivske građe.[6] Gavazzi i Podolák u najintenzivnijem kontaktu bili su od sredine 60-ih i početkom 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća, kada su bili angažirani na ponovnom uspostavljanju odnosa između jugoslavenskih i slovačkih etnologa koji su bili prekinuti u prvim poratnim godinama, nakon jugoslavensko-sovjetskog raskola.

Unatoč činjenici da se ponegdje u korespondenciji može naići na sadržaj privatnog karaktera, Gavazzijevu i Podolákovu korespondenciju možemo prije svega označiti kao profesionalnu,[7] budući da se u najvećoj mjeri dotiče zajedničkih istraživačkih tema obojice etnologa (npr. slavenska etnografija, tradicijsko gospodarstvo...), a ujedno prati profesionalna zbivanja unutar dviju etnologija. S obzirom na navedeno, korespondencija pruža izvanredan materijal za proučavanje intelektualnih susreta hrvatske i slovačke etnologije u razdoblju kasnog socijalizma i uopće stanja i razvoja hrvatske (i jugoslavenske) etnologije.

U razdoblju kada korespondencija započinje, obojica su već bili profesionalno etablirani unutar vlastitih disciplina. Milovan Gavazzi (1895-1992.) u to vrijeme obnašao je funkciju redovitog profesora na Katedri za etnologiju i etnografiju Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, čije je temelje postavio još u međuratnom razdoblju.[8] Razdoblje socijalističke Jugo-

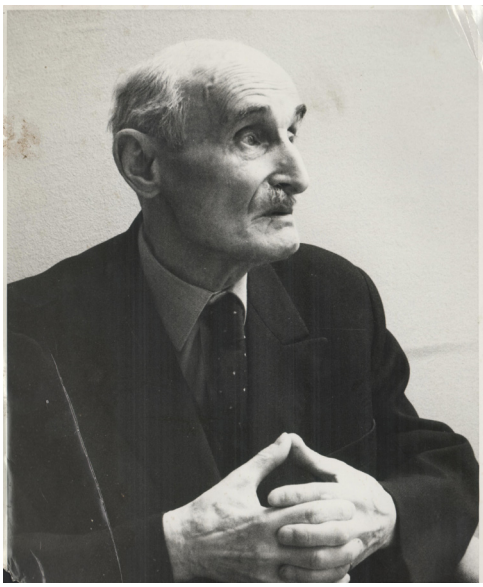
of Anthropology (2022). https://www.berose.fr/article2718.html?lang=fr (pristup: 21. 12. 2025.); DARNELL, Regna: *History of theory and method in anthropology*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2022; DARNELL, Regna – GLEACH, Frederic (ur.): *Centering the Margins of Anthropology's History*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2021; DELGADO ROSA, Frederico – VERMEULEN, Han F. (ur.): *Ethnographers before Malinowski. Pioneers of Anthropological Fieldwork, 1870-1922*. New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2022; D'AGOSTINO, Gabriella – MATERA, Vincenzo (ur.): *Histories of Anthropology*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2023.

5 Cjelokupna korespondencija fonda sastoji se od ukupno 29 kutija s oko 11 900 pisama, razmijenjenih s 1358 korespondenata. Jezik korespondencije često je ovisio o samim korespondentima. Budući da je Gavazzi bio poliglot, vrlo dobro je ovladao njemačkim, engleskim, francuskim, talijanskim, ruskim, češkim – i naposljetku slovačkim jezikom. STIPANČEVIĆ, Mario: Korespondencija Milovana Gavazzija u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu. *Arhivski vjesnik*, a. 48, br. 1 (2005), str. 55-68.

6 Takva situacija izrazito je vidljiva u ovoj korespondenciji koju karakteriziraju različiti prekidi u komunikaciji često obilježeni (vanjsko)političkim zbivanjima, zbog čega se pojedina zbivanja moraju naknadno rekonstruirati.

7 STIPANČEVIĆ, Mario: Korespondencija, str. 5.

8 Katedra za etnologiju i etnografiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu službeno je osnovana 1925. godine, a na njezino čelo dolazi etnograf i folklorist Petar Bulat. Uslijed neizvjesnih političkih okolnosti i umirovljenja P. Bulata dolazi do kratkotrajnog prekida u radu Katedre. Do obnavljanja znanstvene i nastavne djelatnosti dolazi 1927. godine Gavazzijevim dolaskom na mjesto voditelja Katedre. Preustrojem Filozofskog fakulteta 1960. godine Katedra je prerasla u Odsjek za etnologiju s dvjema



Slika 1: *Milovan Gavazzi, nepoznati autor. (izvor: Arhiv Odsjeka za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu)*

slavije za Gavazzija je u profesionalnom smislu bilo izrazito dinamično. Pored nastavnog rada na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu, obnašanja različitih fakultetskih funkcija (dekan akademske godine 1951/1952.), postaje izrazito angažiran unutar discipline: najprije kao glavni urednik časopisa *Etnološki pregled* od 1960. godine, a zatim do 1970. kao predsjednik Etnološkog društva Jugoslavije – najvećeg strukovnog udruženja jugoslavenskih etnologa.[9] U istraživačkom smislu bio je predstavnik kulturnopovijesne etnologije s fokusom na fenomene s područja tradicijske kulture Hrvata i ostalih južnoslavenskih naroda koje je pokušao sagledavati u široj komparativnoj perspektivi. Njegov istraživački pristup počivao je na *kulturnogeografskoj* i *kulturnogenetskoj analizi*: istraživanju kulturnih elemenata s područja tradicijske kulture, utvrđujući najprije zone njihova prostornog rasprostiranja, a potom i njihovo podrijetlo.[10]

Ján Podolák (1926-2017.) u razdoblju u kojem započinje korespondencija zaposlen je kao istraživač Etnografskog instituta Slovačke akademije znanosti i umjetnosti.[11] Na tadašnjem Slovačkom sveučilištu (danas Sveučilište Komenskog) u Bratislavi 1951. godine završio je studij etnografije i povijesti, nakon čega se zapošljava na mjesto istraživača u Etnografskom institutu.[12] Doktorsku disertaciju pod naslovom *Stočarstvo na Horehroní* (*Pastierstvo na Horehroní*) obranio je 1961. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu Slovačkog sveučilišta, gdje će od 1964. isprva raditi kao vanjski suradnik, a zatim od 1966. kao stalno zaposleni profesor etnologije. Može se reći da je razdoblje 50-ih i 60-ih također bilo izrazito dinamično i za Podoláka: 1953. godine bio je suosnivač časopisa *Slovenský národopis* (izvršni urednik do 1960.), 1958. godine suosnivač *Slovačkog etnografskog društva*, a 1959. suosnivač *Međunarodnog udruženja za proučavanje narodne kulture Karpatske doline*

katedrama: za nacionalnu i opću etnologiju. Vidi: PETROVIĆ LEŠ, Tihana: Povijest Odsjeka za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju. *Odsjek za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju*. https://etno.ffzg.unizg.hr/odsjek/povijest-odsjeka/ (pristup: 30. 11. 2025.); BELAJ, Vitomir: Povijest, str. 353-354.

9 GRKEŠ, Ivan: Od angažiranih do specifičnih intelektualaca, str. 57-59.

10 BELAJ, Vitomir: Milovan Gavazzi. *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 1998b. https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/gavazzi-milovan (pristup: 20. 12. 2025.); ČAPO ŽMEGAČ, Jasna: Two scientific paradigms in croatian ethnology: Antun Radić and Milovan Gavazzi. *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, a. 32, br. 1, str. 25-37.

11 PRIEČKO, Martin – SLOBODOVÁ NOVÁKOVÁ, Katarina (ur.): *Genius loci Jána Podoláka. Laudačná publikácia k profesorevej 90-tke.* Trnava: Dajama, Katedra za etnologinju i srednjoeuropske studije Sveučilišta Ćirila i Metoda, 2016, str. 6. Ovom prilikom zahvaljujem profesorici dr. sc. Marti Botikovoj na pomoći oko pronalaska relevantne slovačke literature vezane uz život i rad Jana Podoláka.

12 JANTO, Juraj: Dr.h.c. prof. PhDr. Ján Podolák, DrSc. – in recognition of his life and work. *Ethnologia Slovaca et Slavica*, a. 38, br. 1 (2017), str. 101.

(glavni tajnik od 1959. do 1979.).[13] U istraživačkom smislu zanimao ga je širok spektar tema: tradicijsko poljodjelstvo i stočarstvo Karpata i Balkana, etnokulturni procesi u Slovačkoj i Srednjoj Europi, povijest etnologije, slovačke manjine u inozemstvu, ali i etničke manjine u Slovačkoj.[14]

Usporedivši znanstveni rad i karijerne puteve dvojice etnologa u razdoblju socijalizma, čini se da ih karakterizira sličan znanstveni pristup kulturnopovijesne etnologije, koji je kasnije bio kritiziran unutar obiju disciplina. Kanadski antropolog David Scheffel kritizira pristup starije slovačke etnologije koja se primarno bavila deskripcijom i kodifikacijom narodne kulture s naglaskom na istraživanju materijalne kulture, narativa i narodne glazbe, dok su teme društvene organizacije i kozmologije ostale izvan disciplinarnog dosega.[15] Istovjetna situacija zamjetna je i u slučaju starije hrvatske etnologije koju se kritiziralo zbog kulturnopovijesnog pristupa i fokusa na seljačku kulturu, zbog čega su izvan njezina fokusa ostali suvremeni društveno-kulturni procesi (npr. mijene i transformacije običaja, urbana kultura i svakodnevica) te uopće politika i odnosi moći.[16]

Slika 2: *Jan Podolak, Hiršava 1959. (preuzeto iz: PRIEČKO, Martin – SLOBODOVÁ NOVÁKOVÁ, Katarina (ur.): Genius loci Jána Podoláka. Laudačná publikácia k profesorevej 90-tke. Trnava: Dajama, Katedra za etnologinju i srednjoeuropske studije Sveučilišta Ćirila i Metoda, 2016, str. 7.)*

Povijesni kontekst dopisivanja Gavazzija i Podoláka

Razdoblje u kojem dolazi do intenziviranja korespondencije dvojice etnologa i njihove profesionalne suradnje bilo je također dinamično s političkog i društveno-kulturnog aspekta. Za društveno-humanističke znanosti – ovdje ponajviše hrvatsku (i jugoslavensku) etnologiju – sredinom 60-ih godina 20. stoljeća nastupaju povoljnije prilike u odnosu na prvih nekoliko godina poraća.[17] Tada dolazi do kratkotrajnog perioda popuštanja društvene stege i političke represije u kontekstu unutarnjopolitič-

[13] JANTO, Juraj: Dr.h.c. prof. PhDr. Ján Podolák, str. 102.

[14] PRIEČKO, Martin – SLOBODOVÁ NOVÁKOVÁ, Katarina, *Genius loci*, str. 6-7; JANTO, Juraj, Dr.h.c. prof. PhDr. Ján Podolák, str. 102.

[15] SCHEFFEL, David: Slovak Ethnology in the Post-Socialist Era. *Ethnologies*, a. 21, br. 2 (1999), str. 56.

[16] RIHTMAN-AUGUŠTIN, Dunja: Hrvatska etnologija poslije Gavazzija i Bratanića. Razmišljanje o političkom angažmanu u etnologiji. *Etnološka tribina: godišnjak Hrvatskog etnološkog društva*, a. 27, br. 20 (1997), str. 85-86.

[17] Sukob Tita i Staljina 1948. godine doveo je do prekida diplomatskih odnosa SSSR-a i zemalja Istočne Europe s Jugoslavijom. Prekinute su sve gospodarske, kulturne i znanstvene veze, a međudržavni ugovori stavljeni su izvan snage. Neizvjesnu diplomatsku situaciju pratio je propagandni rat protiv Jugoslavije i učestalo redanje incidenata uz granicu (npr. s Mađarskom, Rumunjskom, Bugarskom i Albanijom) (GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, str. 451).

kog (re)pozicioniranja socijalističke Jugoslavije nakon raskida političkih odnosa sa Sovjetskim Savezom 1948. godine. Unutar same Komunističke partije Jugoslavije dolazi do promjene političke paradigme, čime dolazi do uspostavljanja preduvjeta za „ograničenu" liberalizaciju društvenog života.[18] Unatoč činjenici da ovo razdoblje nipošto nije označavalo promjenu u karakteru komunističkog režima države, ono je ipak bilo važno jer je označilo popuštanje napetosti i provođenje određenih aspekata liberalizacije društvenog života, dakako, u onoj mjeri u kojoj se devijacije od kritike političkog sustava moglo tolerirati.[19] U takvim okolnostima proizašli su stanoviti pomaci u vanjskoj politici, kulturi, umjetnosti, gospodarstvu te – za nas posebno bitno – znanosti.

U književnosti i umjetnosti dolazi do napuštanja socrealizma čije mjesto zamjenjuju avangardni pravci koji u Jugoslaviju dolaze otvaranjem granica prema Zapadu.[20] Na području gospodarstva eksperimentira se s oblicima poluzatvorenog tržišta uvođenjem samoupravnog sustava.[21] U vanjskoj politici dolazi do otopljavanja odnosa sa Zapadom, uspostavljanja temelja Pokreta nesvrstanih i sklapanja niza diplomatskih sporazuma koji ujedno dovode do otvaranja granica i razvoja turizma.[22] Pored turizma, dolazi do obogaćivanja kulturne ponude u zemlji pokretanjem većeg broja festivala na Jadranu.[23] Naposljetku, 1955. godine normalizirani su odnosi sa Sovjetskim Savezom, koji su doveli do obnove političkih veza s Istokom Europe prekinutih 1948. godine – pa tako i s Čehoslovačkom.[24] Sva ta zbivanja posljedično su se odrazi-

[18] Prema: GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, str. 473; Kako navodi povjesničar Hrvoje Matković, trebalo je iznova osmisliti sustav koji bi „očuvao vlast partije i zemlju uveo u socijalizam različitim smjerom od onoga što je prakticirano u Sovjetskom Savezu" (MATKOVIĆ, Hrvoje: *Povijest Jugoslavije*. Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 1998, str. 306). Znatna pažnja bila je pridana razmatranju uloge Komunističke partije u društvu. U skladu s time, partiju se više nije poimalo upravljačkim centrom ostalim elementima nadgradnje (kultura, umjetnost, školstvo i znanost) – već postaje *„idejni vaspitač koji pravilno usmerava i organizira cjelokupan društveni život"* (GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, str. 473).

[19] Prema: RADELIĆ, Zdenko, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji*, str. 293-294.; Kako primjeri koje donose Goldstein i Radelić pokazuju, nakon razdoblja ograničene liberalizacije došao je i „period stezanja", posebice u slučaju kritičara samog političkog režima koji su dovodili u pitanje partijski monopol nad političkom vlašću (vidi GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, str. 487; RADELIĆ, Zdenko, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji*, str. 294).

[20] Prema: GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, str. 478; BILANDŽIĆ, Dušan: *Hrvatska moderna povijest*. Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1999, str. 341; Nosioci novih pravaca postaju mlađe generacije, poput npr. grupe arhitekata i umjetnika grupe EXAT 51, koja u svom manifestu iz 1951. ishodište pronalazi u Bauhausu i konstruktivizmu (GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, str. 477). U književnosti do simboličkog raskida sa socrealizmom dolazi Krležinim tzv. *Ljubljanskim referatom* iz 1952. (BILANDŽIĆ, Dušan, *Hrvatska moderna povijest*, str. 341; RADELIĆ, Zdenko, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji*, str. 292). Također, dolazi do pokretanja novih časopisa koji promoviraju slobodu književnog stvaralaštva, poput časopisa *Krugovi* (1952.), koji se usmjerio na suvremenu tematiku, egzistencijalističku liriku i nadrealizam te književnu kritiku (GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, str. 478).

[21] RADELIĆ, Zdenko, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji*, str. 284-290.

[22] GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, str. 483; JAKOVINA, Tvrtko: *Treća strana Hladnog rata*. Zagreb: Fraktura, 2011.

[23] GRKEŠ, Ivan: Od lokalnog do najvažnijeg jugoslavenskog festivala. Osvrt na festivalizaciju Dubrovačkih ljetnih igara u formativnom razdoblju (1949-1959.). *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, a. 33, br. 1 (2021), str. 175.

[24] Više o tome vidi u: BILANDŽIĆ, Dušan: *Historija SFRJ. Glavni procesi: 1918–1985*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1985, str. 218. Normalizacija je ovjekovječena tzv. *Beogradskom deklaracijom* koju su potpisali Tito i Hruščov, u kojoj su istaknuta temeljna načela u odnosima dviju država, poput poštivanja suvereniteta, neovisnosti, integriteta te nemiješanja u unutarnje odnose druge zemlje (GOLDSTEIN, Ivo: *Hrvatska*, str. 485).

la na društveno-humanističke znanosti. Kao posljedica smanjenja protuzapadne retorike, sve se više prevodi inozemna literatura, što je dovelo do širenja novih istraživačkih trendova, dok je otvaranje granica prema Zapadu i Istoku (od 1955.) rezultiralo obnovom znanstvenih i intelektualnih kontakata, odnosno, povećanja akademske mobilnosti među znanstvenicima.

Zanimljivo je istaknuti da su se ovom problematikom ponajviše bavili povjesničari,[25] iako navedeni proces nipošto nije bio karakterističan samo za historiografiju, već i za druge društveno-humanističke discipline pa tako i za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju.[26] U ovom razdoblju u kontekstu uspostave diplomatskih odnosa Jugoslavije i Čehoslovačke dolazi i do obnavljanja intelektualnih veza među hrvatskim i slovačkim etnolozima. Unutar same jugoslavenske (i hrvatske) etnologije sredinom 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća dogodile su se također bitne promjene. U Beogradu je 1957. godine osnovano Etnološko društvo Jugoslavije (dalje: EDJ) – središnje strukovno udruženje jugoslavenskih etnologa.[27] Društvo djelomično nastaje iz potrebe da se, zbog povećanja broja domaćih etnologa i etnoloških ustanova (ponajviše instituta i muzeja) nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, profesionalne etnologe poveže unutar jednog krovnog strukovnog udruženja.[28] Zajedno s republičkim ispostavama i središnjim časopisom *Etnološki pregled*,[29] EDJ bio je središnja platforma za razmjenu ideja i iskustava među jugoslavenskim etnolozima. Ujedno je bio mjesto dijaloga s inozemnim etnologijama putem godišnjih skupova – *savjetovanja* – koji su se održavali u odabranom gradu u jednoj od jugoslavenskih republika. U trenutku intenziviranja korespondencije, Milovan Gavazzi obnašat će funkciju predsjednika EDJ-a.[30] Indikativno je da je Gavazziju u ovom razdoblju pošlo za rukom obnoviti znanstveni autoritet unutar discipline. Međutim, za razliku od međuratnog perioda kada je bio izrazito javno i politički angažiran,[31] u poslijeratnom razdoblju njegov će fokus primarno biti usmjeren na rad unutar discipline: sudjelujući u razvoju pojedinih institucija, strukovnih udruženja, organizacije znanstvenih skupova i pokretanja strukovnih časopisa.

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25 Vidi: JANKOVIĆ, Branimir: *Mijenjanje sebe same: preobrazbe hrvatske historiografije kasnog socijalizma*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2016.

26 Bilo bi zanimljivo ubuduće istražiti u kojoj je mjeri širenje novih istraživačkih trendova iz europske i angloameričke etnologije u hrvatsku etnologiju bilo pospješeno kontekstom otvaranja Jugoslavije prema svijetu 60-ih i 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća.

27 Društvo je osnovano 17. lipnja 1957. u okviru dvodnevnog sastanka jugoslavenskih etnologa u Beogradu, gdje je održana osnivačka skupština (GRKEŠ, Ivan: Od angažiranih do specifičnih intelektualaca, str. 77).

28 NIKOLIĆ, Rajko: Etnološko društvo Jugoslavije. *Etnološki pregled* a. 1, br. 1 (1959), str. 87.

29 Etnološko društvo od osnivanja 1957. godine postupno se nastojalo decentralizirati uspostavljanjem republičkih ogranaka: 1959. osnovani su ogranci EDJ-a za Hrvatsku i za Srbiju, a 1960. za Makedoniju (GRKEŠ, Ivan: Od angažiranih do specifičnih intelektualaca, str. 77; MILIĆEVIĆ, Josip: Sedmo savjetovanje Etnološkog društva Jugoslavije (Pohorje, 6-10. X. 1964.). *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, a. 3, br. 1 (1964), str. 237-238); godine 1958. osnovan je časopis *Etnološki pregled*, koji je izlazio jednom godišnje, a čiji je glavni urednik od 1960. bio Gavazzi.

30 Po osnutku EDJ-a 1957. godine funkciju prvog predsjednika obnašao je srpski etnolog Borivoje Drobnjaković, da bi nakon njegove iznenadne smrti 1961. tu poziciju – izrazito nevoljko – prihvatio sam Gavazzi.

31 LEČEK, Suzana – PETROVIĆ LEŠ, Tihana: *Znanost i svjetonazor: etnologija i prosvjetna politika Banovine Hrvatske 1939-1941.* Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2010; PETROVIĆ LEŠ, Tihana - GRKEŠ, Ivan: Between science and repression, pp. 110-130.

Imajući u vidu kontekst otvaranja Jugoslavije prema svijetu, Gavazzi od sredine 50-ih godina sve više vremena provodi u inozemstvu, što mu je omogućilo obnovu starih i uspostavljanje novih kontakata s kolegama. Većina putovanja bila je prije svega stručne naravi: sudjelovanje na kongresima, održavanje gostujućih predavanja te radnih sastanaka u okviru različitih znanstvenih odbora (npr. *Alpes orientales*).[32] Na jednom od tih boravaka u inozemstvu susreće se s Podolákom, nakon čega je 1958. godine započela njihova prepiska. Nedugo zatim, po uspostavi *Međunarodnog udruženja za proučavanje narodne kulture Karpatskog područja* (čiji je Podolák bio glavni tajnik) obojica su angažirana u njegovom radu. Ovaj kontakt bio je dodatno učvršćen Podolákovim posjetom Zagrebu krajem ljeta 1958. i 1959. godine, kao i kontinuiranim kraćim posjetima u idućim godinama.

Susreti hrvatske i slovačke etnologije u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća

Razdoblje druge polovice 20. stoljeća u povijesti etnologije i kulturne antropologije još uvijek nije sustavno istraženo, posebice problematika intelektualnih kontakata i transfera ideja među hrvatskim etnolozima i kulturnim antropolozima. U malobrojnoj literaturi koja kronološki zahvaća ovo razdoblje, naglasak je stavljen na krizu unutar kulturnopovijesne etnologije i pojavu novih istraživačkih pristupa krajem 60-ih i početkom 70-ih godina u okviru Instituta za narodnu umjetnost, koje se u različitim pregledima uopćuje pod zajedničkim nazivom *nove* ili *kulturnoantropološke paradigme*.[33] Sudeći prema svojem dosadašnjem istraživačkom iskustvu i arhivskom radu na korespondenciji Gavazzi-Podolák, čini mi se da razdoblje druge polovice 20. stoljeća ipak ne možemo u potpunosti objasniti samo u kontekstu krize i oblikovanja novih istraživačkih pravaca unutar hrvatske etnologije. Kako to korespondencija pokazuje, razdoblje druge polovice 20. stoljeća valja promatrati ponešto nijansiranije: s jedne strane doista obilježeno krizom unutar dominantne kulturnopovijesne etnologije, ali i otvaranjem hrvatske (i jugoslavenske) etnologije prema svijetu; odnosno, kao razdoblje pružanja novih prilika za njezin razvoj: obnovu starih i uspostave novih intelektualnih veza sa znanstvenicima iz drugih etnoloških tradicija i stvaranja međunarodnih platformi za zajedničku suradnju, razmjenu ideja i iskustava.[34] U skladu s time, u ovome poglavlju izdvojit ću odabrane primjere koji govore u prilog ovoj tvrdnji.

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[32] Ovdje kao primjer izdvajam sljedeće: sudjelovanje na konferenciji CIAP-a u Arnheimu 1955. godine, konferenciji Istočno-alpske etnologije 1959., kongres CIAP-a u Parizu 1960. i u Moskvi 1964. Kao gost predavač posjetio je 1957. godine Finsku, Švedsku i Dansku, a 1960. održao je gostujuće predavanja u Istočnoj Njemačkoj i Austriji; 1958. bio je na akademskoj razmjeni u Poljskoj gdje se posljednji put susreo sa svojim kolegom i prijateljem, poljskim etnologom Kazimierzom Moszyńskim. Vidi GRKEŠ, Ivan: Od angažiranih do specifičnih intelektualaca, str. 59.

[33] ČAPO, Jasna – GULIN ZRNIĆ, Valentina: Introduction: Un siècle d'ethnologie croate. Une réflexion critique. *Ethnologie française*, a. 43, br. 2 (2013), str. 192-193; ČAPO, Jasna – GULIN ZRNIĆ, Valentina – ŠANTEK, Goran Pavel (ur.): *Etnologija bliskog: poetika i politika suvremenih etnografskih istraživanja*. Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, Naklada Jesenski i Turk, 2006, str. 10-17.

[34] Općenito se stječe dojam da se u svim pregledima, koji se na različite načine dotiču razvoja hrvatske etnologije i kulturne antropologije, često zaboravlja istaknuti jugoslavenski kontekst i naglasak se više stavlja na nacionalnu etnologiju – kao da ona nije bila dijelom jednog šireg disciplinarnog okvira i rezultat dijaloga između različitih republičkih etnologija.

Obnova intelektualnih kontakata između hrvatskih i slovačkih etnologa

Nakon jugoslavensko-sovjetskog raskola 1948. godine, suradnja između hrvatskih i slovačkih etnologa bila je kratkotrajno prekinuta. Iz kasnijih pisama u kojima se obojica etnologa osvrću na poratni period saznajemo da su između dviju etnologija održavani samo indirektni kontakti razmjenom literature Slovačke akademije znanosti i umjetnosti te srodnih etnografskih ustanova.[35] Do prvih službenih kontakata dolazi nedugo po obnovi političkih odnosa Jugoslavije i Sovjetskog Saveza 1955. godine. To je vidljivo u prvim pismima iz ovog razdoblja. Prvi susreti odvijali su se na međunarodnim konferencijama, a potom u okviru zajedničkih znanstvenih odbora: poput *Međunarodnog odbora za proučavanje narodne kulture karpatskog područja*, čiji su članovi na Podolákov prijedlog postali Gavazzi i Bratanić.[36] Nedugo potom dolazi do uspostavljanja akademske razmjene Gavazzijevim posjetom Etnografskom institutu u Bratislavi 1958. godine te Podolákovim dvotjednim boravkom u Jugoslaviji krajem ljeta iste godine, u sklopu kojeg je u Zagrebu posjetio Katedru za etnologiju i etnografiju, Jugoslavensku akademiju znanosti i umjetnosti te njezin arhiv Odbora za narodni život i običaje.[37] Kako je to Podolák istaknuo u pismu, cilj posjeta bio je *„(…) unutar danih mogućnosti nastojati uspostaviti osobne kontakte s jugoslavenskim kolegama s namjerom razmjene zajedničkih iskustava."*[38]

Iako intenzitet dopisivanja i suradnje dvojice etnologa u 50-ima još uvijek nije bio učestao kao kasnije, indikativno je da ovaj pokušaj obnavljanja jugoslavensko-slovačkih etnoloških veza svakako treba sagledati u širem kontekstu otvaranja slovačke etnologije prema inozemstvu na što upućuje sadržaj pojedinih pisama. Tako Podolák u pismu iz 1958. godine opisujući aktualno stanje discipline navodi da:

> *„Slovačku etnologiju predstavljaju uglavnom mladi ljudi. Imamo samo jednog sveučilišnog profesora i jednog predavača iz etnografije ([Rudolf] Bednárik). Ako se želimo razvijati, moramo tražiti pomoć starijih kolega, ponajviše slavenskih kolega iz inozemstva, koji su godinama pratili slavističke teme."*[39]

U tom smislu slovački etnolozi pokazali su interes za suradnju s različitim istraživačima koji su se bavili slavističkim temama pa su tako surađivali i s poljskim etnolozima Kazimierzom Moszyńskim, Witoldom Dynowskim, njemačkim etnolozima i folkloristima Wolfgangom Steinitzom, Aloisom Schmausom i austrijskim etnologom Leopoldom Kretzenbacherom.[40]

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35 Hrvatski državni arhiv, Zagreb (deinde HDA): *Osobni fond Milovana Gavazzija. Korespondencija* (deinde OFMG KOR), kut. 88, dat. 24. 6. 1969., br. 1029. Na Podolákov prijedlog, koji je u poratnim godinama bio urednik časopisa *Slovenský národopis*, uspostavljena je suradnja s 19 partnera u Jugoslaviji, među njima praktički sve etnološke ustanove u zemlji (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 24. 6. 1969, br. 1029).

36 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 24. 6. 1969, br. 1029.

37 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 22. 5. 1958, br. 1029.

38 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 27. 6. 1958, br. 1029.

39 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 27. 6. 1958, br. 1029.

40 Navedene etnologe zbog toga su pozivali u Slovačku na gostujuća predavanja, što je bila prilika za razmjenu znanja, iskustava i novih istraživačkih pristupa. Za 1958. godinu Slovačka akademija znanosti i umjetnosti pozvala je folklorista W. Steinitza i etnologa W. Dynowskog, dok su za 1959. godinu ponovno planirali pozvati Gavazzija; godine 1960. planirali su pozvati slovenskog etnologa Vilka Novaka (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 27. 6. 1958., br. 1029).

Suradnju s jugoslavenskim etnolozima stoga treba promatrati kao dio intelektualne mreže slavističkih etnologa koju je Podolák gradio nakon završetka rata. Zbog toga se uvelike oslanjao na Gavazzija, starijeg kolegu koji je još u međuratnom razdoblju uspostavio šire veze s europskim etnolozima koji su se bavili slavenskom etnografijom. Ta suradnja dodatno je učvršćena nakon što je Gavazzi imenovan počasnim članom *Slovačkog etnografskog društva* 1967. godine.[41] Upravo se stoga Podolák u pismima često obraća Gavazziju – ponajviše u 60-ima kada se dopisivanje intenziviralo – s različitim molbama i savjetima. Na Podolákovu molbu, na primjer, Gavazzi se u Münchenu 1967. godine raspitivao kod L. Kretzenbachera i A. Schmausa o mogućnosti razmjene njemačkih i slovačkih studenata. To je u konačnici rezultiralo odlaskom slovačke studentice Magdalene Barančokove na akademsku razmjenu u München, inače uopće prvog slovačkog studenta etnologije u Njemačkoj nakon Prvog svjetskog rata.[42] Uspjeh ove inicijative otvorio je mogućnost šire jugoslavensko-slovačke razmjene na temelju reciprociteta, odnosno, poziva da jedan jugoslavenski student dođe u Bratislavu studirati zapadnoslavenske jezike na jedan ili dva semestra.[43]

Podolákova suradnja s jugoslavenskim kolegama dodatno je učvršćena 1960-ih kada odlazi na nekoliko kraćih terenskih istraživanja. U ljeto 1969. godine dolazi u Zagreb gdje sudjeluje u Međunarodnoj smotri folklora, a potom odlazi na kraće terensko istraživanje. Na inicijativu Matice slovačke i Matice hrvatske dva tjedna boravi u Slavoniji na terenskom istraživanju među pripadnicima slovačke manjine, istražujući tradicijsko gospodarstvo (poljoprivreda i stočarstvo) i pojedine aspekte društvene kulture.[44] U tom razdoblju planirao je obići i rusinska sela s namjerom da usporedi razvoj slovačke i rusinske narodne kulture u Hrvatskoj.[45] Njegovo istraživanje u Jugoslaviji nastavilo se u Makedoniji i Južnoj Srbiji, gdje je terenski istraživao među pastoralnim zajednicama, a rezultate je namjeravao objaviti u obliku monografije.[46]

Navedeni Podolákovi posjeti nisu samo rezultirali produbljivanjem znanstvenih veza dvojice etnologa, čije dopisivanje sredinom 60-ih godina postaje

41 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 5. 11. 1967., br. 1029.

42 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 19. 11. 1967., br. 1029. Prema Gavazzijevu razgovoru s Kretzenbacherom i Schmausom postojale su dvije mogućnosti ostvarivanja akademske razmjene u Njemačkoj: preko Humboldtove zaklade ili lokalnog ureda za razmjenu studenata iz inozemstva. Uvjeti za ostvarivanje razmjene bili su pismeni podnesak o cilju istraživanja, znanje jezika i informiranje o razdoblju boravka u Zapadnoj Njemačkoj (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 5. 11. 1967., br. 1029).

43 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 19. 11. 1967., 22. 5. 1969., br. 1029. Jedini uvjet bio je da to mora biti student etnologije koji bi po odobrenju razmjene stekao mjesečnu stipendiju u iznosu od 700 čehoslovačkih kruna. Podolák je ovo smatrao izvrsnom prilikom da se student upozna sa (čeho)slovačkom etnologijom i uopće slovačkom kulturom (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 19. 11. 1967., br. 1029).

44 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 22. 6. 1969., br. 1029.

45 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 19. 11. 1967., br. 1029. Nakon sudjelovanja na Međunarodnoj smotri folklora u Zagrebu od 20. do 24. srpnja 1969., odlazi na terensko istraživanje, koje je realizirano suradnjom dviju Matica i međudržavnim sporazumom. Gavazzi ga je tim povodom informirao o recentnom stanju istraživanja, budući da su čehoslovačke etničke manjine na prostoru Hrvatske već istraživali znanstvenici Instituta za etnografiju i folklor Češke akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Pragu, doduše više se fokusirajući na češku manjinu – dok su Hrvate u Slovačkoj istraživali znanstvenici tadašnjeg Instituta za narodnu umjetnost, koji su proučavali Hrvate u okolici Bratislave (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 3. 7. 1969., br. 1029.). Zbog toga ga upućuje da se po dolasku u Hrvatsku oko tehničkih detalja obrati tajniku Matice hrvatske Šercoriciju, a za rusinsku i slovačku manjinu etnologu Jánu Mjartanu (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 3. 7. 1969., br. 1029).

46 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 5. 10. 1969., br. 1029.

intenzivno – već su ujedno doveli do obnavljanja stare ideje akademskog umrežavanja slavenskih etnologa prisutne još od međuratnog razdoblja, za što su se u kontekstu obnavljanja odnosa Jugoslavije i Istočnog Bloka i uopće otvaranja zemlje prema svijetu stekli bitni politički preduvjeti.

Dugo sanjani san postaje stvarnost? Pokušaj osnivanja udruženja slavenskih etnologa

Najveći dio korespondencije usmjerava se na Podolákove pokušaje povezivanja i umrežavanja etnologa koji se istraživački bave slavenskom etnologijom u razdoblju kraja 60-ih i početka 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća. Ovi pokušaji kretali su se u dva smjera: 1) pokretanje zajedničkog časopisa koji bi na jednom mjestu okupio istraživače srodnih znanstvenih interesa te 2) uspostavljanje zajedničkog društva etnologa-slavista.

Prava prilika za to ukazala se povodom pedesete godišnjice osnutka Sveučilišta Komenskog u Bratislavi, koja se navršavala 1969. godine.[47] Taj događaj u slovačkim etnološkim krugovima planirao se obilježiti tiskanjem prigodnog zbornika koji se u prvoj varijanti nazvao *Studia ethnologica Universtitatis Comenianae*, a za koji se očekivalo priloge kolega iz Jugoslavije.[48] Pokretanje nove publikacije bilo je iz Zagreba svesrdno pozdravljeno s napomenom da „(…) bi to [bio] veliki uspjeh za slavensku etnografiju, jer takav časopis uopće ne postoji – a Lud Słowiański je već odavno propao."[49] Uz prihvaćanje pisanja priloga za časopis – koji bi tematski bio vezan uz izlaganje koje je održao u Liblicama povodom 100. rođendana Lubora Niederlea – Gavazzi je predložio novi naziv časopisa *Studia ethnologica Slavica Universitatis Comenianae*, dodajući dometak *Slavica* publikaciji, smatrajući da bi time dobila općeslavenski predznak.[50] Po svemu sudeći, u konačnici je kompromisno usvojen novi naziv koji je časopis nosio dugi niz godina – *Ethnologica Slavica*.[51] Unatoč početnim problemima, s približavanjem prvog broja publikacije 1969. godine Podolák je entuzijastično – doduše kako će se kasnije pokazati preuranjeno – ustvrdio da je *„stari san postao stvarnost."*[52]

Od samog početka izvorna ideja bila je da časopis u tematskom smislu ima šire pretenzije: da ne bude usko slovačkog karaktera, već da ima općeslavenski značaj kao glasilo slavenske etnologije. Na jednom mjestu časopis bi u formi različitih studija slučaja, rasprava i recenzija

[47] Sveučilište Komenskog osnovano je 1919. godine za vrijeme Prve čehoslovačke republike (1918-1938.). Kao i u hrvatskom slučaju, ovdje također dolazi do završne faze institucionalizacije etnološke znanosti 1921. godine s uspostavljanjem Odjela za etnografiju i prvim studijem opće etnologije u novoj državi. Iako se fakultet sastojao uglavnom od čeških znanstvenika, poučavanje i istraživanje bilo je usmjereno na slovačku narodnu kulturu (SCHEFFEL, David: Slovak ethnology, str. 55). Zanimljivo je istaknuti da je 1936. godine ondje zaposlen ruski semiotičar i etnograf Pjotr Bogatyrev (SCHEFFEL, David: Slovak ethnology, str. 55).

[48] HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 19. 11. 1967., br. 1029. Osim Gavazzijeva, Podolák je naveo kako očekuje i priloge kolega iz Poljske (Mieczysław Gładysz), Bugarske (Hristo Vakarelski) i Mađarske (Béla Gunda) (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 19. 11. 1967., br. 1029).

[49] HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 4. 1. 1968., br. 1029.

[50] Izlaganje je održao u Liblicama (danas Češka) 1965. godine pod nazivom „Opći pregled kulture Slavena". U ranijim pismima u kojima se dopisuje povodom svog priloga ustvrdio je da bi baš ovaj *„(…) bio primjeren jednom takvom časopisu"* (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 4. 11. 1967., br. 1029).

[51] HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 24. 3. 1968., br. 1029.

[52] HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 22. 5. 1969., br. 1029.

okupljao slavenske etnologe i folkloriste s interesom za proučavanja narodne kulture Slavena i kultura pojedinih slavenskih naroda.[53] Odnosno, naglasak je bio stavljen na objavi komparativnih studija s područja narodne kulture i života slavenskih naroda te pojedinih etničkih skupina u dijakronijskoj perspektivi.[54] Na neki način, kako se to da iščitati iz korespondencije, ovu publikaciju smatrali su nastavkom slične ideje začete još u međuraću oko časopisa *Lud Słowiański*, čiji je urednik bio poljski etnolog K. Moszyński, a koji je prestao s izlaženjem nedugo po izbijanju Drugog svjetskog rata.[55] Navedeni časopis bio je platforma koja je povezivala etnologe koji su se bavili slavenskom etnologijom. Po svemu sudeći slična zadaća bila je namijenjena novoosnovanom zborniku te se predviđalo da bi nakon uspjeha prvih dvaju brojeva iz 1969. i 1971. mogao prerasti u periodičku publikaciju.[56] S nešto duljom vremenskom distancom, Podolák je nekoliko desetljeća kasnije dodatno naglasio kako mu je namjera bila časopis vezati uz znanstveno nasljeđe osnivača slavenske etnologije J. Šafarika i njegovih nastavljača: Niederlea, Moszyńskog, Gavazzija i Vakarelskog.[57]

Podolákova vizija bila je ipak ponešto šira od pokretanja sveslavenskog časopisa. Zajednička periodička publikacija trebala je označavati tek početni korak prema pokretanju udruženja etnologa-slavista do kojeg u međuraću nikada nije došlo, a kojima sve do tada nikada nije pošlo za rukom formirati se kao zasebna sekcija na međunarodnim kongresima.[58] Kako je to naglasio u jednom od pisama, namjera mu je bila etablirati slavensku etnologiju kao zasebno istraživačko područje:

> *„(…) čvrsto vjerujem da ćemo zajedničkim naporima uspjeti stvoriti tradiciju slavenske etnografije, zajednički rad slavenskih etnologa, koja bi mogla jedinstveno istupati na slavističkim kongresima".*[59]

Osim što bi zajedno istupali na kongresima, ovo bi udruženje putem zajedničkog glasila iznosilo svoje poglede vezane uz potrebe i razvoj ovog istraživačkog područja.[60] Zajedničko glasilo trebalo je stoga ne samo pratiti i objavljivati relevantne radove iz područja etnologije i etnografije, već je trebalo utjecati *„na koncepciju razvoja 'etnografske slavistike' u slavenskim i socijalističkim zemljama."*[61] U tom smislu Gavazzi je pru-

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53 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 3. 3. 1968., br. 1029.

54 Kako to prenosi Olgica Vlašić, unatoč široko postavljenom tematskom pristupu, primjetno je bilo da su u prvim brojevima časopisa dominirali folkloristički radovi, a manje lingvističke, arheološke i historiografske studije (VLAŠIĆ, Olgica: Ethnologia Slavica. *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, a. 2., br. 1, str. 234).

55 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 24. 3. 1968., br. 1029.

56 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 3. 3. 1968., br. 1029. Prema prvobitnoj ideji, u prvom broju bile bi zastupljene različite slavističke studije, a u idućim bi se brojevima tematski išlo na odabrane probleme i konkretne studije slučaja. U tom smislu s Gavazzijem se već dopisivalo povodom njegova priloga koji bi trebao biti pisan na njemačkom ili francuskom jeziku, a koji bi bio studija o suvremenim problemima slavenske etnologije ili studija o materijalnoj i duhovnoj kulturi (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 3. 3. 1968., br. 1029). Od drugih jugoslavenskih etnologa Podolák ističe da planira pozvati na suradnju srpske etnologe Persidu Tomić za suradnju, Milenka Filipovića, bugarskog etnologa Hristu Vakarelskog, slovenskog etnologa Vilka Novaka i Branimira Bratanića (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 3. 3. 1968., br. 1029).

57 VLAŠIĆ, Olgica: Ethnologia Slavica, str. 234.

58 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 3. 3. 1968., br. 1029.

59 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 24. 3. 1968., br. 1029.

60 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 24. 3. 1968., br. 1029.

61 VLAŠIĆ, Olgica: Ethnologia Slavica, str. 234.

žio punu podršku navedenoj ideji koju je doveo u izravnu vezu s *Ludom Słowiańskim*, čiji je aktivan suradnik bio još od prvog sveska te je predložio nekoliko jugoslavenskih kolega koje bi se moglo pozvati na suradnju.[62]

Ideja akademskog umrežavanja etnologa-slavista, međutim, nipošto nije bila nova. Riječ je o desetljećima staroj ideji. Sam Podolák o tome je nedugo poslije rata razgovarao s Moszyńskim, kojemu je predložio osnutak *Društva slavenskih etnografa*. Moszyński se s prijedlogom složio pod uvjetom da u njemu budu zastupljeni samo zapadni i južni Slaveni, bez istočnih, što je Podolák ocijenio da bi *„takav koncept (…) u našim uvjetima" – referirajući se na slovačku političku vezu sa Sovjetskim Savezom – „bio politički nepodnošljiv."*[63] Nakon Moszyńskijeve smrti, ova ideja ponovno je zaživjela, a bila je vrlo blizu realizacije 1968. godine u Pragu za vrijeme trajanja slavističkog kongresa na kojemu su se Gavazzi i Podolák ponovno susreli. Podolák je tada predložio pokretanje društva/komisije za etnografska istraživanja Slavena s Gavazzijem kao predsjednikom organizacijskog odbora i tajništvom u Bratislavi.[64]

Do uspostave zajedničkog društva etnologa-slavista međutim nije došlo, iako je ideja naišla na podršku među tadašnjim etnolozima-slavistima: npr. Pjotra Bogatyreva, Kirila Čistova i Julijana Bromleja iz Sovjetskog Saveza te Hriste Vakarelskog iz Bugarske.[65] Dogovori oko osnivanja društva najprije su bili usporeni nestabilnom političkom situacijom u Čehoslovačkoj, a potom osujećeni sovjetskom intervencijom krajem kolovoza 1968. godine i gušenjem tzv. *Praškog proljeća*. Uslijed potonjih događanja došlo je do (kratkotrajnog) prekida znanstvenih kontakata između Jugoslavije, Čehoslovačke i Sovjetskog Saveza, što se odrazilo i na rad časopisa *Ethnologia Slavica*.[66] Činilo se da je zbog toga ideja o osnutku društva na neko vrijeme bila odložena. Osim toga, u kasnijim godinama izazovnim se pokazalo uopće pronaći suradnike s prostora Jugoslavije, čiji se etnolozi nisu pokazali previše spremnima za suradnju, kako je to Podolák u jednom pismu rezignirano zamijetio:

> *„Još uvijek nisam ništa dobio iz Hrvatske, a ni iz Jugoslavije uopće. Ne znam gdje je greška, da li jugoslavenske kolege ne cijene važnost ovog časopisa, ili su lijeni da pišu, ili imaju rezerve prema našim namjerama. Stvarno ne mogu objasniti. Lijepo bih vas zamolio da svojim znanstvenim i ljudskim autoritetom pomognete jugoslavenskim kolegama i pridobijete nešto za naš zbornik već za V. svezak."*[67]

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62 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 12. 3. 1968., br. 1029. Za autore priloga preporučio je zagrebačku etnologinju Đurđicu Palošiju, konkretnije njezinu disertaciju o šišanom kumstvu kod južnih Slavena s fokusom na staroslavensku komponentu. Od neslavenskih etnologa predložio je Aloisa Schmausa, Leopolda Kretzenbachera, Richarda Wolframa i Evela Gasparinija, od kojeg se pomalo ogradio (*„da ne spominjem njegove nekoć čudesne teze i zaključke"*) (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 12. 3. 1968., br. 1029).

63 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 24. 3. 1968., br. 1029.

64 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 22. 5. 1969., br. 1029; VLAŠIĆ, Olgica: Ethnologia Slavica, str. 233. Prisjećajući se tih zbivanja s dvadesetogodišnjim odmakom, Podolák šturo navodi da je prijedlog za osnutak Društva (odnosno kako se u tekstu O. Vlašić naziva *„Komisija za etnografska istraživanja Slavena"*) odbijen (VLAŠIĆ, Olgica: Ethnologia Slavica, str. 233).

65 VLAŠIĆ, Olgica: Ethnologia Slavica, str. 233.

66 Naime, nakon političke intervencije u kolovozu došlo je do poteškoća s pristizanjem priloga iz Poljske, Bugarske i Sovjetskog Saveza (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 22. 5. 1969., br. 1029). Zbog toga moli Gavazzija da se pobrine za pristizanje priloga iz Jugoslavije jer mu je cilj da u časopisu budu zastupljena hrvatska i jugoslavenska etnologija (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 22. 5. 1969., br. 1029).

67 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 22. 4. 1972., br. 1029.

Identično stanje primijetio je i Gavazzi, referirajući se u jednom od ranijih pisama na pasivnost jugoslavenskih etnologa oko zajedničke suradnje sa slovačkim kolegama:

> *„Pokušao sam nešto osigurati, ali još nije uspjelo, našim stručnjacima dijelom nedostaje vremena za pisanje priloga, dijelom se bave lokalnim ili regionalno ograničenim etnografskim radovima (koji nisu prikladni za ES) ili nemaju sposobnosti raditi na širim slavističkim istraživanjima koja bi bila prikladna za ES. Ipak, nadamo se da će jedan (ili dva) doprinosa ove vrste biti dostupni u bliskoj budućnosti.“*[68]

Iako se na prvi pogled možda činilo da Podolákov ambiciozni pokušaj akademskog umrežavanja slavenskih etnologa nije uspio, on je ipak polučio uspjehe osnutkom međunarodnog časopisa *Etnologia Slavica* 1969. s njezinim godišnjim simpozijima. Godinu dana ranije uspjelo mu je pri Sveučilištu Komenskog osnovati međunarodni studentski seminar terenske prakse pod nazivom *Seminarium Ethnologicum*.[69] Riječ je o međunarodnom seminaru temeljenom na terenskom istraživanju na Karpatima koji je bio izvrsna prilika za povezivanje slovačke s drugim europskim etnologijama.[70] Kako proizlazi iz korespondencije, časopis, simpoziji i seminar postali su izrazito aktivna mjesta intelektualnih susreta dviju etnologija, unatoč tomu što Podolák nikada nije odustao od ideje pokretanja društva:

> *„Ne gubim nadu u stvaranje sveslavenske etnografske organizacije, koju je svojedobno predlagao i sam pokojni prof. Moszynski i koju ćete zasigurno doživjeti. Dotle se moramo hraniti slavenskim narodnim časopisom.“*[71]

Upravo se iz korespondencije jasno uočava kako su *Etnološki seminar* i simpoziji *Ethnologiae Slavicae* postali mjesta susreta dviju etnologija. Primjerice na Drugom etnološkom seminaru 1969. godine, koji je na temu tradicijskog poljodjelstva okupio sudionike s 15 sveučilišta, sudjelovao je Branimir Bratanić sa zagrebačkim studentima.[72] Idući *Etnološki seminar* održan je u Gornjim Oravama 1970. godine s tematskim fokusom na duhovnu i društvenu kulturu. Program je trajao ukupno tri dana, a sastojao se od dvodnevnog simpozija i terenskog istraživanja za studente. Sudionici simpozija sudjelovali su u raspravi o problemima komparativne slavenske etnografije i sličnostima i razlikama u narodnoj kulturi Slavena, dok su studenti u selima Gornjih Orava istraživali teme vezane

[68] HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 9. 3. 1972., br. 1029.

[69] PRIEČKO, Martin – SLOBODOVÁ NOVÁKOVÁ, Katarina, *Genius loci*, str. 6.

[70] EDLUND, Lars-Erik: Jan Podolák 1926-2017. *Royal Gus's Tomb Adolf's Academy for Swedish Folk Culture*, 2017. https://gustavadolfsakademien.se/personer/person/jan-podolak (pristup: 21. 12. 2025.) Švedski lingvist Erik-Lars Edlund u svom nekrologu Podoláku ističe da je ovaj seminar bio *„važan izvor inspiracije za čitavu generaciju tada mladih europskih etnologa“* (EDLUND, Lars-Erik: Jan Podolák, 2017).

[71] HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 22. 5. 1969., br. 1029. Povodom izlaska jubilarnog – dvadesetog – broja *Etnologiae Slavicae* 1988. godine, uredništvo je predložilo nastavak objave časopisa kao međunarodnog glasila slavenskih etnologa i *„ustanovljenje 'komisije za etnografska istraživanja' putem koje će se osiguravati intenzivnije komparativno istraživanje materijalne i duhovne kulture Slavena“* (VLAŠIĆ, Olgica, Ethnologia Slavica, str. 234).

[72] HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 22. 5. 1969.; 7. 6. 1969., br. 1029. Odsjek za etnologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu imao je troje prijavljenih studenata, za što je Podolák ustvrdio da je to najveći broj studenata s nekog inozemnog sveučilišta, kojih je inače bilo najviše dvoje (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 22. 5. 1969., br. 1029.). Čini se da je ovaj tip seminara bio primjer inovacije kolaborativnog terenskog istraživanja koje karakterizira slovačku etnologiju u razdoblju socijalizma, kako to uočava David Scheffel (SCHEFFEL, David: Slovak ethnology, str. 56).

uz duhovnu i društvenu kulturu.[73] Nakon simpozija bio je predviđen sastanak uredništva časopisa *Ethnologia Slavica* i sastanak *Odbora za proučavanje narodne kulture karpatskog područja*.[74] Na temelju korespondencije saznajemo da su te iste godine u Bratislavi boravili pojedini članovi zagrebačkog Odsjeka za etnologiju. Tadašnji asistent Vitomir Belaj došao je u Bratislavu umjesto kolegice Marije Išgum koja je zbog bolesti bila spriječena sudjelovati, a potom je proveo terensko istraživanje među pripadnicima hrvatske manjine. Čini se da je u isto vrijeme s njim u Slovačkoj boravila zagrebačka studentica, kasnije kustosica Etnografskog muzeja u Zagrebu, Ivanka Ivkanec.[75] Iduće godine jugoslavenske etnologe pronalazimo na simpoziju *Ethnologiae Slavicae* na čelu s Mirkom Barjaktarevićem i Blažem Ristovskim. Kako se generalno pokazalo da su ovakvi kraći znanstveni formati polučili uspjeh, pojavila se ideja njihove organizacije izvan Slovačke. S tim u vezi iznijeta je ideja pokretanja nacionalnih ogranaka *Ethnologiae Slavicae* – čini se na tragu nekadašnje ideje o udruženje etnologa-slavista – koji bi koordinirali rad na časopisu i organizaciji simpozija, koji bi se održavali u odabranoj državi, za što je predložen Ohrid u Makedoniji.[76] Iz tog perioda sačuvana je jedna razglednica datirana 1972. u kojoj su potpisani sudionici simpozija, među kojima pronalazimo i ime tadašnjeg zagrebačkog studenta Milivoja Vodopije, što pokazuje da su se veze dviju etnologija nastavile i dalje održavati.[77]

Kako korespondencija prestaje biti učestala od 1972. godine, teško je dalje pratiti veze dviju etnologija, ali u narednoj prepisci može se uočiti da se suradnja sigurno nastavila sve do sredine 70-ih godina kada je razmijenjeno posljednje pismo. Vibrantna mjesta susreta dviju etnologija stoga postaju časopis *Ethnologia Slavica*, njegovi godišnji simpoziji te studentski seminar terenske prakse. Ova zbivanja nesumnjivo upućuju na to kako je razdoblje kraja 60-ih i početka 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća za hrvatsku/jugoslavensku i slovačku etnologiju bilo izrazito dinamično, obilježeno obnavljanjem nekadašnjim znanstvenih i intelektualnih veza – ujedno otvarajući nove prilike za razvoj dviju etnologija, ali i njihove interakcije s drugim europskim etnologijama. Do toga zasigurno ne bi došlo da se unutar socijalističke Jugoslavije nisu zbile bitne društveno-političke promjene koje su stvorile preduvjete da uopće dođe do obnove intelektualnih kontakata među znanstvenicima, a samim time i susreta dviju etnologija.

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73 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 5. 10. 1969., br. 1029. Gavazzi je zamoljen da se osobnim autoritetom postara za širu participaciju jugoslavenskih etnologa i za njihove priloge u časopisu (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 7. 3. 1970., br. 1029). Od jugoslavenskih etnologija Podolák je planirao pozvati Gavazzija, Vilka Novaka, Branimira Bratanića, Mirka Barjaktarevića i Branimira Rusića. Od inozemnih kolega poljske etnologe Witolda Dynowskog, Mieczysława Gładysza, Józefa Burszta i Romana Reinfussa, sovjetske etnologe Sergeja Tokareva i Julijana Bromleja, bugarskog etnologa Hristu Vakarelskog, mađarskog etnologa Bélu Gundu, austrijskog etnologa Leopolda Kretzenbachera i njemačkog etnologa Pawoła Nedu. Organizaciju su trebali financijski podržati Matica slovačka i Slovačko etnografskog društvo (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 7. 3. 1970., br. 1029.). Sam Gavazzi u konačnici nije sudjelovao na simpoziju zbog drugih znanstvenih obaveza u tom vremenu: gostujućeg predavanja u Austriji, sudjelovanja na Balkanološkom kongresu u Štajerskoj itd. (HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 20. 9. 1970., br. 1029.).

74 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 5. 10. 1969., br. 1029.

75 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 5. 12. 1970., br. 1029.

76 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 8. 6. 1972.; 18. 12. 1972., br. 1029.

77 HDA-OFMG KOR, kut. 88, dat. 14. 9. 1972., br. 1029.

Zaključak

Korespondencija Gavazzi-Podolák rasvjetljava nedovoljno istraženo razdoblje socijalizma u povijesti hrvatske etnologije i kulturne antropologije, koje je, zbog primarnog fokusa na institucionalizaciju, ostalo izvan istraživačkog fokusa. U različitim preglednim radovima ovo razdoblje primarno se predstavlja kroz prizmu krize unutar kulturnopovijesne paradigme i pojave novih istraživačkih pravaca. Iako ne dovodim u pitanje navedenu konstataciju, u radu pokazujem jednu drukčiju sliku ovog razdoblja na temelju korespondencije dvojice etnologa koja razdoblje socijalizma prikazuje u ponešto nijansiranijem tonu: s jedne strane doista obilježenim krizom unutar domaće etnologije, ali s druge strane kao dinamično razdoblje za razvoj hrvatske i slovačke etnologije. Naime, usprkos izazovnoj društveno-političkoj situaciji, razdoblje socijalizma obilježava otvaranje novih prilika za hrvatsku etnologiju u vidu obnove međuratnih intelektualnih veza i pokušaja akademskog umrežavanja etnologa slavističke orijentacije. Do toga dolazi krajem 60-ih i početkom 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća kada se stječu bitni preduvjeti za otvaranje hrvatske (i jugoslavenske) etnologije prema svijetu. Oni nastaju kao posljedica društveno-političkih promjena unutar socijalističke Jugoslavije u periodu tzv. ograničene liberalizacije: razdoblja postupnog ublažavanja represije komunističkog režima, uslijed čega dolazi do popuštanja napetosti i otvaranja granica prema Istoku i Zapadu. Tada dolazi do povećanja akademske mobilnosti znanstvenika iz društveno-humanističkih disciplina, među ostalim, sociologije, historiografije te etnologije i kulturne antropologije. U tom kontekstu dolazi do uspostave kontakata između Gavazzija i Podoláka, koji će rezultirati konkretnim aktivnostima na povezivanju dviju etnologija, čije su veze nakon 1948. bile prekinute usred jugoslavenskog raskida odnosa sa Sovjetskim Savezom. S obzirom na činjenicu da korespondencija ne govori samo o usko profesionalnim odnosima dvojice kolega i suradnika, već u širem smislu zahvaća zbivanja unutar obiju etnologija – to nam omogućuje da u radu prikažemo veze između hrvatske i slovačke etnologije. Iako su Podolákove aspiracije bile vrlo ambiciozne u vidu pokušaja obnove ideje začete još u međuraću – uspostave zajedničkog društva etnologa slavističke orijentacije – zbog različitih političkih okolnosti do toga nije došlo. Ono je pak rezultiralo djelomičnim uspjehom: osnutkom slavističkog časopisa, pokretanjem zajedničkih simpozija i međunarodnog terenskog seminara, koji unatoč neostvarenoj ideji ubrzo postaju mjesta intelektualnog susreta dviju etnologija i njihove interakcije s drugim europskim etnologijama. Ovaj prilog u tom smislu na odabranim primjerima iz korespondencije pokušao je prikazati susrete dvojice etnologa i dviju etnologija u drugoj polovici 20. stoljeća. Međutim, za cjelovitije razumijevanje intelektualnih veza između hrvatske i slovačke etnologije u navedenom razdoblju nužno je proširiti arhivska istraživanja na drugu građu (službena institucijska dokumentacija, fotografska građa i sl.).

Zuzana Beňušková*

Participácia Chorvátska na MFF Etnofilm v Čadci**

Sudjelovanje Hrvatske na MFF-u Etnofilm u Čadcu / Croatia's participation at the Ethnofilm IFF in Čadca

Since 1980, the biennial ethnographic and anthropological film festival Etnofilm Čadca has been held in Slovakia. Following the political changes of 1989, the festival became international, and Croatian documentary films began participating in its competitive program. This article provides an overview of these documentaries, their creators, and the awards they have received at the festival. The study compares the development of visual anthropology and ethnographic filmmaking in Slovakia and Croatia, identifying both similarities and differences between the two traditions. It also highlights two documentary films produced in Croatia by ethnologists from Moravia and Slovakia. The first, Treasure on the Island of Lastovo, offers new insights into the documentation of carnival customs on the island, examining both historical and contemporary forms of this tradition. The second film, Slovaks in Croatia, portrays the everyday life and cultural practices of a segment of the Slovak minority living in Croatia. The article further discusses why Croatia primarily submits films produced by Croatian television editorial departments to the Etnofilm Čadca festival. Through this analysis, the author seeks to encourage and strengthen Slovak-Croatian cooperation in the field of visual anthropology.

Keywords: ethnographic/anthropological film, film festival, visual anthropology, intangible cultural heritage, Croatia, Slovakia

Dokumentovanie, poznávanie a propagovanie kultúrneho dedičstva prostredníctvom filmovej dokumentácie je v súčasnom svete vizuálnych technológií výsostne aktuálnou témou. V rámci etnológie/antropológie, ktorú tradične ovláda text, je vizuálna antropológia subdisciplínou, ktorá sa zaoberá vizuálnymi aspektmi kultúry a zaznamenávaním a sprostredkovaním kultúrnych javov (audio)vizuálnymi prostriedkami. Aj keď v súčasnosti má veľa odnoží experimentujúcich s využitím filmového záznamu, základom formovania tejto subdisciplíny je etnografický film slúžiaci ako dokumentačný materiál, ale aj ako žáner určený pre odborných divákov či pre širšiu verejnosť. Tento filmový žáner prešiel storočným vývinom, počas ktorého sa menil v závislosti od technických možností, ale aj v závislosti od medzinárodného diskurzu, ktorý ho vymedzil a kultivoval. Diskusia o tom, čo je etnografický film, aké kritériá by mal spĺňať a ako ho využívať v spoločenských vedách a v kultúrnej praxi je dosiaľ predmetom odborných podujatí, publikácií a výučby na univerzitách.

So vznikom etnografického filmu ako subžánru dokumentárnych filmov vznikli aj filmové festivaly (prehliadky,

* ZUZANA BEŇUŠKOVÁ, Ústav etnológie a sociálnej antropológie SAV, Bratislava (Slovenská republika).

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súťaže), ktoré približujú aktuálnu tvorbu a najlepšie počiny v tejto oblasti. Keďže tvorba etnografických filmov je na pomedzí etnológie/antropológie a filmovej dokumentaristiky, festivaly etnografických filmov sú stretnutím etnológov/antropológov a filmárov. S takýmto zámerom vznikol aj filmový festival na Slovensku Etnofilm Čadca, ktorý sa ako bienále v priebehu 45 rokov svojej existencie stal medzinárodným podujatím a prezentáciou etnografických filmov. Na jedenástich ročníkoch tohto festivalu bol zastúpený aj chorvátsky etnografický film a dva filmy českej a slovenskej produkcie vznikli na základe filmového materiálu z Chorvátska. Prehľad tejto produkcie v kontexte storočnice formovania a existencie etnografického filmu v oboch krajinách je vyústením tejto štúdie.

Komparácia formovania etnografického filmu na Slovensku a v Chorvátsku

Zakladajúce osobnosti

Počiatky vzniku prvých etnografických filmov na Slovensku aj v Chorvátsku siahajú do obdobia po rozpade Habsburskej monarchie a začlenenia oboch krajín do viacnárodnostných štátov. Podobné časové nastavenie súvisí s vývinom filmovej techniky a s celosvetovým naštartovaním dokumentárneho filmu v podobe prvého celovečerného filmu amerického priekopníka filmového dokumentu R. Flahertyho „Nanook of the North" (1922). V oboch skúmaných krajinách stáli pri vzniku etnografického filmu dve významné osobnosti, ktoré boli počas svojich dlhých životov časovými spolupútnikmi, pretože medzi ich narodením bol časový rozdiel len päť mesiacov. Na Slovensku to bol Karel Plicka (1894 – 1987), v Chorvátsku Milovan Gavazzi (1895 – 1992).

Karel Plicka bol Čech narodený vo Viedni, všestranne umelecky orientovaný, sám sa vyhlasoval za muža deviatich remesiel. Bol významný fotograf, kameraman, filmový režisér, folklorista a hudobný vedec aj interpret, spieval v zbore Dvornej opery vo Viedni. Učarovalo mu však Slovensko, ktoré v tom čase predstavovalo civilizáciou málo dotknutú krajinu so zachovanou ľudovou kultúrou. Od roku 2024 pôsobil ako referent národopisu v Matici slovenskej, kde založil fotografický archív. Od roku 1926 mal od Matice slovenskej k dispozícii aj kameru, ktorú používal pri svojich cestách po Slovensku. Na Slovensku žil do začiatku 2. svetovej vojny, v dôsledku silnejúceho nacionalizmu po vzniku Slovenskej republiky, ktorý pociťovala najmä jeho rodina, sa vrátil do Prahy.[1] Roku 1938 spoluzaložil filmový odbor na Umeleckopriemyselnej škole v Bratislave a v Prahe v roku 1949 založil Filmovú fakultu Akadémie múzických umění (FAMU), kde bol dekanom.

Osobnosť M. Gavazziho prepájala Československo s Chorvátskom viacnásobne: etnológiu študoval u prof. Lubomíra Niederleho na Univerzite Karlovej v Prahe. Od roku 1927 až do smrti pôsobil ako profesor etnológie na univerzite v Záhrebe. *„K česko-slovenskému národopisu prejavoval cez celý život srdečný vzťah, čo dokumentoval nielen osobnými kontaktmi s českými a slovenskými vedcami, ale aj osobnou účasťou na viacerých konferenciách a prispievaním do zborníkov a časopisov...."*[2]

[1] Túto informáciu zachytáva filmový dokument „Magická osmička – muži roku 1938" v 33. minúte. Réžia Rudolf Urc. RTVS 2008. Online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Zo33VxTC-Sw

[2] PODOLÁK, Ján: Milovan Gavazzi (1895 – 1992). *Slovenský národopis / Slovak Ethnology*, a. 40, nr. 2 (1992), str. 222.

Pri zakladaní medzinárodnej komisie pre štúdium ľudovej kultúry v Karpatoch a na Balkáne (MKKKB) poskytol cenné skúsenosti z činnosti v organizácii Alpes orientales. Úzko spolupracoval pri zakladaní ročenky *Ethnologia slavica*, kde bol až do smrti členom redakčnej rady. K jeho 80. narodeninám mu bol venovaný osobitný zväzok tejto ročenky. Bol aj čestným zahraničným členom Slovenskej národopisnej spoločnosti pri SAV – stavovskej organizácie slovenských etnológov. Ján Podolák v jeho nekrológu konštatoval, že *„mal žičlivý vzťah k Slovensku a Slovákom, ktorý prejavoval najmä v situáciách, keď sme to najviac potrebovali."*[3]

Prístup ku filmovej tvorbe u oboch osobností odlišoval ich zámer a záujem. Karel Plicka inklinoval k umeleckému stvárneniu filmu, ktoré bolo na hranici dokumentu a štylizácie. Pracoval podobne ako R. Flaherty u amerických Inuitov:[4] kombinoval štylizované zábery s autentickými, pričom mu pred kamerou účinkujúci zahrali scény z ich každodenného života. S veľkou kamerou sa nemal možnosť nenápadne pohybovať medzi vidieckymi ľuďmi. Jeho vrcholným dielom je film „Zem spieva" (1933), ktorý je prvým slovenským celovečerným zvukovým filmom. Poetickou formou približuje kolobeh vidieckeho života počas štyroch ročných období. Film získal v roku 1934 na Filmovom festivale v Benátkach za réžiu Pohár mesta Benátky, medzinárodná kritika hodnotila film veľmi vysoko.[5]

Karel Plicka bol predovšetkým umelec filmár, fotograf. a zberateľ ľudových piesní. Túto činnosť neprepájal s vedeckou prácou etnológa. Vychovával však mladých filmárov a medzi jeho žiakmi na FAMU bol aj Martin Slivka, absolvent etnológie a Akadémie múzických umění v Prahe, ktorý ako prvý „antropofilmár" na Slovensku priblížil slovenský etnografický film o krôčik k vizuálnej antropológii.

Podobne ako všestranný umelec K. Plicka, aj etnológ M. Gavazzi zaznamenával segmenty tradičnej kultúry Chorvátska v čase, keď kultúra dediny prechádzala významnými zmenami a jej tradičné formy mizli alebo speli k zániku. Filmová činnosť M. Gavazziho sa začala v roku 1922, keď ako etnológ používal amatérsku bezzvukovú kameru na výskum kultúry svojej krajiny.[6] Ako filmár samouk zaznamenával všetko, čo vzbudilo jeho odborný záujem. Očarili ho filmy R. Flahertyho a J. Roucha, najmä tie z Afriky, ktoré ako sám povedal, videl skoro všetky.[7] Gavazzi poukazoval na primárnu funkciu etnografického filmu ako vizuálneho svedectva, ktoré zachováva alebo vytvára trvalé obrazy. Jeho filmové záznamy dokumentujúce tradície dedín Chorvátska a Bosny prevažne zostávali v nespracovanej podobe ako tzv. *footages*. Podobu filmového záznamu má aj jeho najznámejší dokument „Seljačka svadba u Hr-

[3] *Ibidem*.

[4] FLAHERTY, Robert: *Nanook of the North* (2022); *Moana of South Seas* (1926).

[5] Ďalšie filmy Karola Plicku: *Za slovenským ľudom* (1928); *Po horách, po dolách* (1929), *Jaro na Podkarpatské Rusi* (1929), pozri aj film o Plickovi *Na počiatku bola pieseň*, dostupné na: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DeXCPVl7DmE.

[6] V tom istom čase vznikli v Chorvátsku aj cenné dokumentačné filmové nahrávky v rámci Školy národného zdravia v Záhrebe, kde ich inicioval Andrija Štampar s cieľom zdravotníckej osvety a edukácie.

[7] KRIŽNAR, Naško: Razgovor z Milovanom Gavazzijem. *Etnološka tribina*, a 22, nr. 15 (1992), str. 187–200. Dostupné online: https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/119990.

vatskoj“ (1922),[8] ktorý je súčasťou nedokončenej série „Narodni život i običaji“.[9]

Svoje nemé dokumenty sa nažil spracovať podľa metodiky Inštitútu pre vedecký film v Göttingene (IWF),[10] s ktorým spolupracoval. V istom období svojej pracovnej kariéry sa zamýšľal aj nad metodologickými otázkami, neskôr túto tému prenechal mladším kolegom. Gavazzi klasifikuje film ako ´prísne vedecký dokument´ a ako ´bežný dokument´ kultúry. Osobitne zdôrazňuje charakteristiky, ktoré odrážajú fakty a autentickosť v najlepšom možnom zmysle. Po prvýkrát sa pokúšal o akúsi klasifikáciu, ktorá rozlišuje medzi etnografickým alebo faktografickým filmom a etnologickým filmom, ktorý, ako uvádza, sa len začína formovať. Urobil tak v jednej z jeho dvoch štúdií o etnografickom filme – „Etnografski film. Njegovo značenje i primjene“ (1964).[11] Etnografický film, ktorý je iba faktografický, definuje ako film s popisnými charakteristikami, ktorý presne zbiera a dokumentuje fakty tak, ako sú. Je to film natočený v rámci výskumu etnografom, ktorý má dobré vzdelanie v etnológii a etnografii, ako aj vo fotografii a filme. Etnologický film, naopak, Gavazzi definuje ako vedecký a plánovaný film, ktorý poskytuje divákovi konkrétne, už nadobudnuté etnologické vedomosti alebo problém, ktorý je možné ďalej skúmať prostredníctvom filmu. Stále sa však kladie dôraz na etnografický film, ktorý je prezentovaný ako výsledok alebo produkt výskumu etnografa. Veril tiež v dôležitosť toho, aby režisér bol vzdelaný etnológ, aby sa minimalizovali možné chyby počas natáčania, pretože *„nebezpečenstvo chyby je oveľa menšie, ak záznam robí sám etnológ, najmä skúsený etnológ a skúsený filmový režisér.*“[12] Myšlienku kategorizácie filmov rozpracoval v texte, ktorý prvýkrát predstavil vo francúzštine na kongrese v Temešvári koncom 60. rokov 20. storočia, avšak publikovaný bol v slovinskom preklade až o dvadsať rokov neskôr pod názvom „O nujnosti kategorizacije etnografsko-folklornih filmov“ (1987).[13] Podľa experta na etnografický film juhovýchodnej Európy, slovinského etnológa Naška Križnara, bol Milovan Gavazzi prvým chorvátskym vizuálnym antropológom, ktorý sa zaoberal koncepciou etnografického filmu alebo vizuálnej antropológie.[14] Ako však konštatujú viacerí autori, bohatstvo jeho myšlienok a úvah o metódach etnografického filmového záznamu v Chorvátsku príliš nepocítili, chýbala inštitucionalizácia etnografického filmu. Bukovčan a Gotthardi-Pavlovsky hodnotia túto kategorizáciu kriticky: *„Stručne povedané, išlo o veľmi prepracovanú kategorizáciu, ktorá však vychádzala len z teoretických predpokladov a predstáv samotného Gavazziho, no nemala žiadny praktický základ, ani po nej nenadväzovalo žiadne následné vzdelávanie či škola etnografického filmu.*“[15]

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8 GOTTHARDI-PAVLOVSKY, Aleksej. *Hrvatska etnografska audiovizualna produkcija u okviru svjetskih dostignuća*. Magistarski rad, Sveučilište u Zagrebu, 2009, str. 23–24.

9 Dokument je známy aj pod názvom *Seljački svatovi iz Sunje*.

10 V súčasnosti má táto inštitúcia názov IWF Wissen und Medien gGmbH. https://filmundgeschichte.com/institut-fuer-den-wissenschaftlichen-film-iwf

11 GAVAZZI, Milovan. Etnografski film, njegovo značenje i primjena. *Slovenski Etnograf*, a. 16/17 (1964), str. 57–64. Dostupné online: https://www.etno-muzej.si/sl/etnolog/slovenski-etnograf-1617–1963

12 KRIŽNAR, Naško: Razgovor z Milovanom Gavazzijem, str. 194-195.

13 GAVAZZI, Milovan: O nujnosti kategorizacije etnografsko-folklornih filmov. *Glasnik SED* 27 (1987), str. 111–114.

14 KRIŽNAR, Naško: Razgovor z Milovanom Gavazzijem, str. 187–200.

15 BUKOVČAN, Tanja – GOTTHARDI-PAVLOVSKY, Aleksej: *Misliti kamerom*: *teorije i prakse vizualne etnografije*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet u Zagrebu, FF press, 2025, str. 132. DOI: https://doi.org/10.17234/9789533792293

Od druhej polovice 20. storočia do začiatku 21. storočia

Slovensko

Dejiny etnografického filmu na Slovensku sa za posledných 45 rokov spájajú so súťažným filmovým festivalom Etnofilm Čadca. Na tomto festivalovom bienále sa prezentovala tvorba, ktorá bola identifikovaná tvorcami či organizátormi ako etnografická, bol tu priestor na diskusie etnológov a filmárov a tie inšpirovali etnológov k odborným úvahám o etnografickom filme, ktoré boli uverejnené v popredných etnologických časopisoch.[16] Etnofilm Čadca vytvoril pomyselnú niť, ktorá dlhodobo prepojila etnológov a filmárov s filmovou dokumentáciou spôsobu života.

Vznik Etnofilmu Čadca bol výsledkom filmovej a televíznej produkcie troch nezávislých zdrojov v 50. až 70. rokoch 20. storočia:[17]

Vedecko-výskumný tím Ústavu hudobnej vedy Slovenskej akadémie vied,[18] využíval filmovú kameru v odbornej vedeckej práci od 60. rokov 20. storočia. Tejto činnosti sa venoval predovšetkým Oskár Elschek a členovia kolektívu z etnomuzikologického a filmárskeho prostredia, ktorí neustále zdôrazňovali nevyhnutnosť implementovať audiovizuálnu techniku vo vedeckej praxi, i keď sa nie vždy stretli s pochopením. Disponovali profesionálnou technikou aj profesionálnymi filmármi, ktorí sa zaslúžili o skonštruovanie originálneho audiovizuálneho terénneho vozidla. Vďaka ich tímu vznikali jedny z prvých odborných diel, ktoré v sebe spájali ako filmárske, tak i vedecké parametre.

Z podujatí, ktoré sa v tom období konali, rezonovali najviac od 60. rokov minulého storočia etnomuzikologické semináre, ktoré prinášali na Slovensko nové impulzy, venované aj filmovej dokumentácii. V roku 1979 sa konal seminár pod názvom „Filmová technika a videotechnika v etnomuzikologickom výskume." Na tomto seminári sa zúčastnil a osobne svoje filmy uvádzal aj Martin Slivka. Práve tu nadobudla konkrétne črty myšlienka založenia festivalu Etnofilm Čadca. V tom čase už tri roky fungovala prehliadka národopisných filmov Etnofilm v Rožnove pod Radhoštěm v Českej republike, ktorá taktiež v nemalej miere inšpirovala vznik filmového festivalu Etnofilm Čadca. Kým Etnofilm v Rožnove pod Radhoštěm[19] sa venoval amatérskemu filmu, Etnofilm Čadca sa chcel zamerať na tvorbu profesionálov. Oba festivaly sa striedali bienálne, čo sa javilo ako vhodná kombinácia.

2. Medzi profesionálnymi filmármi v druhej polovici 20. storočia *sa stal priekopníkom etnografickej línie slovenského filmového dokumentu* vyštudovaný filmár a etnológ Martin Slivka, žiak Karola Plicku. Od roku 1967 pôsobil v Štúdiu krátkych filmov v Bratislave ako režisér, kde nakrútil množstvo významných dokumentov.[20] Od roku 1977 začal učiť na odbore dokumentárnej tvorby na Vysokej škole múzických umení v Bratislave a tu sa v roku 1990 stal aj dekanom Filmovej

16 Ide o časopisy *Slovenský národopis* a *Etnologické rozpravy*.

17 Podrobnejšie: BEŇUŠKOVÁ, Zuzana – JURISOVÁ, Daniela: Slovenský etnografický film na hojdačke. *Biograf*, a. 73, nr. 1–2 (2022), str. 51–77.

18 Predchádzajúci názov je Umenovedný ústav SAV.

19 Štatút festivalu Etnofilm Čadca zo dňa 1. januára 1984 uvádza úzku spoluprácu s festivalom amatérskych národopisných filmov Etnofilm Rožnov pod Radhoštěm.

20 MAYEROVÁ, Ingrid – URC, Rudolf – LUŽICA, René: *Ostáva človek – Martin Slivka*. Bratislava: Tigon, 2009.

a televíznej fakulty, ktorú spoluzakladal. Autorsky sa podieľal na vyše 140 filmoch.[21] Bol scenárista, režisér a etnograf v jednej osobe. Ako žiak K. Plicku tvorivo spájal etnografiu s filmovou rečou a ako odborník aj v čisto filmovej oblasti ideálne a novátorsky konfrontoval tieto dva svety a prispel k formovaniu a vývoju etnografického filmu v širšom zmysle. Dobre sa pohyboval i v oblasti etnológie a antropológie, zaujala ho najmä francúzska filmová vlna *Cinéma vérité* a dielo Jeana Roucha. Spolupracoval s umelcami a akademikmi z východnej Európy. Po vpáde vojsk Varšavskej zmluvy do Československa sa vo svojom názore nezhodoval s politickou situáciou v krajine. Slivka prežil obdobie politickej normalizácie (1970 – 1989) v ústraní. V tom čase pracoval na svojich publikáciách „Slovenský národopisný film I." a neskôr „Slovenský národopisný film II.", ktoré boli vydané v rokoch 1982 a 1994.[22] Je aj autorom dvoch kvalitných etnologických monografií „Ľudové masky" (1990) **a** „Slovenské ľudové divadlo" (2002).

3. Ďalší podnet na vznik festivalu Etnofilm Čadca prišiel aj zo Slovenskej televízie. Dôvodom bola nevyhovujúca situácia vo filmovej a televíznej tvorbe o ľudovej kultúre v tejto inštitúcii a snaha odborníkov o účinnejšie usmerňovanie tejto tvorby. Vysielanie televízie sa začalo na Slovensku v roku 1956. Trend televíznej tvorby sa najmä v 70. a 80. rokoch nekontrolovateľne uberal svojským smerom a vzájomná odborná diskusia medzi odborníkmi v umeleckej a akademickej oblasti začala zaostávať. Televízna tvorba skĺzavala do štylizácie a komerčného gýču.

Spomenuté tri podnety môžeme označiť ako hlavný spúšťač potreby vzniku podujatia Etnofilm Čadca. Vďaka tomuto festivalu existuje na Slovensku prehľad o tvorbe dokumentárnych filmov, ktoré nesú prvky etnografickosti (etnograficity), ako ich definoval Karl Heider: „Etnografický film je film, ktorý reflektuje etnografické porozumenie."[23] Tak, aká je táto definícia vágna, taká je vágna aj etnografickosť v časti filmových dokumentov, ktoré súťažili na Etnofilme Čadca, ba aj niektorých ocenených. V skutočnosti Etnofilm Čadca počas celej svojej existencie definovaný etnografický film nemal, čo ho diskvalifikovalo v členstve v medzinárodných asociáciách festivalov antropologických filmov. Napriek tomu sa na ňom objavili závany spoznávania západnej vizuálnej antropológie.

Od vzniku festivalu sa organizátori pohrávali s otázkou dať Etnofilmu medzinárodný charakter. Pomyselné hranice Československa mala prehliadka prekročiť v roku 1984 premietnutím filmu *„Ľudská pyramída"* (1961)[24] významného francúzskeho autora Jeana Roucha s výkladom M. Slivku. Napriek snahám tento film zapožičať, sa organizátori nestretli s pochopením u kolegov z Československého filmového ústavu v Prahe. Išlo totiž o veľmi vzácne kópie. Napokon tento film v programe nahradil juhoslovanský hraný film. Film Jeana Roucha sa následne podarilo premietnuť na Etnofilme v roku 1986.

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[21] Za svoju filmovú tvorbu získal viac ako 40 významných ocenení na domácich i zahraničných festivaloch. Film Odchádza človek (1968) o pohrebných tradíciách v Bulharsku natočený v odbornej spolupráci s Christom Vakarelskim, zaradilo UNESCO v roku 1995 do zoznamu svetového kultúrneho dedičstva. S jeho najvýznamnejšími filmami sa dá zoznámiť na https://dafilms.sk/director/9259-martin-slivka, viaceré sú prístupné na YouTube.com.

[22] MAYEROVÁ, Ingrid – URC, Rudolf – LUŽICA, René: *Ostáva človek – Martin Slivka*.

[23] HEIDER, Karl. G: *Ethnographic Film*: *Revised* Edition. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.

[24] V originálnom znení: *La Pyramide humaine*, 1961.

Spoločensko-politické zmeny po roku 1989 ovplyvnili ďalší vývin festivalu. V priebehu 90. rokov 20. storočia si hľadal svoje miesto v novo sa formujúcich festivalových štruktúrach, ba aj na mape Slovenska. Filmové dokumenty, na ktorých participovali etnológovia, vznikli v 90. rokoch 20. storočia takmer výlučne v spolupráci s verejnoprávnou televíziou. V Ústave hudobnej vedy SAV prebehli v 90. rokoch 20. storočia procesy, ktoré výrobu filmových dokumentov zabrzdili a postupne zastavili. Po roku 1989 mali pracovníci tohto ústavu stále menej a menej výskumných možností a menej financií na technické investície.

Vedúcou osobnosťou na poli tvorby slovenského etnografického filmu bol aj v 90. rokoch Martin Slivka a slovenskú televíznu tvorbu úspešne odborne usmerňoval aj etnológ René Lužica, ktorý po štúdiu etnológie pracoval takmer dvadsať rokov v Slovenskej televízii ako dramaturg, aj ako spoluautor niektorých etnografických filmových dokumentov. V tom desaťročí vznikli dva významné televízne seriály: v koprodukcii s Nemeckom 13-dielny seriál o kultúrnych tradíciách Rómov v rôznych častiach Európy, nazvaný „Deti vetra" (1990, réžia M. Slivka). Druhým je 15-dielny seriál „Etnografický atlas Slovenska" (1994, scenár D. Luther a ďalší odborníci na jednotlivé témy),[25] vychádzajúci z tém a poznatkov získaných v rovnomennom kartografickom vedeckom diele, ktoré vyšlo v roku 1990. Oba seriály sa prostredníctvom jedného ukážkového dielu zúčastnili na súťažných projekciách Etnofilmu Čadca a získali aj ocenenia.

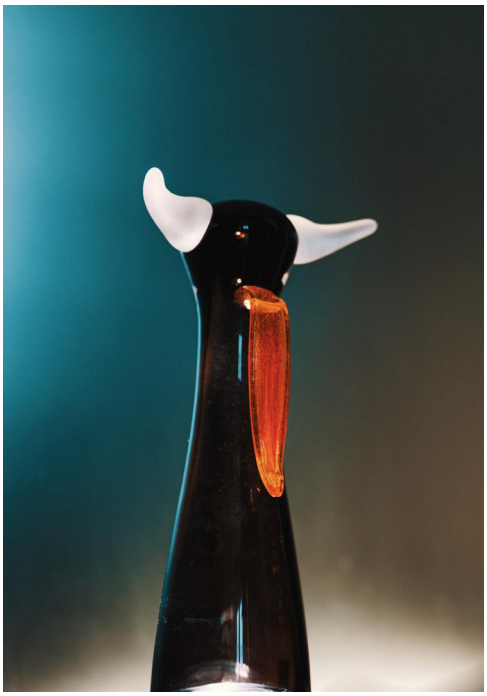
V priebehu 90. rokov 20. storočia sa začalo na festivale Etnofilm Čadca meniť chápanie etnografickosti v dokumentárnom filme. Namiesto termínu národopisný film sa začal uprednostňovať termín etnografický film. Súviselo to aj s premenovaním národopisu na etnológiu. S ústupom etnológov z festivalu sa Etnofilm Čadca rozšíril z etnografických filmov na filmové dokumenty blízke sociológii, psychológii či filozofii, ktoré reagovali na súdobú spoločnosť a intenzívne spoločenské procesy a hodnotové zmeny. Do centra pozornosti sa v rámci etnológie dostali najmä témy súvisiace s etnickou identitou. Dialóg etnológie a filmovej tvorby sa oslabil. Okolo roku 2000, keď sa z Etnofilmu Čadca takmer vytratili etnológovia, začal nadobúdať čoraz väčší medzinárodný rozmer a po rozpačitejšom období sa zdalo, že naberal nový dych.

Jednorazový návrat k svetovej tvorbe nastal až v roku 2010, keď bol premietnutý film R. Flahertyho „Nanook of the North" s odborným výkladom Daniely Jurisovej, absolventky magisterského štúdia vizuálnej antropológie v Londýne a autorky dizertačnej práce „Vývinové aspekty etnografického filmu na Slovensku do roku 1990" (2019, školiteľka Z. Beňušková). V roku 2010 sa ako člen odbornej poroty festivalu zúčastnil aj Naško Križnar, ktorý uviedol prednášku o jeho výskumnom programe a ISE audiovizuálnom laboratóriu na Oddelení etnológie a kultúrnej antropológie Filozofickej fakulty v Ľubľane.[26]

V posledných desaťročiach prebiehajú kurzy vizuálnej antropológie na slo-

[25] Dokument o historickom vývoji tradičnej ľudovej kultúry na území Slovenska režíroval Martin Plch a má tieto časti: 1. *Agrárna kultúra*, 2. *Rodinné obrady*, 3. *Remeslá a remeselná výroba*, 4. *Tanec*, 5. *Divadelný prejav*, 6. *Strava*, 7. *Chov hospodárskych zvierat*, 8. *Odev*, 9. *Sídla a ulice*, 10. *Vinohradníctvo*, 11. *Výtvarný prejav*, 12. *Domy*, 13. *Obchod, trhy, jarmoky*, 14. *Kalendárne obyčaje*, 15. *Hudba*.

[26] BEŇUŠKOVÁ, Zuzana – JURISOVÁ, Daniela: Visions of visual ethnography (Interview with Prof. Dr. Naško Križnar, research advisor). *Slovenský národopis*, a. 62, nr. 4 (2014), str. 547–554.



Obr. 1: *ZlatýTuroň – hlavná cena MFF Etnofilm Čadca.*

venských katedrách etnológie, ale len na Univerzite Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre sa kurz prepája aj s praktickými zručnosťami približujúcimi študentom zásady filmovej tvorby. Nadobudnuté zručnosti môžu uplatniť v oblasti edukácie, kultúry a osvety, avšak pre filmovú tvorbu nie sú dostatočné. Etnológov/antropológov vysokoškolsky vyškolených aj v odbore dokumentárny film, alebo s mimoriadnou amatérskou praxou dosahujúcou profesionálnu kvalitu, možno zrátať na jednej ruke. Do prvej kategórie patria Jaroslava Panáková (Filmová a televízna fakulta AMU, Praha), Petr Nuska (PhD. na University of Durham) a Daniela Jurisová (Goldsmiths College, University of London).[27] Do druhej Soňa Lutherová (ÚESA SAV), ktorá ako filmová režisérka spolupracuje s profesionálnymi filmovými agentúrami, a nižšie spomenutý Miroslav Bartoš. Aj ďalší etnológovia spolupracovali s profesionálnymi aj amatérskymi filmármi, ktorých produkty sú prezentované na Etnofilme v Čadci a od roku 2014 aj na amatérskom festivale Folklór a tradície, ktorý organizuje (a výsledky archivuje) mesto Hriňová.

Tu vyvstáva otázka, či prílišná umelecká kultivácia etnografického filmu počnúc K. Plickom a následne M. Slivkom, volanie po profesionalite a neustála konfrontácia s profesionálnym filmom na Etnofilme Čadca v konečnom dôsledku nezabrzdili slovenských etnológov a nezobrali im odvahu pustiť sa do natáčania vlastnými silami a zorganizovania prehliadky etnologických filmov, ktorá by korešpondovala s charakterom zahraničných festivalov antropologických filmov.[28] Etnológia je však disciplína, v ktorej sa stratený čas dobehnúť nedá.

Chorvátsko

Autori monografie o vizuálnej antropológii Bukovčan, Tanja a Gotthardi-Pavlovsky, Aleksej konštatujú, že „základným problémom vizuálnej antropológie v Chorvátsku je, *„že o tom nepremýšľame disciplinárne, teda že film v chorvátskej akademickej etnologickej komunite nie je vnímaný ako do takej miery dôležitý prostriedok profesionálneho vyjadrovania...“*[29]

Milovanovi Gavazzimu sa však predsa podarilo zasiať semienka, na ktoré nadviazali jeho kolegovia z akade-

[27] Daniela Jurisová je spoluautorka štúdie, z ktorej som čerpala v tomto texte, nepracuje však v odbore etnológia, ale je kameramankou zahraničného štábu ČT24.

[28] Etnografi zo slovenských múzeí sa až v posledných rokoch začínajú venovať aj filmovej dokumentácii, v expozíciách sa multimediálne informácie stále využívajú len minimálne, súvisí to aj s poddimenzovanou finančnou situáciou múzeí na Slovensku.

[29] BUKOVČAN, Tanja – GOTTHARDI-PAVLOVSKY, Aleksej: *Misliti kamerom,* str. 133.

mickej sféry a 60. roky 20. storočia boli najplodnejšie z hľadiska natáčania pre Etnologický inštitút v Záhrebe (dnešná Katedra etnológie a kultúrnej antropológie – záhrebskej Filozofickej fakulty). Bol to najmä Andrija Stojanović, od 60. rokov 20. storočia dôležitý Gavazziho spolupracovník na filmovaní. Stojanović sa už počas štúdia prejavoval ako dobrý kreslič a potom ako dobrý fotograf a kameraman. Keďže si ho Gavazzi udržal na fakulte, začal s ním natáčať a potom to úplne nechal na ňom. V desaťročí od roku 1960 do roku 1970 Etnologický inštitút natočil približne vyše pätnásť filmov. Gavazzi samostatne natočil dva filmy a spolu so Stojanovićom štyri filmy.[30] Stojanović pracoval ako kameraman a ako spoluautor týchto diel. Okrem toho natočil Stojanović v 60. rokoch 20. storočia ďalších deväť filmov, niektoré samostatne ako kameraman, niektoré ako etnológ, režisér a scenárista s ďalšími kameramanmi a niektoré ako režisér a kameraman s ďalšími etnológmi ako scenáristami alebo spoluscenáristami (monografia). Etnologický ústav v Záhrebe v období rokov 1971 – 1976 vytvoril päť filmov, všetky režíroval Andrija Stojanović. Všetky filmy boli natočené kamerou bez zvuku, takže výrazovým prostriedkom je samotný obraz. K niektorým je dohraný komentár, alebo samostatne nahraná zvuková atmosféra počas strihu, napríklad hudba na tradičných nástrojoch daného regiónu.[31]

> *„Film v skutočnosti vyzerá ako – dnes by sme povedali – dokumentárna vzdelávacia televízna relácia. Štýlovo je to jediné z filmových diel Inštitútu etnológie, ktoré bolo natočené vo forme toho, čo sa vtedy a neskôr vo svete nakrúcalo pod názvom etnografický film. V televízii by sme to nazvali dokumentárnou reportážou. Štýlovo takto vyzerali v tom čase a neskôr, až do 90. rokov 20. storočia, aj mnohé dokumentárne relácie Oddelenia ľudovej hudby a zvykov Televízie Záhreb. (...) Záverom možno povedať, že pokiaľ ide o chorvátsku vedeckú etnografickú filmovú produkciu v 60. rokoch 20. storočia, väčšina toho, čo sa vyrábalo, bola stále vo forme záznamu a podľa princípu: výskumník sám filmuje svoj objekt výskumu (...) svoje dokumenty netvorili z etnologických/antropologických motívov, napriek tomu sa témy ich filmov niekedy dajú stotožniť s etnologickými. Je zrejmé, že nemá zmysel merať ich podľa kritérií profesionálneho etnografického záznamu. Okrem toho ide o filmy, nie o vedecké diela. Práve preto ich namiesto* etnografických *radšej nazvime* etnografickými *alebo* etnograficky užitočnými.*“*[32]

Okrem toho, podobne ako na Slovensku, štátna televízia v Juhoslávii produkovala množstvo hudobno-zábavných relácií s cieľom vytvárania nejakej formy národnej identity v rámci mnohonárodného spoločného štátu, ktoré boli veľmi rôznorodej kvality. Etnológovia a folkloristi sa často podieľali na týchto programoch ako scenáristi, spoluscenáristi alebo profesionálni spolupracovníci. *„Niektoré z týchto relácií boli natočené spôsobom dokumentárnych reportáží s edukatívnou poznámkou a naratívnym textom, zatiaľ čo iné boli skôr dokumentárne, na spôsob vtedajšej umeleckej dokumentárnej filmovej produkcie v Chorvátsku.“*[33]

Etnologický inštitút v Záhrebe natáčal tradičné tance v teréne a na festi-

[30] *Ibidem*, str. 134. Išlo o filmy: *Rakaljsko lončarstvo iz Istre* a *Izrada pokljuka* z oblasti Požegy a so Stojanovičom: *Jerovečki lončari*, *Šestinski opanci* zo Záhrebského prigorja a *Prevlačenje drvene kuće* z Turopolja a jeden film s pracovným názvom *Život na Neretve*zostal nedokončený.

[31] *Ibidem*, str. 136.

[32] *Ibidem*, str. 140.

[33] *Ibidem*, str. 144.

valoch, dokumenty o ľudovej výrobe a obyčajach, najčastejšie fašiangových. Autormi filmov boli Ivan Ivančan, Josip Milićević. Tieto filmy boli natočené bezzvukovou kamerou, teda zvuk sa nedal zaznamenať synchrónne s obrazom. Zaznamenané materiály zostávali prevažne vo forme materiálu, surového materiálu a nie sú zostrihané. Milana Černelić organizovala natáčanie svojho výskumu so skupinou vtedajších študentov v Like, v 90. rokoch Tomo Vinšćak Pavlovsky organizoval natáčanie svojich ciest z výskumu v Tibete a Nepále. Tihana Petrović, Tomislav Pletenac a Tomo Vinšćak, ako odborní spolupracovníci alebo scenáristi, neskôr spolupracovali s Chorvátskym rozhlasom a televíziou (HRTV). Zorica Vitez natočila film s o svojím manželom, vynikajúcim kameramanom Ivicom Rajkovićom.

Od 60. rokov 20. storočia začali v Chorvátsku vznikať autorské filmové dokumenty profesionálnych filmárov, ktoré sa zaoberali životom bežných ľudí a komunít.

> *„Čo sa týka chorvátskych dokumentaristov, trend ich tvorby, ktorý sa začal v 60. rokoch 20. storočia, pokračoval aj počas 70. rokov (...) nejde o filmy s etnografickým zámerom a ešte menej o akúkoľvek etnologickú metódu, keďže ich autori nie sú etnológovia. Zaoberajú sa však témami, z ktorých niektoré už boli zaujímavé pre chorvátsku etnológiu, zatiaľ čo niektoré súčasnejšie javy vo vidieckych a mestských oblastiach sa nimi stali v tom istom desaťročí. (...), väčšina z nich sú krátke filmy. Niektoré z nich sú veľmi etnografické – v zmysle zaznamenávania ľudského správania v určitej situácii – spôsobom, ktorý by mohla využiť profesionálna etnografia – zatiaľ čo niektoré sú dôrazne umelecké a snažia sa film prostredníctvom svojho vyjadrenia zredukovať na myšlienku, predstavu, pocit alebo vášeň.“*[34]

K tým kvalitnejším filmárom patrili dokumenty Iva Škrabala, Krsta Papića a Petra Krelju. Toto konštatovanie objasňuje, prečo na Etnofilm v Čadci dosiaľ posiela Chorvátsko prevažne snímky z produkcie HRTV.

Počas 70. rokov 20. storočia sa v Chorvátsku konali aj tri menšie festivaly etnografických filmov a filmových produktov zaujímavých pre etnológiu. Organizovala ich etnologička Zorica Vitez v rámci Medzinárodného folklórneho festivalu v Záhrebe, Premietali sa na nich Gavazziho filmové záznamy, ako aj niektoré zo spomínaných dokumentárnych filmov chorvátskych režisérov, ktorí nie sú etnológovia.

Chorvátsko tiež malo svoj filmový festival Etnofilm, ktorý organizovalo Etnografické múzeum Istrie v Pazine v rokoch 2009 – 2021. Festival sa konal v Rovinji ako platforma pre dokumentáciu, interpretáciu, zdieľanie, znovuobjavovanie a propagáciu živého dedičstva prostredníctvom vizuálnej antropológie ako metodologického rámca. Festival prezentoval tri kategórie filmov:

1. Kategória profesionálnych etnológov/antropológov
2. Kategória profesionálnych etnológov/antropológov v televíznej produkcii
3. Kategória študentov etnológov/antropológov.

Zúčastnili sa na ňom aj významné osobnosti vizuálnej antropológie. Napríklad riaditeľ ruského Centra pre vizuálnu etnológiu Evgenij Alexandrov či už nežijúci svetoznámi vizuálni antropológovia Jay Ruby a Marcus Banks, ktorí navštívili chorvátsky festival etnografických filmov a prezentovali svoju vtedy

[34] *Ibidem*, str. 161.

novú knihu *Made to be Seen. Perspectives on the History of Visual Anthropology*. Riaditeľkou festivalu bola Tamara Nikolić-Đerić, expertka na nehmotné kultúrne dedičstvo UNESCO.

Prehľad chorvátskych filmov a filmov nakrútených v Chorvátsku na MMF Etnofilm Čadca

2002

Pučka intima – Episode 1 / Ľudská intimita – časť 1 / People´s Intimacy – Episode 1 (Vladka Vorkapić)

Od samice do fenderice / Od tamburíny po elektrickú gitaru / From tambourine to electric guitar (Tomislav Mršić, Aleksej Pavlovsky)

2004 0

2006

Stratený poklad / Izgubljeno blago / Lost treasure (Branko Istvancic, Vido Bagur)

Poklad na ostrove Lastovo / Poklad na otoku Lastovu / Carnival on the island Lastovo (Pavel Popelka – ČR)

N[35]/Ribanje / Trenie / Rubbing (Irena Škorić)

N/Vatra, voda, brašno / Oheň, voda, múka / Fire, water, flour (Irena Škorić)

2008

Kto sa môže stať zvončarom? / Ki more bit zvoncar / Who can be the bell ringer? (Ivo Kuzmanić) – *cena primátora mesta Čadca*

Slováci v Chorvátsku / Slovaci u Hrvatskoj / Slovaks in Croatia (Miroslav Bartoš – SR) **-** *cena predsedu Žilinského samosprávneho kraja*

2010

Badnjica u Cisti Velikoj / Štedrý deň v dedine Cista Velika / Christmas Eve in Cista Velika (Ivo Kuzmanić, Aleksej Pavlovsky).

N/ Kruha služiti / Zarábanie na chlieb / Earning Daily Break (Ivo Kuzmanić)

N/ Sevdalinka/ Sevdalinka/ Sevdalinka (Marina Andree Skop - Studio dym 66´)

N: Etnoforenzičari: U gradu Dugom Selu / Etnoforenzný výskum v meste Dlhá dedina/ Ethnoforensics:in the Town of Long Village / (Ivo Kuzmanić)

2012

Korizmene pjesme u Rogotinu / Pôstne spevy v Rogotine / Lenten songs in Rogotin (Ljiljana Mandić)

Etnoforenzičari: proizvodnja vina / Etnoforenzia: výroba vína / Ethnophorensis: wine production/ (Ivo Kuzmanić)

2014

40 sati molitve iz Komiže / 40 hodín modlitieb z Komiže / 40 hours of prayer from Komiža (Davor Borić)

Etnofikcia žatvy / Harvest Ethnofiction (Ivo Kuzmanić)

N/ Svetog Patrika u Zagrebu / Svätý Patrik v Záhrebe / Saint Patrick in Zagreb (Marko Dimić)

2016

Djeca na prodaju / Deti na predaj / Ivo Kuzmanic – *cena primátora mesta Čadca*

N/ Samson među suncobranima / Samson medzi slnečníkmi / Samson among the parasols (Davor Borić)

2018

Prijevoz vina s Pelješca / Prevážanie vína z Pelješacu / Transporting wine from Pelješac (Davor Borić)

2020

Da mi Uskrs dođe / Nech príde Veľká noc / Let Eater Come / Ljiljana Šišmanović, Davor Borić

[35] Poznámka N – film sa nedostal do súťažnej projekcie.

2022

Tak je bilo na Sesvete / Tak to bolo na Všechsvätých / That´s how it was on All Saint´s Day (Ljiljana Mandić) *cena primátora mesta Čadca*

N/Tragovi / Stopy / Traces (Luka Klapan)

N/Animo jato / Pod kŕdeľ / Come on flock (Branko Istvancić, Ivo Kuzmanić)

2024

Slamené medvede – symbol lokálnej identity josipovských Slovákov / Slamnati medvjedici – simbol lokalnog identiteta Slovaka iz Josipovskih planina / Straw Bears – a Symbol of the local Identity of the Slovaks from Josipovac (Igor Milicic)

Potkalnički ugljenari / Uhliari spod Kalnice / Kalnik charcoal makers (Ivan Sukalic)

Zvona za mrtve / Zvony pre mŕtvych / Bells for the dead (Ljiljana Mandić)

N/Maškare u Končanici / Karneval v Končanici / Carnival in Končanica (Ivo Kuzmanić)

N/Rijeka moje mladosti, 1. epizoda / Rijeka mojej mladosti, 1. epizóda / Rijeka of My Youth, Episode 1 (Davor Borić)

Prevažná časť chorvátskej produkcie filmových dokumentov prezentovaných na Etnofilme v Čadci je z produkcie štátnej televízie HRTV v réžii profesionálnych filmárov pracujúcich pre televízne redakcie. Dominuje Ivo Kuzmanić (osem filmov) a Davor Borić (päť filmov), od Ljiljany Mandić boli prezentované tri filmy. Rukopisy oboch najfrekventovanejších filmových režisérov sú čitateľné, mnohé z filmov sú zamerané na obyčajovú kultúru, prípadne na osobitné zručnosti. Časovo sú ladené podľa televíznych vysielacích blokov (do 30 minút). Prinášajú zaujímavé informácie, ale etnológ vníma, že filmy boli vytvorené rýchlo, bez hlbšieho ponoru do témy. To je aj dôvod, že mnohé zo zaslaných filmov neprešli do súťažnej projekcie. V pamäti diváka azda najviac utkvel film „Kto sa môže stať zvončarom?“, ktorý je sondou do fungovania zvončarských fašiangových skupín.

Filmy o Chorvátsku z českej a slovenskej produkcie na Etnofilme v Čadci:

„Poklad na ostrove Lastovo“, autor Pavel Popelka, Česká republika (2006)

Autor filmu je etnológ, ktorý pôsobil v Múzeu Jána Amosa Komenského v Uherskom Brode, dlhú dobu ako riaditeľ múzea. Venoval sa zaznamenávaniu živého kultúrneho dedičstva v moravskej časti Českej republiky a túto činnosť zakomponoval aj do náplne práce múzea. Od konca 90. rokov je múzeum organizátorom súťažnej prehliadky múzejných filmov – MUSAIONfilm. Pavel Popelka je zároveň spoluorganizátorom festivalu fašiangových tradícií Fašank Strání, ktorý zaznamenal v roku 2025 už 38. ročník.

Ku spojeniu filmu a záujmu o fašiangy pridal projekt zameraný na výskum mečových tancov, ktorým sledoval stopy českého múzejníka a etnochoreológa Františka Pospíšila,[36] dokumentujúceho v medzivojnovom období v západnej Európe a na chorvátskych ostrovoch tance so šabľami. Televízia BBC o ňom urobila

[36] František Pospíšil (1885 – 1985) etnograf a muzejník, ktorý využíval pri svojej bádateľskej činnosti moderné záznamové techniky fonograf, fotoaparát a kameru. Prvý film pravdepodobne natočil v roku 1922. Venoval sa výskumu mečových tancov a jeho záznamy sú aj z ostrovov Lastovo a Korčula v Chorvátsku. Za výskum balkánskych zbrojných tancov získal juhoslovanský Rad sv. Sávu IV. triedy. Uverejnil štúdiu POSPÍŠIL, František: Mečový (zbrojný) tanec na slovanské půdě. *Národopisný věstník československý*, 6 (1911), str. 25–55.

Obr. 2: *Snímka Františka Pospíšila tanečníkov so šabľami a spáleného Poklada z natáčania karnevalu v Lastove v seriáli televízie BBC* Dancing for the Camera. Europeans Roots. *(PrintScreen)*

v rámci cyklu „Dancing for the Camera. Europeans Roots" dokument, pre ktorý bolo potrebné nasnímať súčasný materiál z ostrova Lastovo. To bol dôvod, prečo sa P. Popelka s kamerou vydal v roku 2005 na tento ostrov známy živými karnevalovými tradíciami.

Fašiangy na Lastove boli už minulosti predmetom záujmu chorvátskych filmárov a etnológov. V roku 1970 vznikol televízny filmový dokument „Lastovský karneval" v réžii Igora Michielija pričom poradcom a scenáristom bol etnológ Ivan Ivančan. Časť zvykov však bola úplne preorganizovaná a upravená pre televízne natáčanie, čo sa divák nedozvedel. Z filmu sa vytratili aj masky „krásnych tanečníc", čo bolo predmetom kritiky Ivy Niemčić.[37]

Na margo týchto zmien konštatujú T. Bukovčan a A. Gotthardi-Pavlovsky:

> *„Prítomnosť jedného etnológa nahrávajúceho kamerou by pravdepodobne nepriniesla toľko skreslenia ako desaťčlenný televízny alebo filmový štáb s osvetlením, zariadeniami na záznam obrazu a zvuku, stojanmi a káblami.* (...) *Samotná organizácia záznamu skresľuje pravdu okamihu, keďže nie je čas čakať na to, kým sa situácie stanú, a preto ich treba organizovať. (...) Pri tom všetkom je veľmi dôležitý fakt, že ide o národnú, verejnoprávnu televíznu stanicu v krajine, respektíve televíziu ako médium, ktorej produkt – reláciu alebo film – uvidí veľké množstvo ľudí, čo je pre natáčanú komunitu vždy mimoriadne dôležité a významné."*[38]

Napriek tomu, že film nebol vo všetkých segmentoch dôveryhodný, povzbudil „pokladárov" (fašiangovníkov) z Lastova, aby zvyk, ktorému už hrozil zánik, naďalej vykonávali s väčšou energiou než dovtedy.[39] V roku 1999 vznikol

[37] NIEMČIĆ, Iva: Tragom nevidljive plesačice. *Narodna umjetnost*, a. 39, nr. 2 (2002), str. 77–92.

[38] BUKOVČAN, Tanja – GOTTHARDI-PAVLOVSKY, Aleksej: *Misliti kamerom,* str. 169.

[39] PULJAR D'ALESSIO, Sanja: *Lastovski poklad u filmskom mediju*. Magistarski rad, IEF rkp. 1712, Katedra etnológie a kultúrnej antropológie Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity v Záhrebe, 2000.

v chorvátskej televízii dokument práve o zmenách v tomto zvyku s názvom „Poklad lastovski i njegove mijene“ (Lastovský Poklad a jeho zmeny), ktoré okrem iného spôsobila nahrávka v roku 1970, a o jej rôznych interpretáciách. Režíroval ho Dražen Piškorić a scenáristami boli Ivan Lozica a jeho študentka Sanja Puljar D'Alessio. Film bol zároveň prvou magisterskou prácou v dejinách chorvátskej etnológie a kultúrnej antropológie, ktorá sa priamo zaoberala témou z vizuálnej antropológie.[40]

V roku 2006 vznikol dokument Pavla Popelku, v ktorom bol v jednej osobe režisérom, kameramanom, strihačom a zároveň komentátorom odohrávajúceho sa deja. Z pozície filmára do filmu nijako nezasahoval, zaujal polohu pozorovateľa diania a jeho komentovania z aspektu etnológa. V komentári označuje figurínu Poklad českým slovom *Mouřenin*, ktoré vychádza z dymiacej figuríny. Divák sa nedozvie, že poklad znamená fašiangy, ale figurína Poklad je aj personifikácia fašiangov či karnevalu a symbol odchádzajúcej zimy, ktorú treba odstrániť, podobne ako v niektorých talianskych mestách na námestí symbolicky upaľujú Karnevala (na Slovensku o mesiac neskôr Morenu). Vyššie spomenuté filmy o fašiangoch v Lastove Pavel Popelka nepoznal. Výsledkom jeho úsilia je pútavý hodinový film, ktorý získal na Etnofilme v Čadci ocenenie.

„Slováci v Chorvátsku“. Réžia Miroslav Bartoš – Slovensko

Miroslav Bartoš pracuje ako filmár – živnostník, avšak nemá filmárske vzdelanie, do tejto profesie sa zaučil praxou. Externe ukončil štúdium etnológie na FF Univerzity Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, a zároveň pracoval ako kameraman v televízii, spolupracoval s Maticou slovenskou na filmovaní krajanov v zahraničí a už v tom čase mal aj vlastné filmové projekty. Film „Slováci v Chorvátsku“ bol jeho diplomovou prácou (školiteľkou je autorka tohto textu). Keďže film ako záverečná práca pri štúdiu etnológie na univerzite nebol akceptovaný, vznikla aj textová verzia o filme – popisuje jeho ideový námet, scenár, kontexty vzniku. M. Bartoš pri tvorbe filmu, podobne ako P. Popelka, obsiahol všetky filmové pozície – je scenáristom, kameramanom, zvukárom, strihačom, aj komentátorom. Film vytvoril na vlastné náklady, čo limitovalo jeho prácu v teréne. Odborne spolupracoval s pracovníkmi Katedry etnológie a UKF v Nitre, ktorá v tom čase zrealizovala terénny výskum v okolí Našíc. Z chorvátskej strany mu významnú pomoc poskytla – jeho vtedajšia spolužiačka – Sandra Kralj Vukšić, dnes riaditeľka Slovenského kultúrneho centra Našice v Chorvátsku a významná osobnosť slovenského krajanského života v Chorvátsku. Film na festivale Etnofilm Čadca získal cenu predsedu Žilinského samosprávneho kraja – keďže Slováci v okolí Našíc pochádzajú práve z tohto kraja, kde sa festival koná a časť filmu sa tu aj odohráva. Film niekoľkokrát uviedla verejnoprávna slovenská televízia RTVS.

Závery

Komparácia vývinu etnografického filmu a formovanie vizuálnej antropológie na Slovensku a v Chorvátsku má veľa podobných čŕt. Súvisí to s geopolitickým postavením Československa a Juhoslávie v tzv. „východnom bloku“ s čím

[40] Sanja Puljar D'Alessio je kultúrnou antropologičkou na Univerzite v Rijeke.

súvisela určitá izolácia oproti Západu, ktorý určoval tempo aj spôsob rozvoja tejto subdisciplíny, tiež orientácia na tradičnú ľudovú kultúru vlastného národa, obmedzenia vo využívaní dobovej techniky, charakteristické bolo tiež využívanie kultúrnych tradícií vo verejných médiách na upevňovanie národnej identity vo viacnárodnostných krajinách často z etnologického aspektu v problematickej kvalite.

V oboch krajinách sa v rovnakom čase významné osobnosti vedy a kultúry, M. Gavazzi a K. Plicka, zainteresovali do tvorby filmových záznamov z terénu a filmov a vytvorili podmienky pre túto tvorbu v prostredí profesionálnych inštitúcií. V 60. rokoch bola medzi oboma krajinami pomerne intenzívna spolupráca a každá sa po svojej línii zapájala do medzinárodného diania. Vývin etnografického filmu bol v oboch krajinách založený na zanietených jednotlivcoch, pre etnologické inštitúcie vizuálna etnológia nebola v centre záujmu. Obe krajiny mali svoje národné festivaly dokonca s rovnakým názvom „Etnofilm". Slovenský Etnofilm v Čadci sa začal v ére socializmu a pretrval na kolísavej úrovni a nízkej návštevnosti už 45 rokov, kým Etnofilm v Rovinji pretrval 13 úspešných ročníkov a v čase pandémie zanikol.

Na tému etnografického filmu a záznamu bolo v oboch krajinách napísaných len zopár zásadnejších textov od niekoľkých zanietených autorov. Na Slovensku diskurz na túto tému rozvíril festival Etnofilm Čadca, ktorého súčasťou bývali najmä v 80. rokoch aj semináre a búrlivé debaty medzi filmármi a etnológmi. Okrem osobnostných profilov K. Plicku a M. Slivku však na Slovensku nevznikla na tému etnografického filmu a vizuálnej antropológie žiadna monografia (v Českej republike vznikli viaceré). V roku 2014 vyšlo špecializované číslo časopisu *Slovenský národopis* venované vizuálnej antropológii. Okrem rozhovoru D. Jurisovej a Z. Beňuškovej s N. Križnarom v ňom nebol žiadny text o etnografickom filme. Slovenských etnológov s filmárskymi zručnosťami, ktorí boli schopní predstaviť svoje filmy na festivaloch etnografických filmov, sme narátali troch (Panáková, Lutherová, Bartoš), viacerí však spolupracujú s profesionálnymi alebo aj amatérskymi filmármi. Od roku 2014 existuje aj festival amatérskych filmov v meste Hriňová zameraný na tradičnú kultúru a profily tvorivých jednotlivcov, ktorý archivuje hodnotný materiál.

V Chorvátsku etnológovia vytvorili jedinú vedeckú monografiu na tému vizuálna antropológia, publikovanú v roku 2025.

Záujem akademických inštitúcií o etnografický film v oboch krajinách je viac deklarovaný, než systematicky rozvíjaný. Diplomové aj dizertačné práce o etnografickom filme sporadicky vznikajú, ale nie vždy ich tvorcovia pokračujú s tvorbou v tejto oblasti aj po ich obhájení.

Medzinárodný festival Etnofilm v Čadci v rámci retrospektívy vytvára obraz o stave vizuálnej antropológie a etnografického filmu v zúčastnených krajinách. V kontexte Chorvátska, ktoré sa prezentuje prevažne produkciou HRTV vznikla otázka, nakoľko tento obraz zodpovedá skutočnému stavu vizuálnej antropológie a etnografického filmu. Táto štúdia čiastočne prispela k objasneniu vývinu a stavu tejto skúmanej subdisciplíny na Slovensku aj v Chorvátsku. Zároveň prispela k informáciám o českej a slovenskej filmovej produkcii, ktorej objektom je kultúra a spoločnosť Chorvátska.

Nevena Škrbić Alempijević*

Književni krajolici sjećanja u otočnoj zajednici – primjer Martina Kukučína u Selcima na Braču[1]

Literárne krajiny pamäti v ostrovnej komunite – príklad Martina Kukučína v Selciach na ostrove Brač / Literary Memoryscapes in an Island Community – the Case of Martin Kukučín in Selca on the Island of Brač

This article explores the mechanisms through which island memoryscapes related to the renowned Slovak writer Martin Kukučín are created in the contemporary context. Although not born in Selca, the former municipal physician—who shared the island and emigrant everyday life of the local community—has emerged as an important symbol of local identity. His presence today is manifested through processes of place-making, toponymy, commemorative practices, and school initiatives, which foster intergenerational transmission of memory and strengthen Croatian–Slovak cultural ties.

Keywords: memoryscapes, Martin Kukučín, Selca on the Island of Brač

Uvod

Moj prvi susret s Martinom Kukučínom – rođenim kao Matej Bencúr (Jasenová, Slovačka, 1860. – Lipik, Hrvatska, 1928.), jednim od vodećih predstavnika slovačkog književnog realizma – zbio se tijekom mojih gimnazijskih dana u Bolu na rodnom otoku Braču. Taj se susret, međutim, nije ostvario posredstvom udžbenika ni čitanjem Kukučínovih književnih djela. Do njega je došlo u trenutku kada su se devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća našem razredu pridružili učenici iz susjednoga mjesta Selca.

Razredna je dinamika bila obilježena kolegijalnim zadirkivanjem, sitnim suparništvima, dubokim prijateljstvima te stalnim nastojanjem da se vlastito mjesto prikaže nadmoćnijim u odnosu na drugo. „Mi“, djeca iz Bola, isticali smo da se naša škola nalazila u zgradi prve vinogradarske zadruge u čitavoj Dalmaciji. „Mi“ smo također polagali pravo na Zlatni rat, proglasivši ga najljepšom plažom u Hrvatskoj, što je posljedično značilo i izloženost turizmu. „Oni“, djeca iz Selaca, naglašavali su svoju povezanost s dugom tradicijom vrsnih kamenoklesara. Kao stanovnici mjesta u unutrašnjosti otoka, za razliku od „nas“, nisu se pozivali na određenost morem; umjesto toga

* NEVENA ŠKRBIĆ ALEMPIJEVIĆ, redovita profesorica u trajnom izboru na Odsjeku za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (Republika Hrvatska).

1 Rad je nastao u sklopu projekta “Postkrajolici – vrijeme, prostor i zajednice” koji financira Europska unija – NextGenerationEU. Izneseni stavovi i mišljenja su stavovi i mišljenja autora i ne moraju se podudarati sa stavovima i mišljenjima Europske unije ili Europske izvršne agencije za obrazovanje i kulturu (EACEA). Ni Europska unija ni EACEA ne mogu se smatrati odgovornima za njih.

upućivali su na kulturnu baštinu – činjenicu da su Selca ispunjena spomenicima posvećenima istaknutim političkim, duhovnim i književnim ličnostima. I naposljetku, imali su svoga „dobrog *likara*" Martina Kukučína – ličnost koja se u domovini etablirala kao uvaženi prozaist, a Selčanima je prvenstveno bio znan kao općinski liječnik, profesijom i ženidbom s Pericom iz ugledne obitelji Didolić čvrsto integriran u lokalnu zajednicu, s kojom je dijelio životne puteve u toj mjeri da je postao dio otočne emigracije u Punta Arenas u Čileu.[2]

Ovaj autoetnografski ulomak nije tek osvrt na vlastito sjećanje koje treba osvijetliti motivaciju za bavljenje ovom temom. Njime također nastojim prenijeti dublje slojeve značenja povezane s procesima izgradnje kolektivnog identiteta. Odnose između različitih otočnih mjesta kakve u uvodu evociram u otočnim su se studijama višekratno osvjetljavali primjenom koncepta kampanilizma.[3] Riječ je o vrijednosnom sustavu koji specifična obilježja nekoga mjesta interpretira iz lokalizirane perspektive, odražavajući složene i heterogene načine na koje otočne zajednice iscrtavaju mentalne granice u prostoru i oblikuju svoje identitetske krajolike. Kampanilizam se često temelji na stereotipizaciji i izrugivanju Drugome te idealizaciji vlastitoga mjesta.[4] Ovakva perspektiva podudara se s etnološkim pristupom simboličkoj konstrukciji zajednice, kako ga je postavio Antony P. Cohen, prema kojemu se zajednice ne oblikuju isključivo iznutra, nego i na temelju percipirane različitosti u odnosu na druge skupine.[5] Lokalni identitet u tom je smislu relacijski te ovisi o selekciji prepoznatljivih simboličkih markera koje članovi zajednice smatraju najreprezentativnijima za iskazivanje svoje posebnosti.

Cilj je ovoga rada analizirati kojim se mehanizmima lik Martina Kukučína uspostavlja kao lokalni simbol među stanovnicima Selaca te na koje se načine stvaraju otočni krajolici sjećanja na ovog književnika u suvremenosti. Ovaj je primjer konstrukcije grupnog identiteta na temelju prepoznatog simboličkog markera osobit po tome što književna ličnost za kojom se poseže u procesima identifikacije nije rođena u zajednici niti se može protumačiti kao akter koji joj organski pripada – Kukučín se u Selca doselio u tridesetim godinama života, nakon završenog studija medicine u Pragu.[6] Kako bi postao sredstvom kojim današnji otočani izražavaju osjećaj pripadnosti, Kukučín je trebao postati „jedan od nas" ili, kako je to formulirao jedan od mojih selačkih sugovornika, *„naš Slovak"*.

Književni krajolici sjećanja – teorijski i metodološki okvir

Nekoliko je znanstvenika sustavno analiziralo opus Martina Kukučína iz

[2] Situacija u kojoj muškarac dolazi u obitelj žene u otočnoj zajednici odstupa od tada uvriježenog patrilokalnog obrasca, što je moglo doprinijeti predodžbi o iznimnosti piščeve figure unutar mjesta.

[3] PERINIĆ LEWIS, Ana – ŠKRBIĆ ALEMPIJEVIĆ, Nevena: Nothing without neighbours – interlocal relations and campanilistic narratives on two Croatian islands. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* a. 23, br. 2 (2014), str. 153–168.

[4] GILMORE, David: Anthropology of the Mediterranean area. *Annual Review of Anthropology* a. 11 (1982), str. 178.

[5] COHEN, Anthony P.: *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. London – New York: Routledge, 2003.

[6] Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, Zagreb (deinde LZMK): *Hrvatski biografski leksikon, mrežno izdanje* (1983–2025), natuknica BENCÚR, Matěj. https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/bencur-matej (pristup: 12. 10. 2025.)

perspektive kulturnih i jezičnih mostova između Slovačke i Hrvatske. Ova su istraživanja ponajprije bila usmjerena na tekstualnu analizu, interkulturne doticaje i utjecaje te književno-povijesni kontekst i doprinos Kukučínova stvaralaštva. U tom pogledu posebno treba istaknuti radove stručnjakinja s Odsjeka za zapadnoslavenske jezike Filozofskog fakulteta u Zagrebu: Zrinke Stričević Kovačević[7] koja je pozornost, među ostalim, usmjerila na hrvatske motive prisutne u Kukučínovoj prozi te Dubravke Sesar o upotrebi bračke čakavštine u njegovim djelima.[8] O Kukučínu se pisalo i na Braču – tako je dugogodišnji selački župnik don Stanko Jerčić napisao osvrt na književnikov životni put isprepleten s ovim otokom i s otočanima u iseljeništvu, kao i na ulogu koju je već tada glasoviti slovački pisac, ali Selčanima prvenstveno znan kao njihov *šjor likar*, imao u lokalnoj zajednici.[9] I drugi su lokalni povijesni entuzijasti, poput Željane Štambuk, razmatrali odnos i međudjelovanje otoka i slovačkog književnika koji je o njemu pisao.[10]

Moj etnološki i kulturnoantropološki pristup ovom književniku kao figuri sjećanja uzima drukčije metodološko uporište, fokusirajući se na sadašnju perspektivu lokalne zajednice. Zato ću rasvijetliti značenja koja suvremeni stanovnici Selaca pridaju liku i djelu Martina Kukučína, tretirajući ga kao simboličku figuru u lokalnom kulturnom imaginariju. Polazeći od koncepta mjesta sjećanja (*lieux de mémoire*) Pierrea Nore u svoj njegovoj mnogoznačnosti,[11] istražit ću u kojim se sferama, naracijama i praksama društveno sjećanje na Kukučína (re)kreira u Selcima i među Selčanima danas.

Ovo etnografsko istraživanje temeljila sam na kombinaciji različitih metoda. Primjenjujem diskurzivnu analizu na različite vrste tekstova koji tematiziraju Kukučínovu ulogu u Selcima, konkretno na lokalne popularne i medijske prikaze, lokalne javnopolitičke dokumente te strategije kulturnog turizma. Također sam tijekom 2025. godine u više navrata provela terensko mapiranje i sudioničko promatranje na mjestima gdje je sjećanje na pisca materijalizirano. Konačno, etnografsku građu prikupila sam intervjuima s gimnazijalcima iz Selaca i okolnih mjesta, polaznicima Srednje škole Bol.

Kao teorijsko polazište u radu uzimam pristupe oblikovanju književnih krajolika sjećanja. Riječ je o specifičnom vidu postkrajolika u koji heterogeni društveni akteri upisuju značenja povezana s književnicima, njihovim djelima i imaginarijima. Prefiks post- pritom signalizira vremensku izmještenost tvorbe tih krajolika sjećanja – oni ne nastaju u trenutku nastanka književnih ostvarenja, već na temelju njihovih kasnijih, u ovom slučaju suvremenih čitanja, doživljavanja i rekreiranja. Sjećanje se time i u ovom slučaju ostvaruje kao stajalište prema prošlosti koje se konstruira u sadašnjosti, određeno suvremenim druš-

[7] STRIČEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ, Zrinka: *Hrvatski motivi u djelu Martina Kukučína*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice hrvatske i Društvo hrvatsko-slovačkoga prijateljstva, 1998.

[8] SESAR, Dubravka: O jeziku Kukučínove „hrvatske" proze. U: FRANČIĆ, Anđela – KUZMIĆ, Boris – MALNAR JURIŠIĆ, Marija (ur.): *Kroz prostor i vrijeme: Zbornik u čast Miri Menac-Mihalić*. Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2022, str. 257-266.

[9] JERČIĆ, Stanko: Martin Kukučin (1860–1928). *Bračka crkva*, br. 17 (1985), Supetar, str. 7.

[10] ŠTAMBUK, Željana: *Martin Kukučin u Selcima na Braču i Brač u djelu Martina Kukučina*. Selca – Zagreb: Mala biblioteka Selački korijeni, 2010.

[11] NORA, Pierre: *Realms of Memory. The Construction of the French Past*, vol. 1: Conflicts and Divisions. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

tvenim, političkim i kulturnim kontekstom, kao i kolektivnim i individualnim znanjima, očekivanjima i interesima aktera koji čine zajednicu sjećanja. Ono ne treba biti autobiografsko, utemeljeno na osobnom poznavanju osobe ili događanja kojih se – kao pojedinac ili društvo – sjećamo. Često je riječ o povijesnom sjećanju, mnemonijskoj dimenziji pri kojoj se članovi skupine elementa koji čini važnu sastavnicu njihova identiteta ne sjećaju izravno.[12] U tom se slučaju slike prošlosti čuvaju i prenose kulturnim i obrazovnim institucijama, odrastanjem u određenoj sredini i usmenom predajom, što je slučaj, kako ću pokazati, i sa sjećanjem na Kukučína u Selcima.

Sintagma književni krajolik sjećanja odnosi se, dakle, na stvaranje mjesta upućivanjem na njegovo književno nasljeđe. Taj se proces oslanja na predodžbe, iskustva i stavove pojedinaca i skupina vezane uz određene autore i njihova djela, a vidljivim nam postaje u kulturnim politikama, historiografskim preispisivanjima, stvaranju i prenošenju adekvatnih naracija, organizaciji i izvođenju komemorativnih i drugih praksi, smještanju i materijalizaciji slojeva književnoga sjećanja u prostoru i sl.[13]

Za teorijsko utemeljenje istraživanja književnog krajolika poticajni su bili koncepti koje u svojoj knjizi *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain* postavlja književna teoretičarka Nicola Watson.[14] Polazeći od teze da se mjesta oblikuju prema književnim djelima, odnosno prema suvremenim čitateljskim interpretacijama tih tekstova, Watson razmatra različite modalitete prožimanja književnosti, autora i prostora. Posebnu pažnju posvećuje načinima na koje se čitateljski odnos prema piscima i njihovim djelima materijalizira u krajoliku, pri čemu razlikuje četiri temeljna vida: posjećivanje grobova književnika; memorijalizaciju rodnih kuća; pretvaranje prostora u kojima su autori živjeli i stvarali u mjesta sjećanja; te, naposljetku, evociranje i rekreiranje fiktivne, književne geografije u stvarnom prostoru, usmjerene na mjesta radnje književnih djela ili na krajolike koji su poslužili kao ishodište književnog imaginarija.[15] Pri ovoj ću analizi primijeniti pojedine kategorije književnih mjesta koje opisuje Nicola Watson. Pritom ću se u selačkom primjeru usmjeriti na kombinaciju memorijalizacije koja prati prostore Kukučínova života i rada na otoku te lociranja njegovih fiktivnih svjetova u fizički krajolik, s obzirom na to da je ovaj književnik u svojem stvaralaštvu redovito tematizirao život na Braču i među Bračanima u iseljeništvu, čineći Selca i njihovu okolicu trajnim uporištem svoje književne topografije. U daljnjem ću tekstu najprije uputiti na to kako je Brač upisan u Kukučínovo stvaralaštvo, i to na primjeru njegovih *Bračkih priča*.[16] Zatim ću analizirati kako se Kukučín, kao figura sjećanja, upisuje u selački prostor te kakve predodžbe o njemu imaju mladi Selčani danas.

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12 HALBWACHS, Maurice: *The Collective Memory*. New York – London: Harper and Row, 1980.

13 SELBERG, Torunn i Nevena Škrbić Alempijević: Turning Fiction into Reality: the Making of Two Places within Literary Geography. *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, br. 25 (2013), str. 183-206.

14 WATSON, Nicola J.: *The Literary Tourist. Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain*. Basingstoke – New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

15 WATSON, Nicola J.: *The Literary Tourist*, str. 9-15.

16 KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*. Sa slovačkoga prevela Dubravka Dorotić Sesar. Split: Naklada Bošković, 2020.

Selca i Selčani u crticama iz Kukučínova životopisa

Od dolaska u Selca 1894. godine, životna priča Mateja Bencúra – kao i njegovi književni svjetovi koje je potpisivao imenom Martin Kukučín – neraskidivo su vezani uz otok Brač.[17] Njegova privatna spona s otokom i otočanima doživjela je svoje okrunjenje ženidbom s Pericom Didolić 1904. godine. Uvid u funkcioniranje lokalne zajednice Kukučín je najviše stjecao svojim liječničkim radom, pružajući medicinsku skrb stanovnicima Sela, Selačkih Zaselaka, Sumartina, Novog Sela i Povalja. Isticao se i u drugim domenama lokalnog društvenog života, što potvrđuje njegovo imenovanje za predsjednika društva „Hrvatski sastanak".

Sa suprugom i u društvu drugih sumještana, 1907. emigrirao je u Čile, najprije u Santiago de Chile, a zatim u Punta Arenas. U kolektivnom sjećanju te sredine posebno je ostala njegova uloga prvog liječnika Međunarodnog Crvenog križa za područje Patagonije. Ubrzo po dolasku postao je dionikom dinamičnog društvenog života hrvatske iseljeničke zajednice. Aktivno se uključio u rad hrvatskih kulturnih društava te je obnašao dužnost predsjednika društva „Dalmacija". Njegova identifikacija s iseljeničkom zajednicom očituje se u njegovu javnom djelovanju, kao i u književnom stvaralaštvu, u prvom redu u romanu *Majka zove* (*Mať volá*, 1926. – 1927.). U tom djelu pripovjedač pri prikazu hrvatske dijaspore koristi zamjenicu „mi".[18] Za-

Slika 1: *Razglednica s likom Martina Kukučína, Oravské múzeum P. O. Hviezdoslava. (izvor: https://eshop.oravskemuzeum.sk/product/martin-kukucin/)*

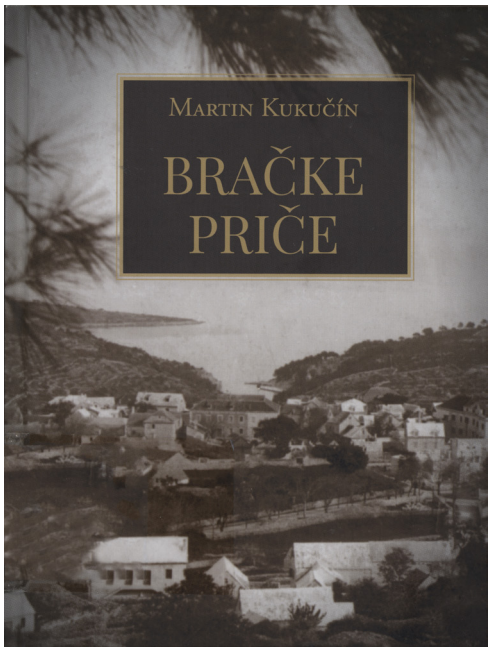
hvaljujući svom profesionalnom, kulturnom i književnom doprinosu, Kukučín se i u Čileu profilirao kao figura sjećanja te je upisan u urbanu toponimiju – po njemu su u Punta Arenasu nazvani poliklinika i ulica. U Čileu je, prema pisanju Jána Botíka, Kukučín proveo i jedan *„poduzetnički eksperiment"*, postavši suvlasnikom farme specijalizirane za uzgoj ovaca u Patagoniji.[19]

Godine 1922. novostvorena Čehoslovačka doživljava kratkotrajni povratak svojeg književnog velikana. Tije-

[17] Ovaj kratak osvrt na književnikove biografske podatke oslanja se na sljedeću literaturu i izvore: STRIČEVIĆ-KOVAČEVIĆ, Zrinka: *Hrvatski motivi u djelu Martina Kukučína*, str. 9-25; LZMK: Hrvatski biografski leksikon, natuknica BENCÚR, Matěj; ŠKRBIĆ ALEMPIJEVIĆ, Nevena: Bilješke o narodnom životu u romanima Martina Kukučína. *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, br. 16 (2004), str. 141-180.

[18] ŠKRBIĆ ALEMPIJEVIĆ, Nevena: Bilješke o narodnom životu u romanima Martina Kukučína, str. 147.

[19] BOTÍK, Ján: Patagónsky experiment Martina Kukučína, *Studia Carpathico-Adriatica*, br. 2 (2021), str. 189-193.



Slika 2: *Naslovnica zbirke pripovijedaka* Bračke priče.

kom svog boravka u Pragu Kukučín je primio brojna književna priznanja te ponudu da preuzme dužnost u ministarstvu zdravstva, koju je odbio. Zbog pogoršanja Peričina zdravlja supružnici su se preselili u Hrvatsku, a Kukučín je posljednje godine života proveo u Lipiku, sve do smrti u Pakracu 1928. Isprva je pokopan na zagrebačkome Mirogoju, u grobnici izrađenoj od bračkoga kamena,[20] a njegovi su posmrtni ostaci iste godine preneseni u Slovačku, u Turčianski Sveti Martin.

Najutjecajnije Kukučínovo djelo u kojem je opisana često tegobna otočna svakodnevica, obilježena nepremostivim razlikama između različitih društvenih slojeva, predstavlja *Kuća u strani* (*Dom v stráni*, 1903. – 1904.). Na osnovi tog romana i romana *Mati zove* u prethodnom sam svom radu razmatrala na koji se način književna djela mogu tretirati ujedno kao izvor etnografskih podataka.[21] U sljedećem ću poglavlju u sličnome ključu analizirati Kukučínove pripovijetke objavljene u zbirci naslovljenoj *Bračke priče* (u slovačkom izvorniku *Bračské motívy*).[22] Ova zbirka obuhvaća sedam pripovijedaka: „Prva razmirica", „Svadba", „Parobrod", „Badnjak", „Baldo & Comp.", „Leše" i „Iz lovčevih zapisa". Objavljivane su zasebno, počevši od 1896., a u integralno su bratislavsko izdanje okupljene 1960. godine. Kod nas su izašle 2020. u prijevodu Dubravke Dorotić Sesar. I taj prijevod ove ugledne stručnjakinje za zapadnoslavenske jezike možemo tretirati kao kulturološko posredovanje – i sama bračkih korijena, Dorotić Sesar zaslužna je za to da današnje hrvatsko čitateljstvo zbirku može doživjeti kao dubinski „bračku priču", kako u pogledu jezika, tako i rekreiranja otočnih atmosfera. Tome doprinosi i Mali brački glosar koji je prevoditeljica uključila u ovo izdanje.[23] U prvome ću se dijelu svoje analize usmjeriti na etnografsku dimenziju *Bračkih priča*, a u drugome ću se usmjeriti na pitanje Kukučínove pripadnosti obama kulturnim krugovima – onome iz kojega je potekao te onoga koji u svojem djelu predočava slovačkim čitateljima.

[20] ŠAROVIĆ, Slavica: *Značajni pripadnici nacionalnih manjina u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Zajednica Roma Hrvatske „Romski san", 2024, str. 60.

[21] ŠKRBIĆ ALEMPIJEVIĆ, Nevena: Bilješke o narodnom životu u romanima Martina Kukučína, str. 159-177.

[22] DOROTIĆ SESAR, Dubravka: Oravljanin Martin Kukučín i njegove bračke priče. U: KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*. Split: Naklada Bošković, 2020.

[23] DOROTIĆ SESAR, Dubravka: Oravljanin Martin Kukučín, str. 177-180.

Kukučínove *Bračke priče*

> *„Stoji u takvom krugu o kakvom nikad nije ni sanjao. Oko njega cijeli vijenac nikad viđenih lica, čuje zvukove koje nikad nije ni sanjao. Sve je tako novo, a opet nije tuđe. Oni ga ne drže tuđincem. Nešto mu iz njihovih bića dolazi ususret, nešto što ga veseli, smiruje, grije i doima se nježno. Nešto što i njega tjera da se ne osjeća strancem. Njihov život uistinu odjekuje u njemu, štoviše – on živi barem djelić njihova života. Njihovi su interesi i njegovi interesi, njihovi jadi i njihovi poroci su i njegova patnja. O njima zna bar toliko koliko oni znaju jedan o drugome. A možda zna i ono što oni sami još ne znaju…"*[24]

Tim se riječima u pripovijetci „Leše" („Mišo II.") Kukučín osvrće na svoj položaj unutar otočne zajednice. U *Bračkim pričama* jasno je iz koje je perspektive njegov autorski pogled usmjeren – iz pozicije *šjor* doktora svrstanog u viši društveni sloj, kojeg *momak* na muli ili magarcu transportira do svih naselja na istoku Brača kako bi pomogao ljudima u nevolji, ali ujedno i sumještanina koji s Bračanima dijeli sve blagodati i nedaće koje donosi otočki život. Njegove pripovijetke obiluju opisima bračke svakodnevice s prijelaza iz 19. u 20. stoljeće. Posebno se to odnosi na osvrt na privredne grane koje su predstavljale temelj egzistencije na otoku. U tom se smislu ističu prikazi bračkoga vinogradarstva i vinarstva, odlazaka u *goru* s ovcama u ispašu, lova, ribarstva, pomorstva i trgovine. Oni nam daju uvide u vještine, tehnike i alate koje se koriste u tim djelatnostima, mjestimično njihovim konkretnim opisima poput ove autorove sličice *lignjura* u priči „Badnjak": *„Pokazali su mi ribu napravljenu od voska, a oko nje zabodene oštre kukice. 'Lignja se za nju uhvati kracima i ribar je izvuče.'"*[25] Jednako je živopisno i precizno u *Bračkim pričama* određena uloga koju su te djelatnosti igrale u samoidentifikaciji lokalne zajednice. Tako, naprimjer, u pripovijetci „Prva razmirica" pri opisu prljave radne odjeće u kojoj su Selčani sjeli za općinski stol Kukučín komentira: *„Ali, riječ je o jematvi – berbi. Ne može biti drugo. A mještanin se valjda zbog nje ne će sramiti. Ponosan je što je u takvoj odjeći i ispričavat će ti se – ne bez koketerije: 'Oprostite što sam tako deštrut. Vrijeme je jematve i jadni se pošident mora o svašta obrisati pa mu se svugdje ponešto prilijepi za veštit…'"*[26] No, te djelatnosti u *Bračkim pričama* nisu usidrene u narativ o bezvremenskom otočnom vremenu dugoga trajanja. Kukučín u tim pripovijetkama itekako daje uvid u to kako šire političke i društvene silnice, kao i tehnološki napretci, određuju život njegovih bračkih likova, skicirani odlascima lokalnih mladića u Pulu u austro-ugarsku vojsku te mimoilaženjem starih jedrenjaka i parobroda pred otočnim lukama.[27]

Uz to, autor mnogo pažnje poklanja materijalnosti otoka, opisima izgrađenoga, kultiviranoga i prirodnoga okoliša. Scene za svoje likove Kukučín kreira bogatim opisima arhitekture, zbijenih kuća koje se u nizovima koncentrično uzdižu s obale, gomilama ograđenih terasastih vinograda i maslinika, lokalnih *pjaca* (trgova) i klupa na njima, kamenih *gustirna* (cisterna) koje opskrbljuju mjesto dragocjenom vodom. Svi navedeni književni toposi prožeti su dinamikom

[24] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 129.; DOROTIĆ SESAR, Dubravka: Oravljanin Martin Kukučín, str. 185.
[25] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 87.
[26] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 7.
[27] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 70.

međuljudskih odnosa koju ne obilježavaju veliki događaji ni društveni prevrati, nego naizgled obične, ali afektivno snažne interakcije koje strukturiraju otočnu svakodnevicu. U pojedinim je pričama izgradnja komunalne infrastrukture temeljni pokretač fabule – takav je slučaj s pripovijetkom „Baldo & Comp.“, u kojoj se oko izgradnje selačke vapnenice konstituira čitava mreža aktera, lokalnih politika i praksi. Također, podrobni su i raznorodni opisi tadašnjih selačkih interijera, pri čemu Kukučín jasno ukazuje na razlike u stanovanju među ljudima različitih ekonomskih statusa te iskazuje zadivljenost kreativnošću najskromnijih kućanstava:

> *„Inače kuća iznutra nije zidovima pregrađena na razne prostorije i sobice. Sva je jedan cjeloviti prostor, a njega čine: salon, spavaonica, predsoblje, kuhinja, smočnica, čak i konoba – i sve u jednom komadu. Lijevo od vrata staješ na pod, pokriven daskama. Na njemu su dvije postelje, majke svih postelja – toliko su široke. Jedna je za roditelje i najsitnije dijete koje je mlađi brat istjerao iz kolijevke, a druga je za one srednje i veće. Ni te postelje nisu napravili meštri od zanata, tj. školovani stolari, nego sam Ilija svojim rukama. Stavio je na dva kavaleta daske, a na njih slamaricu – i eto postelje na kakvoj veramente nije spavao ni Kraljević Marko. Ostali dio kuće nije popođen ni mozaikom ni hrastovim daskama ni pločama, čak ni djelomice, ali nije ni od nabijene zemlje ili gline pa izravnan i izglađen u našim slovačkim kolibama… Ovdje je pod od čistoga, živoga kamena, grubo poravnana.“*[28]

U ovome citatu, uz predanost bogatu opisivanju elemenata od kojih su otočani gradili svoje prostore, očituje se još jedna Kukučínova tendencija, koja naročito dolazi do izražaja pri opisivanju otočnih prostora i ljudi. Riječ je o njihovu konstantnom uspoređivanju s krajolicima sjećanja na slovačku domovinu. S te točke gledišta, primjerice, kod njegovog su Leše *„opanci lijepo sašiveni i nisu grubi; oko nogu mu nisu omotani obojci kako kod naših Oravaca, ima samo jedne čarape ispletene od domaće vune.“*[29]

Nadalje, s etnografskog aspekta Kukučínovo djelo pruža vrijedan uvid u otočne običajne prakse. Običaji postaju tematsko uporište pojedinih pripovijedaka, što se sugerira i njihovim naslovima („Svadba“, „Badnjak“). Autor pritom eksplicitno upućuje na višestruku ulogu običaja u koheziji lokalne zajednice, pokazujući kako oni djeluju u religijskom registru, ali i načine na koje ispunjavaju niz praktičnih funkcija koje strukturiraju svakodnevni život zajednice te odnose između rodova u patrijarhalnoj ruralnoj sredini. U tom smislu iskazuje ganutost duhovnošću koja se manifestira u duhovnostima Velikog tjedna i pjevanjem *plača* u procesiji,[30] dok smisao proslave prvoga svibnja sažima riječima: *„Dan kad svaki mladić stavlja svojoj dragoj cvijeće na prozor ili pred vrata“*.[31] Uz to autor iznosi mnoštvo etnografskih pojedinosti vezanih uz lokalne običaje, nastojeći postići plastičnost opisa kojom bi slovačkome čitatelju približio specifičnosti života na njima dalekom otoku. U tom smislu predstavlja prehranu koja prati određene blagdane, poput prikaza pripreme bakalara za Badnjak,[32] te u čakavskom izričaju citira božićne napjeve, jedan od *„onih starinskih, pastirskih, u kojoj je naivno*

[28] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 35.
[29] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 112.
[30] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 56.
[31] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 59.
[32] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 76.

i jednostavno, ali neposredno, opjevan cijeli sveti dan Gospodinova rođenja. 'U to vrime godišća mir se svitu navišća, porojenje Ditića od Divice Marije…'"[33] Ne bez simpatija i manje detaljno Kukučín opisuje i ona vjerovanja i prakse koje su strane njegovu senzibilitetu iz profesionalnih ili svjetonazorskih razloga. Primjerice, vjerovanje u uroke i predočavanje postupaka koje treba provesti da bi se oni uklonili (provlačenje puške kroz nogavicu) pritom pripovjedaču postaje prikladnom izlikom kojom može drugim sudionicima lova opravdati svoj lovački neuspjeh.[34] U istom tonu, i Kukučínov liječnik iz pripovijetke „Leše" iskazuje svojevrsno poštovanje prema vještinama i znanjima narodne medicine kakvu prakticira *„stara doktorica"* Dandula koja *„liječi travama i pijavicama."*[35]

Izraženo obilježje Kukučínovih pripovijedaka vezano je uz društvenost lokalne zajednice, njezinu strukturu, društvene podjele i prijepore do kojih one dovode. Dinamika, suradnja, ali i trzavice između različitih društvenih slojeva u bračkim mjestima često se uspostavljaju kao okvir radnje i poticaj djelovanju književnih likova. Tako je, naprimjer, u priči „Svadba" odluka glavnog lika Marka da napusti očinski dom ispripletena razmatranjima o kompleksnom odnosu između zemljoposjednika i njegovih *težaka* (nadničara).[36] U pojedinim se primjerima autor poigrava s predodžbama o Bračanima kakve generiraju priobalna urbana središta, poglavito onima kojima se otočani uspostavljaju kao Splitski Drugi. Na takav stereotip o Bračaninu koji nikamo ne kreće bez svoje *lumbrele* (kišobrana) podsjeća Kukučínov Leše koji se doktoru u priči obraća riječima: *„Lumbrela uvijek dobro dođe, gospodine, a poglavito na suncu, jer sunce, gospodine, nema milosti kad zapeče…"*[37] No, u pogledu konstrukcije simboličkih geografija i otočnog Drugog u *Bračkim pričama* uvjerljivo je najrazrađenija dihotomija između Bračana i *Vlaha*, stanovnika Dalmatinske zagore. U zbirci se redovito pojavljuju kao likovi radnika koji domicilnom stanovništvu pružaju pomoć u obavljanju sezonskih poslova. O obilježjima tih dviju skupina i njihovu odnosu književnik navodi:

> *„On kao otočanin sebe drži višim bićem, a Vlahu samo što ne poriče ljudskost. I zbilja, gledajući otočanina i Vlaha, čovjek bi mogao posumnjati da je to isti puk i narod. Otočanin poduzetan, spretan i relativno marljiv, a Vlah nespretan, spor i konzervativan. Inače, Vlah je kao čovjek simpatičniji. Nije umišljen, nego jako, jako ponizan; pokoran je, mek, vrlo ljubazan i uslužan (ako ga to ne stoji previše truda). Zna biti i podmukao, zna se i pretvarati i ne obećava ti brda i doline. Ta dva tipa suprotstavljaju se jedan drugome i puni su predrasuda o onome drugome. I ovdje ima sela po kojima kolaju legende o Vlasima – kako su našli 'kobilje jaje' i kobili odrezali noge da na njemu sjedi, kako su na grašku gurali crkvu, kako su sijali sol i kako su išli u Mletke kupovati pamet…"*[38]

Zrcaljenje i rekreiranje otočnih mikrosvjetova u Kukučínovim pripovijetkama koji se, kako samo pokazala, mogu analizirati u etnografskom ključu, nemaju za cilj izazivanje kulturoloških čuđenja među slovačkim čitateljstvom. Naprotiv, oni funkcioniraju kao crtice iz svakod-

[33] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 92.
[34] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 168.
[35] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 126.
[36] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 53.
[37] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 114.
[38] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 118.

nevice lokalne zajednice koju književnik oblikuje kao svoju „etnografiju bliskoga", ispisanu iz pozicije promatrajućeg sudionika brojnih lokalnih zbivanja. Utoliko je u razmatranju etnografske dimenzije *Bračkih priča* bitno uzeti u obzir još jednu razinu interakcije između otočana i onih koji to nisu (posve) ili to postaju – poziciju samog autora, odnosno pitanje njegove (samo)identifikacije. Sintagma *„naš Slovak"*, kojom se poslužio moj sugovornik iz Selaca, korespondira sa strategijama kojima se sam autor u ovim pripovijetkama smješta unutar zajednica – s načinima na koje uspostavlja prostore pripadanja te određuje kraj i ljude koje uključuje u obuhvat zamjenice „naš". U pojedinim se slučajevima Kukučín svrstava u skupinu *„mi odande"*, *„sa sjevera"*, kojima mreškanje mora priziva u sjećanje lelujanje žitnih polja u slovačkoj domovini.[39] Tada se bračko krajolik u koji je uronjen uspostavlja kao *„njihova domovina"*, *„tako veličanstvena i tako bogata ljepotama, ali, na žalost, samo prirodnim"*.[40] Drugdje se u Kukučínovim tekstovima bivanje na Braču ujedno iskazuje kao pripadanje – pritom jednokatnica u centru mjesta postaje *„naša općina"*;[41] naselje u kojem živi opisuje kao *„naš grad"* ili *„naše mjesto"*;[42] o kamenjaru kojim se uspinje govori kao o *„našem otoku"*, na kojem je okružen *„našim ljudima."*[43] Tako se dom kakav se gradi u *Bračkim pričama* uspostavlja transnacionalno, unutar fluidnog značenjskog polja koje povezuje udaljene lokalitete i različite temporalnosti, isprepletene u Kukučínovim književnim svjetovima. Takvo autorovo pozicioniranje pruža čvrst temelj za oblikovanje otočnih krajolika sjećanja koji Kukučína definiraju kao „jednog od nas."

Suvremene politike pamćenja Kukučína u Selcima

Kukučín je Selca i Selčane upisao u svoja književna djela; zauzvrat, otočani su sjećanje na njega upisali u lokalni simbolički imaginarij. Povezanost s ovim književnikom oni su iskazivali još za vrijeme njegova života, obilježivši zgradu u kojoj je bila smještena njegova ordinacija memorijalnom pločom. Ta je spona iskazana i prekrivanjem Kukučínova groba bračkim kamenom. No, Kukučín funkcionira kao djelatna figura sjećanja u Selcima i danas, gotovo stoljeće nakon njegove smrti. Tom su književniku posvećena određena lokalna mjesta sjećanja, koja stvaraju i održavaju žive ljudske skupine, rekreirajući tako osjećaj kontinuiteta s prošlošću koju smatraju vrijednom čuvanja, a ujedno neprestano prilagođavajući te slike prošlosti svojim aktualnim interesima, očekivanjima i identitetskim strategijama.[44]

U ovom ću poglavlju predstaviti nekoliko lokalnih mjesta sjećanja u kojima se materijalizira odnos otočana prema Martinu Kukučínu. Pojedina mjesta sjećanja, kako ću pokazati, još su u nastajanju, što pokazuje da je riječ o dinamičnom fenomenu koji se neprestano nadograđuje i prilagođava suvremenim potrebama lokalne zajednice. No, važno

[39] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 121.
[40] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 86.
[41] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 7.
[42] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 93.
[43] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 81.
[44] NORA, Pierre: Između pamćenja i historije. Problematika mjestâ. U: BRKLJAČIĆ, Maja – PRLENDA, Sandra (prir.): *Kultura pamćenja i historija*. Zagreb: Golden marketing – Tehnička knjiga, 2006, str. 23-43.

Slika 3: *Memorijalni prostor posvećen Martinu Kukučínu na općinskoj zgradi koristi se za kulturnoturističku promidžbu Selaca. (izvor: https://www.visitselca.com/en/cultural-heritage/)*

je naglasiti da održavanje sjećanja na ovu književnu figuru u Selcima nije novijeg datuma, nego ima svoju tradiciju. Na to upućuje i iskaz mojega sugovornika, sedamdesetogodišnjaka koji je djetinjstvo proveo u Selcima. On se prisjetio da su se tijekom 1960-ih godina, dok je pohađao lokalnu osnovnu školu, organizirale svečanosti povodom obilježavanja Kukučínova rođendana: na nastavi su se čitala njegova književna djela, pisali sastavci o njegovu značenju za Selca, a školu i mjesto posjećivale su delegacije iz Slovačke.

U lokalnom krajoliku sjećanje na ovog književnika dobiva materijalizirani oblik stvaranjem mjesta kojima se upućuje na njegov život i rad u Selcima. Memorijalni elementi vezani uz Kukučína osobito su vidljivi na zgradi smještenoj na glavnom trgu Selaca, prostoru koji je središnji i u fizičkom i u simboličkom smislu. U toj zgradi danas djeluju Općina Selca, Općinska knjižnica, opća medicinska i stomatološka ambulanta, čime ona predstavlja upravno središte i jedno od ključnih mjesta svakodnevnoga života lokalne zajednice. To je ujedno zgrada u kojoj je Kukučín imao svoju ordinaciju i kojoj je posvetio već uvodne stranice *Bračkih priča*, nazivajući je *„našom općinom."*[45] Na zgradu je još za piščeva života postavljena spomen-ploča na hrvatskom jeziku, koja ističe da je dr. Matej Bencur (Martin Kukučín) upravo ondje radio te da je Selca ovjekovječio u svome romanu *Dom v stráni*.[46] Naknadno su dodani i drugi memorijalni elementi. U kolovozu 2011., povodom 150. godišnjice književnikova rođenja, postavljena je i ploča na slovačkom jeziku, na inicijativu Ministarstva vanjskih i europskih poslova Slovačke Repulike, a u suradnji s Općinom Selca. Taj je komemorativni čin, najavljen kao *„postavljanje spomen ploče ocu slovačke književnosti Martinu Kukučínu"* i održan

[45] KUKUČÍN, Martin: *Bračke priče*, str. 7.

[46] OPĆINA SELCA. Kulturna baština – Selca. 2023. https://www.selca.hr/defaultcont.asp?id=151&n=2 (pristup: 8. 9. 2025)

unutar manifestacije Selaško lito, bio popraćen otvorenjem dokumentarne izložbe pod naslovom „Martin Kukučín: lik i djelo."[47] Istoga je dana također održana natjecateljska pjesnička smotra *Croatia rediviva: ča-kaj-što,* koja u nastojanju da Selca uspostavi kao prepoznatu scenu za aktualizaciju književne baštine poseže i za Kukučínovom figurom kao pokazateljem kulturnog i književnog kontinuiteta u mjestu.[48] Konačno, 2017. godine u Selcima je svečano otkriveno piščevo poprsje, a ceremoniji je prisustvovao tadašnji predsjednik Slovačke Republike Andrej Kiska. Poprsje je dar Srednje umjetničke škole iz Kežmarka, koja je u spomen na Kukučína uspostavila program učeničke razmjene s osnovnom školom u Selcima.[49] Ova centralno smještena lokacija funkcionira kao komemorativno središte: ondje predstavnici Općine Selca, Turističke zajednice, kulturnih društava i lokalne škole redovito obilježavaju važne datume povezane s književnikovim životom, ponekad u pratnji delegacija iz Slovačke. Moji su sugovornici iz Selaca pritom s ponosom naglasili da je, zahvaljujući Kukučínu, njihovo mjesto među onima koja najčešće posjećuju slovački predsjednici i drugi visoki dužnosnici.

Druga lokacija kojom se evocira književnikov boravak u Selcima postupno se afirmira kao novo mjesto sjećanja: danas ruševni kompleks Didolića dvori. Riječ je o reprezentativnom primjeru stambene arhitekture iz druge polovice 19. stoljeća, koji je zahvaljujući položaju imućne selačke obitelji Didolić u zajednici – iz koje dolazi i Kukučínova supruga – funkcionirao kao žarište lokalnog kulturnog i političkog djelovanja, a ujedno i prostor u kojem je Kukučín stanovao.[50] U okviru projekta „Selca – kulturno srce Brača" Općina je u dvama projektnim ciklusima, počevši od 2016. godine, osigurala sredstva Europske unije putem Integriranoga teritorijalnog programa (ITP) za regionalni razvoj, s ciljem revitalizacije lokalne kulturne baštine. Među lokalitete čija je obnova i uređenje predviđeno, uz sakralne objekte i memorijalni park, uvršteni su Didolića dvori. Vizija je nositelja projekta da ovaj kompleks funkcionira kao *„svojevrsni centar mjesta objedinjujući turističko-interpretacijski centar, izložbeni i galerijski prostor, multifunkcionalnu dvoranu s radionicama, restoran, suvenirnicu i crkvenu zbirku."*[51] Pri predstavljanju projekta, figurom Martina Kukučína naglašavaju se reprezentativnost i kulturni značaj Didolića dvora. Prema planu rekonstrukcije, jedan od ključnih izložbenih prostora u obnovljenom kompleksu činit će Spomen soba Kukučín, posvećena *„književniku i liječniku slovačkog porijekla koji je ostavio značajan utjecaj u kulturnom razvoju."*[52]

Ova inicijativa uklapa se u širu kulturno-turističku strategiju Selaca, u ko-

[47] OPĆINA SELCA. Program Selačkog kulturnog ljeta. 2011. https://selca.hr/default_vijest_wide.asp?sid=6123 (pristup: 8. 9. 2025.)

[48] JURDANA, Vjekoslava. Ovjenčani maslinâ vijencem: Croatia rediviva kao pisanje povijesti i pisanje književnosti. *Kolo. Časopis Matice hrvatske za književnost, umjetnost i kulturu,* br. 4 (2016). https://www.matica.hr/kolo/510/ovjencani-maslina-vijencem-croatia-rediviva-kao-pisanje-povijesti-i-pisanje-knjizevnosti-26688/ (pristup: 8. 9. 2025.)

[49] OPĆINA SELCA. Predsjednik Kiska u Selcima. 2017. https://selca.hr/default_vijest_wide.asp?sid=6590 (pristup: 8. 9. 2025.)

[50] OPĆINA SELCA. Kulturna baština – Selca. 2023. https://www.selca.hr/defaultcont.asp?id=151&n=2 (pristup: 8. 9. 2025.)

[51] OPĆINA SELCA. *Projektni zadatak za izradu projektno-tehničke dokumentacije rekonstrukcije Didolića dvora u Selcima*. 2016. https://www.selca.hr/Dokumenti/PTD-%20%20SELCA_%20Didolica%20dvori.pdf (pristup: 8. 9. 2025.)

[52] OPĆINA SELCA. *Projektni zadatak*. 2016, str. 9.

joj Kukučín ima važnu ulogu, osobito u kontekstu privlačenja posjetitelja iz Slovačke. Piščev lik i ime istaknuti su u lokalnim turističkim materijalima,[53] a u objavama Općine i Turističke zajednice Selaca navodi se da slovački turisti nerijetko dolaze upravo kako bi posjetili mjesta povezana s Kukučínom.[54] Uz lokacije koje se mogu izravno povezati s njegovim životom i radom u Selcima, prisutni su i pokušaji identifikacije prostora spomenutih u djelu *Dom v stráni*. Budući da su opisi mjesta u romanu često apstraktni i ne upućuju na jednoznačno određenu kuću ili točnu lokaciju, takvo smještanje književnog krajolika u fizički otočni prostor ostaje prepušteno mašti čitatelja i posjetitelja.[55] U tom procesu, poticajima koje daje razvoju kulturnog turizma, Kukučínova figura dobiva i ekonomsku vrijednost.

Primjere takvog korištenja književnoga nasljeđa moguće je uočiti u pojedinim objavama za prodaju nekretnina na popularnom internetskom oglasniku. U oglasu na engleskom jeziku, u kojem nudi staru samostojeću kamenu prizemnicu, prodavatelj navodi: *„Od 30 spomen-ploča posebno se ističe ona na kući u kojoj je živio i radio Martin Kukučín (Martin [sic!] Bencur), liječnik i utemeljitelj moderne slovačke proze. Pisao je, između ostalog, o životu otočana u njihovoj domovini i u iseljeništvu.“*[56] U ovom se slučaju Kukučínov lik koristi kao svojevrsni lokalni brend i dodatna atrakcijska osnovica kojom se Selca predstavljaju kao otočno kulturno središte i poželjno investicijsko okruženje.

Uz Općinu i Turističku zajednicu, još jedno važno područje kreiranja i prenošenja lokalnog društvenog sjećanja vezanog uz Kukučína predstavlja Osnovna škola u Selcima, u kojoj se sustavno obilježavaju ključni datumi iz piščeva života. Već duže od desetljeća provodi se intenzivan program razmjene koji omogućuje učenicima iz Hrvatske i Slovačke upoznavanje povijesti, kulture i značenja Martina Kukučína za obje zemlje. U okviru te razmjene, učenici iz Selaca putovali bi zimi u područje Tatri na skijanje, dok bi djeca iz Jasenove tijekom ljeta dolazili na Brač. Osim toga, školska delegacija iz Selaca aktivno je sudjelovala i u obilježavanju 150. obljetnice Kukučínova rođenja u njegovu rodnome mjestu u Slovačkoj.[57]

Sve predstavljene primjere možemo sagledavati kao manifestacije politike pamćenja, lokalnog mnemonijskog sustava koji pokreću i održavaju ustanove, a koji svoje materijalizacije i otjelovljenja najčešće pronalazi u spomenicima, memorijalnim kućama, službenim komemoracijama, proslavama i drugim organiziranim praksama. Radi se o oblicima kulturnog sjećanja[58] koji proizlaze iz institucionalnih politika, a kojima se u lik Martina Kukučína upisuje simbolička

[53] ŠTAMBUK, Nataša i TURISTIČKA ZAJEDNICA OPĆINE SELCA. 2018. *Vaš vodič istočnim dijelom otoka Brača*. Sumartin: Turistička zajednica Općine Selca, 2018.

[54] OPĆINA SELCA. Predsjednik Kiska u Selcima, 2017. https://selca.hr/default_vijest_wide.asp?sid=6590 (pristup: 8. 9. 2025.)

[55] SELBERG, Torunn i Nevena Škrbić Alempijević: Turning Fiction into Reality, str. 192.

[56] NJUŠKALO. Kamena kuća u Selcima otok Brač-a stone house in Selca, island Brač (prodaja), 2025. https://www.njuskalo.hr/nekretnine/kamena-kuca-selcima-otok-brac-a-stone-house-in-selca-island-brac-oglas-46995961 (pristup: 8. 9. 2025.)

[57] OPĆINA SELCA. S obljetnice rođenja Martina Kukučína. 2010. https://www.selca.hr/default_vijest_wide.asp?sid=6019 (pristup: 8. 9. 2025.)

[58] ASSMANN, Jan: Communicative and Cultural Memory. U: ERLL, Astrid – NÜNNING, Ansgar (ur.): *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook.* Berlin – New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008, str. 109–118.

vrijednost, naglašava lokalni značaj te nastoji (pre)oblikovati doživljaj identiteta zajednice. No, dosezi takvih politika pamćenja ne zadržavaju se na onome što je zapisano u vidu kanona, službenog narativa o Kukučínu u Selcima. Taj se lik, zahvaljujući aktualizacijama u različitim lokalnim javnim sferama, profilira kao figura sjećanja te se evocira i u usmenoj komunikaciji, pri čemu se njegova simbolička uloga prenosi transgeneracijski, kako ću pokazati u sljedećem poglavlju. Time se još trajnije upisuje u lokalne mentalne geografije, potvrđujući svoj status *„našeg Slovaka"*.

Kukučín u sjećanju mlađih otočana

No, figura ovog književnika u lokalnom kontekstu nije sačuvana samo u politikama pamćenja i memorijalnim mjestima. Kao rezultat njegova redovitog evociranja u otočnom javnom prostoru i u okviru kulturnih inicijativa i ustanova, sjećanje na Kukučína prisutno je također u usmenoj sferi, u grupnim i individualnim naracijama otočana o ulozi koju je imao – te koju, transponiran u simbol, i danas ima – za lokalnu zajednicu. Stoga sam odlučila istražiti kako se sjećanje na ovog književnika prenosi transgeneracijski, od kojih sastavnica mlađi stanovnici Selaca i okolice grade svoje suvremene predodžbe o njemu te kako ga smještaju u lokalni kontekst. U okviru ove dionice istraživanja, troje srednjoškolaca koji žive na području Općine Selca, a završili su lokalnu osnovnu školu, odgovorili su na sljedeća pitanja: Što su tijekom svog odrastanja u Selcima i okolici saznali i naučili o Martinu Kukučínu? Kakva je njegova veza sa Selcima? Kako se u Selcima čuva sjećanje na Martina Kukučína? Treba li se u Selcima njegovati sjećanje na njega, zašto i na koje načine? Svih troje sudionika istraživanja bili su upoznati s Kukučínovom povezanošću sa Selcima, poznavali su temeljna književna djela i pojedine biografske elemente te su oblikovali žive predodžbe o njegovu boravku u Selcima, iako vremenski udaljenom više od stoljeća. Kao glavnu sferu u kojoj su stekli ta znanja istaknuli su lokalnu osnovnu školu, istaknuvši da su u njoj svake godine sudjelovali u obilježavanju književnikova rođendana. Ta je događanja vezana uz Kukučína jedan od sudionika istraživanja opisao ovim riječima: *„17. svibnja kad je bio njegov rođendan išli smo do knjižnice u Selcima da bi tamo čitali dijelove njegovih djela. Također se u to vrijeme izrađuju plakati po školi koji uključuju njegove fotografije i njegovu biografiju"*. Prema iskazima učenika, važna je školska platforma za održavanje sjećanja na ovu ličnost program učeničke razmjene, koju opisuju ovako: *„Nekad selački učenici idu u Donje i Gornje Kubine, na sjeveru Slovačke, da bi posjetili njegovo rodno mjesto. To je jedno malo mjesto koje se zove Jasenovo. Također i pojedina djeca iz Slovačke dođu u Selca"*. Prisjećaju se kako je ta razmjena, pokrenuta još 2010., bila obustavljena tijekom pandemije koronavirusa, ali je nakon prekida ponovno oživljena.

Uz selačku školu, učenici ističu i djelatnosti drugih ustanova koje smatraju ključnima za aktualizaciju književnikova lika u lokalnome okruženju. U tom smislu upućuju na aktivnosti koje provode Općina i Općinska knjižnica, a koje, prema njihovim riječima, obuhvaćaju različita kulturna događanja, posjete delegacija iz Slovačke, postavljanje bista i spomen-ploča te objavljivanje knjiga s temom Kukučínove prisutnosti u Selcima. Uz boravak književnika u Selcima vezuju konkretna mjesta – zgradu u kojoj je bila njegova ordinacija, obilježena spomen-natpisima te imanje na kojem je

živio: *„Bio je smješten u takozvanoj Didolićevoj kući.“*

Zbog njegova kontinuirana evociranja u mjestu, sjećanja na Kukučína prenose se i u kontekst obitelji, koja također postaje sferom dijeljenja spoznaja, iskustava i priča o ovom književniku. Predodžbe koje učenici pritom o njemu razvijaju iskazane su sljedećim riječima: *„Za njega se priča i danas u mjestu kao o možda i najvažnijoj osobi koja je boravila u Selcima.“* Za suvremeno rekreiranje njegova lika i dalje je presudna njegova uloga općinskog liječnika, kako je vidljivo u sljedećem citatu: *„obavljao je dužnost općinskog liječnika, čime je postao dio svakodnevice lokalnog stanovništva.“* Drugi učenik dodaje: *„Na glasu je kao čovjek koji je brinuo za potrebne i koji je bio jako obrazovan u ono doba kada je mali broj ljudi bio obrazovan i sa završenim fakultetom.“* Uz liječničku profesiju, jednako važnom smatraju činjenicu da je svoja književna djela posvetio otočanima, i to najrazličitijim društvenim slojevima. Učenici smatraju da njegovi radovi pružaju dobar uvid u tadašnji način življenja na otoku: *„Čitajući njegove knjige čovjek ima osjećaj kao da je točno opisao život Selčana prije stotinjak godina. Zanimljivo je usporediti opise uz njegovih djela sa današnjom situacijom te uvidjeti ogromne razlike u načinu života.“*

Sudionici istraživanja svjesni su aktivne uloge ove figure sjećanja u suvremenom povezivanju dviju sredina – one iz koje je potekao te one u koju se doselio – te promicanju suradnje između dviju zemalja, smatrajući ga Slovakom, ali ujedno i svojim sumještaninom. Tu tvrdnju zaokružuju riječima: *„On simbolizira povezanost hrvatske i slovačke kulture. Ta se povezanost može dodatno jačati nastavkom suradnje između općina i razvojem zajedničkih kulturnih projekata.“*

Slika 4: *Kolekcionarska kovanica izdana prigodom 150. obljetnice Kukučínova rođenja. (izvor: https://365brac.wordpress.com/2014/05/02/martin-kukucin-a-doctor-an-author-a-slovak-and-a-selcanin/)*

Zaključak

Analiza različitih krajolika sjećanja povezanih s Martinom Kukučínom pokazuje da se u Selcima ovaj književnik ne percipira tek kao relikt prošlosti, već kao aktivan i dinamičan simbol u suvremenosti. Današnje evokacije njegova djelovanja pokreću procese stvaranja mjesta, čime se ovaj lik upisuje u otočnu toponimiju. Nositelji lokalnih politika prepoznaju ovaj lik bitnim pri brendiranju Selaca kao kulturnog srca Brača te potiče različite komemorativne prakse unutar lokalne zajednice.

Školske inicijative i programi mobilnosti osiguravaju međugeneracijski prijenos sjećanja na Kukučína te jačaju interkulturne veze između Hrvatske i Slovačke. No, naracije o Kukučínu izašle su iz isključivo formalnih krugova – priče o njemu prenose se i usmeno, u obiteljskom kontekstu. Kako bi postao prepoznatljiv simbol lokalnog identiteta, Kukučín je morao biti prihvaćen kao „jedan od nas” – osoba koja je, iako i dalje pripada slovačkom književnom i kulturnom krugu, postala također dijelom otočne svakodnevice.

Ilustrativan primjer te dvostruke simboličke pripadnosti zabilježen je povodom 150. obljetnice Kukučínova rođenja, kada je Narodna banka Slovačke izdala prigodnu kolekcionarsku kovanicu od 10

eura s njegovim likom. Osvrćući se na taj događaj, na platformi *365 razloga za/protiv seljenja na Brač* autorica Nataša objavila je blog pod naslovom „Martin Kukučín – doktor, književnik, Slovak i Selčanin", koji zaključuje riječima: *„A ovjekovječen je i na posebnoj slovačkoj prigodnoj kovanici od 10 eura, što je prilično fora za jednog Selčanina :)".*[59]

[59] https://365brac.wordpress.com/2014/05/02/martin-kukucin-a-doctor-an-author-a-slovak-and-a-selcanin/ (pristup: 12. 10. 2025.)

Ján Botík*

Prečo je jazyk najdôležitejším atribútom skupinovej identity Chorvátov na Slovensku

Zašto je jezik najvažniji atribut grupnog identiteta Hrvata u Slovačko / Why language is the most important attribute of the group identity of Croats in Slovakia

Following the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic in 1918, Croats living in Slovakia became the subject of scholarly interest. The linguist Václav Vážný concluded that their mother tongue represented the most significant expression of their national life. Among the elements of their spiritual and cultural heritage brought from their original homeland, language proved to be the component that resisted the assimilating pressures of the surrounding environment most persistently and for the longest period of time. This observation has inspired the present contribution, which seeks to explore why the mother tongue played such a crucial role in the lives of Croatian colonists. In particular, it examines how a small Croatian enclave in Slovakia was able to withstand assimilative pressures for more than five centuries to such an extent that the mother tongue continues to function as a defining element of their minority life even in the twenty-first century. The study therefore asks which factors enabled this community to preserve its group identity and maintain key attributes of Croatian identity over such a long historical period.

Keywords: language, identity, minority, Croats, cultural attributes

Historička Květa Kučerová, ktorá venovala chorvátskym kolonistom na Slovensku a v stredoeurópskom priestore obsažné poznatky, päť storočí trvajúce prežívanie ich jazyka, tradícií aj vedomia chorvátskeho pôvodu charakterizovala ako obdivuhodný zázrak.[1] A lingvista Václav Vážný o chorvátskej minorite v niekdajšom Československu napísal: „*chorvátsky jazyk je najvýraznejším prejavom ich svojrázneho života. Zo všetkých zložiek kultúry prinesených zo starej vlasti, najdlhšie a najvytrvalejšie odolával nivelizujúcej moci okolia*“.[2] Zaiste nie je náhodné, že aj súčasní jazykovedci spomedzi viacerých identifikačných znakov etnicity označujú jazyk za najdôležitejší atribút.[3] No a práve to ma oslovilo, aby som tento príspevok upriamil na to, aké činitele spôsobovali, že neveľká enkláva slovenských Chorvátov celých päť storočí odolávala nivelizujúcim tlakom do takej miery, že ich materinský jazyk neprestal napĺňať ich minoritný život ani v 21. storočí.

* JÁN BOTÍK, PhD, emeritný profesor, Bratislava (Slovenská republika).

1 KUČEROVÁ, Květa: Chorváti na Slovensku: Historický náčrt. BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorváti na Slovensku*: *Dejiny, jazyk, kultúra, súvislosti*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1996, str. 23.

2 VÁŽNÝ, Václav: Mluva chorvátskych osad v Republice Československé. In: *Československá vlastivěda*, vol. 3: *Jazyk*. Praha: Bohumil Janda, 1934, str. 518.

3 ONDREJOVIČ, Slavomír: *Jazyk, veda o jazyku, societa.* Bratislava: Veda, 2008, str. 75.

Pripomeňme si, že podľa sčítania ľudu v roku 1900 žilo na území dnešného Slovenska 4 023 obyvateľov, ktorí si prihlásili za materinský jazyk chorvátčinu. V roku 2011 iba 1022 obyvateľov deklarovalo chorvátsku národnosť.[4] V súčasnosti si z niekdajších viac ako 50 obcí, v ktorých sa usídlili chorvátski kolonisti, chorvátsky pôvod a chorvátsky materinský jazyk priznávajú iba v štyroch komunitách – v Chorvátskom Grobe, Devínskej Novej Vsi, Jarovciach a Čunove.

Prítomnosť chorvátskych kolonistov na území Slovenska je doložená od 16. storočia. Neboli tu osamelou migračnou skupinou, ale súčasťou rozsiahleho chorvátskeho ostrova, ktorého účastníci sa pod tlakom vojenských výbojov Osmanskej ríše v priebehu 16. a 17. storočia sťahovali zo starých sídelných oblastí Chorvátov do priestranstva na strednom Dunaji. Na vtedajšom území Habsburskej monarchie, čiže na území dnešného Rakúska, Maďarska, Slovenska a Česka, sa zoskupilo približne stotisíc chorvátskych migrantov, ktorí sa usídľovali v približne dvoch stovkách morovými epidémiami a vojenskými zrážkami zdevastovaných a značne vyľudnených dedín.[5] Keďže najpočetnejšia časť chorvátskych kolonistov sa skoncentrovala v oblasti rakúskeho Burgenlandu, pre príslušníkov tohto rozložitého jazykového ostrova sa ustálilo pomenovanie *burgenlandskí*, v preklade do chorvátčiny *gradiščanski Chorváti*. Súčasťou tohto geograficky rozsiahleho a početného jazykového ostrova sa stali aj chorvátski kolonisti usídlení na území Slovenska.

Na relatívne priaznivý etnokultúrny vývin chorvátskej enklávy na území Slovenska vplývali viaceré faktory. Bola to predovšetkým kompaktnosť ich usídlenia v okolí Bratislavy a pozdĺž Malých Karpát, kde z celkového počtu viac ako 50 obcí, mali chorvátski kolonisti v porovnaní so starousadlými Slovákmi v približne dvoch tretinách, nadpolovičné zastúpenie[6]. Najpočetnejšou zložkou chorvátskych kolonistov boli roľníci. Výrazný agrárny ráz spôsoboval vysokú mieru hospodárskej sebestačnosti roľníckych rodín. Všetko čo potrebovali si aj vyprodukovali. A všetko čo vyprodukovali, aj spotrebovali. A to spôsobovalo, že spravidla všetci príslušníci roľníckych rodín sa existenčne uplatňovali na rodinnom hospodárstve. Takže roľnícke rodiny sa vyznačovali nielen hospodárskou, ale aj sociálnou uzavretosťou. A tým sa posilňoval obranný mechanizmus tejto enklávy v podobe skupinovej endogamie. Čiže vo výbere manželských partnerov iba spomedzi príslušníkov vlastnej minoritnej skupiny.[7]

Uvedené demografické, hospodárske a sociálne činitele boli natoľko významné, že vďaka nim sa slovenskí Chorváti mohli aj v novoosídlenom prostredí reprodukovať nielen biologicky, ale aj jazykovo, kultúrne, aj národnostne.

Otázkou teraz je, prečo bol materinský jazyk v živote Chorvátov na Slovensku taký dôležitý. Bádatelia orientovaní na migračné a minoritné štúdiá už vyslovili k tomu mnohé poznatky a úvahy, ktoré sa vzťahujú aj na enklávno-diasporálny útvar gradičšťanských a sloven-

[4] BENŽA, Mojmír: *Národnostný atlas Slovenska*. Bratislava: Dajama, 2015, str. 15-37.

[5] KUČEROVÁ, Květa: Chorváti na Slovensku, str. 21.

[6] KLAČKA, Jozef: Urbáre červenokamenského a stupavského hradného panstva o chorvátskej kolonizácii v 16. storočí. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku*: *História, onomastika, národopis*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, str. 26; BOTÍK, Ján. *Slovenskí Chorváti: Etnokultúrny vývin z pohľadu spoločenskovedných poznatkov*. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Lúč, 2001, str. 73.

[7] UHEREK, Zdeněk – BERANSKÁ, Veronika: Diaspora. In: BLAHUŠEK, Jan (ed.): *Malý etnologický slovník*. Strážnice: Národní ústav lidové kultury, 2011, str. 12.

ských Chorvátov. Zdôrazňuje sa v nich, že materinský jazyk človek používa najviac, ovláda ho najlepšie a týmto jazykom sa človek aj identifikuje. Dôraz je položený na tom, že môj jazyk je ozajstným pôvodom a základom môjho ja. Jazyk signalizuje kto sme a kam sa zaraďujeme.[8] Najzrozumiteľnejšie je to obsiahnuté v etnonyme, čiže v slove označujúcom ten-ktorý národ. V súpisoch chorvátskych kolonistov na Slovensku boli ich mená zapísané v mnohých prípadoch priezviskami etnonymického typu, a to v rozličných obmenách viacerých jazykových systémov – *Horvath*, *Chorvat*, *Carwat*, *Crowat*, *Korwat*, *Krabat*, *Croata*, *Horvatovič*.[9]

Chorvátski kolonisti svoju prítomnosť na území Slovenska v 16. a 17. storočí zaznamenávali tak, že do názvu obce, ktorú založili, obnovili alebo zaujali v nej dominantnú pozíciu, vkladali svoju chorvátsku príslušnosť. Takže v tom čase sa chorvátskym nenazýval iba dnešný Chorvátsky Grob, ale aj dnešnú časť Stupavy – Mást, nazývali „Dedinou Chorvátov" (1533 *Villa Crovacorum*), dnešné Jarovce „Chorvátskou Vsou" (1522 – 1598 *Horváthfalu*, 1659 *Horváth Jandorf)*, Devínsku Novú Ves „Chorvátskou Novou Vsou" (1552 *Horwath Wyfalw*), Lamač „Chorvátskou Vsou" (1547 *Krabatendorf*). Neoficiálnym názvom Malých Šenkvíc bolo *Cerovo Brdo* či *Malý Sisek*.[10]

V prostredí slovenských Chorvátov napĺňal ich materinský jazyk viacero funkcií. Popri tom, že bol dorozumievacím a etnoidentifikačným prostriedkom, chorvátčina bola aj ich bohoslužobným, vyučovacím, písomným a literárnym jazykom. Materinský jazyk zohrával dôležitú úlohu aj pri zapúšťaní koreňov a osvojovaní novo osídľovaného prostredia. Chorvátski kolonisti na Slovensku sa do novo osídľovaného prostredia zakoreňovali nielen svojimi obydliami a obhospodarovanými poliami, ale aj nespočetnými názvami, ktorými pomenovávali jednotlivé časti svojej dediny a obklopujúcej krajiny. K najstarším dokladom patrí názvoslovie zo Šenkvíc, zaznamenané v prvej polovici 18. storočia: *Klanica*, *Glanac*, *Zrinska gora*, *Glogovac*, *Kozara*, *Jagned*, *Mure*, *Vrtla*, *Lisiče jame*, *Ledina*, Gluhak, *Mrlugy*, *Priko*, *Polusela*, *Graba*, *Novosad*, *Grafty*, *Kandija*, *Krče*.[11]

Chorvátske terénne názvy, ktorými chorvátski kolonisti vo svojom materinskom jazyku ozvláštňovali časti, hlavne chotáre osídľovaných obcí, pretrvali až do sklonku 20. storočia. Potvrdzujú to doklady z trinástich obcí s niekdajším chorvátskym osídlením, v ktorých Jazykovedný ústav SAV v šesťdesiatych rokoch 20. storočia v rámci výskumného projektu s celoslovenským záberom zaznamenával tamojšie chotárne či terénne názvy. V obciach Blatné, Záhorská Bystrica, Čunovo, Devínska Nová Ves, Dúbravka, Chorvátsky Grob, Jarovce, Karlova Ves, Lamač, Mokrý Háj, Stupava, Šenkvice a Zohor boli zaznamenané aj slová či názvy so znakmi chorvátskeho jazyka. Lingvista Milan Majtán na vzorke približne dvoch stoviek takýchto slov urobil ich lingvistickú analýzu, po ktorej mohol uvedené slová začleniť do troch skupín:[12]

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8 SKUTNABB-KANGAS, Tove: *Menšina, jazyk a rasizmus*, trans. Zuzana Drábeková. Bratislava: Kalligram, 2000, str. 9.

9 KLAČKA, Jozef: Urbáre, str. 25.

10 MAJTÁN, Milan: Svedectvo terénnych názvov o Chorvátoch na Slovensku. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku*: *História, onomastika, národopis.* Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, str. 66.

11 KOVACHICH, Martin Juraj: *Commentatio de patria, vita fatis et scriptis nobilis Gabriel Kolinovich Senquicziensis Gabriel Kolinovich Senquicziensis*. Pest: Litteris Tranttnerianis, 1789, str. 5.

12 MAJTÁN, Milan: Svedectvo, str. 73.

1. Slová, ktoré z lexikálneho, sémantického a slovotvorného hľadiska charakterizujú chorvátsku národnú príslušnosť ich používateľov v západoslovenskom nárečovom prostredí: napr. *brdo, kameňača, ledina, sičovina* a iné
2. Slová, ktoré pripomínali starú vlasť: napr. *Kozara, Sisek, Zrinska gora* a iné
3. Slová príznačné pre slovenčinu, ktoré sa hláskovo prispôsobili miestnemu chorvátskemu nárečiu: napr. *ciesta, jarak, zelňica* a iné.

Neobyčajne vzácnym dokladom prítomnosti Chorvátov na Slovensku, ako aj dokladom zjednocujúcej a identifikačnej funkcie ich materinského jazyka, sú chorvátske texty na náhrobných pomníkoch v Jarovciach a Čunove. Ich unikátnosť spočíva v tom, že s výnimkou týchto dvoch lokalít, v žiadnej inej Chorvátmi osídlenej obci na Slovensku sa písomné doklady tohto druhu nevyskytujú.[13] Podobne ako kostol, aj cintorín napĺňal v živote kolonistov viaceré funkcie. Hlavne tým, že sa tam všetci príslušníci vysťahovaleckej komunity schádzali. Keď pochovávali prvých zosnulých, zahlbovali tam aj svoje korene. Cintoríny s rozrastajúcimi sa hrobmi komunitu kolonistov stmeľovali a navyše, stávali sa pre komunitu kolonistov jej genealógiou aj jedinečnou kronikou.

Hlavnou funkciou náhrobných textov je sprostredkovať informácie o pochovanej osobe: *Ovde pocsiva Mate Dedovich, Ovde pocsiva Malešich Rozina.* Často sa vyskytuje informácia o príbuzenskom vzťahu nebohého k pozostalým: *naša majka, pokojni otac, moji starji, pokojni hižniki, njihova verna družica.*

Na chorvátsku príslušnosť náhrobných textov poukazujú aj priezviská, napr: *Vuk, Dedovich, Vuketich*, ako aj krstné mená – *Miko, Stefe, Jako, Jive, Jandre, Hedica, Mare, Rozina, Katica* a ďalšie.

Okrem osobného mena, dát narodenia a úmrtia, v náhrobných textoch sú obsiahnuté prvky kresťanskej vierouky a náboženského múdroslovia:

- *Neka počivaju Vamiru, Amen*
- *Szvitlost nekonecsna neka njim sviti*
- *Muka Kristuševa spasi je*
- *Szlatko Srdce Jezusa smiluj sze nyim*
- *Neka te primi Gospodin ki te je pozvao i neka te sprohodu andjeli u pokoj vjekovječni*

Zriedkavejšie sú na náhrobníkoch obsažnejšie texty s charakteristikou tam pochovanej osoby:

- *Služil sam Bogu i za domovinu, smrt nemila mej pokosila va punom cvecu. Roztužena srdca utišite se, ar i ovo je Božia vola bila*

Názvy obcí doplnených prívlastkom, že sú aj chorvátske, ako aj chorvátske názvoslovie častí a chotárov takýchto obcí, taktiež aj cintoríny s chorvátskymi textami na pomníkoch, stávali sa nielen dokladmi o zakoreňovaní chorvátskych kolonistov, no zároveň akoby symbolicky legitimizovali aj nárok týchto prisťahovalcov na novoosvojovanú domovinu.

Odtrhnutosť gradiščanských Chorvátov od jadra materského národa zohrala rozhodujúcu úlohu v tom, že sa vývin chorvátskeho jazyka začal od 16. storočia uberať na materskom území a v gradiščanskom prostredí odlišnými cestami. Nárečia kolonistov na strednom Dunaji ustrnuli na starom vývinovom stupni hlások. A podľa toho, v akom etnickom prostredí sa usadili, preberali do svojho materinského jazyka slovné výpožičky

[13] BOTÍK, Ján: Chorvátske náhrobné texty v Jarovciach a Čunove. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku*: *História, onomastika, národopis.* Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, str. 66, str. 81-107.

z nemčiny, maďarčiny aj slovenčiny. Postupne to vyústilo do vytvárania vlastného gradiščansko-chorvátskeho jazyka, ktorý sa výrazne odlišoval od štandardnej chorvátčiny na materskom etnickom území.[14] Ak základom spisovného jazyka gradiščanských Chorvátov sa stali čakavské nárečia, na materskom území to boli nárečia štokavské. V gradiščansko-chorvátskom jazyku začali od 17. storočia vychádzať najskôr náboženské knihy a postupne aj školské učebnice, noviny, poézia, próza a iné žánre. Prenikli aj do domácností slovenských Chorvátov, takže sme ich mohli získať aj do zbierkového fondu Múzea Chorvátov na Slovensku.[15]

Nedá sa však prehliadnuť, že norma spisovnej chorvátčiny od Ľudovíta Gaja z roku 1936 si našla stúpencov aj v prostredí gradiščanských a slovenských Chorvátov. Patril k nim aj Fabian Hauszer, katolícky kňaz v Rusovciach. So svojimi zámermi však neuspel aj napriek tomu, že pre školské potreby vydal chorvátsko-nemecký slovník.[16]

S pozitívnym ohlasom sa však stretol v normatívnej chorvátčine Ľudovíta Gaja vydaný román *Velika ljubov,* ktorého autorom je významný chorvátsky národovec Josip Andrić. V dvoch vydaniach bol tento román sprístupnený aj v preklade do slovenčiny. Nevšedný ohlas si získal tým, že na osnove života tradičnej roľníckej komunity v Chorvátskom Grobe aktualizoval udalosti eróziou oslabeného povedomia chorvátskeho pôvodu a skupinovej identity tamojších obyvateľov.[17]

K literárnemu obrazu jazyka, kultúry a spôsobu života slovenských Chorvátov prispel aj Ivan Blazović,[18] katolícky kňaz z pridunajskej obce Jarovce. Vo svojej poézii, prózach a divadelných hrách sa inšpiroval reáliami tradičného dedinského života, čím si vyslúžil charakteristiku, že *„v každom jeho slove cítiť lásku k Chorvátom a ku gradiščanskej domovine"*.[19]

Jazyková situácia v prostredí etnických enkláv či národnostných menšín, čiže aj u Chorvátov na Slovensku, sa vyvíjala jednosmerne od materinského jazyka cez bilingvizmus k jazyku obklopujúcej majoritnej spoločnosti. Takýto priebeh bol zaznamenaný aj vo vývine jazykových pomerov u slovenských Chorvátov. Lenže naznačené jazykové zmeny v jednotlivých Chorvátmi osídlených lokalitách neprebiehali súbežne, čiže všade v tom istom čase. Vzájomné diferencie boli podmienené viacerými, nie všade aj rovnakými činiteľmi.

V prevažnej časti Chorvátmi osídlených lokalít na Slovensku sa chorvátčina začala vytrácať už v priebehu 17. storočia. Týkalo sa to predovšetkým tých komunít, kde mali Chorváti iba menšinové zastúpenie. V 18. storočí máme chorvátčinu ako hovorový, bohoslužobný, vyučovací a písomný jazyk iba v nasledovných lokalitách: Čunovo, Jarovce, Rusovce, Devínska Nová Ves, Dúbravka, Lamač, Záhorská Bystrica, Mást, Chorvátsky

[14] BREU, Josef: Prostorni opseg i posljedice za Sliku naselja. In: KAMPUŠ, Ivan (ed.): *Povijest i kultura gradišćanskih Hrvata*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus, 1995, str. 88.

[15] NEWEKLOWSKI, Gerhard: Päť storočí prítomnosti Chorvátov v Burgenlande. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorváti na Slovensku: Dejiny, jazyk, kultúra, súvislosti*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1996, str. 65; BOTÍK, Ján: *Slovenskí Chorváti*, str. 78.

[16] HAUSZER, Fabian: *Hrvatsko-njemački rječnik za školske učitelje.* Becs: Schulbucher Verlage, 1858.

[17] ANDRIĆ, Josip: *Velika ljubav*: *Roman iz života slovačkih Hrvata.* Zagreb: Naklada Hrvatska državna tiskara, 1942.

[18] Ivan Blazović používal vo svojej literárnej tvorbe pseudonym Ivan Blažević.

[19] BENČIĆ, Nikola*:* Ivan Blažević – pjesnik u sinju. In: *Ivan Blažević – proza.* Željezno: Hrvatsko štamparsko društvo, 1996, str. 269.

Grob, Šenkvice, Blatné a Naháč. Spolu je to iba 12 obcí. Na rozhraní 19. a 20. storočia sa po chorvátsky rozprávalo už len v Čunove, Jarovciach, Rusovciach, Devínskej Novej Vsi, Dúbravke, Lamači a Chorvátskom Grobe. Vo všetkých uvedených lokalitách sa uplatňoval bilingvizmus, pričom len v Jarovciach a Čunove bola hlavným dorozumievacím jazykom chorvátčina. V oblasti Záhoria a pozdĺž Malých Karpát hlavným dorozumievacím jazykom v chorvátskych komunitách bola slovenčina, chorvátčina sa dostala až na druhé miesto.[20]

Súčasní bádatelia chorvátskeho jazyka v Devínskej Novej Vsi a v Chorvátskom Grobe z rozhrania 20. a 21. storočia dospeli k poznatku, že zistenia dialektológa Václava Vážného z prvej polovice 20. storočia, keď tamojšie chorvátske nárečia boli živým a plnohodnotným dorozumievacím prostriedkom, majú dnes hlavne historickú hodnotu.[21] Dnes sú tieto nárečia už iba reliktami, čiže pozostatkami či zvyškami predchádzajúceho stavu. Ich komunikačná funkcia a kompetencia je v súčasnosti nízka, prognóza ich vývinu je problematická. V súčasnosti je chorvátčina v uvedených komunitách iba jazykom starších ľudí a oficiálnych spolkových podujatí.[22]

Takže čo povedať na záver? Možno konštatovať, že materinský jazyk Chorvátov na Slovensku nielen v jeho plnohodnotnej, ale aj v jeho reliktnej podobe je jazykom, ktorým sa jeho nositelia identifikujú, sprostredkováva im ich pôvod a kultúrne dedičstvo, čiže signalizuje, kto jeho nositelia sú a kam sa zaraďujú.

[20] BOTÍK, Ján: *Slovenskí Chorváti*, str. 99.
[21] VÁŽNÝ, Václav: Mluva chorvátských osad.
[22] RIPKA, Ivor: Reliktné chorvátske nárečia v okolí Bratislavy. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorváti na Slovensku: Dejiny, jazyk, kultúra, súvislosti*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1996, str. 52.

Marta Botíková*

Poznámky k ľudovému odevu Chorvátov na Slovensku**

Bilješke o narodnoj odjeći Hrvata u Slovačkoj / Notes on the folk clothing of Croats in Slovakia

The issue of Croatian folk clothing in Slovakia has been addressed in numerous drawings, paintings, photographs, and studies. Among the oldest records are colored engravings and watercolors by J. Heinbucher-Bikessy and J. Pacsich. In the 1930s, ethnographers A. Václavík and V. Pražák addressed the issue. In the second half of the 20th century, V. Nosáľová and J. Pátková, as well as researchers from ÚĽUV, studied the western Slovak region, including villages with an originally Croatian population. Museum curators and local collectors also later devoted themselves to research. Based on these sources, this article provides an overview of the changes in two items of clothing (men's vests and men's and women's mentieka) in the region of Croatian settlement in western Slovakia.

Keywords: Croats in Slovakia, folk clothing, vest, mentieka

Problematika ľudového odevu Chorvátov na Slovensku bola doteraz sprostredkovaná vo viacerých kresbách, maľbách, fotografických dokumentoch aj štúdiách. Medzi najstaršie záznamy patria kolorované rytiny a akvarely J. C. Branda, J. Adama, J. Heinbuchera-Bikessyho a J. Pacsicha.[1] V tridsiatych rokoch 20. storočia spracovali problematiku etnografi A. Václavík a V. Pražák. V druhej polovici 20. storočia skúmali západoslovenský región, vrátane obcí s pôvodne chorvátskym obyvateľstvom, J. Paličková-Pátková, V. Nosáľová, M. Benža, ako aj pracovníčky ÚĽUV-u. Výskumu sa neskôr venovali aj múzejní kurátori, spomeniem Júliu Domorackú zo SNM, a miestni zberatelia Henrich Lančarič zo Šenkvíc a Radoslav Jankovič z Jaroviec. V príspevku sa na základe týchto prameňov, ako aj podľa katalógu Clary Prickler,[2] pozriem na dve odevné súčiastky, ktoré reprezentujú odevné formy, a čiastočne aj ich premeny v regióne chorvátskeho osídlenia na západnom Slovensku.

Chorvátske osídlenie na západnom Slovensku siaha do obdobia 16. storočia, keď sa toto obyvateľstvo natrvalo usadilo v desiatkach obcí západného Slovenska. Dotváralo etnickú štruktúru regiónu a v priebehu nasledujúcich storočí v niektorých súčastiach svojej kultúry a spôsobu života uchovávalo svoju etnic-

* MARTA BOTIKOVÁ, PhD, Katedra archeológie a kultúrnej antropológie FiF UK v Bratislave (Slovenská republika).

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1 BEŇOVÁ, Katarína: Námety z vidieckeho prostredia vo výtvarnom umení 19. storočia v Uhorsku. *Národopisná revue*, a. 34, nr. 1 (2024), str. 39–55. https://doi.org/10.62800/NR.2024.1.04

2 PRICKLER, Clara: *Historische Trachtendarstellungen der burgenländischen Kroaten – Historične slike nošnjov Gradišćanskih Hrvatov.* Eisenstadt/Željezno: Kroatisches Kultur- und Dokumentationszentrum/Hrvatski kulturni i dokumentarni centar, 1998.

Obr. 1: *Croatin mit Zwiebel, Wien museum, Online sammlung, Inv.N. 20553/73.*

kú výnimočnosť, v iných zas prebiehal proces prispôsobenia sa okolitému prostrediu. V migračných procesoch sledujeme dvojjedinosť etnokultúrneho vývoja, napätie medzi pretrvávaním a prispôsobovaním sa, a to všetko v procese premien z hľadiska všeobecných dejinných procesov aj konkrétnych dejinných udalostí, ktoré ovplyvnili život v regióne.

Na základe súpisov poddaných a ďalších písomností zo 16. – 17. storočia možno uviesť tri desiatky obcí na území dnešného Slovenska, v ktorých chorvátski osadníci mali väčšinové alebo aspoň polovičné zastúpenie, a to v oblasti Záhoria, pod Malými Karpatami aj v Zadunajsku.[3]

V chorvátskom osídlení Slovenska boli zastúpení príslušníci všetkých sociálnych vrstiev

vtedajšej spoločnosti – šľachta, remeselníci aj mešťania. Najpočetnejšou zložkou bolo roľnícke obyvateľstvo. Aj ono sa delilo na majetkové skupiny, boli medzi nimi sedliaci aj želiari. Vychádzajúc z naznačeného sociálneho rozvrstvenia môžeme predpokladať, že sociálne rozdiely a (ne)majetnosť určovali aj nákladnosť konkrétnych foriem ľudového odevu.

Je tiež dôležité podotknúť, že u Chorvátov nielenže pretrvávali rôzne kultúrne zvláštnosti, ale Chorváti v niektorých regiónoch tiež výrazne poznačili ich kultúrny ráz. Niektorí bádatelia sa domnievali, že „celá ľudová kultúra západného Slovenska a južnej Moravy bola silno ovplyvnená chorvátskym živlom".[4] Rozhodnúť, kto koho viac alebo menej ovplyvnil, je dnes už veľmi ťažké, ak nie nemožné. Už viac ako štyri storočia sa región vyvíja vo svojom priestore, svojich mikro-dejinách, ktoré spôsobovali kultúrne pretrvávanie, ako aj prispôsobovanie sa obyvateľstva. Čo budú etnicky špecifické javy v tomto prípade?

Predmetom etnologického bádania sú predovšetkým javy a vzťahy príznačné pre „ľudové vrstvy", čím sa myslí najmä roľnícke obyvateľstvo. Takto získavame aj „emic" perspektívu, pohľad samotných nositeľov. Často používané úslovie *náš kroj* je azda najvýrečnejším dokladom jeho identifikačných funkcií.[5]

[3] KUČEROVÁ, Květa: *Chorváti a Srbi v strednej Európe.* Bratislava: Veda, 1976, str. 221–74; KLAČKA, Jozef: Urbáre červenokamenského a stupavského panstva o chorvátskej kolonizácii v 16. storočí. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku*. Bratislava, SNM, 1999, str. 25–36.

[4] SIROVÁTKA, Oldřich: K problematice folklóru chorvátske menšiny v *Československu*. In: LALEVIĆ, Miodrag S. (ed.): *III. kongres folklorista Jugoslávije držan od 1 do 9. IX. 1956 g. u Crnoj Gori*. Cetinje: [s.l.], 1958, str. 21–27.

[5] BOGATYREV, Peter: *Funkcie kroja na Moravskom Slovensku*. Turč. Svätý Martin: Matica slovenská, 1937.

Ľudový odev roľníckeho obyvateľstva v obciach osídlených alebo dosídlených chorvátskym obyvateľstvom sa zachoval v opisoch a v dobovom výtvarnom zobrazení. Osobne som prvýkrát mala študovať odevné formy zadunajských obcí osídlených Chorvátmi z pragmatických dôvodov vytvorenia návrhov súborových krojov a kostýmov pre vysokoškolský folklórny súbor Ekonóm, ktorý v roku 1978 postavil tanec Rusovský fašang. Choreografia Juraj Kubánka, hudba Aladár Móži.

Výskum ma doviedol do obce Jarovce, kde som mala aj dávnejšie osobné kontakty, a bol veľmi produktívny. V rodine Jankovičovov som našla prekrásny portrét, ktorý bol a aj sa stal cez zverejnenie ikonickým zobrazením chorvátskej ženy. Veľmi mi pomohli aj fotografie, zachytávajúce bandérium[6] mladých Jarovčanov, ktorí vítali nový kostolný zvon v roku 1925.[7] Samozrejme, prišiel rad na ďalšie výskumy a poznávanie a tu je teraz príležitosť pripomenúť niektoré pramene.

Historicky najstaršie kolorované kresby/rytiny[8] poznáme z konca 18. a zo začiatku 19. storočia. „Chorvátka predávajúca cibuľu" je názov kolorovanej rytiny autora Johana Christiána Branda[9], ktorý zobrazoval každodenný život obyvateľov Viedne aj okolité vidiecke obyvateľstvo, podobne ako jeho súčasník, Jacob Adam.[10] Obaja zachytili podľa popisu chorvátsku ženu, ktorá prišla do Viedne predávať cibuľu.

Obr. 2: *Eine Slowakische Bauerin und ein Knecht um Pressburg. Webumenia, č.2386.*

Dôležitým dokladom sú krojové listy z albumu Jozefa Heinbuchera-Bikessy (podľa maďarského pravopisu József Bikkessy Heinbucher), ktorý bol armádny dôstojník a kresliar.[11] Narodil sa

[6] Slávnostný jazdecký sprievod či oddiel, obyčajne v krojoch. Pozri SEGEŠ, Vladimír – ŠEĎOVÁ, Božena (eds.): *Pramene k vojenským dejinám Slovenska*, vol. I/3: 1387–1526. Bratislava: Vojenský historický ústav, 2013, str. 126.

[7] Vo vydanej kronike BOTÍK, Ján – BENČIĆ, Nikola (eds.): *Jure Treuer, Naše selo, Hrvatski Jahrndorf.* Željezno – Bratislava, 2005, str. 73–76 je udalosť podrobne opísaná, spolu s menami mládencov, ktorí tvorili slávnostný jazdecký sprievod.

[8] Vizuálne dokumenty z archívov a galérií som vyhľadávala pomocou OpenAI (2024). *ChatGPT* (GPT-4.0) [Large language model]. https://chat.openai.com.

[9] Johann Christian Brand (1722–1795): *Kroatin mit Zwiebel*, 1775, Engraver: Johann Ernst Mansfeld (1739–1796). Collection, Wien Museum, inventory number 160461. Description: This work is part of the series Zeichnungen nach dem gemeinen Volke besonders Der Kaufruf in Wien (Drawings of the Common People, Especially the Street Cries of Vienna).

[10] Jakob (Jacob) Adam (1748–1811): *Croatin mit Zwiebel*, 1777 Collection: Wien Museum, inventory number 20553/73. Description: This engraving is part of the series Abbildungen des gemeinen Volks zu Wien (Depictions of the Common People of Vienna). It portrays a Croatian woman with onions, reflecting the everyday life and commerce in Vienna during the 18th century.

[11] https://www.webumenia.sk/autor/3714 [citované 24.05.2025].

Obr. 3: *Chorvátsky sedliak a drotár z Nitrianskej. Podľa Markov, J. obr. 83.*

v Bratislave (Pressburgu) v roku 1776, zomrel v Grazi v roku 1833. Vďačíme mu za veľmi cenné zobrazenia slovenských, maďarských a chorvátskych ľudových odevov. Vychádzali ako samostatné listy, najskôr bez uvedenia autora, ale v roku 1820 už boli autorizované. Úvodnú štúdiu a komentáre k jednotlivým obrazom napísal Ján Čaplovič.[12] Náš záujem upútajú obrazy „Drotár z Nitrianskej stolice a chorvátsky sedliak".[13] Ide o tab. 14,[14] kde je popis trochu nepresný. Čaplovič označuje mužskú postavu naľavo ako sedliaka z Wieselburgskej stolice (Stoličný Belehrad / Székesfehérvár), vedľa neho napravo je odzadu zobrazený „drotár". Je veľmi pravdepodobné, že práve drotár a nie sedliak, je pôvodom z Nitrianskej stolice a zobrazený chorvátsky sedliak pochádza z niektorej z obcí na druhom brehu Dunaja, či už z Belehradskej alebo Železnej stolice. Ďalším obrazom, na tab. 33 je zobrazenie dvoch žien. Pod názvom „Žena z okolia Eisenstadtu" (Željezno), zobrazuje ženský ľudový odev. Žena v ľudovom odeve, s výraznou pokrývkou hlavy, komunikuje s druhou ženou, predavačkou cibule zo Záhoria, ktorá jej ponúka svoj tovar.[15]

Dokladom zvláštností odevu v oblasti viacetnického Gradišča je album desiatich akvarelových vyobrazení obyvateľov Kittsee, doplnený aj podrobným popisom jednotlivých súčastí odevu. Keďže Kittsee je bezprostredne susediacou lokalitou s Jarovcami, Rusovcami a Čunovom, s ktorými patrila do toho istého nárečového regiónu a zároveň aj do spoločného sobášneho okruhu, tieto lokality vytvárali aj spoločný odevný región. Autorom uvedeného albumu bol János Pacsich.[16] V albume sú vyobrazené a popísané mužské, ženské i detské postavy, ktoré patrili k rôznym profesijným skupinám (sedliaci, mešťania, muzikanti, čašník, obuvník, šarha, vandrovník). A zároveň aj k viacerým etnickým skupinám (Chorváti, Nemci, Židia, Cigáni). Z vyobrazení je zrejmé, že každá zo zastúpených vekových, rodových, zamestnanec-

[12] URBANCOVÁ, Viera: *Počiatky slovenskej etnografie*. Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo SAV, 1970, str. 334–42.

[13] *Ibidem*, str. 335.

[14] Pozri aj MARKOV, Jozef: *Slovenský ľudový odev v minulosti*. Bratislava: SVKL, 1955, obrazová časť, obr. č. 83, nestránkované.

[15] MARKOV, Jozef, *Slovenský ľudový odev*, obrazová časť, obr. č. 90, nestránkované.

[16] Pacsich János, festő, ny. kapitány Köpcsényben. A köpcsényi népviseletről 1808. tíz fólió lapon akvarelleket készített, melyei a magyarázó szöveggel együtt a M. Nemzeti Múzeum könyvtárában vannak. Pozri *Művészeti Lexikon*, vol. 2: *L–Z*. Budapest: Győző Andor Kiadás, 1935, str. 256. Podľa PRICKLER, Clara: *Historische Trachtendarstellungen*. Eisenstadt: Kroatisches Kultur- und Dokumentationszentrum, 1998, str. 9, narodený v obci Baja, Uhorsko. V tomto zdroji nájdeme reprodukcie malieb Jánosa Pacsicha s popismi, na 20–29, 34–35, 40–41, 46–47.

kých a aj etnických skupín sa vyznačuje určitým charakteristickým oblečením. Takúto znakovú charakteristiku dopĺňajú aj texty pod jednotlivými postavami, v ktorých sa vymenovávajú materiály, farby a dekoratívne prvky jednotlivých odevných súčastí. Autor týchto textov sa zrejme veľmi detailne orientoval aj v tých najjemnejších formálnych odlišnostiach v odeve príslušníkov rôznych skupín obyvateľov Kittsee. Zdá sa, akoby tento dokument vznikol práve za takým účelom, aby sa prostredníctvom neho zvýraznili mnohoraké sociálne a aj etnické funkcie odevu v Kittsee. Nasvedčujú tomu aj texty s opisom jednotlivých postáv.

Ako sme uviedli, ľudový odev regiónu, kde sa na dnešnom území Slovenska usídlilo roľnícke chorvátske obyvateľstvo, vykazuje viaceré spoločné znaky. Uvádza ich aj Viera Nosáľová v súvislosti s odevným regiónom Záhoria a okolia Trnavy.[17] Tiež sa však odvoláva na ďalšie sociálne činitele, ako boli kontakty s mestami (Bratislava, Viedeň), či existencia textilných manufaktúr v regióne (Bratislava, Devín, Šaštín). Dôležité je tiež z tejto literatúry pripomenúť súčiastky z domácky vyrobeného konopného plátna, ktoré sa hojne používali v obciach s chorvátskou kolonizáciou ako aj v ich okolí. Na konopnom plátne na odevných súčiastkach, ako aj vo forme domácich textílií (kútne plachty, uteráky a i.) sa uplatnila výšivka bielou a červenou hrubou bavlnou, ktorá bezprostredne súvisela s charakterom materiálu (podľa počítanej niti), ako aj s renesančnými motívmi (jelenčeky, vtáčiky, baránok) a ich pravdepodobne magickým významom v ľudovom prostredí.

Z rôznych odevných súčastí ma najviac zaujali vesta v mužskom odeve

Obr. 4: *Chorvátsky sedliak z okolia Koszeghu. Webumenia č. 2346.*

a tiež ovčí kožuch potiahnutý súknom, mužská aj ženská mentieka. Priblížim obe odevné súčiastky, jednu ukážem ako odlišujúcu, druhú ako jednotiacu v rámci širšieho stredoeurópskeho regiónu.

Vesta ma prekvapila ešte pri prvom oboznámení sa s ľudovým odevom zadunajských chorvátskych obcí. Nazýva sa *flígľ*.[18] Išlo, a ako vysvitne, ešte stále má svoju funkciu, takže aj ide vlastne o akúsi náprsenku, lemovanú stuhou. Na jej zhotovenie používali ozdobnú látku, brokát, atlas, alebo kašmír. Náprsenka bola na chrbte upevnená pásmi, trakmi. Bol to evidentne najmä odev mladých mužov, starší nosili vestu vpredu na zapínanie s gombíkmi. Táto mala niekoľko vreciek, dokonca aj jedno „tajné" pod

[17] NOSÁĽOVÁ, Viera: *Slovenský ľudový odev*. Martin: Osveta, 1982, str. 27.

[18] *Flígľ* pravdepodobne z nem. „Flügel", čo znamená krídlo (napr. vtáčie alebo krídlo budovy), alebo „Fliege", mucha. Názov pre mužskú/mládeneckú vestu sa vyskytuje aj v chorvátskych obciach Burgenlandu.

Obr. 5: *Muško jačkarno društvo Hrvatski Jandrof (Mužský spevácky spolok Jarovce), 2019. Foto: R. Jankovič.*

pazuchou. Zhotovená bývala podobne z kašmíru, damašku, brokátu či atlasu. Muži si vestu obliekali k slávnostnému odevu. Vesta sa v Chorvátskom Grobe ako aj v Šenkviciach nazývala *prucel*, alebo *pruclek*.[19] Opísaná forma zodpovedá aj vyobrazeniam Pacsicha a Heinbuchera-Bikessyho v prípade odevu dospelých mužov. Takúto vestu, *prucel*, vidíme aj na fotografii v odeve regrúta zo Šenkvíc.[20] Podobne je uvedený typ vesty doložený aj u Chorvátov na Morave.[21]

Zdá sa teda, že kým dospelí muži nosili na košeľu pri slávnostných príležitostiach vestu, mládenci a mladí muži v chorvátskych obciach Zadunajska si obliekali ľahkú ozdobnú náprsenku. Takto boli odetí aj členovia spomenutého slávnostného bandéria pri posvätení nového zvona v Jarovciach v roku 1925. Odevnú súčiastku *flígľ* možno podľa informácií z Jaroviec doložiť v celom severnom regióne Burgenlandu, v obciach Jarovce, Čunovo, Pama, Parndorf, Neudorf, aj Bezenye. Dodnes *flígľ* nosia členovia Mužského speváckeho spolku Jarovce (Muško jačkarno društvo Hrvatski Jandrof), ako aj členovia folklórneho súboru z obce Bezenye/Bizonja v Maďarsku.

[19] DOMARACKÁ, Júlia: Odev a textil v Chorvátskom Grobe. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku*: *História, onomastika, národopis*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, str. 151; LANČARIĆ, Henrich: Ľudový odev v Šenkviciach. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku*: *História, onomastika, národopis*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, str. 159.

[20] LANČARIĆ, Henrich: Ľudový odev v Šenkviciach, str. 160.

[21] NOVÁKOVÁ, Lenka: Příspěvek k vývoji kroje moravských Charvátu ve druhé povině 19. a v první polovině 20. století. In: KOPŘIVOVÁ, Lenka – LEISSEROVÁ, Eliška (eds.). *Barvy chorvátske Moravy*. Jevišovka: Sdružení občanů chorvatské národnosti v ČR, 2017, str. 152.

Obr. 6: *Radoslav Jankovič ml. v ľudovom odeve z Jaroviec, 2022. Foto: R. Jankovič.*

Mentieku, teda súknom alebo inou vlnenou látkou potiahnutý ovčí kožuch nosili muži aj ženy v dospelom veku. Na mentiekach častejšie ako na ostatných kožušinových výrobkoch bol použitý lem z kožušiny divých zvierat ako boli líška, vydra, zajac alebo kuna. Išlo o remeselne zhotovovanú súčasť odevu a jej zadováženie predstavovalo pravdepodobne nemalú finančnú investíciu. Z toho vyplýval aj jej statusový význam. V slovenskom kontexte označujú mentieku ako vzácnu a nezriedka aj zapožičanú súčasť svadobného odevu v heslách venovaných špecificky mentieke resp.

Obr. 7: *Ženská mentieka, Chorvátsky Grob, okr. Senec, začiatok 20. stor. Benža 2015, str. 151.*

v hesle, ktoré je venované svadobnému odevu Magdaléna Kaňová s Mojmírom Benžom, Jarmila Paličková-Pátková a neskôr opäť Mojmír Benža.[22] Aj Antonín Václavík v monografii Chorvátskeho Grobu uvádza „kožuch obšitý súknom" pod názvom *šuba*, ako odev na svadby, pohreby a slávnosti.[23]

[22] KAŇOVÁ, Magdaléna – BENŽA, Mojmír: *Ľudové kožuchy*. Martin: Osveta, 1970; PALIČKOVÁ-PÁTKOVÁ, Jarmila: *Ľudové kožušníctvo na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Veda, 1981, str. 91–92; BENŽA, Mojmír: *Mentieka*. https://www.ludovakultura.sk/polozka-encyklopedie/mentieka/, [citované 1. 6. 2025].

[23] VÁCLAVÍK, Antonín: *Podunajská dedina v Československu*. Bratislava: Družstvo, 1925, str. 78.

Autori túto odevnú súčiastku dávajú do súvisu s odevom nižšej šľachty, so zemianstvom, resp. s bohatým roľníckym obyvateľstvom a výskyt situujú na západnom a severnom Slovensku. Na Pacsichových obrázkoch obyvateľov Kittsee vidíme dlhé mentieky, ktoré sú určite aj prejavom hospodárskej prosperity ich nositeľov. Tiež platí, že boli súčasťou svadobných odevov, ale zároveň patrili do celoživotnej odevnej výbavy. Pravdaže, nemáme možnosť dohľadať frekvenciu výskytu, koľko takýchto kožuchov bolo v ktorej obci, aj keď nejakým ukazovateľom môže byť poznámka A. Václavíka, že tieto vrchné odevy „pred päťdesiatimi rokmi (teda cca 1875, pozn. MB) sa predávali za 80 – 100 zlatých. Dnes je v celej dedine len jedna šuba od moľov poškodená".[24] Môžeme predpokladať, že významným ukazovateľom bola dostupnosť, mestské a trhové centrá, v ktorých žili alebo prichádzali remeselníci, krajčíri a kožušníci, a tiež takéto centrá určovali aj trendy v odievaní.[25] Na dobových vizuálnych dokladoch vidíme ošúchanú mentieku cibuliarky, na inom obraze zas elegantnú mentieku ženy, ktorá si ide cibuľu kupovať. Že ide o odev, ktorý bol rozšírený v širšom regióne strednej Európy, dokladá už štúdia J. Paličkovej-Pátkovej.[26]

Na príkladoch dvoch súčiastok ľudového odevu Chorvátov na území dnešného Slovenska sme ukázali špecifickosť aj prepojenosť na širší stredoeurópsky geograficko-kultúrno- hospodársky a teda aj odevný región. Je zrejmé, že kým náprsná vesta, súčasť odevu (zvlášť mladých) mužov sa zachovala a pretrváva v podobe „kroja", resp. scénického odevu na folklórnych vystúpeniach, druhá súčasť, odev z ovčej kožušiny a súkna, mentieka, nemá takéto využitie a zostáva dokladom kultúrneho dedičstva širšieho regiónu.

[24] VÁCLAVÍK, Antonín: *Podunajská dedina*, str. 78.

[25] K významným krajčírskym majstrom, tvorcom „národného nosiva" patril napr. Štefan Horník (1816 – 1883). Po vyučení za krajčíra a absolvovaní sedemročného tovarišského putovania po Európe sa vrátil do Bratislavy. V roku 1846 otvoril krajčírske remeselné dielňu. Pozri časopis *Sokol* 1, nr. 7 (1862), str. 248.

[26] PALIČKOVÁ-PÁTKOVÁ, Jarmila: *Ľudové kožušníctvo*, str. 92.

Mária Garanová Krišťáková*

Dokumentácia náboženských pútí slovenských Chorvátov v SNM – Múzeu kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku

Dokumentacija vjerskih hodočašća slovačkih Hrvata u SNM – Muzeju kulture Hrvata u Slovačkoj / Documentation of Religious Pilgrimages of Slovak Croats at the Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia

The Slovak National Museum – Museum of Croatian Culture in Slovakia is a memory and collection-based institution documenting the history and culture of Croats in Slovakia. One of the enduring expressions of the cultural and religious tradition of the Croatian national minority is religious pilgrimage. These pilgrimages continue to represent not only a religious but also a significant social event, extending beyond Slovakia to pilgrimage sites and Croatian communities in Austria and Hungary. The paper draws on the museum's collection and documentation holdings and presents the main groups of collection items related to this topic. It also introduces selected objects and documents. Based on these, the museum, through its research activities, seeks to capture both the historical and contemporary forms of Croatian religious pilgrimages and to highlight their significance in the religious, social, and cultural life of the Croatian minority.

Keywords: Slovak Croats, minority, religious pilgrimages, museum, collection items

Príspevok si kladie za cieľ predstaviť dokumentáciu chorvátskych náboženských pútí v Slovenskom národnom múzeu – Múzeu kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku.[1] Tieto púte predstavujú významný kultúrny prejav chorvátskej menšiny, ktorý sa napriek politickým a spoločenským zmenám zachoval a v súčasnosti zohráva dôležitú úlohu v duchovnom, spoločenskom a kultúrnom živote Chorvátov na Slovensku.

V tomto príspevku by sme radi upriamili pozornosť na pramene a zdroje bádania dostupné v SNM – Múzeu kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku a pokúsili sa naznačiť smerovanie ďalšieho výskumu v rámci odborných a časových možností múzea. Príspevok vychádza predovšetkým zo zbierkového fondu múzea, doplneného o aktuálne poznatky a súčasnú tlač národnostnej menšiny.

Slovenské národné múzeum - Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku

Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku je pamäťová a zbierkotvorná inštitúcia s celoslovenskou pôsobnosťou. Pôsobí ako špecializované odborné, dokumentačné,

* MÁRIA GARANOVÁ KRIŠŤÁKOVÁ, Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, kurátorka, Bratislava (Slovenská republika).

1 Ďalej ako: SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku alebo SNM – MKCHS alebo múzeum.

vedeckovýskumné a kultúrno-vzdelávacie pracovisko a je súčasťou siete múzeí fungujúcich pod hlavičkou Slovenského národného múzea.[2] Ako jedno z ôsmich špecializovaných múzeí zameraných na národnostné menšiny na území Slovenska zhromažďuje, odborne spracováva, vedecky zhodnocuje, prezentuje a sprístupňuje hmotné doklady dokumentujúce dejiny a kultúru Chorvátov na území Slovenska od ich príchodu až po súčasnosť.

Samostatnému múzeu predchádzalo Dokumentačné centrum chorvátskej kultúry na Slovensku, ktoré pôsobilo ako oddelenie v rámci Slovenského národného múzea – Historického múzea. Dokumentačné centrum bolo zriadené v roku 1996 ako výsledok iniciatívy chorvátskej národnostnej menšiny smerujúcej k založeniu samostatného múzea. V období fungovania Dokumentačného centra sa odborným pracovníkom podarilo vybudovať dôležitý základ zbierkového fondu múzea a prezentovať prvé výsledky výskumu prostredníctvom niekoľkých publikácií.[3]

SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku pôsobí v účelovej budove slúžiacej súčasne aj ako Kultúrno-spoločenské centrum, situovanej v mestskej časti Bratislava – Devínska Nová Ves. V tejto budove bola už v roku 2005 sprístupnená prvá expozícia a ako samostatné múzejné pracovisko múzeum funguje od roku 2006.[4] V roku 2026 si tak pripomína 20. výročie svojho založenia. V budove Kultúrno-spoločenského centra spolu s múzeom sídli Chorvátsky kultúrny zväz na Slovensku a Chorvátsky kultúrny spolok v Devínskej Novej Vsi.

Múzeum spravuje počtom menší, no obsahovo bohatý zbierkový fond. Zbierkový fond múzea tvorí v súčasnosti viac ako dvetisíc zbierkových predmetov z oblasti histórie a etnografie. Najväčšie zastúpenie má vo fonde zbierka textilu, no okrem toho múzeum uchováva aj predmety z materiálov, ako sú sklo či keramika, zbierku nábytku a bytových doplnkov či tradičné poľnohospodárske náčinie. Medzi najvzácnejšie predmety sa radia predmety z papiera, teda knihy, tlače staršieho vydania, fotografie a dokumenty viažuce sa na rodinný či spolkový život. Značná časť zbierkového fondu je zatiaľ nedostatočne odborne spracovaná – chýbajú odborné opisy, obrazová dokumentácia či bližšie informácie o využití a funkcii predmetov. Toto spracovanie aktuálne v múzeu prebieha postupne, s dôrazom aj na spätné spracovanie zbierok. Na základe nedávnej odbornej revízie a priebežného katalogizovania sa vyprofilovala téma vedeckovýskumnej úlohy, ktorej čiastkovým výstupom je aj tento príspevok.[5]

Chorvátske náboženské púte

Náboženské púte boli a sú tradičným prejavom ľudskej zbožnosti odnepamäti.

[2] *„Slovenské národné múzeum je vrcholnou zbierkotvornou, vedecko-výskumnou, metodickou a kultúrno-vzdelávacou inštitúciou s celoštátnou pôsobnosťou pre oblasť základných odborných činností.“* Zákon č. 206/2009 Z. z., o múzeách a o galériách a o ochrane predmetov kultúrnej hodnoty a o zmene zákona Slovenskej národnej rady č. 372/1990 Zb. o priestupkoch v znení neskorších predpisov, § 7, ods. 5. Je to štátna inštitúcia v zriaďovateľskej pôsobnosti Ministerstva kultúry Slovenskej republiky. Pod Slovenské národné múzeum patrí 18 špecializovaných múzeí, archív a knižnica.

[3] BOTÍK, Ján: Dokumentačné centrum chorvátskej kultúry na Slovensku. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorváti na Slovensku: Dejiny, jazyk, kultúry, súvislosti*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum – Historické múzeum Bratislava, 1996, str. 193–194.

[4] SOLÁR, Andrej: Chorváti na Slovensku a v múzeu. *Múzeum*, a. 69, nr. 2 (2023), str. 77.

[5] Vedeckovýskumná úloha SNM – Múzea kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku v odbore etnológia: *Náboženské púte slovenských Chorvátov, ako jeden z prejavov chorvátskej kultúry.*

Medzi kresťanské púte, najmä na území Slovenska a v okolitých krajinách, patria predovšetkým púte na miesta zasvätené mariánskemu kultu. Okrem primárnej funkcie, ktorou je duchovné pozdvihnutie veriacich, sa k nim postupne pridružovali aj iné činnosti, ktoré púťam dodávali spoločenský a ekonomický rozmer – usporadúvanie trhov, tanečných zábav nahrávalo obchodu či hľadaniu si partnera. V kontexte tohto príspevku je však dôležité najmä zdôrazniť význam pútnych aktivít pre budovanie medziľudských kontaktov.[6]

Ak hovoríme o púťach v kontexte slovenských Chorvátov, či už v minulosti alebo aj v súčasnosti, musíme vnímať širší historicko-geografický rámec chorvátskeho osídlenia v strednej Európe, ktorý zahŕňa územie západného Slovenska, Burgenlandu v Rakúsku, Moravy a časti Maďarska.[7] V tomto priestore sa formovali a udržiavali kultúrne a náboženské tradície, súčasťou ktorých boli aj náboženské púte.

Dokumentácii náboženských pútí ako samostatného kultúrneho fenoménu sa v rámci doteraz dostupných zdrojov, ako aj vo výskumnej činnosti Dokumentačného centra a neskôr Slovenského národného múzea – Múzea kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku nevenovala systematická a cielená pozornosť. V literatúre i prameňoch nachádzame prevažne len stručné zmienky o jednotlivých pútnických miestach navštevovaných chorvátskym obyvateľstvom, pričom významnú úlohu zohráva aj kolektívna pamäť.[8]

V zbierkach múzea sa však nachádzajú hmotné doklady dokumentujúce náboženské púte Chorvátov z dnešného územia Slovenska od polovice 19. storočia až do obdobia pred druhou svetovou vojnou, ojedinele mladšie. Najčastejšie ide o doklady viažuce sa na púte do Marianky (nem. *Mariathal*, maď. *Máriavölgy*) a Mariazell (chorv. *Celje*). Na území Slovenska boli po roku 1945 náboženské aktivity v dôsledku politickej situácie výrazne utlmené.[9] Dotklo sa to aj tradičných pútí a cezhraničných kontaktov slovenských Chorvátov.[10] Dejiny chorvátskych pútí v období pred rokom 1989 si preto vyžadujú podrobnejší historický a archívny výskum.

Po politických zmenách v roku 1989 dochádzalo k pozvoľnému obnoveniu kontaktov a spolupráce s rakúskymi a maďarskými Chorvátmi, aktivizácii menšiny už aj na spolkovom základe a organizovanejším aktivitám slovenských Chorvátov.[11] Spolu s obnovou ďalších aktivít vo farnostiach po celom Slovensku sa postupne obnovili aj náboženské púte slovenských Chorvátov.[12] Už v roku 1990 vraj pútnici z Devínskej

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6 ZAJICOVÁ, Katarína: Profánne aktivity na púťach v Marianke v prvej polovici 20. storočia. *Slovenský národopis*, a. 42, nr. 1 (1994), str. 102–106.

7 Burgenland chorvátsky označovaný aj *Gradišće*. Pozri BOTÍK, Ján: *Slovenskí Chorváti*: *Etnokultúrny vývin z pohľadu spoločenskovedných poznatkov*. Bratislava: Lúč, 2001, str. 15.

8 Jednotlivé miesta sa spomínajú v odbornej literatúre či popularizačných článkov, málokedy sa však odvolávajú na konkrétne pramene.

9 ZAJICOVÁ, Katarína: Ľudová nábožnosť na Slovensku. *Etnologické rozpravy* III, nr. 2 (1996), str. 9; POKORNÝ, Viliam: *Spoľahlivý most priateľstva: Chorváti na Slovensku*. Bratislava: Chorvátsky kultúrny zväz na Slovensku, 2011, str. 12–17.

10 20 – Obljetnica putovanja Horvatov u Marianku: dvadeseto jubilarno horvatsko hodišće – 2018. *Hrvatska Rosa: časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* XVII, nr. 3 (2018), str. 6.

11 CVEČKO, Juraj: Konštituovanie Chorvátskeho kultúrneho zväzu na Slovensku a jeho aktivity v prvom desaťročí jeho činnosti. In: POKORNÝ, Viliam (ed.): *Oživená ratolesť*. Bratislava: Chorvátsky kultúrny zväz na Slovensku, 2000, str. 21–24; POKORNÝ, Viliam: *Spoľahlivý most priateľstva*, str. 17.

12 ZAJICOVÁ, Katarína: Ľudová nábožnosť na Slovensku, str. 9.

Obr. 1: *Pútnici počas krížovej cesty, pútnické miesto Marianka. (Zdroj: archív J. Daničová)*

Novej Vsi navštívili Željezno (nem. *Eisenstadt*), odkiaľ si priniesli modlitebník *Kruh Nebeski* za účelom učenia sa liturgie a piesní v gradišćanskochorvátskom jazyku.[13] Zmienky o púťach na rôzne pútnické miesta v nedávnej minulosti nachádzame najmä v menšinových médiách. Medzi najviac spomínané patrí Mariazell v Rakúsku a pútnické miesto Marianka na Slovensku.[14] Ďalšie zmienky nachádzame aj v niekoľkých číslach časopisu *Novosielski Glas*.[15] Ďalší výskum plánujeme zamerať na zmapovanie všetkých pútnych miest spomínaných v týchto médiách. Tieto púte boli vnímané nielen ako prejav zbožnosti, ale aj ako spôsob rozvíjania cezhraničných kontaktov, najmä po dlhom prerušení spôsobenom politickou situáciou.[16]

Púte do Marianky boli obnovené v roku 1998 z iniciatívy gradišćanského kňaza Branka Kornfeinda, ktorý ich odvtedy spolu s ďalšími aktívnymi veriacimi pravidelne organizuje. Zároveň ich spolu s ďalšími kňazmi z chorvátskych obcí na Slovensku a v Gradišći aj celebruje.[17] Medzi staršími obyvateľmi, sa zachovala spomienka, že v minulosti sa na púte, napríklad z Devínskej Novej Vsi, putovalo aj pešo. V súčasnosti je doprava zabezpečovaná autobusmi, prípadne osobnými automobilmi. Púť sa spravidla začína krížovou cestou, po ktorej nasleduje svätá omša. Tú často hudobne a spevácky sprevádzajú rôzne

[13] Viera a jezik. In: POKORNÝ, Viliam (ed.): *Hrvatsko etnikum v Devinskom Nuovom Seli*, vol. II. Bratislava: Hrvatski kulturni savez u Slovačkoj, 1993, str. 43.

[14] Syntéza informácií z viacerých článkov uverejnených v rôznych číslach Hrvatske novine (2020 – 2025), Hrvatska rosa (2002 – 2025) a Novosielski Glasnik (1994 – 2001). Ďalší výskum plánujeme zamerať na zmapovanie všetkých pútnickych miest spomínaných v týchto médiách.

[15] Pozri LUDVIG, Blaž: Putovanje za Muravu i za Dunaj. *Novosielksi glas*, nr. 10 (1997), str. 2.

[16] *Ibidem.*

[17] MAÁSZ, Jive: Shodišće u Marianku-Marijance: Deseto jubilarno shodišće, – 2008. *Hrvatska Rosa*: *časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* VII, nr. 3 (2008), str. 8; 20 – Obljetnica putovanja Horvatov u Marianku: dvadeseto jubilarno horvatsko hodišće, str. 7.

chorvátske hudobné a spevácke telesá z regiónu. Po jej skončení nasleduje agapé, teda pohostenie spojené s rozhovormi, so spevom a niekedy aj s kultúrnym programom. Púť do Marianky sa väčšinou koná v prvú augustovú nedeľu.[18]

Náboženské púte Chorvátov, nielen na Slovensku, ale v celom vymedzenom stredoeurópskom priestore, majú výrazný medzinárodný rozmer. Okrem udržiavania vzájomných kontaktov medzi jednotlivými komunitami vytvárajú aj priestor pre špecifické formy spolupráce. Príkladom takejto cezhraničnej spolupráce je spevácky zbor *Pax et Bonum* („pokoj a dobro"), ktorý združuje spevácke telesá z Maďarska, Slovenska a Rakúska. Okrem inej koncertnej činnosti príležitostne vystupuje aj na väčších pútnych zhromaždeniach. Súčasťou tohto zoskupenia je aj hudobno-spevácka skupina Rosica zo Slovenska.[19]

Ďalším príkladom prepojenia je tradícia putujúcej sochy Panny Márie z Mariazellu. Každoročne si ju počas púte v Mariazelli preberajú veriaci z niektorej chorvátskej obce z Rakúska, Slovenska alebo Maďarska. Počas nasledujúceho obdobia sa práve v tejto obci konajú putovné púte, čím sa posilňujú vzájomné kontakty a náboženské väzby medzi jednotlivými komunitami.[20]

V roku 2017 sa konala aj prvá spoločná púť Chorvátov z Maďarska, Slovenska a Rakúska do Záhrebu.[21]

Chorvátske náboženské púte v zbierkach SNM – MKCHS

Zbierkový fond SNM – Múzea kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku obsahuje širokú škálu zbierkových predmetov, ktoré priamo či nepriamo dokladujú náboženské púte slovenských Chorvátov od polovice 19. storočia až po súčasnosť. Ich celkový počet je stále predmetom odborného spracovania a mení sa podľa kontextu, v ktorom sú jednotlivé predmety posudzované. Na účely tohto príspevku sme jednotlivé predmety pracovne rozdelili do nasledujúcich skupín, no v praxi sa tieto skupiny viac-menej prelínajú.

Do prvej skupiny by sme mohli zaradiť rôzne dary a spomienkové predmety. Tieto predmety slúžili často ako dar pre rodinu alebo blízkych, ktorí sa púte nemohli zúčastniť, čím pútnik vyjadroval, že na nich myslel.[22] Bývali to predmety z dreva, skla, keramiky alebo papiera. Typickými predmetmi sú džbániky, ozdobné taniere, poháriky, pohľadnice, sväteničky, medailóny či obrazy. Jednotlivé typy a vyhotovenia sa odvíjali aj od dobového vkusu a finančných možností pútnikov.[23] V múzeu uchovávame predmety tohto typu z dreva, skla, papiera a keramiky, prípadne kombinácie týchto materiálov. Ako príklady uvádzame: *Keramický krčiažtek* s uškom s nápisom v maďarčine *Máriavölgy, 1914*, ktorý je pamiatkou na pútnické miesto Marianka.[24] *Sklenená sväteničk*a z 1.

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[18] Syntéza informácií z viacerých článkov uverejnených v rôznych číslach Hrvatske novine (2020 – 2025), Hrvatska rosa (2002 – 2025) a Novosielski Glasnik (1994 – 2001).

[19] GREGOR, O.: Rosica i Pax et Bonum na 100. obljetnici hodočašća gradišćanskih Hrvata kod Mariazella. *Hrvatska Rosa*: *časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* XXII, nr. 3 (2023), str. 10–11; Novosielci na horvatskom shodišću u Nardi. *Hrvatska Rosa*: *časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* XVIII, nr. 2 (2019), str. 20.

[20] Novosielci na horvatskom shodišću u Nardi. *Hrvatska Rosa*: *časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* XVIII, nr. 2 (2019), str. 20; STRECK, Rudi: Putujuća celjanska Marija va Hrvatskom Jandrofi. *Hrvatska Rosa*: *časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* XVI, nr. 2 (2017), str. 16–19.

[21] Povijesno hodočašće Hrvata iz Austrije, Mađarske i Slovačke u Zagreb. *Hrvatska Rosa: časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* XVI, nr. 2 (2017), str. 14–15.

[22] KAFKA, Luboš: *Dárek z pouti*: *poutní a pouťové umění*. Praha: Lika klub, 2009, str. 101.

[23] Podrobne sa problematike pútnych darov venuje: napr. KAFKA, Luboš: *Dárek z pouti*.

[24] SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid. č. CHK 1009 – Krčiažok z pútnických miest.

Obr. 2: *Keramický krčiažtek s nápisom Máriavölgy, 1914, pamiatka na pútnické miesto Marianka. (Zdroj: SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid.č. CHK 1009)*

Obr. 3: *Sklenená svätenička s nápisom Marianka s vyobrazením baziliky Narodenia Panny Márie"; 1. polovica 20. storočia, pamiatka na pútnické miesto Marianka. (Zdroj: SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid. č. CHK 1024)*

polovice 20. storočia s nápisom *Marianka* a s vyobrazením pútnickej baziliky Narodenia Panny Márie.[25] *Obrázok v korálikovom ráme* s vyobrazením Sv. Márie z Eisenstadtu (chor. Željezno) a vyobrazením kostola Navštívenia Panny Márie.[26]

Ďalšou skupinou sú rôzne papierové tzv. „sväté obrázky" a drobné tlače, ktoré boli často nachádzané vložené do modlitebných knižiek. V mnohých prípadoch majú na jednej strane vyobrazenie daného pútnického miesta, prípadne s nápisom, z opačnej strany vytlačenú modlitbu. V zbierkach múzea sú takéto obrázky a tlače zastúpené v pomerne veľkom počte a časovo pokrývajú takmer celé 20. storočie.

Veľmi zaujímavou a hodnotnou skupinou sú fotografie, ktoré zachytávajú spomienky či prítomnosť konkrétnych

[25] SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid. č. CHK 1024 – Svätenička sklenená s nápisom Mariánka.

[26] SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid. č. CHK 1011 – Obrázok svätcov zarámovaný z pútnického miesta Eisenstadt.

Obr. 4: *Obrázok v korálikovom ráme s vyobrazením Sv. Márie z Eisenstadtu a vyobrazením kostola Navštívenia Panny Márie, 1. polovica 20. storočia, pamiatka na pútnické miesto Eisenstadt. (Zdroj: SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid. č. CHK 1011)*

Obr. 5: *Obrázok, pamiatka na pútnické miesto Loretto, 1. polovica 20. storočia. (Zdroj: SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid. č. CHK 652/3)*

ľudí na jednotlivých púťach. Vo svojom zbierkovom fonde múzeum uchováva fotografie z 1. polovice 20. storočia, ktoré boli nasnímané za účelom uchovania spomienok na návštevu pútnických miest. Ide najmä o štylizované fotografie ateliérového charakteru. V niektorých prípadoch boli tieto fotografie vyhotovené na pevnom papieri s predtlačou na zadnej strane vo forme pohľadnice. Vo väčšine prípadov je možné z týchto fotografií určiť aj miesto a rok konania púte.

Osobitnou kategóriou sú predmety zachytávajúce osobné prežívanie a spomienky. SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku spravuje zbierku rukopisov kronikára Jure Treuera z obce Jarovce (chor. *Hrvatski Jandrof*). Jedným z nich je aj akýsi denník, resp. pamätník s označením *Kiticze szpominki od szakorjacskih mesztov i dugovanji*.[27] Tento zväzok obsahuje záznamy z rokov 1899 až 1908. Autor si v nich zaznamenával spomienky na miesta či udalosti, ktoré navštívil počas svojich ciest. Mnohokrát sú to záznamy o pútnických miestach, chrámoch či iných zážitkoch doplnené aj o poznámky napr. o počasí v daný deň. Pri jednotlivých záznamoch sa nachádzajú priložené sušené kvety, listy alebo iné drobnosti z konkrétnych lokalít, ku ktorým sa záznamy viažu.[28]

S dokumentáciou náboženských pútí okrajovo súvisia aj zbierkové predmety,

[27] SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid. č. CHK 219 – Zápisky rukopisné navšť. Púť. a iných pozoruhodných miest. Zap. J. Treuera, 1899.

[28] SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid. č. CHK 219 – Zápisky rukopisné navšť. Púť. a iných pozoruhodných miest. Zap. J. Treuera, 1899. TREUER, Jure: *Naše selo Hrvatski Jandrof: kronika sela na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. stoljeće*. Željezno – Bratislava: Hrvatsko štamparsko društvo, 2005, str. 122; Viac o rukopisoch J. Treuera v kontexte náboženských pútí viď: BOTÍKOVÁ, Marta: Pilgrimage sites in the Bratislava region and their reflection in the life and writings of a Croatian folk chronicler.

Obr. 6: *Fotografia, Jure Treuer s manželkou na púti v Mariazelli, 1926. (Zdroj: SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid. č. CHK 217)*

Obr. 7: *Fotografia na kartóne, Pamiatka z Mariazellu, 1910. (Zdroj: SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid. č. CHK 514/1)*

ktoré boli alebo mohli byť využívané aj pri iných príležitostiach. Ide najmä o rôzne náboženské predmety osobnej potreby, ako sú napr. ružence či krížiky. Do tejto skupiny možno zaradiť aj modlitebné knižky a spevníky. V zbierke SNM – Múzea kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku uchovávame jednotlivé spevníky a modlitebné knižky používané na území Slovenska od polovice 19. storočia až po 2. polovicu 20. storočia v tlačenej, ale aj rukopisnej podobe. Ako príklad možno uviesť modlitebnú knižku gradišćanských Chorvátov, používanú aj na území Slovenska, *Kruh Nebesky: molitvenik za hrvatski narod Gradišća* vydanú v roku 1976 v Eisenstadte. Tento modlitebník obsahuje piesne určené na mariánske púte.[29] V novších vydaniach sa používa dodnes.

Periodiká

Asi najbohatším a najdostupnejším zdrojom pre dokumentáciu a výskum života chorvátskej menšiny nielen na Slovensku, ale v celom stredoeurópskom priestore od konca 20. storočia, je určite periodická i neperiodická menšinová

Ethnologia Slovaca et Slavica 36. Bratislava: Univerzita Komenského, 2014, str. 67–76. https://ojs.uniba.sk/eses/article/view/228/259 (prístup: 26. 02. 2025).

[29] SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid. č. CHK 1668 – Modlitebník Kruh nebeski, molitvenik za hrvatski narod Gradišća, Eisenstadt 1976.

Obr. 8: *Jure Treuer:* Kiticze szpominki od szakorjacskih mesztov i dugovanji, 1899 – 1908, *Ukážka zápisu spomienok na pútnické miesta. (Zdroj: SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, evid. č. CHK 219)*

tlač. To platí aj pre výskum novodobých náboženských pútí.

Na základe jednotlivých správ a článkov v týchto tlačených, ale v poslednom období aj online médiách je možné podrobne zdokumentovať jednotlivé pútnické miesta, miesta najčastejšie, ale aj výnimočne navštevované, tradičné termíny pútí, osoby zodpovedné za organizáciu, prípadne z akých miest a obcí s chorvátskym osídlením pútnici pricestovali na dané miesto v danom roku, v niektorých prípadoch aj približné počty pútnikov. Mnohokrát sa v týchto správach spomína doplňujúci kultúrny program, správy o počasí, ako aj zaujímavé a vtipné príhody.[30]

Práve preto SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku od roku 2019 vedie aj podrobný archív časopisu *Hrvatska Rosa – časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj*, občasníka *Novosielski Glas* a periodika *Hrvatske Novine*.[31]

Časopis *Hrvatska rosa – časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj* vychádza od roku 2002 pod vydavateľskou taktovkou Chorvátskeho kultúrneho zväzu na Slovensku. Časopis vychádza štvrťročne.[32] Pravidelne sa na

[30] Syntéza informácií z viacerých článkov uverejnených v rôznych číslach Hrvatske novine (2020 – 2025), Hrvatska rosa (2002 – 2025) a Novosielski Glasnik (1994 – 2001).

[31] *Hrvatska rosa*: *časopis Hrvata u Slovačkoj*. Bratislava: Chorvátsky kultúrny zväz na Slovensku, 2002; *Novosielski Glas*. Bratislava: Chorvátsky kultúrny spolok Devínska Nová Ves, 1994 – 2001; *Hrvatske novine*: *Tajednik Gradišćanskih Hrvatov*. Željezno: Hrvatsko štamparsko društvo, 1910.

[32] POKORNÝ, Viliam: *Spoľahlivý most priateľstva*, str. 51.

jeho stránkach objavujú správy a články o histórii, kultúre, kultúrnych, politických či spoločenských podujatiach chorvátskej menšiny, činnosti jednotlivých spolkov či múzea, ale aj zaujímavosti z Chorvátska. Okrem iného sú tu stručne zdokumentované aj každoročné chorvátske púte, či už do najnavštevovanejšej Marianky, ale aj iných pútnických miest. Jednotlivé články sú písané v chorvátskom dialekte jednotlivých obcí, prípadne v spisovnom chorvátskom jazyku v závislosti od konkrétneho autora. Múzeum má kompletný archív všetkých čísel tohto periodika od roku 2002 po súčasnosť.

Časopis *Novosielsky Glas* vychádzal od roku 1994 do roku 2001 v nepravidelných intervaloch. Pre potreby svojich členov a v miestnom chorvátskom dialekte ho vydával Chorvátsky kultúrny spolok v Devínskej Novej Vsi. V tomto období sa podarilo vydať 16 čísel občasníka.[33] V múzeu uchovávame niekoľko exemplárov z každého čísla.

Týždenník *Hrvatske Novine – tajednik gradišćanskih Hrvatov*, ktorý v súčasnosti vydáva Hrvatsko Štamparsko družstvo, vychádza od roku 1910. Pôvodne pod názvom *Naše Novine* boli dostupné do roku 1922. Noviny sú periodikom gradišćanských Chorvátov, so širokým územným a tematickým záberom.[34] Toto periodikum pravidelne informuje o kultúre, umení, politike či športe. Médium uverejňuje aj rôzne komentáre či články o jazyku a identite gradišćanských Chorvátov. Zameriava sa prevažne na dianie v rakúskom Burgenlande, avšak pokrýva aj dianie v Maďarsku a na Slovensku. Noviny majú aj webové vydanie.[35] V archíve múzea je toto periodikum zastúpené jednotlivými číslami od roku 1990 po súčasnosť, neobsahuje však všetky čísla.

Ďalšie smerovanie

Zbierkotvorná činnosť SNM – MKCHS v tomto smere by sa mala uberať dvoma líniami. Prvou je podrobnejšie zdokumentovanie náboženských pútí v minulosti, to znamená do 1. polovice 20. storočia. Ako príležitosť sa črtá oslovenie starších generácií Chorvátov na Slovensku v rámci plánovaného etnologického výskumu s cieľom zachytiť fenomén pútí. Druhou by bola cielená verejná výzva na zber predmetov v obciach s aktívnou menšinou, ktorá by v prípade úspešnosti, umožnila dostatočný materiál využiteľný pre budúci historický výskum, či už v rámci odborných kapacít múzea alebo odbornej verejnosti. Prvotným krokom však musí byť dôsledné odborné spracovanie existujúcich zbierok a zhodnotenie medzier ktoré by bolo potrebné vo fonde systematicky dopĺňať.

V rámci výskumu náboženských pútí sa múzeum aktuálne zameriava práve na obdobie nedávnej minulosti a súčasnosti. Ako sme už spomenuli v predchádzajúcej časti, jeden z najzásadnejších dostupných materiálom v tomto ohľade sú menšinové médiá. V najbližšom období je potrebné analyzovať jednotlivé správy a články a pripraviť tak prehľad všetkých pútnických miest a ich špe-

[33] Literatúra, dokumentácia, časopisy. In: POKORNÝ, Viliam (ed.): *Oživená ratolesť*. Bratislava: Chorvátsky kultúrny zväz na Slovensku, 2000, str. 69; POKORNÝ, Viliam: *Spoľahlivý most priateľstva*, str. 51.

[34] 100 ljet hrvatskih novin iz gledišća Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice. *Hrvatske novine*, 17. prosinca 2010, prístup 13. 03. 2016, https://web.archive.org/web/20160413134700/http://hrvatskenovine.at/clanak/17-12-2010/100-ljet-hrvatskih-novin-iz-gledisca-nacionalne-i-sveucilisne-knjiznice; POKORNÝ, Viliam: *Spoľahlivý most priateľstva*, str. 39.

[35] Online verzia periodika dostupná tu: *Hrvatske novine*, prístup 22. 03. 2026, https://hrvatskenovine.at/.

cifík, ktoré sa v týchto zdrojoch vyskytujú. V dnešnej digitálnej dobe existuje veľmi málo hmotných dokladov, ktoré by v rámci zbierkotvornej činnosti bolo možné nadobúdať. Vďaka moderným záznamovým prostriedkom vidíme akvizičný a dokumentačný potenciál v pozvánkach, plagátoch, digitálnom archíve fotografií, v audiovizuálnych záznamoch priebehu a atmosféry pútí, v záznamoch piesňového repertoáru či rozhovorov s účastníkmi.

Na základe toho by múzeum rado rozvinulo aj ďalší výskum a dokumentačnú činnosť. V rámci vedeckovýskumnej činnosti je pripravovaný terénny výskum počas konania púte do Marianky. Cieľom bude získať okrem základných údajov ako je vekové či národnostné zloženie pútnikov, aj informácie pragmatického charakteru. Ako príklady možno uviesť spôsob organizácie, spôsoby dopravy, priebeh samotného podujatia, materiálne a personálne zabezpečenie. V rámci prieskumu bude dôležité zachytiť aj motiváciu pútnikov a vnímanie púte medzi účastníkmi staršej i mladšej generácie. Na základe lokalít, odkiaľ pútnici, kňazi a účinkujúci prišli, bude možné modelovať aj vzájomné prepojenia jednotlivých spoločenstiev a cezhraničných väzieb medzi chorvátskymi obcami.

Zhrnutie

Na základe doterajších zistení možno konštatovať, že náboženské púte predstavujú významnú súčasť nielen duchovného, ale aj spoločenského a kultúrneho života chorvátskej národnostnej menšiny na území Slovenska, pričom sú úzko prepojené s pútnickými miestami a komunitami Chorvátov aj v okolitých krajinách.

Doteraz však neexistuje ucelený výskum, ktorý by tento fenomén komplexne dokumentoval v jeho historickom a kultúrnom kontexte. Dokumentácia chorvátskych náboženských pútí preto zostáva otvoreným procesom. Hoci zbierkové predmety SNM – Múzea kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku zachytávajú tento fenomén rôznorodým spôsobom, doposiaľ nepredstavujú ucelený súbor prameňov. Identifikácia a dopĺňanie týchto medzier bude cieľom ďalšieho výskumu.

Osobitnú pozornosť si zasluhuje aj dokumentácia súčasnej podoby náboženských pútí, aj prostredníctvom terénneho výskumu. Kombinácia zbierkových predmetov, archívnych prameňov, menšinových médií a terénneho výskumu pritom ponúka významný potenciál pre komplexnejšie poznanie tohto fenoménu a jeho úlohy v živote chorvátskej menšiny na Slovensku.

Andrej Solár*

Chotárne názvy ako stopy identity Chorvátov na Slovensku

Toponimi kao tragovi identiteta Hrvata u Slovačkoj / Territorial Names as Traces of the Identity of Croats in Slovakia

Croats arrived in what is now Slovakia during the 16th century in four separate waves of settlement. Due to linguistic similarities with the local population, the assimilation of the arriving Croats proceeded relatively quickly, and by the 17th century, a significant portion of the families had become Slovakized. Croats settled in 60 to 100 settlements in the western part of Slovakia, and to this day, a functioning community has been preserved in four villages near Bratislava, three of which are part of the current capital. One of the remnants of the Croatian diaspora in Slovakia are the names of the cadastral districts of the villages inhabited by this ethnic minority. This paper focuses primarily on villages in the area of the former Bratislava County, particularly in its eastern part. The main purpose of this paper is to highlight one of the last visible elements documenting their presence in this region.

Keywords: the Croats, Slovakia, diaspora, names of the cadastral districts, toponymy

Na začiatok nášho príspevku by som ozrejmil príčiny a dôsledky migrácie Chorvátov ako úvod do problematiky chorvátskeho osídlenia na území Slovenska. Priblížim taktiež štruktúru osídlenia, ktorá jasne špecifikuje ohraničenie môjho bádania. Zohľadním širší záber na oblasť strednej Európy a napokon Slovenska. Dôležitou časťou je určenie postupu pri skúmaní a prepájaní chotárnych názvov Chorvátov na Slovensku a špecifikovanie lokalít na skúmanom území. Priblíženie zdrojov napomáhajúcich bádaniu až po samotné zachytenie chotárnych názvov, či už v literatúre alebo na dobových mapovaniach.

V tejto oblasti je nápomocná vedná disciplína toponomastika/toponýmia, ktorá pomáha pri bádaní a získavaní dostatku informácií o osídlení a prípadnom etnickom pôvode obyvateľstva. Samozrejme, na území Slovenska máme v značnej miere okrem slovenského osídlenia osídlenie nemecké a maďarské. Aj napriek tomu, že chorvátske obyvateľstvo bolo jazykovo príbuzné so slovenským, určitým spôsobom sa nám darí zachytávať na rôznych mapách aj chorvátske názvy. Samozrejme, že na najstarších mapových vyobrazeniach zo 16. a 17. storočia to nie je možné, nakoľko vtedajšie mapy neboli detailné a veľká mierka nedovoľovala zachytiť detaily terénu.[1]

Toponýmia na Slovensku má dlhú históriu. Každý kúsok zeme má svoje pomenovanie, ktoré nám tu zanechali naši predkovia. Ľudia od dávnych čias pomenúvali rieky, polia, vrchy, pre lepšiu orientáciu v teréne, ale aj istú príslušnosť k lokalite, kde bývali, alebo odkiaľ

* ANDREJ SOLÁR, PhD, Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, Bratislava (Slovenská republika).

1 SOLÁR, Andrej: *Vinohradníctvo a vinárstvo v kultúre Chorvátov na Slovensku*. Rigorózna práca – univerzita Komenského v Bratislave, Bratislava, 2021.

pochádzali.[2] Tieto terénne názvy sú významným historickým zdrojom informácií. V prípade Chorvátov chotárne názvy vznikli ako pripomienka na pôvodnú domovinu, keďže väčšina dosídlencov si bola vedomá, že svoju domovinu už neuvidia. Mnohé názvy vznikli v širšom kontexte a svojim výskumom som zistil, že akoby napodobovali cestu do bezpečných oblastí. Mnohé, ktoré si neskôr pripomenieme, sa nachádzajú na trase, ktorú títo ľudia museli prejsť. Základnými pomôckami pri bádaní z hľadiska mapovania sú pre nás dôležité najmä vojenské mapovania Uhorska z 18. a 19. storočia, tzv. prvé, druhé a tretie vojenské mapovanie.

Podľa prvého vojenského mapovania máme len stručné informácie, avšak v druhom a treťom mapovaní sú už názvy presnejšie. Treba podotknúť, že tretie mapovanie je už značne ovplyvnené obdobím rakúsko-uhorského vyrovnania, a teda už nezachytáva konkrétne názvy, čo sa udialo aj pod vplyvom maďarizácie. Z hľadiska druhého vojenského mapovania sa nám darí zachytávať chorvátske názvy v značnej časti panstiev v okolí Malých Karpát, najviac však na území Záhoria. V prípade východnej strany Malých Karpát, konkrétne panstva Červený Kameň a panstiev Svätý Jur a Pezinok, je to veľmi ohraničené.

Ďalšími cennými zdrojmi pre naše bádanie v tejto oblasti sú katastrálne mapy. Tieto mapy obsahujú všetky medzi ľuďmi známe a na prelome 19. a 20. storočia používané chotárne názvy.[3]

Okrem archívnych prameňov pre skúmanie chorvátskeho osídlenia na Slovensku poznáme niekoľko zdrojov, ktoré nám napomáhajú pri bádaní po osídlení vidieckych sídiel v sledovanej oblasti. Ide tu najmä o niekoľko prameňov zo staršej odbornej literatúry, ktoré sú v mnohých ohľadoch nosnými informačnými zdrojmi, ktoré potvrdzujú naše tvrdenia podložené mapami.

Sú to najmä nosné diela renomovaných odborníkov 18. storočia v Uhorsku. Ide najmä o dielo Mateja Bela *Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica*[4] a dielo Jána Mateja Korabinského *Geographisch-historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn.*[5]

Medzi cenné a jedinečné zdroje, ktoré mapujú osídlenie a zachovanie chorvátskych pomenovaní, patrí určite nie veľmi známe dielo šenkvického rodáka, historika a archivára Martina Juraja Kovačiča Šenkvického *Chronicon militaris ordinis equitum Templariorum.*[6] Toto dielo je edíciou pojednávajúcou o živote a diele

[2] KRAJČOVIČ, Rudolf: Terénne a chotárne názvy – zrkadlo dejín, *Vlastivedný časopis*, a. 15, nr. 3 (1966), str. 125.

[3] Za týmto účelom som sa obrátili na digitálny zdroj www.maps.hungaricana.hu, ktorý je digitalizovanou databázou katastrálnych máp Uhorska.

[4] BEL, Matthias: *Notitia Hungariae novae historico geographica: divisa in partes quatuor, quarum prima, Hungariam Cis-Danubianam; altera, Trans-Danubianam; tertia, Cis-Tibiscanam; quarta, Trans-Tibiscanam: Universim XLVIII. Comitatibus Designatam, Expromit: Tomus Secundus* (Viennae: Straubius, 1742).

[5] KORABINSKY, Johann Mathias: *Geographisch-historisches und Produkten Lexikon von Ungarn in welchen die vorzüglichsten Oerter des Landes in alphabetischer Ordnung angegeben, ihre Lage bestimmt...* Pressburg: Weber und Korabinskyscher Verlag, 1786.

[6] KOLINOVICS, Gabriel: *Senquiciensis Chronicon militaris ordinis equitum Templariorum: e bullis papalibus, diplomatibus regiis, ceterisque instrumentis publicis, tum coaevis, aliis[q]ve probatissimis scriptoribus collectum nunc primum ex autographo desumsit; notis illustravit; de patria, vita, fatis & scriptis autoris commentatus est; ejusque, & Templarii icones aeri incisas praefixit; seriem magnorum magistrorum, bullam Clementis V. & puncta inquisitionis in Templarios, ac denique seriem ordinum religiosorum & equestrium olim florentium, qui jam desierunt, appendicis loco adjecit junctimque*, ed. Martinus Georgius Kovachich Senquicziensis. Pestini: Litteris Trattneriansis, 1789.

Gabriela Kolinoviča Šenkvického, ktorý nám jedinečným spôsobom zaznamenáva históriu a aktuálny stav obce Šenkvice v 18. storočí.

Pre bližšiu špecifikáciu chorvátskeho osídlenia nám pomáhajú aj daňové súpisy z rokov 1715 a 1720.[7]

Príčiny a dôsledky migrácie

Príčinou príchodu Chorvátov do strednej Európy a na Slovensko boli najmä výboje osmanských Turkov na Balkáne od konca 14. storočia a tým spôsobené priame ohrozenie skupín obyvateľstva v dotknutých oblastiach. Kľúčové boli najmä vojenské stretnutia v priebehu 15. a 16. storočia, po ktorých sa menila politická mapa Balkánskeho polostrova. Rozpínavosť Osmanskej ríše zapríčinila postupné presuny obyvateľstva smerom na sever z južných oblastí Balkánu. Štruktúra osídlenia Chorvátov v strednej Európe. Od počiatku 16. storočia prebiehali štyri migračné vlny[8] až do konca storočia, a to 20. – 30. roky; 40. roky; 50. – 60. roky a 80. – 90. roky, kedy už príliv nového obyvateľstva výrazne oslabol.

Čo sa týka územia Slovenska, chorvátske obyvateľstvo osídlilo prevažne lokality dnešného západného Slovenska. Prebiehalo tak osídľovanie panstiev v celej Bratislavskej stolici. Dopady chorvátskej migrácie na spoločenské pomery na západe Slovenska boli významné jednak po etnickej a jazykovej stránke, jednak mali veľký ekonomický rozmer v celom regióne.

Keďže vo väčšej miere išlo o roľnícke obyvateľstvo, osídlené boli najmä vidiecke sídla a v menšej miere aj mestá. Asimilácia prebehla pomerne rýchlo a až na niekoľko enkláv bolo chorvátske obyvateľstvo asimilované už do začiatku 18. storočia. Poslednou pripomienkou na toto obdobie sú chorvátske priezviská a relikty chotárnych názvov.

Postup skúmania historického osídlenia

Keď sa pozrieme chronologicky na mapovanie výskytu názvov s chorvátskym pôvodom na Slovensku, mali by sme v prvom rade identifikovať samotné osídlenie. Na základe tejto identifikácie môžeme potvrdiť, že ide skutočne o názov chorvátskeho pôvodu. Tu treba siahnuť okrem zdĺhavého výskumu archívnych prameňov aj na staršiu odbornú literatúru zameranú na geografický výskum regiónu a to najmä na diela už spomenutých osobností Mateja Bela a Jána Mateja Korabinského. Tieto diela obsahujú aspoň stručnú charakteristiku jednotlivých sídiel, pôvod a jazyk obyvateľstva v aktuálnom čase spísania týchto publikácií. Daňové súpisy a im predchádzajúce portálne súpisy za pomoci urbárov jednotlivých panstiev nám poskytujú detailnejší pohľad na tieto sídla z hľadiska jednotlivého obyvateľstva. Tieto nám zachytávajú mená a priezviská konkrétnych daňovníkov, ich hospodársky rozmer a plochu obrábanej pôdy. Prehľad mien v dostupných urbároch, ich porovnanie s portálnymi a daňovými súpismi a postupnou kontrolou nám potvrdzujú oprávnenosť tvrdenia, že lokalita má pôvod chorvátskeho osídlenia. Vieme sa tak pozrieť na historické mapovania Uhorska nami skúmaného regiónu a to najmä pomocou skôr spomenutých máp z vojenského mapovania Uhorska v 18. a 19. storočí. Tu samozrej-

[7] Tu som taktiež využil digitálne zdroje: https://www.arcanum.com/sk/.

[8] PAVLIČEVIĆ, Dragutin: *Moravski Hrvati*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1994.

me treba skonštatovať, že tieto mapovania boli prioritne určené pre armádu a teda skôr zachytávali orientačné body v krajine. Aj napriek tomu sa nám tu vyskytujú názvy, ktoré vieme identifikovať a zosúladiť so skúmanou oblasťou. Zrušenie poddanstva v polovici 19. storočia zmenilo rozloženie majetkového vlastníctva v krajine a nastolilo novú problematiku zefektívnenia administratívnej evidencie. Na tento účel vzniklo nové mapovanie krajiny v podobe katastrálnych máp. Prvýkrát tak boli zachytené historické a po celé generácie zaužívané názvy v intraviláne a extraviláne obcí.

Výskyt chotárnych názvov s chorvátskou stopou na Slovensku

Chotárnymi názvami na Slovensku sa už v minulosti zaoberalo viacero odborníkov. V prípade pomenovaní lokalít v oblasti chorvátskej diaspóry sa už skôr zaoberal aj Milan Majtán.[9] Snahou tejto štúdie je ale čiastočne prepojiť pomenovania s domovinou a dôvody výberu týchto názvov.

Ako príklad môžeme uviesť nasledovné pojmy Glavica (kuželovitý kopec pri Devínskej Novej Vsi); Dúbrava; Grba (lokalita v Devínskej Novej Vsi v súčasnosti s radovou zástavbou rodinných domov), tento názov sa taktiež nachádza v obci Vysoká pri Morave, kde je v dvoch tvaroch Na Grbje a Pod jeleni Grubu. Na mape z tretieho vojenského mapovania Uhorska sa nachádza vo forme Jeleni Grb; Klanec sa nachádza v obci Šenkvice a znamená priesmyk; Záluhy – údolie medzi mestskými časťami Bratislavy Karlova Ves a Lamač. Dnešný názov je skomolenina pôvodného názvu Za lugi. Pri Karlovej vsi sa tiež nachádzal názov Glavica; Glogovec, názov nachádzajúci sa v Šenkviciach a v súčasnosti ho nesie jedna z ulíc, Ravnica, Rakiti, Poluselky, Ledini, Jagnet, Cerové (Cerovo brdo), Mláka – dnešné pomenovanie potoka, ktorého tok prechádza od Malých Karpát a vteká v Devínskej Novej Vsi do rieky Morava. Mláka je názov dvoch obcí pri meste Záhreb a to Velika Mlaka a Mala Mlaka, Kandija, Kozara, Novosad, Novine, Bresty Veľké a Malé. Chorvátske názvy sa nachádzajú aj v najsevernejšej obci s chorvátskym osídlením na Slovensku v obci Mokrý Háj. V minulosti mala táto obec aj názov Charvátska Ves.

Keďže chorvátske obyvateľstvo na Slovensku bolo takmer výlučne roľníckeho pôvodu, jeho výrazné zameranie pre región západného Slovenska bolo pestovanie vinnej révy a výroba vína. Po príchode do tejto oblasti v podstate nadviazali na jestvujúce základy tohto poľnohospodárskeho odvetvia.

Pestovanie viniča v minulosti nezanechalo v malokarpatskej oblasti len hmatateľné fyzické stopy. Odkazom na aktivity vinohradníkov (aj v lokalitách dnes už poľnohospodársky nevyužívaných) sú pre súčasníka viac či menej známe chotárne názvy viníc a vinohradníckych honov zachované v písomných prameňoch. Na pomenovania vinohradov vplývali viaceré aspekty. Charakterizovali v prvom rade terénne danosti územia, kde sa vysádzal vinič. Upozorňovali tiež na pôvodnú vegetáciu, v okolí žijúcu faunu alebo pasienky pre domáce zvieratá. V názvoch sa ďalej odzrkadľovali aj mená prvých majiteľov. Mnohé názvy mohli vyvolávať i asociáciu so subjektívnymi osobnostnými prejavmi vinohradníkov (rôzne prezývky), či spä-

[9] MAJTÁN, Milan: Svedectvo terénnych názvov o Chorvátoch na Slovensku. In: BOTÍK, Ján (ed.): *Chorvátska národnosť na Slovensku. História, onomastika, národopis*. Bratislava: Slovenské národné múzeum, 1999, str. 66-74.

tými udalosťami, ktoré rezonovali medzi domácimi obyvateľmi do takej miery, že sa stali trvalým označením vinice.[10]

Pre lepšie pochopenie problematiky migrácie a ľudskej pamäte chotárnych názvov, ich výberu pre lokalitu a samotného hlbšieho príbehu sú pre nás veľmi dobrou pomôckou chotárne názvy v Šenkviciach.[11]

Nakoľko dnešná obec Šenkvice je zložená z dvoch bývalých samostatných obcí, rozhodol som sa samostatne priblížiť chotáre oboch obcí samostatne. Veľké Šenkvice sú ohraničené zo severozápadu chotárom bývalého slobodného kráľovského mesta Modra, z juhozápadu krátkou hranicou chotára Pezinka a väčšou hranicou chotára Viničného. Z juhovýchodnej časti ho obopína veľký chotár mesta Senec a chotár Malých Šenkvíc. A napokon zo severovýchodnej strany chotárom obce Vištuk. Z hľadiska okolitých obcí je chotár Veľkých Šenkvíc pomerne rozsiahly a v rámci neho je takmer celý, a dnes už asi jediný, samostatne stojaci dubový les zvaný Šenkvický háj. Šenkvice sú jednou z mála obcí na Slovensku, ktorých chotárne názvy nesú ešte pôvodnú chorvátsku a takmer nezmenenú formu. Názvy častí obce aj chotára sa dodnes používajú medzi obyvateľstvom a aj poľnohospodármi.

V nasledujúcich riadkoch si vymenujeme a popíšeme jednotlivé časti chotára. Pre našu prácu sú však najdôležitejšie poľnohospodárske chotárne časti. Chotárne názvy slovenské sa miešajú s chorvátskymi a nemeckými.[12]

Všetky chotárne názvy, ktoré spomeniem nižšie, sa nachádzali mimo zastavanej časti obce. V súčasnosti je už veľká časť integrálnou časťou veľkej obce Šenkvice. Odrážame sa najmä od zistení Henricha Lančariča, ktorý uskutočnil terénny výskum pre Jazykovedný ústav Ľudovíta Štúra SAV v roku 1967. Tu zachytil všetky pôvodné názvy jednotlivých častí chotára a aj staré a nové ulice, do ktorých sa dnešná obec člení. Pôvodná obec však pozostávala len z jednej hlavnej ulice, ktorá tvorila hlavnú os smerujúcu do Malých Šenkvíc a ďalej smerom na kráľovské mesto Senec.[13]

Zaujímavosťou výskumu konkrétnej obce je možnosť prekrývania jednotlivých spomenutých máp z vojenského mapovania Uhorska, katastrálnych máp a taktiež aj letecké mapovanie Slovenska z roku 1950.[14] Štruktúru obce je možné sledovať vo všetkých obdobiach, podľa lokality osídlenia, ciest a viníc. V najstarších mapovaniach vieme identifikovať jedine názov potoka Sisek, ktorý pokračuje ďalej až do Veľkého Grobu. V katastrálnych mapách sú už zachytené jed-

[10] BENKOVÁ, Eva: *Dejiny vinohradníctva na Červenokamenskom panstve od druhej polovice 16. storočia do konca 18. storočia*: *Dizertačná práca.* Bratislava: Katedra slovenských dejín Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského, 2014.

[11] LANČARIČ, Henrich: *Chotárne názvy obce Šenkvice* [Pre Jazykovedný ústav Ľ. Štúra SAV]. Šenkvice: Rkp. Zbierkový fond SNM-Múzea kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku, 1967.

[12] Je to tak z dôvodu, že obec sa nachádza v zmiešanom území. V čase, keď sa v tomto priestore usídlili Chorváti, bol región vo veľkej miere osídlený nemecky hovoriacim obyvateľstvom. Zákonite tak nové obyvateľstvo preberalo už existujúce názvy z okolitých obcí. Ani Šenkvice sa nezaobišli bez značného etnického premiešavania obyvateľstva. SOLÁR, Andrej: *Vinohradníctvo a vinárstvo v kultúre Chorvátov na Slovensku*.

[13] LANČARIČ Henrich: *Chotárne názvy obce Šenkvice*. V roku 1945 organizovala Slovenská onomastická komisia systematický výskum slovenských terénnych (chotárnych) názvov. V rámci tohto územia anketového terénneho výskumu sa získal relatívne úplný materiál z celého slovenského jazykového územia. Pozri MAJTÁN, Milan: Chorvátske prvky v slovenských terénnych názvoch. In: HORÁK (ed.): *Slovensko-chorvátske jazykové a literárne vzťahy*. Bratislava: T.R.I. Medium, 1999, str. 139.

[14] Pozri https://mapy.tuzvo.sk/hofm/.

notlivé názvy v chotári . Tieto mapy nám potvrdzujú tvrdenia Gabriela Kolinoviča z predchádzajúceho storočia.

Chotárne názvy vo Veľkých Šenkviciach

V nasledujúcich riadkoch si systematicky vymenujeme a charakterizujeme chotárne časti obce, aby sme získali hlbší pohľad do ich pravdepodobného pôvodu.

Pôvodný intravilán obce bol ohraničený výlučne zastavanou časťou obce, čo bola už spomenutá hlavná ulica s kostolom a záhradami, priliehajúcimi k severnému a južnému radu domov. V súčasnosti je obec roztiahnutá do niekdajšieho extravilánu, čo spôsobilo posun obhospodarovania pôdy a jej konečného využitia. Aj v tejto súvislosti mnoho súčasných ulíc kopíruje chotárne názvy, ktorých územie tieto ulice zabrali.

Veľmi záslužná činnosť Henricha Lančariča je, že sa venoval mapovaniu chotára Veľkých a Malých Šenkvíc, skúmaniu prvotných katastrálnych máp a zdokumentoval všetky pomenovania zaznamenané a zaužívané názvy. Priradil už poslovenčené výrazy k pôvodným chorvátskym a definoval ich význam. No ani on nemyslel na ich hlbší polohopisný, ale iba na jazykovedný význam.[15]

Nakoľko vieme, že novousadlíci prišli z rôznych končín krajiny, teda už od samej Bosny, po preskúmaní materiálov k chotárnym názvom v Šenkviciach sa nám natíska možnosť preskúmania možností alebo pravdepodobnosti trasovania obyvateľstva z južných častí Balkánu až na územie Slovenska. V nasledujúcich riadkoch sa pokúsime vysvetliť našu hypotézu s použitím materiálov Martina Juraja Kovačiča Šenkvického, podľa ktorých vieme, že do Šenkvíc prišla aj šľachta z južných oblastí Bosny. Práve z tohto regiónu pochádza jeden z chotárnych názvov – Kandija. Nikde inde na území Chorvátska a Bosny, až na jednu výnimku, sa nenachádza žiadna obec s podobným názvom. Touto výnimkou je obec pri meste Bugojno, severozápadne od Sarajeva a južne od mesta Banja Luka.[16] Kovačič spomína pri tomto názve ostrov Kandija, pričom sa zamýšľa nad prenosom názvu z oblasti južnej Dalmácie alebo Albánska. Ja som však takéto prepojenie nenašiel.

Lokalita, ktorá je odtiaľ najbližšia, je už Kozara. Je to pohorie, ktoré dominuje severným oblastiam Bosny a jeho svahy sa postupne schádzajú až na rieke Une, kde nadväzuje na chorvátske územie. V tejto oblasti sú hraničné mestá, takzvaná Kozarska Dubica[17] a západnejšie mesto Kostajnica. Práve Kostajnica bola zhromažďovacím opevneným mestom pre utečencov z južných krajín. Predpokladám, že obyvateľstvo odtiaľto odchádzalo pred hroziacim obliehaním mesta osmanskými Turkami a smerovalo na sever, k mestu Sisak. Vieme však, že mesto Kostajnica patrilo panstvu hradu Zrín, a teda rodu Zrínskych. Aj tento názov sa nachádza v chotári Šenkvíc, tzv. Zrinska Gora. Odtiaľ sa utečenci s veľkou pravdepodobnosťou presúvali ďalej smerom na Sisak, ktorý priamo vedie k mestu Záhreb.

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15 SOLÁR, Andrej: *Vinohradníctvo a vinárstvo v kultúre Chorvátov na Slovensku.*

16 *Ibidem*. Dostupné na internete: https://www.google.sk/maps/place/Kandija,+Bugojno,+Bosna+a+Hercegovina/@44.0319278,17.4695652,3325m/data=!3m1!1e3!4m5!3m4!1s0x475fa73b7b5709c9:0x4dc7911b9022d7ec!8m2!3d44.0343666!4d17.4783464?hl=sk. Rovnaký názov sa nachádza aj v časti slovinského Nového mesta.

17 V súčasnosti na území Bosny a Hercegoviny.

Smerovanie utečencov hľadajúcich nový domov muselo zákonite smerovať k hlavnému mestu krajiny, Záhrebu. Vzhľadom na bezpečnosť ho museli obchádzať zo západnej strany – teda oblúkom okolo pohoria Medvedica. Ďalšou indíciou pre nás je chotárny názov Ledine. Najbližším pravdepodobným zastavením bola obec Ledine Klanječke, ktorá je zrejme časťou lokality mestečka Klanjec.[18] Toto je ďalší záchytný bod, ktorý nám pripomína chotárny názov Klanec v Šenkviciach. Obe tieto lokality sa nachádzajú v oblasti Chorvátska zvanej Hrvatske Zagorje. Podľa všetkého tadiaľto ľudia prechádzali, keďže Klanec, tak ako je aj uvedené v materiáloch Henricha Lančariča, znamená úžľabina alebo priesmyk. Výstižné je to aj v opise cesty prechádzajúcej z Malých do Veľkých Šenkvíc od Martina Juraja Kovačiča, ktorý píše, že časť cesty vedie medzi dvoma strmými svahmi a je tu možné prejsť iba jednému vozu. Klanjec v Chorvátsku je skutočne miesto v priesmyku (prechodu) medzi dvoma pohoriami a v roku 1598 získalo štatút obchodnej stanice. Táto oblasť bola chránená hradom Cesargrad.[19] Zároveň to bola pevnosť, ktorá sa od roku 1521 dostala do rúk šľachtického rodu Erdődy. Množstvo chorvátskych názvov zostalo aj v iných obciach na Slovensku.

Tento príspevok mal za cieľ priniesť informácie o súčasnom bádaní a možnostiach ako aj v dnešnej dobe identifikovať stopy po chorvátskej komunite na Slovensku aj storočia po jej prirodzenej asimilácii. Je to úvod pre ďalšie bádanie chotárnych názvov chorvátskeho pôvodu z pohľadu histórie, etnológie a jazykovedy.

[18] Túto skutočnosť nám môže významne potvrdzovať aj informácia o tom, že Erdődy vysťahoval aj tie oblasti, ktoré neboli ohrozené. Napríklad aj zo svojich majetkov hradu a panstva Cesargrad pri Klanjci v Chorvátskom Zagori (Hrvatske zagorje), Okići a Jastrebarsku v Prigorji. Týmto spôsobom pomohla chorvátska šľachta aj vyľudniť Chorvátsko. Pozri PAVLIČEVIĆ, Dragutin: *Moravski Hrvati*, str. 38.

[19] Aj obyvateľstvo panstva hradu Cesargrad vlastnilo rozsiahle vinice. Pozri ADAMČEK, Josip: *Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj od sredine XV do kraja XVIII stoljeća.* Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1980, str. 195.

Žarko Španiček*

Tragovi Slovaka u povijesti i kulturi Slavonije

Stopy Slovákov v dejinách a kultúre Slavónie / Slovak Traces in the History and Culture of Slavonia

This paper examines how parish archives of Roman Catholic parishes in eastern Slavonia—whose territories saw Slovak settlements established in the second half of the 19th century—serve as a valuable source of historical data on these immigrants and the organization of their lives in the new homeland. Using selected parish-archive examples, the author attempts to demonstrate that the documentary material preserved there should be an essential part of any study of Slovak immigration and its contribution to the history and culture of Slavonia and Croatia.

Keywords: Slovaks, immigration, parish archives, documents

Uvod

Primarni je cilj ovog rada provjeriti relevantnost jednog od više mogućih izvora novih podataka o povijesti i kulturi Slovaka u Slavoniji, hrvatskoj regiji u kojoj su Slovaci najbrojniji. Taj su izvor župni arhivi katoličkih župa na čijem se području nalaze naselja sa značajnim ili pretežnim udjelom slovačkog stanovništva u ukupnom broju stanovnika. Na temelju ranijeg istraživačkog iskustva, moglo se pretpostaviti da bi župne spomenice (*Liber memorabilium*), popisi župljana (*Status animarum*), župni običajnici i druga župna dokumentacija mogli sadržavati do sada nepoznate podatke o naseljavanju i životu Slovaka u novoj domovini koji bi mogli upotpuniti sliku o ulozi slovačkog stanovništva u povijesti i kulturi Slavonije, a time i Hrvatske. Cilj je, dakle, utvrđivanje mogućeg izvora podataka o Slovacima u Slavoniji, a ne istraživanje doprinosa slovačkog stanovništva povijesti i kulturi promatranog područja.

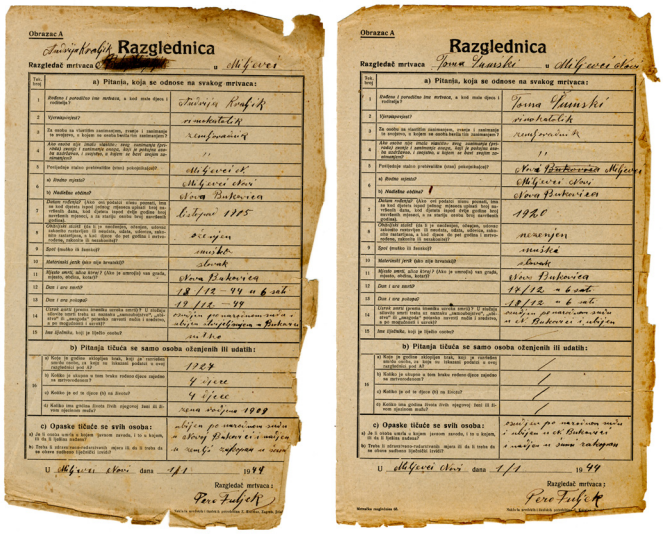
U ovom kratkom istraživanju, pregledani su arhivi u samo trima župnim uredima na čijem se području nalazi pet naselja s dominantno slovačkim stanovništvom: Nova Bukovica u Virovitičko-podravskoj županiji za Miljevce, Punitovci za Josipovac Punitovački i Jurjevac Punitovački u Osječko-baranjskoj županiji te arhiv franjevačkog samostana u Našicama za Markovac Našički i Jelisavac, također u Osječko-baranjskoj županiji.

Već su početni pregledi župne dokumentacije otkrili relevantne podatke o slovačkim doseljenicima u Slavoniju.

Miljevci

Naselje Miljevci pripada Župi Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Novoj Bukovici kraj grada Slatine u Virovitič-

* Dr. sc. ŽARKO ŠPANIČEK, Ministarstvo kulture i medija Republike Hrvatske, voditelj područne službe za konzervatorske poslove Požega.



Obrazac A

Razglednica

Razglednica mrtvaca [illegible] u Miljevci

a) Pitanja, koja se odnose na svakog mrtvaca:

Tek. broj		
1	Ime i prezime (ime mrtvaca, a kod muža ujen.) i rodenje?	Stanislav Kraljik
2	Vjeroispovijest?	rimokatolik
3	Za udate ili rastale zaštićenice, udovice i zaštićenje iz svojstva, u kojem su ostale bračna (ili zaštićenje)?	neoženjen
4	Ako ostaje još živući bračnik, dalj. zaštićenje (prezime) zaštićenje i zaštićenje ovoga, dalj. je pokojni zaštićenje, i zaštićen, u kojem su bili zajedno zaštićenje?	"
5	Posljednje mjesto prebivalište (ime) pokojnikovo?	Miljevci
6	a) Rodno mjesto?	Miljevci Novi
	b) Nadležna občina?	Nova Bukovica
7	Godina rođenja? (Ako ne poznaje ovaj podatak, ima se navesti približna starost, koja se može utvrditi kod župnog ureda, kod župnog ureda gdje je pokojnik rođen, ili kod starijih osoba iz susjedstva.)	1925
8	Občinski matični list i u njemu, odnosno, njihovo redovito numeriranje (ili matično, odnosno, njihovo redovito numeriranje kod župnog ureda, gdje je pokojnik rođen, odnosno ili susjedstvo)?	oženjen
9	Spol (muško ili žensko)?	muško
10	Materinski jezik (ako nije hrvatski)?	slovak
11	Mjesto smrti, ulica kuće? (Ako je umrlo) van grada, mjesto, ulica, kućni?)	Nova Bukovica
12	Dan i ure smrti?	18/12-44 u 6 sah
13	Dan i ura pokopa?	19/12-44
14	Uzrok smrti (prema liječničkoj smrtnici izvršiti)? U slučaju nasilne smrti treba se naznačiti „samoubojstvo", „ubojstvo" ili „nesretan slučaj", odnosno, nadalje, i način, kojim je nastupila smrt?	strijeljan po njemačkim vojnicima u selu Bukovici i sahranjen
15	Ime župnika, koji je župnu smrtnicu?	[illegible]

b) Pitanja tičuća se samo osoba oženjenih ili udatih:

16	a) Kada je godine sklopljen brak, koji je razriješen smrću? (Ako se radi o više brakova podatak o svaj zaključenju pod a)?	1924
	b) Koliko je ukupno u tom braku rođeno djece najviše za sretvorodnost?	4 djece
	c) Koliko je od te djece (b) na životu?	4 djece
	d) Kada su godine živote živih njegovoj žene ili ženi sjećanja muža?	žena Marija 1909

c) Opaske tičuće se svih osoba:

a) Je li rođen u braku (javnom, nezakonu, i to u kojem, ili ili izvanbračnom)?

b) Treba li sličnosti-rodoslovnih ujeca ili da li treba da se ovom naštimo tjelesnih znaka?

U Miljevci Novi dana 1/1 1944

Razglednik mrtvaca:

Pero Fuljek

Obrazac A

Razglednica

Razglednica mrtvaca Toma Šumski u Miljevci Novi

a) Pitanja, koja se odnose na svakog mrtvaca:

Tek. broj		
1	Ime i prezime (ime mrtvaca, a kod muža ujen.) i rodenje?	Toma Šumski
2	Vjeroispovijest?	rimokatolik
3	Za udate ili rastale zaštićenice, udovice i zaštićenje iz svojstva, u kojem su ostale bračna (ili zaštićenje)?	neoženjen
4	Ako ostaje još živući bračnik, dalj. zaštićenje (prezime) zaštićenje i zaštićenje ovoga, dalj. je pokojni zaštićenje, i zaštićen, u kojem su bili zajedno zaštićenje?	"
5	Posljednje mjesto prebivalište (ime) pokojnikovo?	Nova Bukovica Miljevci
6	a) Rodno mjesto?	Miljevci Novi
	b) Nadležna občina?	Nova Bukovica
7	Godina rođenja? (Ako ne poznaje ovaj podatak, ima se navesti približna starost, koja se može utvrditi kod župnog ureda, kod župnog ureda gdje je pokojnik rođen, ili kod starijih osoba iz susjedstva.)	1920
8	Občinski matični list i u njemu, odnosno, njihovo redovito numeriranje (ili matično, odnosno, njihovo redovito numeriranje kod župnog ureda, gdje je pokojnik rođen, odnosno ili susjedstvo)?	neoženjen
9	Spol (muško ili žensko)?	muško
10	Materinski jezik (ako nije hrvatski)?	slovak
11	Mjesto smrti, ulica kuće? (Ako je umrlo) van grada, mjesto, ulica, kućni?)	Nova Bukovica
12	Dan i ure smrti?	18/12 - 6 sati
13	Dan i ura pokopa?	18/12 - 6 sati
14	Uzrok smrti (prema liječničkoj smrtnici izvršiti)? U slučaju nasilne smrti treba se naznačiti „samoubojstvo", „ubojstvo" ili „nesretan slučaj", odnosno, nadalje, i način, kojim je nastupila smrt?	strijeljan po njemačkim vojnicima u selu Bukovici i sahranjen
15	Ime župnika, koji je župnu smrtnicu?	[illegible]

b) Pitanja tičuća se samo osoba oženjenih ili udatih:

16	a) Kada je godine sklopljen brak, koji je razriješen smrću? (Ako se radi o više brakova podatak o svaj zaključenju pod a)?	/
	b) Koliko je ukupno u tom braku rođeno djece najviše za sretvorodnost?	/
	c) Koliko je od te djece (b) na životu?	/
	d) Kada su godine živote živih njegovoj žene ili ženi sjećanja muža?	/

c) Opaske tičuće se svih osoba:

a) Je li rođen u braku (javnom, nezakonu, i to u kojem, ili ili izvanbračnom)? strijeljan po njemačkim vojnicima u selu Bukovici i sahranjen u zemlji zaključen

b) Treba li sličnosti-rodoslovnih ujeca ili da li treba da se ovom naštimo tjelesnih znaka?

U Miljevci Novi dana 1/1 1944

Razglednik mrtvaca:

Pero Fuljek

Slike 1a i 1b: *Razglednice (mrtvozornički zapisnici). (izvor: Miljevci. Popis duša. Župni arhiv Župe Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije, Nova Bukovica)*

ko-podravskoj županiji. U crkvenom pogledu župa je do 1997. pripadala Zagrebačkoj nadbiskupiji, a od tada do danas Požeškoj biskupiji.

Premda neki izvori navode da su selo osnovali Slovaci oko 1836. godine, to nije točno, jer je na Prvoj katastarskoj izmjeri Habsburške Monarhije, koja je na području Slavonije provedena od 1781. do 1783. godine, na istom mjestu ucrtano selo *Millievacz* formirano usred guste šume uz raskrižje putova.[1] Osim toga, zahvaljujući objavljenim podacima imamo osnovni uvid u demografsko stanje naselja Miljevci neposredno prije dolaska migrantskog vala iz Slovačke. Prema statističkim podacima za razdoblje od 1828. do 1830. godine, na području tadašnje Virovitičke županije u Miljevcima u to vrijeme živi 38 obitelji (domaćinstava) s ukupno 222 stanovnika, svi su katolici, dok pravoslavnih, protestanata i Židova nema.[2] Već prvi župni dokument koji se odnosio na Miljevce, tvrdo ukoričena knjiga na čijim je koricama rukom ispisano ime naselja, a koji po sadržaju predstavlja *Status animarum* (popis duša), sadrži nekoliko vrlo vrijednih dokumenata umetnutih na početku knjige iza korica. To su prije svega četiri *Razglednice*, sve nastale koncem 1944. ili na samom početku 1945. godine. Iza benignog naziva ovih rukom ispisanih tiskanih obrazaca kriju se dokumenti dramatičnih zbivanja koja su pogodila lokalnu zajednicu u prosincu 1944. godine. Sva četiri dokumenta odnose se na muške osobe mlađe do srednje životne dobi iz Miljevaca za koje je navedeno da su po narodnosti Slovaci, po vjeri rimokatolici, a po zanimanju zemljoradnici. Toma Rajnoha (r. 1903.), Ivo Prisuda (r. 1903.), Andrija Kraljik (r. 1905.) i Toma Šumski (r. 1920.) stradali su nasilnom smrću. Za

[1] https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/firstsurvey-slavonia/?layers=155&bbox=1976623.988588891%2C5726028.323811363%2C1994825.5559492987%2C5732802.555443138 (pristup: 1. 8. 2025.)

[2] KORUNIĆ, Petar: *Naselja i stanovništvo hrvatskih pokrajina 1828/1830. godine.* Zagreb: FF press, 2019, str. 217.

svu četvorici u rubrici „Uzrok smrti" stoji gotovo jednak zapis: *„osudjen po narodnom sudu u N. Bukovici i ubijen."* Samo je kod Andrije Kraljika u istoj rubrici dodano da je ubijen strijeljanjem. Novu pojedinost donosi bilješka u posljednjoj rubrici za opaske ovog mrtvozorničkog zapisnika. Za svu četvoricu ondje je također gotovo jednak zapis: *„osudjen po narodnom sudu i ubijen u N. Bukovici i nadjen u šumi zakopan"* (sl. 1a i 1b). Kao datum i vrijeme smrti razglednice navode 17. prosinca 1944. u 6 sati, samo se za Andriju Kraljika navodi da je strijeljan dan kasnije, također u 6 sati (ujutro). Svi su sahranjeni, odnosno zakopani dan nakon egzekucije. Na kaotičnu situaciju toga vremena u Novoj Bukovici i okolici mogao bi upućivati još jedan detalj vidljiv na razglednicama. Potpisane su i datirane samo dvije, one koje se odnose na Andriju Kraljika i Tomu Šumskog. Potpisao ih je Pero Fuljek čije se ime nalazi na popisu župljana mjesta Miljevci i koji je očito vršio službu mrtvozornika. Obje su krivo datirane na „1/1 1944." dok je vjerojatniji datum sastavljanja ovih zapisnika 1. siječnja 1945. godine.

Nekoliko drugih zapisa iz župne dokumentacije dijelom potvrđuje, dijelom proširuje podatke o ovom događaju kada su ratna zbivanja u okolici grada Slatine postajala sve intenzivnija.[3] *Matična knjiga umrlih župe Nova Bukovica* za razdoblje od 10. veljače 1924. do 22. kolovoza 1948. godine, koja se čuva u Povijesnom arhivu Požeške biskupije u Požegi,[4] potvrđuje partizansku osudu četvorice Miljevčana na strijeljanje te dodaje da su sva četvorica sahranjena na isti dan, 20. prosinca 1944. u Novim Miljevcima. No oni nisu bili jedine žrtve *„narodnog suda"*. Dana 18. prosinca 1944. *„osudjen od partizanskog suda na strijeljanje"* je i Franjo Pokrivka, oženjen, bačvar iz Nove Bukovice. Presuda je očito odmah izvršena, jer se kao datum i mjesto sahrane navode 19. prosinca 1944. u Novoj Bukovici. Osim prezimena ovog Bukovčana, najvjerojatnije također slovačkog porijekla, pažnju privlači i zapis da su sva petorica primili svete sakramente umirućih, što znači da im je omogućen susret sa svećenikom, vjerojatno ispovijed, pričest i pomazanje, odnosno da su uvažene njihove duhovne potrebe. Nigdje se ne nalazi podatak koja im se krivica stavljala na teret, što značajno ograničava uvid u ova tragična zbivanja o kojima vrlo kratko izvještava i župna spomenica, tvrdo ukoričena knjiga s ukrasno tiskanim koricama i naslovom *Liber memorabilium parochiae Neo-Bukovicensis,* koja se čuva u župnom uredu u Novoj Bukovici, a vodi se, sudeći prema prvom upisu, približno od 1902. godine do danas (sl. 2).[5]

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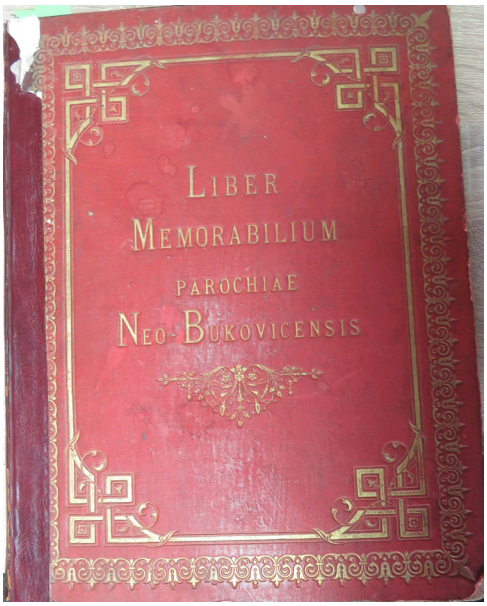
[3] O tome postoji više podataka u publikacijama koje se bave zavičajnom poviješću u razdoblju Drugog svjetskog rata iz različitih očišta (PELIKAN, Dragutin: *Slatina u vjetrovima povijesti.* Slatina: Gradsko poglavarstvo Slatina, 1997; PELIKAN, Mira – GAZDA, Miroslav: *Spomenar hrvatskim žrtvama Virovitičko-podravske županije stradalim 1941-1945. i 1991-1995.* Osijek: Hrvatski državni arhiv, 2011; GAZDA, Miroslav: *Krvavi slatinski Uskrs: ratna zbivanja u Slatini za II. svjetskog rata.* Slatina: Hrvatski domobran, udruga ratnih veterana Hrvatske, ogranak Slatina, 2015; RADANOVIĆ, Milan: *„Slavonijo triput si gorila…" Kotar Podravska Slatina u Drugom svetskom ratu 1941-1945.* Zagreb: Srpsko narodno vijeće, 2019. i dr.), ali i korespondencija lokalnih svećenika, osobito slatinskog župnika Julija Bürgera s Nadbiskupskim duhovnim stolom u Zagrebu, koji je i sam u tim previranjima izgubio život, približno u isto vrijeme kada i ovi Miljevčani (ŠPANIČEK, Žarko: *Župna crkva svetog Josipa u Slatini. Spomenik trajniji od mjedi,* drugo dopunjeno i prošireno izdanje. Slatina: Ogranak Matice hrvatske u Slatini, 2023, str. 106).

[4] Na dozvoli za korištenje arhivskog gradiva zahvaljujem voditelju Povijesnog arhiva Požeške biskupije Tomislavu Miličeviću.

[5] Zahvaljujem župniku Župe Uznesenja Blažene Djevice Marije u Novoj Bukovici, vlč. Ivanu Štivičiću, na susretljivosti pri korištenju župnog arhivskog gradiva.

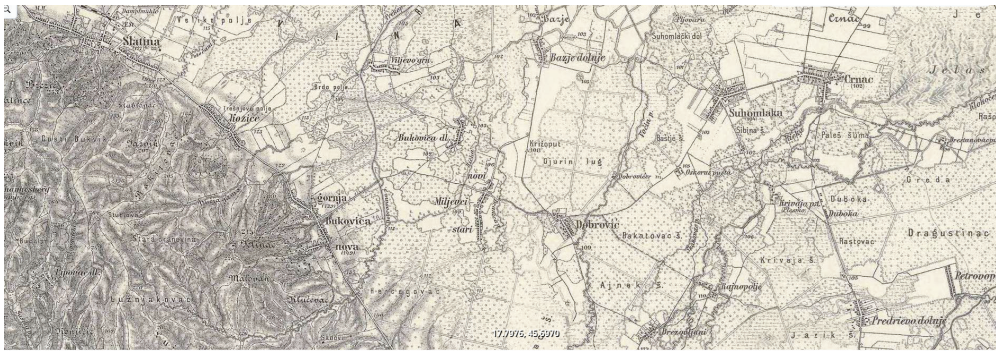


Slika 2: *Liber memorabilium parochiae Neo-Bukovicensis. Župni arhiv Nova Bukovica.*

Na početku spomenice župni kroničar bilježi da je župa Nova Bukovica osnovana 1812. godine kao veoma mala župa s oko *„500 duša"* i samo jednim filijalnim mjestom, Kozicama. Početkom 20. stoljeća župa broji 3390 duša od kojih je najviše, njih 760, nastanjeno u samoj Novoj Bukovici, dok Miljevci u to vrijeme broje 390 duša. Od 111. stranice bilježi se kronologija događaja u tri kolone za zbivanja na razini župe, nadbiskupije i tadašnje Hrvatske. Osobito je zanimljiv zapis na str. 213 za 1836. godinu: *„in suis Miljevci neo incolarum possesio 1⁼ hora a matre distat."* Spominjanje Miljevaca kao novonaseljenog posjeda udaljenog od sjedišta župe jedan sat (hoda)[6] za 1836. godinu ukazuje ne samo na vrijeme dolaska novih doseljenika, nesumnjivo Slovaka, nego pruža i objašnjenje za promjenu imena naselja iz *Miljevce*, kako se navodi u Drugoj katastarskoj izmjeni Habsburške Monarhije koja je u Hrvatskoj provedena od 1865. do 1869. godine, u *Novi* i *Stari Miljevci* dokumentiranoj u Trećoj katastarskoj izmjeri izvršenoj od 1869. do 1887. godine (sl. 3). Stoga i župna dokumentacija iz prve polovice 20. st. često spominje Stare i Nove Miljevce, premda se radi o prostorno jedinstvenom naselju, čime se čuva sjećanje na snažan doseljenički val Slovaka iz tridesetih godina 19. stoljeća.

Spomenica bilježi još neke važne događaje za Miljevce, poput osnivanja novoga groblja 1886. godine (str. 221), nabave novog zvona teškog 87 kilograma iz ljevaonice u Mariboru 1924. godine (str. 101) ili blagoslova nove vatrogasne štrcaljke 1940. godine (str. 230). No najvažniji su zapisi o teškim ratnim prilikama u Novoj Bukovici i okolici, osobito 1943. i 1944. godine. Zapisi su vrlo kratki, pisani na latinskom s puno skraćenica, možda iz opreza da ne bi pali u krive ruke, što otežava razumijevanje događaja o kojima izvještavaju. Slijed mučnih događaja započinje zapisima o djelomičnom preseljenju, odnosno partizanskom protjerivanju njemačkih obitelji iz Nove Bukovice u ožujku 1943. te ubojstvu župnika u Voćinu Josipa Martinca i župnika iz Orahovice Ive Gjanića koje su partizani strijeljali iste godine. Na kaotičnost zbivanja ukazuje i to što događaji nisu upisani kronološkim redom. Nakon što je kroničar, vjerojatno novobukovički župnik, koji je u to vrijeme bio Josip Selak, upisao da su 22. ožujka partizani odveli župnika Martinca iz Voćina, a da je oko 29. lipnja ubijen orahovički župnik Ivo Gjanić, za 11. ožujka 1943. izvještava o protjeri-

[6] Sat (*hora*) uobičajena je mjera za razdaljinu koja se mogla prehodati za jedan sat. U brdima je iznosila 4000 metara, u ravnici 6000 m (TVRTKOVIĆ, Tamara – VRBANUS, Milan (ur.): *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama, knjiga I. (1739-1787.).* Našice – Slavonski Brod – Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2010, str. 334).



Slika 3: *Novi i Stari Miljevci, Habsburg Empire (1869-1887). Third Military Survey. (izvor: https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/thirdsurvey75000/?layers=43&bbox=1967441.000670152%2C5721763.90739608%2C2003844.1353909674%2C5735312.370659627, pristup: 6. 10. 2025.)*

vanju njemačkih obitelji.[7] Prema zapisu, iseljavanje njemačkih obitelji nastavilo se i sljedeće, 1944. godine. Čini se da je ožujak 1943. bio dramatičan i za samog župnika Nove Bukovice Selaka.[8] Prema nepotpunoj i nedovoljno jasnoj rečenici na latinskom, čini se da su dva partizana uvečer 20. ožujka (1943.) zatvorila župnika Selaka u toranj (vjerojatno crkveni zvonik) nakon čega su se vratili u šumu s nekom ženom.[9] No najdramatičnija zbivanja zabilježena u ovoj spomenici dogodila su se u prosincu 1944. godine. Da su partizani napali, a zatim i osvojili selo te 17. prosinca održali suđenje u školi u Novoj Bukovici na kojem su osudili na smrt strijeljanjem neke Miljevčane, razabire se iz nekoliko šturih, nedovršenih zapisa na latinskom, dok se iz drugog župnog dokumenta pisanog na hrvatskom vidi da je u vrijeme održavanja suđenja bilo zabranjeno održavati mise u crkvi.[10] Župna spomenica, a pogotovo *Matična knjiga umrlih* bilježi više pogibija i ciljanih likvidacija, koje su uglavnom provodili partizani, i u prvoj polovici 1945. godine.[11]

Župni arhiv čuva i druge dokumente koji spominju Slovake u Miljevcima, poput *Objave zaruka* (*Notificatio sponsalium)* iz 1954. godine koji najavljuje ženidbu Đure Fuljeka iz Miljevaca s Ankom Prišć iz Markovca. Ovaj jednostavan dokument sastavljen u župnom uredu Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama potvrđuje uobičajenu sklonost sklapanja braka unutar iste etničke skupine, čak i kada mladenci potječu iz nešto udaljenijih naselja. Župna spomenica bilježi da 1954. započinje vjeronauk i u Miljevcima, jer se župnik žali da zbog udaljenosti od župe Miljevčani slabo dolaze na

[7] Zapis u spomenici (str. 231) glasi: *„11 – III familias Germanorum maxima a parta a par. N. B. in 'patriam' imovaro ex nec 'a' germ. Dicandos …. Dux: 'Orislaiter' in N. B. fac. Stribl, tempore in Kanada…"*

[8] O svećeniku Josipu Selaku (1881–1966.) nešto više u kratkom biografskom osvrtu iz 2018. na internetskom portalu *Podravske širine.* https://podravske-sirine.com.hr/arhiva/8101 (pristup: 8. 8. 2025.)

[9] U spomenicu je zapisano: *„20 – III – vesperis 2 part. nobi parochum Sel. in turrorum comicere … munitiones sclopet … possidere … tradere val in silvas … Femina una reliquit parochum abducens secum et illos 2..."* (str. 231).

[10] Po sadržaju i obliku dokument predstavlja urudžbeni zapisnik u kojem je evidentiran dopis primljen 16. prosinca 1944. koji je poslao Općinski narodnooslobodilački odbor Nova Bukovica. U rubrici „Sadržaj spisa" župnik je upisao: *„Opć. NOO N. Bukov. zabranjuje na 17. XII. iza 9 sati svaku misu zbog narodn. Suda."*

[11] *Matična knjiga umrlih župe Nova Bukovica od 10. II. 1924-1948. (Augustus, vigesima secunda)*, str. 260.

misu, a iste je godine obnovljena i kapela u Miljevcima. Posebno je zanimljiv zapis za prosinac 1974. godine kada su u Miljevcima održane misije koje je držao pater Vit Ušak,[12] salezijanac iz Rima, porijeklom Slovak, posebno angažiran na istraživanju doseljavanja Slovaka u Hrvatsku, i na pastoralnom radu među Slovacima u Slavoniji. Misije su dosta uspjele, mnogi su se ispovjedili i pričestili, a napose je to učinila mladež, konstatira župnik.

Josipovac Punitovački i Jurjevac Punitovački[13]

Josipovac Punitovački i Jurjevac Punitovački su filijale Župe sv. Ladislava, kralja u Punitovcima, Đakovačko-osječke nadbiskupije. Nalaze se blizu Đakova u Osječko-baranjskoj županiji i predstavljaju novija naselja s kraja 19. stoljeća kojima se zna godina osnutka. Slovački doseljenici utemeljili su Josipovac 1881., a Jurjevac 1882. godine. Intenzivno naseljavanje ovog dijela Slavonije koncem 19. stoljeća potvrđuje i obližnje selo Krndija koju osnivaju njemački i mađarski doseljenici 1883. godine.[14]

Župni arhiv u Punitovcima pokazao se još obilnijim izvorom povijesnog gradiva o župi pa i o njezinim, kako ih se često naziva, slovačkim selima, većem Josipovcu i manjem Jurjevcu, od onog u Novoj Bukovici. Obiljem i važnošću podataka posebno se ističu *Liber memorabilium parochiae Punitovci*, *Statistika župe Punitovci* i posebno *Povijest slovačkog sela Josipovac* (sl. 4), a korisnu dopunu predstavlja i rukopisna knjiga *Običajnik župe Punitovci*.

Župna spomenica (*Liber memorabilium*) započinje prijepisom povijesti sela Vuka, rodnog mjesta Milka Cepelića[15] uglednog svećenika Đakovačke biskupije, koje se do 1942. godine nalazilo u sastavu župe u Punitovcima.[16]

Nakon prijepisa Cepelićeve povijesti slijedi opširan prikaz povijesti punitovačke župe pod naslovom *Župa Punitovci u prošlosti i sadašnjosti* na više nepaginiranih stranica čiji je autor župnik Ivan Berti koji je u Punitovcima službovao od 1920. do 1930.[17] Župnik Berti navodi da su *„predšasnici naši"* na svećeničkoj koroni 1897. godine zaključili da se u svakoj

[12] Više podataka o p. Vítu Ušáku (1923-2019.) u osmrtnici iz 2019. na portalu slovačkih salezijanaca. https://saleziani.sk/vo-veku-96-rokov-zomrel-salezian-knaz-a-basnik-vit-usak-info-o-pohrebe (pristup: 8. 8. 2025.); pater Ušák poznat je, između ostalog, po svojoj knjizi *Slováci v Chorvátsku, historický náčrt* (1978).

[13] Prema istraživačima zavičajne povijesti, sela Josipovac Punitovački i Jurjevac Punitovački od osnutka do 1990. godine zvala su se Josipovac i Jurjevac, bez pridjeva „Punitovački" (DEVIĆ, Antun – ZEFIQ, Frok: *Župa Vuka.* Vuka: Pauk, 2006, str. 79, 82).

[14] Za Krndiju se obično navodi da su je utemeljili njemački doseljenici 1883. godine koji su kasnije, sve do Drugog svjetskog rata, činili veliku većinu stanovnika ovog naselja, međutim župna dokumentacija navodi da su u prvom valu doseljenika značajno bili zastupljeni i Mađari koji se s Nijemcima nisu slagali pa su se kasnije odselili, o čemu će još biti riječi.

[15] Milko Cepelić (1853-1920.) etnograf i povjesničar, važna osoba za hrvatsku povijest i kulturu u drugoj polovici 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća, i sam potječe iz obitelji koja se iz Slovačke 1725. doselila u Legrad. Više O Cepeliću u članku: CEPELIĆ, Milko. *Hrvatski biografski leksikon (1983–2024.), mrežno izdanje.* Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2025. https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/cepelic-milko (pristup: 11. kolovoza 2025.)

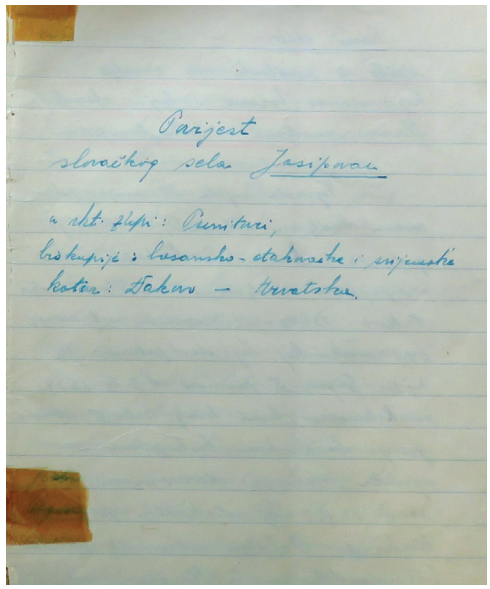
[16] DEVIĆ, Antun – ZEFIQ, Frok: *Župa Vuka*, str. 11.

[17] Podatak je vidljiv iz velike, vrlo uredne rukopisne tabele *Povijest župe sv. Ladislava u Punitovcima* s podnaslovom *Župa je osnovana po biskupu Josipu Ćolniću god. 1767. Od tada su bili:* iza čega slijedi tabela s četiri osnovne kolone za pape, biskupe, župnike i kapelane s navedenim godinama nastupa i napuštanja službe. Uokvirena i ostakljena, tabela visi na zidu u župnom uredu.

župi vodi *Liber memorabilium*, knjiga uspomena, koja će u budućnosti poslužiti za pisanje sustavnijeg opisa načina života u prošlosti.[18] On ne donosi podatke o doseljenju Slovaka, ali iznosi više zanimljivih podataka o povijesti ovog kraja i zapaža: *„Iza godine 1870. počinju sve češće doseljavati sa svih strana."*

Drugi zanimljiv podatak iz *Spomenice* navodi kako se selo Vuka po osnutku sredinom 18. st. isprva zvalo „Josipovac" po tadašnjem Đakovačkom biskupu Josipu Ćolniću[19] koji je u selu podigao crkvu sv. Josipa između 1760. i 1770. g. Poslije Ćolnićeve smrti, objašnjava pisac *Spomenice*, selo je preimenovano u „Vuka" prema imenu rijeke uz koju je podignuto.

Više važnih podataka o Slovacima župe Punitovci donosi *Statistika župe Punitovci*, tvrdo ukoričena rukopisna knjiga manjeg formata koja se vodila od 1921. do 1980. godine, diskontinuirano, s prekidom između 1930. i 1950. godine i ne uvijek s istim podacima. Tako se primjerice od 1958. do 1980. bilježio samo broj vjenčanih i umrlih po naseljima u sastavu župe, dok su ranije navođeni i drugi statistički podaci o župljanima. Za početnu, 1921. godinu vidljivo je da župu tada čine naselja Punitovci, Josipovac, Krndija, Jurjevac, Beketinci, Široko Polje (zapisano kao jedna riječ, „Širokopolje") i Vuka. Župa ima ukupno 5085 žitelja, od čega je u župnom sjedištu Punitovcima 874, u Josipovcu 590, a u Jurjevcu 406 stanovnika. Najveće je selo Krndija s 1150 stanovnika. Kao svojevrsno polazište,



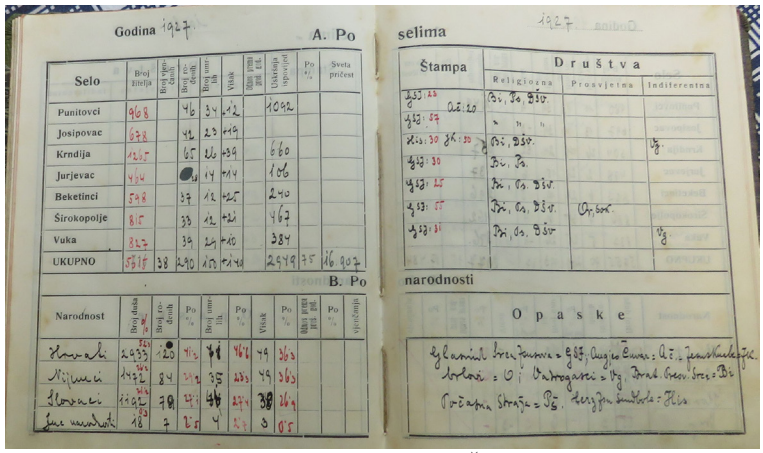
Slika 4: *Povijest slovačkog sela Josipovac, rukopis, Župni arhiv Župe sv. Ladislava kralja, Punitovci.*

na prvoj stranici naveden je broj rođene djece po narodnosti u 1900. godini. Brojčani podaci osobito su zanimljivi za 1927. godinu (sl. 5). Iz njih je vidljivo da župa u sedam naselja ima ukupno 5615 stanovnika. Najbrojnije naselje i dalje je Krndija gdje je broj žitelja porastao na 1265, a zatim slijede Punitovci s 968 stanovnika. Josipovac ima 678, a Jurjevac 464 stanovnika. Posebno su zanimljivi podaci o nacionalnoj pripadnosti župljana i njihovom postotnom udjelu u ukupnom broju župljana. Navodi se da je Hrvata 2933, Nijemaca 1472, a Slovaka 1192.

Već i ovako šturi podaci proširuju demografsku sliku u naseljima župe tog

[18] Zapravo su o potrebi i obavezi vođenja spomenica po župama u više navrata odlučivale više crkvene vlasti, biskupi i biskupske sinode. Za ovo područje relevantna je naredba biskupa Strossmayera iz 1863. godine o vođenju knjige *Liber memorabilium*. Drugu okružnicu u tom predmetu izdao je Strossmayer u ožujku 1897. (BAUERLEIN, Stjepan: Župski „Liber memorabilium". *Bogoslovska smotra*, a. 36, br. 2, 1966, str. 495). Stoga se podatak iz punitovačke spomenice vjerojatno odnosi na odluku biskupijskog ili dekanatskog svećenstva o provedbi biskupove naredbe.

[19] O bosansko-đakovačkom biskupu Josipu Antunu Ćolniću (1699–1773.) više je tiskanih i internetskih izvora, primjerice: ĆOLNIĆ, Josip Antun. *Hrvatski biografski leksikon (1983–2024.), mrežno izdanje.* Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2025. https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/colnic-josip-antun (pristup: 11. 8. 2025.)



Slika 5: *Statistika župe Punitovci. (izvor: Župni arhiv Punitovci)*

vremena, jer je vidljivo da nisu svi Nijemci nastanjeni u Krndiji, niti svi Slovaci u Josipovcu i Jurjevcu, nego da ih ima i u drugim naseljima župe. Te 1927. i sljedeće dvije godine *Statistika* bilježi naziv tiskanih glasila koje primaju župljani pojedinih naselja i koja su isključivo religiozne naravi te bilježi postojanje vjerskih i svjetovnih društava u selima. *Statistika* također dokumentira drastičan pad broja stanovnika Krndije nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. Nakon dvadesetogodišnje stanke u vođenju župne statistike, za 1951. bilježi se 800 stanovnika Krndije i 977 stanovnika Punitovaca koji sada postaju najveće selo župe iza kojeg odmah slijedi Josipovac s 864 stanovnika od ukupno 5650 žitelja, a demografski rast i dalje je prisutan, unatoč snažnom iseljavanju Nijemaca iz Krndije. Demografska slika župe danas je znatno izmijenjena, bolje reći, dramatično pogoršana. Župu danas čine samo četiri sela: Punitovci, Jurjevac Punitovački, Josipovac Punitovački i Krndija s ukupno 1562 stanovnika, dok su ostala naselja pripala drugim župama. Najveće naselje župe postao je Josipovac Punitovački s 693 stanovnika, slijede ga Punitovci s 566 i Jurjevac Punitovački s 264 stanovnika, dok je Krndija pala na samo 39 žitelja.[20] Župa koja je prema ovoj knjizi 1930. godine brojala 6082 stanovnika (Punitovci 1010, Josipovac 749, Krndija 1429, Jurjevac 505) izgubila je do danas tri četvrtine stanovnika demografskim nazadovanjem te izdvajanjem triju sela u drugu župu.

Najznačajniji dokument za temu ovog rada svakako je rukopis *Povijest slovačkog sela Josipovac u rkt. Župi Punitovci* koji čini 38 paginiranih stranica ispisanih u bilježnici malog formata. Prema završnoj napomeni vidi se da je *Povijest* napisao župnik Stjepan Lukić *„na brzinu pred moj odlazak sa ove župe“*, uz naznaku da je rukopis završen u Punitovcima 27. IX. 1951. godine. Činjenica da je župnik, premda u žurbi zbog premještaja, posvetio vrijeme i pažnju filijalnom selu svoje župe zavređuje posebnu pozornost i ukazuje na postojanje svijesti o značajnoj ulozi Josipovca u zavičajnoj povijesti.

Rukopis je podijeljen u tri osnovna poglavlja:

I. Prvi dio. Nešto o povijesti ove zemlje, u kojoj danas borave i koju obrađuju

[20] *Popis stanovništva 2021. godine*: https://dzs.gov.hr/u-fokusu/popis-2021/88 (pristup: 2. 10. 2025.)

Slovaci, naseljeni u selu Josipovac (str. 1–10).

II. Drugi dio. Veze slovačkog naroda sa hrvatskim narodom, posebno sa biskupom J. J. Strossmayerom (str. 11–18).

III. Treći dio. Osnutak slovačkog sela Josipovac (str. 19–38).

Već se iz naslova i opsega trećeg poglavlja vidi da je ono glavni sadržaj rukopisa, što naglašavaju dva manja poglavlja unutar njega: *Nova crkvica sv. Mihovila u Josipovcu* (str. 29–35) i *Škola* (str. 35–38). Uvrštavanjem ovih dviju tema, ali i dvaju uvodnih poglavlja u tekst, župnik je pokazao pravilno shvaćanje da naselje nije puki skup kuća i njihovih stanovnika, nego živa zajednica koju određuje društveni i povijesni kontekst i ustanove koje u njoj djeluju.

Najvažniji sadržaj prvog poglavlja odnosi se na naseljavanje punitovačke župe. Godine 1881. Slovaci su naselili Josipovac, 1882. Jurjevac, a 1883. Krndiju su naselili Nijemci i Mađari (str. 8–9). Pisac nastavlja kako je ova tri sela naselio đakovački biskup Josip Juraj Strossmayer na svom veleposjedu pa su nova slovačka sela po njemu dobila ime, dok je Krndija dobila ime po šumi u kojoj se nalazila. Mađari su se postupno iseljavali iz Krndije jer su imali stalne razmirice i tučnjave s Nijemcima pa je jednom čak i vojska morala doći i suzbiti nerede. Pred početak Drugog svjetskog rata Krndija je imala preko 300 kuća i oko 1500 stanovnika, a seosko polje, *hatar,* obuhvaćalo je 4000 jutara oranice. Godine 1945. većina stanovnika Krndije povukla se s njemačkom vojskom, a ostalo je samo pet njemačkih obitelji, dok stanovnici Josipovca i Jurjevca *„izdržaše buru drugog svjetskog rata"*, završava poglavlje, te *„ostaše u svom domu i na svojoj zemlji"* (str. 9–10).

U drugom poglavlju pisac se osvrće na loš položaj Slovaka tijekom 19. stoljeća u sklopu Austro-Ugarske Monarhije i o suradnji slovačkih prvaka s biskupom Strossmayerom u borbi za svoja nacionalna prava. Poimence spominje veze đakovačkog biskupa sa slovačkim biskupom i zagrebačkim kanonikom Stjepanom Mojzesom,[21] još jedne osobe koja povezuje Slovačku i Hrvatsku, te pohvalni članak slovačkog književnika Svetozara Hurbana Vajanskog[22] o biskupu Strossmayeru od 20. rujna 1900. objavljenom u listu *Narodnieh Noviny*.[23]

Treći i najvažniji dio rukopisa *Povijest slovačkog sela Josipovac*, kako podnaslov naznačuje, govori o naseljavanju na području župe u Punitovcima i osnutku triju sela: Josipovca, Jurjevca i Krndije.

[21] O Stjepanu Mojzesu (1797–1869.) postoji na hrvatskom jeziku opsežnija literatura, primjerice zbornik radova *Med Hrvati stanak moj! Zbornik radova o Stjepanu Moysesu (1797–1869.)* koji je objavila Matica hrvatska 2020. godine (ur. Zrinka Stričević-Kovačević). Osnovne informacije dostupne su i u *online* članku: MOJZES, Stjepan. *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje.* Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013–2025. https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/mojzes-stjepan (pristup: 13. 8. 2025.)

[22] Književnik Svetozár Hurban Vajanský (1847–1916.) pisao je putopise i o hrvatskim krajevima. Usporediti: VAJANSKÝ, Svetozár Hurban. *Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje.* Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2013–2025. https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/vajansky-svetozar-hurban (pristup: 13. 8. 2025.)

[23] Mrežna pretraga potvrdila je postojanje ovog lista s kraja 19. i prve polovice 20. st., ali njihov sadržaj nije se mogao provjeriti: https://adt.arcanum.com/en/collection/NarodnieNoviny/?decade=1900#-collection-contents. (pristup: 13. 8. 2025. Da je Vajanský bio u nekom odnosu s biskupom Strossmayerom upućuje pismo njegova brata Vladimira Hurbana od 29. ožujka 1901. upućeno Vajanskom u kojem spominje molbu Milka Cepelića da Vajanský nešto napiše o biskupu Strossmayeru i njegovu odnosu sa Slovacima za spomen-knjigu posvećenu Strossmayerovu jubileju, pedesetoj godišnjici biskupske službe. Riječ je o pismu br. 159 od 29. ožujka 1901. Usporediti: https://zlatyfond.sme.sk/dielo/1902/Vajansky_Korespondencia-Svetozara-Hurbana-Vajanskeho-II/11?utm_source=chatgpt.com (pristup: 13. 8. 2025.)

No, autor se ne ograničava samo na kratak povijesni prikaz s kraja 19. st., nego njegov tekst mjestimično prelazi u malu pripovijest. Kao posjednik đakovačkog vlastelinstva, biskup Strossmayer odlučio je iskrčiti dotad gusto pošumljeno područje uz Punitovce, dobiti nove oranice i osnovati tri nova sela. Ta se odluka temeljila na carskoj naredbi od 23. prosinca 1858., ističe se na početku poglavlja.[24] Uvjeti „parcelacije", kako se navodi, bili su:

- Svaka obitelj dobiva 10 rali šume uz cijenu 50 forinti po rali,[25] a svotu će namiriti *amortizacijom*, tj. otplatom od 7,5 % tako da se 5 % računa na ime kamata, a 2,5 % na ime glavnice.
- Obroci dospijevaju 1. siječnja i 1. srpnja svake godine, počevši od 1. siječnja 1891., dakle, deset godina od doseljenja.
- Osim ovog osnovnog uvjeta, propisana su i druga naturalno-novčana davanja: godišnje 50 kg po rali od usjeva koji se na toj njivi sije, 2 forinte po rali od livada godišnje, a od svake iskrčene rali šume po 1 hvat[26] drva *jednoć za svagda*, tj. jednokratno.

Budući da je starosjedilačko stanovništvo pokazalo vrlo malo interesa za ovu „parcelaciju", ukazala se prigoda da se na ovaj prostor nasele strani doseljenici, o čemu župnik Lukić izvještava u pripovjednom stilu koji ćemo sažeto prepričati.

Oko slavonskoga gradića Orahovice *„od davnina"* su bila naseljena četiri slovačka sela: Zokov Gaj, Duga Međa, Petrovo Polje i Podrumine.[27] Stanovnici Duge međe i Podrumina nabavili su po jedno zvono za svoje selo i kao dobri katolici željeli su da zvona budu blagoslovljena. Njihova sela pripadala su zagrebačkoj nadbiskupiji, a kako im je Zagreb bio daleko, došli su sa zvonima u Đakovo i zamolili biskupa Strossmayera da ih blagoslovi. Biskup se isprva ispričavao jer nisu iz njegove biskupije, *„ali kao stari, tijesni prijatelj Slovaka"* napokon pristane i blagoslovi zvona. Poslije blagoslova, biskup se upusti u razgovor s izaslanicima među kojima su bili Vavrin Kanisek i Štefan Zelnik, obojica iz Podrumina. Tako dozna za njihov težak položaj i upozna se s njihovim tegobama, sažali se i ponudi im vlastelinsko zemljište pod gornjim uvjetima. Bilo je to ujesen 1880. Već na blagdan sv. Antuna Pustinjaka 17. siječnja 1881. dolazi iz tih sela 40 ljudi da preuzmu zemljište, odnosno šumu na krčenje. Po dubokom snijegu otišli su do šume gdje su im podijeljene „numere". Osim obitelji iz slavonskih sela čija imena navodi, došle su i obitelji iz Slovačke, većinom iz mjesta Stara i Nova Bistrica, Klubine, Radostka i Zborova.[28] I u ovoj grupi pisac navodi imena i prezimena očeva obitelji. Već ujesen iste 1881. godine u šumama Polovinja, Struka i Pašine

[24] KRANJČEVIĆ, Jasenka: *Zanemarena baština. Prostorne strukture sela u Hrvatskoj.* Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2018, str. 23-24; 33-25). U knjizi se mogu pronaći izvori i literatura za detaljnije proučavanje ove teme kao i podaci o drugim slavonskim naseljima sa slovačkim stanovništvom.

[25] 1 ral = 1 jutro označava površinu zemlje koja se može preorati u jednom danu = 5754,42 m². (TVRTKOVIĆ, Tamara – VRBANUS, Milan (ur.): *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama, knjiga II. (1788–1820.).* Našice – Slavonski Brod – Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2012, str. 523)

[26] 1 bečki hvat iznosi 1,896 metara (HERKOV, Zlatko: *Naše stare mjere i utezi.* Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1973, str. 80). Prema tome bi četvorni hvat iznosio 1,896 x 1,896 m što bi davalo zapreminu od 3,594 m³.

[27] Župnikovo vremensko određenje *„od davnine"* zapravo je sredina 19. st. (KRANJČEVIĆ, Jasenka: *Zanemarena baština. Prostorne strukture sela u Hrvatskoj,* str. 24).

[28] Župnik piše imena slovačkih naselja neznatno izmijenjeno. Riječ je o naseljima Nová i Stará Bystrica, Klubina, Radôstka i Zborov.

podignuto je oko 53 drvenih kućica čiji stanovnici Slovaci marljivo iz dana u dan ruše stoljetne slavonske hrastove i staru šumu pretvaraju u plodnu poljanu. Pisac naglašava marljivost i veliki trud doseljenih Slovaka koji postupno napreduju pa malo-pomalo nestaje zadimljenih daščara koje zamjenjuju uredne i lijepe kuće u dva reda. Ističe i pobožnost Slovaka koji su odmah 1882. godine podigli drvenu kapelicu koju će 1923. zamijeniti zidana crkva sv. Mihovila o kojoj govori u sljedećem poglavlju. U njemu ističe da su sami Josipovčani gradili crkvu uz pripomoć tadašnjeg biskupa Akšamovića, a trošak je iznosio 53.00 dinara (str. 29). Izvorne dimenzije crkvice, kako je naziva pisac, bile su 6 x 11 m sa zvonikom visokim 6 metara, a podignuta je u središtu sela. Kasnije je višekratno dograđivana i povećavana. Župnik dodaje da je u crkvenoj lađi kip Majke Božje donesen iz Poljske (str. 30).[29] Na idućim stranicama nižu se podaci o uređenju i opremanju crkve od razdoblja njezine gradnje do pisanja ove male povijesti sela, da bi poglavlje o josipovačkoj crkvi župnik završio svojevrsnim rezimeom čitavog rukopisa koji ističe njegovu fasciniranost slovačkim doseljenicima. Naglašava kako su Josipovčani 1881. g. kupili 500 jutara zemlje, a danas (tj. 1951. godine) posjeduju 1.600 jutara i 380 jutara vlastite šume, dok u Hrvatskoj u to vrijeme postoje samo tri privatne šume. Svoju zadivljenost marljivošću i uspjehom Slovaka izražava izračunom da su *„Josipovčani svaki mjesec od svog dolaska do danas, bogatiji za dva jutra: Dakle, svaki mjesec dva jutra zemlje više"* (str. 33). Na kraju ovog poglavlja župnik ističe lijepe narodne običaje Slovaka i njihovu *socijalnu svijest*, kako naziva spremnost da se međusobno pomažu u redovnim situacijama (gradnja kuće) ili izvanrednim okolnostima kakva je poslije Drugog svjetskog rata bila tzv. *obaveza*.[30]

Povijest završava kratkim poglavljem o josipovačkoj školi ispisanim na tri stranice. Pisac pripovijeda kako Slovaci nakon što su naselili Josipovac dugo nisu imali javnu, nego samo privatnu školu. Djecu je poučavao inteligentniji, prosvjetljeniji i prirodno nadaren seljak u svojoj kući i to samo u zimsko doba kada djeca nisu zaposlena u polju i na čuvanju stoke (str. 35). Autor čak navodi imena tih učitelja, nižući ih kronološkim redom: Martin Kolembus, Jozo Kmet, Ivan Škorvaga i Jozo Pajeska. Peti po redu bio je Alojz Lašak, umirovljeni učitelj iz Slovačke. Kao zanimljivost, župnik Lukić ističe da se djecu od početka u školi poučavalo na hrvatskom jeziku, dok su kod kuće, kao i danas (1951.), govorili slovački. Nakon toga, ne precizirajući kada je to bilo, pisac navodi da su djeca pohađala državnu školu u Punitovcima. Od 1946. godine Josipovčani imaju javnu školu u svom selu koju pohađa oko 120 djece. Škola je privremeno smještena u neprikladnoj seljačkoj kući, a u vrijeme pisanja *Povijesti* dovršava se zidanje velike jednokatne zgrade zadružnog doma,

[29] Na mrežnim stranicama Općine Punitovci na kojima se govori o župi stoji da su kip Blažene Djevice Marije donijeli Slovaci prilikom doseljenja iz svoje matične župne crkve u Novoj Bistrici, brdskom mjestu na granici s Poljskom: https://www.punitovci.hr/zupa-punitovci/ (pristup: 14. 8. 2025.). Nová Bystrica zapravo se nalazi u blizini slovačke granice s Poljskom.

[30] *Obaveza* je uobičajen pučki naziv za obvezni otkup, prisilno davanje seljaka državi u poljoprivrednim proizvodima u poratnim godinama po fiksnim, niskim cijenama i u propisanim količinama koje je nametala država, što je izazvalo brojne društvene i političke probleme. Za više o obveznom otkupu u Hrvatskoj nakon Drugog svjetskog rata vidjeti na primjer: SPEHNJAK, Katarina: Seljački otpor politici obveznog otkupa u Hrvatskoj 1949. godine. *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, a. 27, br. 2 (1995), str. 209-231. https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/311965 (pristup: 17. 8. 2025.)

kojim je župnik impresioniran, u kojem će biti i škola.

Na istoj stranici na kojoj završava rukopis *Povijest slovačkog sela Josipovac,* ispod datacije i potpisa župnika Stjepana Lukića nalaze se još dva zanimljiva podatka ispisana drugim rukopisom i drukčijom tintom, unesena očito naknadno. Prvi zapis govori da se u Josipovcu prvi rodio Ivan Kristek, sin Matije i Sofije, rođene Konjuh 27. IV. 1881. Ispod njega slijedi drugi zapis da se prvi doselio Kanisek Vavrin 1873. te se ujedno slavi 80-godišnjica naseljavanja ovog sela. Iz toga je vidljivo da je zapis nastao 1961. godine (str. 38). Nakon Lukićeva prikaza povijesti Josipovca, jedan od kasnijih župnika – sudeći po rukopisu i crnoj boji tinte, isti onaj koji je unio dva kratka zapisa o prvom rođenju i prvom doseljenom Slovaku[31] – prijepis *Obavijesti* broj 117 iz 1898. godine. Obavijest je uputila *K. O.* (Kotarska oblast, vjerojatno Kotarska oblast Đakovo). Njezin sadržaj posve opravdava procjenu prepisivača da se njome zaključi pripovijest o nastanku i razvoju Josipovca. Radi se o sporazumu u četiri točke između uprave Đakovačkog vlastelinstva i stanovnika mjesta Krndija, Jurjevac i Josipovac kojim naseljenici reguliraju svoje obaveze prema vlastelinstvu za dobivenu zemlju, odnosno šumu. Dokument taj sporazum naziva „likvidacijom" koju je provela Kraljevska kotarska oblast u Đakovu za svako naselje posebno, počevši od 19. travnja 1898. u Krndiji , nastavivši 4. srpnja iste godine u Jurjevcu i završivši 5. srpnja u Josipovcu. Likvidacija ima snagu odluke koja je postala pravomoćna jer je nitko nije osporio. Dokument citira prvobitne uvjete pod kojima su doseljenici preuzeli zemlju, a koje smo gore već naveli, te navodi nove, blaže uvjete pogodbe na koje su pristale sve stranke:

- Otplata počinje tek od 1. siječnja 1899. godine, 8 godina kasnije od prvobitne odredbe, a odvijat će se u dvije polugodišnje rate u 44 jednaka obroka neprekidno. To znači da je bilo predviđeno da otplata završi 1920. godine.
- Određuje se kamata od samo 2,5 % za razdoblje od 1. siječnja 1891. do konca 1898., a naseljenici se oslobađaju kamata na kilograme usjeva koje su bili dužni predati po prvobitnom sporazumu do konca 1890.
- Ostali dug imaju naseljenici podmiriti prema svojim posebnim obveznicama o kojima ovdje nema detaljnijih podataka.
- Otplatni obroci dospijevaju na naplatu svakog 1. siječnja i 1. srpnja do potpunog podmirenja duga.

U župnoj dokumentaciji postoje i drugi podaci o životu i djelovanju Slovaka u ovim dvama selima. U tabelarnom popisu nazvanom *Iskaz o pobožnim zakladama u župi Punitovačkoj* navedeni su utemeljitelji „zaklade", tj. današnjim rječnikom rečeno, dobrotvori, donatori te svrha i datum utemeljenja zaklade. Na prvom mjestu popisa zapisani su „Štens i drug" koji su 26. 9. 1901. dali 40 kruna za uzdržavanje drvenog križa u Josipovcu. Također se navodi da je Ivan Mihalina, vjerojatno iz Josipovca, dao 40 kruna za održavanje željeznoga poljskog križa (uz seoski put) iz Josipovca prema Tomašancima 16. 8. 1910., dok je Andrija Strbik iz Jurjevca također poklonio 40 kruna

[31] Prema tabelarnom pregledu *Povijest župe sv. Ladislava u Punitovcima* to je bio Petar Markovac koji je u Punitovcima župnikovao od 1951. do 1996. godine. O dugogodišnjem punitovačkom župniku više podataka dostupno je u obavijesti Informativne katoličke agencije od 19. kolovoza 2003. o pogrebu svećenika Petra Markovca. https://ika.hkm.hr/novosti/pogreb-svecenika-petra-markovca/ (pristup: 2. 10. 2025.)

za uzdržavanje poljskog križa između Punitovaca i Jurjevca 26. 10. 1911. Osim što dokazuju postojanje vjerskog donatorstva u seoskim sredinama i među običnim pukom početkom 20. stoljeća, podaci potvrđuju ono što se zna iz drugih izvora, da su kipovi i raspela, ono što se obično naziva malom sakralnom arhitekturom koja je obilježila javni ruralni prostor u Slavoniji, ali i Hrvatskoj, u pravilu podizali i održavali pojedinci i pojedine obitelji, provodeći sakralizaciju prostora kao specifičan oblik njegova označavanja i prisvajanja.[32]

Markovac Našički i Jelisavac

Markovac Našički i Jelisavac, smješteni uz cestu Našice – Koška – Osijek, od svog nastanka koncem 19. stoljeća, pripadali su Župi svetog Antuna Padovanskog kojom su upravljali redovnici Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama, jedinog franjevačkog samostana u Slavoniji koji, uz kraći prekid koncem 16. i početkom 17. stoljeća, djeluje od srednjeg vijeka, preko većeg dijela osmanskog razdoblja do danas.[33] Osnutkom Požeške biskupije 1997. godine dolazi i do promjena u crkvenoj organizaciji pa Markovac 2004. postaje sjedište Župe sv. Marka, a kao filijala pripada joj Jelisavac.[34] Iz ovih je podataka bilo jasno gdje će se potražiti izvori o nastanku i ranoj povijesti slovačkih naselja blizu Našica. Objavljeni izvori i njihovi prikazi u stručnoj literaturi skrenuli su pozornost na, za sada neobjavljeni, rukopisni drugi svezak *Zapisnika franjevačkog samostana u Našicama* koji pokriva razdoblje od 1864. do 1956. godine.[35]

Prema elektroničkim i tiskanim izvorima, Markovac i Jelisavac nastali su po istom modelu kao Josipovac i Jurjevac kraj Punitovaca, tako što je našički vlastelin grof Pejačević naseljavanjem Slovaka nastojao iskrčiti šume i dobiti više obradivih površina.[36] Nešto stariji Markovac nastao je koncem 70-ih godina 19. stoljeća[37] kao jednostavno naselje u nizu pokraj ceste Našice – Koška pa je zabilježeno na trećoj katastarskoj izmjeri Habsburške Monarhije (*Third military survey*) koja je izvršena između 1869. i 1887. na kojoj još nema Jelisavca (sl. 6). Stoga se moglo očekivati da će rukopis *Zapisnika* iz razdoblja 1864–1956. pružiti više informacija o vremenu doseljenja, provenijenciji doseljenika, uređivanju njihovih odnosa s našičkim vlastelinstvom, izgradnji novih naselja uz cestu Našice – Koška i drugim pitanjima.

Međutim, prilikom posjeta našičkom samostanu taj rukopis nije pronađen, a za detaljniji pregled samostanskog arhi-

[32] ŠPANIČEK, Žarko: Mala sakralna arhitektura u Slavoniji. *Etnološka tribina,* a. 18 (1995), str. 9-46; BELAJ, Marijana – UREM, Sandra: Pirovačke kapelice i poklonci: mjesta interakcije, sjećanja i identifikacije. *Studia ethnologica Croatica,* a. 22 (2010), str. 255-282.

[33] Osnovne informacije o povijesti franjevačke župe i samostana u Našicama dostupne su na mrežnoj stranici franjevačke Župe sv. Antuna Padovanskog u Našicama. http://novi.zupa-nasice1.hr/?page_id=12454 (pristup: 9. 9. 2025.); Detaljniji uvid u povijest slavonskih franjevaca pa i našičkog samostana nude brojni povijesni prikazi, osobito radovi fra Franje Emanuela Hoška, Roberta Skenderovića, Milana Vrbanusa te drugih povjesničara i samih franjevaca.

[34] Podatak dostupan na istoj poveznici navedenoj u prethodnoj bilješci.

[35] PATAFTA, Danijel: Zapisnik franjevačkog samostana u Našicama, knjiga III. (1821–1842.). *Croatica Christiana Periodica,* a. 41, br. 80 (2017), str. 246-248.

[36] KRANJČEVIĆ, Jasenka: *Zanemarena baština. Prostorne strukture sela u Hrvatskoj,* str. 24.

[37] Prema zavičajnoj publicistici, to je bilo 1878. godine (BAKSA, Vesna: *O načinu života i običajima Slovaka doseljenih u Markovac Našički.* Markovac Našički: Savez Slovaka u Hrvatskoj: Matica slovačka Markovac, 2005, str. 12), ali na *webu* se nalaze i druge godine doseljenja, primjerice 1877. i 1879. https://www.ms-markovac.com/o-nama/povijest/ (pristup: 12. 9. 2025.)

Slika 6: *Markovac, Habsburg Empire (1869-1887). Third Military Survey. (izvor: https://maps.arcanum.com/en/map/thirdsurvey25000/?layers=129&bbox=2011148.1498186458%2C5698362.535291527%2C2029349.7171790535%2C5705136.766923302, pristup: 6. 10. 2025.)*

va nije bilo prilike. No, pronađen je drugi rukopis pod naslovom *Historia domus Našice anno 1957 Dñi (1957. – 10 VI. 1969.)* koji se vremenski nastavlja na drugi rukopisni svezak *Zapisnika*. Osim samog naslova, rukopis je pisan na hrvatskom jeziku, a njegova je glavna tema gradnja katoličke crkve u Jelisavcu.

Zapisom od 13. veljače 1967. kroničar konstatira da Jelisavac spada u red najvećih filijala našičke župe, a ipak nema dostojnu i dovoljno veliku crkvu u kojoj bi se mogao okupljati narod na misi i pobožnostima. Postojeća kapelica ima oko 35 m², strop je nizak, a za vrijeme mise moraju se skinuti prozori da vjernici vani mogu pratiti misu i čuti propovijed. Stoga su Jelisavčani odlučili graditi novu crkvu na darovanom zemljištu koje su za tu namjenu poklonili Ana Zavada i njezin sin Andrija (*Historia* 123-124). Pripremni radovi počeli su 1967. godine kada je potpisan darovni ugovor za zemljište na kojem će se graditi crkva po projektu našičkog arhitekta Julijana Domanovca, rodom iz obližnjeg Bizovca. Radovi na samoj crkvi započeli su početkom rujna 1968., nakon što su gradnju odobrile svjetovna i crkvena vlast, tadašnji Općina Našice i Nadbiskupski Duhovni stol iz Zagreba. Početak gradnje dokumentiran je s nekoliko fotografija zalijepljenih u kroniku, a prema oskudnim opisima procesa gradnje u prvoj polovici 1969., čini se da se ona odvijala sporo, što znači da se većina radova izvela nakon lipnja 1969., u razdoblju koje ovaj rukopis ne prati.

Zanimljiv je i podatak o posjetu salezijanca o. Josipa Babjaka, rođenog Slovaka, na blagdan Duhova 14. svibnja 1967. Otac Babjak došao je iz Rima i tražio je mladiće koji bi pošli u Rim u sjemenište. U Jelisavcu je imao misu i propovijed na slovačkom jeziku, ali su ga mlađi slabo razumjeli, primjećuje zapisivač, *„jer govori čisto slovački“* (*Historia* 129). Babjakov trud nije bio bez rezultata, jer su tri mladića odlučila poći u Rim u sjemenište.

O Jelisavcu se u arhivu samostana sačuvala još jedna rukopisna knjiga na čijim koricama piše samo *Jelisavac*, dok naljepnica samostanskog arhiva nosi natpis: *STATUS ANIMARUM – STANJE DUŠA ŽUPE NAŠICE – FILIJALA JELISAVAC*, a uz oznaku svežnja i broja spisa stoji vremenska oznaka: *20. st.* Ovaj popis župljana vođen je prema adresi stanovanja odnosno prema kućnim brojevima i daje dobar pregled broja stanovnika u Jelisavcu početkom i u prvim desetljećima 20. stoljeća te daje uvid u broj i strukturu članova obitelji, njihovih prezimena, učestalosti

pojedinih obiteljskih prezimena itd., što ovdje neće biti predmet analize, u skladu s osnovnom orijentacijom rada koji nastoji identificirati nove izvore podataka o Slovacima u Slavoniji, a ne analizirati njihov sadržaj. U knjizi je popisano 120 kućnih brojeva sa svim članovima obitelji koji su živjeli na toj adresi. Nakon tog pregleda nižu se tadašnji stanovnici Jelisavca, bez navođenje kućnog broja (adrese) na kojoj žive. Za neke se navodi njihovo zanimanje: lugar Mato Katavić, željezničar Grekša i žena Liza, ribar Antun Csombor. Njihova zanimanja, kao i prezimena, upućuju na pretpostavku da ne pripadaju pretežno agrarnoj zajednici Slovaka u Jelisavcu. Najčešća prezimena u popisu su Mohila, Kraljik, Kurtek i Kuric, a zanimljiva su i druga zabilježena prezimena koja se do danas susrećumeđu stanovništvom Slavonije i Hrvatske: Belaj, Podoljak, Straka, Prisuda, Škorvaga i druga.

Za naselje Markovac pronašao sam u samostanskom arhivu tri knjige: prva nosi originalni natpis na koricama *Markovac* te kasniju naljepnicu Arhiva s natpisom *LUKNO ŽUPE NAŠICE: FILIJALA: MARKOVAC* i dataciju: *kraj 19. poč. 20. st.* Druge dvije predstavljaju *Status animarum – Stanje duša.* Manja, tvrdo ukoričena knjiga odnosi se na kraj 19. i početak 20. stoljeća, a veća, također tvrdo ukoričena, na 1909. godinu. U oba se popisa više puta navode prezimena Kučera, Strapač, Bucha (Buha), Tribuljak, Vakula, Pokrivka, Kubaša, Javorček, Prišć, Kanis, Čavajda i druga od kojih neka susrećemo u Hrvatskoj do danas (Jančula, Šimašek, Kralik).

Zaključne napomene

Na temelju ovog prikaza dokumentacije pronađene u župnim arhivima može se konstatirati da je početno očekivanje o relevantnosti župnih arhiva za povijest slovačkih zajednica u Slavoniji u potpunosti ispunjeno, a detaljniji pregledi župnog povijesnog gradiva vjerojatno bi otkrili i druge dokumente i podatke o Slovacima i njihovu doseljavanju na područje Slavonije. Stoga bi svako buduće istraživanje povijesnog doprinosa slovačkih doseljenika ovom dijelu Hrvatske trebalo uključivati i arhivsko istraživanje župnih dokumenata. Pri tome bi trebalo imati na umu da dio župne dokumentacije, osobito one koja ima narativni karakter, poput župnih spomenica i rukopisnih „povijesti", ne treba primarno smatrati izvorom vjerodostojnih povijesnih podataka, nego prvenstveno dokumentom individualnog doživljaja i shvaćanja zapisivača – najčešće su to bili župnici – slovačkih doseljenika i njihove uloge u novoj župnoj sredini. Zbog toga je podatke iz župnih izvora potrebno provjeravati i uspoređivati s podacima iz drugih dokumenata, literature i drugih vrela te kritičkom analizom pokušati doći do razumijevanja povijesnih zbivanja. Primjer za to je naselje Krndija u župi Punitovci. Premda ono nema veze sa slovačkim doseljenicima, ilustrativan je primjer nepodudaranja podataka iz župne dokumentacije i literature. Dok se Krndija uobičajeno smatra naseljem s isključivo njemačkim stanovništvom, župni podaci ukazuju na značajnu prisutnost mađarskih doseljenika u prvim desetljećima postojanja Krndije. S druge strane, literatura navodi da su se gotovo svi stanovnici Krndije iselili u samo jednoj noći, 17. listopada 1944.[38] No, to nije trajno prekinulo život u naselju, iako ga je stubokom promijenilo. Župna statistika bilježi znatan broj stanovnika u naselju i nakon rata, njih čak 800 u 1951. godini s tri

[38] KRANJČEVIĆ, Jasenka: *Zanemarena baština,* str. 35. GEIGER, Vladimir: Logoraško groblje Krndija. *Zbornik Muzeja Đakovštine,* a. 8, br. 1 (2007), str. 91.

vjenčana para i 29 novorođenčadi zabilježenih iste godine. Daljnjim istraživanjem trebalo bi tek utvrditi porijeklo, etnički i vjerski sastav poslijeratnog stanovništva Krndije. U svakom slučaju, župna dokumentacija o Slovacima u cjelini, a osobito pojedini dokumenti, poput *razglednica* iz Nove Bukovice koje se odnose na Miljevce, iznimno su poticajne za daljnja istraživanja i nastojanje da se zbivanja o kojima svjedoče smjeste u širi povijesni kontekst. Pri tome treba imati na umu da su pregledana samo tri župna arhiva i to tek inicijalno. Detaljnije istraživanje u prikazanim župnim arhivima, kao i u drugim župama na području Slavonije na čijem se području nalaze naselja sa znatnim udjelom slovačkog stanovništva, vjerojatno bi rezultirala novim otkrićima o utjecaju i doprinosu slovačkih doseljenika povijesti i kulturi Slavonije.

Sandra Kralj Vukšić*

Vít Ušák a jeho prínos k zachovávaniu slovenskej etnickej identity v Chorvátsku

Vít Ušák i njegov doprinos očuvanju slovačkoga etničkoga identiteta u Hrvatskoj / Vít Ušák and His Contribution to the Preservation of Slovak Ethnic Identity in Croatia

This paper presents findings on Vít Ušák and his contribution to the preservation of Slovak ethnic identity in Croatia. The introductory section is devoted to his biography and is divided into two parts. The first part of the biography provides information about Ušák as a religious figure, Salesian, Roman Catholic priest, and educator. The second part focuses on his work as a writer, historian, and translator. The main section consists of a text on the literary treatment of the topic of Slovaks in Croatia, specifically an analysis of his work Slováci v Chorvátsku – historický náčrt (Slovaks in Croatia – A Historical Outline). Furthermore, it addresses his contributions to maintaining Slovak identity in Croatia, such as the later activities of alumni of the Slovak Institute of St. Cyril and Methodius in Rome in the cultural and social life of the Slovak community in Croatia. The primary methodological approach on which the paper is based is the analysis of available sources, especially the work Slováci v Chorvátsku – historický náčrt. The paper also incorporates findings from original research as well as data from secondary sources. In this work, toponyms are presented in the form in which Ušák uses them in his work.

Keywords: Vít Ušák, ethnic identity, priest, Salesian, educator

Úvod

Potomkom vysťahovalcov do Chorvátska sa odbornej pozornosti do vzniku samostatného chorvátskeho štátu, teda do roku 1991, dostalo len útržkovito a okrajovo, v čom azda najčastejšie zavážila teritoriálna blízkosť Vojvodiny, v ktorej terén nachádzajúci sa v spoločnom štáte, ponúkal výrazne bohatý a dostupný materiál, ktorý priam lákal výskumníkov. Tu výskumníci mali istotu, že sa domov vrátia s množstvom cenného materiálu. Zmienky, krátke náčrty, prehľady či štatistické analýzy o existencii Slovákov v Chorvátsku v období SFRJ pripravili Jan Auerhan, Michal Topoľský, František Karas, Ján Svetoň, Ján Podolák, Jozef Štolc, Rudolf Bednárik, Ján Siráckу, Milan Krajčovič.

Prečo je to tak? Výskum tejto vetvy slovenských vysťahovalcov je náročný aj z dôvodu vzájomnej vzdialenosti slovenských lokalít. Disperzné osídlenie Slovákov v Slavónii, kam prišli ako ekonomickí migranti v rámci chlebového vysťahovalectva, ako katolíci medzi väčšinové obyvateľstvo rovnakého vierovyznania a príbuzného slovanského jazyka, bez duchovenstva či inteligencie vo vlastných radoch, a tiež bez stykov s katolíkmi zo Slovenska, ako aj silná

* SANDRA KRALJ VUKŠIĆ, PhD, Slovenské kultúrne centrum Našice, riaditeľka.

maďarizácia v období ich sťahovania, spôsobili ich rýchlu adaptáciu a následne asimiláciu. Výskum zároveň sťažuje jazyk príslušníkov slovenskej komunity v Chorvátsku, ktorí hovoria slovenským nárečím, zmiešaným s chorvátčinou, kým v písomnej forme je takmer neprítomný, a výskum písomností, ktoré sú výlučne v chorvátčine (ale aj v maďarčine) si vyžaduje znalosť ďalších jazykov.

Z obdobia pred vznikom samostatného štátu (do roku 1991) jediné ucelené dielo, ktoré sa venuje Slovákom v Chorvátsku predstavuje publikácia *Slováci v Chorvátsku*[1] pátra saleziána Víta Ušáka, ktorý sa popri duchovnej službe venoval aj literárnej práci.

Biografia

Vít Ušák - rehoľník, salezián, rímskokatolícky kňaz a pedagóg

Vít Ušák sa narodil v Radošovciach pri Trnave 9. júna 1923 ako tretie dieťa v roľníckej rodine. V roku 1937 ako 14-ročný nastúpil na saleziánske gymnázium v Šaštíne. Ako osemnásťročný sa rozhodol vstúpiť do Saleziánskej spoločnosti. Po roku noviciátu v Hronskom Beňadiku zložil prvé rehoľné sľuby, a to v roku 1942. V gymnaziálnych a pedagogických štúdiách pokračoval v Trnave, kde v roku 1945 maturoval. Pedagogickú prax vykonával v Šaštíne v rokoch 1945 – 1948. Teológiu začal študovať vo Svätom Kríži nad Hronom. Vo štvrtom semestri v apríli r. 1950 ho postihol zásah režimu proti rehoľníkom na Slovensku, tzv. „barbarská noc". Najskôr bol deportovaný do „koncentračného kláštora" v Šaštíne, odtiaľ do Podolínca, následne v septembri do Pezinka, odkiaľ bol zo zdravotných dôvodov prepustený domov. V tom období býval u rodičov v Radošovciach, avšak udržiaval styky so saleziánmi na slobode.

Ako dvadsaťosemročný v decembri 1951 tajne odišiel do Talianska – cez rieku Moravu ušiel do Rakúska a odtiaľ do Talianska. V Bolengu pri Turíne doštudoval teológiu a tam bol 1. júla 1953 vysvätený za kňaza a predstavený Saleziánskej spoločnosti. Po prejavenej túžbe slúžiť v misiách mal ísť pracovať do severnej Indie, kam sa však kvôli zdravotným dôvodom nikdy nedostal. Počas obdobia, kedy si vybavoval dokumenty na misiu, vyučoval na gymnáziu v Mirabello Monferato. Tu sa pre zdravotné ťažkosti zdržal až do r. 1962. Jeho zdravotný stav sa nezlepšoval, preto ho poslali na zotavenie do Colle Don Bosco (rodisko zakladateľa saleziánov, 1962 – 1965) a v r. 1967 ho určili do farskej služby. V roku 1968 navštívil prvýkrát od úteku Slovensko a pri tejto príležitosti mal v rodnej obci v Radošovciach 23. júna primície – po pätnástich rokoch od kňazskej vysviacky.

Ako kaplán pôsobil v mestách L'Acquila (1968) a Forli (1968 – 1973), kde sa stal členom diecéznej komisie pre sakrálnu hudbu. Duchovnú službu vykonával vo viacerých pôsobiskách sestier saleziánok. V roku 1973 ho pozvali do Slovenského ústavu sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Ríme, kde pôsobil ako pedagóg a vedeckovýskumný pracovník. Tu na príslušnom gymnáziu vyučoval a udržiaval čulé styky so Slovákmi zo Slavónie (časť súčasného Chorvátska, ktorá od roku 1943 do roku 1990 bola súčasťou Socialistickej republiky Chorvátsko, ktorá spolu s ďalšími piatimi republikami a dvomi autonómnymi krajinami tvorila Socialistickú federatívnu republiku Juhoslá-

[1] UŠÁK, Vít: *Slováci v Chorvátsku*. Rím: Slovenský ústav, 1978.

viu), odkiaľ priviedol do Ríma viacerých chlapcov, ktorí túžili po kňazstve.[2]

Do r. 1977 pôsobil ako katechéta v saleziánskom ústave v Genzane pri Ríme (1976 – 1977), neskôr sa vrátil do duchovnej služby ako kaplán v saleziánskej Farnosti Pia XI. v Ríme (1977 – 1990). V roku 1990 sa po takmer štyroch desaťročiach v Taliansku vrátil na rodné Slovensko. Tu sa v r. 1991 na sedem rokov stal direktorom saleziánskej komunity v Hronskom Beňadiku. Po dvoch kanonických obdobiach v úlohe miestneho predstaveného ho v r. 1997 preložili do Popradu, kde prvé roky vyučoval novicov taliančinu, vypomáhal v saleziánskom noviciáte ako spovedník a prekladateľ a popri tom sa venoval aj literárnej tvorbe. Vít Ušák prežil v saleziánskej spoločnosti 77 rokov rehoľného a 66 rokov kňazského života. Zomrel 10. decembra 2019 vo veku 96 rokov v Dome Charitas svätého Jána Bosca v Spišskej Kapitule. Pohreb dona Ušáka sa konal 14. decembra v Poprade a bol pochovaný na Velickom cintoríne.

Obr. 1: *Parte Víta Ušáka.*

Vít Ušák - spisovateľ, historik, prekladateľ

Vít Ušák bol od mladosti aj literárne činný. Svoju literárnu tvorbu publikoval najčastejšie pod pseudonymom Ján Vetva, či Vetva-Ušák.

Je autorom spirituálnej, meditatívnej poézie postavenej na pevných základoch odovzdanosti Bohu, a zároveň človeka milujúceho svoju domovinu, ktorý štyri desaťročia prežil v exile.

Jeho poéziu a úvahy uverejňovali mnohé zahraničné slovenské časopisy (Slovenské hlasy z Ríma, Slobodné Slovensko, Černákov odkaz, Jednota, Kanadský Slovák a iné). V samostatných zbierkach knižne vyšla jeho básnická tvorba: *Prikladám na vatru* (Rím 1981, 1991), *Od Tibera k Popradu* (Bratislava 1998) a kniha veršov pre deti *Na detskej vlne* (Rím 1981, 1991).[3] Jeho rôznorodá básnická tvorba tematicky prináša motívy detstva, viery, prírody a konkrétnych životných skúseností. V básnickej zbierke *Pohľadnice zo života*, ktorá vyšla k básnikovmu jubileu, autor bilancuje svoj život, pozoruje a reflektuje prostredie, v ktorom žije.

Knižne vydal *Dojmy zo Svätej Zeme* (Rím 1986) a *Slováci v Chorvátsku* (Rím 1978).

[2] KURIC, Andrija: *Lexikon Známi Slováci v Chorvátsku*. Našice: Savez Slovaka, MS Osijek, Certis d.o.o., 2024.

[3] Bibliografia niektorých kňazov (https://www.knihydominikani.sk/hlavna_bibl_b4?autor_id=1003) [prístup 20. mája 2025].

NÁZOV ČLÁNKU	ROK	ČÍSLO
V Markovci sme všetci Slováci	1979	8-9
Dr. Andrija Šuljak, Djakovo — biskupskí grad	1980	11
Julijen Jančula, Franjevci u Cerniku	1980	11
Významná storočnica — všeslovanská púť do Ríma a založenie slovenskej osady Josipovac.	1981	2
Strieborné jubileum otca biskupa Zvekanoviča.	1981	5
Incharted areas for Research on the history of Slovakia and the Slovaks	1981	6

Obr. 2: *Názvy článkov Víta Ušáka, roky a čísla v ktorom konkrétny článok bol uverejnený v časopise slovenských katolíkov v cudzine* Hlasy z Ríma[4]

Celý rad príspevkov publikoval v časopisoch, zborníkoch, almanachoch, ročenkách: Slovenské hlasy z Ríma, Slovák v Amerike, Jednota, Most, Dialogo mensile parrochiale Roma, La stanza letteraria, Literárny almanach Slováka v Amerike, Kalendár Jednota, Slovenský denník, Katolícke noviny, Slovenský kňaz, Don Bosco dnes.

Venoval sa aj prekladateľskej činnosti z taliančiny. Spolu so Štefanom Vagovičom preložil meditácie Gabriela od sv. Magdalény: *Dôverne s Bohom* (Rím 1990). Ďalšie preklady: Bosco, Teresio: *Žil iba pre druhých* (Rím 1983), Sangalli, Gianni: *Devätnásťročný mladík kňazom* (Rím 1983), Tescaroli, Cirillo: *Misionár černochov* (Rím 1988), Bosco, Teresio: *Svätci salezián-skej rodiny* (Rím 2003).[5]

Spolupracoval na preklade príručky Anselma Gunthöra: *Morálna teológia* (V. Božie prikázania). V rukopisoch ostali preklady ďalších talianskych titulov náboženskej literatúry.

Literárne spracovanie témy Slovákov v Chorvátsku a jeho prínos ako spisovateľa k zachovvávaniu ich etnickej identity

Vít Ušák venoval čas svojej spisovateľskej činnosti Slovákom z Chorvátska, a to nielen v podobe knihy, ktorá vyšla v roku 1978, ale aj vo vyše 50 príspevkoch v slovenských zahraničných periodikách. Okrem jeho literárneho nadania a odovzdanosti písomnej tvorbe, spoločný osud odlúčenia od materskej krajiny, ktorý zdieľal so Slovákmi v Chorvátsku, autorovi umožnil, aby pri spracovaní zozbieraného materiálu zužitkoval aj vlastné poznatky o živote v cudzine. Pravdepodobne spolucítenie s osudom vysťahovalcov vyústilo v to, že zážitky a dojmy z Chorvátska spracoval do písomnej podoby viackrát, a takto prispel k ich zviditeľneniu v odborných kruhoch. Na strane druhej, svojim rodákom v Slavónii sa za dlhoročnú súčinnosť počas jeho ciest poďakoval ich knižným zvečnením.

[4] Bibliografia niektorých kňazov (https://www.knihydominikani.sk/hlavna_bibl_b4?autor_id=1003) [prístup 20. mája 2025].

[5] Bibliografia niektorých kňazov (https://www.knihydominikani.sk/hlavna_bibl_b4?autor_id=1003) [prístup 20. mája 2025].

V časopise slovenských katolíkov v cudzine *Hlasy z Ríma* v období rokov 1979 – 1981 boli uverejnené viaceré príspevky Víta Ušáka.

Kniha *Slováci v Chorvátsku – historický náčrt* predstavuje jeden z prvých ucelených pokusov zachytiť existenciu slovenských enkláv v tomto priestore na základe kombinácie archívnych prameňov a dlhodobého terénneho výskumu. Vznikla na základe doposiaľ zverejnených záznamov (štatistických údajov) a na základe vlastného niekoľkoročného návratného terénneho výskumu (farské kroniky, ústne výpovede, vlastné pozorovanie). Publikovaná bola v roku 1978 v Ríme a jej vydavateľom bolo vtedajšie autorovo pôsobisko Slovenský ústav sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Ríme.

Napriek názvu, publikácia nie je orientovaná na celé územie Chorvátska. Už v úvode autor uvádza, že: *„predmetom štúdia je teda história jednotlivých osád v Slavónii, v ktorých žijú Slováci.“*[6] Aby predsa premostil priepasť, ktorá vznikla medzi názvom a obsahom, v záverečnom prehľade autor prináša údaje zo sčítania obyvateľstva, resp. štatistický prehľad o Slovákoch v celom Chorvátsku.

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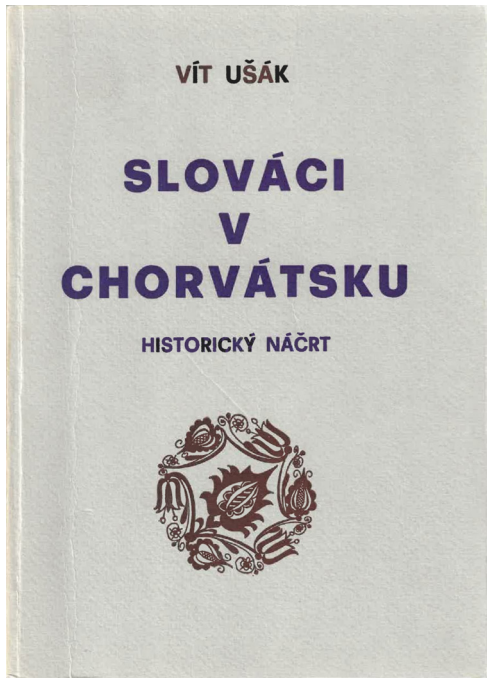

Obr. 3: *Titulná strana diela Víta Ušáka* Slováci v Chorvátsku – historický náčrt, *archív Slovenského kultúrneho centra Našice.*

Publikácia na 231 stranách prezentuje etnický a kultúrny vývoj slovenských prisťahovalcov z historického, ale aj etnografického hľadiska. Podáva popis a údaje približujúce minulosť a vtedajší stav jednotlivých slovenských lokalít. Tieto v rámci Slavónie teritoriálne rozčlenil do 7 oblastí, do ktorých začlenil jednotlivé lokality, ktorých celkovo zaznamenal 21.

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[6] UŠÁK, Vít: *Slováci v Chorvátsku*, s. 5.

Prvá kapitola popisuje doposiaľ publikované práce a záujem odborníkov o túto časť slovenského sveta.

Ďalšia kapitola Príchod Slovákov do Slavónie – prvé obdobie, ako sám názov hovorí, zobrazuje prvé obdobie príchodu a určenie roku príchodu prvých Slovákov na toto územie.

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Djakovská oblasť – lokality Josipovac, Jurjevac, Beketince, Piškorovce;

Pakracká oblasť – lokality Lipovljany, Medjurič, Antunovac (Gaj, Kukunjevac);

Požežská oblasť – Kneževac (Okolie Čaglína), Grabárie, Jakšić (a okolie), Kutjevo (a okolie).

Do siedmej kapitoly pod názvom Východná Slavónia zaradil Osijek (Čepin), Ilok, Soľany, Komletince a Babsku a Lipovac.

Pri jednotlivých lokalitách autor venoval pozornosť vzniku, najmä názvu, polohe, lokálnemu či regionálnemu určeniu pôvodu tunajších slovenských prisťahovalcov, rozvoju osady, kultúrnemu, osvetovému a náboženskému životu, stavu jazyka a národnému uvedomeniu. Z uvedeného vyplýva, že kniha sa naplno venuje najmä prvkom etnickej príslušnosti jednotlivých slovenských enkláv v chorvátskej Slavónii, čo napovedajú aj názvy podkapitol. Podkapitola Slovenskosť sa objavuje pri osade Zokov Gaj (str. 60 – 62), Markovac (str. 85 – 90), Jelisavac (str. 10 – 106), Josipovac (str. 121 – 123), Jurjevac (str. 134 – 138), Lipovljany (str. 162 – 163). V nej autor pravidelne uvádza text jednej piesne, ako aj zmienku o zvukových záznamoch piesní v konkrétnej osade, teda z Ledeníka (naspievala Katica Macangová), Miljeviec (naspievala Tonka Tončaljeková a Jelka Zniková), Zokovho Gaja (naspievala Marica Birová), Markovca (naspievala Anka Zajacová), Jelisavca (nie je uvedené, kto naspieval uvedený text), Josipovca (nie je uvedené, kto naspieval uvedený text so štyrmi strofami), Jurjevca (nie je uvedené, kto naspieval uvedený text - šesť strof) a Lipovljanoch (naspievala Tónka Ječmenicová). Okrem piesní sú v publikácii zaznamenané hlavné zvyky kalendárneho cyklu, najmä vianočné, menej však rodinné zvyky, či zvyky životného cyklu.

Autor sa sústredil nielen na dejiny osídlenia, ale aj na prejavy slovenskej kultúrnej identity, ako sú jazyk, národné povedomie, piesňová tradícia, náboženský a osvetový život. Osobitnú pozornosť venoval podkapitolám s názvom *Slovenskosť*, v ktorých zaznamenával ľudové piesne a zmienky o ich zvukových záznamoch, čím prispel k uchovaniu nehmotného kultúrneho dedičstva Slovákov v Chorvátsku. Zachytenie kalendárnych zvykov, najmä vianočných, ďalej posilňuje etnografickú hodnotu diela.

Vit Ušák touto prácou nielen dokumentoval stav slovenskej menšiny v 70. rokoch 20. storočia, ale aktívne prispel k zachovaniu pamäti, kultúrnej kontinuity a identity Slovákov v Chorvátsku.

Pre historikov, etnografov, etnológov či ďalších bádateľov hodnotnú časť publikácie, okrem obsahu, tvorí zoznam použitých prameňov a zoznam použitej literatúry.

Aj keď autor nebol etnograf, publikáciu národopisného charakteru pripravil, ako sám uviedol v knihe, z potreby podporiť slovenské povedomie a spolupatričnosť krajanov katolíkov, lebo evanjelici, vo Vojvodine v Srbsku, resp. vtedajšej Socialistickej federatívnej republike Srbsko v rámci Juhoslávie, ako i v Iloku a Soľanoch, ktoré patria k Chorvátsku, na tom boli oveľa lepšie. O nepopierateľnom prínose publikácie časopis Jednota prináša príspevok neznámeho autora, ktorý sa pod svoje hodnotenie tohto Ušákoveho diela podpísal iniciálami „Om“[7].

O skúsenostiach a zážitkoch so Slovákmi v Chorvátsku, ktoré neboli spracované do knihy, Vít Ušák osobne hovoril na odbornom seminári 3. decembra 1999 usporiadanom ako sprievodné podujatie k výstave Slováci v Chorvátsku, ktorej vernisáž sa konala 2. decembra 1999 a vznikla ako výsledok výskumu pracovníčok Domu zahraničných Slovákov, Ľubice Bartalskej a Andrey Jančárovej s odbornou pomocou Kvetoslavy Kučerovej. Táto výstava, ktorá podľa slov jednej z autoriek Ľubice Bartalskej, slovenskej verejnosti po prvýkrát predstavila slovom, dokumentmi, fotografiami a ukážkami duchovnú a hmotnú kultúru tejto slovenskej komunity s pútavou históriou, zachovávajúcou si primárne prvky svojej identity – jazyk a kultúrne hodnoty v nových hospodársko-spoločenských podmienkach, bola najskôr od 3. decembra 1999 do 1. júna 2000 usporiadaná v sídle Domu zahraničných Slovákov na Štefánikovej 25 v Bratislave.[8] Pri príležitosti vernisáže výstavy sa konal odborný seminár, v rámci ktorého sa prítomným s príspevkom pod názvom *Spomienky na môj pobyt medzi Slovákmi v Chorvátsku* a ktorý bol uverejnený v zborníku *Slováci v Chorvátsku – minulosť a prítomnosť* prihovoril aj Vít Ušák. Zmienil sa o zážitkoch z 25 ciest, ktoré absolvoval v období rokov 1972 – 1984 s hlavným cieľom - *„hľadať mladíkov súcich na kňazský stav a priviesť ich do Slovenského ústavu svätého Cyrila a Metoda v Ríme“*[9]. Prvá cesta trvala tri mesiace, a len vtedy pobudol aj vo Vojvodine, potom sa už zameral len na Chorvátsko, a najmä na Slavóniu. Ako uvádza v príspevku, jeho *„cesty mali za cieľ predovšetkým hľadať študentov pre USCM, prispieť k duchovnému povzneseniu našich krajanov, ale nepriamo prebúdzať aj ich slovenské povedomie a spolupatričnosť. To sa dialo tak na úrovni ľudovej, ako aj v styku s cirkevnými predstavenými“*[10]. Z rozhovoru s Josipom Kvasovským[11] sa však dozvedáme, že medzi absolventmi Slovenského ústavu sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Ríme sa hovorilo, že Ušák bol vyhostený z krajiny juhoslovanskou políciou, teda v roku 1981 už nábor študentov v Slavónii nerobil on, avšak do Slavónie naďalej prichádzal.

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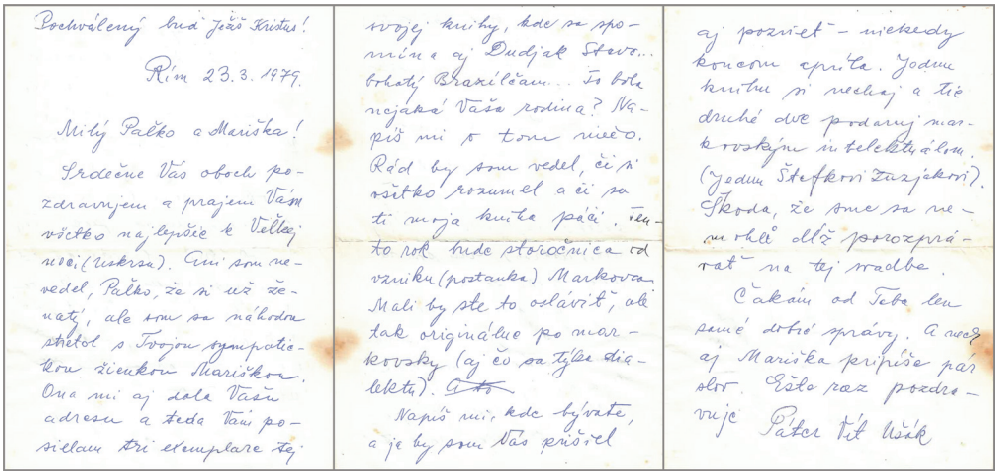
7 Om: Daruvar: Vít Ušák, Slováci v Chorvatsku. *Jednota*, r. 34, (1979), č. 3, s. 15.

8 Výstava potom putovala do Našíc (4. – 20. októbra 2000 vo Vlastivednom/krajskom múzeu Našice), Josipovca (6. – 15. novembra 2000 v základnej škole), Osijeku, Iloku (17. – 28. decembra 2000 v Slovenskom dome v Iloku) a Rijeky, Záhrebu (28. februára 2021 v Českom národnom dome v Záhrebe ju otvoril veľvyslanec Slovenskej republiky v Chorvátsku Ján Petrík). Výstava obsahuje texty v slovenskom jazyku a fotografie zo života Slovákov v Našiciach, Osijeku, Iloku, Záhrebe, Rijeke a menších obciach, v ktorých žijú príslušníci slovenskej národnostnej menšiny v Chorvátsku.

9 UŠÁK, Vít: Spomienky na môj pobyt medzi Slovákmi v Chorvátsku. *Slováci v Chorvátsku – minulosť a prítomnosť*. Dom zahraničných Slovákov (2000), s. 108.

10 UŠÁK, Vít: Spomienky na môj pobyt medzi Slovákmi v Chorvátsku, s. 108–109.

11 Rozhovor s Josipom Kvasnovským, osobný rozhovor, Našice, 18. apríla 2025.



Obr. 4: *List Víta Ušáka do Markovca manželom Mariji a Pavlovi Dudjakovcom zo dňa 23. 3. 1979.*

Ďalšie prínosy Víta Ušáka k uchovaniu slovenskosti v Chorvátsku

Vít Ušák počas svojho dvanásťročného cestovania za príslušníkmi slovenskej menšiny v Chorvátsku nadviazal množstvo osobných kontaktov a priateľstiev, ktoré následne udržiaval prostredníctvom písomnej korešpondencie s miestnou inteligenciou. Slovenské kultúrne centrum Našice uchováva z jeho súkromnej korešpondencie list adresovaný rodine Dudjakovcov v Markovci, datovaný 23. marca 1979. Tento list bol odoslaný krátko po vydaní knihy, ktorej tri výtlačky Vít Ušák priložil k zásielke adresovanej Pavlovi Dudjakovi. Jeden exemplár bol určený priamo adresátovi listu, zatiaľ čo ďalšie dva boli určené markovským intelektuálom, pričom jeden z nich bol adresovaný menovite Štefanovi Zuzjakovi.

Okrem osobnej distribúcie knihy samotným autorom, takmer 20 rokov po vydaní Zväz Slovákov zakúpil 110 exemplárov. Knihy v hodnote 1450,00 HRK (1450 chorvátskych kún) v roku 1997 zo Slovenska do Chorvátska doručil vtedajší konzul Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe Svätopluk Zeman a poradca veľvyslanca Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe dr. Pavol Danič na Veľvyslanectvo Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe.[12] Každá členská organizácia, ktorých bolo dvanásť (MS Ilok, MS Jelisavac, MS Josipovac, MS Jurjevac, MS Lipovljany, MS Markovac, MS Međurić, MS Našice, MS Osijek, MS Rijeka, MS Soľany, MS Záhreb), dostala určitý počet exemplárov, aby ich distribuovala vo svojom prostredí. Tento čin bol evidentne realizovaný s cieľom propagácie a povzbudzovania slovenskosti v radoch potomkov slovenských prisťahovalcov.

Ušákove cesty po Slavónii po rokoch priniesli úžitok slovenskej komunite a prispeli k jej uchovaniu nielen prostredníctvom jeho literárnej tvorby, ale najmä cez kňazské pôsobenie a presadení záujmu medzi chlapcami o štúdium na katolíckom gymnáziu. Na Slovenské gymnázium Antona Bernoláka pri Slovenskom ústave sv. Cyrila a Metoda

[12] Archív Zväzu Slovákov – list z Veľvyslanectva Slovenskej republiky z Záhrebe.

v roku 1967 odišla študovať prvá vlna chlapcov zo slovenských dediniek Slavónie (aj vojvodinskej Selenče). Z pera Michala Kaňu sa dozvedáme, že z Josipovca štúdium absolvovali Adam Pastva, Josip Kvasnovski, Zvonko Ďunďa, Jožko Gavljak, Ivica Kanisek, Željko Komar, Andrija Kuric a Vladimir Stuhli, z Jelisavca Vinko Šišan, Jozef Krúpa, Štefan Tribuljak, Belaj, Kralik, Kubala a Marček, z Antunovca Peter Domislovič, z Osijeka Ivica Kováček a Martin Mazúr, z Jurjevca Ivica Getoš, z Cerovca pri Slavonskej Požege Pavel Treger, zo Starých Mikanoviec Tomislav Vrapčeniak, z Kňaževca Štefan Knatek a z Ostrošiniec Mirko Hlobík. Autor uvádza, že do Ríma odišlo študovať okolo 90 chlapcov.[13]

Slovenská komunita v Chorvátsku mala priamy úžitok z absolventov Slovenského ústavu sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Ríme, keďže sa z nich stali farári a/alebo aktívni a uvedomelí príslušníci slovenskej menšiny. Farármi sa stali Vladimir Stuhli z Josipovca, Štefan Tribuljak z Jelisavca a Štefan Knatek z Kňaževca.[14] Jedným zo zakladateľov a prvým predsedom strešnej organizácie Slovákov v Chorvátsku Zväzu Slovákov, šéfredaktorom kultúrno-spoločenského časopisu Prameň - jediného slovenského periodika v Chorvátku, učiteľom slovenského jazyka, hlásateľom v Rádiu Djakovo bol/je už spomínaný Josip Kvasnovski (1992 – 2002), druhým predsedom Zväzu Slovákov, šéfredaktorom časopisu Prameň, poradcom pre výučbu v jazyku a písme slovenskej národnostnej menšiny, učiteľom slovenského jazyka, hlásateľom v Rádiu Slatina a Rádiu Osijek bol Andrija Kuric (2002 – 2014), zakladateľom a predsedom Matice slovenskej Kukučín Kuntarić, učiteľom slovenského jazyka Jakšić je Pavel Treger (2007 – doposiaľ).

Vít Ušák sa Slovákmi v Chorvátska zaoberal od roku 1972 až do roku 2000 a to:

- na terénnom výskume Slovákov v oblasti Slavónie (12 rokov),
- publikovaním článkov a samostatnej 250 stranovej publikácie,
- pri nábore mladíkov na katolícku výchovu do Slovenského ústavu sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Ríme.

Aj keď vo svojom odbornom pôsobení sa Ušák tunajším Slovákom nevenoval primárne, jeho počiny doznievajú až do súčasnosti a ovplyvňujú slovenské dianie v podobe: rôznych písaných foriem (knihy, články, spomienky a pod.), zabezpečenia duchovenstva (pričinením sa o výchovu farárov či misionárov) a uvedomelých jednotlivcov vychovaných na záchranu etnickej identity prácou v kultúrno-spoločenskej oblasti (pričinením sa o výchovu učiteľov, vedúcich osobností v jednotlivých lokalitách).

Za všetko uvedené si Vít Ušák zaslúži patričné poďakovanie. Jeho rodná obec sa mu pri príležitosti sto rokov od narodenia poďakovala odhalením pamätnej tabule 13. júna 2023 na budove obecného úradu v Radošovciach.

Záver

Predkladaná práca je zameraná na osobnosť Víta Ušáka a na jeho mnohovrstevný prínos k zachovávaniu a podpore slovenskej etnickej identity v Chorvátsku, predovšetkým v oblasti Slavónie. Na základe analýzy dostupných prameňov, najmä publikácie *Slováci v Chorvátsku – historický náčrt*, ako aj sekundár-

[13] KAŇA, Michal: Prvé medzinárodné stretnutie odchovancov Slovenského ústavu sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Josipovci pri Djakove (12. – 13. augusta 2011). *Prameň*, 7-8 (2011), s. 49-51. Zväz Slovákov, Osijek.

[14] KAŇA, Michal: *Exodus do Ríma*. Nový Sad: Združenie Talent, 2021.

Obr. 5: *Náhrobný kameň/pomník Víta Ušáka, virtuálne cintoríny. (https://www.cintoriny.sk/src/index.php?advancedSearch&type=dostupnost&city=Popraď%20Ve%C4%BEka&surname=Vetva&name=J%C3%A1n&deathDateFrom=2019-12-10&deathDateTo=2019-12-10)*

nych zdrojov a vlastných výskumných zistení, je možné poukázať na význam Ušákovho pôsobenia nielen v oblasti dokumentácie života slovenskej menšiny, ale aj v praktickej rovine jej duchovného, kultúrneho a spoločenského rozvoja.

Vít Ušák nebol profesionálnym etnografom ani historikom v úzkom akademickom zmysle slova, napriek tomu jeho dielo predstavuje doposiaľ jedinečný a ucelený prameň poznania Slovákov v Chorvátsku v období pred vznikom samostatného chorvátskeho štátu. Jeho kniha vznikla v čase, keď bol výskum tejto časti slovenského vysťahovalectva minimálny a okrajový, a to z dôvodu geografickej vzdialenosti, jazykovej bariéry i rýchlo postupujúcej asimilácie. Ušákova publikácia preto nadobúda nielen dokumentačný, ale aj záchranný charakter – zachytáva stav komunity v období, keď viaceré prejavy jej etnickej identity boli ešte živé, no zároveň ohrozené.

Osobitnú pozornosť si zasluhuje autorov terénny výskum realizovaný počas opakovaných ciest do Chorvátska, jeho dôsledná práca s farskými kronikami, ústnymi výpoveďami a vlastným pozorovaním. Tieto metodické postupy umožnili zachytiť nielen historické fakty, ale aj jazykové, kultúrne a náboženské prejavy slovenskej komunity. Práve dôraz na prvky slovenskosti – jazyk, piesne, zvyky, náboženský život a národné povedomie – robí z Ušákovho diela významný prameň pre ďalší historický, etnologický a kulturologický výskum.

Nemenej dôležitý je aj praktický rozmer Ušákovho pôsobenia. Prostredníctvom systematického vyhľadávania mladých mužov zo slovenských lokalít v Chorvátsku a ich nasmerovania na štúdium v Slovenskom ústave sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Ríme sa podieľal na formovaní generácie vzdelaných a národne uvedomelých jednotlivcov. Tí sa po návrate stali nielen duchovnými pastiermi, ale aj aktívnymi nositeľmi slovenskej identity v kultúrno-spoločenskom živote komunity. Ich pôsobenie v cirkevnom, vzdelávacom a spolkovom prostredí malo dlhodobý a citeľný vplyv na zachovanie slovenského povedomia v chorvátskom prostredí.

Z uvedeného vyplýva, že prínos Víta Ušáka nemožno redukovať iba na jednu oblasť jeho činnosti. Jeho pôsobenie predstavuje komplexný model angažovanosti jednotlivca, ktorý prostredníctvom duchovnej služby, literárnej tvorby, historickej dokumentácie a osobného nasadenia významne prispel k uchovaniu etnickej identity menšinovej komunity. Účinky jeho práce presahujú rámec obdobia, v ktorom pôsobil a sú badateľné aj v súčasnom živote Slovákov v Chorvátsku.

Na záver možno konštatovať, že osobnosť Víta Ušáka si zaslúži trvalé miesto v dejinách slovenského zahraničia. Jeho dielo predstavuje nielen cenný prameň poznania, ale aj inšpiráciu pre ďalší výskum a pre súčasné generácie, ktoré stoja pred podobnými výzvami zachovania kultúrnej a národnej identity v menšinovom prostredí. Pripomenutie jeho odkazu – či už prostredníctvom pamätných miest, ocenení alebo ďalšieho vedeckého spracovania jeho činnosti – je preto nielen prejavom úcty, ale aj dôležitým krokom k udržiavaniu historickej pamäti slovenskej komunity doma i v zahraničí.

Marko Medved*

Adam Muchtin – slovački svećenik i prvi župnik Podvežice u Rijeci

Adam Muchtin – slovenský kňaz a prvý farár Podvežice v Rijeke / Adam Muchtin – Slovak Priest and the First Parish Priest of Podvežica in Rijeka

The author presents the biography of priest Adam Muchtin (1908–1994). He was born in Slovakia, in the town of Veľké Rovné, located in the northwestern part of Slovakia, from where he moved to Trsat. He became a priest of the Senj-Modruš, later Rijeka-Senj Archdiocese, and carried out his pastoral mission in the city district of Podvežica in the eastern part of Rijeka. There he built and furnished the parish church of St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus. The greatness of Adam Muchtin is evident in his key contribution to building the pastoral structures of the Podvežica parish, but especially in the fact that he achieved this through the virtues of simplicity and modesty.

Keywords: Adam Muchtin, Rijeka, Podvežica, Rijeka Archdiocese, St. Thérèse of the Child Jesus

Uvod

Adam Muchtin bio je jedna od najvažnijih osoba u vjerskom životu istočnog dijela grada Rijeke u 20. stoljeću.[1] S obzirom na to da je Riječka nadbiskupija 2025. godine proslavila 100. obljetnicu osnutka, prikladno je da iskoristimo ovu priliku i prisjetimo se zaslužnih svećenika kroz njezinu povijest. Kad je riječ o Slovacima koji su djelovali u Katoličkoj crkvi među Hrvatima, treba reći da je za 19. stoljeće jedan od najutjecajnijih osoba bio Slovak Juraj Haulik — zagrebački biskup, njezin prvi nadbiskup i kardinal (rođen 1788., biskup od 1837. do 1869.). No u ovome članku ostajemo na lokalnoj razini, iznoseći biografiju svećenika slovačke nacionalnosti koji se ugradio u vjersku povijest Rijeke.

Muchtinovo slovačko porijeklo i obitelj

Rodno mjesto Adama Muchtina je Veľké Rovné, smješteno u sjeverozapadnom dijelu Slovačke (Veľké Rovné je selo i općina u okrugu Bytča u Žilinskom kraju u sjevernoj Slovačkoj). Rodio se 4. prosinca 1908. godine i kršten je istog dana u župnoj crkvi sv. Mihovila u mjestu Veliko Rovné, u okrugu Žilina u Slovačkoj. Njegovi roditelji, otac Adam (rođen 24. prosinca 1880.) i majka Veronika rođena

* MARKO MEDVED, Sveučilište u Rijeci, Medicinski fakultet, Braće Branchetta 20, HR-51000 Rijeka, Hrvatska.

1 Godine 2015. organiziran je znanstveni skup „Msgr. Adam Muchtin (1908-1994.) – svećenik, umjetnik i graditelj" u organizaciji Riječke nadbiskupije i Teologije u Rijeci, čiji su radovi objavljeni u zasebnom broju znanstvenog časopisa *Riječki teološki časopis* (2019). Svi slikovni prilozi u ovom radu preuzeti su iz navedenog izdanja časopisa.

Huserik (rođena 19. listopada 1879.) potječu iz istoga mjesta.

Tradicionalni zanat kojem su se mještani posvetili generacijama bila je izrada žice po čemu su postali poznati i izvan Slovačke. Zanat žičarstva nastao je u onome što je poznato kao „trokut žičarstva", koji tvore sjeverozapadni slovački gradovi Bytča, Žilina i Čadca. Ovo područje pripada Trenčinskoj županiji, gdje su teški ekonomski i društveni uvjeti potaknuli stanovništvo da traži izvore prihoda izvan poljoprivrede. Procjenjuje se da je svake godine oko 10 000 žičara iz Trenčianske županije putovalo diljem Europe u potrazi za poslom. Istim se zanatom bavio i otac Adama Muchtina.[2]

U godinama oko rođenja Adama Muchtina ovaj je zanat iz Velikih Rovni bio na vrhuncu. Povijesna istraživanja pokazala su da je prije Prvog svjetskog rata iz Velikih Rovni emigriralo više od 915 obrtnika, od kojih su mnogi uspješno uspostavili obrte diljem Europe i svijeta. Pisac Rudolf Bergner u svom djelu *Putovanje zemljom žičara/limara* (*Eine Fahrt durchs Land der Rastelbinder*) izrazio je fascinaciju Slovačkom, kolijevkom ovog zanata.[3] Prolazeći Muchtinovim rodnim mjestom, pisac je opisao kako se, osim nekoliko prodavača voća, većina lokalnog stanovništva bavila žičarstvom. Proizvodili su razne vrste pribora – tanjure, vojničke zdjele, igračke, posude za sapun i brojne pogrebne predmete, posebno za američko tržište; svjetiljke za belgijsko tržište; vrčeve i čajnike za Rusiju; božićne i uskrsne ukrase za Njemačku; držače za razglednice za Francusku i drugo. Zanimljivo je pritom spomenuti da se upravo o toj profesiji radi u drami *Drotári* (Žičari, limari), premijerno izvedenoj 1863. u Hrvatskom narodnom kazalištu u Zagrebu koju je 1860. napisao slovački autor Ján Palárik.

Potaknuta boljim ekonomskim izgledima za život, 1910. godine obitelj Muchtin preselila se u Hrvatsku i nastanila se na Trsatu, u blizini Marijanskog svetišta. Otac je ondje otvorio limarsku radionicu. Proizvodio je kuhinjsko posuđe i razne predmete od kositra, žice i željeza koji su se koristili u kućanstvu i poljoprivredi. Uglavnom je radio za trgovine u Rijeci, kao i za veće sajmove u Primorju, na otocima Krku i Rabu, čak i u Dalmaciji. Kraj Prvog svjetskog rata označio je pad žičarskog obrta, koji je nakon Drugog svjetskog rata potpuno nestao. U obitelji Muchtin, osim malog Adama, bilo je još dvoje djece.[4]

Muchtinova formacija

Između 1915. i 1919. godine mladi Adam pohađao je osnovnu školu na Trsatu. Adam je brzo naučio hrvatski jezik i prihvatio novu sredinu. Obrazovanje je stekao na hrvatskom jeziku. Od 1919. do 1923. polazio je Realnu gimnaziji u Sušaku, a od 1923. do 1927. pohađao je Trgovačku školu, gdje je i maturirao. Tijekom tih osam godina Adam je ujutro išao u školu, a poslijepodne bi dostavljao naručenu i izrađenu robu u riječke domove. Adam je odgojen u katoličkoj vjeri i slovačkoj tradiciji. Naučio se jednostavnosti života i povjerenju u Gospodina. Tu treba tražiti razloge njegove odluke da postane svećenik.[5] Teologiju je studirao na

[2] PAVLÍK, Alojz. Drotárstvo. U: FERKO, Milan (ur.) *Svetom*. Martin: Osveta, 1980, str. 81 prema HROMJAK, L'uboslav. Društvene i crkvene okolnosti u Slovačkoj na prijelazu 19. u 20. stoljeće – porijeklo Adama Muchtina. *Riječki teološki časopis* vol. XXVII, br. 54 (2019), str. 185-202.

[3] HROMJAK, L'uboslav: Društvene i crkvene okolnosti, str. 199.

[4] HROMJAK, L'uboslav: Društvene i crkvene okolnosti, str. 200.

[5] HROMJAK, L'uboslav: Društvene i crkvene okolnosti, str. 201.

Teološkom fakultetu u Zagrebu od 1927. do 1931. godine.

Za svećenika je zaređen u Zagrebu 1931. godine. Svećeničku službu započeo je u Senju kao svećenik Senjsko-modruške biskupije, ali već 1932. godine postao je kapelan u središnjoj bolnici na Sušaku, koja je u to vrijeme bila u izgradnji.

Između dvaju svjetskih ratova grad Sušak postao je najvažniji prometni i lučki grad Kraljevine Jugoslavije. S porastom stanovništva, nedostajalo je crkava u raznim četvrtima. Čak i prije Prvog svjetskog rata bilo je neuspješnih pokušaja izgradnje male crkve, ali kasnije je sve zaustavio rat. Za razliku od danas, Trsat i Rijeka povijesno su odvojeni u civilnom i vjerskom smislu. Grad Rijeka nalazio se na zapadnoj obali Rječine, a Trsat odnosno Sušak na istočnoj. Rijeka je bila pod Italijom, dok je Sušak bio pod Jugoslavijom i Senjskom biskupijom. U kontekstu rasprave o ovom svećeniku, usredotočujemo se isključivo na Sušak, koji se tek nakon Drugog svjetskog rata spojio s gradom Rijekom. U to vrijeme na Trsatu je postojala samo jedna župa.

Zatim je 1938. osnovana nova župa na Sušaku, a 1941. još jedna u Podvežici. Zahvaljujući dijelom upravo svećeniku Muchtinu, Viktor Burić dekretom od 13. siječnja 1938. podijelio je župu Trsat i osnovao župu Sušak sv. Ćirila i Metoda. Dana 6. prosinca 1941. osnovao je Župu sv. Terezije od Djeteta Isusa u Podvežici. Odabir upravo te titule, konkretno svete Terezije iz Lisieuxa 1873-1897., bila je Muchtinova odluka jer je bila bliska njegovoj duhovnosti, koju je karakterizirala poniznost. Glede pastoralne razdiobe, recimo i to da se u istočnom dijelu današnje Rijeke nova župa uspostavlja mnogo godina

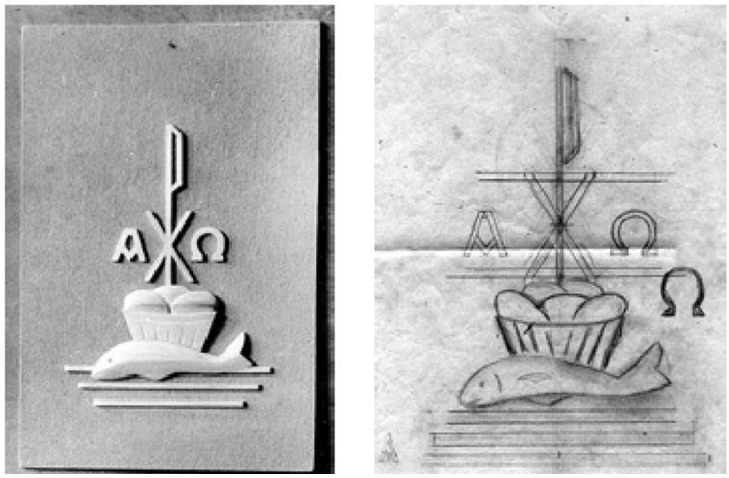
Slika 1: *Oltar crkve sv. Terezije od Djeteta Isusa.*

nakon toga – tek 28. siječnja 1963. osnovana je župa Svete Obitelji na Pećinama.[6]

Muchtin i crkva sv. Terezije od Djeteta Isusa na Podvežici

Adam Muchtin bio je ključna osoba za izgradnju crkve u Podvežici. Bio je odgovoran ne samo za organizaciju gradnje već kasnije i za opremanje crkve. Odbor za izgradnju crkve osnovan je 4. kolovoza 1938. Prema nacrtu zagrebačkog arhitekta Velimira Jamnickog, crkva ima glavne karakteristike ranokršćanske bazilike, a planovi su prilagođeni terenu i okolici. Na drugom sastanku odbora, Muchtin je predložio da se crkva posveti svetoj Tereziji od Djeteta Isusa (Lisieux u Francuskoj), što je jednoglasno prihvaćeno. Bila je to prva crkva u Hrvatskoj posvećena toj svetici.

[6] ŠARIĆ, Ivan: Crtice iz života mons. Adama Muchtina. *Riječki teološki časopis* vol. XXVII, br. 54 (2019), str. 177-178.



Slika 2: *Reljef na vratima svetohraništa i skica za reljef za vratašca svetohraništa.*

Slika 3: *Dijelovi Križnog puta iz 1942., nekoć na Podvežici, danas na otoku Krku (Majka Božja Goričk*a).

Građevinska dozvola izdana je 4. siječnja 1940. Kamen temeljac blagoslovio je vlč. Adam Muchtin. Dekretom od 10. prosinca 1940. Adam Muchtin imenovan je upraviteljem novoizgrađene crkve svete Terezije od Djeteta Isusa. Gradnja je konačno dovršena 26. rujna 1942. Crkvu je još trebalo opremiti, dovršiti zvonik, pokriti trijem, izgraditi ogradni zid i urediti prostor ispred crkve. Oltar je donesen iz bolničke kapele, zajedno s dvije kazule, monstrancom, šest svijećnjaka, velom i ormarom za sakristiju. Kasnije će župa biti obogaćena skromnim namještajem iz kapele sušačke gimnazije, kapele iz lazareta u Martinšćici i dijelova inventara iz kapele Banovinske bolnice. Od 13. srpnja 1941. vlč. Adam Muchtin postao je i upraviteljem trsatske župe sv. Jurja, kojoj je pripadala i Vežica. Senjski biskup prihvatio je prijedlog te je 6. prosinca 1941. osnovana župa Podvežica. Dana 31. prosinca 1941. Adam Muchtin

imenovan je župnikom novoosnovane Župe svete Terezije od Djeteta Isusa.

Muchtin je započeo duhovni rad i pastoralnu skrb za stanovnike Vežice. Vlč. Adam ulagao je mnogo truda i ljubavi u naviještanje Krista. Imao je svoj vlastiti put – može se reći da je poučavao više primjerom nego riječima. Postavio je bočne oltare posvećene Blaženoj Djevici Mariji i svetom Josipu, a njihove je slike sam oslikao. Preko slikara Carmina Butkovića – Visintina obogatio je svetište prekrasnim muralom Svete Terezije od Djeteta Isusa u nebeskoj slavi.[7]

Postavio je krstionicu i harmonij, a svake godine tijekom božićnog razdoblja radio je jaslice koje su mnogi cijenili i posjećivali, čak i iz udaljenih mjesta. Od samoga početka djelovanja crkve svete Terezije od Djeteta Isusa posebna se pažnja posvećivala liturgijskom pjevanju. Muchtinova majka pridonijela je troškovima orgulja prodajom obiteljske kuće.

Duhovna ostavština mons. Muchtina daleko nadilazi njegovu ulogu župnika, izgradnju crkve sv. Terezije od Djeteta Isusa u Podvežici i obnovu Crkve sv. Jurja na Trsatu.

Muchtin je bio i slikar. Za župnu crkvu u Podvežici naslikao je slike Blažene Djevice Marije, sv. Josipa, oltarnu sliku sv. Terezije i prikaz sv. Terezije kao sakristanke. Za crkvu u Bakarcu naslikao je oltarne slike Svete Obitelji i sv. Terezije od Djeteta Isusa.

U svetištu Gospe Goričke na otoku Krku nalazi se četrnaest postaja Križnog puta koje je naslikao Muchtin u svom prepoznatljivom stilu. Sačuvan je i znatan broj njegovih skica, nacrta i nekoliko manjih umjetničkih djela.

Muchtin je bio i prevoditelj. Sa slovačkog je preveo djelo Andreja Klimana *Krist i moderni čovjek* te nekoliko edukativnih i

Slika 4: *Crtež Muchtinove majke.*

duhovnih članaka. S talijanskoga je preveo djelo *Život svete Lujze de Marillac* Angela Troisija, vjerojatno za Sestre milosrdnice s kojima je radio u Banovinskoj bolnici na Sušaku. Sa slovenskog je preveo dio studije *Crkvena umjetnost* Franca Stelea.

Također je preveo dramu *Žrtva pečata ispovijedi* Josepha Spillmanna za Križarsko bratstvo na Sušaku. Drugi prijevodi s raznih stranih jezika bili su povezani s njegovom ulogom predavača crkvene umjetnosti na Visokoj bogoslovnoj školi u Rijeci.

Za svoja predavanja o crkvenoj umjetnosti, koja je održavao od 1948. do 1955. na Visokoj teološkoj školi u Rijeci, napisao je nekoliko rukopisa predavanja, od kojih je jedan objavljen. Među njima su bili *Likovna kritika*, *Kamen, drvo, metali i boje*, *Povijest kršćanske umjetnosti* i *Crkveni namještaj* – potonje je objavilo Bogoslovsko sjemenište 1949. i jedino je sačuvano u njegovoj ostavštini.

Iako nije imao formalno obrazovanje u umjetnosti, Muchtinov interes za umjetnost može se pratiti u nekoliko faza. Prva je njegovo teorijsko istraživanje povijesti umjetnosti, likovne kritike kroz proučavanje forme i ideje u umjetnosti te svrhe umjetnosti, osobito u kontekstu sakralne umjetnosti i njezine

[7] Vidi Sliku 1.

Slika 5: *Crkva na Podvežici u izgradnji.*

primjenjivosti. Muchtin je pisao bilješke s predavanja o tim temama za nastavu na Teološkom učilištu u Rijeci.[8]

Drugi aspekt njegova interesa za umjetnost jest praktičan rad, vidljiv u obliku skica, crteža, slika i arhitekture crkve u Podvežici, kao i u dizajnu sakralnih predmeta koji se u njoj nalaze.

Muchtin je surađivao sa slikarom Carmineom Butcovichom Visintinom, koji je 1942. godine naslikao fresku sv. Terezije u slavi u apsidi crkve. Ovaj slikar uvelike je utjecao na kvalitetu Muchtinovih slika. Najveće je i najsloženije Muchtinovo postignuće pod crkve, s popločanim kamenjem koje stvara vrlo sugestivnu igru simbola i oblika. Kao župnik, Adam Muchtin neprestano je obogaćivao crkvu svojim trudom, liturgijskim priborom i slikama te je postao nadaleko poznat po kompozicijama božićnih jaslica.

Među svećenstvom, Adam Muchtin bio je najproduktivniji u umjetničkom smislu i oblikovanju sakralnih prostora. Svoju umjetnost prakticirao je ne samo u Rijeci već i u široj okolici. Često su ga konzultirale razne biskupije.[9]

Također je napisao i uredio dvije župne kronike za župu Podvežica, kroniku o izgradnji crkve sv. Terezije od Djeteta Isusa i dvije kronike za Župu sv. Jurja na Trsatu.

Bavio se i novinarstvom, objavljujući članke – uglavnom povijesne – u mjesečniku nadbiskupije *Zvona*, a ranije, u mladosti, u tjedniku *Istina*. Adam Muchtin bio je i strastveni fotograf i kolekcionar.

Preminuo je 21. kolovoza 1994. godine. Prvo je pokopan na trsatskom groblju, a kasnije su mu posmrtni ostaci premješteni u župnu crkvu u Podvežici.

Zaključak

Veličina Adama Muchtina ne leži prvenstveno u onome što je postigao tijekom života, već u načinu na koji je djelovao. Bio je skroman i jednostavan čovjek, daleko od centara moći i blizak običnom čovjeku. Vjerujem da je to razlog zašto je uspomena na njega još uvijek živa na Vežici, a župnik Ivan Šarić, koji je vodio župu do prije nekoliko godina, prepoznao je njegovu vrijednost, uvjeren da postoje čak i elementi svetosti.

Poštovao je slobodu drugih i raznolikost stavova i mišljenja. Volio je Crkvu sinovskom odanošću. Na svakoj razini crkvenog života – biskupijskoj, nacionalnoj ili globalnoj – nastojao je ostati informiran. Čitao je, proučavao i posebno pomno pratio koncilska zbivanja. Djelovao je i usklađivao svoje stavove prema smjernicama Crkve. Bio je otvoren za sve što je bilo novo.

U području vjerskog i crkvenog života to su bile noviteti Drugog vatikanskog koncila i izazovi poslanja Crkve u teškom društvenom kontekstu. Ipak, uspio je svjedočiti poniznost, jednostavnost i bliskost s ljudima. To se i danas pamti na Sušaku.

Njegov život i djelo ostali su relativno nepoznati neko vrijeme, sve dok 2015. nije organiziran znanstveni skup posvećen njegovu životu i doprinosu, uz sudjelovanje Župe, nadbiskupije i Matice slovačke.

Umjetnik malog puta – tim je riječima Ivan Šarić opisao Muchtinovu vrlinu poniznosti. Muchtin je svojim idealom vidio nikoga drugog nego svetu Terezu od Djeteta Isusa (Tereziju iz Lisieuxa), sveticu Malog puta.[10]

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8 KARLOVIĆ, Tihana: Umjetnički talent msgr. Adama Muchtina. *Riječki teološki časopis,* vol. XXVII, br. 54 (2019), str. 249-276.

9 DE CANZIANI, Theodor: Adam Muchtin – snoviđenje i realizacija crkve svete Terezije od Djeteta Isusa na Podvežici. *Riječki teološki časopis*, vol. XXVII, br. 54 (2019), str. 203-235.

10 ŠARIĆ, Ivan: Crtice iz života mons. Adama Muchtina, str. 181-184.

Juraj Janto*

Námorná doprava Československa a jej chorvátske kontexty

Pomorski promet Čehoslovačke i njegov hrvatski kontekst / Maritime transport of Czechoslovakia and its Croatian contexts

As a landlocked country, Czechoslovakia began building its maritime fleet in the mid-20th century, following brief attempts during the interwar period, in connection with its political alliance with communist China. It was organized within the Czechoslovak Maritime Shipping Company based in Prague. The state's own maritime transport developed more significantly from the second half of the 1960s. At that time, Czechoslovak Danube Shipping Company, based in Bratislava, began operating maritime vessels as the second company in the state. Today's Croatia also played an important role in the development of Czechoslovak maritime transport. Its maritime academies in Rijeka and elsewhere provided Slovaks and Czechs with education and training for officer positions during the Austro-Hungarian Empire and then in the interwar period. Czechoslovak ships were built and repaired in Rijeka and Pula. Finally, Rijeka was one of the most important ports for ships, and from the 1970s onwards, it was even the main port for Bratislava's Danube shipping. Croatia thus played a key role in the development of Czechoslovak maritime transport.

Keywords: Maritime Shipping, Czechoslovakia, Croatia, 20th century

Vnútrozemská krajina, akou bolo Československo, prevádzkovala v 20. storočí svoje vlastné námorné loďstvo. V širokej verejnosti ide o pomerne málo známu tému. V našom príspevku sa zameriavame na niektoré aspekty budovania a fungovania námornej flotily od jej počiatočných pokusov v medzivojnovom období až po zánik v 90. rokoch. Osobitne si všímame úlohu Chorvátska, časti bývalej Juhoslávie a jeho význam pre námornú dopravu vnútrozemského štátu. Zdrojmi pre vypracovanie štúdie boli publikované práce o problematike a novinové články. Doplnili sme ich etnografickým výskumom so slovenskými námorníkmi.[1]

Prehľad literatúry k problematike

Najkomplexnejším vedeckým spracovaním problematiky československej námornej plavby je kniha Lenky Krátkej *Domovský prístav Praha. Československá námořní plavba v letech 1948 až 1989*.[2] Sleduje námornú plavbu, ktorá sa realizovala pod československou vlajkou od krátkych pokusov v medzivojnovom období cez začiatky systematického budovania flotily v 50. rokoch, rozmach a vzostup v 60. a 70. rokoch až po jej postupný zánik v 90. rokoch 20. storočia. Okrem ekonomických aspektov sa autorka venuje širšiemu politickému i spoločenskému kontextu

* JURAJ JANTO, PhD, Katedra archeológie a kultúrnej antropológie, Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave (Slovenská republika).

1 Štúdia bola vypracovaná v rámci projektu VEGA 1/0778/25 *Osobná lodná doprava na Slovensku v 70. a 80. rokoch 20. storočia*.

2 KRÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský prístav Praha. Československá námořní plavba v letech 1948 až 1989.* Praha: Univerzita Karlova, Nakladatelství Karolinum, 2016.

tohto fenoménu a na základe rozhovorov s námorníkmi si všíma aj ich skúsenosti a zážitky z plavieb na lodiach. Práca sa sústreďuje na podnik Československá námorná doprava (ČNP) so sídlom v Prahe ako hlavnú spoločnosť, ktorá prevádzkovala námornú dopravu bývalého štátu (po roku 1993 to bola Česká námorná doprava). Ďalšou obsiahlejšou prácou je populárno-náučná kniha s odbornými postrehmi autora Zdeňka Bastla, bývalého ekonomického námestníka ČNP, *Století československé námořní plavby*.[3] Venuje sa prehľadu námorných lodí, chronologickému popisu udalostí v jednotlivých rokov s uvedením niekoľkých zaujímavostí a prináša tiež tabuľku s menami pracovníkom ČNP. Pomerne rozsiahla je produkcia memoárových kníh bývalých námorných kapitánov, palubných i strojných dôstojníkov, námorníkov, lekárov, kuchárov i stevardov. Patria sem aj spomienky slovenských námorníkov Michala Svoreňa,[4] prvého strojného dôstojníka a Pavla Machoviča.[5] Prehľad ďalších uvádza vo svojej práci Krátka.[6] Podľa nej tieto memoárové texty kladú dôraz na romantiku, dobrodružstvo i nostalgiu za stratou loďstva. Širší kontext, ktorý by mohol byť v rozpore s pozitívnym nádychom týchto kníh, v nich absentuje.[7]

Staršie publikácie vydané pred rokom 1989 prezentovali námornú dopravu štátu najmä prostredníctvom faktografických údajoch o lodiach a ich plavbách. Obrazová kniha Václava Švarca *Přes moře a oceány* z roku 1958[8] s fotografiami z plavby lode Republika I z poľskej Gdyne do čínskeho Kantonu, patrí medzi prvé takéto práce. Ďalšia jeho kniha[9] je predovšetkým textová a venuje sa v nej svetovým dejinám moreplavby. Obsahuje aj kapitolu venovanú Československu. Publikáciou, ktorá prináša faktografiu i spomienky, je *Atlas lodí* od Jaroslava Pacovského a Vladimíra Podlenu z roku 1984.[10] Tematiku československej námornej plavby spracovávali aj niektoré prozaické diela a dokumentárne filmy.[11]

K námornej plavbe, ktorú realizovala od roku 1965 aj Československá plavba dunajská (ČSPD, tiež Dunajplavba) so sídlom v Bratislave ako druhý podnik v štáte, je textov menej. V krátkej kapitole sa jej venuje vo svojej knihe Bastl. Viac informácii nájdeme v publikácii Juraja Bohunského a Karola Puhu *Dunajská flotila. História lodného parku od roku 1922*. V samostatnej kapitole[12] tu autori predstavujú 7 námorných lodí, ktoré spoločnosť prevádzkovala. Dôležitým zdrojom informácií o námornej doprave

[3] BASTL, Zdeněl: *Století československé námořní plavby*. Praha: Marek Prikryl – Mare-Czech, 2021.

[4] SVOREŇ, Michal: *Slaný chléb. Odysea socialistického námořníka.* Praha: Mare-Czech, 2013. V knihe vydanej v češtine opisuje špecifiká činnosti strojného oddelenia.

[5] MACHOVIČ, Pavel: *Spomienky obyčajného námorníka*. Trnava: Ivan Klestch, 2013. Autor v nej denníkovým spôsobom zaznamenáva svoje skúsenosti z plavby na lodi Kladno v roku 1963 (z poľskej Gdyne na Kubu) a na lodi Mír (do Číny) o rok neskôr.

[6] KRÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský prístav Praha*, str. 13–15.

[7] *Ibidem*, str. 13–16.

[8] ŠVARC, Václav: *Přes moře a oceány.* Praha: Naše vojsko, 1958.

[9] ŠVARC, Václav: *Na vlnách řek a oceánů. Vybrané kapitoly z dějin mořeplavby*. Praha: Albatros, 1984. Ide o rozšírené a prepracované vydanie. Pôvodné vydanie vyšlo v roku 1977.

[10] PACOVSKÝ, Jaroslav – PODLENA, Vladimír: *Atlas lodí. Československé námořní loďstvo.* Praha: Nakladatelství dopravy a spojů, 1984.

[11] Napr. FÁBRY, Rudolf: *Stará dobrá loď*. Bratislava: Slovenský spisovateľ, 1962. Prehľad ďalších pozri KRÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský prístav Praha*, str. 16–17.

[12] BOHUNSKÝ, Juraj – PUHA, Karol: *Dunajská flotila. História lodného parku od roku 1922*. Bratislava: Slovart, 2012, str. 227–46.

Dunajplavby je dobová tlač, predovšetkým podnikový časopis *Náš Dunaj*. Ďalšie informácie a postrehy môžeme získať aj z populárnych článkov, z rozhovorov a spomienok slovenských námorníkov.

Československo a námorná doprava

Hoci Československo vzniklo v roku 1918 ako vnútrozemský štát bez priameho prístupu k moru, boli dovtedy mnohí Slováci a Česi súčasťou posádok v rakúsko-uhorskom loďstve. Uvádza sa, že začiatkom 20. stor. tvorili asi 11% námorníctva monarchie (približne 6 tisíc mužov).[13] Za významného slovenského moreplavca z 18. storočia sa považuje už gróf Móric Beňovský z Vrbového, cestovateľ a dobrodruh, kráľ Madagaskaru.[14] Oficiálne prvým Slovákom, ktorý sa stal námorným kapitánom bol Július Thurzo (1882 – 1950), ktorý študoval v Rijeke (vtedajšom Fiume) a v roku 1906 tu zložil aj kapitánske skúšky.[15] Vo vojenskom loďstve monarchie sa plavil od roku 1912 aj torpédoborec s názvom Tatra. Slováci boli súčasťou aj známej vzbury počas 1. svetovej vojny vo februári 1918 v Kotorskej boke (vyše 12% vzbúrencov mali tvoriť práve Česi a Slováci popri dominujúcich Chorvátoch[16]), ktorá začala na pancierovom krížniku Sankt Georg. Slováci sa, samozrejme, dostali do kontaktu s morom nielen ako námorníci,[17] ale i ako cestovatelia na lodiach do ďalekého sveta najmä v období vysťahovalectva do zámoria. A mora sa „dotkli" napokon i ako pltníci, ktorí splavovali drevo a prevážali tovar po Dunaji i Visle takmer do Čierneho a Baltského mora.

Pre Československo (ČSR) ako jeden zo štátov, ktorý vznikol po rozpade Rakúsko-Uhorska, boli dôležité články Versaillskej mierovej zmluvy, ktoré zaručovali slobodnú plavbu v nemeckých prístavoch a na vnútrozemských vodných cestách Nemecka. Ďalej zaistili slobodnú medzinárodnú plavbu po riekach Labe, Odra a Dunaj. Československo tiež získalo prenájom prístavov v Hamburgu a Štetíne na 99 rokov.[18] Všetko toto vy-

[13] BASTL, Zdeněk: *Století československé námořní plavby.* Praha: Mare-Czech, 2021, str. 9. K údaju ale nie je uvedený zdroj.

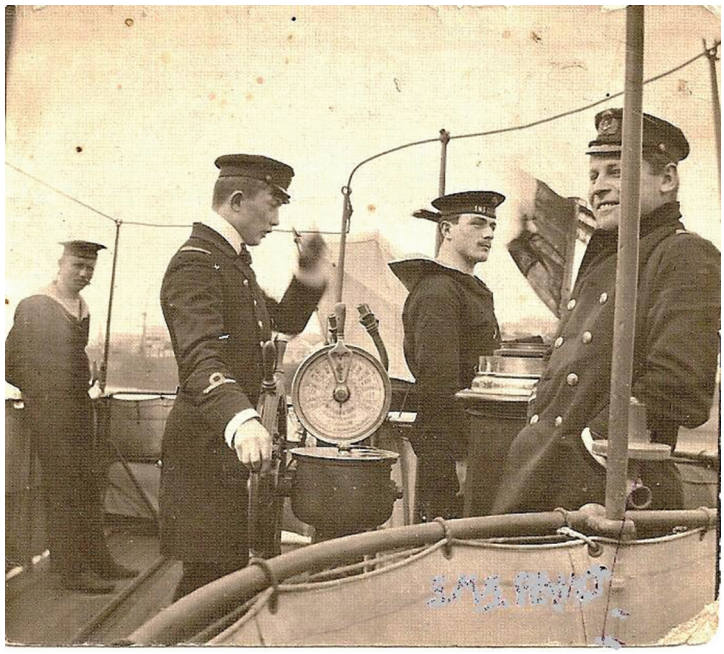
[14] V populárnych článkoch sa uvádza, že v r. 1241 keď uhorský kráľ Belo IV. ušiel pred tatárskym vojskom do Dalmácie, založil flotilu zloženú so siedmich trojveslíc a jej prvým kapitánom („admirálom") menoval Slováka Marínusa Blažovského z Blažoviec v Turci. (pozri napr. PACOVSKÝ, Jaroslav – PODLENA, Vladimír: *Atlas lodí,* str. 12). Kráľ ho povýšil do šľachtického stavu, pričom Blažovský prijal predikát gróf Černatošský. Ako ale uvádza Segeš, tento údaj nemá žiadnu oporu v prameňoch. Skutočný vznik uhorskej flotily môžeme klásť až do r. 1358, keď Ľudovít I. znovu získal Dalmátsko (až do roku 1420). SEGEŠ, Vladimír: Uhorské vojenstvo vo vrcholnom stredoveku so zreteľom na vládu Ľudovíta I. Veľkého. *Vojenská história*: *Časopis pre vojenskú históriu múzejníctvo a archívnictvo,* a. 24, nr. 1, 2020, str. 39.

[15] Po smrti vyšla kniha jeho spomienok, cestopisných čŕt. THURZO, Július: *Po svetových moriach*. Bratislava: Obzor, 1973.

[16] LENORMAND, Paul: Cattaro, Mutiny of. 1914–1918-online. *International Encyclopedia of the First World War,* 8. 10. 2014, prevzaté z https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/cattaro-mutiny-of/#toc_nationalisms_and_pan-slavism

[17] Len z obce Prakovce na Spiši narukovali až piati námorníci k rakúsko-uhorskému námorníctvu. Pozri PATEK, Artur: Spiš v rokoch 1849 – 1918: V predvečer prvej svetovej vojny. In: HOMZA, Martin – SROKA, Stanislaw A. (ed.): *Historia Scepusii*, vol. 2: *Dejiny Spiša od roku 1526 do roku 1918*. Bratislava – Kraków: Univerzita Komenského, 2016, str. 485.

[18] Mírová smlouva mezi mocnostmi spojenými i sdruženými a Německem. In: *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého,* částka 53, 22. 06. 1921, prevzaté z https://www.aspi.sk/products/lawText/1/2498/0/2/mirova-smlouva-c-217-1921-sb-mezi-mocnostmi-spojenymi-i-sdruzenymi-a-nemeckem-a-protokol-podepsane-ve-versailles-dne-28-cervna-1919/mirova-smlouva-c-217-1921-sb-mezi-mocnostmi-spojenymi-i-sdruzenymi-a-nemeckem-a-protokol-podepsane-ve-versailles-dne-28-cervna-1919.



Obr. 1–3: *Slovenskí námorníci z Prakoviec v Cisársko-kráľovskom námorníctve (K.u.K. Kriegsmarine). (Zdroj: archív Martin Homza)*

Obr. 4–5: *Pohľadnica z Dalmácie. (Zdroj: archív Martin Homza)*

tváralo predpoklady, aby aj nový vnútrozemský štát mal prístup k moru a mohol realizovať námornú dopravu. Napokon i Pakt Spoločnosti národov (23. bod, e) z roku 1919 umožňoval slobodu dopravy pre svojich členov[19] a podrobne ju určovala Barcelonská zmluva z 20. apríla 1921. Po ratifikácii zmluvy sa Praha stala registrovaným prístavom pre námorné lode nového štátu.

V námornom registri v Prahe bolo zapísaných počas medzivojnového obdobia 12 lodí šiestich spoločností. Najvýznamnejšia z nich bola loď Legie, ktorú vlastnila Legiobanka. Loď vyplávala na prvú plavbu z Vladivostoku do Terstu 24. augusta 1920, kde bola 28. októbra, v deň vzniku štátu, slávnostne premenovaná (pôvodne išlo o japonskú loď Taikai Maru).[20] Prevádzka lode však nemala dostatočné využitie a nebola zisková. Nakoniec ju v roku 1933 predali gréckemu dopravcovi a údajne bolo zničená Nemcami v priebehu druhej svetovej vojny.[21] Legiobanka sa neúspešne pokúšala aj o vytvorenie námornej spoločnosti.[22] V prvej polovici 30. rokov 20. storočia prevádzkovala dve námorné lode (Morava, Little Evy) aj firma Baťa. Aj tie však pre nerentabilnosť prevádzky nakoniec odpredali. Okrem týchto lodí sa ďalšie lode súkromných majiteľov, ktoré sa plavili pod čsl. vlajkou (napr. 5 lodí Ervina Spitzera a 2 lode Gerharda Weissa) venovali pašovaniu liehu do Fínska, v ktorom v tom čase (1919 – 1932) platila prohibícia.[23] Z dôvodu absentujúcej priamej kontroly i nedostatku skúseností kontrolných orgánov štátu, československú vlajku využívalo ešte ďalších 19 lodí, ktoré neboli zapísané v námornom registri štátu.[24]

Dôležité obdobie reálneho budovania československej námorného loďstva prišlo až v polovici 20. storočia. Impulzom k tomu bola spolupráca s komunistickou Čínskou ľudovou republikou (ČLR). Tá čelila totiž embargu a námornej blokáde západných krajín pod vedením USA, ktoré jej spôsobovali značné problémy. Čína sa snažila túto situáciu riešiť aj tým, že prevádzkovala svoje námorné lode pod vlajkou iných štátov. Jedných z nich bola aj ČSR, ktorá ako spriatelená socialistická krajina podpísala v júni roku 1953 s Čínou tajný *Protokol o rozvoji námornej dopravy*. Rokovania o vzájomnej spolupráci v oblasti námornej dopravy prebiehali už od roku 1950.[25] V súvislosti s rodiacou sa spoluprácou došlo aj k nákupu prvej námornej lode Republika v septembri 1951. Pôvodne išlo o anglický parník Michigan postavený v r. 1920, ktorý potom predali do Grécka a premenovali na Evanthi a v čase predaja sa plavil pod vlajkou Kostariky.[26] Po najnutnejších opravách vyplávala loď v máji 1952 z Poľska na svoju prvú cestu do Číny. Ale na spiatočnej ceste v dôsledku tajfúnu stroskotala a po peripetiách s jej opravami bola schopná znova sa plaviť až po takmer dvoch rokoch. V roku 1954 až 1958 ČSR formálne vlastnilo už 4 námorné lode, ktoré slúžili predovšetkým po-

[19] The Covenant of the League of Nations. In: *League of Nations-Official Journal*, feb 1920, prevzaté z https://libraryresources.unog.ch/ld.php?content_id=32971179.

[20] KRÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský prístav Praha*, str. 33.

[21] KRÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský prístav Praha*, str. 34.

[22] PACOVSKÝ, Jaroslav – PODLENA, Vladimír: *Atlas lodí*, str. 14.

[23] Príbeh z pašeráckej lode Dalibor z roku 1933 pozri v ŠVARC, Václav: *Na vlnách řek a oceánů*, str. 202.

[24] Čsl. vlajku v medzivojnovom období využívalo spolu celkom 31 lodí. KRÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský prístav Praha*, str. 239–40.

[25] KRÁTKA, Lenka: *Domovský prístav Praha*, str. 43.

[26] *Ibidem*, str. 46.

trebám Číny (Július Fučík, Lidice, Dukla, Mír I).[27] Na základe tajnej dohody medzi ČSR a ČLR bolo oficiálnym vlastníkom lodí Československo, ale reálnym čínska strana. ČSR pre lode zaisťovala potrebné administratívne, logistické a obchodné služby aj značnú časť posádok. Zároveň intenzívne využívala ich prepravnú kapacitu.[28] Lode sa využívali ako priama súčasť štátnej výroby a zahraničného obchodu ale aj na poskytovanie služieb pre záujemcov na trhu.[29] Námornú dopravu mala v socialistickom Československu na starosti spoločnosť Metrans, ktorá bola založená v roku 1948. Od roku 1952 túto agendu prevzal novozaložený podnik Čechofracht. Napokon v roku 1959 vznikla Československá námorná plavba (ČNP) s utajenou účasťou Číny. Oficiálne lode používali čsl. vlajku a ich domovským prístavom bola Praha.[30]

S uvoľnením embarga a prijatím Čínskej ľudovej republiky do OSN klesali dôvody pre spoluprácu a „krytie", ktoré Československo Číne poskytovalo. Ďalším dôvodom bolo zhoršenie vzťahov medzi Čínou a Sovietskym zväzom, ktoré sa prenieslo i na sovietskych spojencov. Napokon aj nové reformné ekonomické opatrenia v ČNP, ktoré mali zvýšiť efektívnosť podniku sa dostávali do rozporu s čínskym hospodárskym modelom. To všetko viedlo k vypovedaniu zmlúv (Protokolu o rozvoji námornej dopravy z roku 1953 a Dohody o zriadení Československej námornej plavby z roku 1959) a ukončeniu spolupráce s čínskou stranou na prelome rokov 1966/1967 (platnosť zmlúv vypršala v marci 1967).[31] Československá námorná doprava bola teda spočiatku budovaná v úzkej súvislosti s potrebami Číny. Tá pod československou vlajkou prevádzkovala 7 lodí. Pôvodne sa predpokladal väčší rozsah spolupráce, ale Čína využívala aj pomoc ďalších krajín, najmä Poľska a postupne sa uvoľňovalo aj na ňu uvalené embargo. Posádky na lodiach boli zmiešané.

Využívanie vlastných čsl. námorných lodí viedlo k ekonomickému profitu – úspore pri zaisťovaní prepravy pre štátne podniky i možnosť prenájmu lodí (za devízy) – i k politickým výhodám (doprava vojenského materiálu, ktorá bola i ekonomicky významná a nebezpečného nákladu). To viedlo k rozširovaniu podniku a spolu s ukončením spolupráce s Čínou k rozvoju vlastnej námornej dopravy.[32] Československo teda vybudovalo svoju námornú plavbu z politických dôvodov, jej následné využívanie sa ukázalo aj ako ekonomicky výhodné. Zaujímavá bola aj propagandistická možnosť prezentovať úspešnosť socialistického režimu pri budovaní vlastnej námornej flotily vnútrozemského štátu. Prevádzka lodí sledovala predovšetkým dopravné zabezpečenie čsl. zahraničného obchodu so zámorím a voľná prepravná kapacita sa využívala na komerčnú prepravu cudzieho tovaru.

V publikáciách sa uvádza, že v roku 1984 bola ČSSR s počtom aktívnych 14 námorných lodí na 65. mieste medzi štátmi, ktoré prevádzkovali námornú dopravu, z vnútrozemským štátov druhé, za Švajčiarskom.[33] Konštatovalo sa, že prevádzka lodí priniesla o 24% prostriedkov viac,

[27] *Ibidem*, str. 58.
[28] *Ibidem*, str. 70.
[29] *Ibidem*, str. 74.
[30] *Ibidem*, str. 75–77.
[31] *Ibidem*, str. 95–96.
[32] *Ibidem*, str. 232.
[33] PACOVSKÝ, Jaroslav – PODLENA, Vladimír: *Atlas lodí*, str. 9.

než bolo vložených do ich obstarania.[34] V roku 1990 bolo Československo na 74. mieste medzi štátmi s námornou dopravou pod vlastnou vlajkou a prvé medzi vnútrozemskými štátmi (pred Švajčiarskom a Rakúskom).[35] V 90. rokoch zmena politicko-ekonomickej situácie spôsobila, že Československá námorná plavba už – ako súkromná firma – nebola takým silným a konkurencieschopným podnikom, ako to bolo v prípade centrálne riadeného štátneho hospodárstva a námorná plavba nástupníckych štátov federácie – Slovenska a Česka, postupne zanikla.

Od roku 1965 začala svoju námornú plavbu prevádzkovať aj Československá plavba dunajská (ČSPD) – Dunajplavba so sídlom v Bratislave zakúpením prvej lode postavenej v budapeštianskych lodeniciach. Sprvu išlo o snahu spojiť vnútrozemské prístavy v Bratislave alebo Komárne s plavbou do Afriky a Ázie a využiť možnosť bezprekládkovej prepravy. Prvé lode Bojnice[36] a Lednice boli preto riečno-morské. Ukázalo sa však, že Dunaj nemá pre plavbu takýchto tovarom naložených lodí potrebnú hĺbku na všetkých svojich úsekoch. A na voľnom mori mala plavba týmito typmi plavidiel isté obmedzenia. Od plavby po Dunaji sa preto upustilo a ďalšie lode sa budovali vyslovene už ako morské. Mali už väčšiu tonáž a mohli sa dostať nanajvýš do dolnodunajských prístavov Braila a Galac. Išlo o lode Kremnica, Zvolen a Banská Bystrica. Po rozdelení federácie v roku 1993 podnik s novým názvom Slovenská plavba dunajská získal ako kompenzáciu podielu Slovenska na ČND loď Otava (neskôr Golden trader) a v roku 1995 ešte prikúpil loď Žilina (pôvodne Vltava). Ale vzhľadom na rastúcu nerentabilnosť prevádzky a zhoršujúce sa podmienky pre malé námorne podniky, spoločnosť napokon svoju námornú dopravu postupne utlmovala. V roku 1997

odpredala lode Kremnica a Zvolen a na jar 2002 aj posledné tri aktívne lode Banská Bystrica, Golden trader a Žilina. (Spoločnosť Česká námorná plavba odpredala svoje posledné lode už v roku 1998.) Námorná doprava, ktorá sa uskutočňovala v rámci spoločnosti Československa plavba dunajská (neskôr Slovenská plavba dunajská a následne Slovenská plavba a prístavy) teda trvala od roku 1965 do roku 2002.[37]

Pohnutý bol osud lode Lednice. Po nalodení posádky v Bratislavy a po naložení 500 ton oceľových plechov z Východoslovenských železiarní v Komárne sa vydala v januári 1967 na plavbu dolu Dunajom. Na dolnom Dunaji uviazla medzi ľadovými kryhami až kým ju nevyslobodili z ľadového zovretia rumunské a sovietske ľadoborce. Po technickej prehliadke v Konstanci pokračovala do Čierneho mora a odtiaľ cez Egejské a Stredozemné more do severnej Afriky. Suezským prieplavom vplávala do Červeného mora. V Saudskej Arábii vyložila náklad azbestocementových trúb a pokračovala v plavbe do Massavy v etiópskej Eritrei.[38] Pri návrate s nákladom surových hovädzích koží ju v júni 1967 počas šesťdňovej arabsko-izraelskej vojny zadržali v Suezskom prieplave. Vo Veľkom horkom jazere bola nútená

[34] *Ibidem*, str. 7.

[35] BASTL, Zdeněk: *Století československé námořní plavby*, str. 26.

[36] Loď Bojnice vyplávala na svoju prvú plavbu 4. januára 1966 z Komárna do egyptskej Alexandrie, potom do Bejrútu a naspäť do rumunských dolnodunajských prístavov. BOHUNSKÝ, Juraj – PUHA, Karol: *Dunajská flotila*, str. 228.

[37] *Ibidem*, str. 227–44.

[38] ŠVARC, Václav: *Na vlnách řek a oceánů*, str. 214.

zakotviť na 8 rokov (až do mája 1975), počas trvajúcej blokády prieplavu. Bola súčasťou tzv. Žltej flotily 15 lodí rôznych štátov, ktoré tu uviazli. Po uvoľnení ju odtiahli na opravu do chorvátskej Rijeky (dok Viktor Lenac). Po roku 1989 ju vyradili a odpredali, v roku 1994 bola po útoku tamilských povstalcov potopená na Srí Lanke.[39]

Chorvátsko a čsl. námorná doprava

Rakúsko-Uhorsko, ktorého súčasťou bolo do roku 1918 aj Slovensko (a Česko), bolo krajinou, ktorá mala prístup k moru a teda mohla budovať aj svoje námorné loďstvo. Priamy prístup k Jadranskému moru mala monarchia z územia dnešného Chorvátska, Slovinska, Čiernej Hory a Talianska. V pobrežných mestách boli prístavy i námorné školstvo. Námorní dôstojníci sa vzdelávali v Pule, Rijeke, Bakare a Dubrovníku (v súčasnom Chorvátsku), ale i v Kotore (Čierna Hora) a Koperi (Slovinsko). V Rijeke (vtedajšom Fiume) študoval aj prvý slovenský kapitán Július Thurzo. Slováci a Česi navštevovali školy v Juhoslávii aj po rozpade monarchie, počas medzivojnovej Československej republiky (až do roku 1940).[40] Po druhej svetovej vojne to už boli predovšetkým školy v sovietskej Odese a v poľskej Gdyni.[41] Ostatní členovia posádky – nedôstojníci, boli absolventami zväčša odborných učňovských škôl v Děčíne alebo v Bratislave. V chorvátskych lodeniciach – v Pule a Rijeke, sa pre československú námornú flotilu budovali aj lode. V rokoch 1958 až 1989 tu vyrobili spolu 8 námorných lodí, ktoré Československá námorná doprava využívala (z dovedna 44). Konkrétne išlo o 2 lode postavené v Pule Mír I (v prevádzke od 1958 do 1967), Ostrava (1959 – 1965) a 6 lodí z Rijeky: Orlík II (1980 – 1996), Slapy (1981 – 1998), Lipno (1981 – 1998), Orava II (1981 – 1997), Vítkovice II (1989 – 1997) a Košice II. (1989 – 1997). Väčšinou išlo o lode pre prepravu kusového nákladu (kategória G), dve lode (Vítkovice II a Košice II) slúžili na prepravu hromadných substrátov – rúd, hnojív, obilia (kategória B) a jedna loď (Ostrava) bola tanková na prepravu ropy z Čierneho mora do Číny.[42]

Hoci najčastejšími prístavmi, ktoré ČND využívala, boli po roku 1945 poľské mestá Štetín a Gdynia, československé námorné lode neraz skončili alebo i začali svoju plavbu v juhoslovanských (chorvátskych) prístavoch, predovšetkým v Rijeke. Napríklad loď Košice 1 na svojej plavbe okolo sveta v roku 1965 (vôbec ako prvá loď Československa) pod vedením kapitána Jakuba Freya (absolventa školy v Bakare) vyplávala zo Štetína a skončila v Rijeke. Z Rijeky do Šanghaja vyplávala aj loď Orlík (na ktorej bol vtedy palubný kadet, Milan Handlovič zo Sečoviec[43]); často tu kotvila aj loď Jiskra a tiež ďalšie plavidlá. Rijeka bola pokladaná už v polovici 60. rokov

[39] BOHUNSKÝ, Juraj – PUHA, Karol: *Dunajská flotila*, str. 234–35.

[40] BASTL, Zdeněk: *Století československé námořní plavby*, str. 234–35.

[41] Československí námorní dôstojníci navštevovali po druhej svetovej vojne aj školy v sovietskej Klaipede (Litva) a Kaliningrade (Rusko), poľskom Štetíne a bulharskej Varne. V r. 1950 – 1989 tieto školy absolvovalo 112 námorných kapitánov v ČNP. BASTL, Zdeněk: *Století československé námořní plavby*, str. 235–38. Pre dôstojnícke funkcie sa vyžadovalo VŠ vzdelanie – námorná akadémia v zahraničí. Palubné mužstvo sa vyučilo najprv v Československej plavbe labsko-odereskej / dunajskej a potom absolvovalo prax na námornej lodi.

[42] BASTL, Zdeněk: *Století československé námořní plavby*, str. 51–66.

[43] Pozdrav z vlasti. *Náš Dunaj,* a. 18, nr. 12, (1966), str. 4, 22. 4. 1966. Neskôr sa stal námorným kapitán a niekoľkokrát oboplával zemeguľu.

20 stor. za najväčší „československý" morský prístav.[44] Vyše tretinu prekladu tu tvorili práve tovary z Československa (2 mil ton/ročne).[45]

Aj lode prevádzkované Dunajplavbou po prvotných experimentoch s riečno-morskou dopravou po Dunaji cez rumunské prístavy, sa neskoršie viac orientovali na Juhosláviu. Využívali hlavne prístav v chorvátskej Rijeke, príp. v slovinskom Koperi. Tieto lode slúžili najmä v Stredomorí, na Blízkom a Strednom Východe.

Námorník Pavel Malachovič sa v roku 1964 plavil na lodi Mír (z poľskej Gdyne do Číny), ktorá sa na spiatočnej ceste do rumunskej Konstance zastavila v Rijeke. Na mesto si spomína vo svojom denníku takto:

> *„1. 9. 1964 Von sme sa dostali hneď v prvý večer. Pochodili sme trochu po meste, ale nikam sme si ani nesadli, lebo sme ešte nemali juhoslovanské dináre. Mesto je pekné a veľmi nové, ale ešte v krajšej krajine... Počasie je tu stále pekné, teplé, takže je ešte ohromné kúpanie v plavom Jadrane. Je tu nádherná pláž, asi desať km od Rijeky, známa ako Opatija. Najviac však sa mi páčila príroda, ktorá je tu veľmi zaujímavá. Chodil som v údoliach, kde boli pekné lúky. Bol som na jednom starom hrade, ktorý sa týči na jednom z mnohých kopcov nad mestom. Zo všetkého je najkrajšie hlboké údolie skoro vyschnutej rieky, plnej hladkých kameňov a balvanov...*
> *V meste sa hrajú pekné americké filmy, väčšinou kovbojky. V meste je dostať kúpiť všetko (nie však ešte ako v západných štátoch) a všetko je dosť drahé, hlavne priemyselné veci. Ešte drahšie je pobavenie v lepších podnikoch.*
> *O Juhoslávii sa hovorí, že sú tu charakterní ľudia a myslím, že je to pravda. Nás Slovákov a Čechov majú veľmi radi. I rozumieť im je najľahšie, tak asi ako Poliakom.*
> *Rjeka je turistické mesto a preto je tu veľa cudzincov, hlavne na autách. Sú tu tiež dobré cesty.*
> *10. 9. 1964 Ešte sme stále v Rjeke a budeme tu ešte aspoň týždeň. Chodím občas do kina. Najviac však chodím peši po meste a okolí a i po horách. Páči sa mi tu čím ďalej, tým viac. Len keby bolo viac peňazí... Večer tu býva korzo kde sa prechádza veľa peknych dievčat, ale neprístupných, pravý opak Poľska. Najzaujímavejšie je, že sa tu nešmelinuje ako inde (v Poľsku či v Rumunsku)... Tu je také podnebie, že tu rastú i figy a sem tam i menšie citróny. Tých fíg je tu všade a my sme sa ich už prejedli."*[46]

Jeden z našich respondentov[47] si tiež spomína na Rijeku. Najprv pracoval ako strojník na lodi v Dunajplavbe a koncom 70. rokov pôsobil v námornej doprave podniku. Po prevzatí telegramu s rozkazom nastúpil v Bratislave na cestu do Rijeky železnicou, ktorá trvala takmer dva dni. V prístave sa nalodil a s loďou absolvovali trasu, najčastejšie v Stredozemnom mori, pri ktorej vyložili a naložili náklad, ktorý viezli. Trvala obyčajne jeden mesiac. Po návrate do Rijeky sa čakalo na plavbu s ďalším nákladom. Takto absolvoval niekoľko ciest po mori v šesťmesačnom cykle, po ktorého odslúžení sa vrátil domov. Po nejakom čase oddychu dostal rozkaz na službu v ďalšom cykle. Čas medzi vyplávaniami poskytoval námorníkom priestor pre návštevy prístavného mesta. Spolu s ostatnými kolegami nadväzovali v miestnych krčmách kamarátstva s Chorvátmi

[44] Mikrobusom 2000 km po Juhoslávii. *Náš Dunaj*, a. 18, nr. 17 (1966), str. 2, 10. 6. 1966.
[45] Mikrobusom 2000 km po Juhoslávii. *Náš Dunaj*, a. 18, nr. 18 (1966), str. 2, 21. 6. 1966.
[46] MACHOVIČ, Pavel: *Spomienky obyčajného námorníka*, str. 51-52.
[47] Respondent je anonymizovaný. Rozhovor sa uskutočnil 11. marca 2025.

a spoznávali tu aj námorníkov z iných krajín. Srbochorvátčinu používali ako akési „námornícke esperanto“. Spomína si aj návštevy letného hudobného festivalu v neďalekej Opatiji a chorvátskych spevákov, ktorí tu vystupovali – Miša Kováča a Teréziu Kesoviju.

Záver

Námorná doprava Československa bola krátkou ale dôležitou etapou dejín spoločného štátu, o ktorej sa málo vie. Slováci a Česi mali skúsenosti zo služby v námornom loďstve v Rakúsko-uhorskej monarchii už pred rokom 1918. Prevádzkovať dopravu po mori pod vlajkou Československa a ďalších vnútrozemských štátov umožnili povojnové dohody. Prístup k moru a prístavom (v Hamburgu a Štetíne) pre Československo zase Versaillská mierová zmluva. V medzivojnovom období bolo z 12 lodí zapísaných v námornom registri štátu najvýznamnejšia loď Legie, ktorú vlastnila Legiobanka a dve lode firmy Baťa. Po krátkom pôsobení však boli pre svoju nerentabilnosť odpredané. Reálne sa československé námorné loďstvo začalo budovať až od polovice 20. storočia. Počiatočné motívy boli politické a súviseli so spoluprácou s komunistickou Čínou, ktorá využívala pre svoju námornú dopravu (aj) vlajku Československa a (oficiálne) jeho lode. V roku 1959 vznikla Československá námorná plavba v Prahe, ktorá prevzala zabezpečovanie námornej dopravy štátu od predchádzajúcich organizácií. Postupne Československo objavovalo ekonomické výhody vlastnej námornej dopravy a po ukončení spolupráce s Čínou prevádzkovalo svoje lode už plne vo vlastnej réžii. Od roku 1965 začala s prevádzkou námorných lodí aj Československá plavba dunajská so sídlom v Bratislave ako druhá spoločnosť v štáte. V 70. a 80. rokoch zaznamenáva námorná doprava štátu svoj vrchol. V 90. rokoch v nových ekonomických podmienkach privatizované pôvodné štátne spoločnosti nedokázali konkurovať globálnym spoločnostiam a námorné lode prevádzkované v Slovenskej (a Českej) republike boli napokon odpredané.

V rozvoji československej námornej dopravy hralo dôležitú úlohu aj dnešné Chorvátsko. Jeho námorné akadémie v Rijeke a inde poskytovali pre Slovákov a Čechov vzdelanie a výcvik pre dôstojnícke pozície už počas Rakúsko-Uhorskej monarchie a potom v medzivojnovom období. V Rijeke a Pule sa vybudovalo spolu 8 námorných lodí (takmer 20% zo všetkých) pre Československo a chorvátskych lodeniciach sa mnohé československé lode aj opravovali. A napokon Rijeka predstavovala pre lode jeden z najdôležitejších prístavov, pre bratislavskú Dunajplavbu od 70. rokov dokonca hlavný prístav. Úloha Chorvátska bola tak pre rozvoj československej námornej dopravy kľúčová.

Recenzije i novosti

Recenzie a správy

Jahrbuch für Europäische Ethnologie 2023. Freiheit. Fremdbestimmung und Selbstbestimmung: Die Gestaltung von Lebensstilen und Lebensformen, Heidrun Alzheimer, Sabine Doering-Manteuffel, Daniel Drascek i Angela Treiber (ur.), Paderborn: Brill Schöningh, 2025.

Zbornik *Jahrbuch für Europäische Ethnologie 2023.* geografski je usmjeren na Slovačku, dok su tematska težišta posvećena pitanjima optimizacije čovjeka, slobode, samoodređenja i društvene regulacije u oblikovanju životnih stilova i oblika života. Izdanje okuplja interdisciplinarne radove iz područja etnologije, kulturne antropologije, sociologije i kulturnih studija koji se bave odnosom između autonomije, identiteta, medicine, društvenih normi i institucija. Većina članaka povezana je zajedničkim interesom za pitanje na koji način pojedinci pregovaraju vlastito samoodređenje unutar društvenih, medicinskih i političkih struktura moći. Posebna pažnja posvećena je relacijskoj autonomiji, društvenoj participaciji i svakodnevnim praksama kroz koje se oblikuju suvremeni identiteti.

U uvodnom tekstu Daniel Drascek predstavlja razvoj slovačke etnologije od tradicije srednjoeuropske Volkskunde do suvremenih interdisciplinarnih istraživanja svakodnevice, identiteta i društvenih procesa nakon političkih promjena 1989. godine. Urednik pritom izdvaja glavne tematske cjeline zbornika: istraživanja slovačke etnologije, rasprave o (samo)optimizaciji čovjeka te studije o slobodi, samoodređenju i oblikovanju životnih stilova.

Članak „Aktuelles zur Ethnologie in der Slowakei. Themen, Methoden und Forschungsgebiete nach dem Wendejahr 1989“ autorica Gabriele Kiliánove i Kataríne Popelkove analizira razvoj slovačke etnologije nakon političkih promjena 1989. godine. Povijesno-analitičkim i interdisciplinarnim pristupom, autorice prikazuju kako je disciplina od proučavanja ruralne kulture i tradicijskog života postupno prešla prema interdisciplinarnoj analizi suvremenih društvenih i kulturnih procesa. Posebna pažnja posvećena je novim istraživačkim temama poput kulturne baštine, identiteta, etničkih manjina, religije, migracija i teorija zavjere. Autorice zaključuju da je slovačka etnologija nakon pada komunističkog režima doživjela značajan teorijski i metodološki zaokret.

U članku „National Museums and Nation-building Strategies in Slovakia” Adam Hudek analizira ulogu muzeja u procesu izgradnje nacionalnog identiteta u Slovačkoj od 19. stoljeća do danas. Autor pokazuje kako su muzeji u različitim političkim razdobljima služili kao instrumenti oblikovanja nacionalnih narativa i kolektivnog pamćenja, s posebnim fokusom na razvoj Slovačkog narodnog muzeja. Posebna pažnja posvećena je ideološkim utjecajima na muzejske interpretacije povijesti tijekom socijalizma te suvremenim pokušajima pluralnijeg i kritičkijeg prikaza prošlosti.

Tematski se nastavljajući na prethodni, članak „Die Urbanisierung der Slowakei und ethnologische Untersuchungen“ Juraja Janta analizira proces urbanizacije Slovačke tijekom razdoblja socijalističkog režima nakon 1948. godi-

ne. Autor pokazuje kako su industrijalizacija, planska izgradnja gradova i masovna stambena naselja transformirali Slovačku iz pretežno ruralnog u urbano i industrijsko društvo. Posebna pažnja posvećena je socijalističkim urbanističkim projektima i promjenama svakodnevice, pri čemu se grad Nová Dubnica izdvaja kao primjer planske socijalističke urbanizacije. U završnom dijelu članka naglašena je važnost pojedinačnih kazivanja, kolektivnog pamćenja i biografskih metoda u istraživanjima svakodnevice socijalizma.

„Avion – Geschichte und Geschichten" Ľubice Voľanske analizira povijest funkcionalističke stambene zgrade Avion u Bratislavi kroz perspektivu njezinih stanovnika i njihovih životnih priča. Autorica istražuje kako su političke i društvene promjene 20. stoljeća oblikovale svakodnevni život, kolektivno pamćenje i identitet stanara, pri čemu posebnu pažnju posvećuje zajednici stanovnika i simboličkoj vrijednosti stanovanja u Avionu. Članak se temelji na intervjuima i etnografskom istraživanju provedenom između 2020. i 2023. godine, uz refleksiju vlastite pozicije istraživačice i bivše stanovnice zgrade zastupljenu autoetnografskim pristupom.

Članak „Research on the Everyday Life of Employees of Industrial Enterprises in the Period of Real Socialism" analizira svakodnevni život zaposlenika industrijskih poduzeća u socijalističkoj Čehoslovačkoj, s posebnim fokusom na rudarsko poduzeće Rudné bane u Banskoj Štiavnici. Autorica istražuje radne uvjete, društvenu mobilnost, privatni život i ideološke mehanizme socijalističkog sustava kroz iskustva rudara i industrijskih radnika između 1948. i 1989. godine. Posebna pažnja posvećena je simbolima rudarske profesije, ulozi sindikata i organizaciji slobodnog vremena, a istraživanje se temelji na polustrukturiranim intervjuima, arhivskom radu i muzeološkoj dokumentaciji materijalne kulture socijalizma.

Tekst koji se odnosi na isto razdoblje, „Das Ablegen der Tracht in der Slowakei. Veränderungen der Frauenbekleidung in der Zeit des Sozialismus" autorice Marte Botikove, analizira proces postupnog napuštanja tradicijske ženske nošnje u Slovačkoj tijekom socijalističkog razdoblja od 1948. do 1989. godine. Autorica pokazuje kako su urbanizacija, industrijalizacija, zapošljavanje žena i zapadni modni utjecaji transformirali odjevnu kulturu ruralnih zajednica. Posebna pažnja posvećena je odnosu između mode, identiteta i društvenih promjena te regionalnim razlikama u očuvanju tradicijske nošnje. Članak kombinira povijesno-komparativni pristup, etnografska istraživanja i vizualne izvore.

Religijski tematski blok zbornika započinje tekstom „Cooperating Toward a Common Good. A Case from Rural Slovakia, Village of Nová Bošáca" autora Michala Uhrina, koji analizira proces izgradnje rimokatoličke crkve svetih Ćirila i Metoda u slovačkom selu Nová Bošáca tijekom socijalističkog razdoblja. Autor istražuje kako su religija, dobrovoljni rad i kolektivna suradnja pridonijeli stvaranju crkve kao zajedničkog dobra ruralne zajednice. Posebna pažnja posvećena je ulozi religije u jačanju društvene kohezije i lokalnog identiteta, a rad se temelji na etnografskom istraživanju, intervjuima i lokalnim povijesnim izvorima.

Članak „From Language to Language, Country to Country" autora Jozefa Tancera analizira jezičnu biografiju slovačko-argentinske židovske umjetnice Erike Blumgrund kroz perspektivu višejezičnosti, migracije i identiteta. Autor istražuje uporabu jezika tijekom života obilježenog multikulturnom Bra-

tislavom, Holokaustom i emigracijom u Argentinu, s posebnim naglaskom na jezični pluralizam i emocionalnu dimenziju jezika. Istraživanje se temelji na kvalitativnim intervjuima, osobnim dokumentima, pjesmama i vizualnim materijalima te pokazuje kako višejezičnost oblikuje složene transnacionalne identitete.

„Two Examples of Alternative Spiritual Practices in Slovakia" analizira suvremene oblike alternativne duhovnosti u Slovačkoj kroz primjere ženskih spiritualnih krugova i neošamanskih zajednica. Autorice Tatiana Bužekova i Danijela Jerotijević istražuju povezanost duhovnih praksi, holističkog liječenja i emocionalnog blagostanja u postsocijalističkom društvu, s posebnim naglaskom na pitanja roda, identiteta i zajedništva. Na temelju etnografskog istraživanja analiziraju rituale, meditacije i oblike emocionalne podrške unutar tih zajednica te pokazuju kako alternativna duhovnost predstavlja važan oblik traženja smisla, osobne transformacije i društvene povezanosti u suvremenoj Slovačkoj.

Autorice Natália Slivkova i Zuzana Panczova u radu „Erforschung von Verschwörungstheorien in der Slowakei: Aus der Perspektive der Ethnologie und Sozialanthropologie" analiziraju teorije zavjere u Slovačkoj iz perspektive etnologije, socijalne i kognitivne antropologije. Autorice istražuju povijesni razvoj zavjereničkog mišljenja, suvremene antivakserske pokrete i internetske zajednice te društvene i psihološke mehanizme širenja teorija zavjere. Na temelju interdisciplinarne metodologije, koja uključuje diskurzivnu analizu, dubinske intervjue i digitalnu etnografiju, članak pokazuje povezanost teorija zavjere s društvenim krizama, osjećajem nesigurnosti i obrascima interpretacije stvarnosti.

Članak „Corona Does Not Exist! Humour as a Communication Strategy in Times of Crisis" analizira humor kao strategiju komunikacije i suočavanja s krizom među PCR timovima tijekom pandemije COVID-19 u Slovačkoj. Autorice Helena Tužinska i Viktória Kállayova analiziraju kako je humor služio kao strategija komunikacije, emocionalnog preživljavanja i socijalne prilagodbe u kriznim okolnostima. Humor se pritom interpretira kao mehanizam emocionalnog preživljavanja, simboličkog otpora i održavanja društvenih odnosa u kriznim okolnostima.

Kulturna i društvena povijest sindroma kroničnog umora (ME/CFS) analizirane su u članku „The Cultural History of ME/CFS" autorice Barbare Wittmann, kao i načine na koje je ta bolest bila interpretirana unutar medicine i javnog diskursa. Autorica pokazuje kako su društvene predodžbe o radu, produktivnosti i psihosomatskim bolestima dovele do marginalizacije oboljelih, čiji su simptomi često bili smatrani psihološkim problemom. Posebna pažnja posvećena je pojmu „Yuppie Flu" i promjenama u percepciji bolesti nakon pandemije COVID-19 i pojave Long Covida. Članak se temelji na interdisciplinarnom pristupu koji kombinira kulturnu povijest medicine, analizu medicinskog diskursa i medijskih reprezentacija bolesti.

Tekst „Zwischen Leistungsdruck und ‚Selbstoptimierung'? Soziale Praktiken bei der Einnahme von Neuro-Enhancern – ein studentisches Fallbeispiel" autorice Carolin Pfeuffer analizira uporabu sredstava za poboljšanje kognitivnih sposobnosti među studentima u kontekstu akademskog pritiska i društva stalne produktivnosti. Autorica pokazuje kako uporaba takvih preparata često predstavlja strategiju suočavanja s preopterećenošću i strahom od neuspjeha, a ne

težnju prema izvrsnosti. Središnji dio rada temelji se na slučaju studenta medicine koji koristi Piracetam kako bi lakše podnio intenzivan ritam studija i emocionalni stres povezan s ispitima. Članak se temelji na kvalitativnom intervjuu i teoriji društvenih praksi Andreasa Reckwitza te analizira svakodnevne obrasce uzimanja lijekova i ambivalentan odnos studenata prema preparatima za kognitivno poboljšanje.

Pitanjem postoji li specifično sociološko razumijevanje slobode koje nadilazi klasične filozofske i političke koncepte individualne slobode bavi se Nicole J. Saam u radu „Gibt es eine genuin soziale Freiheit? Eine Auseinandersetzung mit soziologischen Konzepten rund um relationale Autonomie und Selbstbestimmung". Autorica analizira sociološke koncepte slobode, autonomije i samoodređenja te pokazuje da društveni odnosi i institucije ne djeluju samo kao ograničenja individualne slobode, nego mogu predstavljati i njezin preduvjet. Posebna pažnja posvećena je konceptu relacijske autonomije i Honnethovoj ideji društvene slobode, prema kojoj se individualna sloboda ostvaruje kroz međusobno priznanje i suradnju unutar društvenih odnosa.

„Du entscheidest selbst! Das Versprechen der freien Wahl im Spielbuch als Erzählmedium" članak je autorice Lene Möller u kojemu se bavi kulturnopovijesnim razvojem interaktivnih knjiga i interaktivnog (*gamebook*) pripovijedanja u kojima čitatelji vlastitim odlukama određuju tijek priče. Autorica analizira kako su interaktivne pripovjedne forme kroz različita razdoblja odražavale društvene predodžbe o slobodi izbora, autonomiji i samoodređenju. Posebna pažnja posvećena je prijelazu od moralno-poučnih narativa prema suvremenim avanturističkim interaktivnim knjigama koje naglašavaju individualni izbor i pluralitet životnih mogućnosti. Članak se temelji na kulturnopovijesnoj i popularno-medijskoj analizi različitih primjera interaktivnih književnih formi.

Monike Bäuerlein u radu „‚Die Impfentscheidung ist eine Gewissensentscheidung, die mir keine Instanz abnehmen kann.' Freiheit als Argument ärztlicher Impfkritik" analizira povijesni razvoj liječničke kritike cijepljenja i načine na koje je pojam slobode korišten kao argument protiv obveznog cijepljenja od 19. stoljeća do pandemije COVID-19. Autorica pokazuje kako se sloboda u antivakserskim diskursima povezuje s pravom na samostalnu odluku, profesionalnom autonomijom i otporom prema institucionalnoj kontroli medicine i države. Posebna pažnja posvećena je kritikama obveznog cijepljenja, farmaceutske industrije i službene medicine kroz različita povijesna razdoblja. Članak se temelji na povijesnoj i kulturnoantropološkoj analizi liječničkih i medijskih tekstova.

Članak „Relationale Autonomie. Möglichkeiten zur Selbstbestimmung im Leben mit Demenz" autorice Valerie Keller bavi se mogućnostima samoodređenja i autonomije osoba koje žive s demencijom. Autorica pokazuje da demencija ne znači nužno potpuni gubitak autonomije, nego da osobe s demencijom razvijaju različite strategije očuvanja samostalnosti, dostojanstva i društvene participacije. Polazeći od koncepta odnosne autonomije, članak naglašava da autonomija nastaje unutar odnosa podrške i međusobne ovisnosti. Istraživanje se temelji na kvalitativnom i etnografskom radu provedenom u Švicarskoj i Austriji, uz primjenu dubinskih intervjua i sudioničkog promatranja u grupama samopomoći osoba s demencijom.

Autorice Marie-Kristin Döbler, Marion Müller i Nicole Zillien u radu

„Mutterschaft und Vaterschaft in Lebenslaufperspektive – Geschlechterdifferenzen im Übergang zum Empty Nest“ analiziraju kako roditeljstvo dugoročno oblikuje životne putanje majki i očeva te kako se rodne razlike očituju u razdoblju odlaska djece iz roditeljskog doma. Autorice istražuju kako se, unatoč idealima rodne ravnopravnosti, tijekom obiteljskog života reproducira tradicionalna podjela između skrbi i profesionalnog rada. Fokus rada je na razdoblju „praznog gnijezda“, koje se interpretira kao vrijeme preispitivanja roditeljskih identiteta i životnih uloga. Na temelju kvalitativnih intervjua autorice pokazuju da su majke češće prekidale ili reducirale profesionalni rad, dok su očevi zadržavali stabilne karijere. Zaključuje se da odlazak djece iz doma majkama često donosi veću profesionalnu autonomiju, ali da rodne nejednakosti ostaju dugoročno prisutne.

Marija Gačić*

* Marija GAČIĆ, Heritage Chaser j.d.o.o.

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U ovom kratkom prikazu osvrnut ću se na tematski blok objavljen u sklopu 37. broja znanstvenog časopisa *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, posvećen dragom kolegi i profesoru Vitomiru Belaju. Ideja o tematskoj cjelini rezultat je znanstvenog simpozija *In honorem Vitomir Belaj*, koji se održao krajem 2024. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, osmišljen i kao sjećanje na profesora povodom prve godišnjice njegove smrti. Na Odsjeku za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju Filozofskog fakulteta ova nas je obljetnica potaknula da kroz organizaciju interdisciplinarnog skupa ponovno istaknemo važnost i utjecaj profesora Belaja, znanstvenika i nastavnika čiji je rad kroz desetljeća oblikovao hrvatsku i slovensku etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju. Simpozij koji je organiziran u njegovu čast okupio je stručnjake iz Hrvatske i Slovenije iz širokog spektra disciplina: lingvistike, slavenskih jezika, etnologije i antropologije, indologije, filozofije, sociologije, komparativne književnosti, povijesti umjetnosti, folkloristike te zaštite kulturne baštine. U svojim izlaganjima autori su predstavili i problematizirali istraživački i nastavnički opus Vitomira Belaja, profesorove središnje znanstvene interese, njegovu ulogu u oblikovanju studijskih programa, bavljenje poviješću i teorijom etnološke misli, temama iz pučke pobožnosti, vjerovanja, slavenske i prahrvatske mitologije te mitskog krajolika. Vitomir Belaj objavio je više od 200 znanstvenih i stručnih radova u domaćim i međunarodnim časopisima i zbornicima radova, a od tolikog mnoštva izdvajam samo nekoliko njegovih djela koja možemo smatrati iznimnim doprinosom hrvatskoj etnologiji: knjige *Hod kroz godinu: mitska pozadina hrvatskih narodnih običaja i vjerovanja* (1998.), *Die Kunde vom kroatischen Volk: eine Kulturgeschichte der kroatischen Volkskunde* (1998.), *Hod kroz godinu: pokušaj rekonstrukcije prahrvatskoga mitskoga svjetonazora* (2007.) te *Sveti trokuti: topografija hrvatske mitologije* (2014.).

U tematskoj su cjelini objedinjeni radovi sa simpozija, kao i ostali znanstveni prilozi trinaestero autorica i autora iz Hrvatske i Slovenije od kojih su neki bili profesorovi bliski suradnici, ali i istraživači iz širih krugova znanstvene zajednice. Svatko je svojim znanjem i jedinstvenim pogledima pokušao pridonijeti razumijevanju i tumačenju profesorova opusa, čime je tematski blok dodatno produbljen i obogaćen. Prilozi obrađuju različite dimenzije profesorova opsežnog istraživačkog i nastavnog rada, no promatrajući ih kroz prizmu suvremenih pristupa i novih uvida.

U prvom tekstu „Hod kroz godinu prema 'Godini dana hrvatskih narodnih običaja'" Mislav Ježić analizira Belajevu knjigu *Hod kroz godinu*, ističući njezine mitološke teze i oslonjenost na slavenske i baltičke izvore. Pokazuje kako Belaj prenosi filološka istraživanja Radoslava Katičića u etnološki kontekst, povezujući mitske tekstove s godišnjim običajima te nadograđujući okvir Milovana Gavazzija dubljom interpretacijom utemeljenom u usmenoj književnosti. Ježić zaključuje da takav pristup predstavlja važan teorijski pomak i obilježava plodno razdoblje hrvatske i slavenske etnologije i filologije.

Darko Polšek, dugogodišnji Belajev kolega s Odsjeka, u tekstu „O vezama etnologije i antropologije u djelu Vitomira Belaja“ prisjeća se njegove ključne uloge u osnivanju studija antropologije na Sveučilištu u Zagrebu te opisuje njegov univerzalistički pristup koji povezuje kulturnu i fizičku antropologiju. Na primjeru knjige *Hod kroz godinu* pokazuje kako kulturni i simbolički obrasci proizlaze iz univerzalnih izazova okoliša i biologije te kako Belaj integrira različite oblike znanja u tumačenju mitskih struktura. U zaključku, oslanjajući se na Hartmanna i Poppera, predlaže metodološki okvir za povezivanje disciplina te naglašava važnost komplementarnih spoznaja kao srž Belajeva nasljeđa.

U tekstu „Vitomir Belaj i Vincent Scully“ Vladimir Peter Goss uspoređuje Vitomira Belaja i Vincenta Scullyja, ističući sličnosti u pristupima koji kroz različite motive naglašavaju povezanost čovjeka, krajolika i svetoga prostora. Polazi od Scullyjeve knjige *The Earth, the Temple and the Gods* koja govori o odnosu zemlje, božanstava i hrama te je uspoređuje s Belajevim djelom *Hod kroz godinu*, u kojem se razmatra slavenska tročlana organizacija prostora. Iako uočava i srodnosti, Goss naglašava razlike - grčki su hramovi individualizirani, dok slavenski modeli odražavaju zajedničku pradomovinsku tradiciju. Zaključuje da unatoč razlikama, oba pristupa dijele isto polazište - ključnu ulogu Zemlje u oblikovanju svetoga prostora.

Prilog Andreja Pleterskog „Cerkve med mimikrijo in sinkretizmom“ posvećen je rezultatima dugogodišnjih interdisciplinarnih istraživanja starovjerskih zajednica. Referirajući se na vlastita povijesna i arheološka istraživanja crkava diljem Europe, Pleterski argumentira kako je samopredodžba kršćanstva kao potpuno pobjedničke religije stvorila očekivanje da je stara vjera naših predaka odavno nestala. Vitomir Belaj, međutim, navodi primjer Slovaka koji su još dugo *„hodili u Perunovu crkvu“*, što otvara prostor za novo razumijevanje te prošlosti. Novija istraživanja potvrđuju da se starovjerje potajno održalo širom Europe, a primjeri prikazani u tekstu pokazuju kako su i kršćanske crkvene građevine mogle biti uključene u duhovni život starovjeraca, kroz mimikriju i sinkretizam. Time se otkriva da je povijest crkava ujedno i dio povijesti starovjerja. Zaključno, za Pleterskog je kršćanska pobjeda bila tek prividna i djelomična.

Ingrid Slavec Gradišnik temat je obogatila radom pod nazivom „Ethnologia... Est notitia gentium populorumque: sprehod z Vitomirom Belajem“ u kojem razmatra istaknutu ulogu profesora Belaja u razvoju hrvatske i slovenske etnologije, ističući njegov rad na etnološkoj povijesti, pučkoj pobožnosti i slavenskoj mitologiji. Posebno naglašava njegova terenska istraživanja u Sloveniji, predavački rad u Ljubljani te doprinos povezivanju ovih dviju bliskih znanstvenih tradicija. Uz prikaz njegove znanstvene mreže, autorica razmatra i njegovo shvaćanje etnologije te doprinos povijesti hrvatske etnološke misli.

Temat se nastavlja tekstom Tihane Petrović Leš „‘Slavonska etnologija’ i Vitomir Belaj“ gdje autorica pozornost posvećuje doprinosima profesorovih istraživanja slavonske regionalne kulture i baštine, njegovih doticaja sa slavonskim etnolozima, kao i njegova izvrsnoga poznavanja knjižnih i rukopisnih doprinosa koji se tiču područja Slavonije. Uz prikaz političkog i kulturnog konteksta 1980-ih te znanstvene infrastrukture regije, Petrović Leš ističe kako je Belaj sustavno prikazao i tijek etnoloških istraživanja, identificirao njegove ključne početke krajem 18. i početkom 19. stoljeća

te izlaganjima na skupovima i studijama nadopunio razumijevanje razvoja etnologije u Slavoniji.

Jelka Vince Pallua u tekstu „Od prapovijesne i praslavenske Velike majke do Majke božje, Blažene djevice Marije u Bapskoj. Tragom praslavenske sakralnosti na krajnjem istoku Hrvatske" analizira ispreplitanje pretkršćanskih i kršćanskih tradicija na primjeru Mokoši i Blažene Djevice Marije, oslanjajući se i na Belajeve uvide. Fokusira se na područje Bapske i Srijema, gdje marijansku pobožnost tumači kao mogući nastavak praslavenske sakralnosti. Mariju interpretira kao *interpretatio christiana* Mokoši te ističe da toponimi, ojkonimi, oronimi, predaje, kao i Gospini bunari za ozdravljenje i druga kultna mjesta upućuju na višeslojan, duboko ukorijenjen sakralni pejzaž.

Mirjam Mencej u radu naslovljenom „Obcestni duhovi v Bosni: Izginjajoča štoparka" analizira varijante međunarodno raširene suvremene predaje o opasnim dijelovima cesta i putova koju je autorica zabilježila tijekom terenskog istraživanja u ruralnoj Bosni i Hercegovini od 2016. do 2024. godine, ponajviše među bosanskim Srbima, Bošnjacima i Romima. Članak obrađuje pet varijanti međunarodno raširene suvremene predaje tipa *Nestajuća autostoperica*, a u analizi posebnosti svake varijante i različitih moralnih poruka koje prenose, Mencej naglašava važnost konteksta u kojem se predaje šire. Posebna pažnja posvećuje se specifičnim tjeskobama i interesima koje dijele članovi transmisijskog lanca, a koji su ključni za pravilno razumijevanje ovih narativnih predaja. Autorica ukazuje i na specifičnosti konteksta u kojem su predaje pripovijedane, koji su ključni za njihovo razumijevanje, te se radom naslanja na senzibilitete Belajevih istraživanja.

U radu naslovljenom „Kulturni ekofeminizam i mitologija prirode F. M. Müllera: sličnosti i razlike ili što bi profesor Vitomir Belaj rekao o ovom teorijskom susretu" Suzana Marjanić dovodi Belajev opus u dijalog s ekofeminizmom i „mitologijom prirode" F. M. Müllera, propitujući kako bi Belaj gledao na suvremene rasprave o antropocenu, kapitalocenu te odnosu čovjeka i prirode. Ističe da ekofeminizam povezuje borbu za ženska prava s očuvanjem okoliša, dok Müllerova teorija naglašava drevni duhovni odnos čovjeka i prirode. Unatoč razlikama u pristupima, autorica uočava njihove dodirne točke, osobito u razumijevanju prirode, simbolike i duhovnosti te naglašava mogućnost njihova međusobnog dijaloga.

Luka Šešo u radu „Koga je sve Antun Radić učinio 'drugim' u svojoj 'Osnovi'" donosi osvrt na početke hrvatske etnologije kao polja od velikog interesa profesora Belaja, analizirajući Radićevu *Osnovu* u kontekstu početaka hrvatske etnologije i pokazujući njezinu ulogu u oblikovanju kulturnih granica i nacionalnog identiteta. Šešo ističe kako su Radićeva pitanja strukturirala percepciju različitih „drugih" unutar zajednice te, osim etnografskog bilježenja, djelovala i kao normativni alat razgraničavanja. Zaključuje da *Osnova* sudjeluje u definiranju pripadnosti „narodu" i otvara pitanje uloge etnografskih upitnika u stvaranju društvenih i identitetskih kategorija te učvršćivanju kulturnih granica.

Marijeta Rajković Iveta i Milana Černelić u tekstu *Profesor Vitomir Belaj tragom bunjevačke etnogeneze* analiziraju Belajeva istraživanja alpskog stočarstva kako bi rasvijetlile bunjevačku etnogenezu, ističući kontinuitet interesa za etničke i subetničke identitete. Polaze od njegova rada o stočarstvu na Velebitu, koji je napisao potaknut istraživanjima o svadbe-

nim običajima bunjevačkih Hrvata svoje tadašnje doktorandice Milane Černelić. Kako je rad povezan i s istraživanjima bunjevačkih svadbenih običaja, autorice naglašavaju važnost različitih perspektiva i tematske širine, a posebno ističu važnost kombiniranja različitih metodologija i teorijskih okvira pri analizi svadbenih običaja i tradicijskih praksi sezonskih selidbi na ljetne stanove. Zaključuju da se time pokazuje kako tako široko postavljeno istraživanje može pridonijeti potpunijem razumijevanju procesa bunjevačke etnogeneze.

U posljednjem tekstu tematskog bloka, „Med univerzalizmom in pluralizmom: Etnografske reprezentacije in identifikacijske prakse v prostoru Alpe-Jadran", Jurij Fikfak analizira etnografske tekstove 19. stoljeća iz alpsko-jadranskog prostora, važnog i za Belajeva istraživanja, fokusirajući se na njihove retoričke i opisne strategije. Na primjerima iz Koruške, Austrijskog primorja i Kranjske pokazuje kako su takvi tekstovi istodobno služili imperijalnom ujednačavanju i nacionalnom razlikovanju. Zaključuje da su, pod utjecajem prosvjetiteljstva i romantizma, pridonijeli prijelazu od prikaza egzotičnih „drugih" prema oblikovanju kulturnih subjekata.

Tibor Komar*

* Tibor KOMAR, docent na Odsjeku za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (Republika Hrvatska).

Zvonko Taneski. *Súčasná chorvátska poézia*. Vysokoškolská učebnica pre študentov slovanských filológií. Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa v Nitre, 2025. 110 s. ISBN 978-80-558-2313-3.

Predkladaná učebnica o súčasnej chorvátskej poézii sa obsahovo člení na dva okruhy – ide o literárnohistorický prehľad, ktorý nám ponúka základné informácie o literárnej tvorbe a poznatky o poetike a noetike jednotlivých chorvátskych autorov približne od 50. rokov 20. storočia po súčasnosť. Druhá časť učebnice napĺňa interpretačnú fázu literárno-estetického procesu s reprezentačnými básňami vybraných autorov. Publikácia, primárne určená predovšetkým vysokoškolským študentom slovanských filológii, svojím rozsahom, štruktúrou a metodologickým prístupom môže osloviť aj širší okruh čitateľov so záujmom o južnoslovanskú literatúru. Zmyslom celej publikácie je zároveň stručne predstaviť recepciu súčasnej chorvátskej lyriky na Slovensku v kontexte slovensko-chorvátskych vzťahov. Vďaka jednotlivým prekladom čitateľ má teda možnosť utvoriť si vlastný názor na kultúrnu spoluprácu medzi slovenským a chorvátskym prostredím.

Z hľadiska kompozície je učebnica vystavaná logicky, prehľadne, a to aj z didaktického hľadiska. V prvých kapitolách Zvonko Taneski predstavuje poetiku chorvátskych autorov, ovplyvnenú historizmom, spoločenskou, politickou a kultúrnou situáciou v Chorvátsku od 50. rokov 20. storočia až do súčasnosti. Publikácia tak sleduje vývoj literárnej tvorby od tradičných foriem až k postmodernizmu a súčasným tendenciám. Prínosom je, že zahŕňa aj rôznorodé prístupy literárnej vedy a hodnotenia literárnych kritikov. Tento aspekt je zároveň dôležitý z didaktického hľadiska, pretože študent nie je vedený k jedinej správnej interpretácii, ale motivovaný zaujať vlastný postoj k literárnej tvorbe, čím sa podporuje kritické myslenie.

Osobitou kapitolou je 5. kapitola poskytujúca prehľad chorvátskych básnických antológií, ktoré autor charakterizuje ako „*vzácne svedectvo o premenlivých hodnotách súčasnej poézie*“, čím sa recipientovi naskytuje možnosť hlbšie ponoriť sa do danej tematiky aj prostredníctvom doplňujúceho štúdia. Zvonko Taneski jednotlivé antológie neinterpretuje, ale predostiera tie najvýznamnejšie z nich s akcentom na jediný slovenský preklad od zostavovateľa Miroslava Mićanovića pod názvom *Útecha chaosu*.

Prednosťou učebnice je prepojenie literárnohistorického kontextu s konkrétnou interpretačnou praxou, čím recipientovi umožňuje nielen pochopiť kontext vzniku diel, ale aj aktívne vstupovať do procesu ich interpretácie. Dochádza tak k prepojeniu teoretických poznatkov s praktickými zručnosťami na podklade prezentovaných básní vybraných troch autorov, a to aj v originálnom chorvátskom jazyku. Ako tvrdí Zvonko Taneski: „*Tvoria materiál pre jazykovú, štylistickú a žánrovú interpretáciu, ktorá je organickou súčasťou filologického štúdia.*“ Študent tak môže porovnať jazykové a štylistické špecifiká, čo podporuje rozvoj prekladateľských a interpretačných kompetencií. V kontexte filologického štúdia sa tak presahuje bežný rámec literárnohistorického výkladu. Zaujímavým prvkom v interpretačnej časti je autorova tendencia

k čiastočnej subjektivizácii výkladu jednotlivých básní. Zvonko Taneski miestami prezentuje vlastné názory na preklad, či doterajšiu interpretáciu, čím sa snaží priblížiť k recipientovi a vtiahnuť ho do interpretačnej fázy literárno-estetického procesu. Čitateľa tak podnecuje k polemike a k uvažovaniu nad textom. Literárny text sa tak nevyčerpáva, práve naopak, ako zásobnica názorov podnecuje týmto prístupom k ďalšej diskusii. Z didaktického hľadiska za hodnotné môžeme považovať otázky a úlohy na konci každej kapitoly, ktoré sú koncipované v štruktúre Bloomovej taxonómie, teda tak, aby reflektovali rôzne úrovne kognitívnych procesov – od porozumenia, cez analýzu až po syntézu a vlastnú tvorbu, prípadne k ďalšiemu štúdiu k tematike.

Učebnicu hodnotíme ako kvalitný a podnetný študijný materiál, ktorý napĺňa nielen informačnú, ale aj metodickú a interpretačnú funkciu. Keďže *„vracia svojich recipientov a recipientky k samotnému autentickému aktu čítania, aktivizuje ich vlastné interpretačné mechanizmy a schopnosť percepcie estetického vnemu“*, publikácia nepredstavuje len zdroj poznatkov, ale aj nástroj rozvoja tvorivého myslenia. V poslednej dobe na Slovensku reflektujeme intenzívnejší záujem o chorvátsku literatúru, preto sa domnievame, že aj táto publikácia môže byť podnetná k ďalšiemu prehlbovaniu záujmu o jej štúdium a k jej širšiemu sprístupneniu verejnosti.

Kristína Gregorová*

* Kristína GREGOROVÁ, Filozofická Fakulta Univerzity Mateja Bela v Banskej Bystrici (Slovenská republika).

Kaleidoskop aktivít Veľvyslanectva Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe v roku 2025

Spolupráca v rámci Európskej únie

Rok 2025 sme naštartovali predsedníctvom Poľskej republiky v Rade EÚ 20. januára v Záhrebe, čím sa začal intenzívny polrok európskej koordinácie a pracovných stretnutí diplomatických misií členských štátov. Na tieto aktivity nadviazali 10. marca a 28. mája ďalšie rokovania vedúcich misií EÚ (HoMs), ako aj záverečné rokovanie predsedníctva 6. júna s predsedom vlády Chorvátskej republiky Andrejom Plenkovićom.

Úspech slovenskej huslistky Kláry Hlúškovej

Dňa 27. januára sme mali radosť z úspechu mladej slovenskej sopranistky Kláry Hlúškovej, ktorá v rámci programu Erasmus vystúpila na galakoncerte komornej hudby na Hudobnej akadémii Univerzity v Záhrebe pod vedením portugalského dirigenta Pedra Ribeira Rodriguesa.

Mesiac stredoeurópskeho filmu a kultúry v Karlovci a film o Dubčekovi

Dni 30. a 31. januára patrili Mesiacu stredoeurópskeho filmu a kultúry v Karlovci, kde Veľvyslanectvo Slovenskej republiky v spolupráci s kinom Edison predstavili koprodukčný film o Alexandrovi Dubčekovi *Krátka jar – dlhá zima*. Podujatie, realizované spolu s partnermi z Maďarska, Rakúska a Českej republiky, prinieslo publiku autentický a neidealizovaný portrét jednej z kľúčových osobností moderných dejín Slovenska.

Rokovania o prehĺbení spolupráce v oblasti ochrany práv osôb so zdravotným postihnutím

4. februára sa uskutočnilo rokovanie veľvyslankyne Hany Kováčovej s chorvátskym komisárom Darijom Jurišićom o prehĺbení spolupráce v oblasti ochrany práv osôb so zdravotným postihnutím, pričom ďalšie pracovné stretnutie nasledovalo 26. februára. V kontexte 15. výročia ratifikácie *Dohovoru OSN o právach osôb so zdravotným postihnutím* Slovenskou republikou nadobudlo rokovanie osobitný význam. Výmena skúseností Slovenska a Chorvátska z uplatňovania *Dohovoru* v praxi bude významným prvkom pracovných kontaktov a spoločných projektov na ochranu a dodržiavanie spektra práv osôb so zdravotným znevýhodnením.

Poznáte inšpiratívnych Slovákov v zahraničí?

Veľvyslanectvo SR v Záhrebe zverejnilo 4. februára prostredníctvom sociálnej siete výzvu *Poznáte inšpiratívnych Slovákov v zahraničí?* Príbehy krajanov, ktorí svojou prácou, talentom či odhodlaním obohacujú krajanskú komunitu mohli byť zaslané priamo na Úrad pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí.

183. výročie založenia Matice chorvátskej

Dňa 11. februára sme si spolu s chorvátskymi partnermi za prítomnosti veľvyslankyne Hany Kováčovej pripomenuli 183. výročie založenia Matice chorvátskej, ktorej predseda Miro Gavran, vzácna osobnosť chorvátskej spoločnosti ale aj úspešný dramatik v rámci slovenskej divadelnej kutúry a literatúry, zdôraznil význam jednoty a spolupráce slovanských národov. Matice chorvátska a slovenská sú dve slovanské sestry, ktoré spája dlhoročná história ale aj vzájomne prospešná spolupráca do budúcnosti.

Medzinárodný veľtrh VIROEXPO

V dňoch 14. – 16. februára sa Slovenská republika predstavila ako partnerská krajina 28. ročníka medzinárodného veľtrhu VIROEXPO v meste Virovitica. Rokovania štátneho tajomníka MIRRI Michala Kaliňáka v Chorvátsku priniesli nové impulzy slovensko-chorvátskej regionálnej spolupráce v rámci partnerstva na veľtrhu VIROEXPO 2025. Štátny tajomník Michal Kaliňák uskutočnil počas pracovného pobytu vo Virovitici na VIROEXPO rokovania s ministrom poľnohospodárstva lesného a rybného hospodárstva Chorvátskej republiky Davidom Vlajčićom a Domagojom Mikulićom, štátnym tajomníkom ministerstva regionálneho rozvoja a fondov Európskej únie Chorvátskej republiky. Účasť Slovenska na podujatí bola zabezpečená v gescii Veľvyslanectva SR v Záhrebe a okrem Ministerstva investícií, regionálneho rozvoja a informatizácie SR spoločne so Slovak Investment and Trade Development Agency. K atmosfére priateľstva, spolupráce a partnerstva výraznou mierou prispelo nádherné vystúpenie našich mladých zo súboru SKUS Bratia Banas z Josipovca Punitovského.

Vstupná brána do chorvátskeho Zagoria a osobnosť svetobežníka Josipa Franja Mikulca

Dňa 19. februára navštívila veľvyslankyňa Hana Kováčová mesto Oroslavje, ktoré je často označované ako „vstupná brána do chorvátskeho Zagoria“. Osobnosť svetobežníka Josipa Franja Mikulca, ktorý navštívil aj Bratislavu a Komárno, predstavuje zaujímavý historický most medzi našimi regiónmi.

Slovenský film *Rok vdovy*

Druhý mesiac roku 2025 vyvrcholil 21. februára premiérou filmu *Rok vdovy* (2024) v kine Kinoteka. Silný príbeh o strate a hľadaní novej životnej rovnováhy v hlavných úlohách o. i. so skvelou herečkou Zuzanou Kronerovou, zanechal hlboký dojem aj počas následnej diskusie.

Cena Veľvyslanectvu Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe

Dňa 21. februára bola Filozofickou fakultou Univerzity v Záhrebe pri príležitosti 150. výročia jej existencie udelená Veľvyslanectvu Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe *Cena za dlhoročnú spoluprácu a podporu rozvoja a výuky slovenského jazyka, literatúry, kultúry a histórie ako aj prehlbovania medzikultúrnych a akademických väzieb.*

21. ročník *Driapania peria*

Dňa 22. februára sa zúčastnila veľvyslankyňa Hana Kováčová tradičného podujatia *21. Driapanie peria*, ktoré usporiadali Matica slovenská Zokov Gaj, Matica slovenská Osijek a Matica slovenská Miljevci.

Stretnutie s dekanom FiF Univerzity v Záhrebe

Veľvyslankyňa Hana Kováčová navštívila 4. marca Filozofickú fakultu Univerzity v Záhrebe. Na stretnutí s dekanom, mimoriadnym profesorom dr. sc. Domagojom Tončinićom diskutovala o možnostiach posilnenia štúdia slovakistiky na Katedre slovakistiky, o podpore ďalších foriem spolupráce, ako aj o aktivitách Chorvátsko-slovenského výboru pre humanitné vedy. Vo svojom vystúpení veľvyslankyňa vyjadrila podporu možnosti organizovania odbornej praxe pre študentov Filozofickej fakulty UZ.

Zasadnutie Zväzu Slovákov v Chorvátsku v Jurjevci

Jar priniesla aj množstvo krajanských stretnutí. Dňa 29. marca sa veľvyslankyňa Hana Kováčová zúčastnila zasadnutia Zväzu Slovákov v Chorvátsku v Jurjevci Punitovačkom. Pozvanie bolo odrazom dôvery a súčasne inšpirácie pre našu ďalšiu súčinnosť. Veľvyslankyňa poďakovala dlhoročnej tajomníčke pani Branke Baksa za všetku doterajšiu obetavú prácu a za jej 30 úspešných rokov na poste tajomníčky zväzu.

8. ročník medzinárodného veľtrhu Adriatic Sea Defence & Aerospace

10. apríla sa slovenské firmy predstavili na 8. ročníku medzinárodného veľtrhu Adriatic Sea Defence & Aerospace (ASDA 2025) v Záhrebe. Celkovo sa veľtrhu zúčastnilo 236 vystavovateľov z 28 krajín a zároveň ho okrem biznis návštevníkov navštívilo aj 31 oficiálnych delegácií z 21 krajín sveta.

Stretnutie slovenských a chorvátskych politikov

16. apríl 2025 bol sviatkom bilaterálnych vzťahov medzi Slovenskom a Chorvátskom. Predseda vlády Slovenskej republiky Robert Fico v sprievode ministra zahraničných vecí a európskych záležitostí Juraja Blanára a štátneho tajomníka ministerstva hospodárstva Vladimíra Šimoňáka sa v Záhrebe stretli s premiérom Andrejom Plenkovićom, prezidentom Zoranom Milanovićom a predsedom Saboru Gordanom Jandrokovićom.

Na stretnutí v Kancelárii prezidenta Chorvátskej republiky Zorana Milanovića boli potvrdené tradične dobré a priateľské vzťahy medzi Slovenskom a Chorvátskom. Prezident Milanović a premiér Fico diskutovali o politickej a bezpečnostnej situácii v Európe a vo svete a zhodli sa na tom, že na medzinárodnej úrovni je predovšetkým potrebné vyvinúť ďalšie rokovacie úsilie o nastolenie mieru na Ukrajine. Témou diskusie bolo aj fungovanie Európskej únie v nových medzinárodných politických podmienkach s dohodou, že všetky členské štáty EÚ majú právo zohľadňovať národné politické a ekonomické záujmy. Zhodli sa na tom, že je potrebné pokračovať v rozširovaní Európskej

únie o krajiny juhovýchodnej Európy, ktoré spĺňajú podmienky. Diskutovali aj o dôležitosti dosiahnutia energetickej bezpečnosti krajín strednej a východnej Európy, pričom Slovensko v tom vníma Chorvátsko ako dôležitého partnera.

Národná rada Slovenskej republiky, ako prvý parlament z členských krajín Európskej únie schválila 1. februára 2012 prístupovú zmluvu Chorvátskej republiky do Európskej únie.

Nový *Program spolupráce medzi Ministerstvom kultúry Slovenskej republiky a Ministerstvom kultúry a médií Chorvátskej republiky* na roky 2025 – 2029, ktorú v Záhrebe podpísali minister zahraničných vecí a európskych záležitostí Juraj Blanár a ministerka kultúry a médií Nina Obuljen Koržinek je zárukou ďalšieho rozvoja a intenzity v kultúrnej výmeny oboch krajín. Slováci v Chorvátsku zostávajú silným spojivom medzi oboma našimi krajinami.

21. ročník Medzinárodného detského folklórneho festivalu

V dedinke Buševec Ogranak Seljačke Sloge Buševec, neďaleko Záhrebu, sme 3. mája mohli zažiť oslavu tradícií a detskej radosti – 21. ročník Medzinárodného detského folklórneho festivalu (1. – 5. mája 2025). Festival, ktorý každoročne spája mladých priaznivcov dedičstva folklóru nielen z Chorvátska ale aj zo zahraničia. Tohtoročného festivalu sa zúčastnili štyri európske krajiny. Okrem Slovenska (Letnička, Poprad), Litva (Žirgineliai, Plungė), Bulharsko (Detsovo, Pazardžik) a Poľsko (ELK, Elk). Podporili sme malých a mladých folkloristov zo Slovenska v ich kráse radosti, hry, spevu a tanca.

Diplomatický výjazd v Osijecko-baranskej župe

V dňoch 2. – 3. mája sa veľvyslankyňa Hana Kováčová zúčastnila diplomatického výjazdu v Osijecko-baranskej župe, ktorý otvoril diskusiu o športovej diplomacii ako jednom z nástrojov budovania medzinárodných vzťahov.

Oslavy Dňa Európy

Dňa 9. mája sme spolu so Zastúpením Európskej komisie v Chorvátsku oslávili Deň Európy. V priebehu hlavného programu veľvyslanci členských štátov únie odpovedali na otázky, čo pre ich krajiny znamená členstvo a čím ich obohatilo plnoprávne členstvo v Európskej únii.

V meste Pula na Istrii bol 10. mája slávnostne otvorený Ľvovský mestský park za prítomnosti primátora Ľvova Andrije Sadova a ukrajinskej delegácie. Táto udalosť má symbolický význam pre Deň Európy. Stalo sa tak presne dva roky odkedy dvaja primátori vztýčili vlajku Európskej únie pred radnicou vo Ľvove za zvukov *Ódy na radosť*. Podujatia sa zúčastnila početná skupina veľvyslancov EÚ akreditovaných v Chorvátsku vrátane slovenskej veľvyslankyne pani Hany Kováčovej.

29. ročník prehliadky detského folklóru v Iloku

29. prehliadka detského folklóru, ktorá sa konala 11. mája v Iloku, sa niesla v znamení čarovných vystúpení šiestich detských a mládežníckych súborov usporiadateľskej Matice Slovenskej v Iloku a solupracujúcich Matíc Jurjevac, Josipovac Punitovský, Markovec Našický, MS Rijeka, KUD Julije Benešić Ilok,

Medžurić, Lipovljany, Jelisavac, Míľovce, Soľany, Jakšić. Matica Ilok zároveň pripravila pre mladých divákov divadelné predstavenie *Popletená rozprávka*.

Veľvyslankyňa Hana Kováčová zablahoželala všetkým, ktorí svoju lásku k domovine a tradíciám pretavujú do práce s mládežou, a tým vytvárajú priestor na pokračovanie týchto obyčajov a zvykov u mladej generácie. Na podujatí sa zúčastnili predstavitelia najmladšej Matice slovenskej Beketinci, ktorým držíme palce v ďalšom rozvoji a tešíme sa na spoluprácu a ďalšie stretnutia.

Projekcia slovenského filmu *Správa*

O niekoľko dní neskôr, 13. mája, sme si projekciou filmu *Správa* režiséra Petra Bebjaka pripomenuli 80. výročie ukončenia druhej svetovej vojny. Neobyčajný príbeh dvoch mladých slovenských Židov, ktorým sa podarilo v roku 1944 utiecť z koncentračného tábora Auschwitz-Birkenau bol premietnutý vo filmovom centre Kaptol Boutique Cinema. Išlo o silný príbeh o vnútornej sile hrdinov, ktorí sa postavili proti zvrátenosti systému v záujme záchrany ľudských životov.

10. zasadnutie Medzinárodnej komisie pre napredovanie v školstve

Dňa 19. mája sa v Slovenskom kultúrnom centre v Našiciach uskutočnilo 10. zasadnutie Medzinárodnej komisie pre napredovanie v školstve, ktorého sa zúčastnila veľvyslankyňa Hana Kováčová.

Konferencia Slovákov v zahraničí

Veľvyslanectvo zverejnilo dňa 28. mája na sociálnych sieťach informáciu o *Konferencii Slovákov v zahraničí* s témou súčasnosť, trendy a perspektívy výskumu krajanskej problematiky, ktorej organizátorom bol Úrad pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí v spolupráci s Univerzitou sv. Cyrila a Metoda v Trnave. Partnerskými inštitúciami boli Združenie pre genealogický výskum dolnozemských Slovákov a Matica slovenská.

Ďalšie pracovné stretnutie vedúcich diplomatických misií členských štátov – EÚ

Dňa 28. mája sme sa v Záhrebe zúčastnili ďalšieho pracovného stretnutia vedúcich diplomatických misií členských štátov – EÚ HoMs v rámci aktivít PL PRES v Rade EÚ. Hosťom podujatia bola pani Sladjana Ćosić, riaditeľka chorvátskej kancelárie Európskej investičnej banky (EIB), ktorá prítomných oboznámila so zásadami fungovania a cieľmi banky spojených s EIB investíciami v Chorvátsku.

V4 o súčasnej a budúcej konzulárnej spolupráci pri letnej turistickej sezóne 2025

Dňa 29. mája sme mali možnosť absolvovať s kolegami diplomatických misií Česka, Maďarska a Poľska (V4) veľmi úspešné pracovné stretnutie na tému súčasnej a budúcej konzulárnej spolupráce a neodvratne sa blížiacej letnej turistickej sezóny 2025. Stretnutie sa uskutočnilo na pôde odboru pre víza a cudzincov chorvátskeho rezortu diplomacie za účasti riaditeľa a vedúcej oddelenia pre cudzincov. Podarilo sa navzájom si ozrejmiť niektoré skutočnosti v konzulárnej agende, z ktorých budeme v nadchádzajúcom období vychádzať a na základe tohto aj kooperovať.

Konferencia *Navigating Future – Rast a odolnosť v krajinách strednej, východnej a juhovýchodnej Európy vo fragmentovanejšom svete*

V dňoch 29. – 30. mája sa minister financií Ladislav Kamenický zúčastnil konferencie *Navigating Future – Rast a odolnosť v krajinách strednej, východnej a juhovýchodnej Európy vo fragmentovanejšom svete*, ktorá bola organizovaná Medzinárodným menovým fondom a Chorvátskou národnou bankou v Dubrovníku.

VII. zasadnutie Slovensko-chorvátskej komisie humanitných vied v Rijeke

Dňa 12. júna sa uskutočnilo Siedme zasadnutie Slovensko-chorvátskej komisie humanitných vied v Rijeke so zaujímavou témou *Medzikultúrne stretnutia z etnologickej perspektívy*, ktorého sa zúčastnila aj veľvyslankyňa Hana Kováčová. Komisia systémovo a veľmi efektívne skúma a nachádza prieniky našej histórie, ktoré sú základom slovensko-chorvátskeho partnerstva a ďalšej spolupráce našich národov.

Salzburské fórum v Záhrebe

V dňoch 17. – 18. júna sme privítali a sprevádzali prvú štátnu tajomníčku Ministerstva vnútra Slovenskej republiky na ministerskej konferencii Salzburské fórum v Záhrebe, ktorá potvrdila význam regionálnej bezpečnostnej spolupráce.

Návšteva prezidenta Slovenskej republiky v Chorvátsku

Prezident SR Peter Pellegrini uskutočnil 1. júla oficiálnu návštevu Chorvátskej republiky. Ostatná návšteva hlavy štátu Slovenska sa konala v júni 2017. Členmi prezidentskej delegácie boli podpredsedníčka vlády a ministerka hospodárstva Slovenskej republiky Denisa Saková a minister vnútra Slovenskej republiky Matúš Šutaj Eštok.

Roky 2024 – 2025 znamenajú novú dynamiku slovensko-chorvátskej relácie. Dňa 6. septembra 2024 sa v Bratislave stretli ministri zahraničných vecí a európskych záležitostí Juraj Blanár a Gordan Grlić Radman. 16. apríla sa v Záhrebe uskutočnila oficiálna návšteva PV Roberta Fica. Predseda Parlamentu HR Gordan Jandroković s potešením aktuálne eviduje pozvanie na Slovensko a verí, že stretnutie predsedov parlamentov v Bratislave alebo v Záhrebe sa uskutoční najneskôr v roku 2026.

Ocenenie pre Sandru Kralj Vukšić

V oblasti verejnej diplomacie a krajanskej spolupráce Veľvyslanectvo SR v Záhrebe dňa 4. júla srdečne zablahoželalo ocenenej riaditeľke Slovenského kultúrneho centra Našice pani Sandre Kralj Vukšić, k udelenému vyznamenaniu pri príležitosti pamätného Dňa Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí zorganizovanom Úradom pre Slovákov žijúcich v zahraničí. Oceneným Slovákom zo zahraničia a laureátom boli odovzdané pamätné medaile Štefana Boleslava Romana.

Nové možnosti v štipendijnej schéme

Dňa 9. júla veľvyslankyňa Hana Kováčová prijala študenta práva Samuela Marka, ktorý sa v rámci mobility CEEPUS zúčastnil kurzu na Filozofickej fakulte Univerzity v Záhrebe, kde si

prehĺbil jazykové zručnosti a obohatil sa o chorvátsku kultúru. Veľvyslanectvo zároveň informovalo o otvorenej štipendijnej schéme pre talentovaných zahraničných študentov so záujmom študovať na vysokých školách v SR.

Festival európskeho filmu

V rámci Festivalu európskeho filmu bol 14. júla premietnutý *„Andy Warhol – Americký sen* v Letnom kine Tuškanac, predstavujúci život a dielo tohto významného umelca. Významným hosťom večera bol producent filmu pán Peter Poch.

Kultúrna diplomacia počas letných festivalov

Kultúrna diplomacia bola výrazne zastúpená počas letných festivalov. V dňoch 18. a 20. júla slovenský jazz v podaní Orchestra Lukáša Oravca rozprúdil kultúrnu scénu v Pule, kde 14-členné medzinárodné zoskupenie hudobníkov potvrdilo renomé slovenskej hudby. Členov orchestra osobne privítala veľvyslankyňa. Hana Kováčová.

Rokovania o dvadsaťročnej implementácii projektu *Bezpečná turistická sezóna*

Dňa 4. augusta sa uskutočnilo rokovanie ministra vnútra SR Matúša Šutaja Eštoka s chorvátskym podpredsedom vlády Davorom Božinovićom o dvadsaťročnej implementácii projektu *Bezpečná turistická sezóna*, pričom sa hodnotila efektivita spolupráce slovenských policajtov na Jadrane. Delegácia spolu s veľvyslankyňou Hanou Kováčovou navštívila príslušníkov Policajného zboru SR na Policajnej stanici Crikvenica a Policajnej stanici Trogir.

Memorandum o porozumení a spolupráci na vytvorení a rozvoji jednotného kapitálového trhu v oblasti strednej a juhovýchodnej Európy

Minister financií Slovenskej republiky Ladislav Kamenický podpísal 25. augusta v Záhrebe spolu so svojimi partnermi z Chorvátska, Slovinska, Severného Macedónska a štátnymi tajomníkmi Bulharska, Maďarska, Poľska a Rumunska *Memorandum o porozumení a spolupráci na vytvorení a rozvoji jednotného kapitálového trhu v oblasti strednej a juhovýchodnej Európy*. Niekoľkoročná snaha o posilnenie kapitálového trhu s 85 miliónmi obyvateľov dostala reálne kontúry. Minister Ladislav Kamenický na tlačovej konferencii zdôraznil:

> *„Je dôležité, aby sme zjednotili naše kapitálové trhy a aby investori zo Slovenska mohli investovať kapitál do všetkých týchto krajín“.*

Zjednotením trhu a následne, vytvorenie spoločného burzového indexu môžu byť signatárske krajiny rozpoznané ako investičné destinácie na mape globálnych finančných investorov a môže byť vo väčšej miere diverzifikovaná základňa investorov, ale aj emitentov. A nepôjde len o rozšírenie základne, ale aj zvýšenie objemov obchodovania.

Malá Európa v Lipovljanoch

28. – 30. augusta sa tradične obnovila atmosféra folklóru a priateľstva v Lipovljanoch – *Malá Európa*, ktoré svojou prítomnosťou podporili veľvyslankyňa

Hana Kováčová, pani starostka obce Lazany okres Prievidza, Ing. Jana Matiašková, MBA, starosta obce Poruba, okres Prievidza Tomáš Tóth, MBA, a starostka Chorvátskeho Grobu okres Senec JUDr. Mgr. Vladimíra Vydrová.

Ilocké leto

V dňoch 30. – 31. augusta sa konalo kultúrne podujatie 45. *Ilocké leto* v Iloku, ktoré podporil svojou účasťou zástupca veľvyslanectva pán Ján Holič.

Deň župy vo Virovici

September bol mimoriadne bohatý na kultúrne a vedecké podujatia. Dňa 5. septembra sa zástupca veľvyslankyne Peter Krištof zúčastnil v meste Virovitica podujatia *County day*. Ide o regionálny sviatok, ktorým si župa pripomína svoju existenciu, úspechy a rozvoj.

9. ročník *Dní slovenskej kultúry* v Osijeku

V meste Osijek sa 5. – 6. septembra konal 9. ročník *Dní slovenskej kultúry*, čo je podujatie venované prezentácii slovenskej národnostnej menšiny v Chorvátsku a jej kultúrneho dedičstva. Pán Ján Holič bol svedkom prezentácie slovenskej tradície, folklóru, hudby a tanca.

26. ročník *Večera polesníkov*

Dňa 13. septembra sa v meste Markovac Našicki konal 26. ročník *Večera polesníkov*. Ide o každoročné stretnutie členov a priaznivcov slovenského kultúrneho spolku, ktoré má folklórny a komunitný charakter. Názov „polesníci" historicky odkazuje na ľudí pracujúcich v lesoch (lesní robotníci), pričom podujatie dnes symbolicky pripomína tradície a spôsob života slovenských predkov v tejto oblasti. Veľvyslanectvo zastupoval pán Ján Holič.

55. ročník *Varaždínskych barokových večerov*

Jubilejný 55. ročník *Varaždínske barokové večery* opätovne potvrdil vysokú úroveň slovenskej hudobno-umeleckej produkcie. Slovenská republika bola prvou partnerskou krajinou *Varaždínskych barokových večerov* v roku 2007. Dňa 23. septembra sa Slovensko predstavilo vystúpením súboru MUSICA AETERNA, ktorého interpretácia barokovej hudby bola následne ocenená Cenou poroty.

24. septembra sa konal slovensko-maďarský koncert *Virtuózne struny*, ktorý prispel k posilneniu regionálneho kultúrneho dialógu a umeleckého porozumenia. Koncert bol otvorený krátkym úvodným slovom v podaní maďarského veľvyslanca v Záhrebe a taktiež v podaní veľvyslankyne Hany Kováčovej. O hudobný program sa postarali výnimoční umelci – gitaristka Miriam Rodriquez Bruellová a violinista Sándor Jávorkai, ktorí predviedli emotívny výkon.

Reinterpretácie roku 1945 v bývalých európskych socialistických krajinách

V dňoch 25. – 26. septembra sa v Záhrebe uskutočnila medzinárodná vedecká konferencia o reinterpretáciách roku 1945 v bývalých európskych socialistických krajinách, na ktorej Slovensko reprezentoval doc. Marek Syrný z Univerzity Mateja Bela z Banskej Bystrice.

Festival of Languages

Veľvyslanectvo SR v Záhrebe participovalo dňa 26. septembra slovenským stánkom na *Festival of Languages* na Fakulte humanitných a sociálnych vied. Návštevníci podujatia sa mohli oboznámiť s informáciami o Slovensku v oblasti jazykových, kultúrnych a geopolitických zvyklostí.

Výročie Slovenského kultúrneho centra v Našiciach

Veľvyslankyňa SR v Záhrebe pani Hana Kováčová srdečne zablahoželala dňa 27. septembra Slovenskému kultúrnemu centru Našice ku krásnemu výročiu jeho aktívnej a veľmi prospešnej činnosti a taktiež za veľmi efektívnu a operatívnu spoluprácu. Slovenské kultúrne centrum Našice je neodmysliteľným partnerom veľvyslanectva pri plnení jeho každodenných úloh.

Divadelno-tanečné predstavenie o osudoch slovenských vysťahovalcov *Miesto na zemi*

Nádherný kultúrny zážitok na podujatí pripravili poslucháči UFS Mladosť z Banskej Bystrice v spolupráci so Slovenským kultúrnym centrom Našice a kolegiálneho účinkovania Matíc slovenských v Chorvátsku v podobe divadelno-tanečného predstavenia o osudoch slovenských vysťahovalcov *Miesto na zemi*. Predstavenie vychádzalo z prameňov tradičnej kultúry Slovákov žijúcich južne od Slovenska. Témou programu bol vplyv historických udalostí na životy Slovákov, ktorí sa ocitli oddelení novými štátnymi hranicami. Umeleckým a zároveň veľmi dojemným spôsobom znázorňuje osudy ľudí, ktorí nemôžu ovplyvniť celosvetové udalosti, meniace ich životy.

Dni národnostných menšín mesta Záhreb

Dňa 27. septembra zástupca veľvyslanectva pán Ján Holič podporil Maticu slovenskú v Záhrebe svojou prítomnosťou na podujatí *Dni národnostných menšín mesta Záhreb*.

Nová výzva Národného štipendijného programu SR na podporu mobilít

V rámci Národného štipendijného programu SR na podporu mobilít veľvyslanectvo zverejnilo dňa 2. októbra novú výzvu na predkladanie žiadostí o štipendium na študijné, výskumné, umelecké a prednáškové pobyty počas letného semestra v akademickom roku 2025/2026.

Prijatie veľvyslankyne Hany Kováčovej predsedom Saboru Chorvátska Gordanom Jandrokovićom

Dňa 2. októbra 2025 prijal veľvyslankyňu Hanu Kováčovú predseda Saboru Chorvátska Gordan Jandroković. Stretnutie potvrdilo vysoký štandard bilaterálnych vzťahov s konštruktívnou spoluprácou v rámci Európskej únie, NATO a Iniciatívy Troch morí. Pri tejto príležitosti odovzdala Hana Kováčová predsedovi chorvátskeho parlamentu list predsedu Národnej rady SR Richarda Rašiho.

7. cyklus Organu svätého Marka

V rámci 7. cyklu Organ sv. Marka vystúpila 15. októbra v Kostole sv. Marka s veľkým úspechom v slovenská organistka Monica Melcová. Umelkyňa na svoj prvý koncert v Záhrebe pripravila zaujímavý program venovaný francúzskemu skladateľovi baskického pôvodu Mauriceovi Ravelovi, ktorého 150. výročie narodenia si tento rok pripomíname.

Cupi's Spoon

Veľvyslanectvo Slovenskej republiky podporilo významný kulinársky projekt *Cupi's* SPOON 2025, ktorého semifinále sa konalo dňa 17. októbra v Záhrebe.

11. Manifestacija pod stoljetnim glogovima – Jurjevac Punitovački

Zástupca veľvyslanectva pán Ján Holič sa dňa 18. októbra zúčastnil podujatia pripravenom Maticou slovenskej v Jurjevaci – *11. Manifestacija pod stoljetnim glogovima – Jurjevac punitovački*.

Festival európskeho filmu

V oblasti kultúrnej prezentácie sa Slovensko predstavilo aj na Festivale európskeho filmu 22. – 23. októbra, kde boli uvedené tri slovenské filmové projekcie (jedna sa konala v letnom kine Tuškanac začiatkom mesiaca júl). Festivalový program 2025 bol zameraný na biografické filmové zobrazenia veľkých umeleckých osobností, ktoré svojou tvorbou ovplyvnili kultúrne a umelecké dynamiky svojej doby i súčasnosti a mali mimoriadny vplyv na nové generácie umelcov. Spomedzi filmových titulov zo Slovenska najviac zaujala projekcia *A máme čo sme chceli*, ktorú v Kine METROPOLIS zhliadlo cca 230 divákov.

Prípravy na zriadenie pamätnej izby venovanej spisovateľovi Martinovi Kukučínovi

Záver októbra priniesol významný krok v oblasti ochrany kultúrneho dedičstva. Dňa 29. októbra pokračovali prípravy na zriadenie pamätnej izby venovanej spisovateľovi Martinovi Kukučínovi v obci Selce na ostrove Brač, čo predstavuje konkrétny prejav dlhodobej slovensko-chorvátskej kultúrnej spolupráce. Toto sa deje aj vďaka zanieteným predstaviteľom miestnej samosprávy obce Selce – Ivanovi Marijančevićovi a prof. Ivicovi Škrpacovi.

Slovenčina moja

Dňa 8. novembra 2025 sa v Slovenskom dome v Iloku uskutočnilo podujatie *Slovenčina moja*, zamerané na literárno-recitačno-dramatický prednes v slovenskom jazyku a prezentáciu zbierky básní a prózy *Kvapky XX*, na ktoré bola pozvaná aj veľvyslankyňa Hana Kováčová. Podujatie, organizované Slovenským kultúrnym centrom Našice, Maticou slovenskou v Iloku a Základnou školou Julija Benešića v Iloku, potvrdilo význam systematickej podpory slovenského jazyka a identity medzi najmladšou generáciou krajanov.

Keď sa ruža rozvíjala – Radoš 2025

Dňa 12. novembra 2025 sa konalo kultúrne podujatie *Keď sa ruža rozvíjala – Radoš 2025*, ktoré prispelo k uchovávaniu tradičných hodnôt a folklórneho de-

dičstva Slovákov v Chorvátsku. Zástupca veľvyslanectva pán Ján Holič si mohol pozrieť vystúpenie folklórnych súborov, speváckych skupín a detských kolektívov.

Uvedenie filmu *Perla*

Významným momentom slovenskej kultúrnej prezentácie bolo 13. novembra uvedenie filmu *Perla* slovenskej režisérky Alexandry Makarovej na *Zagreb Film Festival 2025*. Silný príbeh ženy v období totality bývalého Československa zaujal nielen veľvyslankyňu Hanu Kováčovú ale aj celé publikum umeleckým spracovaním i otvorenou výpoveďou o láske a utrpení, čím prispel k ďalšiemu zviditeľneniu slovenskej kinematografie v zahraničí.

Prehlbovanie slovensko-chorvátskej ekonomickej spolupráce

Dňa 2. decembra privítala veľvyslankyňa Hana Kováčová expertku spoločnosti FINAX Tamaru Vrhovec Sekáč, manažérku pre medzinárodný obchod, čím sa otvoril priestor na diskusiu o ďalších možnostiach hospodárskej spolupráce.

Zachovanie jazykovej identity slovenskej menšiny v Osijecko-baranskej župe

Dňa 2. decembra uskutočnila veľvyslankyňa Hana Kováčová aj návštevu Materskej školy Zvonček v Jelisavci, kde odovzdala deťom interaktívne knihy a didaktické pomôcky na podporu výučby slovenského jazyka. Podujatie poukázalo na dôležitosť zachovania jazykovej identity slovenskej menšiny v Osijecko-baranskej župe, kde podľa sčítania obyvateľov z roku 2021 žije významná komunita Slovákov. Toho istého dňa sa Hana Kováčová zúčastnila slávnostného zasadnutia Mestského zastupiteľstva pri príležitosti Dňa mesta Osijek a 239. výročia zjednotenia historických častí mesta v roku 1786.

Stretnutie Veľvyslanectva SR v Záhrebe so študentmi a pedagógmi slovakistiky

Akademická diplomacia pokračovala aj 9. decembra predvianočným stretnutím Veľvyslanectva SR v Záhrebe so študentmi a pedagógmi slovakistiky na Univerzite v Záhrebe. Podujatie sa uskutočnilo v Učebni Martina Kukučína Filozofickej fakulty a poskytlo priestor na diskusiu o výučbe slovenského jazyka, medzinárodnej mobilite študentov a spolupráci s partnerskými univerzitami, vrátane Ľvovskej národnej univerzity Ivana Franka a Varšavskej univerzity. Súčasťou programu bola aj projekcia dokumentu o fotografovi Dežovi Hoffmannovi, čo sa podarilo vďaka kultúrnemu odboru MZV EZ SR.

Rokovania prezidentov v Bratislave

Rok vyvrcholil významným politickým stretnutím. Dňa 16. decembra rokovali v Bratislave prezident Slovenskej republiky Peter Pellegrini a prezident Chorvátskej republiky Zoran Milanović. Hlavnými témami boli agenda Európskej rady, energetická bezpečnosť, viacročný finančný rámec, konflikt na Ukrajine, rozširovanie Európskej únie a spolupráca na západnom Balkáne. Stretnutie potvrdilo dynamiku a synergický charakter slovensko-chorvátskych vzťa-

hov. Prezident Zoran Milanović sa počas oficiálnej návštevy stretol aj s predsedom Národnej rady SR Richardom Rašim a predsedom vlády SR Robertom Ficom.

Hana Kováčová*

* Hana KOVÁČOVÁ, veľvyslankyňa Slovenskej republiky v Záhrebe.

Kontakty katedier etnológie medzi Bratislavou a Záhrebom

Je potešiteľné, že síce pod rôznymi menami a organizačným zaradením, katedry ktorých hlavným predmetom vyučovania a výskumu je etnologické, respektíve kultúrno-antropologické bádanie, vďaka možnostiam a činnosti Slovensko-chorvátskej komisii humanitných vied (ďalej SChKHV) obnovili svoje vzťahy.

Tieto určite môžeme sledovať aj v minulých desaťročiach na rôznom stupni a v záujmoch jednotlivých bádateľov. Prakticky od polovice 20. storočia obe vysokoškolské pracoviská udržiavali kontakty, ako o tom svedčí aj štúdia Ivana Grkeša, uverejnená v tomto zborníku, ktorá analyzuje vzájomnú korešpondenciu významných profesorov etnológie Milovana Gavazziho a Jána Podoláka.

Pracovníci katedier využívali navzájom publikačné možnosti (vo vedeckom periodiku bratislavskej katedry *Ethnologia Slavica*, ktorý bol založený zo spoločnej iniciatívy slovanských vysokoškolských etnologických pracovísk v roku 1969, od roku 1993 pod názvom *Ethnologia Slovaca et Slavica*), kde vychádzali vedecké štúdie chorvátskych kolegov; vo vedeckom periodiku katedry v Záhrebe *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, boli bratislavskí spolupracovníci vo redakčnej rade časopisu.

Uvoľnenie cestovania umožnilo a otvorená komunikácia bola posilnená v školskom roku 1992/93 spoločným stretnutím a konferenciou v Bratislave, pod názvom *Etnokultúrne procesy v strednej Európe v 20. storočí* (materiály boli publikované v roku 1994). Na konferenčnom podujatí vystúpili prof. Vitomír Belaj, asistentka, dnes profesorka Tihana Petrović Leš aj prof. Milana Černelić. Povzbudivo otvorené kontakty však narazili na vojnové udalosti 90. rokov, v dôsledku ktorých vzájomné kontakty nepokračovali v nastúpenom rozsahu.

Pravdaže, na vedeckých podujatiach v európskych rámcoch sa pracovníci a pracovníčky stretali a spolupracovali (Budapešť, Viedeň, Sofia, napokon najmä SIEF kongres v Zagrebe v roku 2015). Udržiavali sme živé kolegiálne vzťahy, rámcované tematickými odbornými záujmami konkrétnych výskumných oblastí. Ako učitelia katedier sme sa príležitostne stretávali na veľkých európskych a svetových podujatiach, no k oživeniu vzťahov výrazne až prispela činnosť SChKHV, ktorá sa postarala o kontakt etnologických pracovísk. Za chorvátsku stranu etnologický výskum reprezentuje v komisii prof. Nevena Škrbić Alempijević, za slovenskú stranu riaditeľ Múzea Chorvátov SNM, PhDr. Andrej Solar. V júni 2025 sa uskutočnila konferencia *Slovensko-chorvátskej komisie humanitných vied* etnologického zamerania v Chorvátsku, v Rijeke, v priestoroch Lekárskej fakulty Univerzity v Rijeke. Rokovanie na tému *Medzikultúrne stretnutia z etnologickej perspektívy* priviedli účastníkov na myšlienku obnoviť vzťahy medzi univerzitnými etnologickými katedrami v Bratislave a Záhrebe.

Pozvanie a aktivity sa rozbehli, a v prvej dekáde novembra sme privítali hostí z Chorvátska v Bratislave. Obdivuhodne dobre zorganizovaná exkurzia, pre študentov aj učiteľov zo Záhrebu vyžadovala nasadenie na oboch zúčastnených stranách. Prof. Nevena Škrbić Alempijević a kolega asistent Ivan Grkeš priviezli plný autobus záujemcov, v Bratislave sme sa podobne angažovali, čle-

novia sekcie etnológie Katedry archeológie a kultúrnej antropológie FiF UK od doktorandov až po profesorov, a spolu s poslucháčstvom sme vytvorili príjemnú medzinárodnú komunitu.

Jedným z hlavných bodov stretnutia bolo spoločné kolokvium, kde sme sa vzájomne informovali o študijných programoch, obsahoch kurzov a najmä o výskumných projektoch oboch katedier. Deň kolokvia padol rovno na deň Martina, ktorý je v tradičnom kalendári zasvätený novému, mladému vínu. Tak popoludnie po študijnej časti bolo venované predovšetkým návšteve Múzea Chorvátov SNM v Devínskej Novej Vsi, kde nás privítali riaditeľ múzea Dr. A. Solár a kolegyňa Mgr. Garanová Krištáková a poskytli nám podrobný výklad o príchode a prítomnosti Chorvátov na Slovensku. A aby sme si pamiatky pozreli aj priamo v teréne, presunuli sme sa do obce Šenkvice, významnej lokality, ktorú v polovici 16. storočia osídlila a oživila chorvátska kolonizácia. Jedným z významných kultúrnych darov Chorvátov na Slovensku bol rozvoj vinohradníctva a ovocinárstva. Po prehliadke miestneho opevneného kostola, ktorý je zasvätený svätej Anne, sme ochutnali aj mladé víno v pivnici *Carpate diem*, ktorého priestor vznikol rekonštrukciou bývalých skladov ovocia a zeleniny, v budove, ktorú navrhol v 40. rokoch 20. storočia významný slovenský architekt Emil Belluš.

Ďalší spoločný deň sme strávili exkurziou po historickom centre Bratislavy, ktorú pripravil a viedol Dr. Juraj Janto a popoludní sme navštívili zadunajskú chorvátsku obec Čunovo. Tu sme sa zapojili do stretnutia speváckej a tanečnej skupiny *Čunovský kŕdeľ*, ktorú vedie naša absolventka Mgr. Mária Straková. Živým vystúpením deti rozospievali domácich aj hostí. Záver toho dňa vyplnila návšteva súkromnej zbierky dokladov materiálnej i duchovnej kultúry Chorvátov usídlených v oblasti Zadunajska, pána Jána Maásza v Čunove.

Dni strávené s chorvátskymi kolegami boli príjemným povzbudením pre ďalšie rozvíjanie kontaktov medzi našimi katedrami. Bratislavskí učitelia a študenti etnológie plánujú návštevu a poznávaciu exkurziu oplatiť v ďalšom školskom roku. Takéto stretnutia dávajú dobrú perspektívu aj pre ďalšiu vedeckú a pedagogickú spoluprácu.

Marta Botíková*

* Marta BOTIKOVÁ, Katedra archeológie a kultúrnej antropológie Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave (Slovenská republika).

Aktivity SNM – Múzea kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku s dosahom na chorvátsku národnostnú menšinu na Slovensku v roku 2025

SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku je pamäťová a vedecko-výskumná inštitúcia národného významu. Ako každý rok, aj rok 2025 sa začal s plánmi pripravenými v predchádzajúcom roku. V pláne boli výstavy, podujatia, odborné činnosti a vzdelávacie programy pre školy.

Výstavná činnosť

Úvod roka sme privítali prebiehajúcou výstavou z roku 2024 Stari Božić, ktorú zrealizovalo občianske združenie Nprodukt z Jaroviec a autorkou výstavy je Terézia Németh Šramková. Výstava zachytáva na fotografiách atmosféru vianočných sviatkov na príklade jednej rodiny v Jarovciach, pričom je jedným z výstupov rovnomenného televízneho dokumentárneho filmu.

Tematicky sme pokračovali výstavou Slovo, jazyk, kniha z produkcie BIBIANA, na ktorej spolupracovalo aj naše múzeum. Dva roky výstava putovala po Slovensku a svoju púť ukončila v našom múzeu. Po tejto výstave nasledovala krátka, ale významná výstava známok s názvom Zbierkofila 25. Výstava bola síce mimo tematického zamerania múzea, avšak vystavenie vzácnych zberateľských známok Modrý Maurícius pritiahlo veľa návštevníkov.

Piesňou a tancom uchované/Pjesmom i plesom sačuvano – výstavu pripravil a realizoval tím zamestnancov múzea. Výstava prezentuje históriu a činnosť hudobných, speváckych a tanečných kolektívov chorvátskej národnostnej menšiny na Slovensku. Svojou činnosťou súbory uchovávajú chorvátsku kultúru a s hrdosťou ju prezentujú na rozličných podujatiach doma a v zahraničí. Jednotlivé kolektívy sú neoddeliteľnou súčasťou Festivalu chorvátskej kultúry v Bratislave – Devínskej Novej Vsi, ktorého tradícia pretrváva už od roku 1989. Myšlienka výstavy vznikla pri príležitosti 35. výročia konania Festivalu chorvátskej kultúry a je výstupom projektu 35 Festivalov chorvátskej kultúry.

Odborné činnosti

V júni 2025 sa v Rijeke v Chorvátsku uskutočnila konferencia so zameraním na etnológiu Medzikultúrne stretnutia z etnologickej perspektívy. Výstupom je tento recenzovaný zborník Studia Carpathico –Adriatica, vol. VII. Dva zo šiestich odborných príspevkov za slovenskú stranu mali odborní zamestnanci SNM – Múzea kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku. PhDr. Andrej Solár, riaditeľ/kurátor – Chotárne názvy ako stopy chorvátskej identity na Slovensku a Mgr. Mária Garanová Krišťáková kurátorka/etnologička – Dokumentácia náboženských pútí slovenských Chorvátov v zbierkach SNM – Múzea kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku. SNM – MKCHS má svoje zastúpenie v Chorvátsko-slovenskej komisii humanitných vied, ktorá tieto konferencie organizuje.

Odborní zamestnanci múzea v tomto čase pracovali na dvoch vedecko-výskumných úlohách. Múzeum taktiež priebežne zhromažďuje a dokumentuje peri-

odiká chorvátskej národnostnej menšiny na Slovensku a v Rakúsku. Periodiká sú významným zdrojom informácií z aktuálneho diania v menšinovej kultúre a v budúcnosti budú cenným prameňom pre ďalšie generácie bádateľov. Múzeum v rámci svojich hlavných činností sprístupňuje zbierky za účelom bádania. V spolupráci s mestskou časťou Bratislava Devínska Nová Ves organizuje vo svojich priestoroch kurzy chorvátskeho jazyka pre verejnosť.

Prostredníctvom svojej knižnice múzeum poskytuje služby pre záujemcov o chorvátsku literatúru z oblasti beletrie, etnológie, histórie a jazykovedy.

Taktiež spolupracuje s učiteľkou chorvátskeho jazyka, ktorý učí žiakov základných škôl v obciach Jarovce, Čunovo, Chorvátsky Grob a Devínska Nová Ves a tiež s lektorkou chorvátskeho jazyka na Katedre slovanských filológií na Filozofickej fakulte Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave.

Prezentačné aktivity

SNM – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku organizovalo niekoľko prednášok na tému chorvátskeho osídlenia Slovenska mimo svojho pracoviska, napr. prednášku Chorvátske stopy v šenkvickom chotári.

Múzeum sa podieľa každý nepárny rok na organizovaní podujatia/alegorického sprievodu Po staza nasih starih, ktoré už v minulosti uskutočnilo v Šenkviciach (2019) a v Mokrom Háji (2019) v obci Suchá nad Parnou (2023), teda v obciach, ktoré v 16. storočí osídlili/dosídlili Chorváti. V roku 2025 sme pre celú túto skupinu zabezpečili prehliadku Zámku v Hlohovci, kde som ich sprevádzal (Panstvo Hlohovec bolo v 15. storočí majetkom kráľa Bosny Mikuláša Ilockého, maď. Ujlaky). Týmto spôsobom sa múzeum aktívne podieľa na kultúrnom živote menšiny nad rámec svojho poslania.

Kurátorka zo SNM – MKCHS Mária Garanová Krišťáková absolvovala v auguste 2025 jazykový pobyt na ostrove Brač v rámci projektu Jezik prez granic, ktorý organizuje Hrvatski akademski klub vo Viedni pre ľudí do 30 rokov. Na tomto pobyte kolegyňa prezentovala múzeum a aktivity chorvátskej menšiny na Slovensku.

Hlavnou zložkou návštevnosti múzea sú väčšie organizované skupiny. Medzi ne patria študentské skupiny najmä zo slovenských ale aj chorvátskych škôl. Ako príklad môžeme uviesť poslednú exkurziu chorvátskych študentov na Slovensku 10. – 13. novembra 2025. Exkurzia študentov etnológie bola organizovaná prof. Nevenou Škrbić Alempijević (Univerzita v Záhrebe) a prof. Martou Botíkovou (Univerzita Komenského v Bratislave). Prehliadku expozícií zrealizovali zamestnanci múzea v chorvátskom jazyku. Po skončení prehliadky múzea ich riaditeľ múzea sprevádzal do obce Šenkvice, kde im sprístupnil kostol a urobil krátku prednášku o jeho histórii a histórii chorvátskeho osídlenia v tejto obci (obec osídlili Chorváti v roku 1559 a vystavali súčasný Kostol svätej Anny. Patrocínium kostola prevzali z Kostola svätej Anny v Kostajnici v Chorvátsku. Takisto im predstavil pozostatky chorvátskych názvov v miestnej toponýmii). Po prehliadke kostola ich sprevádzal na degustáciu vín do jedného z miestnych vinárstiev, ktorú taktiež zabezpečil ako súčasť programu (chorvátske osídlenie na Slovensku je úzko späté s vinohradníctvom a vinárstvom, nakoľko Chorváti pod Malými Karpatmi rozvinuli produkciu vína v 17. a 18. storočí na Slovensku).

SNM – MKCHS prostredníctvom svojich sociálnych sieti propagujeme aktivity všetkých chorvátskych spolkov na Slovensku, čím napomáha šíreniu povedomia o prítomnosti tejto národnostnej menšiny na Slovensku.

Na konci roka prebehlo plánovanie podujatí k ďalšiemu roku 2026. Plánované aktivity, ktoré boli čiastočne rozbehnuté v roku 2025, by malo dotiahnuť do konca v roku 2026. Sú to najmä spolupráce s Chorvátskymi múzeami. Múzeum Medimuria v Čakovci, nakoľko panstvo v Čakovci bolo vlastnené šľachtickou rodinou Zrínskych, ktorá vlastnila aj hrad Zrin s panstvom neďaleko Kostajnice. Ďalším je Múzeum Slavónie v Osijeku, keďže najmä Slavónia bola najviac ovplyvnená osmanskou expanziou v 16. a 17. storočí a zároveň bola bránou pre utekajúce obyvateľstvo z južných regiónov. Pripravená bola taktiež spolupráca s Chorvátsko-slovenskou obchodnou komorou. Múzeum má rozpracovanú novú expozíciu zameranú na históriu, ktorú treba ešte obsahovo dopracovať. Na rok 2027 je dohodnutá spolupráca s obcou Chorvátsky Grob pri príprave výstavy k 100. výročiu vydania monografie Podunajská dedina v Československu mapujúca históriu a kultúru obce Chorvátsky Grob.

Andrej Solár*

* Andrej SOLÁR, Slovenské národné múzeum – Múzeum kultúry Chorvátov na Slovensku Bratislava (Slovenská republika).

Postignuća Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice u 2025. godini

SUDJELOVANJE NA MEĐUNARODNIM STRUČNIM SKUPOVIMA

Međunarodna konferencija u Nadlaku

U spomen na književnika, društvenog aktivista i istaknutog predstavnika slovačke Donje zemlje Ondreja Štefanka, Kulturno i znanstveno društvo Ivana Kraska u Nadlaku u suradnji sa Svjetskim udruženjem Slovaka u iseljeništvu od 2009. svake godine dodjeljuje *Nagradu Ondreja Štefanka* dvjema živućim ličnostima slovačkog svijeta. Spomenuta nagrada dodijeljena je 20. ožujka 2025. u sjedištu Demokratskog saveza Slovaka u Rumunjskoj Ladislavu Lenovskom iz Slovačke za doprinos razvoju i promicanju slovačke literature stvarane u slovačkom inozemstvu, Samuelu Čelovskom iz Srbije za doprinos razvoju i promicanju slovačke literature stvarane u slovačkom inozemstvu te Ľubomiru Molitorisu iz Poljske za doprinos razvoju, organizaciji i diversifikaciji kulturnog života i društvenih aktivnosti u slovačkom iseljeničkom okruženju.

Dan nakon dodjele *Nagrade Ondreja Štefanka* redovno se održava međunarodna konferencija. U 2025. godini održana je od 21. do 22. ožujka pod nazivom *Folklor u kontekstu donjozemskih Slovaka*. Folklor i drugi fenomeni koji iz njega proizlaze (folklorizam, folklorizacija, folklorna stilizacija itd.) pripadaju osnovnim obilježjima postojanja, života, kulture i tradicije donjozemskih Slovaka. Mnoge pojave, koje su usko povezane s folklorom, predstavljaju nacionalna i kulturna obilježja ove grane iseljenih Slovaka – neke kao dio tradicija koje članovi donjozemske zajednice upražnjavaju od svog dolaska s područja Slovačke, neke kao fenomeni koji su se postupno oblikovali u specifičnim uvjetima područja Donje zemlje.

Bogat program konferencije, na kojoj je predstavljeno tridesetak priloga autora iz Slovačke, Mađarske, Srbije, Hrvatske i Rumunjske, zabilježen je u obliku zbornika. U njemu je mjesto našao i rad pod naslovom *Etno dom – mjesto zaštite, prezentacije i revitalizacije kulturne baštine – primjer dobre prakse* koji je prezentiran prvog dana dvodnevnog susreta stručnjaka s područja Donje zemlje i iz Slovačke. Autorica priloga Sandra Kralj Vukšić sa suradnicom Tatjanom Seničanin predstavila je Slovačku etno kuću u Lipovljanima kao dosad jedinstven projekt unutar slovačke zajednice u Hrvatskoj, a po mnogočemu i unutar ukupno 22 nacionalne manjine u Hrvatskoj. Na konkretnom primjeru Slovačke etno kuće u Lipovljanima te pripadajuće obiteljske ostavštine oblikovane u etnografsku zbirku, dokumentarnu zbirku tiskovina i fotografskih negativa na staklu, autorica je ukazala na važnost sustavnog pristupa u očuvanju kulturne baštine, odnosno istaknula naveden projekt Matice slovačke Lipovljani kao primjer dobre prakse.

Cilj konferencije bio je provesti što širu analizu pojedinih segmenata folklornih pojava u kontekstu donjozemskih Slovaka. Radovi prezentirani na konferenciji pridonijeli su obogaćivanju spoznaja o sadašnjosti, ali i prošlosti fol-

Slika 1: *Ravnateljica Sandra Kralj Vukšić predstavila je rad na temu* Etno dom – mjesto zaštite, prezentacije i revitalizacije kulturne baštine – primjer dobre prakse.

klornih pojava – o njihovim varijantama, transformacijama ili čak postupnom nestajanju – a s druge strane informirali su i o nastanku novih oblika ovog segmenta kulturne baštine.

Znanstveno-stručni skup *Multikulturalizam i izazovi suživota u 21. stoljeću* u Požegi

U organizaciji Instituta za istraživanje migracija iz Zagreba i Povijesnog društva Požega, odnosno dr. sc. Dragutina Babića i predsjednika Povijesnog društva Požega profesora Vinka Tadića, u Požegi je 9. svibnja 2025. održan znanstveno-stručni skup *Multikulturalizam i izazovi suživota u 21. stoljeću*. Skup je održan u Dvorani znanja Gradske knjižnice Požega. Na početku skupa prisutnima su se obratili dr. sc. Dragutin Babić, dr. sc. Mihaela Markovac i ravnateljica Instituta za istraživanje migracija dr. sc. Marina Perić Kaselj. Ukupno je na temu multikulturalizma, suživota, manjina i migranata izlagalo petnaest znanstvenika iz Slovenije, Norveške, Srbije i Hrvatske. Na stručnom skupu sudjelovala je i ravnateljica Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice dr. sc. Sandra Kralj Vukšić s radom na temu *Slovačka nacionalna manjina u Hrvatskoj u kontekstu održivosti multikulturalizma*. Nakon izlaganja održane su diskusije, a profesor Vinko Tadić i dr. sc. Dragutin Babić najavili su zbornik radova sa spomenutoga skupa.

Slovački učitelj u svijetu na forumu iseljenika u Bratislavi

U organizaciji Muzeja iseljeništva Matice slovačke i u suradnji s Uredom za iseljene Slovake, uz potporu Ministarstva vanjskih i unutarnjih poslova Republike Slovačke, 9. rujna 2025. održan je u Bratislavi 1. godišnji forum iseljenika pod nazivom *Slovački učitelj u svijetu – obrazovanje, identitet i budućnost*.

Skup je otvorila glavna organizatorica, ravnateljica Muzeja iseljeništva Matice slovačke i predana promicateljica slovačke kulture Katarína Koňariková.

Slika 2: *Predsjedavajući 1. godišnjeg foruma iseljenika u Bratislavi pod nazivom* Slovački učitelj u svijetu – obrazovanje, identitet i budućnost.

Prisutnima su se obratili upravitelj Matice slovačke Maroš Smolec, ravnateljica Odjela za kulturnu diplomaciju Ministarstva vanjskih i unutarnjih poslova Republike Slovačke Livia Machová, savjetnica za obrazovanje medicinskog osoblja Ministarstva zdravstva doc. dr. sc. Eliška Kubíková, ravnateljica odjela za službeni jezik Ministarstva kulture Slovačke Republike Ľubica Strážayová, potpredsjednik Ureda za iseljene Slovake Peter Chrastina, prvi potpredsjednik Demokratskog saveza Slovaka u Rumunjskoj Pavel Hlasznik, te potpredsjednik Slovačke državne samouprave u Mađarskoj i predsjednik Odgojno-obrazovnog odbora Juraj Ragyanszky.

Na događanju su dvadeset i osam tema prezentirali stručnjaci iz Mađarske, Njemačke, Srbije, Islanda, Rumunjske, Belgije, Poljske, Hrvatske i Slovačke. Iz Hrvatske je na temu *Kulturno-edukacijski centar Slovaka Orebić – prostor suradnje u obrazovanju Slovaka u inozemstvu* govorila ravnateljica Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice i članica Komisije za školstvo i obrazovanje Ureda za iseljene Slovake – sekcija za srednju, južnu i istočnu Europu dr. sc. Sandra Kralj Vukšić.

Sudionici su vodili raspravu o položaju učitelja, o izazovima i mogućnostima poučavanja slovačkog jezika u inozemstvu, ali i o njegovoj ključnoj ulozi pri formiranju mladih generacija u manjinskom okruženju.

Forum je okupio zastupnike ministarstava, akademskih institucija, škola i organizacija iseljenika te potvrdio svoju misiju – spajati Slovake koji žive širom svijeta, podržavati razmjenu iskustava i otvarati teme koje su značajne za iseljeničke zajednice.

Susret donjozemskih učitelja u Kovačici

U Osnovnoj školi „Mlada pokolenja" u Kovačici, 10. i 11. listopada 2025. susreli su se učitelji iz Mađarske, Hrvatske, Rumunjske i Srbije. Tradicionalni susret slovačkih donjozemskih učitelja predstavlja najvažnije stručno i društveno događanje koje spaja učitelje pojedince koji s ljubavlju i predanošću čuvaju slovački jezik, kulturu i osjećaj pripadnosti izvan granica Republike Slovačke.

Susret je organiziralo Nacionalno vijeće slovačke nacionalne manjine u partnerstvu s Udrugom slovačkih učitelja, Čabianskom organizacijom Slovaka iz Mađarske i Demokratskim savezom Slovaka u Rumunjskoj, koji njeguju dugogodišnju suradnju na projektima jačanja slovačkog obrazovanja u inozemstvu. Sastanak je financijski podržao Ured za iseljene Slovake, a zastupao ga je potpredsjednik Peter Chrastina, koji je u svojem govoru pohvalio predanost i profesionalnost učitelja, koji više od stoljeća održavaju kontinuitet slovačkog obrazovanja u Donjoj zemlji.

U Kovačici su se susreli učitelji iz Padine, Bačkog Petrovca, Pivnice, Aradača i Bijelog Blata, ali i kolege iz Mađarske, Rumunjske, Slovačke i Hrvatske s ciljem pronalaženja odgovarajućih metoda za jačanje kvalitete učenja slovačkog jezika i predmeta na slovačkom jeziku.

Program stručnog skupa bio je usredotočen na temu *Važnost manjinskih škola u životu slovačke zajednice u inozemstvu*. Učitelji iz četiriju država podijelili su svoja iskustva, metode i prijedloge kako učinkovitije podržati mladu generaciju Slovaka u odnosu na jezik i podrijetlo.

U svečanom dijelu programa dodijeljena je *Nagrada Samuela Tešedíka*. Radi se o nagradi koja se svake godine dodjeljuje slovačkim prosvjetnim djelatnicima u inozemstvu, a koja nosi ime istaknutog prosvjetiteljskog učitelja i reformatora obrazovanja Samuela Tešedíka. U 2025. godini *Nagrada Samuela Tešedíka* dodijeljena je Juditi Molnarovoj Pribojskoj iz Mađarske, Anni Karolíni Dováľovoj iz Rumunjske, Lydiji Gedelovskoj iz Srbije i Dr. Zuzani Drugovoj iz Slovačke. Spomenice Samuela Tešedíka uručene su dvjema Anama: Jurašovoj iz Rumunjske i Dudašovoj iz Srbije.

Međunarodna konferencija povodom 80. obljetnice Liceja u Nadlaku

Međunarodna konferencija pod nazivom *80 godina slovačkog srednjoškolskog obrazovanja u Rumunjskoj* održana je u Nadlaku (Rumunjska) od 16. do 18. listopada 2025. Tema konferencije proizašla je iz potrebe obilježavanja 80. obljetnice osnutka Liceja Jozefa Gregora Tajovskog.

Cilj događanja bio je vrednovanje povijesti, uloge i važnosti slovačkog srednjoškolskog obrazovanja u Rumunjskoj te obilježavanje dugogodišnje tradicije odgoja i obrazovanja na materinjem jeziku među donjozemskim Slovacima. Licej Jozefa Gregora Tajovskog u Nadlaku, koji već osam desetljeća obrazuje generacije slovačkih učenika, simbol je kontinuiteta, kulturnog identiteta i obrazovanja Slovaka u Rumunjskoj.

Konferencija je omogućila stručan doprinos usmjeren na povijesne, pedagoške kurikularne i društvene aspekte slovačkog obrazovanja u Rumunjskoj, istodobno istaknuvši značaj međunarodne suradnje slovačkih škola u inozemstvu i matične zemlje.

Svečani kulturni program 18. listopada prisutnima je prezentirao bogatu po-

vijest Liceja u Nadlaku i njegovo značenje za slovačku zajednicu u Rumunjskoj.

U ovoj prigodi Slovački centar za kulturu Našice predstavljala je ravnateljica Sandra Kralj Vukšić, koja je učiteljima iz Nadlaka i predstavnicima zajednice čestitala na dugogodišnjem radu u očuvanju slovačkog identiteta te zahvalila govornicima na dijeljenju iskustava koja su na susretu predstavljena u obliku stručnih prezentacija.

SURADNJA S UREDOM ZA ISELJENE SLOVAKE IZ BRATISLAVE

10. zasjedanje Komisije za školstvo i obrazovanje – sekcije za srednju, južnu i istočnu Europu u Našicama

Deseti sastanak Komisije za školstvo i obrazovanje – sekcije za srednju, južnu i istočnu Europu Ureda za iseljene Slovake (UZIS) održan je 19. svibnja 2025. u Slovačkom centru za kulturu Našice.

U ime domaćina dobrodošlicu je poželjela ravnateljica Sandra Kralj Vukšić te pozdravila predsjednika komisije i predstavnika Demokratskog saveza Slovaka u Rumunjskoj Pavla Hlasznika, potpredsjednika UZIS-a Petra Chrastinu s djelatnicama UZIS-a, tajnicu komisije Katarínu Baranyaiovu i Carmen Homolovu, koordinatoricu za školstvo iz Nacionalnog savjeta slovačke nacionalne manjine u Srbiji Svetlanu Zolnjan, ravnateljicu Slovačke gimnazije, osnovne škole i kolegija u Bekescsabi u Mađarskoj Edit Pečeňovu, ravnateljicu škole Nové Mesto pod Šiatrom iz Mađarske Juliu Kuczikovu, ravnatelja Budimpeštanskog slovačkog stručnog kolegija Juraja Ragyanszkog, školsku nadzornicu – savjetnicu za školske ustanove s nastavnom na jeziku i pismu slovačke nacionalne manjine Jelenu Dejanović, te predstavnicu Ministarstva školstva, istraživanja, razvoja i mladih Republike Slovačke Katarínu Čamborovu.

Prisutnima su se obratili i uvaženi gosti: veleposlanica Republike Slovačke u Hrvatskoj Hana Kováčová, zastupnik za češku i slovačku nacionalnu manjinu u Hrvatskom saboru Vladimir Bilek, ravnatelj Uprave za nacionalne manjine Ministarstva znanosti, obrazovanja i mladih RH Nandor Čapo, predsjednik Saveza Slovaka Mirko Vavra i, u ime gradonačelnika Krešimira Kašube, predstavnici Grada Našica Magdalena Vidaković Gelenčir i Marijan Brkić.

U uvodnome dijelu potpredsjednik UZIS-a Peter Chrastina predstavio je program prioriteta u području obrazovanja kojima će se Ured baviti u nadolazećem razdoblju.

Članovi komisije predstavili su iskustva i uvide sunarodnjaka iz Mađarske, Srbije, Rumunjske i Hrvatske vezane uz aktivnosti UZIS-a te aktivnosti Ministarstva školstva, istraživanja, razvoja i mladih Republike Slovačke u području potpore obrazovanju i osposobljavanju iseljenih Slovaka.

Na sastanku se raspravljalo o sljedećim temama: subvencije UZIS-a za potporu aktivnostima u području nacionalnog obrazovanja; sudjelovanje djece iseljenih Slovaka u kampovima UZIS-a (4 turnusa ljetnih kampova za mlade u Republici Slovačkoj u Donovalima i u Oravi); aktivnosti provedene u suradnji s Metodičkim centrom za iseljene Slovake na Sveučilištu Mateja Bela u Banskoj Bystrici (škole u prirodi, seminari za učitelje, *online* nastava slovačkog jezika); SAS u Bratislavi i Pedagoškog fakulteta u Banskoj Bystrici; sudjelovanje učenika na brojnim natjecanjima koje organizira ili podržava UZIS; mogućnosti studiranja stipendiranog studiranja u Slovačkoj za iseljene Slovake.

Slika 3: *Predsjedništvo 10. zasjedanja Komisije za školstvo i obrazovanje – Sekcije za srednju, južnu i istočnu Europu u Našicama: veleposlanica Republike Slovačke u Hrvatskoj Hana Kováčová, potpredsjednik UZIS-a Peter Chrastina, predsjednik komisije i predstavnik Demokratskog saveza Slovaka u Rumunjskoj Pavel Hlasznik i ravnateljica Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice Sandra Kralj Vukšić.*

Slika 4: *Sudionici 10. zasjedanja Komisije za školstvo i obrazovanje – Sekcije za srednju, južnu i istočnu Europu u Našicama.*

U ovoj prigodi, potpredsjednik UZIS-a Peter Chrastina uručio je spomenicu Mađarsko-slovačkoj dvojezičnoj manjinskoj osnovnoj školi i internatu u Novom Mestu pod Šiatrom, koja ove godine obilježava 75. obljetnicu osnutka.

Radionica Ureda za iseljene Slovake na temu pripreme projekata

U Slovačkom centru za kulturu Našice 8. listopada 2025. održana je radionica na temu pripreme projekata za prijavu na javni poziv Ureda za iseljene Slovake. Radionica je bila namijenjena subjektima iz redova slovačkih udruga i organizacija koje djeluju u Hrvatskoj, a koji su registrirani u digitalnom informacijskom sistemu. Radionicu su pripremile i vodile djelatnice odjela za subvencije i administrativno-financijski nadzor Ureda za iseljene Slovake Klaudia Borsová i Terézia Mochnáčová. Sudionicima radionice prezentirane su informacije o mogućnostima i uvjetima financiranja, načinu pripreme i provedbe aktivnosti, izvještavanja i diseminaciji projekata. U radionici su sudjelovali zastupnici matica slovačkih iz Josipovca Punitovačkog, Osijeka, Beketinaca, Zokovog Gaja, Jurjevca Punitovačkog kao i ravnateljica Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice.

PROVEDBA PROJEKTA *MANJINSKA KULTURA KAO SREDSTVO SAMOIDENTIFIKACIJE I JAČANJA INKLUZIJE U MULTIETNIČKOM OKRUŽENJU – MISMO*

Partneri iz Hrvatske domaćini sastanka u Splitu

Četvrti radni sastanak projekta *Manjinska kultura kao sredstvo samoidentifikacije i jačanja inkluzije u multietničkom okruženju – MiSmo* održao se 6. i 7. svibnja 2025. u Splitu. Voditelj projekta je Sveučilište Mateja Bela u Banskoj Bystrici iz Slovačke Republike, a partneri u projektu su Slovaci iz Rumunjske (Teorijski licej Josipa Kozáčeka u Bodonošu), Francuske (Slovačka škola u Parizu i ansambl Margaretka), Srbije (Slovačko vojvođansko kazalište u Bačkom Petrovcu) i Hrvatske (Slovački centar za kulturu Našice).

Sastanak je organizirao projektni partner iz Hrvatske. Uz organizatora sastanka iz Hrvatske i glavnog nositelja projekta, Sveučilišta Mateja Bela u Banskoj Bystrici, na njemu su sudjelovali predstavnici svih projektnih partnera iz Srbije, Rumunjske i Francuske.

Prvi dan radnog sastanka bio je usmjeren na pripremu dijela materijala za film na temu Martina Kukučína, koji je dio svog radnog vijeka proveo u Hrvatskoj na otoku Braču, a kojem je posvećen jedan od didaktičkih filmova. Sudionici sastanka posjetili su Selca, gdje je djelovao ovaj značajni slovački književnik. Drugog dana voditeljica projekta Zuzana Drugová prezentirala je dosadašnje aktivnosti provedene u okviru projekta i pružila detaljne informacije o trenutačnoj fazi projekta – postprodukciji 40 didaktičkih filmova,

Slika 5: *Partneri projekta* MiSmo *na završnoj konferenciji u Banskoj Bystrici.*

koji su krajnji cilj projekta. Partnere se ujedno upoznalo s aktualnom radnom verzijom filmova za svaku zemlju.

Diseminacijska događanja projekta *MiSmo* u Josipovcu Punitovačkom, Lipovljanima i Našicama.

U završnim fazama projekta *Manjinska kultura kao sredstvo samoidentifikacije i jačanja inkluzije u multietničkom okruženju – MiSmo* održani su diseminacijski događaji na kojima su predstavljeni materijali odnosno rezultati projekta, koji je započeo 2022. godine uz financijsku potporu Europske unije.

Slovački centar za kulturu Našice, projektni partner iz Hrvatske, tijekom četverogodišnjeg razdoblja projekta surađivao je s gotovo svim školama u kojima se uči slovački jezik u Hrvatskoj, a diseminacijske događaje proveo je u osnovnim školama u Josipovcu Punitovačkom (29. svibnja 2025.), Lipovljanima (9. lipnja 2025.) i Našicama (10. lipnja 2025.). Jedan od deset filmova, namijenjen ciljanoj skupini slovačke djece diljem svijeta, koja slovački jezik koriste uglavnom u kolokvijalnom obliku, predstavljen je učenicima i učiteljima. Filmovi djeci koja govore slovački jezik pružaju mogućnost upoznati se s jezikom, kulturom i životom svojih prijatelja u partnerskim zemljama. Prikazivan je film snimljen u Jurjevcu Punitovačkom na temu dječjih igara s naglaskom na to kako su se djeca igrala u prošlosti i kako se igraju danas. Nakon projekcije filma, učenici su imali priliku naznačiti željene dopune i promjene putem upitnika, čime su pridonijeli konačnim verzijama filmova.

Završna konferencija projekta

Na Sveučilištu Mateja Bela u Banskoj Bystrici 13. kolovoza 2025. održana je završna konferencija projekta *Manjinska kultura kao sredstvo samoidentifikacije i jačanja inkluzije u multietničkom okruženju – MiSmo* iz Erasmus+ poziva.

Konferenciju je otvorila prorektorica Sveučilišta Mateja Bela u Banskoj Bystrici dr. sc. Miroslava Knapková, koja je pozdravila uvažene goste. Svoje institucije došli su podržati zastupnik u rumunjskom parlamentu i predsjednik Demokratskog saveza Slovaka u Rumunjskoj Adrián Merka, a iz Veleposlanstva Republike Francuske u Slovačkoj bio je prisutan Thomas Perrin.

Rezultate trogodišnjeg projekta predstavila je voditeljica projekta dr. sc. Zuzana Drugová, a projekt su potom u panel-raspravi ocijenili predstavnici projektnih partnera – Zuzana Colinet Fodorova za partnera Slovačka škola, dječji vrtić i dječje folklorno društvo „Margaretka" u Parizu iz Francuske, dr. sc. Sandra Kralj Vukšić za partnera Slovački centar za kulturu Našice iz Hrvatske, Alexandar Mlinarčik za partnera Teorijski licej Jozefa Kozáčeka u Bodonošu iz Rumunjske, Viera Krstovski za partnera Srpsko-slovačko vojvođansko kazalište u Bačkom Petrovcu iz Srbije.

Na konferenciji je održana prezentacija odabranih filmova projektnih partnera svake uključene zemlje. Nakon predstavljanja projekta, svoje su stručno mišljenje dali i vanjski stručnjaci: dr. sc. Michal Babiak, pročelnik Odjela za estetiku na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta Komenskog u Bratislavi i doc. dr. sc. Hana Hlôšková, etnologinja i stručnjakinja za folklor, dugogodišnja predavačica na Sveučilištu Komenskog u Bratislavi i stručnjakinja Slovačke akademije znanosti. Stručnjaci su projekt opisali kao skicu vlastitog slovačkog svijeta sa širim kulturnim kontekstom. Ocijenili su ga ambicioznim i metodološki poticajnim, a kao posebna vrijednost projekta naveden je odnos prema tradiciji, originalnost u slovačkom kontekstu, osjetljiva percepcija *"našeg"* i *"ne našeg"* te duhoviti komentari dijalektnih izraza.

Projekt je završio 30. rujna 2025., a otad je na stranicama Metodičkog centra Sveučilišta Mateja Bela u Banskoj Bystrici dostupno 40 kratkih didaktičkih filmova usmjerenih na komunikaciju na slovačkom jeziku za djecu iseljenih Slovaka.

Sandra Kralj Vukšić*

* Sandra KRALJ VUKŠIĆ, Slovački centar za kulturu Našice, ravnateljica.

Proslava 15. godišnjice Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice programom *Mjesto na zemlji - slike s Donje zemlje*

Svečani program 15. obljetnice osnutka Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice održao se 7. listopada 2025. u Koncertnoj dvorani „Franjo Krežma“ Kulturnog centra Osijek.

Proslavu su svojim prisustvom uveličali veleposlanica Slovačke Republike u Hrvatskoj Hana Kováčová, državna tajnica Ministarstva kulture i medija Republike Hrvatske Dražena Vrselja, saborski zastupnik za slovačku i češku nacionalnu manjinu u Hrvatskom saboru Vladimir Bilek, pročelnica Odjela za subvenciju i administrativno-financijski nadzor Klaudia Borsová, izaslanica gradonačelnika grada Osijeka Marija Garić, izaslanica gradonačelnika grada Našica Manuela Pintarić, predsjednik Saveza Slovaka Mirko Vavra, članica Vijeća za nacionalne manjine Branka Baksa, potpredsjednik Saveza Slovaka Aleksandar Knapček, ravnateljica Muzeja Slavonije Zdenka Predrijevac, predsjednica Vijeća slovačke nacionalne manjine Osječko-baranjske županije Ana Kanđera Legčević, predsjednik Vijeća slovačke nacionalne manjine Vukovarsko-srijemske županije Milan Pucovský, predsjednici matica slovačkih u Hrvatskoj, brojni gosti i prijatelji.

Prigodnim obraćanjem, ravnateljica Sandra Kralj Vukšić zahvalila je za suradnju sa Slovačkim centrom za kulturu Našice, kao i kustosica Tatjana Seničanin, koja je vodila program proslave.

Kulturni program obljetnice pripremilo je i prezentiralo Sveučilišno folklorno društvo *Mladost* iz Banske Bystrice, prvi slovački folklorni ansambl koji je pod vodstvom umjetničkog voditelja Martina Urbana stvorio cjelovečernji

Slika 1: *Izvedba programa* Mjesto na zemlji – Slike s Donje zemlje.

Slika 2: *Grupna fotografija organizatora, uvaženih gostiju, pokrovitelja i sudionika svečane proslave 15. obljetnice osnutka Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice.*

kazališni projekt s temom iseljeničke kulture u izravnoj suradnji s mladim stvarateljima iz redova izvornih nositelja autohtone kulture Slovaka koji žive južno od granica Slovačke.

Ovaj iznimno dobro prihvaćen glazbeno-plesni program *MJESTO NA ZEMLJI – Slike s Donje zemlje* nastao je korištenjem dostupnog materijala u području tradicionalne narodne kulture Slovaka koji žive južno od Slovačke, a uz ustaljene folklorističke principe koristi i kazališne tehnike i kompoziciju vizualnih elemenata, za što se dvorana „Franjo Krežma" pokazala kao dobar izbor.

Tema predstavljenog programa – migracije i uspostavljanje novog identiteta u specifičnim uvjetima multietničkog kraja tzv. Donje zemlje, prezentirana je kroz prikaze različitih slovačkih svadbenih i drugih obreda Slovaka iz Mađarske, Rumunjske, Srbije i Hrvatske.

U umjetničkoj izvedbi programa, uz folkloriste iz Slovačke, sudjelovali su i članovi Matice slovačke Ilok, Matice slovačke Međurić, Matice slovačke Jelisavac i Matice slovačke Josipovac, što je u gledatelju pobudilo osjećaj ponosa na vlastito podrijetlo i pripadnost, čime je dosegnut cilj ne samo ovog programa i večeri već i ukupnog djelovanja Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice.

Počast slavljeniku odali su u obliku suradnje na programu proslave osnivač Savez Slovaka i Veleposlanstvo Slovačke Republike u Zagrebu, a financijsku potporu pružili su Ministarstvo kulture i medija Republike Hrvatske, Ured za ljudska prava i prava nacionalnih manjina, Ured za iseljene Slovake, Osječko-baranjska županija i Grad Našice.

Sandra Kralj Vukšić*

* Sandra KRALJ VUKŠIĆ, Slovački centar za kulturu Našice, ravnateljica.

Medalja Ureda za iseljene Slovake dodijeljena za zasluge Sandri Kralj Vukšić

Ured za iseljene Slovake krovna je institucija osnovana s ciljem koordinacije i implementacije državne politike Slovačke prema svojim iseljenicima. Od osnivanja 2006. godine, njegova je primarna zadaća pružanje podrške očuvanju nacionalnog identiteta, jezika i kulturne baštine Slovaka u svijetu. Kao simbol zahvalnosti Slovačke Republike za izvanredne zasluge u očuvanju nacionalne svijesti, kulturnog i jezičnog identiteta iseljenih Slovaka i napore povezane s jačanjem veza između iseljenih Slovaka i Slovačke, Ured je ustanovio *Medalju* koju svake godine dodjeljuje najuspješnijim pojedincima i organizacijama koje ispunjavaju navedene ciljeve.

U Statutu *Medalje Ureda za iseljene Slovake* između ostaloga se navodi:

> *„Ured za iseljene Slovake, kao tijelo državne uprave Slovačke Republike, ispunjavajući odredbe Ustava Slovačke Republike o podršci nacionalne svijesti i kulturnog identiteta iseljenih Slovaka, podršci njihovim institucijama osnovanim za postizanje te svrhe i podršci odnosima između Slovačke Republike i iseljenih Slovaka u skladu s člankom 7. a) Ustava Slovačke Republike, kako bi se istaknula činjenica da su Slovačka i Slovačka Republika oduvijek smatrale i danas smatraju iseljene Slovake dijelom slovačkog naroda, njihov život i povijest dijelom slovačke nacionalne povijesti, a njihovu kulturu dijelom nacionalne kulturne baštine, u skladu s Deklaracijom Nacionalnog vijeća Slovačke Republike od 6. srpnja 1999. godine kao znak zahvalnosti ustanovio je* Medalju Ureda za iseljene Slovake.“

Slika 1: Medalja Ureda za iseljene Slovake *dodijeljena za zasluge Sandri Kralj Vukšić.*

Obilježje odlikovanja Ureda za iseljene Slovake predstavlja okrugla medalja izrađena od posrebrene mjedi. Lice se sastoji od izdanaka listova lipe koji rastu iz dvostrukog križa koji stoji na trovršju prekrivenom korijenjem. Na naličju je prikaz Zemlje (kontinenti) s Atlantskim oceanom u sredini, u donjem dijelu državni je grb Slovačke Republike. Po obodu je natpis *UREDZA ISELJENE SLOVAKE*. Medalja je opremljena trobojnom bijelo-plavo-crvenom vrpcom i nosi se pričvršćena na lijevoj strani revera.

Na prijedlog Dagmar Repčekove, predsjednice Ureda za iseljene Slovake i generalne tajnice službenog Ureda, *Medalja Ureda za iseljene Slovake* dodijeljena je Sandri Kralj Vukšić, ravnateljici Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice, koordinatorici nastave slovačkog jezika u Hrvatskoj i stručnjakinji koja je aktivno sudjelovala u nekoliko međunarodnih projekata, poput projekta *Slovake.eu*, koji je rezultirao izradom internetskog portala za samostalno učenje slovačkog jezika

Slika 2: *Na svečanoj dodjeli Medalje 4. srpnja 2025.: Zastupnik u slovačkom parlamentu (Národná rada SR) Michal Bartek, potpredsjednik Ureda za iseljene Slovake Peter Chrastina, predsjednik Odbora za vanjske poslove Parlamenta Slovačke Republike Marian Kery, nagrađena Sandra Kralj Vukšić, predsjednica i generalna tajnica Ureda za iseljene Slovake Dagmar Repčeková.*

www.slovake.eu, ili projekta *Ja Som*, koji je rezultirao didaktičkim materijalima za pripremu scenskog programa te rad s jezičnim izričajem i učenjem slovačkog jezika u okruženju iseljenih Slovaka. Bavi se istraživanjem Slovaka u Hrvatskoj, sudjelovala je na nekoliko konferencija u zemlji i inozemstvu, objavila je radove u Hrvatskoj i Slovačkoj te je autorica brojnih priloga i recenzija. Surađivala je u provedbi istraživanja Katedre menadžmenta kulture i turizma Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Nitri, koje je mapiralo trenutačni kulturni potencijal Slovaka u Hrvatskoj te je objavljena i istoimena knjiga. Sudjeluje u razvoju izložbene djelatnosti Slovaka u Hrvatskoj s nekoliko izložbi koje su predstavljene ne samo u domovini već i u slovačkoj zajednici u inozemstvu (suautorica izložbe *Zidne kuharice – likovni izričaj naših baka,* nagrađene Etnografskim društvom Slovačke, i izložbe *Molovanje – tradicija oslikavanja zidova kod Slovaka u Hrvatskoj*). Suautorica je publikacija *Prvih pet je najteže – 2010-2015. – Prvih pet godina djelovanja Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice* i *Drugih pet za pet – 2016-2020. – Drugih pet godina djelovanja Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice*, a ujedno je i urednica *Godišnjaka* Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice za godine 2021-2024.

Medalja Ureda za iseljene Slovake dodijeljena je Sandri Kralj Vukšić za zasluge u području etnoloških istraživanja slovačkog etnika u Hrvatskoj, promicanja slovačkog jezika i provedbe obrazovnih programa u okruženju Slovaka u Hrvat-

skoj te stručnog promicanja umjetnosti i kulture putem etablirane institucije iseljenika – Slovačkog centra za kulturu Našice. *Medalja Ureda za iseljene Slovake* dodjeljuje se za profesionalan pristup i aktivno integriranje pitanja Slovaka u Hrvatskoj u šire slovačke i nacionalne okvire te je simbol zahvalnosti za kontinuirani doprinos očuvanju i unapređenju elemenata kulturne baštine i kulturnog identiteta Slovaka koji žive u Republici Hrvatskoj.

Svečana dodjela medalja održana je pod pokroviteljstvom ministra vanjskih i europskih poslova Slovačke Republike Juraja Blanára i predsjednika Odbora za vanjske poslove Parlamenta Slovačke Republike mag. Mariana Keryja 4. srpnja 2025. u prostorima Parlamenta Slovačke Republike. *Medalju Ureda za iseljene Slovake* povodom obilježavanja *Dana iseljenih Slovaka* (svake se godine obilježava 5. srpnja) također su dobili ravnatelj Škole Komenski u Beču Karel Hanzel iz Austrije i ravnateljica Slovačkog obrazovnog centra u Münchenu Jarmila Buchová iz Njemačke.

Milina Sklabinski*

* Milina SKLABINSKI, Ured za iseljene Slovake.

Razgovor

Rozhovor

Razgovor s prof. dr. sc. Zrinkom Stričević Kovačević o zagrebačkoj Katedri za slovakistiku (slovački jezik i književnost)*

Zrinka Stričević Kovačević redovita je profesorica na Odsjeku za zapadnoslavenske studije (jezike i književnosti) Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu. Nakon stjecanja diplome iz komparativne književnosti te češkog jezika i književnosti, završila je poslijediplomski studij slovačke književnosti na Filozofskome fakultetu Sveučilišta Komenskoga u Bratislavi. Otada je njezin znanstveno-nastavni rad usmjeren na proučavanje slovačke književnosti, kazališta i kulture. Te je teme u hrvatskom kontekstu posebno popularizirala objavom knjiga Hrvatski motivi u djelu Martina Kukučína (1998) i Između dviju pozornica. Slovačka drama i kazalište te hrvatsko-slovačke kazališne veze (2017). Stvaranju i jačanju kulturne i akademske suradnje između Hrvatske i Slovačke aktivno doprinosi i svojim članstvom u Hrvatsko-slovačkom odboru za humanističke znanosti, tijelu koje su osnovala resorna ministarstva dviju država. Odigrala je važnu ulogu u pokretanju slovačkog lektorata 1994. godine, potom i samostalnog studija slovačkog jezika i književnosti od akademske godine 1997/1998., te utemeljenju Katedre za slovački jezik i književnost (danas Katedra za slovakistiku), koja od 2003/2004. djeluje u okviru Odsjeka za zapadnoslavenske jezike i književnosti (danas Odsjek za zapadnoslavenske studije). Zbog kontinuiranog i aktivnog doprinosa koji Katedra pruža promicanju slovačkog jezika i kulture, odlučili smo joj posvetiti ovogodišnji razgovor.

Kako je Vaš rad povezan s osnivanjem Katedre za slovački jezik i književnost na zagrebačkom Filozofskom fakultetu? Što Vam se posebno urezalo u sjećanje iz tih institucionalnih početaka?

Na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu studirala sam komparativnu književnost te češki jezik i književnost. Upisala sam tu studijsku kombinaciju jer sam, nakon diplome, planirala upisati kazališnu režiju u Pragu. No, pri kraju četvrte godine studija pozvala me na razgovor voditeljica studija češkog jezika i književnosti, prof. dr. sc. Dubravka Sesar, te me upitala jesam li voljna riskirati i otići u Bratislavu na poslijediplomski studij, čime bi se ispunio osnovni uvjet za potencijalno pokretanje studija Slovačkog jezika i književnosti. Njezina formulacija „jesam li voljna riskirati" nije bila slučajna i imala je svoju težinu. Naime, za odlazak na doktorski studij na Sveučilište Komenskoga u Bratislavi nisam imala u tom trenutku institucionalnu podršku niti resornog ministarstva niti matičnog fakulteta, što je u praksi značilo da se u Bratislavi moram sama snaći, od upisa na doktorski studij i plaćanja visoke školarine, do organizacije boravka, odnosno osiguravanja boravišne dozvole i pronalaska smještaja. Usprkos svemu tomu, odlučila sam prihvatiti profesoričin prijedlog, smatrajući ga vrijednim životnim izazovom, te otići u Bratislavu. Diplomirala sam prije upisa apsolventskog roka te se, u listopadu 1992. godine, uputila u Bratislavu. Situacija je bila zaista izazovna s obzirom na to da je Slovačka Republika trebala svoju samostalnost formalno dobiti 1. siječnja 1993. godine,

* Razgovor je vodila Nevena ŠKRBIĆ ALEMPIJEVIĆ.

Slika 1: *Svečana promocija doktorata znanosti na Sveučilištu Komenskoga u Bratislavi, 1998.*

a u Hrvatskoj je buktio rat. Pri tome moram istaknuti da prilikom upisa na doktorski studij nisam znala slovački jezik, a već nakon nekoliko mjeseci čekali su me prvi ispiti u sklopu studija. Doktorski studij slovačke književnosti na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta Komenskoga u Bratislavi završila sam 7. travnja 1997. obranom disertacije pod naslovom *Chorvátske motívy v diele Martina Kukučína* te stekla znanstveno-akademsku titulu *philosophiae doctor* (PhD). Cilj je bio ostvaren! Obranivši doktorsku disertaciju postala sam prvi hrvatski slovakistički stručnjak zaposlen na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, čime je započeo proces osnivanja prvog i jedinog sveučilišnog studija slovačkog jezika i književnosti u Republici Hrvatskoj. Ovdje svakako želim istaknuti iznimnu zahvalnost koju osjećam prema Slovačkoj Naime, Sveučilište Komenskoga uvažilo je moju zamolbu upućenu rektoru i oslobodilo me plaćanja školarine. Nekoliko mjeseci kasnije dobila sam i smještaj u studentskom domu te studentsku stipendiju, koja je bila skromna, ali mi je omogućila da živim u Bratislavi prve dvije godine doktorskog studija. Druge dvije živjela sam na relaciji Bratislava – Zagreb, budući da smo u akademskoj godini 1994/1995. na Filozofskom fakultetu pokrenuli slovački lektorat, kao temelj budućem samostalnom studiju.

Recite nam nešto o počecima svojeg istraživačkog bavljenja temama vezanim uz slovački jezik i književnost.

Kako sam prvi hrvatski slovakistički stručnjak zaposlen na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu, a do danas i jedina u Hrvatskoj sa znanstvenim doktoratom iz slovačke književnosti, moja je nastavna i znanstvena djelatnost od početka bila vrlo intenzivna. Uz to, kao velika zaljubljenica u kazalište i dramu, 2004. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta u Zagrebu obranila sam i doktorsku disertaciju pod naslovom *Slovačka drama i kazalište nakon baršunaste revolucije.* Time sam veći dio svoga znanstvenog istraživanja usmjerila prema dramskoj književnosti i hrvatsko-slovačkim kazališnim vezama.

Autorica sam dviju znanstvenih monografija, *Hrvatski motivi u djelu Martina Kukučína* i *Između dviju pozornica. Slovačka drama i kazalište te hrvatsko-slovačke kazališne veze*, kao i tridesetak znanstvenih i stručnih članaka posvećenih slovačkoj književnosti i kazalištu te hrvatsko-slovačkim književnim i kulturnim vezama. Dio svoga znanstvenog i stručnog rada posvetila sam i području leksikografije, kako bi se upotpunio korpus slovačke književnosti u hrvatskoj leksikografiji. Napisala sam 100 leksikografskih članaka, u *Hrvatskoj enciklopediji, Leksikonu stranih pisaca, Leksikonu svjetske književnosti* i antologiji o *Slovačkom preporodnom pjesništvu*. Objavila sam i nekoliko prijevoda književnih djela.

I moja nastavna djelatnost od početka je bila zahtjevna. Tijekom proteklih trideset godina osmislila sam i pripremila 20 slovakističkih kolegija (sve početne izborne i sve književne i kulturološke u predbolonjskom studiju slovakistike, sve književne u bolonjskom studiju, te nekoliko novih za nedavno reformirani studij). Od 1994. do 1997. godine predavala sam studentima bohemistike, slavistike i kroatistike izborne kolegije *Slovačka književnost* i *Slovačka kultura i civilizacija* (a prve godine i *Slovački jezik*). Od akademske godine 1997/1998. i osnutka studija slovačkoga jezika i književnosti predavala sam kolegije iz slovačke književnosti i kulture na sve četiri godine studija.

Kako se djelovanje Katedre kasnije razvijalo i mijenjalo, posebno u pogledu znanstveno-nastavnog kadra?

Nakon pokretanja, na inicijativu profesorice Sesar, prvoga slovačkog lektorata, u izvođenju nastave pridružio mi se prof. dr. sc. Emil Horák, slavist iz Bratislave, kao prvi ugovorni (razmjenski) lektor za slovački jezik, a nekoliko godina nakon osnivanja samostalnog studija slovačkoga jezika i književnosti (u akademskoj godini 1997/1998.), kao prva stalna lektorica za slovački jezik od akademske godine 2001/2002. zaposlena je Maria Vuksanović Kursar. Osnovnu i srednju školu završila je u Šibeniku, a studij slovakistike i galicistike na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta Komenskoga u Bratislavi. Nakon uvođenja bolonjske reforme vodi sve prijevodne vježbe na diplomskom studiju, a predaje i nekoliko književnih izbornih kolegija. U održavanje jezične nastave (vježbi) akademske godine 2004/2005. uključen je i Martin Machata. Rođen je i školovan u Slovačkoj, a na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta Komenskoga u Bratislavi završio je studij kroatistike i germanistike. Održava nastavu iz jezičnih vježbi i nekoliko izbornih predmeta. Od 2003/2004. do 2009/2010. Siniša Habijanec držao je nastavu iz fonologije i morfologije slovačkoga jezika, a od 2008/2009. kao vanjski suradnik angažiran je Marijan Šabić, koji je tri godine izvodio nastavu iz starije slo-

vačke književnosti. Kao znanstvena novakinja od akademske godine 2008/2009. na projektu profesorice Sesar zaposlena je Ivana Čagalj. Na Filozofskom fakultetu u Zagrebu završila je studij kroatistike i slovačkoga jezika i književnosti, te obranila doktorski rad o jezičnim identitetima u slovačkoj postnovembarskoj prozi i hrvatskim prijevodima. Održava nastavu iz slovačke sintakse, kulture te slovačke književnosti na filmu. Martina Grčević pridružuje se Katedri akademske godine 2008/2009. Završila je studij rusistike i germanistike na Filozofskom fakultetu Sveučilišta Komenskoga u Bratislavi, te doktorski studij na sveučilištu u Mannheimu, obranom disertacije o bohemizmima u slovačkom jeziku. Grčević predaje teorijske jezikoslovne kolegije (slovačku fonetiku i fonologiju, slovačku morfologiju, povijest slovačkoga književnoga jezika). Dubravka Sesar, inicijatorica studija i prva predstojnica slovakističke Katedre, do umirovljenja 2017. godine održavala je nastavu iz sintakse slovačkoga jezika. U proteklim desetljećima brinula se za školovanje naših slovakističkih kadrova, kao i za uspostavu kontakata sa slovačkim znanstvenim i državnim ustanovama. Značajan doprinos zagrebačkoj slovakistici dali su i ugovorni lektori iz Slovačke: Elena Melušová, Anna Valcerová, Mária Dobríková, Eva Tibenská, Ľubica Blažencová i Peter F. 'Rius Jílek.

Opišite nam studij slovačkoga jezika i književnosti.

Katedra za slovakistiku izvodi jedini studij slovačkoga jezika i književnosti u Republici Hrvatskoj. Njegovo postojanje važno je iz više razloga: zbog tradicionalnih hrvatsko-slovačkih povijesnih i kulturnih veza, zbog značenja slovačke filologije za hrvatsku i slavensku filologiju općenito, zbog potreba slovačke nacionalne manjine u Hrvatskoj, ali i suradnje sa starom hrvatskom dijasporom u Slovačkoj, te zbog kulturne, a u novije vrijeme i sve jače gospodarske suradnje između Slovačke i Hrvatske. Poznavanje slovačkoga jezika i kulture omogućava bolje razumijevanje suvremenoga slovačkog društva, odnosno hrvatsko-slovačkih veza i zajedništva unutar današnje Europske unije. Slovački jezik važan je slavenski jezik, posebno za hrvatsku sredinu, ne samo zbog povijesnih kulturnih veza, nego i zbog značajne filološke i književne tradicije. Zbog preciznosti lingvističkoga opisa slovačkoga jezika, dosezi slovačkoga jezikoslovlja (Bogoslav Šulek i dr.), kao i znanosti o književnosti (Dionýz Ďurišin i dr.) te translatologije (Anton Popovič i dr.), primjenjivi su i poticajni i za razvoj hrvatske filologije. Slovački je jedan od službenih jezika Europske unije, za koji Hrvatska mora imati vlastite stručnjake, ponajprije kvalificirane prevoditelje za različita gospodarska područja, poput turizma i trgovine, pa i kvalificirane nastavnike za potrebe školovanja novih hrvatskih stručnjaka i pripadnika slovačke nacionalne manjine (slovačka nacionalna manjina u Hrvatskoj ima organiziran sustav školovanja u više hrvatskih mjesta, gdje se nastava izvodi i na slovačkom jeziku). Zbog povećane gospodarske suradnje sa Slovačkom, zanimanje za naše stručnjake pokazuju brojne hrvatske tvrtke, a posebno su za suradnju zainteresirane institucije slovačke nacionalne manjine (Matica slovačka, Savez Slovaka) u Zagrebu, Našicama, Osijeku, Rijeci.

Svoje slovakističke kadrove školujemo na suvremenim znanstvenim spoznajama i u skladu sa suvremenim sveučilišnim normama i kriterijima. Studij slovačkog jezika i književnosti svoj program temelji na poznavanju slovač-

koga jezika, književnosti i kulture, te svojim studentima pruža temeljit uvid u povijesne i kulturne prilike u Slovačkoj i upoznaje ih s bogatim povijesnim i kulturnim hrvatsko-slovačkim vezama. Katedra za slovakistiku izvodi prijediplomski i diplomski studij slovačkoga jezika i književnosti. Prijediplomski studij jedinstven je, a na diplomskoj razini nude se dva smjera: prevoditeljsko-kulturološki i nastavnički. Na prijediplomski studij upisuju se studenti bez predznanja slovačkoga jezika, pa je jezična nastava organizirana od početne razine. Uz nastavu usmjerenu prema stjecanju i razvijanju praktičnih jezičnih sposobnosti u govoru i pismu, studij obuhvaća i nastavu iz lingvističkih kolegija te nastavu iz književnih i kulturoloških kolegija, pa studenti razvijaju i temeljne interkulturalne kompetencije. Završetkom prijediplomskog studija prvostupnik stječe uvjete za nastavak studija na diplomskoj razini, a stečena ga znanja kvalificiraju za određene poslove u turizmu, gospodarstvu, državnoj upravi, izdavaštvu, medijima i drugdje gdje je poznavanje slovačkoga jezika i kulture sastavni dio opće filološke naobrazbe. Na diplomskom studiju obiju užih struka – nastavničke i prevoditeljske – stječe se komunikacijska kompetencija na razini C1 prema Zajedničkome europskom referentnom okviru za jezike Vijeća Europe. Cilj diplomskoga studija slovačkoga jezika i književnosti jest educiranje slovakističkih stručnjaka koji će steći određene nastavničke ili prevoditeljske kompetencije. Te im kompetencije omogućuju da nastave studij slovakistike u sklopu matičnih i njima srodnih poslijediplomskih studija. Zahvaljujući poznavanju slovačkoga jezika i kulture te stečenim nastavničkim i prevoditeljskim kompetencijama, studenti slovakistike mogu se zaposliti u sustavu znanosti i obrazovanja (u nastavi slovačkoga kao manjinskoga jezika po modelu C u osnovnim i srednjim školama te školama stranih jezika) te prevodilaštvu, državnoj upravi i lokalnoj samoupravi, diplomaciji, kao i gospodarstvu, ponajviše turizmu, kulturi i medijima.

Kako se na studijskoj razini ostvaruju poveznice s drugim organizacijama i ustanovama, posebno s onima povezanima sa Slovačkom?

Nastavnici studija slovakistike intenzivno surađuju s medijima, organizacijama civilnoga društva, obrazovnim i kulturnim ustanovama i udrugama (Slovačkim centrom za kulturu Našice, Maticom slovačkom u Zagrebu, Društvom hrvatsko-slovačkoga prijateljstva, Maticom hrvatskom, Društvom hrvatskih književnika) te Veleposlanstvom Republike Slovačke u Hrvatskoj. Članovi Katedre istraživački djeluju na području lingvistike (kontrastivna istraživanja hrvatskoga i slovačkoga jezika, uključujući i sociolingvistički i translatološki aspekt, poredbena frazeologija, jezična politika, poučavanje slovačkoga kao stranog i drugog jezika) i znanosti o književnosti, no često su u svojim istraživanjima i interdisciplinarno usmjereni, pa tako svoj znanstveni interes posvećuju i slovačkom kazalištu, filmu, izvedbenim umjetnostima i dr., a posebnu pozornost daju istraživanju hrvatsko-slovačkih kulturnih veza. Interkulturalnoj komunikaciji djelatnici Katedre doprinose i izravno, prevodeći slovačka književna djela na hrvatski jezik, kao i već spomenutim sudjelovanjem u raznim aktivnostima popularizacije slovačke kulture u Hrvatskoj. Za svoj rad, za doprinos na području hrvatsko-slovačkih kulturnih odnosa i promicanje slovačkoga jezika, književnosti i kulture u Hrvatskoj, prili-

Slika 2: *Svečano otvaranje međunarodne znanstvene konferencije povodom 25 godina slovakistike u Zagrebu, 2019.*

kom obilježavanja 25 godina postojanja studija slovačkoga jezika i književnosti, odlikovani smo 2019. godine Srebrnom medaljom Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta Komenskoga u Bratislavi.

Snažna međunarodna suradnja Katedre, ponajprije sa sveučilištima u Slovačkoj, posebno je značajna za studente, jer imaju brojne mogućnosti boravka i studiranja izvan matičnog visokog učilišta (kroz programe ERASMUS+, CEEPUS, različite bilateralne ugovore i dr.). Uz akademsku mobilnost, zahvaljujući međunarodnoj suradnji, za studente, ali i širu hrvatsku kulturnu javnost, redovito se organiziraju gostovanja slovačkih književnika, projekcije slovačkih filmova, natjecanja u prevođenju, različite tribine. Studenti su uvijek uključeni u aktivnosti Katedre, pa su tako, prilikom održavanja Međunarodne znanstvene konferencije povodom 25 godina slovakistike u Zagrebu, istodobno organizirali međunarodnu studentsku konferenciju, za koju su 2020. godine dobili *Nagradu Franjo Marković* Filozofskog fakulteta.

Kako vidite budućnost Katedre i studija?

Studij slovačkog jezika i književnosti na Filozofskome fakultetu u Zagrebu uskoro će napuniti trideset godina svoga postojanja. Budući da nije imao odgovarajuće akademske tradicije, bila su to tri desetljeća kontinuiranog rada na njegovom ustrojavanju, i kadrovski i sadržajno. No, smisao i potreba njegova postojanja nikada nam nije bila upitna. Iako humanistika zadnjih godina doživljava svojevrsnu marginalizaciju, upravo ona predstavlja esenciju čovječanstva, a nacionalne su filologije njezina srž, nužni element humanizacije u procesu digitali-

Slika 3: *Uručenje Srebrene medalje Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta Komenskoga, 2019.*

zacije kojem je izloženo suvremeno društvo. Bez obzira na sve suvremene tehnologije, u književnim prijevodima čovjek ostaje nezamjenjiv, jer samo on ima kreativnost potrebnu u procesu prevođenja, budući da je prijevod svojevrsno novo umjetničko djelo.

Na kraju, kao profesorica književnosti, želim istaknuti kako čitanje književnosti i dalje ostaje bitnim sredstvom izgradnje ličnosti. Čitanjem književnih djela čitatelj obogaćuje proces stvaranja vlastitog identiteta, razvija kognitivne sposobnosti te emocionalnu i socijalnu inteligenciju. Bez sumnje, to su dovoljno snažni argumenti za tvrdnju kako su književnost te nastava književnosti u suvremenom svijetu i dalje iznimno važni.