



Kako je Hrvatska stjecala svoju baštinu: tolerancijom civilizacija i stilova. (Split, stara predromanička crkva "Gospa od zvonika", 9. stoljeće, sagrađena u Dioklecijanovoj palači)

How Croatia acquired its heritage: through the tolerance of civilizations and styles. (Split, old Croatian pre-Romanesque church "Our Lady of the Bell-Tower" - 9th cent. - built in the Diocletian's palace)

Željka Čorak

Hrvatski spomenici: rane od tuđe bolesti

U Hrvatskoj niti jedan čovjek više nije siguran za svoj život. Kroz vlastiti prozor, preko Botaničkog vrta, gledala sam eksplozije raketa zemlja-zemlja kojima je gađan južni rub Zagreba. Spuštanje u hladne drvarnice, mučenje mojih bližnjih zračnim uzbunama više i ne brojim. Trebalo bi da pišem o razaranju hrvatskih spomenika. Negdje do ovoga Božića uništeno ih je 529. Od toga gotovo polovica sakralnih objekata. Cijeli gradovi, kao Dubrovnik, u toj su brojci tek jedna jedinica (jedan od petsto dvadeset devet). No kakve svrhe ima to pisanje? Svijet zaista nije zaslužio naše rane. Trebalo bi navući zastor, zakriti nesreću, skrovito lizati bolna mjesta, ako drugih uopće ima. Držati smrt za zubima. Pregristi je ili progutati. Cinizam bez kraja i bez granica upućuje nam humanitarne konvoje pošto nas je učinio prosjacima. Svijet svira, na novogodišnjim koncertima gudala prelaze preko violina kao noževi preko hrvatskih vratova. Svijet dolazi svirati čak u Hrvatsku. Za mir. Poučava nas o toleranciji. Pobrojava narode u Dubrovniku, pa među njima navodi i Hrvate. Osječku bolnicu proglasit će zaštićenim mjestom. Prostor oko nje opskrbljivat će je ranjenima i mrtvima. Gospodin Eagleburger kaže doslovno: "Neka se iscrpe međusobno..." (tj. Srbi i Hrvati). U tom strašnom izjednačenju agresora i žrtve, moćne tehnologije smrti - ili industrije smrti - i manufakture obrane, nema mjesta za spomenike. Niti za Dubrovnik. Umjesto pokazivanja vlastitih rana, treba zato razmotriti tuđi cinizam. Kao tuđu bolest. Ravnopravno. Onako kao da smo živi. Ili kao da ćemo to još dugo biti.

Na svijetu oduvijek postoji projekt totalne vlasti. Sve mitologije upozoravaju na borbu svjetlosti i tame, dobra i zla. Ta totalna vlast odnosi se, dakako, na ljudsku svijest. Tko stoji iza projekta, teško je reći, ali se izvodači mijenjaju. Mnoge su teorije tvrdile da davlovo presezanje dolazi s Istoka, možda s područja gdje je zemljina površina najdalja od zemljine sredine. Istok je, naravno, relativan pojam, svatko ima svoj istok, a iza najistočnijeg istoka je Zapad. No u tom totalnom projektu podjarmljenja svijesti postoje potprojekti, koji na prvi pogled izgledaju ideološki suprotstavljeni: komunistički i kapitalistički. Komunistički potprojekt jest projekt oduzimanja povijesti. U samoj komunističkoj himni, "Internacionali", formulirano je geslo "prošlost svu zbrisimo za svagda". Taj se projekt realizira na načelima fizike. On oduzima mislećem subjektu polje komparacija, dakle oslabljuje mu rasuđivanje. Kapitalistički potprojekt, ili potprojekt potrošačkog društva, može se nazvati projektom oduzimanja stvarnosti. On se zbiva na načelima kemije. Njegova je posljedica etička dezorijentacija subjekta. Oba su projekta komplementarna. I oba se realiziraju na slučajju Hrvatske: Hrvatskoj se u odnosu prema svijetu oduzima povijest; svijetu se u odnosu prema Hrvatskoj oduzima stvarnost. Oduzimanje povijesti događa se Hrvatskoj na više načina.

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Croatian Monuments: Wounds Suffered from Other People's Illnesses

There was not a single person in Croatia not fearing for his or her own life as I peered out of my window overlooking the Zagreb Botanical Gardens and saw the earth-earth missiles hitting the southern outskirts of the city. Descending into the cold cellars, my family tortured by the sound of the air-raid warnings, has become an everyday occurrence. I should be writing about the destruction of Croatian monuments.

Up until Christmas, 529 monuments have been destroyed, more than half of them churches. Whole cities that have been endamaged like Dubrovnik are registered as single item among the 529 items mentioned.

But what is the purpose of my writing this? The world has not been good enough to us to deserve to see us in pain. We should pull down the blinds, bury our unhappiness and lick our sore places in solitude, if others exist at all. We should do better to keep our mouths shut, and it is up to us to either deal with the death we are facing or bury it deed down within ourselves. There is a great deal of cynicism in the act of sending humanitarian aid by the world that had made us become beggars. The world is playing music. On the New Year's concerts bows are passing over violin strings just like the knives that are cutting Croatian throats. The world is coming all the way to Croatia in order to make music. For peace. Teaching us tolerance. Counting the peoples living in Dubrovnik and among them mentioning also the Croats. Osijek hospital has been declared a protected area. The area around the hospital supplies it with the wounded and dead. As Mr. Eagleburger has put it: "Let them wear each other out..." (the Serbs and the Croats, that is). In this horrific agressorvictim equation, the powerful death-producing technology on one side and the make-shift defense on the other, there is no place for monuments. Nor is there place for Dubrovnik. Instead of deposing our wounds, we had better look into other people's cynicism and examine it as if it were an illness of some kind. Treating others as equals. As we were alive or as we will be alive for many days to come.

There has always been a project for totalitarian authority in the world. All mythologies direct attention to the struggle between light and darkness, good and evil. This totalitarian authority has something to do with human consciousness. Who exactly stands beyond the project is hard to say, but the performers change all the time. According to a number of theories, the devil's invasion is conducted from the East, may be from the territory where the Earth's surface is the farthest from her center. The East is, of course, a rather relative term since everybody and everything has its own East and beyond the Easternmost East, the West is situated. But in that project of the total submission of the mind, there are sub-projects, smaller projects that should at first glance seem to be in total ideological opposition: Communism and Capitalism. The subproject

Najprije je to napad na njezine granice. Hrvatska je forma koja je dovedena na rub postojanja. Ona se može usporediti s ogriskom od jabuke. Oblik Hrvatske izdjelan je od vremena kao stijena od mora. Hrvatska je povijesni artefakt. Oblik Hrvatske jedinstven je na zemljopisnoj karti svijeta. On je izazovno drevan i pojedinačan. Uspoređen s ortogonalnim rasterom umjetno iscrtanih zemalja, ili postavljen među mehaničke geografske obrise, oblik Hrvatske djeluje kao greška. Greška u tendencijama pojednostavljenja. Rat u Hrvatskoj je šum i mrlja u komunikacijskom funkcioniranju svijeta. Kao takav treba da bude uklonjen, ali bez investiranja izvana: vlastitim ishodom. Jednako tako, oblik Hrvatske vapijući je znak da se sama njezina egzistencija dovodi u pitanje. On je vizualni nemir koji također treba ukloniti kao grešku. On je nešto upravo suprotno svakom totalitarnom projektu. Zemlja kojoj vlastiti oblik nije nastao dugim, autentičnim povijesnim procesom teško može valorizirati paradigmu povijesnog prostora kakva je Hrvatska. Ali oblik Hrvatske ujedno je i oblik odolijevanja. Stoljećima stojeći na vojnoj granici jednoga svijeta (zapadnoga svijeta), Hrvatska se sada opet bori za taj isti svijet, koji može opstati samo ako opstane kao povijesni prostor. Europa ne prepoznaje što se to zbiva na raspuklini Zapadnoga i Istočnoga Rimskog Carstva. Europa s muzikom tone u svoj američki san, poput Titanica...

of Communism is the appropriation of history. In the Communist anthem, the International, the device is formulated saying that the past should be erased forever. That project is based on the principles of physics. It takes away from the thinking individual his ability to make comparisons, that is, it weakens one's own judgment. The capitalist sub-project, or better the sub-project of the consumer society, can be viewed as a project of the appropriation of reality and is based on the principles of chemistry. The after effect of this is an ethical disorientation of the individual. Both projects complement each other and have been realized in the case of Croatia. Croatia is, in relation to the world, being robbed of its history, and the world, in relation of Croatia, is being robbed of reality.

The appropriation of Croatia's history is being done in a number of ways. The initial move was the attack on its borders. Croatia's shape has been brought to the edge of existence. It can be compared to an apple core. The shape of Croatia has become worn by the work of time just like cliffs can become worn by the work of sea. Croatia is a historical artifact. Its shape is unique on the geographical map of the world. It is at the same time provokingly old and individual. If you compare it to the orthogonal projection of artificially sketched countries or if you put it from among mechanically drawn geographic contours, it appears more like an error, an error related to a



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How Croatia acquired its heritage: through the tolerance of civilizations and styles. (Split, Croatian medieval cathedral St. Doimo, in the mausoleum of the Diocletian's palace)

Hrvatskoj se, zatim, povijest oduzima brisanjem njezina povijesnog inventara, rušenjem njezinih spomenika. Bilo da je riječ o vrhunskim djelima svjetske baštine, poput Dubrovnika, šibenske katedrale, zadarskih crkava, arboretuma u Trstenu - ili o lokalnim, visokim vrijednostima, kao što je gotička crkva u Voćinu ili barokni dvorac Eltz u Vukovaru; bilo da je riječ o bezbrojnim ambijentalnim vrijednostima - od srednjovjekovnih i renesansnih mediteranskih zaselaka do baroknih i devetnaestostoljetnih gradića unutrašnje Hrvatske. Takvo masovno uništavanje spomenika, koje ide do preoravanja temelja, do bombardiranja groblja, do bacanja fosfornih bombi na tlo, da na njem nikada više ništa ne izraste - nepoznato je u povijesti svijeta. Smisao tog srpskog zahvata na hrvatski teritorij najbolje se očituje u razaranju crkava. Njihovim nestankom brišu se osnovni elementi obilježavanja i okupljanja krajolika; najave naselja; oznake zajednice na temelju vjere, običaja, cjelokupne tradicije. Psihološki, brišu se znakovi nade, releji između donjeg i gornjeg svijeta. Razara se kalendarski sustav, artikulacija življenja u vremenu, slijed blagdana. Uništavaju se osnovni priručnici kolektivne memorije - imena predaka, knjige, grobovi. Odlazi umjetnički inventar, europsko blago s vrhunaca stila i blago pučke umjetnosti. I napokon, ubijanjem crkava uklanja se s tla Hrvatske zapadna civilizacijska šifra. Jer dok je sakralna formula Istoka centralni prostor - gdje se čovjek postavlja u centar svemira, u poziciji nepokreta - zapadna je šifra longitudinalna: put s ciljem. Kretanje. Odgovoran život. Posljedica za uzrok. I ti ideogrami odgovornog puta brišu se s lica hrvatske zemlje.

To navaljuju posljednji barbari iz svoga mraka na svjetlost Mediterana, na Rim. Barbari koji bi se htjeli smatrati nasljednicima Bizanta, štoviše Bizantincima (što ako se ne zaustave na Poreču, nego nastave do Ravenna?), a nisu se obogatili niti elementima civilizacije Otomanskog Carstva. Njihov kôd jest istočni u smislu drukčije etike. Dok je na Zapadu Macchiavelli fenomen u povijesti kulture zato jer je teorijska iznimka, na Istoku on se ne bi mogao razaznati jer bi bio opće mjesto. Oduzimanje hrvatske povijesti događa se i na toj podlozi. Srpski historičari umjetnosti, kao odgovor na hrvatske proteste zbog rušenja Dubrovnika, Splita i Plitvičkih jezera, pišu i u svijet razašilju ovakvu rečenicu: "Dioklecijanova palata, Dubrovnik, Plitvička jezera i drugi kompleksi koje navodite, pre svega su obeležja drugih, antičkih i vizantijskih civilizacija a ne kako navodite od posebnog značaja za identitet hrvatskog naroda." U tom strašnom manifestu laži i nasilja (jer: Plitvička su jezera spomenik prirode; u hrvatskom, srednjovjekovnom, renesansnom i baroknom, Dubrovniku nema ni traga Bizanta, osim u podzemlju katedrale; a Split je spomenik hrvatskog nasljeđivanja antike i njezine afirmacije tijekom tisuću i trista godina) - u tom strašnom manifestu laži i nasilja očituje se metoda kojom ne samo što se Hrvatskoj oduzima povijest nego se i povijesti oduzima Hrvatska.

Suvremeni je svijet ahistoričan. On se dobro osjeća u sinkroniji. Egipatski faraoni i Indijanci ujedinjuju se u formulama zabavnih parkova. Europski dvorci mogu se rastavljati i prenositi u Ameriku upravo zbog odbacivanja povijesnog tla, odnosno povijesnosti tla. Dubrovnik je, za one koji o njemu odlučuju, forma bez korijena i povijesti, forma koja se može srušiti kao kamen na Jadranu, a sagraditi kao papier-mâché u Disneylandu.

Ovdje se projekt oduzimanja povijesti dodiruje s projektom oduzimanja stvarnosti. Mali zakašnjeli boljševizam pokazuje se kao instrument pravog, velikog majstora. Amerike. Gospodara medija, gospodara svjetova. Osnovnog tvorničara fikcija,

tendencies of simplification. The war in Croatia is more like a noise, a stain within the functioning of world communication and should be removed at once, but with no effort from the outside: with an outcome of its own. The very shape of Croatia, the way it looks now is a dramatic sign that its existence has been endangered. It represents a kind of visual unrest which should also be removed as an error. It represents something that is totally opposed to any kind of a totalitarian project. A country, the shape of which is not a product of a long and authentic historical process, cannot assess the paradigm of historical space that Croatia represents. But Croatia's shape is at the same time a shape of resistance. By standing for centuries on the military border of the Western World, Croatia is now fighting for this same world which can only survive as historical space. Europe does not understand the events happening on the rift between two worlds, the Western and the Eastern Roman Empire. Accompanied by music, Europe is sinking into its own American Dream, like the Titanic...

Croatia is then being robbed of its history by the deletion of its historical inventory, and this is being done by the destruction of its monuments. It doesn't seem to matter whether the annihilated monuments is a part of world heritage, like Dubrovnik, the Šibenik Cathedral, the Zadar churches or the arboretum in Trsteno, or whether those monuments are of a high local value, like the Gothic church in the village of Voćin or the baroque Eltz castle in Vukovar; or a number of monuments of ambient value dating from the Middle Ages and Renaissance mediterranean hamlets to the Baroque and nineteenth century towns of inland Croatia. This mass destruction of monuments ranging from the complete flattening of certain areas to the bombardment of cemeteries and the use of phosphorus bombs to make the soil infertile. The world has surely not seen anything like this before. The very idea of these Serbian actions performed on Croatian territory can best be envisaged in the destruction of churches. By wiping-out churches, the basic denoting and assembling elements of the landscape, the signs of communities based on religion, usages and all tradition are being erased. In a psychological sense, all traces of hope, all transmitters between the upper and the lower world are being effaced. The calendar system is being destroyed and also the articulation of living in time, including the usual holiday pattern. The elementary sources of collective memory are being destroyed - the names of ancestors, books, graves, etc. The art inventory, European treasures of the highest stylistic class as well as the art of common folk are gone forever... And finally, by the devastation of churches, Croatian land is being deprived of its Western civilization code. It should be noted, that whilst the church design formula of the East is the central-planned space, where man is positioned in the center of the Universe, with no movement what so ever. The Western formula is longitudinal, a way with an end. A motion. A responsible life. The consequence for the cause. Those ideograms of a responsible path in life are being scraped off the Croatian soil.

This is an attack by the last of the barbarians coming from their darkness to the lights or Mediterranean, to Rome. Those barbarians who would like to think of themselves as being the successors of Byzantium or what is more, as Byzantines themselves (what if they keep on advancing and don't stop in Poreč but carry on to Ravenna?) when not even the traces of the Ottoman civilisation have been rubbed properly onto them. Their code of conduct is Eastern and different in the sense of different ethics. The West sees Macchiavelli as a phenomenon

manipulatora ekranima koji su sve daleke stvari učinili bliskima i dostupnima, a time odmah i sve bliske stvari jednako dalekima. Kad se život organizira kao promatranje bez posljedica, uistinu se uvodne scene Costnerova "Robina Hooda" moraju doživjeti dramatičnije nego rat u Hrvatskoj. U dijalogu s tendencijama prakse, suvremena znanost ispituje univerzum posibiliteta, raskid odnosa uzroka i posljedica (time i zločina i kazne), raspad linearnog vremena, mogućnosti putovanja u prošlost ili u varijantu... U slobodi od stvarnosti odvija se zločin bez svjedoka. Kako da se prema ratu u Hrvatskoj postavi onaj (uključujući Europu) tko ne raspolaže sviješću o trenutku vlastitog života? Srbija je fizika američke kemije.

Pretpostavka je da svijet funkcionira na stalnom pretvaranju istih količina materije u energiju, i obratno. Davno se moglo shvatiti da je budućnost komunizam kapitalizam, a nije nevjerojatno da je i budućnost kapitalizma komunizam. Sedma arza srodna je sedmoj tezi. Sovjetski Savez u jednom je obliku propao. Možda njegovu ulogu danas preuzima Amerika. Nešto se u njoj povlači u Sibir, u tajgu. Iz nje počinje djelovati neka otvrdla misao. Hrvatske su rane rezultat tude bolesti. Zato teško mogu očekivati zdravlje od tudega lijeka.

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Lipik



within the history of culture since he was a theoretical exception: in the East, he would not be perceived as such since there would be nothing distinctive in him from the rest. This is also one of the fields where Croatia is being robbed of its history.

In answer to Croatian protests sparked off by the devastation of Dubrovnik, Split and the Plitvice Lakes, Serbian art historians are sending out the following text to the world: "Dioctletian's Palace, Dubrovnik, the Plitvice Lakes and some other monuments that have been mentioned are in the first place the hallmarks of other cultures, that is, the ancient and Byzantine civilizations and are of no special importance for the identity of the Croatian people." In that horrific manifesto of total incompetence, lies and violence (since: the Plitvice Lakes are a natural phenomenon; in the Croatian Medieval, Renaissance and Baroque town of Dubrovnik, there are no traces of the Byzantine civilization, except for an archeological layer underneath the cathedral, and Split is the monument of Croatian way of inheriting antiquity and affirming it through one thousand and three hundred years). That terrible manifesto of incompetence, lies and brutality is the best way to see how the pattern which is used to rob Croatia of its history and to steal history from Croatia, works.

The modern world is ahistorical. It is comfortable in synchrony. Egyptian Pharaohs and Red Indians are joined together in amusement parks. European castles are being taken apart and transferred to America as the result of this negation of a historic soil, or of the historicity of the soil. Dubrovnik is, for the people who are deciding its future, just a form with no roots and history, that can be smashed like a piece of stone on the Adriatic and put together again as papier-mâché in Disneyland.

At this point, the project of the appropriation of history comes into contact with the project of the appropriation of reality. The small, belated Bolshevism has emerged as an instrument of the real, great master. America. The lord of the media and the lord of the worlds. The key producer of fiction, manipulator of screens that have made all faraway things close and accessible and at the same time made all things that have been close so very distant... When the life is organised in such a way that it is just looking without consequences, the introductory scenes of Costner's "Robin Hood" can be perceived as more dramatic than the war in Croatia. Looking closely into real life tendencies, modern science is examining the Universe of the possible, the break-up in the relation between the causes and the consequences (and with that, crime and punishment), the crumbling of linear time and the possibility to traveling into history or a variant. Freed from reality, a crime without witnesses is being committed. How would you expect someone to have any kind of attitude concerning the war in Croatia, when he or she is not aware of their own reality. Serbia is the physics of American chemistry.

It is assumed that the functioning of the world is based on the constant transformation of substance into energy and vice-versa. Long ago, it was more than obvious that the future of Communism would be Capitalism, just as the idea of this happening the other way round does not seem impossible. The seventh arsis is similar to the seventh thesis. The Soviet Union has collapsed in a way, but it seems possible that today its role may be taken over by America. Something within the U.S. is retreating to Siberia, to the taigas. Some kind of hardened thought is coming in from there. Croatia's wounds are the result of someone else's illness. That is why it is next to impossible to get healthy by using someone else's medicine.



Kako je Hrvatska gubila svoje nasljeđe: crkva u Lipiku, 19. stoljeće, nakon srpskog razaranja. Destrukcija kao način življenja.
How has Croatia been losing its heritage: the church in Lipik, 19th cent., after being destroyed by the Serbs. Destruction as a way of life.