1998

Librocide: destruction of libraries in Croatia 1991-1995

Nensi Brailo
San Jose State University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses

Recommended Citation

Brailo, Nensi, "Librocide: destruction of libraries in Croatia 1991-1995" (1998). *Master's Theses*. 1688.
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.zcc8-298e>
https://scholarworks.sjsu.edu/etd_theses/1688

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Master's Theses and Graduate Research at SJSU ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of SJSU ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@sjsu.edu.

INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI

**A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700 800/521-0600**

**LIBROCIDE:
DESTRUCTION OF LIBRARIES
IN CROATIA 1991-1995**

A Thesis

Presented to

**The Faculty of the School of
Library and Information Science
San José State University**

In Partial Fulfillment

**of the Requirements for the Degree
Master in Library and Information Science**

by

Nensi Brailo

August 1998

UMI Number: 1391511

**Copyright 1998 by
Brailo, Nensi**

All rights reserved.

**UMI Microform 1391511
Copyright 1998, by UMI Company. All rights reserved.**

**This microform edition is protected against unauthorized
copying under Title 17, United States Code.**

UMI
300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

© 1998

Nensi Brailo

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF
LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

Dr. Ruth Hafter

Dr. Ivo Banac, Yale University

Dr. Linda Main

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

William Fisher

ABSTRACT

**LIBROCIDE:
DESTRUCTION OF LIBRARIES
IN CROATIA 1991-1995**

by Nensi Brailo

This thesis examines and documents the destruction of Croatia's library and archival collections and buildings during the 1991-95 war. Its purpose is to fully document the devastation of Croatian cultural heritage and to evaluate the efficacy of global programs designed to protect Croatian and world cultural heritage. Analysis of the destruction is based on a general overview of the damage in eastern, central, and southern Croatia and a detailed case study which examines the destruction of libraries in the city of Dubrovnik.

Current international programs and UNESCO's Conventions for the protection of the world cultural heritage are evaluated in light of the wartime Croatian experience. Recommendations for improvement are made in the following areas: wider acceptance of the UNESCO Conventions; stronger legal action; more field experts; the reevaluation of usage of the Conventions' signs; more cooperation between military forces, peace keeping forces and UNESCO, and more emphasis on education.

To my father, my mother,
my brother and my sister
who lived through
the horrors of war
and
to my beloved hometown of Dubrovnik

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This thesis would not have come into being if it weren't for the ongoing support, encouragement, and guidance of the Chair of the Thesis Committee, Professor Ruth Hafter. I greatly appreciated her enthusiasm and patience with me over the course of this thesis. Also, my sincere thanks goes to Professor Ivo Banac of Yale University, the second Thesis Committee member, whose expert advice helped to steer this thesis in the right direction. Finally, I want to thank Professor Linda Main, the third Thesis Committee member, for taking an interest in this topic.

My deepest gratitude goes to many librarians and colleagues in Croatia, to name a few, Nora Cervelin, Mirjana Urban, Marica Šapro-Ficović, Marija Nodilo, Berta Dragičević, Marija Veselić, Tomo Vlahutin, Dubravka Oraić Tolić, M. Marinov O.F.P., the late Zorka Paradžik, and the late Đurda Mesić, for sharing valuable information on their damaged or destroyed institutions. Also, I want to thank my childhood friend, Matija Nenadić, for verifying several references for the bibliography.

Moreover, I want to thank my library school colleague and friend Sara Coronado and her husband Peter for taking a sincere interest in my topic, and for helping out with the final proofreading and editing. Many thanks also go to my dear friends, Deanna Simonis and Sudeshna Sengupta for helping out with proofreading and for their continuous moral support.

At last, special thanks goes to my mother, Pave Brailo, who constantly supplied me with research materials from Croatia. As Professor Ruth Hafter put it, "Your mother deserves an honorary Master of Library and Information Science degree." I agree with Professor Hafter.

List of Illustrations

Figure	Page
1. Map of Croatia	21
2. UNESCO World Heritage emblem & map of Old City of Dubrovnik	32
3. Dubrovnik Main ("Grad") Public Library after the assault	38
4. The Franciscan Monastery Library before the assault	46
5. The Franciscan Monastery Library after the assault	46
6. Fundraising materials for the Inter-University Center with insert of burned book from the IUC Library	60
7. Fundraiser in form of calendar (Illuminated manuscripts of the Franciscan monastery Mala braća Dubrovnik) for the Franciscan Monastery Library and the Research Library in Dubrovnik	72

Table of Contents

Chapter	Page
1. Introduction	1
2. Methodology and Literature Review	9
3. Overview of the History and Recent Destruction of Croatian Libraries	18
Part I: Concise Historical Overview of Croatian Libraries	18
Part II: a) Destruction of Libraries in Eastern Croatia	22
b) Destruction of Libraries in Central Croatia	25
c) Destruction of Libraries in Southern Croatia	26
4. Case Study—Destruction of Dubrovnik Libraries	30
a) Destruction of Libraries within Old City Walls	33
b) Destruction of Libraries outside of Old City Walls	55
5. Interpretation and Conclusions	61
a) Effectiveness of International Programs	61
b) Conclusions	65
Appendix I—Origins of the "Greater Serbia" Ideology	73
Bibliography	76

Abbreviations

ALA	American Library Association
ECMM	European Community Peace Monitoring Mission
ICCROM	International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IFLA	International Federation of Library Associations
IUCN	World Conservation Union
JNA	Yugoslav People's Army
UNATES	United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USIA	United States Information Agency
WHO	World Health Organization

Chapter 1

Introduction

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines culture as:

... the flow of meanings that people create, blend and exchange. It enables us to build cultural legacies and live with their memory. It permits us to recognize our bonds with kin, community, nation state, and the whole of humanity. It helps us to live a thoughtful existence. Yet culture can also lead us to transform our differences into banners of war and extremism. So it should never be taken for granted, but carefully shaped into forms of positive achievement. Cultures are never at a standstill: every individual contributes works and images that blend into the rivers of history (UNESCO [www site](http://www.unesco.org)).

Libraries as cultural institutions play a crucial role as they collect, cultivate, preserve and present a nation's intellectual and artistic heritage. Thus, the destruction of these cultural institutions is an attack on a nation's cultural and national heritage, and serves as a basis for the ideological destruction of a nation.

Intentional destruction of libraries is not a new phenomenon. There is an eternal pattern of destruction of libraries. Throughout history there are numerous examples of destruction of these cultural institutions. Libraries were targeted during various religious and political conflicts because they were seen as the institutions protecting the cultural treasures, heritage, and national identity of a specific group of people that needed to be destroyed. The great Alexandrian Library, for example, suffered substantial damages on several occasions. In 391 A.D. Christian fanatics, led by the bishop Theophilus, destroyed the Serapeion of the Alexandrian Library on orders of Emperor Theodosius I. To them this library represented a pagan cult, and they wanted to erase the last evidence of Greco-Roman culture in Egypt (Stipčević, 1985, p. 102). Ironically, two hundred and fifty years later, the final and most devastating destruction of the Alexandrian Library occurred when the calif Omar ordered his general Amr to burn it down because

"if the books agree with the Koran, they are unnecessary, and if they do not contain what the Koran says, they ought to be destroyed" (Wiegand & Davis, 1994, p. 21).

Throughout medieval Europe, there were frequent examples of the destruction of monastery, church and noble libraries as the oppressed generally identified these libraries with their ecclesiastical and secular oppressors. In the 1520's, during the Anabaptist revolt in Germany, numerous monastic and church libraries were destroyed (Jackson, 1974, p. 136). Many Catholic collections were destroyed by the Lutherans, and the Catholics, by the 1521 order of Pope Leon X, destroyed the works and collections of Martin Luther and other reformers (Stipčević, 1985, p. 381). Libraries suffered a similar fate in 1789 during the French Revolution when revolutionaries targeted monastic and noble libraries. The famous Saint-Germain des Près Monastery Library in Paris was almost destroyed at this time (Stipčević, 1985, p. 445).

Unfortunately, during World War I and World War II intentional pillage and destruction of libraries continued. For example, on August 27, 1914, the University Library in the Belgian city of Louvain was destroyed by the German army. Only eight days later the American Library Association denounced this atrocity, and "restoration efforts were reported being organized under Dutch leadership" (Jackson, 1974, p. 420). Later, there was the confiscation and destruction of Judaica and Hebraica collections throughout Europe while Nazi Germany was in power (1933 to 1945). During this time, libraries of rabbinical seminaries, Jewish communities, and private Jewish libraries were systematically "evaluated" by the Reich Main Security Office (RSHA) and the Special Staff of Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR). RSHA amassed a three million volume library for the "evaluation of Nazi opponent ideologies". ERR created the NSDAP Institute in Frankfurt am Main "in support of pseudo-scholarly research such as a so-called Jewish Question." The institute's library was constituted of "550,000 volumes, including the libraries of the Alliance, of the Rothschild family, of the Etz Hayyim seminary, of the

Rosenthaliana, etc. Both the RSHA and the ERR ordered the pulping of unwanted confiscated books such as Hebraica printed after 1800 and religious Judaica in German" (Wiegand & Davis, 1994, p. 324).

Devastating mass destruction and the irreplaceable loss of the world's precious cultural heritage and treasures during World War II stimulated global attempts to prevent reoccurrences of such actions. The Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization was signed in London on November 16, 1945 by 37 countries and came into force with the 20th ratification on November 4, 1946. The purpose of UNESCO was "... to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations" (UNESCO [www site](#)).

The protection of cultural property in times of war became the topic of the UNESCO conference held in the Hague in 1954. The outcome of this conference was the formulation of the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict signed in the Hague on May 14, 1954. The convention was based on the idea: "... that the preservation of ... cultural heritage is of great importance for all peoples of the world and that it is important that this heritage should receive international protection" (UNESCO [www site](#)). The convention is guided by the principles previously established in the Conventions of the Hague. These principles concern the Laws and Customs of War on Land, the Naval Bombardment in Time of War of July 29, 1899 and October 18, 1907, as well as the Washington Pact of April 15, 1935 for the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and of Historic Monuments (Roerich Pact) (UNESCO [www site](#)). According to Patrick J. Boylan's Review of the

Hague Convention of 1954, UNESCO had 175 member states and 3 associate members in May of 1993. Patrick J. Boylan's review shows that 37 member states ratified the 1954 Hague Convention (including Yugoslavia), 37 acceded it, and 7 states (including Croatia) adopted the Convention as successors to a previous state. The United States of America, although being a United Nations member, is not a member of UNESCO nor a signatory of the 1954 Hague Convention (Boylan, 1993, pp. 169-175).

Another UNESCO attempt which called attention to the preservation of the world's cultural as well as natural heritage resulted in the new convention which was approved at the 1972 General Conference held in Paris. The outcome of this conference was the formulation of the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage on November 16, 1972. The 1972 Convention defines the following as cultural heritage:

monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combination of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;

sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and man, and areas including archeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view (UNESCO www site).

Each signatory state of the 1972 Convention has the duty to identify, protect, conserve, present and transmit to future generations its cultural and natural heritage. Also, every state is expected to "...do all it can to this end, to the utmost of its own resources and, where appropriate, with any international assistance and co-operation, in particular, financial, artistic, scientific and technical..." (UNESCO www site). The World Heritage Committee is to cooperate with other international and national governmental and non-governmental organizations which have similar objectives, such as the International

Centre of the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property based in Rome, the International Council of Monuments and Sites, and the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (UNESCO www site). Because of its diverse agenda, the 1972 World Heritage Convention is more widely accepted than the 1954 Convention. The 1972 Convention has been ratified by 75 states (including Yugoslavia and the United States of America), accepted by 44 states, adopted by 5 states as successors to previous states (including Croatia), and acceded to by 4 states (Boylan, 1993, pp. 169-175).

Finally, the World Heritage Committee is responsible for the selection of new sites to be included in the World Heritage List. The committee's task is to choose from the cultural and natural properties nominated by different countries. Cultural properties included on the list must satisfy the following selection criteria:

- i. represent a masterpiece of human creative genius; or
- ii. exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design; or
- iii. bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared; or
- iv. be an outstanding example of a type of building or architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history; or
- v. be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement or land-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change; or
- vi. be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance...(UNESCO www site).

Four Croatian cultural sites met the above mentioned cultural criteria and were inscribed on the World Heritage List. One site, the Episcopal Complex of the Euphrasian Basilica in the historic center of Poreč, is located on the Istria peninsula.

The remaining three sites, the Diocletian Palace in the city of Split, the historic city of Trogir, and the Old City of Dubrovnik, are located in the coastal region of Dalmatia. The Old City of Dubrovnik was placed on the World Heritage List in 1979. Unfortunately, following the Serbian attacks on the city in 1991, the Old City of Dubrovnik was placed on another list—the List of World Heritage in Danger—at the 15th Session of the World Heritage Committee held in Carthage on December 13, 1991 (UNESCO [www](http://www.unesco.org) site). The placement on the List of World Heritage in Danger entitles a site to special attention and international assistance as it requires major conservation operations.

In spite of the ratification of both the 1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict as well as the 1972 Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, Yugoslavia (i.e. Serbia and Montenegro) did not follow the basic principles of these conventions during the recent war. With the outbreak of war in 1991 the breach of these conventions became evident as Croatian cultural institutions, including numerous Croatian libraries, were attacked and destroyed. In this case, the destruction resulted from the nationalistic program of Serbia to destroy Croatian cities and symbols of Croatian national heritage and culture i.e., Croatian libraries and other cultural institutions located within the bounds of conceptualized "Greater Serbia". (For more information on "Greater Serbia" national ideology refer to Appendix I.)

One gains a sense of cultural identity through the use of a distinct language. This distinct language serves as a basis of a unique literature which further contributes to one's sense of cultural identity. Furthermore, unique geography and natural environment coupled with man-built urban structures help form cultural identity. All of the above components are made stronger and held together by the threads of common history. For example, Croats have had a strong sense of cultural i.e., national identity since medieval

times due to the collective memory of Croat medieval statehood which was obtained in the late ninth century (Banac, 1984, p. 23).

The purpose of this study is to examine the impact on Croatian national culture and heritage of wounds inflicted upon Croatian libraries during the recent war from 1991 to the present. A general overview of the destruction of libraries in eastern, central, and southern Croatia will be followed by an in-depth study of the destruction of Dubrovnik libraries.

This study of damaged and destroyed Croatian libraries will serve as a basis for testing the effectiveness of current UNESCO and other international programs and conventions such as the 1954 Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, the 1972 Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, and the List of the World Heritage in Danger. Article 1 of the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict defines cultural property as:

... movable or immovable property of great importance to the cultural heritage of every people, such as monuments of architecture, art or history, whether religious or secular; ... manuscripts, books and other objects of artistic, historical or archeological interest; as well as scientific collections and important collections of books or archives or of reproductions of the property defined above; buildings whose main and effective purpose is to preserve or exhibit the movable cultural property... such as museums, large libraries and depositories of archives (UNESCO www site).

The 1972 World Heritage Convention takes this concept further as it is based on "... the principle that most precious treasures on our earth belong to humanity and that all humanity therefore is responsible for safeguarding them" (UNESCO www site). Sites such as the Old City of Dubrovnik have been acknowledged as having exceptional universal value and as such have been placed on the World Heritage List by the World Heritage Committee—the statutory body that is responsible for decision-making. Thus, the case study of Dubrovnik, in particular, will give us an insight into the role that

UNESCO plays in the protection and conservation of the world's most precious cultural heritage in nations torn by war.

Chapter 2

Methodology and Literature Review

Methodology

Delimitations

I have concentrated my study on library institutions which are considered to be of utmost importance for the Croatian cultural heritage. I have also covered damage sustained by less important institutions; however, I have not discussed these in great detail. Due to the war situation in Croatia and my physical presence in the United States, I was not always able to obtain all the relevant information. Therefore, I have included information, as detailed as possible, based on the data that I was able to obtain. Numerous libraries which held materials that are important for Croatia's cultural heritage were destroyed in the Republic of Bosnia and Hercegovina; however, damage sustained by these libraries is beyond the scope of this study.

Data Analysis

My analysis is based on primary sources, including eyewitness accounts, as well as secondary sources written in Croatian, English, French, Spanish and Italian, if applicable. These sources include but are not limited to newspaper articles, Croatian-News electronic news retrieved from the Croatian Gopher and the World Wide Web, video tapes, telephone conversations with eyewitnesses in Croatia, and books and reports prepared by UNESCO and Croatian librarians and historians. Interviews were facilitated by the use of on-site assistants in Croatia and by my subsequent trips to Croatia.

Analysis of the damage sustained by the libraries is organized in the following ways by:

- 1) specific geographic regions such as: Eastern Croatia (Slavonia, Baranja, and Srijem); Central Croatia (Bjelovar, Sisak, Banija, Karlovac, and Lika), and Southern Croatia (Dalmatia).
- 2) the damage sustained by the type of library, e.g., memorial and monastery libraries, academic and general research libraries, public libraries, school libraries and archives.
- 3) a detailed case study which concentrated on the libraries in the city of Dubrovnik.

I have also examined the war damage in a greater context and have focused on lessons to be learned from this destruction so that conscientious citizens of the world can prevent attacks on cultural legacies from happening in the future. In order to conclude the findings of my study on a more positive note, I have identified important attempts to rebuild collections and buildings through various types of international programs and assistance.

Literature Review

Croatian Libraries and Ethnic Cleansing

In order to fully understand the damage sustained by Croatian libraries one needs to know more about their history. The study entitled *Libraries in Croatia* published by the Croatian Library Association and edited by Aleksandar Stipčević (1975) can serve as an excellent introduction to Croatian libraries. Even though this study was published in the mid-seventies, it is still a valuable overview of the most important Croatian libraries and their collections. The book introduction has a brief outline of the development of Croatian libraries throughout history which can serve as an excellent starting point for someone interested in a historical overview of these institutions.

Another good study of the historical development of Croatian libraries is one published in the *Encyclopedia of library and information science*. The article written by Katherine Cveljo (1979), and entitled "Historical development of libraries in the territory of south Slavs in their cultural and literary perspectives" provides a useful insight into the variety of cultural influences and different developmental stages of libraries in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. It is especially useful for its explanation of how and why Croatian libraries' historical development differed from other libraries in the former Yugoslavia.

The most up-to-date overview of the role of Croatian national, academic and research libraries as well as a short history of State Archives in Croatia can be found in Milovan Baletić's *Croatia 1994*. Even though a very small portion of this book is devoted to libraries, it is very informative and contains relatively recent information about many aspects of Croatian culture.

The most comprehensive study of the attack on Croatian libraries is the book edited by Tatjana Aparac-Gazivoda and Dragutin Katalenac, *Wounded libraries in Croatia* published by the Croatian Library Association in 1993. This book provides compelling documentation of the destruction of Croatian libraries. The book's first two chapters list short chronologies of events leading to the destruction of various libraries. These chapters are followed by regional studies of damaged and ruined libraries by library type e.g., public libraries, school libraries, academic libraries, and memorial and monastery libraries. Unfortunately, information on the libraries in the occupied areas of Croatia, such as Knin, Benkovac, and Obrovac was not included due to the fact that it was not possible to obtain relevant information at that time.

Another invaluable source for the study of destroyed and damaged libraries is a guide by Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka (1992a) entitled *Croatian libraries on target* published by the National and University Library of Croatia in 1992. The information included in this guide was collected and processed as part of a special research project—"The Strategy of Reconstruction, Restoration and Development of Destroyed and Damaged Libraries in Croatia." This guide is very helpful in that it lists the damage sustained by the libraries in alphabetical order by the place name. Therefore, it is possible to analyze the damage suffered by each individual village, town, or city. Furthermore, under each entry there is information on library holdings before the war and after the war including the damage to the library buildings. Even more helpful are the lists at the end of the book that identify damaged libraries by the type of the library. This guide also contains numerous photographs of destroyed or damaged libraries.

Catalogue of peace and war, volume 6 of the series *Handbooks of Cultural Affairs*, published in August of 1992 by the Ministry of Culture and Education of the Republic of Croatia (Croatia, 1992), is a valuable source of statistical information on damaged and destroyed collections and other aspects of cultural heritage. In addition to

numerous peacetime photographs of Croatian cultural heritage, this volume contains wartime photographic evidence of destruction to cultural monuments. There is also a brief report on war damage to educational institutions as well as abundant information on human rights issues. Moreover, the catalogue includes detailed reports on war damage to three cities—Zadar, Osijek, and Dubrovnik—prepared by the regional Institutes for Protection of Cultural Monuments.

In addition to the monographic literature, numerous newspaper articles described and commented on war damage to Croatian cultural institutions. The National and University Library (Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka, 1992b) compiled a special three volume bibliography *Rat u Hrvatskoj* [The war in Croatia] which lists important articles published in the Croatian as well as foreign daily presses. These bibliographies list articles that discuss damage to different types of objects including the damage sustained by cultural, educational, and scientific institutions such as libraries, colleges and universities, archives and schools. This is a well organized bibliography which can certainly aid a researcher who is interested in information from a local as well as an international perspective. The second volume of this bibliography also lists articles on the reconstruction of Croatian libraries.

Many books were written on the subject of the Croatian war which included various essays, articles, letters and appeals, as well as personal testimonies of Croatian and foreign citizens. Some of these materials included lyrical poems and essays about Croatian libraries. *Hrvatsko ratno pismo 1991/92. Croatian war writing 1991/92* (1992) edited by Dubravka Oraić Tolić contains essays written by Croatian as well as foreign writers who mourn the destruction of Croatian libraries and their collections. The authors of the texts included in this book waived their royalties and the entire sales proceeds from the book were donated to the damaged library in the town of Vinkovci. As Croatian writer Branimir Donat points out in his essay entitled "Librocide", "But let

us bear in mind—literature is a strange plant: together with the miraculous and healing power of words, new heroes may be born from these victims, and the story of the murdered books will become the subject of new works." (Oraić Tolić, 1992, p. 451).

Finally, in order to better understand and explain the strategy behind the destruction it is necessary to consult *Etničko čišćenje: povijesni dokumenti o jednoj srpskoj ideologiji* [Ethnic cleansing : The historical documents about Serbian ideology] (1993). This book, originally written in French by Mirko Grmek, Marc Gjidara and Neven Šimac, elaborates on the history behind ethnic cleansing and the ideology of "Greater Serbia." It contains impressive evidence to support the hypothesis that damage to the Croatian cultural monuments—in this case libraries—was an intentional and systematically planned endeavor. The book includes numerous historical documents written in Serbia as early as the beginning of nineteenth century. These documents show that ethnic cleansing is not a new phenomenon.

Policies and Programs in Support of International Cultural Heritage

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) www site located at <http://www.unesco.org> is an invaluable source of current information pertaining to UNESCO. This site includes complete copies of conventions such as the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, the 1972 World Heritage Convention, the List of World Heritage in Danger, as well as the most recent list of the Member States and the associate members of UNESCO.

With the financial aid of UNESCO, the International Council on Archives published a special issue of *Archivum* entitled *Memory of the World at Risk Archives Destroyed, Archives Reconstituted*. Joan van Albada's article "'Memory of the world'—Report on destroyed and damaged archives" (1996) contains two important worldwide

inventories, the "List of Repositories Reporting Losses" and "Examples of Reported Destroyed or Damaged Collections." Unfortunately, the list of reported destroyed or damaged collections in Croatia is twelve pages long. This list includes reports from the most recent war as well as previous wars. Although Albada's suggestions for remedies pertain to the archives, the same preventive measures and current activities aimed at safeguarding archival heritage can be applied to libraries as well. Another article entitled "Archives en temps de guerre: l'expérience de la Croatie" ("Archives in time of war: The experience of Croatia") was written by Josip Kolanović (1996), Director of the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb. Kolanović "... recalls the circumstances of the war which took place in 1991-1992 on Croatian territory and the will for a 'cultural cleansing' assimilated to an 'ethnic cleansing' which the aggressor intended to pursue to its conclusion" (p. 180). Kolanović pleads for security microfilming and basic professional training coordinated with the military authorities as a measure for the better protection of archives. The same measures of protection can be applied to the libraries.

Patrick J. Boylan's (1993) *Review of the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (The Hague Convention of 1954)*, is an exceptionally well-written review and criticism of the Convention. Boylan's review includes important chapters that discuss the roles of UNESCO, the United Nations, and non-governmental organizations. Not to be overlooked are the "January 1993 Report of Department of Defense, United States of America, to Congress on International Policies and Procedures Regarding the Protection of Natural and Cultural Resources during Times of War," and the "Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe: February 1993 Report on the Destruction by War of the Cultural Heritage in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina" contained in the appendices section.

Some of the cultural monuments destroyed during this war were on the World Heritage List. The Old City of Dubrovnik which includes several libraries of utmost

importance was one of the targets. UNESCO published important reports that discuss damage sustained by the city, such as *Dubrovnik: 1991-1992 Biens culturels endommagés lors des bombardements (Cultural properties damaged by shelling)* (1993b) and *Dubrovnik 1991-1992* (1993a). Even though these studies do not talk directly about the damage sustained by library collections, they do discuss damages sustained by library buildings. Therefore, based on these studies, one can analyze the pattern of damage to the libraries located within the Old City walls.

The most comprehensive record of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia from the international law perspective is published by the Research Centre for International Law at the University of Cambridge. The volume, entitled *The 'Yugoslav' crisis in international law: General issues, Part I* and edited by Daniel Bethlehem and Marc Weller (1997), has an extensive chronology of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, covering the main events from 1989 to mid-1994. It provides an excellent analysis of the diplomatic and military interventions of the United Nations. The volume covers resolutions and statements of the UN Security Council, Provisional Verbatim Records and Draft Resolutions of the UN Security Council, and Reports of the UN Secretary-General and related documentation.

Finally, an excellent example of international cooperation in the area of reconstruction and conservation studies is *Post-war reconstruction & conservation in Croatia: Study tour and conference report, 23-28 November 1992* published by the Post-war Reconstruction & Development Unit of the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies (the IoAAS) of the University of York, United Kingdom. Appendix Two of this report contains an important document entitled "Saving Croatia's Artistic and Architectural Heritage, Report on the 9th of May 1992 Seminar" by Peter Burman, Director of the Centre for Conservation Studies of the IoAAS. This one-day seminar "... aimed at identifying ways of providing encouragement and support to those who

will have the responsibility of caring for and conserving Croatia's artistic and architectural heritage at the end of the present conflict" (Barakat, Cockburn, & Kojaković, 1993, p. 1). This seminar and conference led to the establishment of the Study Centre for Reconstruction and Development (SCRD) in Dubrovnik, Croatia.

Chapter 3

Overview of the History and Recent Destruction of Croatian Libraries

Concise Historical Overview of Croatian Libraries

Many battles and wars have been fought on the territories of the present day Croatia, but none of the previous wars was as devastating to Croatian libraries as the recent war (1991-1995). In order to fully understand the loss that Croatian libraries sustained during this war, one needs to be aware of the historical development of libraries in Croatia. Over the centuries Croatian lands were dominated by Venice, Hungary, Turkey, Austro-Hungary, Austria, France, Italy, and Germany. Croatia's strategic position, that of a country located midway between the West and the East, was a primary reason for frequent foreign invasions. As a result, one can observe regional differences in the development of Croatian libraries as well as various cultural influences which reflect the cultures of various groups of foreign invaders.

Aleksandar Stipčević points out in *Libraries in Croatia* (1975) that the oldest libraries on Croatian territory must have existed as early as Roman times. Even though there is no historical evidence that proves the existence of the libraries, Stipčević concludes: "...one can hardly believe that such large and rich towns as Salona, Jader, Pola, [the present towns of Solin, Zadar, Pula] etc., did not have their libraries, besides the remarkable amphitheatres, forums, and temples" (p. 5). Furthermore, Stipčević speculates that the Emperor Diocletian had his private library in the present town of Split. The oldest library in Croatia of which we have a record is the library of Split Cathedral which was established in the 7th or 8th century (Stipčević, 1975, p. 5). As Trpimir Macan points out: "The known history of the Croats begins in the second quarter of the seventh century when they came to the Adriatic Sea, invading the south

from White Croatia at the same time that the Avars were defeated near Constantinople in 626" (Macan & Šentija, 1992, p. 19). Therefore, the records of the existence of the oldest library in Croatia coincide with the arrival of Croats at the Adriatic Sea.

As in the rest of medieval Europe, the cultural activities of Croats developed in the scriptoria of monasteries and bishoprics. The oldest library in Croatia is that of Split Cathedral where "the oldest extant codex found in the Croatian territory—the famous Split Gospel (*Evangelistarium Spalatense*) was written" (Stipčević, 1975, p. 5). The Benedictine Order arrived in Dalmatia in the 9th century, and at that time notable scriptoria, such as the one of St. Krševan in Zadar, contributed to the further development of Croatian libraries. From the 13th century on there was a decline in the Benedictine Order and it was replaced by Franciscan, Dominican and Pauline Orders. Most notable monastic libraries of this period were the Franciscan Library in Zadar, the Franciscan Library in Dubrovnik, the Dominican Library in Dubrovnik, the Dominican Library in Split, and the Kampor Franciscan Library on the island of Rab. In addition to monastic libraries, there were important diocesan libraries such as The *Bibliotheca Metropolitana* of the bishopric of Zagreb, which is one of the oldest preserved libraries in the territory of Croatia, and dates back to 1094 (Stipčević, 1975, p. 63).

There were also a lot of rich private libraries in Croatia during the 15th century. The most valuable ones such as Cardinal Ivan Stojković's Library and Bishop Nikola Modruški's Library are outside Croatia (Stipčević, 1975, p. 6). The Renaissance produced a strong cultural development in Dalmatian towns, namely Dubrovnik and Split, and there were numerous private libraries of Croatian learned men in these towns. One of the most important libraries of that time is the library of the most famous Croatian Renaissance writer, Marko Marulić (Stipčević, 1975, p. 6).

The Jesuits arrived in Croatia in the 17th century and, at this time, they founded numerous important libraries that were annexed to their schools. The central library of

Croatia, The National and University Library in Zagreb, began as part of the Jesuits grammar-school library.

The 19th century was the period of the national revival, and at this time, a series of reading clubs were opened throughout Croatia. Most of these clubs later became public libraries. In 1874 the new Zagreb University was established, and the significance of its library grew under the leadership of the first Croatian professional librarian, Ivan Kostrenčić (Stipčević, 1975, p. 10). Another important library was founded in 1868, the Library of the Croatian Academy of Science and Art. In addition to the establishment of public and academic libraries, specialized libraries such as, the Library of the Archeological Museum in Split and Zagreb were founded (Stipčević, 1975, p. 7).

Stipčević points out that Croatian libraries went through their most fruitful period after World War II (Stipčević, 1975, p. 7). Libraries were founded in all the bigger places and the National and University Library formally became the central library of the Croatian nation and received copies of all material printed in Croatia as well as Yugoslavia. Also, at this time, the six research libraries—Osijek, Pula, Rijeka, Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik—were given the right to receive deposit copies. Thus, Croatian libraries contained resource materials reflecting the life, history, and creativity of the Croatian people from the 7th century to 1991 when the conflict with Serbia exploded into open war.

/// Temporarily occupied
territories 1991-1995

UNESCO World Heritage Cultural Sites:
Dubrovnik, Poreč,
Split, Trogir

UNESCO World Heritage Natural Site
Plitvice Lakes

EASTERN CROATIA (SLAVONIA, BARANJA & SRIJEM)

CENTRAL CROATIA (BJELOVAR, SISAK & BANIJA,
KARLOVAC, LIKA)

SOUTHERN CROATIA (DALMATIA)

Destruction of Libraries in Eastern, Central and Southern Croatia

Destruction of Libraries in Eastern Croatia

Before this war, Slavonia was the largest and most densely populated region of Croatia. Slavonia, Baranja, and Srijem are located in the Pannonian plane region, the most northeastern part of Croatia (to the west of the Vojvodina region in Serbia)—see map on page 21. This territory was occupied after an 86-day siege of Vukovar which had fallen to the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) forces on November 17th, 1991 (Bethlehem & Weller, 1997, p. xxxi). After the fall of Vukovar, fighting moved eastward toward Osijek, the largest town in the Slavonia region. Only a month later the Slavonia, Baranja and Srijem regions—now under the Serb occupation—were proclaimed the Serbian Autonomous Region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem. The second Serb enclave, the Serbian Autonomous Region of Krajina was also proclaimed at the same time (Bethlehem & Weller, 1997, p. xxxii). The Slavonia region was occupied until mid-1995, and only six months after the military action "Flash" (May 1st to May 5th, 1995), did the peaceful reintegration of this territory start under the auspices of UNATES (United Nations Transitional Administration for Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srijem) (USIA, 1996, p. 6). It wasn't until very recently i.e., January 15th of 1998, that this territory was returned to Croatia.

Memorial, academic, public and school libraries located in Eastern Croatia have suffered the most substantial damage, as this territory was occupied and under the direct Serb and Yugoslav People's Army attack. The most prominent memorial library in this region was the Town Museum Library in the city of Vukovar. The library was located in a beautiful, late-Baroque castle previously owned by Count Eltz. The library was housed on the first floor of the castle which has been completely destroyed. The special

collections of a Croatian 1939 Nobel Laureate for Chemistry, Lavoslav Ružička, and the leading Croatian museologist Antun Bauer were pillaged and taken to Serbia (Stipanov, 1996, p. 11). The Serbian news agency Tanjug reported on Belgrade TV on November 29th, 1991 that the removal of valuable items from the Vukovar museum was "supervised" by the Serbian Minister of Culture and Director of the Serbian National Library (Karaman, 1994, p. 477). The Franciscan Monastery of St. Philip and Jacob Library in Vukovar and the Franciscan Monastery Library in the city of Ilok have suffered a similar fate (Stipanov, 1996, p. 12).

The central public and research library in Eastern Croatia is the City and University Library in Osijek. This library, being the largest library in the area, served a dual purpose and was used extensively by members of the general public, as well as by the students, faculty and staff of the Josip Juraj Strossmayer University. The library building and equipment suffered considerable damage. Fortunately, only a small part of the collection was damaged, and numerous valuable items were deposited in safer places prior to the attacks. The library displayed the international sign of the Hague Convention for the protection of cultural monuments in the event of war. In spite of its conspicuous presence in the library window, the library building became a primary target. There is photographic evidence of this window display (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, p. 17). The rest of the academic libraries in Osijek, such as the Pedagogical Faculty Library, the Central Library of the Faculty of Agriculture, the Institute of Agriculture Library and the Faculty of Food Processing Technology Library experienced similar losses (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, pp. 21-23). The Historical Archives of Osijek also suffered substantial damage since it was attacked several times (Kolanović, 1996, p. 176).

The public library infrastructure in Eastern Croatia was almost incapacitated in its entirety, as numerous main and branch libraries in this region were completely

destroyed. The Main Library in Vukovar was almost totally ruined in October 1991, and the whereabouts of most of its personnel was also unknown. The Public Library "Nova Dumka" of Vukovar was completely destroyed as well. Although this library was very small in its size, its loss is significant as it served a special group, i.e. the Ukrainian and Ruthenian minority (Stipanov, 1996, p. 4). Moreover, the Croatian Reading Room in Tovarnik, the Public Library and Reading Room in Vinkovci, the Town Library in Slavonski Brod, and the Library and Reading Room in Nova Gradiška were destroyed. The most severe loss was sustained by the Public Library and Reading Room in Vinkovci on September 16, 1991. This entire building and a collection of 85,000 volumes burned to the ground (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, p. 20). In an attempt to raise funds and international awareness, a collection of postcards entitled "Vinkovci Phoenix: The Public Library and Reading Room in Vinkovci 1991" was published in 1992. These postcards depict the destroyed library and speak for themselves. In addition, the destruction of the Vinkovci Public Library led to the establishment of "the Children's Library of Peace—a completely new library, affiliated with the Town Library in Vinkovci—as a [special theme] book collection dealing with peace and tolerance in all the European languages ..." (Mesić, n.d., p. 151).

Because there were so many school libraries in Eastern Croatia, they suffered the most wide-spread destruction. There are too many destroyed elementary and secondary schools libraries to be mentioned individually. However, as stated in *Catalogue of peace and war*: "The war has taken the heaviest toll of the school buildings in the area of Slavonia where 13 secondary schools have been devastated, of which 5 in Vinkovci and 7 in Vukovar [were] razed to the ground. The same fate has befallen the elementary schools, for example those in Osijek and the surrounding area where 34 schools have been ravaged" (Croatia, the Republic of. Ministry of Culture and Education, 1992, pp.

220-221). The entire library collections in all of these schools were completely destroyed.

Destruction of Libraries in Central Croatia

The following inland regions of Croatia are included in the discussion on Central Croatia: the regions of Bjelovar, Sisak and Banija, Karlovac, and the Dinaric Mountains region of Lika. These regions roughly border the northwestern part of Bosnia, and most of these areas were occupied until their liberation in the military action "Storm," which took place in August 1995.

Unfortunately, the libraries located in Central Croatia shared the same fate and suffered similar losses as the libraries in Eastern Croatia. Two monastery libraries in the Banija region, i.e. the Franciscan Monastery in Kostajnica and the Franciscan Monastery in Čuntić, both protected as cultural heritage monuments, were destroyed (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, p. 36). In addition, the library collection of the only academic library in the Lika region, the Teachers' Training Academy in Gospić, was damaged or stolen (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, p. 41). Several archives in Central Croatia were also damaged. The most affected archives in this region were the Historical Archives of Karlovac and the depository of the Historical Archives of Sisak located in Petrinja (Kolanović, 1996, p. 176).

The public and school libraries in Central Croatia suffered the most serious losses. In the Bjelovar region, the Public Library "Petar Preradović" in Bjelovar and the Public Library in Pakrac were most damaged (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, pp. 30-32). The Public Library in Pakrac lost its Special Local Collection which was stolen during the war (Radović, 1995a, p. 1). In the Sisak and Banija region, the Public Library and Reading Room in Sisak and the Public Library in Novska were damaged. Moreover, numerous libraries in this region were in the temporarily occupied areas and

were neglected for almost four years. Fortunately, the reference collection in the Library and Reading Room in Petrinja and the collections in the Public Library in Glina and the Library and Reading Room in Kostajnica were saved (Radović, 1995a, p. 2).

The public libraries in the Karlovac region suffered severe damage as well. The "Ivan Goran Kovačić" Town Library in Karlovac was most damaged. The libraries in the temporarily occupied areas in this region, such as the Public Library in Topusko and the Public Library in Slunj also suffered losses. The Public Library in Topusko had 2,000 fewer books after the occupation, although all of the Serbian books were saved (Stipanov, 1996). The furniture in the Public Library in Slunj was destroyed and its equipment was stolen (Radović, 1995a, p. 1).

Finally, even the public libraries in the mountainous region of Lika, the least populous area in Central Croatia, suffered some losses. The Public Library in Gospić was damaged during the first attack on the town as well as during the subsequent attack (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, p. 40). The libraries in the temporarily occupied areas of the Lika region were not spared either. The Public Library in Plitvice and the Public Library in Gračac suffered major losses during the occupation (Radović, 1995a, p. 2). Unfortunately, the Public Library in Gornji Lapac burned during the Croatian defensive military action "Storm" in August of 1995 (Stipanov, 1996).

Destruction of Libraries in Southern Croatia

The Adriatic coastal region of Dalmatia is a part of Mediterranean Croatia. The coastal cities of Zadar, Šibenik, Split and Dubrovnik are located in this region. The inland cities that were in the temporarily occupied areas prior to the military action "Storm," such as Obrovac, Karin, Benkovac, Knin, Drniš and the island of Visovac are also located in the Dalmatia region. The discussion on damaged and destroyed libraries in the city of Dubrovnik will be discussed in the chapter "Case Study—Destruction of

Dubrovnik Libraries." However, the damaged libraries in the outskirts of the city of Dubrovnik will be discussed here.

Several very important monastery and general research libraries in Southern Croatia suffered serious wounds during this war. The Library of the Monastery of St. Blaise in Pridvorje, located in the rural area of Konavle to the southeast of Dubrovnik, was in the occupied territory from October 1991 to October of 1992. The monastery and its library were pillaged and parts of the monastery were burnt. Fortunately, the monks from the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik managed to transfer some of the most valuable materials prior to the attack on this territory (Paradžik, 1992, p. 1). The Library of the Monastery and Church of St. Antony in Knin, and the Franciscan Monastery in Karin (which is registered as a cultural monument together with its library) were also seriously damaged during the occupation (Albada, 1996, p. 77). The Research Library in Zadar lost part of its newly acquired book collection, its catalogues, its computer equipment and the valuable paintings displayed in the library exhibition room (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, p. 48).

The public libraries in Southern Croatia were also hurt. The Town Library in Zadar was hit by eight missiles on October 4, 1991. This library is the central library of the county and it is responsible for all school and public libraries in the County of Zadar. Although the library was seriously damaged, it continued to operate during the war and even managed to successfully serve a large refugee population. Also, in 1992 this library raised funds and created a special military library "Bili Brig" (The White Hill) which served soldiers who defended the city. Amazingly, the "Bili Brig" Library was located only 300 meters from the enemy lines (Pehar, 1997, p. 1). Other public libraries, such as the Town Library "Juraj Šižgorić" in Šibenik, and the libraries in the smaller cities, such as Biograd, Sinj, Metković, Opuzen, Trpanj, Ston, Mlini and Cavtat suffered less serious damage (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, p. 46).

The public libraries in the temporarily occupied areas have been damaged as well. For example, the new Public Library in Drniš, which was opened in 1989, was pillaged. All of the library's collection, computer, TV and video equipment was stolen (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, p. 52). Although the holdings of the Public Library in Benkovac were intact after the occupation, its card catalogue was missing (Stipanov, 1996). The Public Library in Knin had broken windows, doors and furniture, but the collection itself was saved. This is mainly thanks to one library assistant who continued working in the library during the occupation (Radović, 1995a, p. 2).

Many school libraries in Southern Croatia shared the same fate as the destroyed libraries in Eastern and Central Croatia. For example, several school libraries located in the smaller places to the northwest of Dubrovnik, such as the school libraries in Trnovica and Slano, were burnt. The new school and the library in Mokošica were destroyed (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, p. 50).

Finally, two specialized military libraries in Zadar were destroyed as the soldiers of the Yugoslav People's Army were rapidly withdrawing from the Zadar area. The commanders had ordered that all books printed in Roman script (that had previously been used by teachers and soldiers in military schools) be burnt. The books written in Cyrillic script (used by the Serbs) were spared. This was the first massive book burning in Europe since the time of Hitler, and "the first burning in Croatia after the Communists burnt many libraries immediately after the end of the World War II" (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, p. 6). Ironically, a booklet entitled "Regulations on the employment of the principles of international laws of war for the armed forces of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia" was found on top of the burnt piles of books in front of the former military library in Zadar—documented as photographic evidence in Jovičić's book (Jovičić, 1993, p. 9). However, the burning alone did not suffice and the remaining

sixty computers from the second military library were smashed to pieces with the help of axes (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, p. 6).

Chapter 4

Case Study—Destruction of Dubrovnik Libraries

Dubrovnik is bequeathed from one century to the next in a continuous allegoric contest with the merciless jaws of time and placed in the hands of its inheritors like a document, a pawn, an adornment and a burden. It is our task to pass it on unspoil and untarnished to future generations as crown evidence of our presence on this earth.—Luko Paljetak—Dubrovnik poet (State of the Art Conservation Projects—Dubrovnik).

Dubrovnik, the ancient city on the Adriatic Sea situated in Southern Dalmatia, was not spared during this war. The Old City survived World War I and World War II as well as numerous other invasions. However, this war damaged the Old City substantially. The city itself is a historic landmark, and its medieval ramparts, towers, palaces, churches, and other cultural monuments were placed on the Grade I UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1979. During 1991 and 1992, the city was heavily damaged. International mass media prepared numerous reports on the destruction of the city. UN observers, as well as UNESCO's representatives, also witnessed these events. On October 24th, 1991 Italian journalist Alessio Altichieri reported in the Milanese daily "Corriere della Sera": "Dubrovnik, poi, notizie luttuose, il bombardamento federale ha raggiunto i quartieri del centro storico, che è considerato patrimonio mondiale sotto la protezione dell'Unesco ..." [More mournful news from Dubrovnik: the federal army bombarding has engulfed in clouds the old historical quarters that are considered to be a part of the World's heritage under UNESCO's protection...] (Altichieri, 1991, p. 6). Furthermore, Altichieri states: "Sarà anche vero, ma resta inspiegabile l'accanimento contro Dubrovnik, che non ha minoranze serbe, non ha un porto d'importanza militare, non sembra rientrare in alcuna strategia di Kadijevic nè di Milosevic. Forse, è solo un simbolo da sfregiare." [Even though one sees it, the fury against Dubrovnik remains unexplainable, Dubrovnik doesn't have a Serbian minority nor a port of military

importance, it doesn't appear to be included in any of Kadijević nor Milošević's strategies. Probably, it is only the symbol of disgrace] (p. 6).

Due to its skillful diplomats and favorable economic conditions, Dubrovnik (Latin name Ragusa) was an independent city-state for five centuries, from the 14th to 19th century, while the rest of Croatia was under Venetian, Hungarian, Austrian and Ottoman rules. For this reason, the city has become a cradle of Croatian medieval culture. Dubrovnik's numerous libraries and archives bear witness to its splendid history with its famous artists, writers, poets, scientists and seamen. Unfortunately, during this war Dubrovnik's numerous institutions of highest importance for Croatian national culture and heritage were deliberately attacked. The Dubrovnik archives and libraries were perfect targets, since many of their collections were located in the buildings that displayed international symbols of the Hague Convention (for the protection of cultural monuments in the case of war), as well as UNESCO's flags which were placed by UNESCO's representatives (Ukrainčik, 1992, p. 106). The irony of the fate of Dubrovnik's cultural monuments is even greater considering the fact that the Yugoslav Federal Government was a signatory of the Hague Convention.

Dubrovnik's most important archival and library collections are located within the medieval city walls of Old City of Dubrovnik. However, other important libraries that are located outside of the targeted Old City suffered substantial damage as well. This indicates a focused, deliberate destruction of these cultural institutions.

Destruction of Libraries within Old City Walls

The Dubrovnik Archives

The Dubrovnik Archives is located in the Sponza Palace which was built according to the design of Croatian engineer and architect Paskoje Miličević in 1516. Sponza Palace is one of the finest examples of the Gothic-Renaissance style that is so typical of fifteenth and sixteenth century Dubrovnik (UNESCO, 1993b, p. 26). It is a monumental building rectangular in shape with an impressive façade in Renaissance style on the first floor and the third floor, and the Gothic style on the second floor. The central courtyard is lined with arcades on the first and second floors. This palace housed the customs house and the mint of the Dubrovnik Republic, and subsequently became a meeting place for scholars.

According to Francis W. Carter, 1272 marks the year of the promulgation of the Statue Book of Dubrovnik by the Count Marco Gustiniani. Gustiniani codified the existing sources of Dubrovnik's jurisprudence into the *Liber Statutorum* (Kratofil, 1993, p. 5). In addition, Ivan Mustač, director of the Dubrovnik Archives points out that in the old Dubrovnik nothing was done by oral agreements, but by notary records, and that this practice contributed to Dubrovnik's rich archival collections. Mustač states that one can say without exaggeration that no other state in the world with a size in proportion to Dubrovnik has left so many records about its life and activities as the Dubrovnik Republic (Jerinić, 1995, p. 3). Therefore, the Dubrovnik Republic's activities made it necessary to establish the city's first archives in 1277.

The oldest document, in which the bishopric of Dubrovnik was instituted, was preserved in its original form as a Papal Bull from 1022, signed by Benedict VIII (Kratofil, 1993, p. 5). Documents from the Dubrovnik Republic from 1277-1808 can be divided into four parts. The first part is based on the minutes of the three councils of the

commune: *Consilium Maius* (Great Council), *Consilium Minus* (Small Council) and *Consilium Rogatorum* (Council of Appeal). The second part deals with Dubrovnik's financial affairs. The third part deals with the public law and includes reports of court cases. Finally, the fourth part includes a collection of documents referring to civil contracts such as wills, contracts of sale, marriage and dowry contracts, debtors books etc. (Kratofil, 1993, pp. 6-7). Additionally, it is important to mention that there is a significant collection of Turkish documents from the period of the Dubrovnik Republic. There are over 10,000 of these documents, "mainly *firmans* which are Sultan's orders issued and addressed to Ottoman officials and tributary rulers" (Kratofil, 1993, p. 8).

In addition to documents from the period of the Dubrovnik Republic, the Dubrovnik Archives houses documents from the French Occupation 1808-1814. As Francis W. Carter points out, the French regime that was installed after the fall of the Republic had different administrative principles. Therefore, in the new system that was adopted, detached documents were registered in a formal treaty, and each document was given its own current number (Kratofil, 1993, p. 8). Finally, the documents from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries constitute a big portion of Dubrovnik's archival collection. However, for the most part these documents are not yet included in the archival lists.

All in all, the Dubrovnik Archives are one of the richest archival collections in the Mediterranean region, containing 22,000 volumes measuring 8,500 meters in length (UNESCO, 1993b, p. 27). The languages represented in its collection are numerous. The documents from the Republic are written in Latin, as that was the official language of the Republic. There are also numerous documents written in Italian, since Italian was the predominant language of commerce in the Mediterranean region during the medieval ages. Of course, it is important to mention that many of these documents contain Croatian expressions, and sometimes even entire sentences written in Croatian, as the

noted Dubrovnik historian, Vinko Foretić, points out (Foretić, 1991, p. 62). Furthermore, there are numerous documents written in the Croatian language, and there are abundant documents addressed to Dubrovnik's government and written in Cyrillic script by Serbian rulers, as well as documents from Bosnian rulers written mostly in the Bosnian type of Cyrillic script (even though some of these documents are written in the Roman alphabet). As mentioned earlier, there are numerous documents written in Turkish, and a few written in Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, French, Spanish and Russian (Foretić, 1991, p. 62).

The collections of the Dubrovnik Archives are important not only for the study of the history of the Dubrovnik Republic and cultural development of Croatia, but also for the study of the medieval history of other countries. The Dubrovnik Republic maintained contact with numerous countries such as England, Spain, Italy, Russia, Byzantium, and Turkey as well as the countries of Northern Africa (Foretić, 1991, p. 62). Furthermore, according to Ivan Mustać, director of Dubrovnik Archives, numerous Croatian and foreign historians used the collections of the Dubrovnik Archives. Historians such as Czech Jireček, Slovenian Kovač, and noted orientalists Kraelitz and Babinger also used these collections. In addition, Serbian historians consulted the Dubrovnik archival collections and studied documents pertaining to medieval Serbia, since many of the same documents were destroyed in Serbia during the five hundred years under Ottoman rule (Jerinić, 1995, p. 3).

At present, Dubrovnik Archives consists of a library, a photo laboratory, a reading room for researchers and an exhibit hall. It employs fifteen archivists and one librarian. As indicated in the official documents of the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Monuments and Natural Environment of Dubrovnik, the Dubrovnik Archives building had conspicuously displayed the sign of the 1954 Hague Convention. Nevertheless, it was targeted on two occasions: December 6, 1991 and June 19, 1992.

According to UNESCO's study: "Seven shells struck the roof, front and central courtyard of this building, though without damaging the archives. On the other hand, ... [the archival documents] are housed in most unsuitable conditions for their preservation and steps should be taken to improve conditions in the building" (UNESCO, 1993b, p. 27). UNESCO estimates the cost of the building's restoration to be US \$101,762. The document of the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Monuments and Natural Environment of Dubrovnik also states that in addition to seven direct hits, the Dubrovnik Archives building suffered two indirect hits. Ivan Mustać, director of the Dubrovnik Archives, states that they were targeted four times with self-propelled missiles. He concludes that this proves that the Serbian military was consciously targeting Sponza Palace, and that this destruction was not the result of a random shelling (Jerinić, 1995, p. 3).

Currently, UNESCO is working on a special project entitled Endangered Book Collections and Archives of the World. For this reason, the National and University Library in Zagreb is collecting data to be submitted to UNESCO. In a document submitted to the National and University Library on January 18th, 1995, Marija Veselić, librarian of the Dubrovnik Archives Library, states that the following collections should be included on UNESCO's endangered list: Bibliotheca Ragusina from 15th to 17th centuries, which contains the Offprint Collection of published archival documents, the Heraldry Collection, and editions published by the Academies of Arts and Sciences of Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Serbia, Slovenia, Montenegro and Bulgaria. Veselić states that the Bibliotheca Ragusina was donated to the Dubrovnik Archives by Croatian linguist and dialectologist Milan Rešetar. Later, this collection was completed through purchase and gifts (Veselić, 1995, p.2).

At the end of 1992, the Library of the Dubrovnik Historical Archives had a total of 27,145 volumes, out of which 826 are incunabula, and old and rare books dating from

the 15th to 19th centuries. The most represented languages in the library collection are Latin, Greek, Italian, German, French and English. The majority of books deal with subjects such as history, art history, literature, law and philosophy. So far, a very small number of the most damaged books has been restored due to limited financial resources. However, the library intends to restore a substantial portion of the book collection as soon as there are sufficient funds. Also, the library intends to microfilm the entire Collection Bibliotheca Ragusina. The most valuable collections were moved to a more secure location in the event of more attacks on the city (M. Veselić, personal communication, March 1995).

The Dubrovnik Main ("Grad") Public Library

The Main Dubrovnik Public Library is located in the south wing of the second floor of the Convent of St. Claire. The convent was founded in 1290. The present building was built at the end of the 15th century, but most of the original building was destroyed during the Great Dubrovnik Earthquake of 1667 and was rebuilt thereafter. According to Nora Cervelin, the head librarian of Dubrovnik Main Public Library, this library was established in 1947 as a library of the County's Syndicate Council, and it operated as such until 1963. From 1963 to 1978 it operated as an independent county library. From 1978 until the present time, it has been a part of the network of Dubrovnik libraries known as the "Libraries of Dubrovnik" together with the Research Library of Dubrovnik (N. Cervelin, personal communication with Pave Brailo, February 1995).

According to Cervelin current library holdings are 45,000 books. The most important collection is the Native Place (Dubrovnik) Collection of 2,000 books. In addition, the library owns 1,500 books written in foreign languages, out of which 1,200 are written in English, and the remaining 300 are in French (N. Cervelin, personal communication with Pave Brailo, February 1995).

HRVATSKO BIBLIOTEKARSKO DRUŠTVO
CROATIAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

POMOZITE KNJIŽNICAMA U HRVATSKOJ
HELP THE LIBRARIES IN CROATIA

NAKODNA KNJIŽNICA "GRAD" - DUBROVNIK

"GRAD" PUBLIC LIBRARY - DUBROVNIK

Fig. 3 Croatian Library Association fundraising flier depicting Dubrovnik Main ("Grad") Public Library after the assault

The aftermath damage of the war to the Dubrovnik Public Library was so great that the library cannot function in its present building. Its collections are to be moved soon to another building within the Old City. However, the move is constantly being postponed because of lack of funds for the library equipment. According to UNESCO's study, the Convent of St. Claire suffered "four direct hits [which] caused serious damage to the roofing of the north, west and south wings and to the stone gutters" (UNESCO, 1993b, p. 47). UNESCO estimated the cost of the building repairs to be US \$79,860. Based on the testimony of Nora Cervelin, the head librarian of Dubrovnik Main Public Library, the library suffered direct hits on December 6th, 1991 and May 31st, 1992 with 120 mm mortar shells, which left the library's roof with two holes of 20 square meters and 15 square meters, respectively. In addition, all glass windows as well as the pipes of the central heating system were destroyed. The library's collection suffered substantial damage as well. A total of 2,000 books, mostly children's literature, were destroyed as a result of the direct shelling. In addition, the entire 1991 and 1992 set of Dubrovnik's newspapers "Dubrovački Vjesnik" ("Dubrovnik's Gazette") and the Dalmatian daily newspaper "Slobodna Dalmacija" ("Free Dalmatia") were destroyed. Furthermore, 3,000 books that were on loan disappeared during the war due to either the destruction or the pillage of the library patron's homes, mostly in the territories that were occupied. The library also owned two personal computers which contained important data. Both of these computers were destroyed as well as the rest of the library's equipment, such as book shelves, reading tables, the circulation desk and five typewriters (N. Cervelin, personal communication with Pave Brailo, February 1995).

In spite of all of these difficulties, as Marica Šapro-Ficović, the president of the Association of Librarians of Dubrovnik, states in her speech given at the 29th conference of the Croatian Library Association held in Bizovačke Toplice on September 22-24 1994, it is important to note that the Dubrovnik Main Public Library is the library with

the greatest circulation of all of the libraries in Dubrovnik. During this war, the library's circulation tripled in comparison to its circulation prior to the war (Šapro-Ficović, 1994, p. 2). Therefore, the role of the Dubrovnik Main Public Library did not diminish during the war, but became even more important. The library's mission as a promoter of literacy and culture was extended to a deep-rooted role in people's lives that had a therapeutic impact during this time of war.

The Dominican Monastery Library

One of the most important memorial libraries of Dubrovnik is located in St. Dominic's monastery. The monastery was founded in 1225. It is located near the eastern city gates, because Dominican monks were originally entrusted with the defense of this gate (Marigold, 1979, p. 16). The present monastery and the church were built in the 14th and 15th centuries and are found to the northeast of Sponza Palace, where the Dubrovnik Archives is located. Like the Sponza Palace, the Dominican Monastery is one of the finest examples of the Gothic-Renaissance style that is so typical for Dubrovnik. According to UNESCO, the Dominican Church is one of the largest Gothic constructions on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea. The monastery contains precious works of art, such as paintings, sculptures, and objects of wood and gold that are displayed in the Church and the monastery's museum (UNESCO, 1993b, p. 38). These works of art, made by local and foreign artists, include the master Titian's original painting "St. Mary Magdalene with St. Blaise [a patron saint of Dubrovnik] and Donor." In addition, there are numerous paintings by famous local masters such as Nikola Božidarević's polyptych and Vlaho Bukovac's "The Miracle of St. Dominic."

The Dominican Monastery had a small library from the beginning. The books were kept in a single book-case that contained the most important and indispensable books for the liturgical and educational needs of the monks. In the 15th century, an

addition to the older monastery was built, and at that time it was decided to erect a new library. According to the Dominican monk, Stjepan Krasić, the new library was built in the western addition to the monastery, and the books were kept in special bookcases and special desks to which the most precious books were chained. Krasić points out that the new library was located in the central location on the second floor of the monastery, in the big, spacious and airy room with beautiful gothic windows and ceiling frescos. He concludes that this signifies the importance and the central role of the library in the lives of the monks (Crmčević, 1991, p. 8).

The significance of the Dominican library is even greater considering the fact that this very library was the first public library in the Slavic territories. According to Krasić, in 1501 the Council of Dubrovnik allocated 300 perpers (the monetary unit at the time) for the new library building so that "the library be built in the honor of God, and that it can serve as an adornment to the monastery, and as consolation to the citizens of our city and its visitors" (Crmčević, 1991, p. 9).

This library suffered many losses throughout the centuries, and many valuable manuscripts from its collection can be found in other European cities, such as Budapest and the Vatican City. However, the most devastating events for the library were the Great Earthquake of 1667, and the time during the French occupation, from 1806-1814. Krasić states that during the French occupation the library was converted into a dormitory for soldiers. It is precisely during this time that the numerous valuable books and manuscripts were taken and pillaged (Crmčević, 1991, p. 9).

The Dominican Library's books were obtained through tedious transcription work within the monastery and through purchase. The books were purchased mostly in Italy and France, since monks used to travel there for educational purposes as well as for diplomatic duties in the name of the Dubrovnik Republic. Some books were also obtained through donations, such as the donation of the Bishop of Mrkan and Trebinje,

Juraj Kružić. In 1511, Bishop Kružić left three hundred of his manuscripts and his incunabula to the monastery (Crnčević, 1991, p. 8).

Currently, the Dominican Library has about 23,198 books, excluding the magazine and newspaper collections. Among these books there is a collection of 236 manuscripts and 239 incunabula (Aparac-Gazivoda & Katalenac, 1993, p. 50). The manuscripts date from the 11th to 15th century. Some of the most valuable manuscripts are: the richly illuminated *Biblia sacra cum Prologis et capitulus, in duo volumina dispartita* written in Carolingian script and *Glossa super Regulam sancti Benedicti*, both from 11th century, and M. Tullius Cicero's *Orationes* from the 15th century (Kratofil, 1993, p. 2). According to Krasić, the monastery's incunabula collection is the richest one in the Balkans. Among these incunabula there are many unique copies. The library owns the leaflet printed by the German printer Anton Koberger from Nurnberg. This leaflet was printed in 1480, and it was used to inform Dominicans about the books that could be purchased at Koberger's printing-shop. This is the first known printed catalog of the printing-shop. There are only three preserved copies in the world. One of these copies is in Dubrovnik, and the other two are in Nurnberg and London (Crnčević, 1991, p. 8).

During this war the monastery and the church suffered serious damage. The Dominican complex was targeted on four different occasions: November 12 and December 6, 1991, and May 29 and June 19, 1992. The most devastating day was on December 6, 1991 when the entire city of Dubrovnik was shelled from land, air and sea. (This shelling is recorded on video tape. The documentary is 30 minutes long and its title is "Dubrovnik 1991" (Dubrovnik 1991)). On this day the Dominican Monastery and the Church were hit 22 times. The library suffered one direct hit while the museum suffered three direct hits. Fortunately, the most precious manuscripts, incunabula and old and rare books were removed from the building and saved. They are still kept in the

safe depository. Unfortunately, the rest of the collection is still kept in the library, and the collection may have suffered indirect damage due to the inadequate storage space (M. Marinov, Prior/Librarian of the Dominican Monastery, personal communication with Pave Brailo, February 1995).

The Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Monuments and Natural Environment of Dubrovnik states in its reports that the Gothic windows with Josip Botteri's stained-glass were damaged as well. Some of these stained-glass windows represented scenes of Croatian history. Also, UNESCO's report states: "The complex received 25 direct hits which damaged the roofing of the Church and Convent, the molding of the south doorway and the rose window of the west face." The estimated cost of the repairs to the building is US \$135,000 (UNESCO, 1993b, p. 39).

The Franciscan Monastery Library

Another important memorial library is located in the Franciscan Monastery. The Franciscan Monastery was built near the western city gates and the Franciscan monks were originally entrusted with the defense of the western entrance to the city. The first Franciscans arrived in Dubrovnik in 1234. Their monastery was located outside of the City Walls until 1317 when the Dubrovnik Republic built a new monastery of St. Francis. The church and the monastery suffered substantial damages during the Great Earthquake of 1667, and were rebuilt afterwards. However, the oldest part of the monastery—the cloister on the north side of the church—still stands. According to the writings of the distinguished 19th century English architect T.G. Jackson, this cloister is "one of the most singular pieces of architecture ever seen" (Marigold, 1979, p. 14). The cloister has an arcade of six, double-columned arches on all four sides. The column's capitals have a pattern of a most amazing blend of grotesque faces, masks, beasts and

dragons and are one of the most beautiful examples of early Romanesque architecture in Croatia. The cloister, completed in 1348, is the work of the Master Mihoje Brajkov.

The Franciscan Monastery houses one of the richest libraries in Croatia. The study of theology and philosophy in the monastery contributed greatly to the establishment of the library. Historical sources from the 14th century indicate that there was a very active scriptorium in the Monastery of "Mala Braća" (The Franciscan monastery is also known as the monastery of "Mala Braća" or "Little Brothers"). Several famous chorale-chanting books originated from the monastery's scriptorium. Also, in the 15th century Friar Rafo from Zadar and Friar Martin from Verona founded a bindery within the monastery. In addition, they continued the practice of transcribing old texts. Rich liturgical manuscripts were accessible to the public as well as several foreign travel-writers. In 1494, Dean Pietro Casola from Milan visited the monastery and noted that the psalters kept in the Franciscan Monastery were "matchless ones in the Christian world" (Sopta, 1994, p. 1). Furthermore, the manner in which these books were acquired and the way in which they were safeguarded is important to the evolution of librarianship in Croatia and the history of librarianship in general.

The library's collection has grown thanks to numerous important donations. Among the most valuable donations was the collection of the hymn-books donated by Queen Katarina of Bosnia in 1463 when Bosnia fell under the Ottoman rule. Also, in the early 16th century Bishop Kružić of Trebinje bequeathed part of his private collection to the Franciscan Monastery. Prior to the Great Earthquake of 1667, the library contained about 7,500 books and manuscripts (Kratofil, 1993, p. 3). Unfortunately, most of this invaluable treasure was destroyed in a fire that followed the Great Earthquake.

After the earthquake great efforts were made to restore the monastery and the library collection. The books of the Franciscan monastery from the island of Lopud were transferred to Dubrovnik, and contributions were collected in Spain and Austria

(Kratofil, 1993, p. 3). In the 17th century, the west wing of the second floor was added for the new library, where books were kept until the outbreak of this war. The systematic acquisition of books continued, and in the early 18th century the monastery appointed the custodian of the library. The custodian's duty was to compile book inventories in order to facilitate historical research efforts of local and foreign scholars.

It is because of the invaluable sources found in this library that numerous important works were published in the 19th century. Works such as *Monumenta spectania historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, *Monumenta historico-juridica*, and *Documents for the history of literature in Croatia* would not have come into being if the documents from this library were not consulted (Sopta, 1994, p. 1). Thus, the Franciscan library is an important starting point for the exploration of Croatian national memory and heritage. According to the current Guardian of the monastery, Jozo Sopta, without the existence of this library, many publications by the writers and the poets who have been cherishing the Croatian language on Dubrovnik soil and developing a particular literary expression since the 15th century would not have been possible.

The library currently contains about 70,000 volumes. The prevalent languages of the collection are Croatian, Latin and Italian. The collection includes some of the most valuable sources of Croatian ecclesiastical, political and diplomatic history. In addition, numerous books on philosophy, theology, liturgy, rhetoric, music, fine arts, mathematics, physics, astrology, geography, medicine and pharmaceuticals are part of the collection. Among the most valuable items are 206 incunabula which originated from various printing office centers. Also, 22 volumes that contain chorale-chanting from 15th-18th century are invaluable components of the collection (Sopta, 1994, p. 2). One important chorale-chanting manuscript is, for example, *Martyrologium Romanum* written in 1541 by Franciscan friar Bernardin Gučetić from Dubrovnik which has illuminated initials that depict scenes from popular life (MTM, 1987, pp. 221, 365).

Fig. 4 The Franciscan Monastery Library **before** the assault

Fig. 5 ... **after** the assault

The most important part of the library's collection is its archive. According to the monastery's current Guardian Sopta, the archive has 2,108 cataloged manuscripts, and about an additional 500 which are not yet cataloged. Among these manuscripts are numerous excerpts on parchment paper dating from the 11th to the 14th centuries. This library has one of the richest collections of manuscripts in the Balkans. In addition, the archives have about 100 files and more than 20,000 documents which contain historical records about the Monastery and its province. Finally, the most valuable part of the archives is its music collection. The music collection consists of 10,000 scores either in a manuscript or in a printed form out of which 7,422 are arranged. These scores were accessible to the public prior to this war. It is important to mention that the music archive has about 130 copies that are unique in the world (Sopta, 1994, p. 2).

The Franciscan Library houses manuscripts that are of supreme importance for general history and the history of literature in Dubrovnik. One of the most important manuscripts is *De origine et incremento urbis Rhacusanae* [The origin and the urban growth of Dubrovnik] written by the Dubrovnik historian Ludovik Crijević in the 16th century. Also, the library holds the manuscript of *Osman*—an epic written by the most influential poet of Dubrovnik, Ivan Gundulić—copied by Nikola Ohmučević in the middle part of the 17th century. Among other important manuscripts are works of other famous local writers such as Mavro Vertranović's *Abraham's sanctuary*, Ivan Bunić-Vučičević's *Repentant Mandalijena*, Junije Palmotić's *Captislava* and *Danica Alčina*, and poems of Ignjat Djurdjević. The first edition of *Judita*—the work of the most famous Croatian Renaissance writer Marko Marulić from Split—published in 1521, and the only extant copy in Croatia is kept in this library (Kratofil, 1993, p. 3).

The single most devastating event in the history of Franciscan Library and its collections was the Great Earthquake of 1667. This was due to a natural disaster which could not have been prevented. However, damage sustained by the library during this

war was caused by an enormous human disrespect for the world's precious cultural heritage. The Franciscan Monastery, being on the World's Heritage List is a protected cultural monument. Therefore, the building bore the international sign of the Hague Convention (for the protection of the cultural monuments in the event of war). This sign was displayed visibly, as can be seen on film footage and photographic evidence. There is also a statement in the document produced by the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Monuments and Natural Environment of Dubrovnik which indicates that the sign was posted in full view. In addition, since November of 1991, the International Center for the Red Cross was based in the Franciscan Monastery, and as such the monastery was considered "a neutral zone" (Sopta & Fisković, 1994, p. 17). Thus, additional international signs of the Geneva Convention of the International Red Cross were posted. Two Red Cross signs were placed, one on the church tower and the other one on top of the roof of the west wing of the monastery above the library.

Moreover, the city's most distinguished medieval fortress, Minčeta, is located above the Franciscan Monastery's complex. The Minčeta tower is the highest point of the medieval ramparts which surround the Old City of Dubrovnik, and which are protected cultural monuments being one of the best preserved medieval city walls in the world. UNESCO's representatives placed UNESCO's white flag on the top of the Minčeta tower, and this was yet another indication that the medieval ramparts as well as the Old City located within the ramparts were under the UNESCO's protection. The irony is that the purpose of these markings was entirely defeated, because the Franciscan Monastery was the most targeted destination. UNESCO's report states, "This very fine architectural ensemble was hit by 37 shells, one of which pierced the tower dome. Several other shells severely damaged and partly destroyed the Gothic balustrade of the cloister terrace" (1993b, p. 37). UNESCO estimates that the restoration of the monastery buildings would cost US \$451,365. According to the more recent report issued by the

Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Monuments and Natural Environment of Dubrovnik, the Franciscan Monastery was hit by 51 missiles. The tower's dome which was retrofitted with reinforced concrete after the 1979 earthquake was targeted by guided missiles (Brailo, 1995, p. 8). It is possible to draw the conclusion that this damage was intentional and that the weapons used were of a high caliber, since the missile was able to pierce through the reinforced concrete. Furthermore, Professor Emeritus Francis Violich from the University of California at Berkeley Department of City Planning/Landscape Architecture reinforces this hypothesis in his recently published book entitled *The bridge to Dalmatia: A search for the meaning of place* (1998). Professor Violich states:

Publicizing this information to the world at large was the first expression of outrage against an attack, not just on buildings, but on cultural identity itself It became crystal clear that the military motivation and strategy had been to strike at those buildings that carried the cultural, historic, and religious meaning closest to the hearts of the dwellers of these places—a spiteful sort of "cultural cleansing", as it were. The ministry's records show that the attackers completely ignored the plaques signifying which buildings were to be exempted from war damage according to the Hague Convention of 1954. Indeed, rather than safeguarding the buildings, the designation highlighted them as priority targets for bombardment (p. 302).

The report issued by the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Monuments and Natural Environment of Dubrovnik states that the Franciscan Monastery was targeted with MB-82 mm, MB-120 mm, and the T-155 mm type of shells. Statistical analysis shows that this monastery was the main target of the enemy's artillery not only in the number of hits, but also in the variety of weapons that was used.

According to the testimony of the current Guardian of the monastery, Jozo Sopta, the monastery was targeted on November 10 and December 6, 1991, and May 29, May 30, June 8 and June 19, 1992. The most devastating day, as Sopta states, was "the Black Friday" on December 6, 1991. On this day, the monastery was hit by 37 missiles. Sopta testifies, "The most painful hit was the first one that fell on the library, which was

the glory of this monastery and of this town, and with its treasure it belongs not only to the Croatian culture, but is important to all the surrounding nations" (Sopta & Fisković, 1994, p. 15). The cannonade of December 6 caused substantial damage to the library. One mortar shell hit the roof and made a hole of 5-8 square meters impairing the roof construction and the interior of the library which demolished a great deal of the library's collection as well as the stylistic furniture from the 18th century (Sopta & Fisković, 1994, p. 16). Yet an additional threat was coming from the fire that was gutting the block next door. Sopta reports that on December 6, until late into the night, monks and refugees, together with the leadership and the associates of the International Red Cross from Geneva, stayed on the roof and in their rooms with buckets of water. In addition, nearby fire engines were ready to extinguish the fire if need be. However, December 6, 1991 was not the only time that the library was targeted. Again, on May 30, 1992 the roof of the west wing above the library suffered another direct hit causing additional damage to the roof, the walls and the library's interior (Sopta & Fisković, 1994, p. 17).

Another part of the monastery which contains important works of art is the museum which is located in the Great Hall, a Renaissance room with a beautiful ceiling. The few illuminated manuscripts and other old and rare books from the monastery's library were displayed here as part of the museum's permanent exhibit collection. Besides books, the museum also exhibits a collection of old jewelry and paintings as well as the pharmaceutical equipment from the old pharmacy. Over half a million tourists per year used to visit this hall before the war. Unfortunately, the museum was also hit by a missile that exploded and damaged a part of the museum's furniture and three precious old paintings. The church's organ which is in the vicinity of the museum was silenced by another bombshell and the detonations burst the stained glass windows (Sopta & Fisković, 1994, pp. 15-16).

According to the report directed to the Institute for the Rehabilitation of Dubrovnik written by Sopta on July 22 1994, the library and the archives were shelled with three direct hits. Due to the substantial damages caused by this shelling, the library is still closed and inaccessible to the public. Before the war, over 1,000 scholars from all over the world used the library's collections every year. In addition, numerous students were able to find the literature for their homework assignments. Now, all of this research is no longer possible. The most precious holdings were saved only because of the unselfish devotion of the few monks who risked their own lives trying to rescue the books during the bombardment (Šapro-Ficović, 1994). Currently, the library's holdings are kept in the monastery's refectory which is hardly the appropriate place for this treasure. Additional indirect damage to the collection is imminent if the books remain therein. According to Sopta, the majority of the archival collection has been cataloged online. However, additional monetary help is necessary for the preservation of the holdings. Finally, the UNESCO report states that at least US \$59,600 is needed for the restoration of the library (1993b, p. 37).

The Dubrovnik Summer Festival Library

Immediately next to the Franciscan Monastery's belfry is the Palace of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival. This building, built after the Great Earthquake of 1667, is among the first private buildings whose construction was approved by the Dubrovnik Senate decree in May of 1668 (UNESCO, 1993b, p. 8). This classic Baroque building is the design of Giulio Cerruti, a famous architect. The palace was built as a dual-purpose building serving as a shop in the ground floor facing the main street Stradun, and as a residence on the remaining floors. The building's interior was altered in the 18th century, when lovely Neoclassical moldings, rosettes, and frescoes were added. Since 1961, it has been the headquarters of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival. A total of 58

European cities are members of the Association Européenne des Festivals [The European Festivals Association], and Dubrovnik and Ljubljana are the only centers located in the former Yugoslavia (Association Européenne des Festivals, 1994, p. 4). For the past 45 years the Dubrovnik Festival has presented a plethora of wonderful musical, theatrical and dance events which were performed in an authentic medieval ambiance. For example, one could see Shakespeare's *Hamlet* performed in the medieval tower Lovrijenac, which is located on top of the cliff overlooking the southwest part of the Old City. These performances were given by well known Croatian and foreign artists and visited by numerous domestic and foreign guests.

According to Tomo Vlahutin, who has been the director of the festival for more than a decade, the building was targeted on December 6, 1991. Five incendiary projectiles hit the building. The first and the second hits did not cause substantial damage. However, the third, the forth and the fifth projectiles hit the very center of the building. It was possible to determine this by analyzing the building remains after the fire as well as chunks of phosphorus that were found on the premises (T. Vlahutin, personal communication with Pave Brailo, February 1995). UNESCO's report states that the second floor comprised of the administration room, the publicity department, the press conference room, the production department and the accounting department, was entirely gutted by the fire (1993b, p. 8). The festival's archives and the technical department were consumed by the fire in their entirety.

The outcome of the shelling was such that practically everything that belonged to the Dubrovnik Summer Festival disappeared in the flames. Based on Vlahutin's testimony, the festival's entire library collection burned out. The library contained over 1,200 books on dramatic arts and many musical scores. The languages represented in the collection were Croatian, English, German and Czech. Also, 750-800 color slides and a collection of phototeque which contained 24,000 photographs with supporting

documentation were reduced to nothingness. Complete records of the Festival's operations from 1950-1980 burned down. Sadly, 750 prepackaged Festival catalogs for the season of 1991, that were ready to be mailed out, were destroyed as well. In addition, 250-270 copies of stage manager's books, all of the poster samples from the Festival's beginnings in 1950 until 1991, all of the annuals (over 250 samples) from 1950-1991, 30,000 samples of evening programs and program booklets from 1950-1991 documenting 3,746 different performances and all of the weekly programs were gutted (T. Vlahutin, personal communication with Pave Brailo, February 1995).

For the last 26 years the Festival published the *Press Bulletin*, and the archives contained over 80 bound copies. All of the copies of the *Press Bulletin* as well as the complete set of 121 press-clippings written in Croatian and foreign languages were destroyed. Finally, all of the equipment such as the stylistic furniture, paintings, slide-projectors, film-projectors, VCR, TV, black and white photocopy machines as well as the brand new color photocopy machine, and the typewriters were lost forever. The only materials that did not burn were a small collection of about 100 film negatives, 200-250 photographs, a few catalogs, a few evening programs and the few joint editions of the European Festivals Association (T. Vlahutin, personal communication with Pave Brailo, February 1995).

The archival collection of the Festival was cataloged manually in a form of the card catalog. Before the war, one professional archivist worked for the Festival doing data-entry and caring for the archives. Now, the archivist is no longer there. His help is no longer needed. According to the preliminary report produced by the expert institution Alfa Plan from Dubrovnik a total of US \$993,643 is needed for the repairs to the Festival Palace including research works, external works, internal works, installation of the equipment, replacement of the equipment, financial and technical documentation, consulting and expert supervision (T. Vlahutin, personal communication with Pave

Brailo, February 1995). In spite of a such hard conditions, the Dubrovnik Summer Festival has managed to continue its operations. For all of its efforts, the Festival was conferred the 1993 Denis de Rougemont Award (the name of the founder of the European Festivals Association from Geneva) which states that the award was given to the Dubrovnik Festival "... in recognition of the Festival's contribution to Croatian and European culture ... and for its courageous determination to continue the festival despite severe economic, political and financial hardships" (Dubrovački Ljetni Festival, 1994, p. 44).

In addition to the library collections of the Dubrovnik Historical Archives, the Main Dubrovnik Public Library, the Dominican Monastery, the Franciscan Monastery and the Dubrovnik Festival, there are a few other library collections located within the Old City that were damaged. Not to be overlooked is the private collection of Dubrovnik's famous contemporary painter Ivo Grbić. Serbian missiles hit Grbić's house on December 6, 1991, gutting it along with several other prominent places. His collection of approximately 2,000 books and the collection of his own works of art in the form of art monographs, catalogs, journals, posters and paintings disappeared in the fire blaze (Šapro-Ficović, 1994). The library of the "Miše Simoni" Elementary School, which contained 7,000 books prior to the war, also suffered serious damage (Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka, 1992a, p. 12).

There are other important library collections that are located outside of the Old City Walls. Two libraries are especially notable, the Dubrovnik Research Library and the Library of the Inter-University Center. Both of these libraries were targeted and were almost completely destroyed.

Destruction of Libraries outside of Old City Walls

The Dubrovnik Research Library

The Dubrovnik Research Library is located about 1,000 yards to the west of the Old City in the primarily residential area. Thus, there are no buildings of significant cultural value in its immediate vicinity. In this case, it was obvious that the Serbs' primary task was to target and to destroy the library. The surrounding residential area did not suffer substantial damage whereas the library building was practically destroyed.

The Dubrovnik Research Library is located in a beautiful suburban Renaissance summer mansion which was owned by Dubrovnik nobleman Vice Stjepović-Skočibuha. The villa was designed by an Italian architect and built by Croatian masters from 1574 to 1588. The mansion's three part façade with three lovely arches make this building a unique piece of Dubrovnik Renaissance architecture. Its two-terrace garden design is another example of unequalled Renaissance landscape architecture. A small chapel was added a century later where library materials were also stored (Valjalo & Vetma, 1992, pp. 2-3).

The Dubrovnik Research Library was founded in 1936 by the Dubrovnik City Council and it was opened in 1941. The core collection consisted of numerous donations by Dubrovnik bibliophiles as well as the special collection *Collegium Ragusinum* (1559-1764) of the Dubrovnik Jesuit college which was donated to the library in 1944 (Urban, 1988, p. 14). The collection was originally housed in the Rector's Palace in the Old City. However, due to lack of space, it was moved to the Skočibuha summer mansion in 1977.

Mirjana Urban, Head of the Dubrovnik Research Library, confirms that the library consisted of 250,000 books and other publications prior to the 1991 war. It was the biggest library in southern Dalmatia. Since 1966, the library received the deposit

copy of titles published in Croatia and was one of only six research libraries in the country with depository status. In addition to serving as a depository, the Research Library has a collection of 77 incunabula and 920 volumes of manuscripts from the 11th to 20th centuries which are registered in UNESCO's World Cultural Heritage List (Urban, 1994, p. 2). One of the most valuable incunabula, *De natura coelestium spiritum quod angelos vocamus*, written by Jurje Dragišić and devoted to Dubrovnik, was published in 1499 in Florence and "... presented as a historic relic to the City of Ragusa [Dubrovnik]" by English archeologist Sir Arthur Evans in 1932 (Urban, 1988, p. 20). This incunabula is particularly valuable as it includes the miniatures of world famous Croatian miniaturist Julije Klović. Furthermore, the library's special collection, *Old Ragusina*, containing 13,490 books from the Republic of Dubrovnik (14th century to 1808 i.e., until the abolition of the Republic) is placed on the National Heritage List as well as the World Heritage List (Urban, 1994, p. 2). Finally, the Dubrovnik Research Library houses *New Ragusina*, a collection of 13,000 volumes which is the most complete collection of books and periodicals that deal with Dubrovnik regional history (Dubrovnik City Council, 1995, p. 1).

The Dubrovnik Research Library suffered the most substantial damage on June 8, 1992 when it was fired upon point-blank with five missiles, one of which was an incendiary. As a result, the entire main floor of the library was destroyed, while the equipment on the ground floor was partially damaged. The commission for the war damages filed a detailed report which lists the loss of library materials and equipment. Not only did the library suffer serious destruction of its collections, but the bombing also demolished the building's structure, which is a historic landmark in itself. On June 30, 1992 the Croatian Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport ordered that the most valuable collections be relocated. One month following the aftermath of the most devastating shelling, the most valuable collections were moved to the treasury of

Dubrovnik Bank by library staff with the aid of conservationists from Zagreb and the Dubrovnik civil protection forces. The 97 metal boxes with the most precious materials were transferred for safekeeping under the most strenuous conditions from July 6-15, 1992. Rescue crews worked under the general alert which occurred almost daily during this time. Due to the lack of proper storage equipment, materials and space, the collection suffered secondary damage. Attempts were made in 1994 to relocate these collections and secure funding for the new library building to be located in the Old City. The new library would have enough space only for the collections stored in the bank treasury (Urban, 1993, p. 1). Unfortunately, the Skočibuha mansion had to be closed. The future of the rest of the collection is still uncertain as it continues to disintegrate due to improper storage space in the war damaged and structurally unsafe building.

In an attempt to visually document the damage sustained by the library, a 10 minute video, *The Research Library in Dubrovnik: One day later*, was recorded with the text in Croatian, English and French (Urban, 1993, p. 2). This video served to educate the public about the wounds inflicted upon the Dubrovnik Research Library. The loss of irreplaceable Dubrovnik and Croatian cultural treasures was significant.

The Library of the Inter-University Center

The Inter-University Center for Post-Graduate Studies is located about 500 yards to the southwest of the Old City. The building of the Center, built in 1901, was originally a teacher training institution. From an architectural standpoint, the building is a typical example of a public building from the period of the Austrian rule. According to the current director, Berta Dragičević, the Institute was founded in 1971 and its primary purpose was to promote cooperation among scholars and act as an international meeting place for the exchange of knowledge. Since its formation, the Center offered over 600 courses and 300 conferences, which were attended by more than 35,000

scholars from more than 60 countries from all over the world. Humanists, social scientists as well as natural scientists participated in events that were sponsored by the Center. From its beginnings, when only 22 universities were its members, the Inter-University Center grew to have 240 members from five continents (Dragičević, 1994, p. 5).

The Center's library contained over 30,000 titles. It was formed as a result of various contributions from lecturers, member universities, and a series of international donations such as, the British Council, Deutsches Forschungsgemeinschaft and Thyssenstiftung, to name a few (Dragičević, 1994, p. 5). According to the librarian of the Inter-University Center, Marija Nodilo, the most important part of the library holdings were the two collections donated by Professor Birnbaum of the University of California at Los Angeles, the American Studies Collection and the Slavic Studies Collection. The prevalent languages of the collection were English and German (M. Nodilo, personal communication, February 1995). Most of the library collection used the Universal Decimal Classification system, except for the American Studies Collection, which was classified in the Library of Congress cataloging system. Based on Zlata Phillips' article entitled "Libraries are devastated in war-torn Croatia," which was featured in *American Libraries*, the Inter-University Center in Dubrovnik was the only institution in Croatia that had books that were cataloged according to the Library of Congress cataloging classification (1992, p. 209).

The building was targeted on several different occasions. However, it sustained the most damaging hits on December 6, 1991. On that day, the building was targeted with incendiary self-propelled mortar shells. The entire building together with the precious library and its entire collection was completely destroyed (M. Nodilo, personal communication, February 1995). The American Library Association Council passed the Resolution on the Destruction of Libraries in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina on

January 26, 1993 at the 1993 American Library Association Midwinter Meeting in Denver. This resolution states, "Whereas, The Interuniversity Center's Library in Dubrovnik, its collection having been carefully developed by colleagues in American university libraries, has been destroyed ... and, be it further resolved that the American Library Association expresses its continuing support and solidarity with its professional colleagues in Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina in their efforts to restore access to information ..." (Lorković, 1993, p. 2). The same resolution was passed seven months later by the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions Council at the 59th General Conference and Council (IFLA, 1994, p. 143).

Finally, there are other libraries that suffered less serious damage than those discussed above. Most of these libraries are located outside of the Old City and possess limited materials that are important for the Croatian national memory and heritage. Examples of such libraries are the Library of the Dubrovnik Biological Institute, the Library of the Institute for Historical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and the Library of the Faculty of Tourism and Foreign Trade.

Fig. 6 Fundraising materials for the Inter-University Center with insert of burned book from the IUC Library

Chapter 5

Interpretation and Conclusions

Effectiveness of International Programs

This study examined and documented the vast range of destruction of Croatia's library and archival collections and buildings during the 1991-1995 war. Its purpose was to fully document the devastation to Croatian cultural heritage caused by that war and to evaluate the efficacy of global programs in protecting Croatian and world cultural heritage. Analysis focused on the application of UNESCO provisions, such as the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, and the 1972 Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage as they were put into practice during Serb attacks on Croatian libraries, archives and other cultural institutions. Article 4 of Chapter I "General Provisions Regarding Protection" of the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict states:

1. The High Contracting Parties undertake to respect cultural property situated within their own territory as well as within the territory of other High Contracting Parties by refraining from any use of the property and its immediate surroundings or of the appliances in use for its protection for purposes which are likely to expose it to destruction or damage in the event of armed conflict; and by refraining from any act of hostility directed against such property....
4. They shall refrain from any act directed by way of reprisals against cultural property... (UNESCO [www site](http://www.unesco.org)).

Clearly, the Serbs and the Yugoslav People's Army, who are signatories of the Hague Convention, did not follow the above-mentioned provisions of the Convention. The deliberate destruction of Croatian cultural institutions by the Serbs is evident in this study of the destruction of Croatian libraries. The acts of vandalism and pillage directed against the Town Museum Library in Vukovar, for example, serve to illustrate this point. Also, the selective book burning of all Croatian books printed in Roman script (and

therefore deemed superfluous) "supervised" by the commanders of the Yugoslav People's Army in Zadar indicate the Serbs' intentional attempt to "culturally cleanse" Croatia.

Article 16 of Chapter V "The Distinctive Emblem" describes the emblem of the Hague Convention which takes the form: "... of a shield, pointed below, per saltire blue and white (a shield consisting of a royal blue square, one of the angles of which forms the point of the shield, and of a royal-blue triangle above the square, the space on either side being taken up by a white triangle)" (UNESCO www site). Article 17 explains that the distinctive emblem repeated three times may be used only as a means of identification of immovable cultural property under special protection, while a single emblem identifies cultural property not under special protection (UNESCO www site). Croatia complied with these provisions by displaying the distinctive emblem in accordance with the Hague Convention. Examples of Croat compliance with the Convention and Serb abuse of the very same provisions are the City and University Library in Osijek and the Franciscan Monastery Library in Dubrovnik. As demonstrated, the displaying of the Convention emblem was counterproductive as it aided the Serb artillery in targeting the most valuable Croatian cultural monuments. Thus, rather than serving to protect cultural property, the UNESCO signs contributed to their destruction. Furthermore, in addition to being marked by the emblem of the Hague Convention, the Franciscan Monastery Library was marked by the Red Cross symbol of the Geneva Conventions of the International Red Cross. The Red Cross emblem was used to mark this building which served as an improvisatory medical clinic. Thus, in this case the Serbs and the Yugoslav People's Army broke two international conventions and ignored the principles of basic international humanitarian law.

In addition to breaking the provisions of the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, the Serbs and the Yugoslav

People's Army violated the provisions of the 1972 Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage by targeting the Old City of Dubrovnik. The Old City of Dubrovnik met the special selection criteria of the World Heritage Committee by being a medieval cultural property which represents a masterpiece of human creative genius, and by being an outstanding example of a type of architectural ensemble which illustrates significant stages in human history (UNESCO [www](http://www.unesco.org) site). Thus, being recognized as having exceptional universal value, the Old City of Dubrovnik met the criteria of immunity as cultural property under special protection. Although the 1972 Convention is based on the principle that the most precious treasures on earth belong to humanity and that all humanity therefore is responsible for safeguarding them, this principle was not applied during the assault on the Old City of Dubrovnik. Neither the Serbs, the Yugoslav People's Army, nor the international community followed this basic principle of the Convention.

Even the well-intended attempts to preserve valuable cultural property backfired due to the lack of proper storage space and equipment. Namely, the collections of the Dubrovnik Research Library and the Franciscan Monastery Library suffered secondary damages. As demonstrated, the relocation of the most valuable collections from the Dubrovnik Research Library were overseen by the professional conservationist staff from Zagreb. Despite expert assistance, the collection suffered indirect damage in the new location—the basement of the treasury of Dubrovnik Bank. This location was inadequate due to improper ventilation and lack of storage space. Also, after direct hits to the Library, the collections of the Franciscan Monastery Library were transferred to the monastery's refectory which was the only available space at the time. Indirect damage occurred due to the high temperature and humidity levels. UNESCO failed to provide general assistance in both instances.

However, UNESCO's elaborate program, the Plan of Action for Dubrovnik, is an excellent example of UNESCO's commitment to help restore Dubrovnik after the attack (UNESCO, 1993a, pp. 35-42). Even so, more emphasis needs to be placed on implementing measures to prevent an assault on cultural heritage in the first place. The conference and seminar on rehabilitation, reconstruction, and conservation practice, organized by the Centre for Conservation Studies and the Post-war Reconstruction & Development Unit of the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies of the University of York, serves as an excellent example of successful cooperation between British and Croatian conservationists (Barakat, Cockburn, & Kojaković, 1993). The University of York model should be explored further and similar exchange programs established with other institutions with analogous agendas.

Albada points out that "... the loss of [libraries and] archives is as serious as the loss of memory in a human being; societies simply cannot function properly without the collective memory of their [libraries and] archives" (1996, p. 11). In the case of Croatia, the destruction of its cultural institutions and the subsequent obliteration of large parts of the Croatian national memory can be linked to the Serbian nationalistic idea of a "Greater Serbia." The Serbs and the Yugoslav People's Army targeted for destruction all evidence of Croatian cultural identity such as Croatian books and libraries in order to bolster their claims to Croatian territory. The world at large can benefit from studying this situation and determining how effective are the present programs to prevent the destruction of the world's unique book collections and archives, and the buildings that contain these movable cultural treasures.

Conclusions

Based on the evidence presented in the "Case Study—Destruction of Dubrovnik Libraries" and in the chapter detailing cultural destruction throughout Croatia, it is clear that improved international programs and policies are needed in the following areas: wider acceptance of the UNESCO Conventions; stronger legal actions; more field experts; the reevaluation of usage of the Conventions' signs; more cooperation between military, peace-keeping forces and UNESCO; and more emphasis on education.

Patrick Boylan suggests in his review that it is necessary to lobby for wider acceptance of UNESCO's Convention "... since the effectiveness of any international law ultimately depends on the principle of universal acceptance" (1993, p. 8). As Boylan points out, even after 40 years, less than half of the member states of the United Nations have ratified and adopted as national law this quite fundamental instrument of international humanitarian law (Boylan, 1995, p. 4). Organizations such as ALA and IFLA should urge the United States of America to ratify the 1954 Hague Convention. For example, when the Council of the International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions (IFLA) passed and adopted the "Resolution on the Destruction of Libraries in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina" at its 59th General Conference, IFLA sent copies of the resolution to the United Nations, UNESCO, W.H.O. and Article 19—The International Center on Censorship (IFLA, 1994, p. 143). IFLA's attempt should be praised. However, without adequate legal mechanisms and support to prosecute perpetrators, these efforts have proven fruitless and have not led to desired results i.e., safe protection of libraries and their contents.

Thus, it is of the utmost importance that the world at large learns from the Croatian example and creates effective legal sanctions against the violators of UNESCO's Conventions. Cultural genocide must be seen as a crime against humanity and prosecuted severely under international humanitarian law. Article 28 of the Hague

Convention states: "The High Contracting Parties undertake to take, within the framework of their ordinary criminal jurisdiction, all necessary steps to prosecute and impose penal or disciplinary sanctions upon those persons, of whatever nationality, who commit or order to be committed a breach of the present Convention" (UNESCO www site). It is doubtful whether the International War Crimes Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia will prosecute violators of UNESCO's Conventions. Nevertheless, the conscientious citizens of the world must insist that such action takes place so as to prevent future "cultural cleansing." Furthermore, the use of incendiary projectiles, which destroyed many Croatian libraries and archival collections, must be banned.

UNESCO must be praised for sending two experts, Bruno Carnes and Colin Kaiser, who monitored the first phase of the Serb attack on Dubrovnik. UNESCO's experts provided necessary technical advice, overseeing practical measures such as the boarding up of external sculptures to protect them from further direct destruction, the removal of movable items, such as books, to safer places, and temporary re-roofing for prevention of further water damage to the cultural property (Boylan, 1993, p. 231). However, it is also important to point out the discrepancy between the number of UNESCO representatives working in the field versus those working at Paris headquarters. In 1995 UNESCO had 60 field offices and units in different parts of the world out of which 548 staff members worked in the field offices and 79 in the field projects. On the other hand, 1,856 staff members worked in the Headquarters office (UNESCO www site). UNESCO should consider working towards increasing the numbers of its representatives working in the field so that they can more quickly respond to acts of cultural aggression and alert the world to violations of international treaties.

The conspicuous display of internationally recognized signs authorized by the Hague Convention of UNESCO must also be reexamined. As seen by the Dubrovnik example, the protective purpose of these signs was totally defeated since they aided the

Serb artillery in targeting the most precious Croatian and international cultural treasures. Serbia's ability to ignore UNESCO's protective symbols with apparent impunity underscores the weakness of UNESCO enforcement procedures. A clause in Article 8 of Chapter 2, "Granting of Special Protection" of the Hague Convention, states, "The guarding of cultural property ... by armed custodians specially empowered to do so, or the presence, in the vicinity of such cultural property, of police forces normally responsible for the maintenance of public order shall not be deemed to be used for military purposes" (UNESCO www site). Due to the hard weapons seizure by the Yugoslav People's Army and the arms embargo imposed by the international community, Croatian soldiers had no weapons with which to protect Dubrovnik. UNESCO's inability or unwillingness to obtain armed custodians from signatory nations to the Hague Convention left Dubrovnik unprotected and weakened UNESCO's cultural heritage programs.

One way to strengthen UNESCO would be for the UN military to support UNESCO's expertise in the area of the protection of cultural heritage. Patrick Boylan points out that the UN forces, the UNHCR, and the ECMM have much valuable information which they are unwilling to share with UNESCO. In Croatia and Bosnia, military and peace-keeping forces failed to aid UNESCO's representatives with the most banal requests such as providing transport. UNESCO's representatives had to rely exclusively on the assistance of Croats and Bosnians (Boylan, 1993, p. 227).

UNESCO needs to press for a solution to military uncooperativeness through more aggressive use of its educational programs and wider dissemination of its educational materials. The soldiers and the civil defense members of all countries must be familiarized with UNESCO's Conventions for the Protection of the World's Cultural Heritage. A precedent for military support of UNESCO goals was recently created by the U.S. operation Desert Storm. In "January 1993 Report of Department of Defense,

United States of America, to Congress on International Policies and Procedures regarding the Protection of Natural and Cultural Resources During Times of War" it is stated:

As recognized in the Report for the Defense Appropriation Bill, the U.S. and its Coalition partners in Desert Storm recognized that they were fighting in the 'cradle of civilization' and took extraordinary measures to minimize damage to cultural property. Regretably, these precautionary steps were met by Iraqi use of cultural property within its control to shield military objects from attack. A classic example is the positioning of two MiG-21 fighter aircraft at the entrance of the ancient temple of Ur. Although the law of war permitted their attack, and although each could have been destroyed utilizing precision-guided munitions, U.S. commanders recognized that the aircraft for all intents and purposes were incapable of military operations from their position, and elected against their attack for fear of collateral damage to the temple. Other steps were taken to minimize collateral damage. Although intelligence collection involves utilization of very scarce resources, these resources were used to look for cultural property in order to properly identify it. Target intelligence officers identified the numerous pieces of cultural property or cultural property sites in Iraq; a "no strike" target list was prepared, placing known cultural property off limits from attack, as well as some otherwise legitimate targets if attack of the latter might place nearby cultural property at risk of damage (Boylan, 1993, pp. 204-205).

UNESCO needs to publicize such precedents promoting the culture of peace and tolerance through the use of pluricultural dialogue.

One positive outcome of the recent conflict was that a Resolution on Information as an Instrument for Protection against War Damages to the Cultural Heritage was passed as a result of the recent destruction in the former Yugoslavia. The resolution was adopted on June 10 of 1994 at an expert meeting convened by the Swedish Central Board of National Antiquities, the Swedish National Commission for UNESCO and ICOMOS Sweden. The meeting expressed its conviction that:

...the deliberate destruction in both international and non-international armed conflicts of the cultural heritage is but one part of a strategy of domination through destruction of self-esteem by torture, rape, expulsion and extinction of its members. The destruction of historic records, monuments and memories serves furthermore the purpose of suppressing all that bears witness that the threatened people were ever living in the area. This deliberate war damage is thus to be condemned as war crimes according to the Hague Convention. When these crimes are carried out in exterminis—as has been the case in former

Yugoslavia—they must in fact be deemed to be a specific form of genocide, namely ethnocide (UNESCO www site).

The resolution further stresses the importance of rapid access to accurate information on any violation of cultural heritage by placing an emphasis on the training of journalists and of other media personnel. UNESCO can introduce journalists and media to the provisions of the Hague and the World Heritage Conventions as well as the universal responsibility linked to these Conventions (UNESCO www site). UNESCO's Radio tape service program, which disseminated information on the 1991-92 bombardment of Dubrovnik, was a wonderful example of the education of the public "...through the presentation of unbiased radio and television programmes both from ground stations and satellite stations" (Boylan, 1993, p. 10). Furthermore, the resolution recommends that experts, "... that could be called heritage monitors, are appointed with the specific task of surveillance of possible damage to cultural heritage. These should work in conflict areas as part of UN peace-keeping forces as well as parts of missions from disaster aid agencies" (UNESCO www site).

There is much evidence that UNESCO, IFLA and other cultural organizations did actively protect, conserve and restore library and archival collections during and after the war. Even so, many unique cultural collections and buildings were destroyed. In the future, mandatory microfilming of the most precious archival and library materials as well as serious consideration of the possibilities offered by the application of new multimedia technology and digital libraries should be carefully examined.

Another lesson learned from this conflict is that many organizations are involved in restoration and fundraising efforts, and there may be a need to coordinate their activities. The establishment of the International Trust for Croatian Monuments based in London and Rebuilt Dubrovnik Fund in Washington, D.C. are noteworthy examples of fundraising. The International Trust for Croatian Monuments raised funds through the

organization of exhibits such as "Royal Academicians in Dubrovnik" in the Royal Academy of Arts from October 2 to November 4, 1996. The trust raised additional funds through concerts by renowned Croatian concert pianist Ivo Pogorelić and the National Orchestra of Belgium for the restoration of the building of the Dubrovnik Summer Festival. Also, a wonderful example of raising public awareness was an exhibit "Libraries in War-Torn Croatia 1991-1993" which was presented in March 1993 at the University at Albany, State University of New York. As a result of this exhibit, the librarians from this institution organized a meeting on the preservation and the microfilming of memorial documents to help educate their colleagues in Croatia (Phillips, 1993, p. 1). San José State University's Library and Information Science Students (LISS) financed the purchase of new books for destroyed libraries of the rural elementary schools in Slano and Čilipi near Dubrovnik. The LISS fundraiser was initiated and coordinated by Sara Coronado, the LISS president (1994-1995), who organized and carried out the sales of T-shirts with the motif of destroyed Croatian libraries and sample titles of the books that were published in Croatia at the outbreak of the recent war. Bringing these groups together and publicizing their work may result in more highly focused restoration programs.

Finally, librocide is a universal literary theme. Victor Hugo's words, written in June of 1871, demonstrate his distress and disapproval of the actions of a Communist who set a library in Paris on fire. Sadly, Hugo's words are painful reminders of the recent Serbian destruction of Croatian books and libraries. One can hardly believe that at the end of the 20th century such systematic librocide took place before the very eyes of the "civilized" European world. 120 years later, Hugo's words still bring to life a painstakingly realistic image of a burning library:

'Tis you then burned the library?

I did, I brought the fire.

—O most unheard-of-crime,
Why, you have quenched the light of your own soul!
'Tis your own torch which you have just put out!
That which your impious madness has dared burn,
Was your own treasure, fortune, heritage! (Hugo, 1997)

A study of world history reveals continuous attacks on cultural heritage. Archives and libraries, whose mission is the preservation of human memory, are natural targets of warring groups. At the end of the 20th century, UNESCO and other cultural agencies are developing feeble, but growing, global programs to preserve the most unique components of national cultures. In the years to come, organizations such as UNESCO and IFLA will obviously play an important role in these efforts. The purpose of this study was to examine the activities of UNESCO and the other international agencies to date, to identify current weaknesses, and to propose future actions to help reduce the imminent destruction of the world's cultural heritage. Clearly, conscientious citizens of the world must continue to strive for more active interventions to prevent librocide and ethnocide in the 21st century. This case study is but an attempt to bring us a step closer to reaching this goal.

Illuminirani rukopisi
 Franjevačkog samostana Male braće
 Dubrovnik

1997

Illuminated manuscripts
 of the Franciscan monastery Mala braća
 Dubrovnik

Dubrovačke knjižnice
 Dubrovnik

Zavod za očuvanje
 Dubrovnik

Franjevački samostan
 Mala braća, Dubrovnik

Objavljeno uz pomoć: Dubrovačke knjižnice, Dubrovnik; Zavod za očuvanje, Dubrovnik; Franjevački samostan Mala braća, Dubrovnik

Fig. 7 Fundraiser in form of calendar for the Franciscan Monastery Library and the Research Library in Dubrovnik

Appendix I

Origins of the "Greater Serbia" Ideology

The Greater Serbia national ideology i.e., Serbian expansionism, is not a new phenomenon. Serbia's Minister of Interior, Ilija Garašanin, (1812-1874) prepared a secret document entitled *Načertanije* [Outline] in 1844. In this document Garašanin "...laid down the foundations of the Great Serbian policy of [South Slav] unification, [which remained axiomatic among] the conservative political circles and individuals in Serbia ... until 1941" (Banac, 1984, p. 83). Furthermore, the great Serbian linguist Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864) defined the štokavian dialect, common to Croats and Serbs, as a dialect that only belongs to Serbs. Thus, Karadžić laid the first roots of "a modern Serb national ideology, the purpose of which was to assimilate the vast majority of Catholic Croats and all Bosnian Muslims, whose dialects were akin to the štokavian dialect spoken by Serbs" (Banac, 1992, p. 14). In short, according to Karadžić's theory "the frontiers of new Serbia had to be extended to all areas where the Serbs lived, ... hence the responsibility of 'liberation and unification' of all Serbs into a single Great Serbian state gradually became the master principle of Serbian policy" (Banac, 1984, p. 83). Jill Irvine reinforces that this theory was brought into the practice in *The Croat question: Partisan politics in the formation of the Yugoslav Socialist State*. Irvine equates Yugoslavia with Greater Serbia by saying that the creation of a greater "Serbian state was uppermost in the minds of Serb politicians as they contemplated the formation of a Yugoslav state during the First World War" (1993, p. 31).

The most recent Serbian document, the well known "Memorandum of the Serbian Academy" was written in 1986 under the leadership of the Serbian Academy vice-president, Antonije Isaković. The Memorandum's key point is that Titoism, i.e., Tito's version of communism, mistreated Serbs. Thus, the Memorandum "was the

crystallization of the thesis, first proposed by [Serbian political leader Dobrica] Ćosić in 1977, that the Serbian nation had suffered more and been rewarded less than any other" (Bokovoy, Irvine, & Lilly, 1997, p. 306).

Furthermore, the right of each former Yugoslav nation on secession was clearly outlined in the very first sentence of the Yugoslav Constitution which gave each Republic the right to withdraw from the Federation. Also, once the governments of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina decided to secede, they guaranteed full rights and freedoms to all minorities within their newly internationally recognized countries. However, this fact was ignored by the media. Moreover, in 1989 when Serbian president Slobodan "Milošević removed the 'autonomous status' from Kosovo and Vojvodina [provinces], the constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, became, in national and in international law, unconstitutional; by its own 1974 constitution" (Wilkes, 1995, p. 115). The Memorandum, however, allowed Milošević to reinforce his propaganda about:

... 'oppressed Serbs'. This, however, chimes badly with the fact that Serbs had overwhelming majorities (in all the Republics) in the military, in the judiciary, in high business appointments, in control of factories, in the preponderance of police officers ... in short, in virtually everything. Crudely, former Yugoslavia just was 'Great Serbia'. That is why we in the West did not hear much about it until Croatia, and Slovenia, started complaining: unwilling to feed the finances of a government that spent 25 per cent of its income on suppressing the Albanians in Kosovo. Croatia and Slovenia funded 40 per cent of the tanks, planes, ships and artillery of the Yugoslav army; which then came to be used against them (Wilkes, 1995, p. 116).

In order to implement its dream of Greater Serbia, the Serbian government used the method of "ethnic cleansing." "Ethnic cleansing" as defined by the United Nations resolution 46/262 of 25 August of 1992, is a policy and ideology aimed at promoting racial hatred in any form based on a person's national, ethnic or religious background, and encouraging disrespect of the rights of linguistic minorities. The United Nations resolution further states that "the abhorrent practice of 'ethnic cleansing' constitutes a

grave and serious violation of international humanitarian law" (Human Rights Library, 1992). Greater Serbia ideology supporters argue that the U.S. officials, largely aided by the Western news media, are creating the myth that "ethnic cleansing" is a Serb invention, and that it amounts to genocide. Indeed, all the evidence supports the Western view that this is a reality rather than a myth. Also, although one might support the idea of Greater Serbia, one can hardly justify the means by which this was being achieved.

Bibliography

- Albada, Joan van. (1996). "Memory of the world"—Report on destroyed and damaged archives. *Archivum*, 42, 11-89.
- Altichieri, Alessio. (1991, October 24). Proclamata la Grande Serbia. [Greater Serbia has been proclaimed]. *Corriere della Sera*, p. 6.
- Aparac-Gazivoda, Tatjana, & Katalenac, Dragutin (Eds.). (1993). *Wounded libraries in Croatia*. Zagreb: Croatian Library Association.
- Association Européenne des Festivals [European Festivals Association]. (1994) *Festivals 1994*. Geneve: Association Européenne des Festivals.
- Baletić, Milovan. (Ed.). (1994). *Croatia 1994*. Zagreb: INA-Konzalting.
- Banac, Ivo. (1984). *The national question in Yugoslavia: Origins, history, politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Banac Ivo. (1992). Main trends in the history of Croatia. In Z. Šeparović (Ed.), *Documenta Croatica: On Croatian history and identity and the war against Croatia*. (pp. 9-28). Zagreb: Croatian Society of Victimology.
- Barakat, Sultan, Cockburn, Charles, & Kojaković, Marija. (1993). *Post-war reconstruction & conservation in Croatia: Study tour and conference report 23-28 November 1992*. York: University of York.
- Bethlehem, Daniel, & Weller, Marc. (Eds.). (1997). *The 'Yugoslav' crisis in international law: General issues, Part I. Cambridge International Documents Series 5*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bijelić, G. (1995, January 14). Knjižni fundus znanstvene knjižnice Dubrovnik izložen propadanju: nema vremena za čekanje [Library materials of the Dubrovnik Research Library are exposed to decay: There is no time for waiting]. *Slobodna Dalmacija*, p. 42.
- Bokovoy, Melissa K., Irvine, Jill A. & Lilly, Carol S. (Eds.). (1997). *State-society relations in Yugoslavia, 1945-1992*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Boylan, Patrick J. (1993). *Review of the Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (The Hague Convention of 1954)*. n.p., UNESCO.
- Boylan, Patrick J. (1995). Thinking the unthinkable. *ICOM News* 48.1, 3-5.
- Brailo, Luko. (1995, February 13) Obnova glasovitoga dubrovačkog franjevačkog samostana nakon srbocrnogorskih razaranja 1991. i 1992. [The reconstruction of a famous Dubrovnik Franciscan monastery after the Serbian and Montenegrin destruction in 1991 and 1992]. *Slobodna Dalmacija*, p. 8.

- Crnčević, Lidija. (1991, July 27). Bogatstvo Dominikanske knjižnice [The wealth of the Dominican Library]. *Dubrovački Vjesnik*, pp. 8-9.
- Croatia, the Republic of, Ministry of Culture and Education. (1992). *Catalogue of peace and war. Handbooks of Cultural Affairs Vol. 6*. Zagreb: Ministry of Culture and Education.
- Cveljo, Katherine. (1979). Yugoslavia, Libraries and librarianship in. In *Encyclopedia of library and information science* (Vol. 33, pp. 405-485). New York: Marcel Dekker.
- Dragičević, Berta. (1994). Interuniverzitetski Centar (IUC): Jučer, danas, sutra [Interuniversity Center (IUC): Yesterday, today, tomorrow]. *Dubrovački Horizonti*, 34, 5-9.
- Dubrovački Ljetni Festival (Dubrovnik Summer Festival). (1994). *Dubrovački Ljetni Festival/Dubrovnik Summer Festival 1992 1993 1994*. Dubrovnik: Dubrovački ljetni festival.
- Dubrovnik 1991*. (1991). [Video recording]. Dubrovnik: T&V Studio Dubrovnik.
- Dubrovnik City Council. (1995, November 3). *Gradsko vijeće Dubrovnik: izvješće o stanju knjižnica na području grada Dubrovnika* [Dubrovnik City Council: Report on the condition of libraries in the district of Dubrovnik]. Report presented at the meeting of the Dubrovnik City Council, Dubrovnik, Croatia.
- Foretić, Vinko. (1991). Dubrovački arhiv [The Dubrovnik Archives]. In *The 42nd Dubrovnik Summer Festival 1991. 10 July—20 August* (pp. 60-63). Dubrovnik: Dubrovački ljetni festival. (Original work published 1950)
- Grmek, Mirko, Gjidara, Marc & Šimac, Neven. (1993). *Etničko čišćenje: Povijesni dokumenti o jednoj srpskoj ideologiji* [Ethnic cleansing: The historical documents about Serbian ideology]. (Ivan Gotthardi Škiljan, Trans.). Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Globus.
- Hugo, Victor. (1997, December 31). A Qui La Faute? In *L' Anne Terrible, Juin, VIII*. [On-line]. Available: CSU School of Library and Information Science List.
- Human Rights Library*. University of Minnesota (1992). [On-line]. Available: <http://sunsite.wits.ac...tions/47/80GA1992.html> [1997, November 7].
- IFLA. (1994, January-March). IFLA Resolution on the Destruction of Libraries in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 143.
- Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Monuments and Natural Environment of Dubrovnik. (1995). *Palača festivala i njena obnova* [The festival palace and its restoration]. Dubrovnik: Državna uprava za zaštitu kulturne i prirodne baštine.
- Irvine, Jill A. (1993). *The Croat question: Partisan politics in the formation of the Yugoslav Socialist State*. Boulder: Westview Press.

- Jackson, Sidney L. (1974). *Libraries and librarianship in the West: A brief history*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Jerinić, Mato. (1995, February 14). Dubrovnik je zamalo ostao bez arhiva! [Dubrovnik almost lost its archives!] *Slobodna Dalmacija*, pp. 2-3.
- Jovičić, Zoran. (1993). *Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina: ratni zločini Jugoslavenske Armije 1991-1992/War crimes committed by the Yugoslav army 1991-1992/Kriegsverbrechen der Jugoslawischen Armee 1991-1992*. Zagreb: Croatian Information Centre.
- Karaman, Igor. (Ed.). (1994). *Vukovar, vjekovni hrvatski grad na Dunavu/Vukovar, ewige kroatische Stadt an der Donau/Vukovar, eternal Croatian town on the Danube*. Koprivnica: "Dr. Feletar".
- Kolanović, Josip. (1996). Archives en temps de guerre: l'expérience de la Croatie [Archives in time of war: The experience of Croatia]. *Archivum*, 42, 173-180.
- Kratofil, Mirko. (1993). Dubrovnik libraries and archives. *Proceedings of the 59th World P.E.N. Congress, Exhibit 22, April 1993, Dubrovnik, Croatia*. Zagreb: Croatian PEN Center & Most/The Bridge.
- Lorković, Tatjana. (1993). Destruction of libraries in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. *International Leads*, 7.2, 1-2.
- Macan, Trpimir, & Šentija, Josip. (1992) A short history of Croatia. Zagreb: [Special edition]. *Most/The Bridge, a journal of Croatian Literature* published by The Croatian Writer's Association.
- Marigold, Neven Grgić. (1979). *Marigold's guided tour of Dubrovnik*. Zagreb: Krešimir Stefanović.
- Mesić, Đurđa. (n.d.) The Children's Library of Peace: Vinkovci, Croatia. *Workshops*, pp. 150-151.
- MTM. (1987). *Katalog izložbe Zlatno doba Dubrovnika XV. i XVI. stoljeće: Urbanizam, Arhitektura, Skulptura, Slikarstvo, Iluminirani rukopisi, Zlatarstvo* [Catalog of Exhibit Golden Age of Dubrovnik 15th and 16th Century: Urbanism, architecture, sculpture, painting, illuminated manuscripts, goldsmith's trade]. Zagreb: MTM.
- Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka (National and University Library). (1992a). *Hrvatske knjižnice na meti: Vodič /Croatian libraries on target: Guide*. Zagreb: Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka.
- Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka [National and University Library]. (1992b). *Rat u Hrvatskoj: Bibliografija članaka iz dnevnog i tjednog domaćeg i stranog tiska* [The war in Croatia: A special bibliography of articles published in Croatian and foreign daily and weekly papers]. Vol. 1, *Razaranja 1991* [Destructions in 1991]. Zagreb: Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka.

- Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka [National and University Library]. (1993a). *Rat u Hrvatskoj: Bibliografija članaka iz dnevnog i tjednog domaćeg i stranog tiska* [The war in Croatia: A special bibliography of articles published in Croatian and foreign daily and weekly papers]. Vol. 2, *Razaranja i obnova 1992* [Destructions and Restoration in 1992]. Zagreb: Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka.
- Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka [National and University Library]. (1993b). *Rat u Hrvatskoj: Bibliografija članaka iz dnevnog i tjednog domaćeg i stranog tiska* [The war in Croatia: A special bibliography of articles published in Croatian and foreign daily and weekly papers]. Vol. 3, *Odjeci u stranom tisku 1991, 1992* [Reactions in foreign press 1991, 1992]. Zagreb: Nacionalna i sveučilišna biblioteka.
- Oraić Tolić, Dubravka. (Ed.). (1992). *Hrvatsko ratno pismo 1991/92: Apeli iskazi pjesme* [Croatian war writing 1991/92: Appeals viewpoints poems]. Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu [The Institute for Literary Studies at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb].
- Paradžik, Zorka. (1992). [Report submitted to the National and University Library in Zagreb about several damaged libraries in the Dubrovnik area]. Unpublished raw data.
- Pehar, Ivan. (1997, April 18). The Zadar City Library: the City Library Project. *Hrvatski Vjesnik* [Croatian Gazette] [On-line newspaper]. E-mail: hrvatski-vjesnik@bagan.srce.hr.
- Phillips, Zlata F. (1992, March). Libraries are devastated in war-torn Croatia. *American Libraries*, 209.
- Phillips, Zlata F. (1993, March 29). [Report to Mirjana Urban, Head of Dubrovnik Research Library]. Unpublished raw data.
- Radović, Ljubica. (1995a). Zapisnik 33. sjednice Koordinacijskog odbora za narodne knjižnice [Meeting minutes of the 33rd meeting of the Croatian Coordination Committee for Public Libraries]. Transcription of the meeting held in Zagreb on October 5, 1995.
- Radović, Ljubica. (1995b). Zapisnik 34. sjednice Koordinacijskog odbora za narodne knjižnice [Meeting minutes of the 34th meeting of the Croatian Coordination Committee for Public Libraries]. Transcription of the meeting held in Zagreb on December 12, 1995.
- Šapro-Ficović, Marica. (1994, September). Referat *Stradanja knjižnica dubrovačkog područja tijekom domovinskog rata 1991/92.g., posebno s aspekta stradanja knjižnog fonda* [Speech on suffering of the Dubrovnik region libraries during the homeland war in 1991/92: Especially from the perspective of the loss of library collections]. Transcription of the speech given at 29th Conference of the Croatian Library Association, Bizovačke Toplice, Croatia, September 22-24, 1994.

- Sopta, Jozo. (1994). [The Franciscan Library and Archives 'Mala Braća': The cultural-historical significance—Report to The Institute for the Rehabilitation of Dubrovnik, July 22, 1994]. Unpublished raw data.
- Sopta, Jozo, & Fisković, Igor. (1994). *Franjevački samostan "Mala braća": u ratu 1991.-92./Franciscan Monastery "Mala Braća": In the war 1991-1992*. Dubrovnik: Franjevački samostan Mala braća.
- State of the Art Conservation Projects—Dubrovnik*. [On-line]. Available: <http://www.arch.at/sites/dubrov/index.html> [1998, February 28].
- Stipanov, Josip. (1996, March 4). [[Podaci o knjižnicama i knjižničnoj mreži privremeno okupiranog područja istočne Slavonije i Baranje] [Data about the libraries and library networks in the temporarily occupied territories of Eastern Slavonia and Baranja, Report of Deputy Librarian of the Croatian National and University Library to the Croatian Coordination Committee for Public Libraries]]. Unpublished raw data.
- Stipčević, Aleksandar. (Ed.). (1975). *Libraries in Croatia*. Zagreb: Croatian Library Association.
- Stipčević, Aleksandar. (1985). *Povijest knjige* [History of a book]. Zagreb: Nakladni Zavod Matice Hrvatske.
- Ukrainčik, Vlado. (1992). Ratne štete na spomenicima kulture na području Dubrovnika 1991/1992. godine [War damages of cultural monuments in the region of Dubrovnik in 1991/1992]. *Dubrovački Horizonti*, 32, 105-117.
- UNESCO. (1993a). *Dubrovnik 1991-1992*. n.p., UNESCO.
- UNECISO, the Institute for the Protection of the Cultural Monuments and Natural Environment of Dubrovnik, & the Institute for the Rehabilitation of Dubrovnik. (1993b). *Dubrovnik 1991-1992: Biens culturels endommagés lors des bombardements Dubrovnik 1991-1992: Cultural properties damaged by shelling*. n.p., UNESCO.
- UNESCO www site*. (1997). [On-line]. Available: <http://www.unesco.org> [1997, December 22].
- Urban, Mirjana. (1988). Naučna biblioteka Dubrovnik: Prošlost—Sadašnjost—Budućnost [The Dubrovnik Reserach Library: Past—Present—Future]. *Dubrovački Horizonti*, 28, 12-21.
- Urban, Mirjana. (1993, June 7). [Report to Dubrovnik County Office]. Unpublished raw data.
- Urban, Mirjana. (1994, July 6). [Report to Soros Foundation in Zagreb]. Unpublished raw data.

- USIA, Regional Program Office. (1996). *Temeljni sporazum o istočnoj Slavoniji, Baranji i zapadnom Srijemu/Basic Agreement on Eastern Slavonia, Baranja and Western Sirmium*. Vienna: USIA.
- Valjalo, Doroteja, & Vetma, Matko. (1992, August 28). [[Evidencija ratnih razaranja: ljetnikovac Vice Stjepović-Skočibuha—Znanstvena Biblioteka] [Evidence of war destruction: Summer mansion Vice Stjepović-Skočibuha—The Research Library, Report to the Croatian Ministry of Education, Culture and Sport]]. Unpublished raw data.
- Veselić, Marija. (1995, January 18). [Report submitted to the National and University Library in Zagreb about the war damage to the Dubrovnik Archives]. Unpublished raw data.
- Violich, Francis. (1988). *The bridge to Dalmatia: A search for the meaning of place*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Wilkes, Kathy. (1995). 'Great' Serbia. *Contemporary Review*, 267, 113-118.
- Wiegand, Wayne A., & Davis, Donald G. Jr. (1994). *Encyclopedia of library history*. New York: Gerland Publishing.

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved