

# Public Memorials and Monuments from the First World War Period in Zagreb: Lost Signs of the Great War

MARKO VUKIČEVIĆ

## INTRODUCTION

Research into the monuments erected in the public spaces of Zagreb in the period from 1914 to 1918 in contemporary Croatian historiography began in the first decade of the twenty-first century. The first research on this topic was conducted by Vijoleta Herman Kaurić in her doctoral thesis in 2007 (Herman Kaurić 2007). In 2014, the same author published a text about a monument typical of the First World War period in the territory of Austria-Hungary, the Memorial Linden Tree (Herman Kaurić 2014). The following year, in the exhibition catalogue *Odjeci s bojišnice (Echoes from the Battlefield)*, a text about the military part of the Mirogoj cemetery in Zagreb was published by Boris Kukić (Kukić 2015a). A large number of papers were published in 2020. In that year, a conference volume was released in which Lj. Dobrovšak published a paper on the monuments to Franz Josef I erected in Croatia (Dobrovšak 2020b),

and B. Kukić published a paper on the planning of the monument to Franz Josef I in Zagreb (Kukić 2020). Furthermore, in the same year, the conference volume *Konac Velikog rata (The End of the Great War)* was released, in which Lj. Dobrovšak presented a paper on military cemeteries (Dobrovšak 2020a), and Filip Hameršak published an article on the legal framework for the upkeep of military cemeteries from the First World War period (Hameršak 2020). In the same year, a monograph by M. Vukičević was published, in which, among other topics, the author researched the Zagreb Memorial Linden Tree (Vukičević 2020).

Research for this paper was conducted on unpublished archival sources, published sources, contemporaneous press, and relevant literature. It should be noted that the local self-administration, specifically the Zagreb City Government and the Archdiocese of Zagreb, produced what little archival material on the erected and planned monuments in Zagreb there was. Certain data can be found in published sources, for example, *Izveštaj gradskog poglavarstva (Zagreb City Government Report) (Zagreb 1929)*, and the majority of information can be found in the contemporaneous press, the newspapers *Jutarnji list* and *Narodne novine*, as well as the magazines *Dom i svijet*, *Ilustrovani list*, and *Ilustrovane novosti*.

During this research, general issues regarding the styles, types, and typology of monuments arose and were addressed by art historians (Damjanović 2013; Alujević 2013: 39-50). Based on their design, D. Damjanović divides public monuments into architectural, sculptural-architectural, and “monuments dominated by sculpture” (Damjanović 2013: 589), while those placed with the purpose of a tombstone are called “tombstone plastic” (Premierl 1987: 57). Stylistically, the monuments erected in Zagreb during the First World War are typical of the era: they belong to realism<sup>1</sup> or they contain antique motifs of mourning figures common to Croatian modernism (Alujević 2013: 39).

## MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS ERECTED IN ZAGREB

Commemorative war memorials were the most commonly erected memorials in Austria-Hungary during the First World War (Kronenberg 2021: 78-295).<sup>2</sup> The aforementioned process affected the Croa-

---

**1** For example, the eagle sculpture by K. Sterner placed in 1915 at the Mirogoj cemetery, Field 48, Class II/I, grave no. 30, which will be discussed later in the paper.

**2** On the mentioned pages, the author provides a list of war monuments erected in cities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

tian lands and Zagreb (Dobrovšak 2020a: 404–6) as their political, economic, and cultural centre. During the First World War, dedicated monuments with a wooden base into which nails were hammered were erected on the territory of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, thus on the territory of Croatian lands and Germany. Such monuments are called *Nagelfigur/Nagelobjekt* (Kronenberg 2021: 34) in German and have been researched in Austrian and German historiography (see more: Kronenberg 2021; Schneider 1999: 32–62). In Austrian historiography, a type of monument or sculpture whose wooden base is studded with nails is called *Nagelfigur* (Kronenberg 2021: 34) or *Nagelobjekt* (Kronenberg 2021: 54). During World War, the concept of such a monument spread “epidemicallly” from the Austrian part of the Monarchy across the entire territory of Austria-Hungary and Germany (Kronenberg 2021: 5).

In Croatian historiography, Herman Kaurić (Herman Kaurić 2007: 300–7; 2014: 44) and Marko Vukičević (2020: 172–4) wrote about the Memorial Linden Tree in Zagreb. The Zagreb Memorial Linden Tree, erected on Ban Jelačić Square (Zagreb’s central Square) at the beginning of May 1915, can be viewed from several angles; primarily as a charity event, or as a “dedicated” war monument. Furthermore, it can be viewed as a sculpture and, from a modern standpoint, as a form of artistic expression as the citizens unconsciously shaped it by hammering nails into the trunk over a long period. As a result, the final appearance of the structure was never determined, and the surface of the trunk’s final appearance of was created as a sequence of constant changes.

In the city of Zagreb, a certain number of monuments and memorials were placed in public spaces and barracks. From 1914 to 1918, the largest number of monuments, or rather tombstones, were erected in the central city cemetery, Mirogoj.

#### TOMBSTONES AND SCULPTURES ERECTED IN THE MILITARY PART OF MIROGOJ CEMETERY FROM 1914 AND DURING THE INTERWAR PERIOD

During the second half of August 1914, the first wounded soldiers were sent to Zagreb for recovery in military, auxiliary military, and civilian hospitals (see Herman Kaurić 2007: 128–45; Kukić 2015b: 114–22; Kukić 2018: 719–22). Even then, it was noticed that a certain number of these soldiers would die within the city area, and so the idea of forming a military part of the cemetery Mirogoj emerged. That

idea was presented to Mayor Janko Holjac (Source 1) who accepted it (Source 2). With this decision, a military part of the cemetery was formed in Mirogoj, which the wartime press called the “Field of Fallen Heroes” (*Jutarnji list*, October 30, 1914: 5). According to the categorisation of grave sites, soldiers buried during World the First at Mirogoj were laid in 3rd class graves (Kukić 2015a: 123).

Given that the central city cemetery, Mirogoj, has been under the sole ownership and jurisdiction of the city government since its foundation (Kosić 1974: 16), all decisions important for the functioning of the cemetery were made by city government institutions, namely the City Council (Milković 2020: 236) and the mayor (*Jutarnji list*, October 30, 1914: 5). The decisions had to be made in accordance with the basic regulation, the statute (Milković 2020: 235). The City Council accepted the new cemetery statute in 1914 (*III. Zapisnik* 1914, 17). According to the statute, regarding the use of 3rd class graves, the administration of Mirogoj ceded it for a period of 10 or 15 years. Each grave was marked with a number and a wooden cross. However, it was also later permitted to place tombstones made of more durable materials, stone or metal (Source 3). It should be mentioned that along with the fallen members of the Austro-Hungarian armed forces prisoners of war, members of the Serbian and Montenegrin armies and *comitadjis* were also buried in the military part of Mirogoj (*Jutarnji list*, March 3, 1915: 5).

The great concern expressed by the city government for the arrangement of soldiers’ graves was especially evident on All Saints’ Day. On the first war holiday, after the agreement of the city government and the cemetery administration, all soldiers’ graves were decorated with chrysanthemums, wreaths, and candles (*Jutarnji list*, October 28, 1914: 6). At the same time, Mayor Holjac ordered the city authorities to place a central cross on the “Field of Fallen Heroes” (*Jutarnji list*, October 30, 1914: 5). (fig. 1) The wooden cross was called a “mourning attraction” (*Ilustrovani list*, November 7, 1914: 1064) and, beginning on All Saints’ Day in 1914, it became the central place in Zagreb for honouring and commemorating those who died in the war. Citizens laid flowers, wreaths, and candles (*Ilustrovani list*, November 7, 1914: 1064), while the delegations of the land, city, military, and church authorities acknowledged the central cross in the military part of Mirogoj as the official site of commemoration. Throughout the war, delegations laid wreaths there, accompanied by military music (*Jutarnji list*, October 30, 1915: 5; November 3, 1915: 4; November 1, 1916: 5).

Today, it is not known whether the cross was intended as a permanent place for holding commemorations and expressions of respect to those who died in the war, or whether it was supposed to serve that



Fig. 1: “Zajedničko groblje preminulih ranjenika iz sadašnjeg rata na središnjem skupnom groblju na Mirogoju u Zagrebu. Okićeni grobovi na dan Svih Svetih” [“Collective cemetery of deceased wounded from the current war at the central cemetery on Mirogoj in Zagreb. Decorated graves on All Saints Day”], *Dom i svijet*, December 1, 1914, 448.

purpose for a while and then be replaced by a permanent monument made of non-perishable material.

According to the statute, each grave, shaped like a mound, was marked with a wooden religious symbol (Kukić 2015a: 123), on which the name of the deceased person was written in oil paint (*Jutarnji list*, November 16, 1914: 5), and later engraved on an oval-shaped metal plate (Kukić 2015a: 123). As previously mentioned, the statute allowed for the arrangement of the grave area and the placement of tombstones made of more durable materials (Source 4). According to F. Šimetin Šegvić in Zagreb, in the culture of death of the second half of the 19th century, “an old motif with a changed content attracted [...] even more [...] art and culture” (Šimetin Šegvić 2015: 304), and the arrangement of an unknown number of soldiers’ graves can be observed through this lens today. Namely, better-off families of soldiers were able to buy tombstones and replace the traditional, and one might say generic, wooden markers with individualised tombstone sculptures and decorations. A photo published in *Ilustrovani list* in 1917 testifies to this today. (fig. 2)

Of the three sculptures in Mirogoj shown in a photograph from 1917 (*Ilustrovani list*, September 1, 1917, 724), today there are two

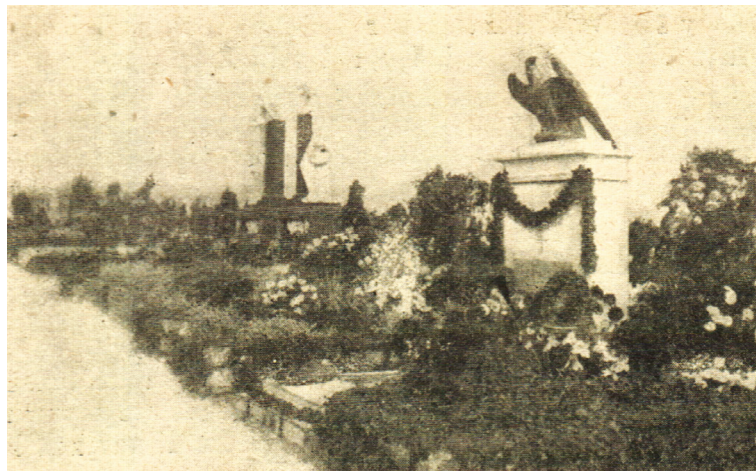


Fig. 2: “Vojničko groblje na Mirogoju u Zagrebu” [“Military cemetery on Mirogoj in Zagreb”], *Ilustrovani list*, September 1, 1917, 724.

in field no. 48. The sculpture of a mourning female figure, an antique motif typical for Croatian modern art (Alujević 2013: 40–1), leaning on a pillar with one hand and holding a wreath in the other is a representative piece. It is made of cast stone and is considered to be the work of an unknown author (Source 5), (fig. 3). An issue of *Ilustrovani list* from 1915 includes a photo and an accompanying text identifying the author as stonemason Miroslav König from Zagreb (*Ilustrovani list*, December 25, 1915: 1227). That sculpture had a counterpart on the right side that was removed, as can be seen in fig. 2.

The second is a sculpture of an open-winged eagle by K. [Karl?] Sterner, made in 1915 (fig. 4).<sup>3</sup> The eagle motif was often used in Austria and had different interpretations; it symbolised royal power (Diem 1995: 45–6), or it could be viewed as a symbol of resurrection (Grgić 1979: 440).

The “Field of Fallen Heroes” was a part of the cemetery and, according to the statute, it belonged to the city municipality. However, in 1917, there was a change of ownership. The command of XIII Zagreb Corps submitted a request to the City Council in June 1917 to “forever” acquire ownership over the military part of Mirogoj, which the City Council accepted (*I. Zapisnik* 1918: 10–1).

After the war, as agreed upon by the city authorities and the Commission for Education and Religion for Croatia and Slavonia,

<sup>3</sup> The signature of K. Sterner and the year of production are engraved on the back left part of the sculpture (author’s observation).



Fig. 3: Miroslav König, Mournful Female Figure, tombstone erected to Milan Glavaški, c. 1915, Mirogoj, field no. 48, class II/I, grave no. 26. Photo: M. Vukičević.



Fig. 4: K. Sterner, Eagle, 1915., tombstone erected to Max Wenke, Mirogoj, field no. 48, class II/I, grave no. 30. Photo: M. Vukičević.

the ownership of the military part of Mirogoj was returned to the city administration in 1921. According to the agreement, the city was supposed to maintain a total of 3,399 military graves (*Zagreb* 1929: 22). In the post-war period, on All Saints' Day, the "Croatian Woman" society arranged military graves on All Souls' Day (Kukić 2015a: 123). At the same time, "until the state builds the planned worthy mausoleum," the city administration continued the tradition of holding

commemorations for those who died in the war by laying wreaths at the wooden cross (*Zagreb* 1929: 26). The protocol, the commemoration of the dead, established as a tradition during the war, was preserved during the 1920s and 1930s. The difference is visible in the fact that care for the military part of Mirogoj was “divided” between several entities: the city administration and citizens’ associations, which most likely did not act in accordance with a common agreement and instead oriented their initiatives towards the Feast of All Saints and All Souls’ Day. Thus, even after 1918, the central cross retained its purpose as a place of commemoration, as determined during the war, and the “Field of Fallen Heroes” retained its appearance over the same period.

According to the regulation adopted in 1920 and the law adopted in 1922 by the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, the state was responsible for the maintainance of military cemeteries. Therefore, in order to facilitate the maintainance of military cemeteries all soldiers buried in “smaller” cemeteries had to be exhumed and transported to ossuaries (Hameršak 2020: 383–86). Based on legal provisions and due to the fact that the 15-year period for the use of 3rd class graves expired, the exhumation of the remains and the construction of the ossuary on Mirogoj was organised by the city government already in 1927 (Dobrovšak 2020a: 408). However, exhumations of military graves did not begin before 1934, and the remains were transferred to a common ossuary, where the *Pietà* monument by sculptors Vanja Radauš and Joza Turkalj was placed in 1940 (Kukić 2015a: 123–24), which demonstrates that reverence for the dead continued even more than 20 years after the end of the war. In the Jewish part of the cemetery, field no. 4, there is an obelisk erected in 1930 by *Chevra kadisha* (Kukić 2015a: 124). It is the only place where the original appearance of the First World War military section of Mirogoj cemetery has been preserved to a large extent.

#### MEMORIAL LINDEN TREE

The first wooden, and iron, monument of this kind erected was *Wehrmann in Eisen*, a three-metre-tall sculpture of a knight, the work of Prof. Josef Müllner and his students. It was ceremonially unveiled on March 6, 1915, at Schwarzenbergplatz in Vienna (Kronenberg 2021: 269), which marked the beginning of the installation of similar monuments throughout the Dual Monarchy (Kronenberg 2021: 5). The wooden monument, where donations were collected through the sales of nails that were then hammered into it, was a “symbol of mutual



obligation” and “at the same time a symbolic unity of the civilians at home with troops on the front” (Schneider 1999: 34). During the First World War, the wooden bases of monuments or sculptures were built in a variety of forms, including shields, knights, crosses, coats of arms (Kronenberg 2021: 34–296).

Members of the Zagreb Women’s War Relief Committee came up with the idea of erecting a “Memorial Column” in Zagreb after they heard about the erection of a similar monument in Vienna. According to the original plan from February 1915, the monument was supposed to be placed near the Vocational School, where the auxiliary military hospital was located. The linden trunk was supposed to be used to collect funds for the widows and children of fallen soldiers (Herman Kaurić 2007: 300–1; Vukičević 2020; 172–74), but it also had a secondary purpose:

A memorial to the fateful war year 1914/1915, where the sons of the devoted Croatian people spilled blood for the king and home. Where there are now Red Cross hospitals and reserve hospitals, in that place of immense pain and heroic sacrifice, let the iron sign be raised to eternal memory [sic!] (...) let the trunk of our Croatian linden tree be studded with nails ... (*Jutarnji list*, February 21, 1915: 4)

The initiative, with minor adjustments to the original idea, was eventually carried out under the auspices of *Ban* Ivan Škrlec Lomnički. The commemorative pavilion and the Memorial Linden Tree trunk were put up under the leadership of Gustav Baldauf. The tree was donated by a member of the Zagreb committee, Mrs Marija Bučar, while the nails for the charity event were donated by Franjo Sollar’s company (Herman Kaurić 2007: 301).

Attaching great importance to the Memorial Linden Tree as a charity symbol can be seen from the notification of *Ban* Škrlec to the Mayor of Zagreb, Holjac, about the ceremonial presentation, or “consecration,” of the Memorial Linden Tree, with instructions to inform city officials and employees (Source 6). The mayor, accordingly, sent to all 50 city councillors and 100 city officials a letter about the presentation of the Memorial Linden Tree “in the presence of worthies and dignitaries” and invited them to attend dressed in top hats (Source 7). In addition to enlarging the event, the presence of a large number of well-known and distinguished persons from the political and social scene was supposed to encourage as many citizens as possible to purchase nails.

The Memorial Linden Tree was officially presented on May 2, 1915. The ceremony was attended by members of the Zagreb Women’s War Relief Committee, *Ban* Škrlec and representatives of the royal

land government, and members of the Veterans' Society. The ceremony was enhanced by the music of the 25th Zagreb Home Guard Regiment and the singing associations *Kolo*, *Sloboda*, and *Sloga*. The Memorial Linden Tree Pavilion was painted white and decorated according to the pattern typical of humanitarian actions from that period, with the Croatian "national colours" (Herman Kaurić 2010: 66), i.e. red-white-blue tricolours (Herman Kaurić 2007a: 301–2), and photos show that the upper part of the facade was decorated with a Croatian chequy motif (*Ilustrovani list*, May 8, 1915: 435; *Ilustrovani list*, May 15, 1915: 462). The unveiling ceremonies of monuments and memorials during the First World War "were solemn and dignified" and attended by distinguished persons from "political, religious, cultural, and social circles" (Dobrovšak 2020b: 245), which can be seen in the unveiling ceremony of the Zagreb Memorial Linden Tree. In the Austrian part of the Monarchy, the unveiling ceremony of dedicated wooden monuments was mandatory (Kronenberg 2021: 36–7), which we also see in the description of the unveiling ceremony of the Zagreb Memorial Linden Tree.

In the second half of 1915, public interest in the charity event, and hence in the Memorial Linden Tree as an object, began to decline. As a result, the area surrounding the pavilion was neglected, and the last time the Memorial Linden Tree with its landscaped and decorated environment were mentioned was during the visit of Archduke Leopold Salvator to Zagreb in October and November 1916 (Herman Kaurić 2007: 305–7). In July 1918, as a result of accumulated garbage in a flower pot placed next to the pavilion, a fire broke out, engulfing the facade and interior of the building; however, the flames were prevented from further spreading thanks to the quick reaction of a citizen. Other citizens simply observed the event (*Jutarnji list*, July 12, 1918: 5), which shows the extent to which the Memorial Linden Tree had lost its meaning. Despite the intention of creating a "sign for eternal remembrance" (*Jutarnji list*, February 21, 1915: 4), by the end of 1918 the Memorial Linden Tree had completely lost all the intended and created symbolism, as confirmed by journalist and writer Josip Horvat's record. Horvat sarcastically wrote that in 1918, "No one except dogs notices the Memorial Linden Tree," noting that the pavilion on the central square and the barracks in Ciglanina were "the only construction additions to Zagreb during the war years" (Horvat 1984: 121). The Memorial Linden Tree Pavilion was "suddenly" removed from Ban Jelačić Square at the beginning of December 1918 (Vukičević 2022: 174).

## ERECTED AND PLANNED MONUMENTS AND BUSTS OF FRANZ JOSEF I DURING THE WAR

The monument, sculpture, and two busts of Emperor and King Franz Josef I were erected in Zagreb in August 1916. The ruler's sculpture was erected at the Ciglana, a large complex of barracks built during the First World War, where the department of the Orthopaedic Institute for physical rehabilitation and education of disabled soldiers was located (Herman Kaurić 2007: 176–80; Špišić 1917: 7), while the two busts were erected within the circle of the Home Guard artillery barracks. The mentioned monuments were placed inside a space that was inaccessible to the public. At the end of 1916, the ruler died, and the next year an initiative was launched to erect his monument in Zagreb.

Inside the Ciglana complex, “in the middle of the barracks,” a monument was unveiled, a statue of Emperor and King Franz Josef I. The life-size sculpture was erected at the initiative of the school's director, Dr Božidar Špišić, Count Miroslav Kulmer, and Captain V. Heinzl “in memory of the establishment of the orthopaedic hospital and schools for the disabled” (*Narodne novine*, August 12, 1916: 3). The monument was officially unveiled on August 15, 1916. The ceremony was attended by commanders of the 13th Zagreb Corps, 6th Home Guard District, representatives of the royal land government and parliament, the city government, the Archdiocese of Zagreb, and numerous dignitaries from public life. The ceremony began with a music performance by the Imperial and Royal 53rd Zagreb Infantry Regiment and, after Count Kulmer's speech, Ban Škrlec unveiled the monument (*Narodne novine*, August 16, 1916: 4). On the same day, an exhibition of works created by disabled soldiers attending the school was opened, which could later be viewed by citizens (*Narodne novine*, August 12, 1916: 3). Citizens were excluded from the monument unveiling ceremony, but the announcement of the ceremony in the contemporaneous daily press was intended to encourage them to visit the monument later, after the exhibition.

The area surrounding the monument was decorated with flowers. The initials of the emperor and the king, the Croatian coat of arms, and motifs of decorations for bravery with the years 1914–1916 were made using floral decorations (*Narodne novine*, August 12, 1916: 3).

A “life-sized” monument to Franz Josef I “in a robe” “was made of artificial stone (*Narodne novine*, August 16, 1916: 4) (fig. 5) [...] by the graduate of our art school, sculptor Mr Josip Turkalj, who is

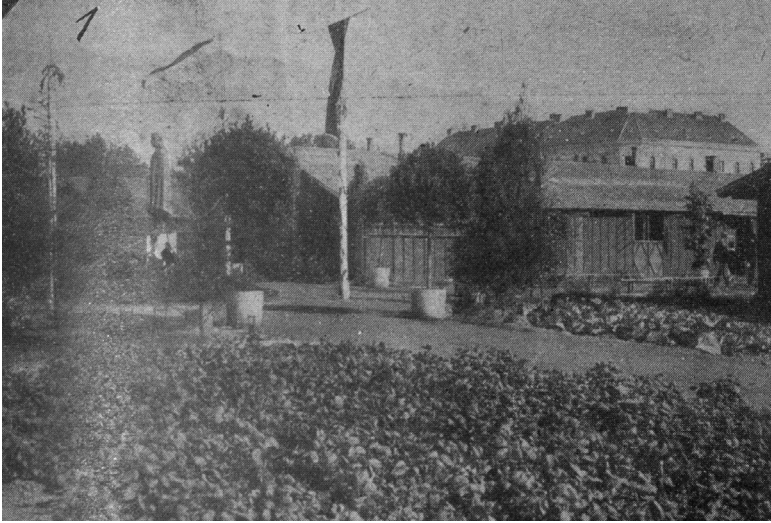


Fig. 5: “Otkriće kraljevog spomenika u ortopedičkoj bolnici: 1. Nasadi pred barakama sa otkrivenim spomenikom Njeg. Veličanstva [...]” [“Unveiling of the king’s monument in the orthopedic hospital: 1. Plantations in front of the barracks with the unveiled monument of His Majesty. [...]”], *Ilustrovani list*, August 26, 1916: 819.

now employed as a soldier in an orthopaedic workshop for the production of plaster models” (*Narodne novine*, August 12, 1916: 3). The sculpture of Franz Josef I was the first public sculpture made by Josip (Joz) Turkalj during the war and, so far, it has not been included in his oeuvre.

Apart from the articles published in *Narodne novine* and one photo published in *Ilustrovani list*, there is no more information about the sculpture after 1916. Interestingly, the statue was not mentioned in B. Špišić’s monograph *Kako pomažemo našim invalidima* (*How We Help Our Invalids*) published in 1917. The exact year the monument was removed from Ciglana after the war is also unknown, though it can be assumed around 1918.

In 1916, after the death of the emperor and the king, the Croatian Parliament (*Sabor*) launched an initiative to erect a monument to Franz Josef I, which proposed to erect a large number of monuments to the deceased ruler in the cities of the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, including Zagreb (Kukić 2020: 278–79).

According to an earlier project by architect Viktor Kovačić, the Zagreb monument was supposed to be placed on what is now King Tomislav Square (Kukić 2020: 278). The legal basis for erecting the monument was voted on in the Croatian Parliament at the end of January 1917, and in February of the same year, Emperor and King Charles

IV signed the law (Kukić 2020: 281–82). After the law entered into force, Ban Škrlec formed a National Committee for the erection of a monument to the late King Franz Josef I. Pursuant to the law, Ban Škrlec informed the lower instance, the Zagreb city government and, in May 1917, the mayor formed the City Committee for the Erection of a Monument to the Late King Franz Josef I (Kukić 2020: 286–91). Organisationally, in order to collect funds faster, the area of the city of Zagreb was divided “into 12 collection districts,” where the female members of the Committee began collecting voluntary contributions during June 1917 (Kukić 2020: 295–98). After the end of the war in 1918, as expected, the collection of funds for the monument was halted, and by the decision of the City Council in June 1919, all the money collected until then was redirected to other purposes (Kukić 2020: 299–302). The creation and installation of the monument were planned in memory of the ruler and, therefore, apart from the wartime context, it should not be interpreted exclusively as a war monument.

In mid-1915, the command of the 6th Home Guard District established an auxiliary military hospital (*Ilustrovani list*, June 5, 1915: 530–31), inside the Home Guard artillery barracks on Selska Road (Vukičević 2020: 63). On August 20, 1916, the monument, a bust of Emperor and King Franz Josef I, was unveiled on the grounds of the auxiliary military hospital. It was dedicated to the 42nd Home Guard “Devil’s” Division. The bust was carved by Sergeant Emil (Mirko) Neumann, who was being treated in the Home Guard’s recovery department (Kukić 2020: 284–85). At the opening ceremony, the commander of the 6th Home Guard District, Colonel General Žunac, stated “that he receives the monument under the protection of the district command” (*Ilustrovani list*, no. August 26, 1916: 818). At the opening ceremony, civil, military, and church dignitaries were present, and the act of opening was enhanced by the music of the 25th Home Guard Regiment (*Ilustrovani list*, August 26, 1916: 818).

The area where the bust of the ruler was placed was decorated as a garden, as evidenced by the photo published in *Ilustrovani list* on August 26, 1916. The bust of Franz Josef I was located on a polygonal earthen elevation in the middle of the garden, with carved stone pillars placed at the corners (fig. 6). A circular path was built around the elevation (*Ilustrovani list*, August 26, 1916: 818).

In the second half of August of the same year, 1916, a second bust of Franz Josef I was erected within the same barracks (Kukić 2020: 285). It is interesting that, at the same time, two identical monuments to the ruler were placed in the same area of the Home Guard artillery barracks.

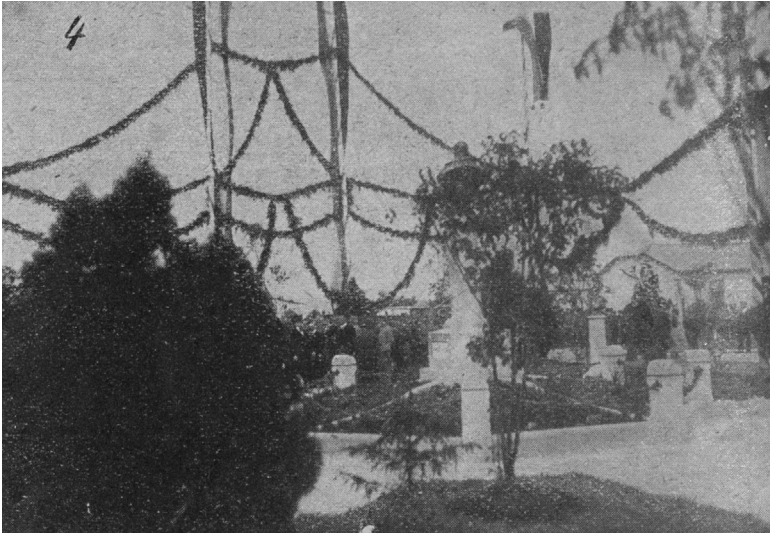


Fig. 6: “Otkriće kraljevog spomenika u Domobranskom oporavnom odjelu. [...] 4. Razgledanje spomenika poslije otkrića” [“Unveiling of the king’s monument in the Home Guard recovery department. [...] 4. Viewing the monument after the unveiling”], *Ilustrovani list*, August 26, 1916: 818.

The author of the bust is unknown today, and it can be assumed that he was either one of the soldiers, a mason or sculptor by profession, or perhaps the second bust was (also) sculpted by Emil Neumann.

#### BUSTS OF MILITARY LEADERS

Along with the “first” bust of Franz Josef I, unveiled at a ceremony on August 20, 1916, busts of Crown Prince Charles, Archduke Friedrich, and Generals Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf and Svetozar Borojević de Bojna were also unveiled. They were also carved by Sergeant Emil (Mirko) Neumann (Kukić 2020: 284–85).

As shown in (fig. 6), the bust of Franz Josef I was the central bust, while busts of military leaders were placed along the outer side of the path in a regular arrangement, with their faces turned towards the central bust (*Ilustrovani list*, August 26, 1916: 818).

#### MONUMENT TO FALLEN SOLDIERS OF THE 31ST FELDJÄGER BATTALION (31ST LIGHT INFANTRY BATTALION, ZAGREB)

The monument erected in memory of the members of the 31st Light Infantry Battalion who died in the battle near Uscie Jeznickie in 1915

was shaped like a pyramid with a spread-winged eagle on top. The author of the monument is unknown today. It was also erected in Home Guard artillery barracks, at the same time when the “second” bust of Franz Josef I was erected. Four marble slabs with carved names of soldiers and officers who died in the battle were placed on the surfaces of the pyramid. The base of the pyramid was lined with “shell casings,” spent shells of artillery ammunition (*Jutarnji list*, no. 1585, August 18, 1916, 5). Parts of ordnance, unexploded shells, or shell casings, were used during the First World War as motifs and decoration for the creation of individual war monuments (*Ilustrovani list*, August 12, 1916: 786), and it can be said that the author of the Zagreb monument was inspired by “new” details.

The ceremonial unveiling of the bust and the pyramidal monument was announced in the press for the second half of August (*Jutarnji list*, August 18, 1916: 5), but it was postponed (Kukić 2020: 285). Nevertheless, the description of the monument and environment (*Jutarnji list*, August 18, 1916: 5) states that the monuments were erected before the article was printed.

Citizens were again excluded from the unveiling ceremony which had the characteristics of military protocol. Nevertheless, from the publishing of articles and photos from the ceremony and the news about the announced unveilings, it was obvious that the citizens of Zagreb, the civilians, needed to be made aware that these monuments had been erected. Considering that the area where the second bust and the monument to the fallen members of the 31st Light Infantry Battalion were placed is called a “park” (*Jutarnji list*, August 18, 1916: 5), there is a possibility that this area was connected with a lawn with busts of rulers and military leaders, thus creating a unique park.

#### BUST OF LIEUTENANT COLONEL JULIO BESTALL IN THE HOME GUARD BARRACKS (IN ILICA)

Lieutenant Colonel Julio (Gyula) Bestall was an officer in the headquarters of the 25th Home Guard Regiment (*Verlustliste* 1914: 4) and a teacher at the officers’ school of the 6th Home Guard District before the war (*A magyar királyi* 1914: 438). He died on the Southern Front on September 15, 1914, and his remains were transferred to Zagreb, where he was buried on October 5 of the same year (*Ilustrovani list*, October 10, 1914: 968). In 1917, a photo taken on June 17 in the yard of the Home Guard barracks in Ilica was published on the

cover of *Ilustrovani list*. It shows Colonel General Luka Šnjarić, Lieutenant Colonel Slavko Stanzer, Lieutenant Baltin, and Captain Očak “in front of the unfinished monument of Lieutenant Colonel Bestall.” In the photo, it can be seen that work on the monument had been completed to the level of installing the stone base and pedestal and that the bust had not yet been placed (*Ilustrovani list*, June 23, 1917: 521). This photo and the accompanying text are the only information about Bestall’s monument, and it can only be presumed that the bust was placed there later, and then removed after the war.

The exact period of the removal of monuments placed in barracks is not known. A year after the war ended, in 1919, authorities, royal land government made an official decision to remove the Habsburg dynasty’s insignia (Kukić 2020: 302–3). Given that the armed forces of the new state(s) continued to use the barracks in the Selska Road and Ilica after the war, the busts and monuments erected there were most likely removed in the fall of 1918 or at the beginning of 1919.

#### PLANNED MONUMENTS AND VOTIVE CHURCH IN ZAGREB

Initiatives for the installation of memorial plaques and construction of a votive church for fallen soldiers, members of Croatian units, were launched as early as the first months of the war and lasted, with varying degrees of success, until the autumn of 1918. Initiatives for individual memorials did not receive support from higher authorities (land, city, military, or church). Therefore, due to the lack of any support, the initiatives for some memorials did not go beyond the proponents’ presentation of the idea to a higher instance.

#### MEMORIAL PLAQUE FOR FALLEN SOLDIERS OF THE IMPERIAL AND ROYAL 53RD INFANTRY REGIMENT

Already during the first year of the war, the command of the Imperial and Royal 53rd Zagreb Infantry Regiment appealed to the Archdiocesan Cathedral of Zagreb to grant the regiment a wall in the newly built church of St Blaise, to place a memorial plaque (Source 8). The Archdiocese did not respond to the regimental command’s request, and one can only speculate as to the reasons for their refusal. Namely, the church of St Blaise was not in function at that time, and the military



command wanted to requisition it to house a military hospital. For this reason, the Archdiocese accelerated the process of converting the sacred object into a parish church (Vrabec 2019: 49), and the failure to respond to the request of the Zagreb military command can be interpreted as a reaction caused by fears of requisitioning the building.

#### MONUMENTS TO FALLEN SOLDIERS PLANNED TO BE ERECTED IN MIROGOJ

During 1916 and 1917, there were two initiatives to erect a monument to fallen soldiers in Mirogoj. The first proposal was initiated in late 1916 and early 1917, involved Iso Kršnjavi and Radivoj Hafner, and aimed to erect a “monumentally conceived memorial to fallen heroes” (Gabelica 2022: 403). One part of the monument was supposed to feature reliefs of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and Duchess Sofia von Hohenberg, the work of Viennese sculptor Hans Schwathe, which was bought by Radivoj Hafner (Gabelica 2022: 403). This is the only available information about the monument, and the further fate of the proposal is unknown.

#### SOLDIERS' VOTIVE CHURCH (WAR MEMORIAL CHURCH) IN THE ZAGREB SUBURB OF HORVATI

Unlike the dismissed idea of placing a memorial plaque in the parish church of St Blaise, the initiative to build a war memorial church in the Zagreb suburb of Horvati received indirect support from the Archdiocesan Cathedra, and it took root both in the public and in military circles during the war. The collection of funds for the construction of a church in the then-Zagreb suburb of Horvati began in 1911, when Archbishop Juraj Posilović made a donation to the church-building committee (Source 9).

The committee continued to collect funds until August 1914, when the chairman of the committee, Dr Ignacije Repar, appealed to the Archdiocesan Cathedra for “help” so that the collection of contributions “does not grind to a halt” (Source 10). However, the Archdiocesan Cathedra then determined that, in a state of war, the church “is not absolutely necessary” (Source 11), and so the president of the committee was instructed to stop collecting donations (Source 12). However, Ignacije Repar defied the ban. Starting in November 1914,

he started collecting contributions “for our dear soldiers [...] intercession [...] for the covenant church of all Croats” (*Jutarnji list*, November 8, 1914: 6). As a result of the above, it follows that Ignacije Repar, despite the ban, and intending to continue the campaign to collect donations for the construction of the church, transformed the sacred object’s purpose from a chapel to a soldiers’ votive church. The initiative to build a war memorial church for Croatian soldiers during the war years gained momentum. In 1916, the press reported that officers had joined the Committee for the construction of the church, and the Croatian church has been called the “Queen of Victory” church ever since (*Ilustrovani list*, June 5, 1916: 533). Contributions for the construction were sent from the front even by soldiers of the Islamic faith (*Jutarnji list*, February 5, 1916: 4), and the place where the church was built, marked by a crucifix, became a site of military pilgrimages. At the end of military training, just before being sent to the front, the soldiers made a pilgrimage to the Zagreb suburb of Horvati (*Ilustrovani list*, June 5, 1916: 533).

The seriousness of the initiative is also confirmed by the conceptual design of the church, created in 1917 by architect Dionis Sunko. This unknown project of Sunko’s is evidenced today by a postcard, apparently sold with the aim of collecting contributions (Source 13). On the upper part of the obverse, in the foreground of the postcard, the front of the church in perspective is printed: the entrance, the bell tower, and the side. In the lower, smaller part of the postcard, the ground plan is printed, with the inscriptions “Foundation for the War Memorial Church of Croatian Soldiers” and “Holy Immaculate Conception of the Queen of Peace in Croatia,” and the signature of Dionis Sunko with the year 1917. Sunko designed the church as a basilica, three-aisled with a single-aisle transept and apse. A dome was designed at the intersection of the transept and the central nave, and the belfry rested on the right nave of the church. An open lobby with arcades was planned. The lower part of the facade was to be covered with bossed stone (Source 14). Stylistically, the project of the memorial church fully corresponds to the sacral architecture of the time, and the dome hints that it was inspired by the then-newest parish church in Zagreb, St Blaise, a project by Viktor Kovačić.

It can be said that, despite the initial ban, the Archdiocese of Zagreb gave tacit approval for the mentioned initiative. Documents from 1918, confirmation from the chairman of the committee sent to the Archdiocesan Cathedra in April that the funds raised through donations were deposited in bank accounts (Source 15), and a donation of 5,000 crowns sent to the committee by the Archdiocesan Cathedra

in October (Source 16), confirm that the administration of the Archdiocese of Zagreb changed its opinion about the construction of a church in the Horvati suburb during the war, and that it was informed of the project of building a soldiers' votive church. The chairman of the board, Ignacije Repar, collected a total of 150,000 crowns in donations (Kožul and Razum, 2012: 35). Therefore, it can be asserted that, in a way, the Archdiocese of Zagreb thought long-term. Namely, after its construction, the war memorial church would have become a permanent memorial to all fallen soldiers from the territory of Croatian lands during the First World War.

After 1918, the initiative to build a war memorial church was halted. It was only in 1929 that the city government's construction department issued a building permit for the Salesian parish church and the Youth Centre in Horvati (Source 17), which testifies to yet another change in the function of the sacred object. The Salesian church was built in 1934.

## CONCLUSION

Monuments and memorials erected in the city of Zagreb during the First World War show that the land, city, military, and church authorities paid tribute to and commemorated the fallen soldiers from the outset of the war. The installation of monuments in Zagreb's public spaces began already during the first months of the war. In October 1914, according to the order of Zagreb's Mayor Janko Holjac, a central wooden cross was placed in the military part of Mirogoj, the "Field of Fallen Heroes," which became the central place of commemorations in the city on the occasion of All Saints' Day. Moreover, following the regulations on the "Field of Fallen Heroes," by 1918 the cemetery management had installed 3,399 wooden markers for soldiers who died while recovering in Zagreb. The listed tombstones were traditional in shape. Some wooden crosses were replaced by families of deceased soldiers with individualised gravestones, and there are two such monuments in Mirogoj today.

The majority of the monuments were erected in 1916: the statue of Franz Josef I at Ciglana, busts of rulers and military leaders, and a monument to fallen members of the 31st Light Infantry Battalion. The installation of the mentioned monuments was initiated by charitable societies and armed forces, while the state, city, and church authorities participated in the unveiling ceremonies. Certain monuments, the

already mentioned busts of rulers and statues, are not war monuments; however, due to the motifs and decorations placed on and around the monuments (dedications to troops, decorations for bravery, emphasising the war years), they were placed in the context of war and, as such, took on war symbolism. Of particular note is the Memorial Linden Tree, a type of monument adopted from the Austrian part of the Monarchy, which primarily had a charitable significance, but over time also took on the symbolism of a war memorial, as a reminder of the conflict. The style, shape and symbolism of the monuments erected in Zagreb are typical of the period, and new motifs were adopted from wartime monuments erected on the front. The authors of the erected monuments are the later renowned Croatian sculptor Josip (Joža) Turkalj, who established himself in the interwar period, and the now forgotten sculptor Emil (Mirko) Neumann.

Initiatives were launched to erect a monument to Franz Josef I and to build a military church in the Zagreb suburb of Horvati. The project of the war memorial church indicates a kind of long-term planning for the commemoration of those who died in the First World War.

After the war and the political disintegration of Austria-Hungary in the fall of 1918 and the creation of the new state most of the monuments erected in the First World War period were removed, and initiatives to erect war monuments were halted. The exact time when most of the wartime monuments in Zagreb were removed is unknown today, so these monuments can be said to be lost signs of the First World War.

## REFERENCES

### ARCHIVAL AND PUBLISHED SOURCES

Source 1: HR-DAZG-4, Gradsko poglavarstvo Zagreb, Predsjedništvo, opći spisi, Prs, box 87, Broj 1082-1914./Prs.

Source 2: HR-DAZG-4, Prs, Gradsko poglavarstvo Zagreb, Predsjedništvo, opći spisi, box 87, Broj 1082-1914./Prs.

Source 3: HR-DAZG-24, Gradsko poglavarstvo Zagreb, zbirka Normalija (okružnica i naredbi), 196/3.

Source 4: HR-DAZG-24, Gradsko poglavarstvo Zagreb, zbirka Normalija (okružnica i naredbi), 196/3.

Source 5: Grad Zagreb, Gradski zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode: Dokumentacija gradskog zavoda za zaštitu spomenika kulture i prirode, list of monuments in the old part of the Mirogoj cemetery. Hrvatska, Zagreb, 2009.

Source 6: HR-DAZG-4, Gradsko poglavarstvo Zagreb, Predsjedništvo, opći spisi, Prs, box 89, Broj (no.) 442.

- Source 7: HR-DAZG-4, Prs, Gradsko poglavarstvo Zagreb, Predsjedništvo, opći spisi, box 89, Broj (no.) 442.
- Source 8: HR-NAZ, NDS, Nadbiskupski duhovni stol, Regestrum 1914., no. 4011, p. 665.
- Source 9: HR-NAZ, NDS, Nadbiskupski duhovni stol, sv. 2728/1927, br. 5201. 1911.
- Source 10: HR-NAZ, NDS, Nadbiskupski duhovni stol, sv. 2728/1927, 5767. 1914.
- Source 11: HR-NAZ, NDS, Nadbiskupski duhovni stol, sv. 2728/1927, 5767. 1914.
- Source 12: HR-NAZ, NDS, Nadbiskupski duhovni stol, sv. 2728/1927, 5767. 1914.
- Source 13: HR-NAZ, Ostavština dr. Antuna Bauera, Dnevnik dr. Antuna Bauera, sv. III., 1. 1. 1917. – 4. 7. 1919, p. 58.
- Source 14: HR-NAZ, Ostavština dr. Antuna Bauera, Dnevnik dr. Antuna Bauera, sv. III., 1. 1. 1917. – 4. 7. 1919, p. 58.
- Source 15: HR-NAZ, NDS, Nadbiskupski duhovni stol, sv. 2728/1927, 3723 1918.
- Source 16: HR-NAZ, NDS, Nadbiskupski duhovni stol, sv. 2728/1927, 7870. 1918.
- Source 17: HR-DAZG-1122, Zbirka građevinske dokumentacije, Microfilm MF.304, p. 344.
- (I. *Zapisnik* 1918): “I. Zapisnik o skupštini zastupstva slob. i kr. glav. grada Zagreba držanoj dne 5. veljače 1918.” In: *Zapisnici o skupštinama zastupstva slob. i kralj. glavnoga grada Zagreba ... godine 1918*. Zagreb: C. Albrecht [s. a.], 1-15.
- (III. *Zapisnik* 1914): “III. Zapisnik o skupštini zastupstva slob. i kr. glav. grada Zagreba držanoj 3. veljače 1914.” In: *Zapisnici o skupštinama zastupstva slob. i kralj. glavnoga grada Zagreba ... godine 1914*. Zagreb: Dionička tiskara, 1915., 13-21.
- (*Verlustliste* 1914): *K. u. k. Kriegsmministerium Verlustliste 69 ausgegeben am 27./11. 1914*. Wien: k. k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1914.
- (*A magyar királyi* 1914): *A magyar királyi honvédség és csendőrség névkönyve 1914. évre*. Budapest: Pallas irodalmi és nyomdai részvénytársaság, 1914.
- (*Zagreb* 1929): *Zagreb, godine 1919.–1925. Izvještaj gradskog poglavarstva o sveopćoj upravi slobodnog i kraljevskog glavnoga grada Zagreba*. Zagreb: Braća Kralj, 1929.

## LITERATURE

- Alujević, Darija. 2013. Antički motivi i odjeci antike u kiparstvu hrvatske modern; *Algorija i Arkadija. Antički motivi u umjetnosti hrvatske moderne*. Zagreb: Galerija Klovićevi dvori, pp. 39–50.
- Banov vienac na grobu palih junaka; *Jutarnji list*, November 3, 1915, p. 4.
- Crkva “Kraljice bez griha začete; *Jutarnji list*, November 8, 1914, p. 6.
- Damjanović, Dragan. 2013. *Arhitekt Herman Bollé*. Zagreb: Leykam International; Muzej za umjetnost i obrt.

- Diem, Peter. 1995. *Die Symbole Österreichs. Zeit und Geschichte in Zeichen*. Wien: Kremayr & Schieriau.
- Dobrovšak, Ljiljana. 2020a. Mjesta sjećanja na Prvi svjetski rat u Hrvatskoj – ratni spomenici; Hrvoje Gržina and Mario Stipaničev, eds. *Konac Velikog rata, Zbornik radova*. Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, pp. 399–426.
- 2020b. Spomenici kojih više nema: ugarsko-hrvatski kralj Franjo Josip I.; Željko Holjevac, ed. *Franjo Josip I. i Hrvati u Prvom svjetskom ratu*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, pp. 239–269.
- Domobranska glazba na Mirogoju; *Jutarnji list*, October 30, 1915, p. 5.
- Gabelica, Mislav. 2022. Doprinos Družbe “Braća Hrvatskoga Zmaja” njegovanju sjećanja na Prvi svjetski rat; *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 54, no. 2: pp. 391–420.
- Grad u počast palih junaka; *Jutarnji list*, October 30, 1914, p. 5.
- Grgić, Marijan. 1974. Orao (Aquila); Anđelko Badurina, ed. *Leksikon ikonografije, liturgike i simbolike zapadnog kršćanstva*. Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber; Kršćanska sadašnjost; Institut za povijest umjetnosti, pp. 440–441.
- Hameršak, Filip. 2020. Vojna groblja Prvoga svjetskog rata – od spomena do nebrige (Uvodni prikaz); Hrvoje Gržina and Mario Stipaničev, eds. *Konac Velikog rata, Zbornik radova*, Zagreb: Hrvatski državni arhiv, pp. 375–398.
- Herman Kaurić, Vijoleta. 2014. Društveni i kulturni život u Hrvatskoj tijekom Prvoga svjetskog rata; Deniver Vukelić, ed. *Prvi svjetski rat. Čitanka-priručnik za učitelje i profesore povijesti u osnovnoj školi i gimnaziji*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, pp. 38–46.
2010. Ozračje dobrotvornih priredbi održanih u Zagrebu tijekom Prvoga svjetskog rata; Zlatko Matijević, ed. *Godina 1918. Prethodnica, zbivanja, posljedice. Zbornik radova s međunarodnoga znanstvenog skupa održanog u Zagrebu 4. i 5. prosinca 2008*. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, pp. 49–71.
2007. *Za naše junake ... Rad dobrotvornih humanitarnih društava u gradu Zagrebu 1914. –1918*. (Doctoral thesis). University of Zagreb.
- Horvat, Josip. 1984. *Živjeti u Hrvatskoj, 1900–1941. Zapisci iz nepovrata*. Zagreb: Liber.
- Hrvati muslimani za crkvu “Presvete kraljice”; *Jutarnji list*, February 5, 1916, p. 4.
- K. Uredjenje grobova palih junaka; *Jutarnji list*, October 28, 1914, p. 6.
- Kosić, Krešimir. 1974. Mirogoj između jučer i sutra; Boris Hutinec (ed.), *Mirogoj. Zagreb*. Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, pp. 7–56.
- Kožul, Stjepan, and Stjepan Razum. 2012. *Župa Sv. Josipa na Trešnjevki u Zagrebu: Prikaz prvih 75 godina (1937.–2012.)*. Zagreb: Društvo za povjesnicu Zagrebačke nadbiskupije „Tkalčić”; Župa sv. Josipa na Trešnjevki.
- Kronenberg, Martin. 2021. *Kriegsnagelungen in der Donaumonarchie Österreich-Ungarn 1914–18. Eisern war die Zeit!*, Hannover: GRIN.
- Kukić, Boris. 2015a. Grobnica palih ratnika na Mirogoju; Kristian Strukić, ed. *Odjeci s bojišnice, Zagreb u Prvom svjetskom ratu*. Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, pp. 123–125.

- 2015b. Zdravstvena skrb; Kristian Strukić, ed. *Odjeci s bojišnice, Zagreb u Prvom svjetskom ratu*. Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, pp. 114–122.
2018. Organizacija i djelovanje zagrebačkoga Crvenog križa u Velikom ratu 1914. godine; Vijoleta Herman Kaurić, ed. *1914. Prva godina rata u Trojednoj Kraljevini i Austro-ugarskoj Monarhiji, Zbornik radova*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, pp. 713–726.
2020. Pokušaj podizanja spomenika kralju Franji Josipu I. u Zagrebu tijekom Prvoga svjetskog rata; Željko Holjevac, ed. *Franjo Josip I. i Hrvati u Prvom svjetskom ratu*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, pp. 271–306.
- Milković, Kristina. 2020. Mirogoj u društvenom kontekstu Zagreba u 19. stoljeću; Lidiya Bencetić and Marino Manin, eds. *Moderno lice grada. O urbanizaciji i izgradnji komunalne infrastrukture na području Hrvatske u 19. i 20. stoljeću*. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, pp. 225–243.
- Odkriće kraljeva spomenika u ortopedijskoj bolnici; *Narodne novine*, August 12, 1916, p. 3.  
*Narodne novine*, August 16, 1916, p. 4.
- Otkriće kraljevoga poprsja i spomenika za pale junake 31. lovačkoga bataljuna; *Jutarnji list*, August 18, 1916, p. 5.
- Polje palih junaka; *Jutarnji list*, March 3, 1915, p. 5.
- Požar u kućici “ratne spomen lipa”; *Jutarnji list*, July 12, 1918, p. 5.
- Premerl, Tomislav. 1987. Kulturno-povijesna prošlost Mirogoja; Ivan Trčak, ed., *Mirogoj. Kulturno-povijesni vodič*. Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost; Rektorat crkve Krista Kralja, Mirogoj, pp. 45–58.
- Ratna spomen-lipa u Zagrebu. 1. Dostojanstvenici pred paviljonom; *Ilustrovani list*, May 8, 1915, p. 435.
- Sa Mirogoja; *Jutarnji list*, October 16, 1914, p. 5.
- Spomenik od talijanskih granata; *Ilustrovani list*, August 12, 1916, p. 786.
- Spomen-stup; *Jutarnji list*, February 21, 1915, p. 4junačkog potpukovnika Bestalla; *Ilustrovani list*, October 10, 1914, p. 968.
- Schneider, Gerhard. 1999. Zur mobilisierung der “Heimatfront.” Das Naglen sogenannter Kriegswahrzeichen im Ersten Weltkrieg; *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, pp. 32–62.
- Šimetin Šegvić, Filip. 2015. Kultura smrti u Zagrebu. Društvo prijatelja za podizanje krematorija *Plamen*; *Historijski zbornik* 68, no. 2, pp. 297–322.
- Špišić, Božidar. 1917. *Kako pomažemo našim invalidima. Slike iz naše ortopedijske bolnice i invalidskih škola*. Zagreb: Dionička tiskara.
- U boju i u grobu zajedno; *Ilustrovani list*, December 25, 1915, p. 1227.
- Vojna proslava u Horvatima; *Ilustrovani list*, June 5, 1916, p. 533.  
Vojničko groblje na Mirogoju u Zagrebu; *Ilustrovani list*, September 1, 1917, p. 724.
- Vojno oporavište u Zagrebu; *Ilustrovani list* June 5, 1915, pp. 530–531.

Vrabec, Vesna. 2019. Provizorno unutarnje uređenje crkve, blagoslov crkve; *Ikona hrvatske moderne. Zagrebačka crkva Svetoga Blaža od 19. do 21. stoljeća* (Katalog izložbe), Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, pp. 49–68.

Vukičević, Marko. 2020. *Zagreb 1914.–1918. Grad i stanovnici u Velikome ratu*, Zagreb: Despot infinitus.

Žalobni svečani zbor na Mirogoju; *Jutarnji list* November 1, 1916, p. 5.