

# Translation from Croatian into English = Texts of Different Genres (Commentary and Analysis)

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**UNIVERSITY OF RIJEKA**  
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**Translation from Croatian into English:**

**Texts of different genres**

**(TRANSLATION AND ANALYSIS)**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The focus of this B.A. thesis is translation of articles of different genres from Croatian into English. In the introduction the objective of the thesis and methods used in translation are explained. The introduction is followed by four different translations: translation of a legal text about the II Amendment in the United States of America, translation of a historical text tackling the issue of medieval Croatian women, their daily life and social status, translation of a literary text, and a translation of a text dealing with a historical overview of peoples' interaction with nature. Before each of these there is also a brief introduction, which is then followed by commentary and analysis. In the commentary and analysis sections, the problems and issues I encountered while translating the articles, are dealt with. At the end there is a conclusion, in which there is a résumé of my complete work, and appendices, where all the source texts can be found.

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## INTRODUCTION

There are plenty of definitions describing what exactly translation is. For example, the Oxford Dictionary states it is “*a written or spoken rendering of the meaning of a word or text in another language*”<sup>1</sup>. On the other hand, the Merriam-Webster Dictionary simply describes translation as “*words that have been changed from one language into a different language: words that have been translated*”<sup>2</sup>. In accordance with various definitions of translation, there are also several types of translation. The main division is the one between the oral and the written translation. However, depending on the function of the source text or the form of speech involved in the translation process, literary and non-literary (informative) translation can be distinguished.<sup>3</sup> The difference between the two is that in the case of the first type, a certain emotional or aesthetic impression is to be made upon the reader, while the aim of the second type is to inform the reader.<sup>4</sup>

In his book<sup>5</sup>, Newmark mentions the main translation methods that can be used during the translation process: word-for-word translation (the word order is preserved and the words translated individually, out of context), literal translation, faithful translation (attempts to reproduce the precise contextual meaning of the original), semantic translation (differs from the previous one in that it must take more account of the aesthetic value of the source text), adaptation (the freest form; used mainly for plays and poetry), free translation (produces a text without style, content or form of the original), idiomatic translation (tends to put colloquialisms

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<sup>1</sup> Oxford Dictionaries <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/translation> (Accessed in August 2016)

<sup>2</sup> Merriam-Webster <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/translation> (Accessed in August 2016)

<sup>3</sup> Newmark, Peter. 1988. A Textbook of Translation. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press (PDF)

<sup>4</sup>Newmark, Peter. 1988. A Textbook of Translation. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press (PDF)

<sup>5</sup>Newmark, Peter. 1988. A Textbook of Translation. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press (PDF)

and idioms where these do not exist in the original), communicative translation (attempts to render the exact contextual meaning of the original).

Translators should have the freedom to choose which methods they are going to use while translating a certain text, however, as Newmark notices, semantic and communicative translation probably entirely meet the main aims of translation - accuracy and economy.<sup>6</sup> During the process of translating, I tried to use these two methods as much as possible.

The texts I dealt with can be found in libraries (books and magazines) and on the internet. The first text is a legal one and it deals with the Second Amendment of the United States. It is an article from a magazine called *Pravnik: časopis za pravna i društvena pitanja*, from the 42<sup>nd</sup> Volume, No.86, December 2008, by Jaša Kraus and Biljana Kostadinov. The second text is a historical one, written by Ines Vađunec, and taken from the magazine titled *Pro Tempore: časopis studenata povijesti*, No.6-7, from October 2009. The third text is a literary one, taken from the book *Ljudi koje sam izmislio*, by Nikola Tutek, published by Zigo RI, April 2009 (the chapter is called *Na pola puta* pg.69 – 73). The last text tackles the issue of ecological history, published in the magazine *Povijesni prilozi*, from the 39<sup>th</sup> Volume, No.39, December 2010, written by Tomislav Markus. All of the articles were taken from the *Hrčak* website<sup>7</sup> except for the literary text, which can be found in a library.

During the translation process, several dictionaries were used: bilingual dictionaries (Croatian – English, English – Croatian), and online English dictionaries, including thesauri such as The Free Dictionary<sup>8</sup>, Thesaurus<sup>9</sup>, and Oxford Dictionaries<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup>Newmark, Peter. 1988. A Textbook of Translation. Shanghai: Shanghai Foreign Language Education Press (PDF)

<sup>7</sup><http://hrcak.srce.hr/>

<sup>8</sup><http://www.thefreedictionary.com/>

<sup>9</sup><http://www.thesaurus.com/>

# TRANSLATION OF A LEGAL TEXT

## Introduction

The first text is taken from the *Pravnik* magazine published by an association at the Faculty of Law in Zagreb. The magazine usually deals with legal and societal matters. An individual or joint academic research can be published. This particular article deals with the issue of the Second Amendment of the United States of America (its origin, development and status today). It contains various (historical) legal terms that I had to look up during the process.

## Translation

### SECOND AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

#### Introduction

The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which guarantees the citizens' right to keep and bear weapons is the part of the Constitution that is nowadays, on the one hand, most frequently attacked, and on the other, most frequently defended. Since the establishment of the US, the Second Amendment has been at the center of the American political struggle and has always been one of the central subjects in almost all of the crucial moments of American history. The issue of the right to possess and carry weapons goes even further back in history, to medieval England, and is related to the first charters limiting the absolute power of the state and affirming the right of an individual. Within the American constitution-making process, the Second Amendment was one of

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<sup>10</sup><http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/>

the most fiercely discussed subjects because the degree of federalization of the future Republic largely depended on its formulation. During the consideration of the arguments presented by the conflicted sides, the relationship between the citizens and the state, individual and collective responsibility, social contract and assigning individual rights to a community, were questioned.

#### 1. Origin and administration of the institution

a) The roots of the English law allowing people to keep and bear arms and the transfer of the rights to the US

The right to keep weapons was a legitimate right which all free men (Eng. freeman) enjoyed even in pre-Norman England. At that time all freemen had the obligation to participate in the defense of the country, and they had the right to bear and keep arms. This obligation was called a fyrd (army). As a result, England was generally successful in resisting invasions of the Danes and Vikings. At the Battle of Hastings (1066) the Anglo-Saxon army was mainly thus assembled. The victory of the Normans did not destroy the institution; William the Conqueror (1066-1087) used local militias to stifle the rebellions of noblemen in 1071. During the reign of king Stephen (1135-1154) a fyrd of northern counties was convened and the Scottish invasion was successfully suppressed. Henry II (1154-1189) passed the Assize of Arms (1181) and committed freemen to the service of the Crown, and determined the type of weapons and equipment that every taxpayer should possess. Edward I (1272-1307) confirmed the act and acknowledged this right of citizens (burgesses), who had to gather at his call, whereas failure to respond led to the loss of their entire property. Freemen were obliged to help Royal officials in the prosecution of criminals and enforcement of judgments. Charles II



(1660-1685) confirmed the right to bear arms and cooperate with the local militia forces in defending the country. As there was no standing army in England until the end of the 17th century, and no police until the 19th century, citizens were, in addition to other duties, required to perform those relating to the preservation of order and peace. Militia was not allowed to be assigned outside the country, and local commanders, mostly noble men, managed it, while the commander in chief was the king. Some kings tried to restrict the rights of citizens to keep and bear arms, and this was particularly evident during the turbulent 17th century, the time of Charles II and James II. Such behavior of the monarchs ultimately led to the Glorious Revolution in 1688 in which James II was overthrown and England became a constitutional monarchy when in 1689 the Bill of Rights was passed. The Bill of Rights (full title: An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown) is a series of resolutions which, in addition to limiting the power of the monarch, setting up a division of powers, and protecting the rights of citizens, also upheld the right to bear weapons. In the first part of the Charter where the King's atrocities and undermining of the law and freedom of England are discussed, the illegal disarmament of Protestant citizens is specifically mentioned as one of the infringements. In the second part of the Charter which guarantees the citizens' rights, it is stated that the subjects of Protestant faith are allowed to keep weapons for self-defense. When shortly after it gained its independence Alexis de Tocquille traveled America, he wrote that there are no opinions, customs or laws that are not explained by their starting point. An accurate transfer of the English legal system into the North American colonies was the official policy of the Crown, and it played a significant role in the settling of the colonies since the colonists were

guaranteed the same rights as those who were born and resided in England. The same rights and freedoms that were enjoyed in England were guaranteed and included in the colonies' charters (e.g., Massachusetts, Virginia and Connecticut). As the result of specific life conditions at the newly discovered and inhospitable continent in the mid-17th century, wearing weapons was an obligation in towns like Plymouth and Newport, while the colony of Georgia regulated the obligation to bear arms at mass. Along with militias, a large number of English soldiers were stationed in the colonies, arousing unease and concern in the late 18th century North America, just as the standing army did among the English at the time of the Restoration. Due to the constant conflicts with France for predominance in North America, the presence of the army was understandable, but what the colonists did not like was their presence in the settlements which increased proportionally with the growing tensions between the colonies and the home country. Such relationships between the colonial authorities and colonists emphasized the issue of militias and control over them; the colonists even founded their own parallel militia (minutemen), which soon initiated their first conflicts with the English army.

#### b) The creation of the Second Amendment

After the War of Independence (1775 to 1783) from the British Crown, delegates from 13 colonies gathered together in Philadelphia in order to adopt a new constitution and organize the state model of the USA. After the adoption of the US Constitution (1787), in order to be closer to the views of anti-federalists and thus prevent the possibility of disruption and even riots against it, such as those that erupted in some states during the ratification, the Federalists decided to complement the Constitution by adding

amendments. R. Podolnjak points out that the debate surrounding the management of militia is one of the best examples of the Constitutional Convention members' mistrust and caution towards the federal government they were creating. The Second Amendment differs from the others in that it is the only one that is self-explanatory in its purpose. The first version of the Second Amendment read as follows: the right of citizens to keep and bear arms shall not be limited; a well-armed and a well-regulated militia is the best guarantee for a free country: a person whose faith prohibits him to bear arms shall not be compelled to serve in the military. During the discussions and work within the committee, the original proposal was changed and shortened to the one we know today: a well-regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed. But for the removal of the part which relates to what we now call conscientious objection, at first glance the differences are small. However, because of the differences, it is difficult to understand the text of the Amendment. The order of the words was changed in the final version, and since there is no record of the session of Congress, we assume that this was done so as to appease the federalists. This final text complied with the requirements of the anti-federalists who feared the possibility of the disarmament of militia. Since it was questionable and controversial, it is logical that the position of the militia was placed in the foreground in order to emphasize and protect it. Because of the English common law and the militia regulation, which is based on armed citizens, the right to bear and keep arms was never debatable, but almost self-explanatory.

However, such an order of words had far-reaching consequences for the interpretation and understanding of the Second Amendment because in its interpretation the militia

became the focus, and in some circles it has also become the essence and purpose of the right to keep and bear arms. It should be born in mind that Madison was one of the most prominent members of the Federalist block, which could have also affected the proposal and the final version of the Second Amendment. On the other hand, because the second part of the Amendment is not subordinated to or dependent on the first, Bernard Levy believes that the wording, grammar and words used in the Amendment clearly indicate that this is an individual right.

The final shape and organization of the militia were not decided on at the convocation of the First Congress. The issue was decided at the second convocation. George Washington and the Secretary of War Henry Knox argued for a militia divided into advance, main and reserve units. As with the other important political issues that were discussed in the first years after independence, it all ultimately came down to the powers of the federal government on the one hand and the Member States' rights on the other; that is, the federalists and anti-federalists' conflict. Finally, at the beginning of 1792 the Uniform Militia Act was passed, and it included the obligation of all capable males between 18 and 45 years of age to serve in the militia. The citizens themselves and the state carried the financial burden of equipping militias.

Text: Jaša Kraus and Biljana Kostadinov

## Commentary and analysis

This was the first text to be translated for the purposes of this thesis. Since it is a legal text, and the language it uses is very specific, I knew it would take a lot of time to work on it. The first problem I encountered was the length of the sentences. A lot of sentences are very long and sometimes I would get lost and not write the correct word order in the English version. For example, the first sentence of the article “Drugi amandman američkog Ustava kojim se građanima jamči pravo držati i nositi oružje danas je zasigurno dio Ustava koji se najžešće napada s jedne strane, a s druge pak strane najviše brani.” represented a problem for me. However, I have only rarely broken one long sentence into two shorter ones because of the tone of the text itself. So the sentence was translated as “The Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which guarantees the citizens’ right to keep and bear weapons is the part of the Constitution that is nowadays, on the one hand, most frequently attacked, and on the other, most frequently defended.”. Another example of this would be the sentence “Uz milicije u kolonijama je bio stacioniran i veliki broj engleskih vojnika, a kao što je stajaća vojska izazivala nelagodu i zabrinutost kod Engleza u vrijeme Restauracije, tako je bilo i krajem 18. stoljeća u sjevernoameričkim kolonijama.”. In this sentence the last part was problematic because it seemed I could not tie it in with the first part to make a coherent sentence. So the key was to reformulate the entire sentence “Along with militias, a large number of English soldiers were stationed in the colonies, arousing unease and concern in the late 18th century North America, just as the standing army did among the English at the time of the Restoration.”.

Another issue I had with the article were the terms that are suited for a legal text. For example in the sentence “Angosaska vojska u bitci kod Hastingsa (1066) sastavljena je uglavnom na navedeni način.”, the part “sastavljena je uglavnom na navedeni način” was

problematic because of the verb. At first I opted for “composed”, then for “organized”, but at the end it ended up being translated as “was mainly thus assembled”. The situation was similar with the sentence “Milicija se nije smjela rasporediti izvan zemlje...”. Again the verb represented a problem. I tried with “expand” and “spread”, but in the end it was “to be assigned”. Another verb that was problematic was “zapovijedali” in the same sentence “...a zapovijedali su joj lokalni zapovjednici...”. After considering “govern” and “dictate”, I opted for “manage”.

A big problem in this article was the legal term “pravna stečevina”. When I was doing research on the term, the most frequent option that I found in English was the French term “aquiscommunautaire”. When I did some research on the internet, I found out it is used in the legal terms of the European Union. However it was not the appropriate term. The correct one is “common law”. In this case the subject is the *English* common law, which has a different legal tradition than the one in the European Union.

To conclude, the biggest issue with this text was the length of sentences and some legal terms. Although I do not have a wide knowledge of the English or Croatian legal language, I chose this type of article exactly because it represented a challenge for me.

## TRANSLATION OF A HISTORICAL TEXT

### Introduction

The second text I translated was taken from the historical magazine *Pro Tempore: časopis studenata povijesti*. It is a magazine established by the students of history in 2003. The idea was to publish creative student and academic research papers related to history and similar humanist disciplines. The translated article describes the status of medieval women in Croatia.

### Translation

#### **The position of women in medieval Croatia**

For many years, historical research has been focused on "Male" history. A general picture of historical events, and their importance and cause-effect relationships, have been created and emphasized. Men- rulers, warriors, politicians - had the main role in these studies. Only sometimes, a woman who would be able to lift herself up with her character and abilities, would appear. This paper will try to shed some light on this, still barely studied, marginalized social class - women. It will focus on the status of the Croatian woman in the Middle Ages, her everyday life, goals she might have pursued, male - female relationships, and the impact of the Church on her life. Most of the information, from the materials that we have, focuses on the Dubrovnik area and Dalmatian cities. It should also be pointed out that research papers by Croatian historians which are, despite everything, still quite deficient and require additional research, were used. Medieval contemporaries Filippo Diversi and Benko Kotruljević paint a picture of the medieval Croatian woman by describing her daily life, but also by illustrating the

views, attitudes, and naive notions of “ordinary” medieval people. Numerous testaments, to which we owe a lot of information on property relations, monastery charters, as well as criminal files and city statutes, are significant sources as well. I hope that this paper will provide some basic information and perceptions about medieval women, and that it will encourage further research.

## **i. Introduction**

“Nature’s aspiration is to create a perfect being - a man, but sometimes an error occurs - a woman.” This clerical notion was the medieval Croatian saying about women and an indication of their position. Considered to be a dependent being, prone to sin and unable to take care of herself and her own body, she was supposed to be controlled by a man - a father, a brother, a husband. Her only purpose in the society was the extension of the genus with numerous offspring, while her role in the family was marginal. The man was a member of the "public," and the woman of the "private" sphere. Her living space consisted of the house and church. The Church and the misogynistic society created an ideal of a medieval woman, which few could satisfy. They were trying very hard to keep their good name, which was their main asset in achieving their goal – getting married. Most women were fully able to evolve only through marriage and motherhood. The Church helped them to such an extent that it sought their consent when concluding marriage; however the father of the family had the last say. Despite the gloomy impressions of the medieval woman and her sad and inferior position, the reality reveals a slightly different picture. The position of a woman largely depended on her social position and the place where she lived. While in Dalmatia women had minimum rights, in Slavonia they were almost equal to their husbands. Other than in marriage, women could have realized themselves in



monasticism. The church welcomed celibacy and highly appreciated those who dedicated themselves to the spiritual life.

Thanks to the Church, some of them climbed the social ladder by becoming the heads of monasteries. However, many girls did not enter monasteries out of religious reasons, but because of lack of dowry. Although the mundane unmarried status of women was not an option in the Middle Ages, some of them did live such a life, and met with the condemnation of contemporaries. During the Middle Ages, despite the numerous restrictions and aggravating circumstances, first “emancipated” women appeared. They cherished their education; for example, in Dubrovnik in the mid-16th century a female literary circle was thus formed. Nada Bunić, the earliest Croatian female writer, worked there together with her sisters. It seems that malicious people tried to speak ill of the liberal, single women, since she defended the honor of her house and her sisters in a lengthy text. Women, however, still did not leave their mark in literature, where they are only a topic of debate, and at that, a hated, not a loved one. Along with Nada and Julija Bunić, Nikoleta de Resti and Margarita de Menze are mentioned as poets, however they did not pose any challenge to the Dubrovnik society nor did they question the position of women. The ones who contributed to that the most were Cvijeta Zuzorić, who introduced new behavioral patterns for women in public and private sectors, and Marija Gučetić, who expressed dissatisfaction with the current social situation. This paper is dedicated to the ordinary, common women of the Middle Ages. Its goal is to try and shed light on the unknown, invisible world of a marginalized group - women. Previous historiography was devoted to the "big" topics - wars, politics, powerful rulers, conquests. Only recently a greater interest in the everyday life of our ancestors has arisen. In the literature from this period, Dubrovnik, Dalmatian and Slavonian towns, and Istria are represented the most. These areas were more developed and

their files were more organised. Scientists that are studying women in the Middle Ages are among others: Zdenka Janeković Romer, who studies the position of women in marriage and family in the Dubrovnik area, Zrinka Nikolić, who deals with the history of women throughout Dalmatian towns, Lujo Margetić, who explores their legal status, Marija Karbić, who carried out a study on the position of women in Slavonia, and Marija Mogorović Crljenko, who studies the world of Istrian women in the Middle Ages. Although it is short and far from a comprehensive analysis, I hope that this paper will provide answers that will enable a glimpse into the lives, attitudes and everyday lives of Medieval women.

## **ii. The ideal of a woman**

Some of the first questions we ask ourselves when we think about the life of a medieval woman are: what was the ideal of a woman and how was this ideal realized in real life? In his “Book of the art of trade”, a merchant from Dubrovnik Benedikt Kotruljević writes about the ideal of a woman, seen through the eyes of a man: “A woman should be beautiful, ethical and from an honest family; she does not have to be rich, as most young men who only seek wealth and then treat their wives badly believe. There are three general merits in a woman - honesty, which consists of virtue, utility - dowry, inheritance and richness, and delight which consists of beauty that is God's gift to the one who has her. A woman must be prudent, persistent, serious, loving, hardworking, gentle, chaste, benevolent, pious, religious, generous, self-contained, giving, hardworking, moderate in eating and drinking, sober, perceptive and always busy, because idleness and poverty lead a woman to a deep downfall and she must surpass them with her work. A woman must be adorned with clothing and ornaments suitable to her class, her face must always be clean and she must never, under any circumstances, wear make-up, because this is not only considered to be a shame, but also an offense. The task of a woman is to be likeable, useful

to a man, to comfort him, to nourish him, to take care of him when he is ill, to bear and raise their offspring, and to replace her grief for lost children with new pregnancies and childbirths.” A woman is the symbol of a life which included religion, love, kindness and morality. The “feminist” movement was initiated by the Church, that is, by St. Francis of Assisi, who affirmed the value of women not only in theory but also in real life. The Marian cult also affected the change of the perception of women, that is, the appearance of admiration and love for them. In the secular environment, new feelings arose in literature, and in the long run, influenced the behavior of people, especially in the higher circles of society. The late medieval idea of man’s “service” to a woman, of trying to earn love through courtship and not by force, was of great importance in the history of gender relations.

The woman was compared to Mary and Eve, who are the symbols of highest virtues and weaknesses. The woman’s body was the main source of conflict, as it became the symbol of carnality as opposed to the man’s body which symbolized intellect. Misogyny also contributed to the unbearable position of women in medieval life. The woman is the “beautiful evil”, wicked and deceitful, Satan’s right hand and the one to blame for the expulsion from Eden. Since it was believed that the woman was sensuous at her core, very strict models of behavior were established in order to tame this “dangerous” naturalness. This task was entrusted to men, for it was believed that a woman could not answer for herself. It was accepted that the fear of God, being controlled by her husband, shame before the people and the power of the law could control her life and behavior. A woman can be good and virtuous if the men in her environment - her father, husband and others - curb and watch over her. "Feminism" characteristic of many love treatises from the first half of the 16th century, increased the dignity of women, her mind and beauty, but failed to elevate her status in marriage and public life. Serafin Crijević, a biographer

from Dubrovnik, would say that no one asks for or wants literature studies from women, because according to the general belief women should focus on pins and horse-tails, not books, on a weaving loom, and not school. In his view, a woman who nurtures education could rise above her gender and begin behaving like a man. Girls were required to be pure, temperate, modest, loyal and obedient, and above all, should have preserved their honor. Through the character of Paula de Zamagna, Ilija Crijević gives an example of a woman of an illustrious lineage, who is honorable and timid, obedient to her father in law and her husband, a woman who teaches her children about the fear of God, who manages her house impeccably, who is frugal, dresses modestly, and who is quiet, fair, moderate, sober and very pious. She does not jeopardize her husband's possessions by asking him for jewelry, bracelets, pastries, hair-curling scissors, purple robes, oils and scents and all other things women usually ask for, she is aware that "splendor is the enemy of chastity and the instigator of passion." She avoids small talk, attends the expository preaching, prays in the morning and in the evening and listens to the divine service three or four times a day. Through her, Crijević gives an example of an ideal aristocratic woman, who is in perfect synchrony with the role that the society and family have imposed on her. Razzi wrote that the girls from the higher social circles are almost never seen on the street, because they attend the nearest church and confess in the house. It was believed that fathers must not let their female children out of the house, because on the streets and squares, and in other people's houses, they can "encounter many dangers which could lead to the loss of their honor". To avoid scandals, it is better that they are denied visits, and in his opinion, noble girls are fit to sit at home and learn how to cook, stitch, spin wool and weave. He ends the paper with a commentary that such moderate and prudent girls are the honor of their family and noble status. The process of women's emancipation began precisely with the contemplation about love and beauty, the

female mind and virtues. During the Reformation and the Catholic renewal, the importance of these changes was suppressed by the strengthening of ecclesiastical supervision over the private lives of people. However, the central foundations of a new attitude towards women, love and men's behaviour towards them were set up.

Text: Ines Vadunec

## Commentary and analysis

As my second major is history, this text was a lot easier to translate and to understand generally. However, I did encounter some problems. Most of them were related to grammar – the use of articles or prepositions. The big issues here were suitable terms, so I had to consult a dictionary, that is, a thesaurus to find suitable synonyms.

There was again the issue of length because I would automatically get lost while translating and complicate the entire sentence. For example the sentence “Smatralase nesamostalnim bićem, sklonim grijehu i nesposobnim brinuti o sebi i svom tijelute je stoga trebala nadzor muškarca – oca, brata, muža.” was difficult to translate coherently. For the part “stoga je trebala nadzor muškaraca” I thought “therefore she should have been controlled by a man” would be correct. However this was complicating the entire sentence, so “she was supposed to be controlled by a man” was the best solution. The sentence “Zbog obilnije građe, najviše podataka imamoza područje Dubrovnika i dalmatinskih gradova.” also caused me some problems, especially the first part. First, I opted for “due to abundant materials”, then for “because of plenty materials”, however the sentence needed to be entirely inverted because everything sounded clumsy. The result was therefore “Most of the information, from the materials that we have, focuses on the Dubrovnik area and Dalmatian cities.”.

Another problem was the sentence “Žena mora biti lijepa, moralna i poštena roda, ne mora biti bogata, kako misli većina mladića, koji traže bogatstvo, a ne ženu, a kad ga dobiju loše s njom žive.”. First, the sentence was again too long and should have been separated by a semicolon. Furthermore, although in Croatian the entire sentence mentions only one woman (singular), the author is actually talking about women in general. However, when translating into

English this is not obvious and plural must take the place of the singular. The result is then “A woman should be beautiful, ethical and from an honest family; she does not have to be rich, as most young men who only seek wealth and then treat their wives badly believe.” “Njom” was replaced with “wives”. Also some words from the original were dropped (“a ne ženu”, “a kad ga dobiju”).

As mentioned, this article was a lot easier to work on, and there were no bigger problems than those mentioned. Although there were some historical terms, the majority of them were familiar to me.

## TRANSLATION OF A LITERARY TEXT

### Introduction

For the third text I chose a literary piece written by Nikola Tutek. The text is taken from the book titled *Ljudi koje sam izmislio*, and it is actually an excerpt from the chapter titled *Napola puta*. The book is a series of short stories, and this particular one is written in simple language that is easy to follow and understand.

### Translation

#### **People I imagined - Halfway**

"His word be with you in the days when you find life difficult, at times when you feel alone and abandoned. Let us pray. "

Tired murmur filled the church. The rustling of socks ironed this morning, the crackling of joints, crutches hitting the marble floor of the church, the whining of wooden benches, blunt strikes and rough breaths. Father took his elbow and got up from the bench with difficulty. He smelled the old man's cologne he had bought him for his sixty-first birthday. He used that cheap scent only for special occasions. He had not spent half of the bottle in five years. Mumbling of the Lord's Prayer. Father put his white head on his shoulder.

- Let's go –father whispered. His face was pale and powerless.

He took the old man's arm and silently took him out of the church. Slowly they came to the car. He opened the passenger-door and helped him sit down. A few slow steps. The sky was completely yellow and mottled with dark gray clouds. Sick and sleepy. The key in the lock and



the rattling of the engine. They headed slowly down the main road leading from the church to the center of the village. The sky suddenly darkened. All that yellowness became dark blue.

- I am glad ... –father said. And paused.

He did not pay attention to the old man. The local pub was deserted and dark. The wind began to bend the branches, indicating a storm.

- I'm glad you are holding that steering wheel so firmly. –father continued - You know exactly where we're going.

He glanced casually at his father's face. It makes no sense to lament his former clarity and his strength of mind. Makes no sense. It is better to keep quiet and stay away. Perhaps his father's state is the easiest form of existence.

- Do you understand me? - his father asked, as if to show his son that in an instant he emerged from his mental alienation. – I am glad.

He nodded. It was not enough. He nodded again and just when he thought he might have to smile, the old man turned to the side. His face became dark as the sky.

- When your mom died, I stopped believing. I began to fight. Against everything. My soul became as hard as palms.

He stopped the car slowly ahead of a rural house with luminescent white walls. He had painted them last spring. He stared at the walls, and it seemed as if they were absorbing him. In the kitchen, long time ago, returning from school, he found his mother dying. Father was a great cook, they were never hungry. It was never cold and uncomfortable. Just quiet, incredibly quiet. And it became even quieter as father's disease progressed. Life seemed like a multitude of

balloons filled with vacuum which the father's damaged mind distributed randomly in space and time. But never improperly, never uncertainly. The silence was protected by trepidation and an occasional moment of lucidity.

- I'm afraid of death - said the old man.

He looked at his son's face. He offered him only his profile, eyes hidden in the safety of darkness.

- I am glad I will no longer be a burden to you.

He looked at the old man wanting to say something, but the silence between them was so strong that it transformed every word into unnecessary disturbance of harmony.

- I am very scared. I would like to go to mass every Sunday during my last days. Until I am gone.

- Alright. We will go every Sunday.

- But when we come to church, I am terribly bored - said the old man and put his hands on his knees.

Stillness. Both of them watching through their own windows. The night covered the village robbing the white walls of their shine. Burning stars, dogs' shadows in the corners of deserted streets. Dark came too fast. He looked at his watch. Thereupon his father opened the car door and got out. He followed him. Father looked at him full of fear and unfamiliarity and hurried down the street in the opposite direction from the house. He ran after him and took him by his elbow. The old man stared at his son's face like a domesticated animal. He did not resist. He brought his father into the house. He switched the light on in the long and desolate corridor. Painted perfectly

white. He helped him take off his shoes and took him to the kitchen. He sat his father in the sofa in front of a large wooden table. The old man sat down and turned to stone. Like a plant. He was staring ahead.

He went to the bathroom. He washed his face with cold water. It was refreshing. He turned off the water. Complete silence. He looked at his face in the yellowed mirror. He resembles him more and more. Yes, he looks exactly like that in the faded black and white photos. He has nothing left from his mother. It was not allowed. He has long ceased to think about all that is sad. He should have fought. His soul has become harder than his father's tortured palms. A lot harder. He looked at the bathroom ceiling. The paint is still peeling. Yes, I did a really good job of painting that. He came out of the bathroom, glanced into the kitchen; his father was still sitting at the table. He went into the living room and turned on the light. There were just a couch, a big wardrobe and a table with a portable TV in the room. Nothing else. Large, white, empty walls. Wooden blinds were lowered at the large windows. Silence. He went to the wall and wiped the cobwebs with a piece of cloth. He looked at his watch again.

The beans heated quickly and the kitchen filled with the sweet fragrance. He broke the bread into pieces. Father still did not move. He put a piece of bacon into the beans. He set the table.

- Father! Father?

The old man snapped out as if from a dream.

- Let's eat.

His father nodded, crossed his hands over his face. He took the spoon with a trembling hand and began to eat. They ate in silence. Both men peering into their empty plates. Silence.

- Today is my birthday—he said after a long silence.

The old man looked at him in surprise.

- Today? What is today? - he asked.

He did not answer. Days and years no longer had any meaning for his father. Neither did space, nor the people, nor knowledge. Just silence. Its forgetfulness and forgiveness.

- Today is my thirty-third birthday.

Father sighed. A cat walked into the kitchen and clung to the leg of the table.

- We had you very late.

- Very late - he said and got up from the table.

He threw a piece of bacon to the cat. Put the dishes under the running water. He approached his father, who had already habitually put forth his hands towards him. He helped him get up, walked him to the bathroom, and took off his shirt. With a shaking hand the old man pointed towards the door. He went to his father's room. A bed and a wardrobe. Empty walls. Except for the image of Jesus that he had recently hung in the corner. In the empty corner of the room. Perhaps all his fears lie there.

He took his father's pajamas from under the pillow and brought them to the bathroom. Then he went to his room. Silence. Empty walls. Only his father's cry for help could change all this, nothing more. Maybe I should hang something on the wall? Pictures? A bed, shelves full of books, and a cabinet. He sat on the edge of the bed. He sighed. He heard his father coming out of the bathroom and going to his room. He stood up and walked over to the closet. He took out clean underwear and a T-shirt. He looked at his watch. He was supposed to get going.

He cleaned up. A final check in the mirror. He went to the door of his father's room. The old man was in bed. He looked at him timidly.

- My child ... – he uttered. Silence.

He turned off the light and closed the door. He went out through the back door. The night was chilly. The wind grew stronger, whistling harshly through the orchard and garden. He looked at the window of his father room. There were no traces of light. He had fallen asleep. He is safe now. He walked to the front of the house at a brisk pace. He jumped into the car. Started the engine, switched on the heating and the radio. He rubbed his palms. It flashed. It started to rain heavily. He left the village driving at walking speed and came to the main road. The music from the radio bothered him, he turned it off. Silence and muffled rumbling of the engine. Patter of rain. It flashed strongly several times, rained even harder, then the rain settled down. Soon it completely withered. He was driving through the woods. He stopped at a curve and opened the window. The smell of the rain-washed woods is his birthday present. He thought of his father. Once during the night he went into the kitchen and turned the gas on. Only a miracle saved them from suffocation and explosion. One night he had disappeared. They found him after eight days in a town three hundred kilometers away. He asked him where he had been.

- I went for a walk. And who are you?

Text: Nikola Tutek

## Commentary and analysis

Unlike with the previous two texts, the biggest issue I encountered with the literary one was meaning. It was difficult to try and render the authors thoughts into another language and make them understandable for readers. However challenging, this was also the most interesting task. Because of this, there were some mistranslations. For example the sentence “Otac ga primi za lakat i teško se ustade s klupice.”, the part “teško se ustade s klupice” was problematic. At first, I translated it as “...and hardly rose from the bench.”, then I opted for “...barely stood up from the bench.”, but in the end the result was “Father took his elbow and got up from the bench with difficulty.”. It was similar with the sentence “Očeva bijela glava priklonila se njegovu ramenu.”, which at first I translated as “Father’s white head leaned on his shoulder.”, but in the end opted for “Father put his white head on his shoulder.”.

Another problem that I encountered was in the sentence “Pošao je brzim korakom pred kuću.”. The part “pred kuću”, although seemingly simple, was quite problematic. At first I translated it as “He walked in front of the house with a brisk pace.”, and the issue was with the prepositions and articles, however instead of just correcting this, I started complicating everything and translated it as “He walked before the house at a brisk pace.”, then I replaced “before” with “in front of” again, but this was still not the correct preposition. Then I tried to reformulate the sentence using “outside the house”. However, this was also not right. The preposition that was needed here was “to the front of the house”.

Aside from some other grammatical problems, I did not encounter bigger issues with this text. However, I should note that I expected it to be the most difficult one after the legal text, but this was not the case. This text was actually the most interesting for me to try and translate.

## TRANSLATION OF A TEXT ABOUT ECOLOGICAL HISTORY

### Introduction

The fourth text is an article taken from the magazine called *Povijesni prilozi*. The magazine is published under the sponsorship of the Croatian Institute of History. The articles published in the magazine are usually results of academic and scientific research in the area of history and auxiliary sciences of history. This particular article that was translated tackles the issue of ecological history.

### Translation

#### **From the wild natural world to the industrial metropolises: an environmental history of human societies**

##### 1. Environmental historiography

In general, environmental history is concerned with the synergy of inorganic and organic factors within a certain natural whole from the local eco-system to Earth as an entity, and ecological historiography embodies their scientific analysis in a specific period in history. The human environmental history comprises the interaction of human societies with the broader natural world, the essential part of which people are. Environmental historiography analyzes people's actions within the natural world, their impact on the organic and inorganic factors and, in turn, the impact of those factors on the human society. People have always been a part of the web of life, one of the hundreds of millions biological species in the history of life on Earth. Certain social circumstances (such as large cities) can hide, but they can never deny this fundamental fact. Ecological historiography begins from the ecological continuity, i.e. all human

society are a part of nature and are fully dependent on the network of inorganic and organic factors, whatever their environmental impact. This applies equally to industrial societies in which human impact is enormous and to the mobile societies of hunter-gatherers whose environmental impact is very small and local. Ecological historiography departs from the humanistic and the anthropocentric approach to traditional historiography, which only takes human relationships into account, while the broad natural world is either completely ignored or seen as the background of the stage on which the drama of human history takes place. Ecological continuity implies biological continuity, i.e. the man is an animal species, a product of biological evolution, and is related to other species. The most important aspect of biological continuity is genetic adaptation, i.e. the man is, like any other species, genetically adapted to a life in a particular environment. The man's natural ecological context is an organic and wild environment, and his natural social context is a small community (usually consisting of about twenty to thirty members), with kinship and reciprocal altruism. This context, usually called the hunter-gatherer life in literature, which despite certain problems (i.e. a lot of emphasis on the search for food, which is reminiscent of the thesis – abandoned long ago in professional circles - of the eternally hungry and miserable “savage”) can be retained here. Ecological historiography must, in our opinion, be based on the theory of biosocial discontinuity, which is based on the belief that in the past couple of thousands years sudden cultural changes, that our biogrammar could not keep up with, occurred. This implies a radical gap in the human life and behavior in recent history, which can be dated back to the Neolithic domestication. The theory of biosocial discontinuity explains the anthropogenic problems of complex societies not as a moral failure, but as a result of deviations from our genetic nucleus, of leaving the environment of evolutionary adaptation and forcing the sudden, evolutionary untested, cultural changes. (People's moral standards are more



or less equal in all societies.) Humanists have always celebrated the man's tremendous reliance on cultural learning and transmission of data by non-genetic means. It is true that this practice allows great - but certainly not infinite - flexibility when it comes to surviving in different environments, including those substantially different from the environment of evolutionary adaptation. However, the great importance of culture does not mean that the man can make whatever he wants of himself or that he is able to thrive in very different environments. The collective pathology of civilization and the countless anthropogenic problems testify to the very poor human adaptation to the sudden social changes and the creation of complex societies. Like all species, men can only live well in the environment that natural selection has prepared him for. Thanks to the cultural flexibility, people can conduct evolutionary untested activities and build societies contrary to the human nature, but they cannot—ever and anywhere - avoid harmful effects and successfully adapt to sudden social changes. Ecological historiography should, in our opinion, represent the application of the theory of biosocial discontinuity on the environmental problems of recent human history. It includes an analysis of the modern hunter-gatherers, although they are not living fossils and have, for centuries, generally been in contact with domesticated and civilized societies. However, environmental historiography must mainly concentrate on complex, especially civilized, societies, because the vast majority of sources apply to them.

## 2. The optimum environment for nomadic groups in a wild environment (Hunter-gatherers)

For more than 99% of their history, people have been living in small nomadic groups in a wild environment - a lifestyle which, because of the way food was collected, is in literature commonly referred to as the hunter-gatherers' one. More thorough environmental reviews of the history of human societies tend to start with the Pleistocene hunter-gatherers ("the prehistory")

on which occasional archaeological data exist - from cave paintings to the remains of various artifacts. Although modern hunter-gatherers, about which there are much more complete data, are not living fossils, their life – out of those of all modern societies –is the most similar to the one of Pleistocene societies. It was long believed that hunter-gatherers had zero environmental impact, i.e. that - unlike the civilized people - "savages" just adapt to the environment rather than actively change it, and by doing so pave the way for "progress." The more recent anthropological research has completely abandoned this idea by proving that hunter-gatherers intervene in the environment in many different ways, and change parts of the local eco - system. The two most important forms of intervention, which will be dealt with later, are hunt and fire. According to all objective criteria (the clean environment, the wildlife and the long-term sustainability) hunter-gatherers have by far the best ecological balance of all human societies. Hunter-gatherers (as opposed to the rural and urban societies) cannot – with the exception of some exceptional and very rare circumstances (lighting fire somewhere indoors, such as inside caves) - pollute the immediate environment, i.e. they always live in a pure environment, since "clean environment" is nothing more but the environment of evolutionary adaptation. Hunter-gatherers, whatever their environmental intervention, still live in a wild (as opposed to the peasant and cattle breeders communities) and organic (as opposed to the industrial cities) environment, therefore in the one to which a person is genetically adapted. Nature is a dynamic whole that is constantly changing, but it is essential that the vast majority of the changes are the result of a gradual evolutionary process and that they have passed the test of natural selection. Sudden changes - from asteroid impacts through volcanic eruptions to recent human expansion - always lead to numerous harmful consequences. Our ancestors did not live in the Stone Age, but in the Green Age, i.e. in the organic environment rich in wild biodiversity, precisely the environment that retains (for

civilized people) constant fascination and which is even now easy to see at every step. This environment is not, unlike the domestication and the cities, a human construction. This life has lasted for millions of years, long enough for all of the fundamental human psychological and physiological characteristics to get accustomed precisely to such a life. Unlike the later domestication and civilization, this life has a direct continuity with the social and ecological environment of our hominid and primate ancestors because they also lived in small groups in a wild environment. The hunter-gatherers in Australia, regardless of whether their ancestors were to 'blame' for the extermination of several species, had lived in perfect balance with their environment during at least fifty thousand years, while the European colonizers and other civilized people have committed incomparably greater damage in two hundred years. That is sustainable life according to any meaningful criterion. This, however, does not mean that the hunter-gatherers are "environmentalists" or first ecologists in the modern western sense. They have no ecological orientation because they do not need one, that is, they were already living in an optimal environment. The recent emergence and spread of environmental awareness is a consequence of the desperate ecological situation in the subsequent industrial societies in which people are constantly struggling against numerous environmental (and other) troubles. The lack of conservation oriented development can, in extreme cases, lead to destructive behavior. Thus, in North America (5,000-10,000 years ago) and in the south of France (10,000-15,000 years ago), several mass graves of hundreds of buffalo and wild horses, which were forced over the edge of the cliffs into the abyss by the hunter-gatherers, were found. Their number was too large for them to be used. But those are rare occurrences and consequences of the inability to control, in terms of the stampede of a herd, an exact number of animals that can be used. Generally, the conservation oriented development is a matter of learning rather than that of genetics, which also

indicates the lack of major environmental problems throughout the millions of years of the hunting and gathering culture. If ecological devastation were a common phenomenon in this life, certain genetic adaptations to such behavior would have to be attained through millions of years, which clearly is not the case. A lot of confusion was caused by the use of blurry and historically incorrect terms such as "traditional / primitive / prehistoric / tribal societies" - either because of ignorance or because of the tendency to attribute ecological destruction (typical of rural and cattle societies) to hunter-gatherers. In the case of North America expressions such as "The Indians" or "Native Americans" that conceal social plurality are frequently used, as Indians created very different societies during thousands of years, from simple hunter-gatherers to the proto-urban civilizations. Different societies imply a very different environmental impact, since it is clear that fifty hunter-gatherers cannot have the same environmental impact as fifty thousand structured horticulturalists. Of course, all progressively oriented researchers acknowledge that the environmental impact of the hunter-gatherers was very small, but also point out that this was due to the small number of people, not because of the simple technique of "innate conservationism". However, this is irrelevant because the material factors - primarily the number of people, the living standard, and the technology – are the key factors in the (none) existence of environmental problems. This means that a civilization - in which there is a large number of people, class stratification, an accumulation of power and, in industrial societies, a continuous technological expansion – must inevitably have a very bad environmental balance. The ecological advantage of hunter-gatherers is not the consequence of high moral qualities, conservation ethics, or a deep ecological wisdom. It is a consequence of the implementation of evolutionary tested activities and of a life in an optimal environment that suits human nature. The ecological balance of a society does not depend on consciousness or ethics, but on the

implementation of behavior and life, which have passed the test of natural selection. Hunter-gatherers did not have "a mystical union with nature", "a deep ecological awareness" or "a conservation ethic" because they did not need them. They (just like the industrial societies) believed that the natural resources were inexhaustible, but such a belief made sense among them precisely because of their small environmental impact. Such a belief did not exclude the killing of individual non-human creatures (often to a greater extent), but it never doubted the regenerative capacity of the local eco-system. The advantages of the hunting and gathering cultures in relation to the civilized societies are multiple and – when we distance ourselves from the ethnocentric bias - easily visible. This, of course, does not mean that our ancestors lived in a perfect world or heaven on earth. Many difficulties were present - from predators to recurring periods of drought and famine. Infanticide was probably a common occurrence, encompassing nearly 50% of all children born. Abrupt climate changes, in particular droughts, could have caused big problems in individual local or regional areas and lead to the intensification of inter-group conflicts or famine. However, those difficulties were an integral part of life, and not anthropogenic issues.

Text: Tomislav Markus

## Commentary and analysis

Although the last article deals with history, it contains a lot of terms from natural sciences. The emphasis is actually on the environment and the history factor plays a somewhat supporting role. In relation to this, one of the first problems that I encountered was these terms. “Anorganski i organski čimbenici” was actually something that I first had to look up in a dictionary and see what it really meant because I was not sure. The translation turned out to be fairly easy (“inorganic and organic factors”). Another example of a similar term was “sakupljači lovci” which at first I translated as “hunters-gatherers”, while the correct term is “hunter-gatherers”. The biggest problem with this article was trying to understand its meaning, so before even beginning the translation process I had to do some research on environmental history.

Regarding the process of translating itself, several issues with grammar were present – the use of articles or finding the correct translation for a certain word (for example “paljenje vatre” which at first I translated as “setting the fire” but ended up with “lighting fire”; or in the case of “kasnim industrijskim društvima” that at first I translated as “late industrial societies”, but in the end chose “subsequent industrial societies”).

The sentence that caused me problems was “Njihov je broj prevelik da se mogao odjednom iskoristiti.” Before this sentence the author mentions how herds of animals were forced over the edge of cliffs and died. However, this particular sentence does not really make sense. The first option was “Their number is too large to be used at once.”, and as the original, this translation also does not have sense. For the second option I decided to extend the sentence, my logic being that it would be clearer to the reader: “The number of the animals that could have been used was too large.”, however this also did not work. In the end the result is “Their number

was too large for them to be used.”. I am still not truly satisfied with the final product, but as a translator I can only hope it is a fairly adequate choice of words and that the reader will understand the meaning.

Another big problem was a term “stočarska društva”. For this I consulted a dictionary and the internet, and found very confusing results. At first I translated it as “livestock societies” however this did not work, then I opted for “farming associations”, and my third choice was “cattle breeders’ associations” however the problem was the last word which should have been “communities”, thus the final result being “cattle breeders’ communities”.

To conclude, the fourth text was, after the legal one, the most difficult one to translate. As I mentioned before, this was because of my lack of knowledge about environmental history and therefore I was struggling with understanding the entire article. However, it posed a challenge to me and I tried even harder to make a most suitable translation, so a potential reader would enjoy it.

## CONCLUSION

What is known under the term *translation* has been practiced for centuries. Since the rendering of Buddhist texts to the one that is probably best known and most likely had the biggest impact – translation of the Bible into Latin, it has helped to shape cross-cultural understanding and to tear down barriers. This B.A. thesis tackled four different types of texts – a legal text, a historical one, a literary one, and a text about environmental history.

During the translation process, I found problems in each of them, however I believe this is often the case in translating. One must consult various dictionaries (especially specialised dictionaries such as the legal dictionary) and possibly even do some research on the topic they are unfamiliar with. The difference between the languages is also something to bear in mind. As I mentioned earlier, the Croatian language tends to consist of long sentences, and is actually a very descriptive language. On the other hand, the English language seems to prefer shorter sentences with which also a lot can be said. However, the pure grammatical structures of the languages are different, since they do not belong to the same language group (Croatian being a Slavic language, while English is a Germanic one).

To summarize, in translating one can only try as much one's knowledge, perseverance and patience allow him or her to create a suitable rendition of the original. Although I encountered various issues during the translation process, I believe the final result is satisfying and I can only hope it will be the same for the reader.



## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

Amandman II na Ustav Sjedinjenih  
Američkih Država

#### Uvod

Drugi amandman američkog Ustava kojim se građanima jamči pravo držati i nositi oružje danas je zasigurno dio Ustava koji se najžešće napada s jedne strane, a s druge pak strane najviše brani. Drugi amandman je u središtu političkih borbi unutar SAD-a od njihovog osnivanja i bio je jedna od središnjih tema u gotovo svim prijelomnim trenucima američke povijesti. Pitanje prava na držanje i nošenje oružja seže i dalje u povijest i povezano je s prvim poveljama kojima se ograničava apsolutna vlast države i afirmiraju prava pojedinca u srednjovjekovnoj Engleskoj. Unutar samog američkog ustavotvornog procesa drugi amandman je bio jedna od najžešće raspravljanih tema jer je o njegovoj formulaciji uvelike ovisio stupanj federalizacije buduće republike. Pri razmatranju argumenata sukobljenih strana propituju se osnove poimanja odnosa građana i države, odgovornosti pojedinca i zajednice, društvenog ugovora i ustupanja pojedinačnih prava zajednici.

#### 1. Nastanak i primjena institucije

##### a) Engleski korijeni prava držati i nositi oružje i prijenos prava u SAD-e

Pravo držati oružje izvorno je pravo koje u Engleskoj uživaju svi slobodni ljudi (engl. freeman) još u prednormansko vrijeme. Tada je postojala obveza svih slobodnjaka sudjelovati u obrani zemlje, a oni su imali i pravo nositi i držati oružje. Obveza se nazivala *fl yrd* (vojska). Engleska se tako uglavnom uspješno opirala invazijama Danaca i vikinga. Angosaska vojska u bitci kod Hastingsa (1066) sastavljena je uglavnom na navedeni način. Normanska pobjeda nije uništila instituciju, William Osvajač (1066-1087) koristio je lokalne milicijske snage u gušenju plemićkih pobuna 1071. godine.<sup>2</sup> Za vrijeme kralja Stephena (1135-1154) sazvan je *fyrđ* sjevernih grofovija i uspješno potisnuta škotska invazija. Henry II (1154-1189) donosi *Assize of Arms* (1181) i obvezuje freeman-e na službu Kruni,

određuje vrstu oružja i opreme koju svaki obveznik mora imati. Edward I (1272-1307) potvrđuje akt i pravo priznaje i građanima (burgesses), koji se moraju okupiti na njegov poziv, a neodazivanje dovodi do gubitka cijele imovine.<sup>3</sup> Freeman su imali i dužnost pomagati kraljevim službenicima pri progonu zločinaca i izvršenju sudskih odluka. Charles II (1660-1685) potvrđuje pravo nošenja oružja i sudjelovanja u lokalnim milicijskim snagama radi obrane zemlje.

Kako u Engleskoj do kraja 17. stoljeća nije bilo stajaće vojske, a do 19. stoljeća policije, građani su bili dužni uz ostale dužnosti obavljati i one koji se odnose na čuvanje reda i mira.<sup>4</sup> Milicija se nije smjela rasporediti izvan zemlje, a zapovijedali su joj lokalni zapovjednici,

najčešće plemstvo, dok je vrhovni zapovjednik bio kralj. Pojedini kraljevi pokušali su ograničiti prava građana držati i nositi oružje, a to je posebno došlo do izražaja tijekom turbulentnog 17. stoljeća, za vrijeme Charlesa II i Jamesa II. Takvo ponašanje monarha u konačnici je dovelo do Slavne revolucije 1688. godine u kojoj je James II svrgnut, a Engleska je kroz *Bill of Rights* iz 1689. postala ustavna monarhija. *Bill of Rights* (punim nazivom *An Act Declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject and Settling the Succession of the Crown*) je uz niz rješenja o ograničavanju moći monarha, diobi vlasti i zaštiti prava građana, potvrdio pravo držati oružje. U prvom djelu povelje u kojoj se navode kraljeva zlodjela i podrivanja zakona i sloboda Engleske se kao jedna od povreda prava posebno napominje protuzakonito razoružavanje protestantskih podanika.<sup>5</sup> U drugom djelu povelje u kojemu se pak jamče prava stoji kako se podanicima protestantske vjere dozvoljava držanje oružja za samoobranu.<sup>6</sup>

Kada je Alexis de Tocquille putovao Amerikom nedugo nakon osamostaljenja zapisao je da nema mišljenja, običaja i zakona koje ne objašnjava njihova polazišna točka.<sup>7</sup> Doslovno prenošenje engleskog pravnog sustava u sjevernoameričke kolonije bila je službena politika Krune, i odigrala je značajnu ulogu u naseljavanju kolonija budući da je kolonistima bilo jamčeno da će oni i njihova djeca imati sva prava kao da su rođeni i borave u Engleskoj. Jamstva za uživanje u jednakim pravima i slobodama kao i u Engleskoj su

bile obuhvaćene u poveljama kolonija (npr. Massachusettsa, Virginije i Connecticuta).<sup>8</sup> Specifični uvjeti života sredinom 17. stoljeća na novootkrivenom i negostoljubivom kontinentu imali su za posljedicu da je u nekim naseljima poput Plymoutha i Newporta nošenje oružja bilo obaveza, dok je kolonija Georgia propisala obvezu nošenja oružja na mise.<sup>9</sup> Uz milicije u kolonijama je bio stacioniran i veliki broj engleskih vojnika, a kao što je stajaća vojska izazivala nelagodu i zabrinutost kod Engleza u vrijeme Restauracije, tako je bilo i krajem 18. stoljeća u sjevernoameričkim kolonijama. Samo prisustvo vojske s obzirom na stalne sukobe s Francuskom za prevlast u Sjevernoj Americi bila je razumljiva, ali ono što se kolonistima nije sviđalo jest njihova nazočnost u naseljima koja se povećavala proporcionalno rastu napetosti između kolonija i matice. Takvi odnosi između kolonijalne vlasti i kolonista opet su u prvi plan stavili pitanje milicija i njihove kontrole, pa su tako kolonisti osnivali paralelne milicije (engl. minutemen), koje su uskoro ušle u prve sukobe s engleskom vojskom.

#### **b) Nastanak Drugog amandmana**

Nakon završetka rata za neovisnost (1775.-1783.) od britanske Krune u Philadelphiji su se okupili delegati iz svih 13 kolonija kako bi donijeli novi ustav i njime uredili oblik državnog uređenja SAD-a.<sup>10</sup> Nakon donošenja Ustava SAD (1787) federalisti su odlučili upotpuniti ga amandmanima kako bi se približili stajalištima antifederalista i na taj način spriječili mogućnost razdora, pa čak i nereda uperenih protiv Ustava, poput onih koji su izbili u nekim državama tijekom ratifikacije.<sup>11</sup> R. Podolnjak ističe da je polemika oko ovlasti upravljanja milicijom jedan od najboljih primjera nepovjerenja i opreza niza članova ustavne Konvencije prema općoj vladi koju su stvarali.<sup>12</sup> Drugi amandman se od ostalih razlikuje po tome što jedini ima objašnjenje svoje svrhe.<sup>13</sup>

Prva inačica drugog amandmana je glasila: *Pravo građana držati i nositi oružje neće biti ograničeno; dobro naoružana i dobro uređena Milicija je najbolje jamstvo za slobodnu zemlju: nikoga kome vjera brani nositi oružje ne smije se prisiliti da osobno služi vojsku.* <sup>14</sup> Tijekom rasprava i rada unutar odbora prvotni prijedlog je promijenjen i skraćen u onom obliku u kojem ga poznajemo i danas: *Budući da je dobro uređena Milicija nužna za sigurnost*

*slobodne Države, pravo građana držati i nositi oružje neće biti ograničeno.* Osim što je u potpunosti uklonjen dio koji se odnosi na ono što danas nazivamo prigovor savjesti razlike su na prvi pogled male, no upravo zbog njih došlo je do poteškoća u razumijevanju teksta amandmana. U konačnoj inačici promijenjen je redoslijed riječi, a kako nema zapisnika zasjedanja Kongresa možemo pretpostaviti da je to učinjeno kako bi se umirili federalisti.

Takvim konačnim tekstom udovoljeno je i zahtjevima antifederalista koji su se bojali mogućnosti razoružavanja milicija od strane Kongresa.<sup>15</sup> Budući da je položaj milicije bio upitan i prijeporan logično je da je stavljen u prvi plan kako bi mu se dalo na značaju i time ga se dodatno zaštitilo. S druge pak strane pravo građana držati i nositi oružje nikada i nije bilo upitno te je bilo gotovo samorazumljivo, kako zbog engleske pravne stečevine tako i zbog same odredbe o miliciji koja se temelji na naoružanim građanima.

Ipak, takav redoslijed imao je dalekosežne posljedice na tumačenje i razumijevanje drugog amandmana jer se pri njegovom tumačenju težište prebacilo na miliciju koja je u određenim krugovima postala svrha i polazište prava držati i nositi oružje.<sup>16</sup> Ne valja smetati sa uma činjenicu da je Madison bio i jedan od najistaknutijih članova federalističke struje, pa je i to moglo utjecati na prijedlog i konačnu inačicu drugog amandmana. Bernard Levy pak smatra da formulacija, gramatika i riječi korištene u amandmanu jasno upućuju da je riječ o individualnom pravu jer drugi dio nije podređen ni zavisao prvom dijelu amandmana.<sup>17</sup>

O konačnom obliku i ustrojstvu milicije prvi saziv Kongresa nije stigao zauzeti stav, nego je o tom pitanju odlučio drugi saziv. George Washington i ministar rata Henry Knox zalagali su se za miliciju podijeljenu na napredni, glavni i pričuvni sastav. Kao i kod većine važnijih političkih pitanja o kojima se raspravljalo u prvim godinama nakon nezavisnosti u konačnici se sve svodilo na ovlasti federalne vlade s jedne strane i prava država članica s druge, odnosno na sukob federalista i antifederalista. Početkom 1792. godine konačno je donesen *Uniform militia act* kojim je obveza služenja obuhvaćala sve sposobne bijelce od 18 do 45 godina bez prije predlaganih podjela unutar milicija. Financijski teret opremanja milicija je prebačen na same građane i savezne države.

## APPENDIX B

### Položaj žene u srednjem vijeku na hrvatskim prostorima

Dugi niz godina povijesna su istraživanja bila orijentirana na „mušku“ povijest. Pokušala se stvoriti opća slika povijesnih događaja, istaknuti njihova važnost i uzročno-posljedične veze. U tim su proučavanjima glavnu ulogu imali muškarci- vladari, ratnici, političari. Tek bi se ponekad pojavila koja žena koja bi se uspjela uzdići svojim značajem i sposobnostima. Ovaj će rad pokušati baciti malo svjetla na taj, još uvijek nedovoljno istraženi, marginalizirani društveni sloj – žene. Bit će riječi o samom položaju hrvatske žene u srednjem vijeku, njenoj svakodnevici, idealima kojima je morala stremiti, odnosima muškaraca i žena te utjecaju Crkve na njen život. Zbog obilnije građe, najviše podataka imamo za područje Dubrovnika i dalmatinskih gradova. Također, treba napomenuti da su u članku korišteni radovi hrvatskih povjesničara koji su, unatoč svemu, još dosta manjkavi i zahtijevaju dodatna istraživanja. U potpunjavanju slike srednjovjekovne hrvatske žene doprinose i viđenja njihovih suvremenika poput Filipa de Diversisa ili Benka Kotruljevića koji nam, osim opisa ženske svakodnevice, donose i nazore, stajališta i naivne predodžbe „običnih“ srednjovjekovnih ljudi. Značajan su izvor i brojne oporuke zahvaljujući kojima dolazimo do podataka o imovinskim odnosima, darovnice samostanima te kazneni spisi i gradski statuti. Nadam se da će ovaj članak dati neke osnovne podatke i predodžbe o ženama srednjeg vijeka koji će biti poticaj za daljnja istraživanja.

#### i. uvod

„Priroda uvijek teži stvoriti savršeno biće, muškarca, ali se ponekad dogodi pogreška – žena.“ Ovo kleričko shvaćanje bila je deviza odnosa prema ženi i pokazatelj njenog položaja na srednjovjekovnim hrvatskim prostorima. Smatrala se nesamostalnim bićem, sklonim grijehu i nesposobnim brinuti o sebi i svom tijelu te je stoga trebala nadzor muškarca – oca, brata, muža. Društvo joj je kao jedinu svrhu nametnulo produžavanje roda brojnim potomstvom, dok je u obitelji imala marginalnu ulogu. Muškarac je bio pripadnik „javne,“ a žena „privatne“ sfere. Njen životni prostor činili su boravak u kući i odlazak u crkvu. Crkveni oci i mizogino društvo stvorili su ideal srednjovjekovne žene kojem su malobrojne bile dorasle. One su se svojski trudile zadržati dobar glas koji im je bio glavni adut u ostvarenju cilja – udaje. Većina se žena potpuno mogla ostvariti samo kroz brak i majčinstvo. Crkva im je pomogla u toj mjeri što se tražila

ženska suglasnost prilikom sklapanja braka, ali i tu je riječ oca obitelji bila zadnja. Unatoč mračnoj predodžbi srednjovjekovne žene i njenog tužnog i podčinjenog položaja, stvarnost nam donosi nešto drugačiju sliku. Položaj žene uvelike je ovisio o njenom društvenom položaju i tome gdje je živjela. Dok su u Dalmaciji žene ostvarivale minimalna prava, u Slavoniji su bile gotovo ravnopravne s mužem. Osim kroz brak, žene su se ostvarivale i kroz redovništvo. Crkva je pozdravljala celibat i visoko cijenila one koji su se posvetili duhovnom životu. Neke su se, zahvaljujući Crkvi, uzdigele na društvenoj ljestvici kao predstojnice samostana. Ipak, mnoge su se djevojke okrenule samostanskom životu ne iz vjerskih pobuda, već zbog izostanka miraza. Iako u srednjem vijeku laički neudani status za žene nije bio opcija, neke su se izborile za takav život, ali su naišle na osudu suvremenika. Unatoč brojnim restrikcijama i otežavajućim okolnostima, u srednjem se vijeku javljaju prve, uvjetno rečeno, emancipirane žene. One njeguju svoje obrazovanje te se tako, primjerice, u Dubrovniku sredinom 16. stoljeća formira ženski književni kružok. Tu djeluje najstarija hrvatska književnica Nada Bunić sa svojim sestrama. U poduljem tekstu ona brani čast svoje kuće i sestara pa se čini da su zlonamjernici pokušali baciti loše svjetlo na slobodoumne, neudane žene. U književnosti žene ipak nisu ostavile traga, već se javljaju samo kao predmet razmatranja, više mržen nego voljen. Uz Nadu i Juliju Bunić kao pjesnikinje se spominju i Nikoleta de Resti i Margarita de Menze, no one nisu postavljale izazove dubrovačkom društvu niti su postavljale pitanja o položaju žene. U tome su prednjačile Cvijeta Zuzorić koja je uvela nove oblike ponašanja žena u javnom i privatnom životu te Marija Gučetić koja je izrazila nezadovoljstvo postojećim društvenim stanjem. Ovaj članak posvećen je običnim, svakodnevnim ženama srednjeg vijeka. Cilj mu je pokušati baciti malo svjetla na nepoznat, nevidljiv svijet marginalizirane skupine- žena. Starija povijesna istraživanja bila su posvećena „velikim“ temama – ratovima, politici, moćnim vladarima, osvajanjima, dok se u novije vrijeme budi sve veći interes za svakodnevicu naših predaka. U literaturi o ovom razdoblju najviše su zastupljeni Dubrovnik, dalmatinski i slavonski gradovi te Istra. Ta su područja bila razvijenija i imala su sređenije spise. Proučavanjem žene u srednjem vijeku bavili su se između ostalog: Zdenka Janeković Romer koja proučava položaj žena u braku i obitelji na dubrovačkom području, Zrinka Nikolić koja se bavi ženskom poviješću na području dalmatinskih gradova, Lujo Margetić koji istražuje pravni položaj žena, Marija Karbić koja je provela istraživanja o položaju žene u Slavoniji te Marija Mogorović Crljenko koja se bavi svijetom istarskih žena u srednjem vijeku. Iako malen i dalek od sveobuhvatne analize, nadam se

da će ovaj članak ipak dati odgovore koji će omogućiti zavirivanje u živote, stavove i svakodnevicu srednjovjekovne žene.

## ii. ideal žene

Neka od prvih pitanja koja si postavljamo kad razmišljamo o životu srednjovjekovne žene su kakav je bio njen ideal i ostvarenje tog ideala u stvarnom životu. Ideal žene po ukusu muškaraca donosi nam dubrovački trgovac Benedikt Kotruljević u svom djelu „Knjiga o umijeću trgovanja.“ On kaže: „Žena mora biti lijepa, moralna i poštena roda, ne mora biti bogata, kako misli većina mladića, koji traže bogatstvo, a ne ženu, a kad ga dobiju loše s njom žive. Tri su dobra općenito u ženi – poštenje, koje se sastoji u krepostima, korisnost – miraz, nasljedstvo i bogatstvo, te naslada koja se sastoji od ljepote koja je Božji dar onome koji je ima. Žena mora biti razborita, postojana, ozbiljna, mila, marljiva, blaga, čedna, milosrdna, pobožna, religiozna, velikodušna, uzdržljiva, darežljiva, radina, umjerena u jelu i piću, trijezna, oštromna i uvijek zaposlena, jer su nerad i siromaštvo uzrok dubokog pada žene i ona se od njih brani svojim radom. Prema svom staležu žena mora biti opremljena odjećom i uresima, a put joj mora biti čista te nikada, ni iz kojeg razloga ne smije mazati lice jer se smatra ne samo sramotom nego i prekršajem ako se neka žena pojavi namazana lica.“<sup>4</sup> Zadatak je žene da se dopada, da bude muškarcu korisna, da ga tješi, njeguje, liječi mu bolesti, da rađa i odgaja njihovo potomstvo i da tugu za umrlom djecom utapa u novim trudnoćama i porodicama. Žena je simbol onog života koji je obuhvaćao religiju, ljubav, dobrotu i moralnost. Početak pokreta „feminizacije“ dolazi iz krila Crkve, od Franje Asiškog koji je afirmirao vrijednosti žene ne samo u teoriji nego i u stvarnom životu. Marijanski kult je također utjecao na promjene pogleda prema ženama, odnosno na pojavu modela udivljenja i ljubavi prema njima. U svjetovnom okruženju, novi osjećaji su se pojavili u književnosti i dugoročno su utjecali na ponašanje ljudi, prije svega u višim slojevima društva. Kasnosrednjovjekovna ideja „službe“ muškarca prema ženi, pokušaja da se ljubav zaradi udvaranjem, a ne silom, ima važno značenje u povijesti odnosa spolova. Žena je dovedena u poziciju između Marije i Eve, simbola najviših vrlina i slabosti. Glavni izvor konflikta bilo je žensko tijelo koje je postalo simbol tjelesnosti kao takve, nasuprot muškarcu čije je tijelo simboliziralo razum. Nezavidnom položaju žena u srednjovjekovnom životu pridonijela je i mizoginija. Žena je „divno zlo,“ opaka i varljiva, desna ruka Sotone i isključivi krivac za izgon iz zemaljskog raja. Kako se smatralo da je žena u srži putena ustanovljeni su vrlo strogi modeli

ponašanja sa svrhom kroćenja te „opasne“ prirodnosti. Briga o tome povjerena je muškarcima, iz uvjerenja da žena ne može odgovarati za samu sebe. Smatralo se da njenim životom i ponašanjem mogu upravljati strah od Boga, nadzor muža, sram pred ljudima i snaga zakona. Žena može biti dobra i puna vrlina ako je zauzdaju i nadziru muškarci iz njene okoline – otac, muž i drugi. „Feminizam“ karakterističan za mnoge traktate o ljubavi iz prve polovine 16. stoljeća, uzdizao je dostojanstvo žene, njezin um i ljepotu, ali nije uspio uzdignuti njen položaj u braku i javnom životu. Dubrovački biograf Serafin Crijević reći će da od žena nitko ne traži i ne želi studije književnosti jer se po općem uvjerenju žena treba prikloniti igli i preslici, a ne knjigama, tkalačkom stanu, a ne školi. Po njegovu uvjerenju, žena koja njeguje učenost mogla bi se uzdići iznad svog spola i vladati se kao muškarac. Djevojke se pozivaju na čistoću, umjerenost, stidljivost, odanost i poslušnost, a prije svega na čuvanje časti. Ilija Crijević kroz lik Paule de Zamagna daje lik žene slavnoga roda, časne i stidljive, poslušne svekru i mužu, žene koja usađuje djeci strah Božji, besprijekorno upravlja domom, štedljiva je, skromna u odijevanju, tiha, poštena, umjerena, trezvena i nadasve pobožna. Ona ne ugrožava imetak svog muža tražeći od njega nakit, narukvice, poslastice, škare za kovrčanje kose, purpur, ulja i mirise i sve ono što priliči ženskom svijetu, svjesna da je „raskoš neprijatelj čednosti i raspirivatelj strasti.“ Izbjegava prazne razgovore, prisustvuje svetim propovijedima, moli Boga ujutro i navečer i sluša službu Božju tri, četiri puta dnevno. Kroz nju, Crijević daje model idealne vlasteoske žene, savršeno usklađene s ulogom koju joj je zadalo društvo i obitelj. Razzi je zapisao da se djevojke iz viših slojeva gotovo nikada ne vide na ulici, jer odlaze u najbližu crkvu, a ispovijedaju se u kući. Smatra se da očevi ne smiju puštati žensku djecu iz kuće, jer ih na ulicama i trgovima te u tuđim kućama „vrebaju brojne opasnosti zbog kojih bi mogle izgubiti čast.“ Bolje im je uskratiti posjete da bi se izbjegli mnogi skandali te po njegovu mišljenju, plemićkim djevojkama dolikuje sjediti kod kuće i učiti kuhati, vesti, prestiti i tkati. Izlaganje završava komentarom da će takve umjerene i razborite djevojke biti na čast svojoj obitelji i plemićkom statusu. Upravo kroz razmišljanje o ljubavi i ljepoti, ženskome umu i vrlinama, počeo je proces emancipacije žena. Reformacija i katolička obnova za neko su vrijeme potisnule značenje tih promjena jačanjem nadzora crkvenih i svjetovnih institucija nad privatnim životom čovjeka, no idejni temelji novog odnosa prema ženama, prema ljubavi i ophođenja muškaraca prema ženama bili su postavljeni.



## APPENDIX C

Ljudi koje sam izmislio

“Budi rječ njegova s vama u danima kada vam je teško, u trenucima kada se osjećate sami i napušteni. Pomolimo se.”

Umoran žamor ispunio je crkvu. Šuškanje jutros ispeglanih nogavica, kvrcanje zglobova, udaranje štaka o mramornipod crkve, cvilež drvenih klupa, tupi udarci i drvohrapavi udisaji. Otac ga primi za lakat i teško se ustade s klupice. Osjetio je starčevu kolonjsku vodu koju mu je kupio za šezset i prvi rođendan. Koristio taj jeftini miris samo za osobite prilike. U pet godina nije potrošio ni polovicu bočice. Mumljanje Očenaša. Očeva bijela glava priklonila se njegovu ramenu.

- Idemo – prošaptao je otac. Lice m je bilo nemoćno i blijedo.

Uhvatio je starca pod ruku i u tišini ga izveo iz crkve. Polako su došli do auta. Otvorio je suvozačeva vrata i pomogao mu sjesti. Nekoliko sporih koraka. Nebo je bilo posve žuto i išarano tamnosivim oblacima. Bolesno i pospano. Ključ u bravici i rondanje motora. Krenuli su polako niz glavnu cestu koja vodi od crkve do središta sela. Nebo se naglo zamračilo. Sve žutilo postalo je tamno plavo.

- Drago mi je... - prozborio je otac. I zastao.

Nije obraćao pažnju na starca. Lokalna je krčma bila pusta i tamna. Vjetar je počeo savijati grane nagovješćujući oluju.

- Drago mi je što tako čvrsto držiš taj upravljač. – nastavio je otac - Točno znaš kamo idemo.

Pogledao je ovlaš u očevo lice. Nema smisla žaliti za njegovom nekadašnjom bistrinom i snagom uma. Nema smisla. Bolje je šutjeti i ostati daleko. Možda je očevo stanje najlakši oblik postojanja.

- Razumiješ me? – upitao je otac kao da želi pokazati sinu kako je za trenutak izronio iz svog mentalnog otuđenja. – Meni je drago.

Kimnuo je glavom. Nije bilo dovoljno. Opet je kimnuo glavom i baš kad je pomislio da bi se možda trebao nasmiješiti, starac je okrenuo pogled u stranu. Lice mu je postalo tamno poput neba.

- Kad je umrla tvoja majka, prestao sam vjerovati. Počeo sam se boriti. Protiv svega. Duša mi je postala tvrda kao dlanovi.

Lagano je zaustavio auto ispred seoske kuće blješavo bijelih zidova. Proljetos ih je obojo. Zagledao se u zidove i učinilo mu se kao da ga upijaju. U kuhinji, davnog proljeća, vrativši se iz škole, našao je majku na umoru. Otac je odlično kuhao, nisu nikada bili gladni. Nikada nije bilo ni hladno ni neugodno. Samo tiho, nevjerojatno tiho. I postajalo je sve tiše kako je očeva bolest napredovala. Život se činio kao mnoštvo balona s vakuumom koje u prostoru i vremenu nasumice raspoređuje očev nagrižen um. Ali nikada ružno, nikada nesigurno. Tišina je bila zaštićena strepnjom i ponekim trenutkom lucidnosti.

- Strah me je smrti – rekao je starac.

Pogledao je sinovljevo lice. Ponudio mu je samo profil, oči sakrivene u sigurnosti tame.

- Drago mi je što ti više neću biti na teret.

Pogledao je starca želeći reći nešto, ali tišina među njima bila je toliko čvrsta da je svaku riječ pretvarala u bespotrebno narušavanje ravnoteže.

- Jako me strah. Htio bih u zadnjim danima svake nedjelje ići na misu. Dok ne odem.
- U redu. Ići ćemo svake nedjelje.
- Ali kad dođemo u crkvu, užasno se dosađujem – rekao je starac i položio dlanove na koljena.

Tišina. Gledali su svaki kroz svoj prozor. Noć je pokrila selo oduzevši bijelim zidovima sjaj. Zapaljene zvijezde, sjenke pasa na uglovima pustih ulica. Smračilo se prebrzo. Pogledao je na ručni sat. U to je otac otvorio vrata automobila i izašao. Pošao je za njim. Otac ga je pogledao pun straha i neprepoznavanja i požurio je niz ulicu u smjeru suprotnom od kuće. Potrčao je za njim i primio ga pod lakat. Starac se zagledao u sinovljevo lice poput pripitomljene životinje. Nije se opirao. Uveo je oca u kuću. Upalio je svjetlo u dugom i pustom hodniku. Savršeno obojanom u bijelo. Pomogao mu je da izuje cipele i odveo u kuhinju. Posjeo je oca u trosjed ispred velikog drvenog stola. Starac je sjeo i okamenio se. Poput biljke. Zurio je pred sebe.

Pošao je u kupaonicu. Polio je lice hladnom vodom. Godilo je. Zatvorio je vodu. Poptpuna tišina. Pogledao je u svoje lice u požutjelom ogledalu. Sve mu više sličí. Da, točno tako izgleda na crno-bijelim izbljedjelim fotografijama. Od majke nije ostalo ništa. Nije smjelo. Odavno je prestao razmišljati o svemu što rastužuje. Trebao se boriti. Duša mu je postala tvrđa od očevih ispaćenih dlanova. Puno tvrđa. Pogledao je u strop kupaonice. Boja se još uvijek guli. Da, zaista sam to dobro pobojavao. Izašao je iz kupaonice, šicnuo u kuhinju, otac je još uvijek sjedio za stolom. Pošao je u dnevni boravak i upalo svjetlo. U sobi je bio samo kanape, jedan veliki ormar i stolić s prenosivim televizorom. Ništa drugo. Veliki, bijeli, prazni zidovi. Drvene rolete spuštene na velikim prozorima. Tišina. Prišao je zidu i komadom tkanine obrisao paučinu. Ponovno je pogledao na ručni sat.

Grah se brzo zagrijao i ispunio kuhinju slatkim mirisom. Nalomio je kruh. Otac se još uvijek nije micao. Stavio je komad slanine u grah. Postavio stol.

- Oče! Oče?

Starac se trgao kao iz sna.

- Idemo jesti.

Otac je kimnuo glavom, prešao dlanovima preko lica. Uzeo je žlicu drhtavom rukom i počeo jesti. Pojeli su bez riječi. Obojica su se zagledavali u prazne tanjure. Tišina.

- Danas m je rođendan – kazao je nakon duge tišine.

Starac ga iznenađeno pogleda.

- Danas? Što je danas? – upita potom.

Nije odgovorio. Dani i godine nisu više imali nikakvog značenja za oca. Niti prostor, niti ljudi, niti znanje. Samo tišina. Njen zaborav i oprost.

- Danas mi je trideset i treći rođendan.

Otac je uzdahnuo. U kuhinju je ušetala mačka i privila se uz noge stola.

- Kasno smo te imali.

- Kasno – rekao je i ustao od stola.

Bacio je komad slanine mački. Stavio tanjure pod mlaz vode. Prišao je ocu koji je već po navici ispružio prema njemu ruke. Pomogao mu je ustati, otpratio da u kupaonicu, skinuo mu košulju. Starac mu drhtavom rukom pokaže prema vratima. Otišao je u očevu sobu. Krevet,

ormar.Prazni zidovi.Osim slike Isusa koju je nedavno objesio i to u kutu.U praznom kutu sobe.Možda tu krije sav svoj strah.

Izvadio je očevu pidžamu ispod jastuka i odnio mu je u kupaonicu.Potom je otišao u svoju sobu.Tišina.Prazni zidovi.Sve to može promijeniti jedino očevo vapaj u pomoć, ništa više. Možda bih trebao nešto objesiti na zid? Slike? Krevet, police prepune knjiga ormar. Sjeo je na rub kreveta. Uzdahnuo.Čuo je oca kako izlazi iz kupaonice i odlazi u svoju sobu.Ustao je i prišao ormaru.Izvadio čiste gaće i majicu. Pogleda na sat. Trebao je krenuti.

Oprao se. Zadnja provjera pred ogledalom. Krenuo je do vrata očeve sobe. Starac je bio u krevetu.Preplašeno ga je pogledao.

- Dijete moje... – izustio je. Tišina.

Ugasio je svjetlo i zatvorio vrata.Izišao je kroz stražnji izlaz.Noć je bila pro hladna.Vjetar je bivao sve jači, snažno je orao kroz voćnjak i vrt.Pogledao je prema prozoru očeve sobe.Nije bilo tragova svjetla.Zaspao je.Sada je siguran.Pošao je brzim korakom pred kuću.Uskočio je u automobil. Upalio je motor, grijanje i radio. Protrljao je dlanovima.Sijevnulo je.Spustio se pljusak. Napustio je selo vozeći brzinom hoda i došao na glavnu cestu. Glazba s radija ga je zasmetala, isključio ga je.Tišna i potmulo brujanje motora.Lupkanje kapi kiše. Nekoliko je puta snažno sijevnulo, kiša je počela padati još žešće, a onda se smirila. Uskoro je posve usahnula.Prolazio je cestom kroz šumu. Stao je na jednom zavoju i otvorio prozor. Miris kišom oprane šume mu je poklon za rođendan. Pomislio je na oca. Jednom je tijekom noći otišao u kuhinju i pustio plin. Samo ih je čudo spasilo od gušenja i eksplozije. Jedne je noći nestao. Našli su ga nakon osam dana u tristo kilometara udaljenom gradiću. Pitao je oca gdje je bio.

- Šetao sam. A tko ste vi?

## APPENDIX D

Od divljega prirodnog svijeta do industrijskih velegradova: ekološka povijest ljudskih društava

### 1. Ekološka historiografija

Općenito, ekološka povijest obuhvaća interakcije anorganskih i organskih čimbenika unutar određene prirodne cjeline od lokalnoga eko-sustava do Zemlje kao cjeline, a ekološka historiografija njihovu znanstvenu analizu u povijesnome vremenu. Ljudska ekološka povijest obuhvaća interakciju ljudskih društava sa širim prirodnim svijetom čiji su dio. Ekološka historiografija analizira djelovanje ljudi unutar prirodnoga svijeta i njihov utjecaj na organske i anorganske čimbenike te, povratno, njihov utjecaj na ljudska društva. Ljudi su uvijek i svuda bili dio mreže života, jedna od stotina milijuna bioloških vrsta u povijesti života na Zemlji. Određene društvene okolnosti (poput velikih gradova) mogu prikrivati, ali nikada ne mogu negirati tu temeljnu činjenicu. Ekološka historiografija polazi od činjenice ekološkoga kontinuiteta, tj. sva su ljudska društva dio prirode i potpuno ovise o mreži anorganskih i organskih čimbenika kakav god bio njihov ekološki utjecaj. To vrijedi podjednako za industrijska društva u kojima je antropogeni utjecaj ogroman kao i za društva mobilnih sakupljača-lovaca ekološki utjecaj kojih je vrlo malen i usko lokalan. Ekološka historiografija napušta humanistički i antropocentrički pristup tradicionalne historiografije, koja uzima u obzir samo međuljudske odnose, a širi prirodni svijet ili potpuno ignorira ili ga vidi kao pozadinu pozornice na kojoj se odvija drama ljudske povijesti. Ekološki kontinuitet podrazumijeva i biološki kontinuitet, tj. čovjek je životinjska vrsta, proizvod biološke evolucije i u srodnosti je s drugim vrstama. Najvažniji aspekt biološkoga kontinuiteta jest genetska prilagodba, tj. čovjek je, poput svih drugih vrsta, genetski

prilagođen na život u određenome okolišu. Prirodni ekološki kontekst za čovjeka je organski i divlji okoliš, a prirodni društveni kontekst jest malena zajednica (uglavnom oko dvadeset do trideset članova) sa srodničkim i recipročnim altruizmom. Taj se kontekst u literaturi obično zove sakupljačko-lovački život, koji se unatoč određenim problemima (tj. prevelikim isticanjem potrage za hranom, što podsjeća na tezu - davno napuštenu u stručnim krugovima - o vječno gladnome i bijednom "divljaku") ovdje može zadržati. Ekološka historiografija mora se, po našem uvjerenju, temeljiti na teoriji bio- -socijalnoga diskontinuiteta, koja polazi od uvjerenja da je posljednjih nekoliko tisuća godina došlo do naglih kulturnih promjena koje naša biogramatika nije mogla pratiti. Ona podrazumijeva radikalni jaz u ljudskome životu i ponašanju u novijoj povijesti, koji se može datirati s neolitskom domestifikacijom. Teorija biosocijalnoga diskontinuiteta objašnjava antropogene probleme složenih društava kao posljedicu devijacije od naše genetske jezgre, napuštanja okoline evolucijske prilagođenosti i forsiranja naglih, evolucijski netestiranih, kulturnih promjena, a ne kao neki moralni pad. (Ljudske moralne osobine u svim su društvima manjeviše jednake.) Humanisti su oduvijek slavili čovjekovo enormno oslanjanje na kulturno učenje i prenošenje podataka ne-genetskim putem. Istina je da takva praksa omogućava veliku – sigurno ne i beskonačnu – fleksibilnost preživljavanja u različitim sredinama uključujući i one bitno različite od okoline evolucijske prilagođenosti. No, veliko značenje kulture ne znači da čovjek može od sebe napraviti što hoće ili da može prosperirati u bitno različitim sredinama. Kolektivna patologija civilizacije i bezbrojni antropogeni problemi svjedoče o vrlo slaboj prilagodbi čovjeka na nagle društvene promjene i stvaranje složenih društava. Poput svih vrsta i čovjek može dobro živjeti samo u onome okolišu na koji ga je prirodna selekcija pripremila. Zahvaljujući kulturnoj fleksibilnosti, ljudi mogu provoditi evolucijski netestirane djelatnosti i graditi društva protivna ljudskoj prirodi, ali ne

mogu - nikada i nigdje - izbjeći štetne posljedice i uspješno se prilagoditi na nagle društvene promjene. Ekološka historiografija treba, po našem mišljenju, predstavljati primjenu teorije biosocijalnoga diskontinuiteta na ekološke problem novije ljudske povijesti. Ona uključuje analizu modernih sakupljača-lovaca iako oni nisu živi fosili i uglavnom su već više stoljeća bili u kontaktu s domestikatorskim i civiliziranim društvima. No, ekološka historiografija pretežno se mora koncentrirati na složena, posebno civilizirana, društva jer se ogromna većina izvora na njih odnosi.

## 2. Optimalni okoliš nomadske skupine u divljemu okolišu (sakupljači-lovci)

Više od 99 % svoje povijesti ljudi su živjeli u malenim nomadskim skupinama u divljemu okolišu životom koji se, zbog načina prikupljanja hrane, u literaturi obično označava kao sakupljačko-lovački. Cjelovitiji pregledi ekološke povijesti ljudskih društava uglavnom počinju s pleistocenskim sakupljačimalovcima ("prehistorijom") o kojima postoje sporadični arheološki podaci – od pećinskih crteža do ostataka pojedinih predmeta. Iako moderni sakupljačilovci, o kojima postoje znatno potpuniji podaci, nisu živi fosili, njihov je život - od svih modernih društava - najbližiji pleistocenskim društvima. Dugo se vremena smatralo da je ekološki utjecaj sakupljača-lovaca ravan nuli, tj. da se - za razliku od civiliziranih ljudi - "divljaci" samo prilagođavaju okolišu umjesto da ga aktivno mijenjaju i tako utiru put "napretku". Novija antropološka istraživanja potpuno su to napustila pokazavši da sakupljačilovci na različite načine interveniraju u okoliš i mijenjaju dijelove lokalnih eko--sustava. Dva najvažnija oblika intervencije su lov i vatra o čemu ćemo kasnije više govoriti. Po svim objektivnim kriterijima (čisti okoliš, divljina i dugoročna održivost) sakupljači-lovci imaju daleko najbolju ekološku bilancu od svih ljudskih društava. Sakupljači-lovci (za razliku od seoskih i gradskih društava) ne mogu - osim nekih iznimnih i vrlo rijetkih okolnosti (paljenje vatre u nekome zatvorenom



prostoru poput spilje) - zagađivati neposredni okoliš, tj. uvijek žive u čistome okolišu jer “čisti okoliš” nije ništa drugo nego okolina evolucijske prilagođenosti. Sakupljači-lovci, kakva god bila njihova ekološka intervencija, uvijek žive u divljem (za razliku od seljačkih i stočarskih društava) i organskom (za razliku od industrijskih gradova) okolišu, dakle onome na koji je čovjek genetski prilagođen. Priroda je dinamična cjelina koja se mijenja, ali bitno je da je velika većina promjena plod postupnih evolucijskih procesa i da su prošli test prirodne selekcije. Nagle promjene – od udara asteroida preko vulkanskih erupcija do novije ljudske ekspanzije – uvijek dovode do brojnih štetnih posljedica. Naši preci nisu živjeli u kamenome dobu (stone age) nego u zelenome dobu (green age), tj. organskome okolišu s bogatim divljim biodiverzitetom, upravo onome okolišu koji zadržava (za civilizirane ljude) trajnu fascinaciju i koju je danas lako vidjeti na svakome koraku. Taj okoliš nije, za razliku od domestifikacije i gradova, ljudska konstrukcija. Taj je život trajao kroz milijune godina, dovoljno dugo da sve temeljne ljudske psihološke i fiziološke osobine budu prilagođene upravo na takav život. On, za razliku od kasnije domestifikacije i civilizacije, ima direktan kontinuitet s društvenim i ekološkim okruženjem naših homininih i primatskih predaka jer su i oni živjeli u malenim skupinama u divljemu okolišu. U Australiji su sakupljači-lovci, bez obzira na to jesu li njihovi preci “krivi” za istrebljenje nekoliko vrsta, živjeli u ravnoteži sa svojim okolišem kroz najmanje pedeset tisuća godina, dok su europski kolonizatori i drugi civilizirani ljudi u dvjesto godina počinili neusporedivo veće štete. Po svakome smislenom kriteriju to jest održivi život. To, međutim, ne znači da su sakupljači-lovci “konzervacionisti” ili protoekolozi u modernome zapadnjačkom smislu. Oni nemaju ekološku orijentaciju jer im ne treba, odnosno, oni već žive u optimalnome okolišu. Pojava i širenje ekološke svijesti u novije je vrijeme posljedica očajnoga ekološkog stanja u kasnim industrijskim društvima u kojima se ljudi neprekidno bore s bezbrojnim

ekološkim (i drugim) nevoljama. Manjak konzervacijske orijentacije može, u nekim iznimnim slučajevima, dovesti do pojave destruktivnoga ponašanja. Tako je u sjevernoj Americi (prije pet do deset tisuća godina) i u južnoj Francuskoj (prije deset do petnaest tisuća godina) nađeno nekoliko masovnih grobnica od nekoliko stotina bizona i divljih konja, koje su tadašnji sakupljači-lovci natjerali preko ruba klisura u ponor. Njihov je broj prevelik da se mogao odjednom iskoristiti. No, to su sporadične pojave i posljedica nemogućnosti da se kontrolira, u uvjetima stampeda čopora, točno određen broj životinja koje se mogu iskoristiti. Općenito, konzervacionistička orijentacija jest stvar učenja a ne genetike, što također ukazuje na nepostojanje većih ekoloških problema kroz milijune godina sakupljačko-lovačkoga života. Kada bi ekološka devastacija bila uobičajena pojava u tome životu, kroz milijune godina moralo bi doći do određene genetske prilagodbe na takvo ponašanje, što očito nije slučaj. Mnogo konfuzije izaziva uporaba mutnih i povijesno pogrešnih izraza poput “tradicionalna/primitivna/prehistorijska/plemenska društva” - bilo zbog neznanja bilo zbog tendencije da se ekološka destrukcija (tipična za seljačka i stočarska društva) pripiše sakupljačima-lovcima. U slučaju sjeverne Amerike često se koriste izrazi “indijanci” ili “američki urođenici” (native Americans) koji sakrivaju društvenu pluralnost jer su indijanci kroz nekoliko tisuća godina stvorili vrlo različita društva, od jednostavnih sakupljača-lovaca do protourbanih civilizacija. Različita društva podrazumijevaju i bitno različit ekološki utjecaj jer je jasno da pedeset sakupljača-lovaca ne mogu imati isti ekološki utjecaj kao i pedeset tisuća složenih hortikulturalista. Naravno, svi progresivistički orijentirani istraživači priznaju da je ekološki utjecaj sakupljača-lovaca bio vrlo malen, ali ističu da je to bilo zbog malenoga broja ljudi, a ne zbog jednostavne tehnike “urođenoga konzervacionizma”. To je, međutim, nebitno jer su materijalni čimbenici – primarno broj ljudi, standard života i tehnika – oni ključni čimbenici u

(ne)postojanju ekoloških problema. To znači da civilizacija – u kojoj postoji veliki broj ljudi, klasna stratifikacija, akumulacija moći i, kod industrijskih društava, stalna tehnička ekspanzija – neminovno mora imati vrlo lošu ekološku bilancu. Ekološka prednost sakupljača-lovaca nije posljedica visokih moralnih kvaliteta, konzervacijske etike ili duboke ekološke mudrosti. Ona je posljedica provođenja evolucijski testiranih djelatnosti i života u optimalnome okolišu koji odgovara ljudskoj prirodi. Ekološka bilanca društva ne ovisi o svijesti ili etici nego o provođenju ponašanja i života, koji su prošli test prirodne selekcije. Sakupljači-lovci nisu imali “mistično jedinstvo s prirodom”, “duboku ekološku svijest” i “konzervacijsku etiku” jer im to nije trebalo. Oni su (slično industrijskim društvima) vjerovali da su prirodna bogatstva neiscrpna, ali kod njih je takvo uvjerenje imalo smisla upravo zbog malenoga ekološkog utjecaja. Takvo uvjerenje nije isključilo ubijanje pojedinačnih neljudskih bića (često i u većemu opsegu), ali nikada nije dovelo u pitanje regenerativne sposobnosti lokalnoga eko-sustava. Prednosti sakupljačko-lovačkih društava u odnosu na civilizirana društva višestruke su i - kada se distanciramo od etnocentričkih predrasuda - lako vidljive. To, naravno, ne znači da su naši preci živjeli u savršenome svijetu ili raju na zemlji. Mnogobrojne su teškoće bile prisutne - od predatora do periodičnih razdoblja oskudice i gladi. Čedomorstvo je vjerojatno bilo česta pojava, sežući možda do 50 % rođene djece. Nagle klimatske promjene, posebno suša, mogle su predstavljati veliki problem na pojedinim lokalnim ili regionalnim područjima i dovesti do intenziviranja međugrupnih sukoba ili gladi. No, to su bile teškoće kao sastavni dio života, a ne antropogeni problemi.

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