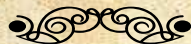


VOJVODA GAVRO VUKOVIĆ

MINISTAR INOSTRANIH POSLOVA

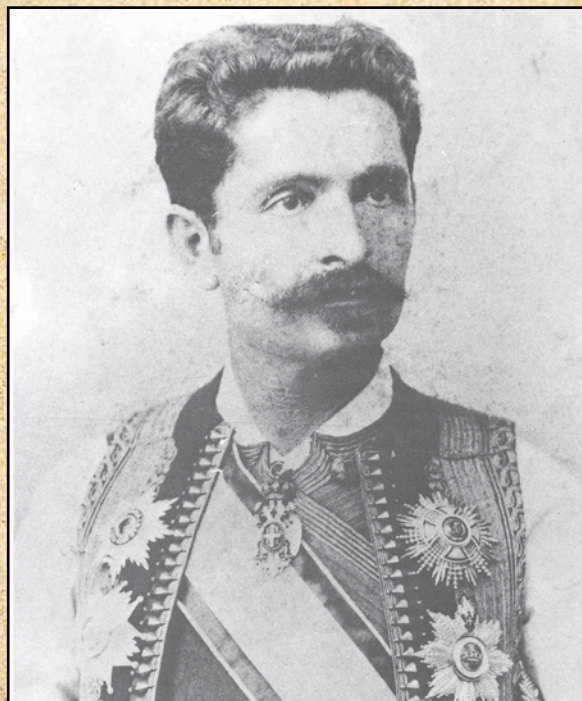
KNJAŽEVINE CRNE GORE



DUKE GAVRO VUKOVIĆ

MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRINCIPALITY OF MONTENEGRO





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MINISTAR INOSTRANIH POSLOVA
KNJAŽEVINE CRNE GORE



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Podgorica, 2017.

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Štampa:
3M Makarije

*Publikacija se štampa povodom
desetogodišnjice Ljetnje škole
za mlade diplomate "Gavro Vuković"*

Author:
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Publisher:
Diplomatic academy
Ministry of Foreign affairs of Montenegro

For the publisher:
Satka Hajdarpašić

Editor:
Peter Stonelake

Translation:
Jelena Pralas

Prepress:
Jovica Tadić

Print:
3M Makarije

*This publication is printed on the occasion
of the Tenth anniversary of the Summer School
for Young Diplomats*

Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova Crne Gore
Stanka Dragojevića 2, 81000 Podgorica

CIP - Каталогизација у публикацији
Национална библиотека Црне Горе, Цетиње

ISBN 978-9940-614-23-2
COBISS.CG-ID 33353744

Vojvoda Gavro Vuković - diplomata, ministar inostranih poslova, blizak saradnik kralja Nikole, memoarista – pripada redu značajnih političkih ličnosti novovjekovne istorije Crne Gore. Kao dugogodišnji ministar inostranih poslova, prepoznatljiv po osobenom diplomatskom umijeću i ostvarenim uspjesima, postao je ne samo veliko ime diplomatije Crne Gore u vrijeme njene nezavisnosti, već i personifikacija crnogorske diplomatije do naših dana. Ministar inostranih djela Knjaževine Crne Gore postao je 1890. godine, a ministarski položaj napustio je 1905. godine. Vrijeme njegovog ministrovanja obilježilo je jednu epohu u crnogorskoj spoljnoj politici.

Vojvoda Gavro Vuković rođen je 1852. godine u selu Lopate u Lijevoj Rijeci (plemenska oblast Vasojevića). Njegov otac vojvoda Miljan Vukov Vešović, bio je važna politička ličnost u vrijeme knjaza Danila, prethodnika knjaza

Duke Gavro Vuković – the diplomat, minister of foreign affairs, a close associate of King Nikola, and biographer – rightfully belongs to the group of the most significant political figures of recent Montenegrin history. As a long-time foreign affairs minister, known for his distinct diplomatic skills and accomplishments, he became not only a great figure in Montenegrin diplomacy during the country's independence, but also a personification of Montenegrin diplomacy, which has endured up to the present day. He became the minister of foreign affairs of the Principality of Montenegro in 1890, and served in that position up until 1905. The period of his service marked an entire epoch in Montenegrin foreign policy.

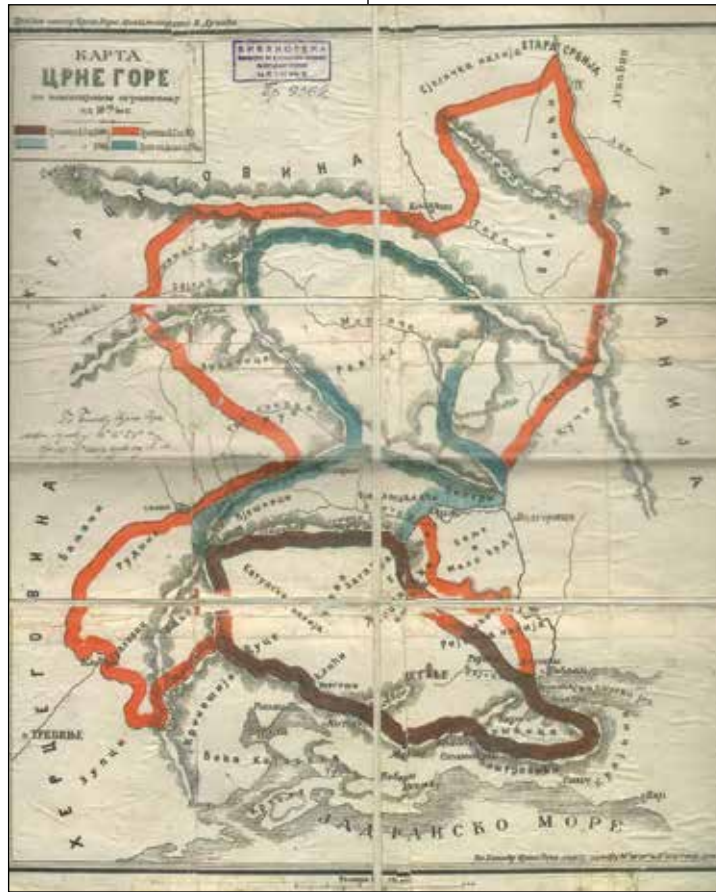
Duke Gavro Vuković was born in 1852 in the village of Lopate in Lijeva Rijeka (the tribal area of the Vasojevići). His father, Duke Miljan Vukov Vešović, was an important polit-

i kralja Nikole (1860-1918). Vojvoda Miljan Vukov bio je državnoj službi najprije kapetan ljevorečke kapetanije, zatim upravitelj jedne administrativne oblasti crnogorske države - Vasojevičke nahije, a kasnije član crnogorskog Senata, vrhovne institucije sudske i administrativne vlasti u Knjaževini Crnoj Gori.

Kao sin jedne uticajne političke ličnosti, Gavro Vuković je imao uslove ne samo da se redovno školuje, već i da stekne najbolje obrazovanje u inostranim školama. Osnovnu školu započeo je u manastiru Đurđevi Stupovi, nedaleko od Berana, a završio je na Cetinju. Poslije osnovne škole, upisao se u gimnaziju u Nici. Nakon izvjesnog vremena napušta Nicu i gimnaziju nastavlja u Beogradu, gdje maturira 1869. godine.

ical figure during the time of Prince Danilo, the predecessor of Prince, later King, Nikola (1860–1918). He was the Captain of the Lijeva Rijeka district, Administrator of one area of Montenegro – the Vasojevići district (nahija), and a member of the Montenegrin Senate, the supreme institution of judicial and administrative power in the Principality of Montenegro.

As the son of an influential political figure, Gavro Vuković had the opportunity not only to regularly attend school, but also to acquire the best education available in foreign schools. He began primary school at the Đurđevi Stupovi monastery, not far from Berane, completing his primary education in Cetinje, after which he attended secondary school in Nice, France. He left Nice to continue



*Crna Gora prije
Berlinskog kongresa*

*Montenegro before
the Congress of Berlin*

Poslije gimnazije upisuje Pravni fakultet u Beogradu, na kome diplomira 1873. godine. Bio je prvi diplomirani pravnik iz Crne Gore. Nakon završetka fakulteta vraća se u Crnu Goru, gdje kao mlad pravnik, koji odlično govori francuski jezik, dobija službu u državnoj upravi. Aprila 1874. imenovan je za sekretara Senata.

Samo nekoliko mjeseci nakon postavljenja, oktobra 1874. poslat je u Skadar, i to kao sekretar crnogorsko-osmanske komisije koja je isljeđivala krivce za ubistvo 17 Crnogoraca u Podgorici. Dužnost sekretara Senata obavljao je i tokom ustanka pravoslavnog stanovništva u Hercegovini 1875. godine. Zahvaljujući uvidu u mnoge depeše i naredbe koje su preko Senata upućivane vođama ustanka, mogao je pratiti tok ustanka i njegovo političko rukovođenje. Za budućeg diplomatu bilo je to, bez sumnje,

his secondary school education in Belgrade, which he completed in 1869. After that, he attended university in Belgrade where he studied law, graduating in 1873. He was the first Montenegrin to hold a law degree. After completing university, he returned to Montenegro as a young lawyer with an excellent knowledge of French, and got a job in the state administration. In April 1874 he became the Senate secretary.

Only a few months after his appointment, in October 1874, he was sent to Scutari (Shkodra) in the capacity of secretary to the Montenegrin-Ottoman board that was pursuing those guilty of murdering 17 Montenegrins in Podgorica. He also held the position of Senate Secretary during the uprising of the Orthodox peoples in Herzegovina in 1875. Having access to many messages and orders sent to the leaders of the uprising by the Senate, he was in a position to observe the development of the uprising, as well as its political guidance. For the future diplomat,



Bitka na Vučjem dolu

The Battle of Vučji Do

značajno iskustvo, jer je direktno mogao da prati jedan značajan segment tadašnje spolj-nopolitičke akcije Crne Gore. I tokom rata Crne Gore sa Osmanskim carstvom, koji je počeo juna 1876. godine, bila su mu dostupna mnoga dokumenta koja se odnose na spoljnopolitičku komponentu ovog sukoba. Kao činovnika koji je pokazao umijeće tokom rada u misiji u Skadru, ali i za vrijeme ustanka u Hercegovini, knjaz ga je imenovao za sekretara komandanta Glavnog štaba crnogorske vojske. Zahvaljujući tom položaju, bio je i jedan od najneposrednijih svjedoka ratnih dešavanja. O događajima koji su predstavljali uzrok ratu, kao i o njegovim najvažnijim fazama, detaljno je i dokumentovano pisao u memoarskim zapisima. Posebno su značajna njegova svjedočenja o crnogorskim pobjedama na Vučjem dolu i Fundini, kao i operaciji za oslobođenje Nikšića i Bara.

Rat između Crne Gore i Osmanskog carstva završen je početkom 1878. godine. Poslije završetka rata, velike sile su u sazvale kongres na kome je trebalo urediti političko stanje na Balkanu i poziciju Osmanskog carstva. Kongres velikih sila održan je u Berlinu. Nakon višenedjeljne rasprave, predstavnici velikih sila su na kongresu odnijele odluke o statusu i dobicima Crne Gore. Dvadesetše-

this was without doubt a significant experience, since he could directly observe an important segment of the Montenegrin foreign policy of that time. During the war waged by Montenegro against the Ottoman Empire, which started in June 1876, he also had access to numerous documents regarding the foreign policy component of the conflict. As a civil servant who had proved to be skilled during his Scutari mission, as well as during the uprising in Herzegovina, he was appointed secretary to the Commander of the Main Headquarters of the Montenegrin Army. Thanks to this placement, he could directly and immediately witness the events of the war. In his memoirs he offered detailed and documented accounts of the events that caused the war, as well as accounts of its most important phases. Of particular importance are his reports about the Montenegrin victories at Vučji do and Fundina, as well as about the operations during the liberation of Nikšić and of Bar.

The Montenegrin–Ottoman War ended in early 1878. After the war, the Great Powers called a congress that would construct the political life in the Balkans and determine the position of the Ottoman Empire. The Congress of the Great Powers was held in Berlin. After weeks of discussion and debate, the representatives of Great Powers determined Montenegro's status and gains. Article 26 of the treaty

stim članom definiše se međunarodno-pravni položaj Crne Gore: “Crnoj Gori priznaju nezavisnost Visoka Porta i sve one visoke ugovorne strane koje to dosad nijesu učinile”. Ovim je članom samo potvrđena već odavno postojeća crnogorska nezavisnost, s napomenom da tu nezavisnost od sada priznaje i Turska i one zemlje koje to ranije nijesu učinile. Crna Gora je ovom odlukom dobila zvanično međunarodno priznanje, postavši ravnopravni činilac međunarodnih odnosa. Sticanjem zvaničnog međunarodnog priznanja na Berlinskom kongresu, Crna Gora je takođe dobila pravo da šalje svoje i prima diplomatske predstavnike drugih zemalja, što je bio preduslov da izgradi diplomatske institucije u zemlji i inostranstvu.

Odlukama Berlinskog kongresa nije samo promijenjena međunarodna pozicija Crne Gore, već je po svom unutrašnjem karakteru stvorena i jedna nova država: dvo-



Berlinski kongres 1878. godine

defined Montenegro's position according to international law: 'The independence of Montenegro is recognized by the Sublime Porte and by all those of the High Contracting Parties who have not hitherto admitted it'. This article just confirmed the long-existing independence of Montenegro, with a note that it was now to be recognized by Turkey and those countries that had not done so before. With this ruling, Montenegro gained official international recognition, becoming an equal actor in international relations. By gaining official international recognition at the Berlin Congress, Montenegro also gained the right to send its own diplomatic envoys and receive foreign ones, which was a precondition for the formation of diplomatic institutions both in the country and abroad.

The Congress of Berlin, 1878

The rulings of the Berlin Congress not only changed the international position of Montenegro, but it became a new country internally: it doubled in size, gained

struko teritorijalno uvećana, sa novim ekonomskim središtima i gradovima, izlaskom na more, sa stanovništvom različite narodnosne i konfesionalne pripadnosti... Knjaževina Crna Gora imala je poslije 1878. godine 9.475 kvadratnih kilometara (prije 1878. 4.400 km²) i oko 170.000 stanovnika. Crna Gora je dobila dio Hercegovine sa Nikšićkim krajem i okolnim plemenskim oblastima oko Durmitora, prostor Rudina, Kolašinski kraj i dio Gornjih Vasojevića, Zetu s Podgoricom i Spužom, priobalje Skadarskog jezera do ostrva Tophala, masiv planine Rumije i primorje od Bojane do rijeke Željeznice (gradovi Ulcinj i Bar). Nakon završetka rata izvršena je i reforma državne uprave (1879). Ukinut je Senat, a ustanovljene su tri nove institucije: Državni savjet, Ministarstvo sa šest odjeljenja i Veliki sud. Upravo tada ustanovljeno je i Ministarstvo inostranih djela. Prvi ministar inostranih djela Knjaževine Crne Gore bio je vojvoda Stanko Radonjić, koji je tu dužnost obavljao od 1879. do svoje smrti 1889. godine.

Poslije 1878. godine glavni cilj crnogorske državne politike bio je stvaranje "velike" Crne Gore. A to znači – nastavak njenog teritorijalnog širenja, pripajanjem okolnih oblasti koje su, uglavnom, u sastavu Osmanskog carstva. Kako se planiralo na Cetinju, "velika" Crna

new economic centres and cities, access to the sea, and a new population with different ethnic and religious affiliations... The Principality of Montenegro had a territory of 9,475 square kilometres in 1878 (compared to the earlier size of 4,400km²) and a population of about 170,000. Montenegro gained part of Herzegovina, including Nikšić with the surrounding tribal areas around Durmitor: Rudina, Kolašin and Gornji Vasojevići; Zeta which included Podgorica and Spuž; the shoreline of Lake Scutari right up to the island of Tophala; Mount Rumija and the Adriatic coast from the River Bojana to the River Željeznica (the cities of Ulcinj and Bar). After the war, the state administration was reformed as well (1879): the Senate was abolished, and three new institutions were introduced – the State Council, the Ministry with six departments and the Grand Court. It was at that time that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was set up. The first minister of foreign affairs of the Principality of Montenegro was Duke Stanko Radonjić, who held the office from 1879 until his death in 1889.

After 1878, the primary goal of Montenegrin national policy was to create a 'Greater Montenegro'. This essentially meant the continuation of its territorial enlargement by annexing neighbouring areas that were, mainly, parts of the Ottoman Empire. The Cetinje plans envisaged that

Gora obuhvatala bi prostor između Neretve, Lima, Drima i Jadranskog mora. Sredinom osamdesetih godina XIX vijeka, knjaz Nikola je smatrao da Crna Gora treba da “raširi granice” od Berana do Mokre planine, a zatim da njena granica dosegne izvorište Bijelog Drima, i da se tokom Bijelog Drima spušta do Jadranskog mora, obuhvatajući gradove: Peć, Đakovicu i Skadar. Ovakve planove nemoguće je bilo ostvariti bez rata protiv Osmanskog carstva, ali ni bez savezništva sa Rusijom i Srbijom, eventualno i Bugarskom, te u najmanju ruku, bez prećutne saglasnosti Austro-Ugarske. Upravo ovakvi planovi i očekivanja, temelj su spoljne politike Crne Gore poslije 1878. godine.

this ‘Greater Montenegro’ would include the territory between the rivers Neretva, Lim and Drina and the Adriatic Sea. By the mid-1880s, Prince Nikola believed that Montenegro should ‘extend its borders’ from Berane to Mount Mokra, and then beyond, to reach the source of the River Bi-

jeli Drim, and follow the flow of the Bijeli Drim to the Adriatic Sea, encompassing the cities of Peć, Đakovica and Scutari. Such plans would be impossible to accomplish without provoking a war against the Ottoman Empire, without an alliance with Russia and Serbia, perhaps even Bulgaria, or at the very least without the silent approval of Austria-Hungary. These plans and aspirations were the basis of Montenegrin foreign policy after 1878.



Teritorija Crne Gore poslije Berlinskog kongresa

Territory of Montenegro after the Congress of Berlin



Gavro Vuković

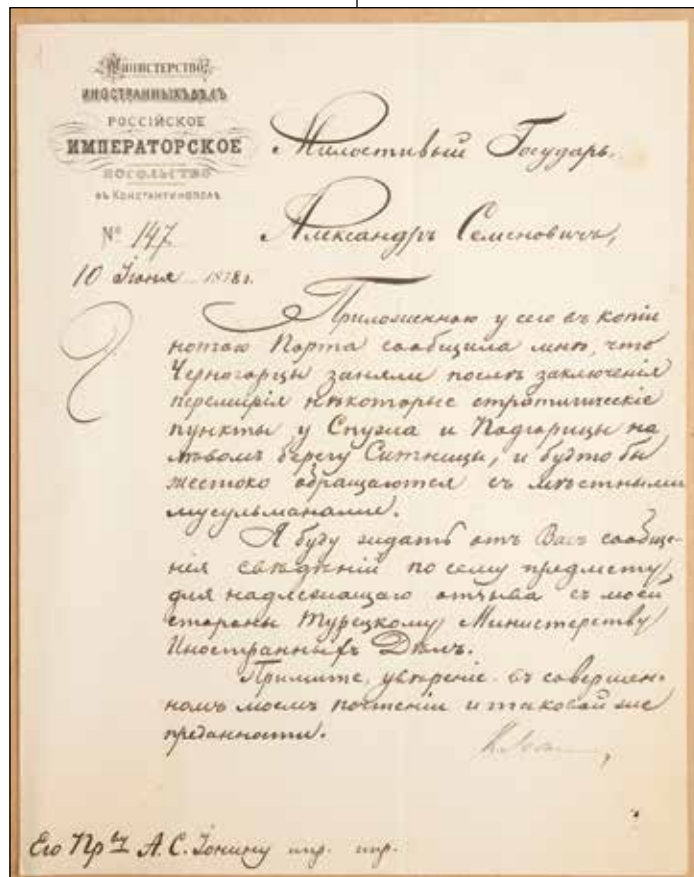
Crnogorsku državu poslije sticanja zvaničnog međunarodnog priznanja, čekali su veliki zadaci u spoljnoj politici. Najprije u odnosima sa dvije susjedne imperije, koje su okruživale crnogorsku teritoriju – Osmanskim carstvom i Austro-Ugarskom. Sa Osmanskim carstvom trebalo je izvršiti nimalo lak proces razgraničenja i riješiti probleme koji su nastali preseeljavanjem stanovništva iz novodobijenih oblasti. Prema Austro-Ugarskoj, koja je odlukama Berlinskog kongresa dobila pravo da okupira Bosnu i Hercegovinu, trebalo je voditi spoljnu politiku koja će spriječavati njenu kontrolu nad državnim životom Crne Gore i uklanjati sve izvore konfrontacija sa moćnim susjedom. Pored dva carstva, trebalo je u skladu sa novim političkim okolnostima na Balkanu, i crnogorsku spoljnu politiku prema Rusiji postaviti na nove osnove. Dotadašnjeg glavnog crnogorskog ratnog saveznika trebalo je sada, kada je vrijeme ratovanja završeno, učiniti najvažnijim osloncem društvenog i ekonomskog razvoja Crne Gore. I napokon, crnogorska spoljna politika imala je obavezu da popravi sasvim loše, i na momente neprijateljske odnose sa



*Austrougarski car
Franjo Josif*

After gaining official international recognition, the Montenegrin state had several major tasks in its foreign policy. Firstly, they had to manage relations with the two neighbouring empires that surrounded Montenegrin territory – the Ottoman Empire and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. With the Ottomans, Montenegro had to complete the difficult process of border demarcation and solve problems caused by the settlement of people from the newly gained areas. With the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which was allowed by the Berlin Congress to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro had to develop foreign policy relations that would prevent its powerful neighbour from controlling the administrative life of Montenegro, and would remove all causes of conflict. In addition to this, the new political circumstances in the Balkans also required modification of foreign policy towards Russia. Now that the war was over, relations with Russia were to transform it from being Montenegro's main war ally into the most important supporter of Montenegro's social and economic development. As a traditional ally, Russia was the first country to

Srbijom, od koje Crna Gora na Balkanu nije imala politički bližeg saveznika. Kao tradicionalni crnogorski saveznik, Rusija je bila prva zemlja koja je poslije Berlinskog kongresa poslala na Cetinje svog opunomoćenog poslanika. Ni u jednom periodu crnogorsko-ruskih odnosa, Rusija nije s toliko posvećenosti gradila uzajamne veze, niti pružala veću podršku unurašnjem razvitku svoje balkanske saveznice. Nesumnjivo da je na takav stav Rusije presudno uticalo austrofilsko opredjeljenje Srbije nakon Berlinskog kongresa, tako da Crna Gora postaje glavna filijala ruske balkanske politike. Ali, ova podrška Petrograda Crnoj Gori imala je, naravno, i svoju cijenu. U prvom redu, crnogorski Dvor je bespogovorno morao da izvršava instrukcije ruske diplomatije, što je kod knjaza Nikole ponekad iza-



Dokument ruskog
Ministarstva inostranih djela

send its fully authorized envoy to Cetinje following the Berlin Congress. There was no other period of Montenegrin–Russian relations in which Russia was so committed and offered such great support for the internal development of its Balkan ally. This Russian attitude was undoubtedly fuelled by Serbia’s decision

to work closely with Austria-Hungary, leaving Montenegro to be the main proponent of Russian policy in the Balkans. However, support from Saint Petersburg, of course, came at a price. Firstly, the Montenegrin authorities were obliged to act in accordance with the instructions from Russian diplomats, which caused Prince Nikola to feel painfully inferior. Official diplomatic relations between Montenegro and the Ottoman Empire (Turkey) were also established after the Berlin

A document from the Ministry
of Foreign Affairs of Russia

Congress. In
October 1879,

osjećaj podređenosti. Poslije Berlinskog kongresa uspostavljeni su i zvanični diplomatski odnosi između Crne Gore i Osmanskog carstva (Turske). Oktobra 1879. godine na Cetinje je stigao Halid-beg, opunomoćeni poslanik Turske. Avgusta 1879. godine stigao je u Carigrad i crnogorski poslanik. Bio je to prvi opunomoćeni poslanik kojeg je Crna Gora poslala u jednu stranu zemlju. U vrijeme uspostavljanja crnogorske diplomatske misije u Carigradu, i turske na Cetinju, odnosi između dvije države nijesu bili nimalo srdačni. U vrijeme osnivanja, crnogorska diplomatska misija u Carigradu imala je glavni zadatak da ubrza rješavanje crnogorsko-turskog pograničnog spora oko Plava i Gusinja. Ubrzo je započeo i proces razgraničenja između dvije zemlje, čime je utvrđena nova granična linija. Poslije okončanja razgraničenja, odnosi između dvije zemlje kreću uzlaznom linijom. Crnogorski vladar je dva puta bio u posjeti sultanu. Nedugo nakon Berlinskog kongresa uspostavljeni su i zvanični diplomatski odnosi između Crne Gore i Austro-Ugarske. Za austrougarskog poslanika u Crnoj Gori imenovan je baron Temel, koji je februara 1879. predao akreditivna pisma knjazu Nikoli. Prvih godina poslije Berlinskog kongresa u odnosima između dvije zemlje dominantno je bilo pitanje crnogorske politike prema Hercegovini. Osnovni zahtjev Beča bio je da se Crna

Halid-Beg, a fully authorized envoy of Turkey, arrived in Cetinje, while a Montenegrin envoy arrived in Constantinople in August 1879. This was the first fully authorized representative that Montenegro sent to a foreign country. At the time that the Montenegrin diplomatic mission in Constantinople and the Turkish mission in Cetinje were being established, relations between the two countries were far from warm. The key task of the Montenegrin diplomatic mission in Constantinople at the time of its establishment was to speed up the resolution of the Montenegrin–Turkish border dispute concerning the area around Plav and Gusinje. The demarcation process began soon after. It determined a new border line between the two countries. After the demarcation issue was settled, relations between the two countries began to improve. The Montenegrin sovereign visited the Sultan twice. Shortly after the Berlin Congress, official diplomatic relations were established between Montenegro and Austria-Hungary as well. The envoy of Austria-Hungary, Baron von Thömmel, presented his credentials to Prince Nikola in 1879. In the years immediately following the Berlin Congress, the dominant question defining the relationship between the two countries was the matter of Montenegrin policy towards Herzegovina. The principal request made by Vienna was that Montenegro should give up its nation-

Gora odrekne nacionalne politike u Hercegovini, i da u svim političkim pitanjima zauzme potpuno neutralni stav. Mada nevoljno, Crna Gora je taj zahtjev Beča morala ispuniti. Nakon što je uspjela da neutrališe crnogorsku nacionalno-političku djelatnost na svojoj teritoriji, Austro-Ugarska je nastojala da uspostavi ekonomsku kontrolu nad Crnom Gorom. Nakon Berlinskog kongresa počinje i nova faza u odnosima između Crne Gore i Srbije. Doba njihove snažne i nesmetane nacionalno-političke djelatnosti u okruženju, posebno u Bosni i Hercegovini, definitivno je bilo završeno, a njihovi odnosi bivali su sve gori. Uz kratke periode sporazumijevanja, u kojima je bilo najviše interesa, a nimalo iskrenosti, dvije države su živjele u otvorenom neprijateljstvu. Nekoliko je uzroka za tako loše političke odnose Srbije i Crne Gore krajem XIX vijeka, a jedan od važnijih uzroka je - konfrontiranost dvije velike sile koje su stajale iza njih. Posljednjih decenija XIX vijeka Srbija je naklonjena Austro-Ugarskoj, dok je Crna Gora najodaniji izvršilac ruske politike na Balkanu. Preko austrofilске Srbije i rusofilске Crne Gore, dvije velike sile vodile su svoj balkanski rat. Srbija je imala zadatak da onemogućava, koliko najviše može, ruski uticaj u svom okruženju, dok je Crna Gora imala zadatak da kompromituje i unižava sve sljedbenike bečke politike na Balkanu, među kojima je Obrenovićevska Srbija

al policy regarding Herzegovina, and adopt a completely neutral attitude towards all political matters. Montenegro had to fulfil this demand, albeit reluctantly. After successfully neutralizing Montenegro's national and political activity within its territory, Austria-Hungary aimed to gain economic control over Montenegro. After the Berlin Congress, relations between Montenegro and Serbia also entered a new phase. The time of their strong and uninterrupted national and political activities in the surrounding region, particularly in Bosnia and Herzegovina, was certainly over, and their relationship was deteriorating. Aside from short periods of understanding, when interest was at its highest and honesty at its lowest, the two countries were openly hostile towards each other. There were several causes for such poor political relations between Serbia and Montenegro in the late 19th century, and the crucial one was the conflict between the two great powers that stood behind them. In the last decades of the 19th century, Serbia favoured Austria-Hungary, while Montenegro was the most loyal agent of Russian policy in the Balkans. Through Serbia and Montenegro, the two great powers waged their own Balkan war. Serbia had the task to prevent Russian influence in its surroundings, as far as this could be done, while Montenegro's task was to compromise and humiliate all the followers of Viennese policy in the Balkans, Obrenović's

zauzimala počasno mjesto. Upravo ovaj spoljnopolitički okvir državne politike Crne Gore poslije 1878. godine, neophodan je za razumijevanje djelovanja vojvode Gavra Vukovića kao ministra inostranih poslova Knjaževine Crne Gore.

Prvi spoljnopolitički problem koji je crnogorska diplomatija morala da riješi nakon Berlinskog kongresa, bilo je tzv. Plavsko-gusinjsko pitanje. Spor oko predaje Plava i Gusinje, koji su odlukom kongresa u Berlinu pripali Crnoj Gori, počeo je krajem 1878. godine, najprije odbijanjem Osmanskog carstva da Crnoj Gori preda ove oblasti, a zatim, kada se osmanska vojska povukla, organizovanjem vojničkog otpora tamošnjeg lokanog nepravoslavnog stanovništva protiv crnogorskih trupa. Budući da je njihov otpor ometao mirnu predaju ovih oblasti Crnoj Gori, crnogorska vlada je formirala komisiju koja je trebalo da pregovara s osmanskim vlastima o primopredaji. Na čelu ove komisije bio je vojvoda Simo Popović, a njegov zamjenik bio je Gavro Vuković. I pored nastojanja crnogorske strane da se ovaj spor riješi diplomatskim pregovorima između dvije vlade, ubrzo se pokazalo da Porta nema namjeru da Plav i Gusinje dobrovoljno preda Crnoj Gori. Protivljenje osmanske vlade da izvrši obavezu iz jednog

Serbia being the most prominent one. This foreign policy framework in which Montenegrin national policy operated after 1878 has to be understood if we are to understand Duke Gavro Vuković's actions as minister of foreign affairs of the Principality of Montenegro.

The first foreign affairs problem that Montenegrin diplomacy had to deal with after the Berlin Congress was the so-called Plav-Gusinje question. The dispute over the surrender of Plav and Gusinje, that had been annexed to Montenegro, according to the ruling of the Berlin Congress, began in late 1878. The Ottoman Empire refused to cede these territories to Montenegro, and then, following the departure of the Ottoman Army from these areas, the local nonorthodox population organized an uprising against the Montenegrin troops. Since their resistance hindered the peaceful handover of these territories to Montenegro, the Montenegrin government formed a board to negotiate the handover with the Ottoman government. The head of this board was Duke Simo Popović, while Gavro Vuković was his deputy. Despite Montenegrin endeavours to resolve this dispute peacefully in diplomatic discussions between the two governments, it quickly became clear that the Sublime Porte had no intention of handing over Plav and Gusinje to Montenegro voluntarily. The refusal of the Ottoman

međunarodnog ugovora, neminovno je dovelo do miješanja drugih velikih sila u ovaj spor. Tako je plavsko-gusinjsko pitanje postalo predmetom evropske diplomatije, koja će ga uz vojne i političke pritiske riješiti tek posljednjih mjeseci 1880. godine.

Dok je trajao spor oko predaje Plava i Gusinja Crnoj Gori, na Cetinju je odlučeno da se otvori poslanstvo u Carigradu, kako bi se i u osmanskoj prijestolnici stalno diplomatski djelovalo u rješavanju ovog pitanja. Za prvog crnogorskog poslanika u Carigradu, početkom 1879. godine, imenovan je vojvoda Stanko Radonjić, a za sekretara poslanstva postavljen je Gavro Vuković. Krajem avgusta 1879. crnogorski predstavnici predali su akreditivna pisma sultanu, a nekoliko mjeseci kasnije vojvoda Stanko Radonjić je povučen iz Carigrada, dobivši zadatak da preuzme rukovođenje

Empire to fulfil its commitment undertaken in an international treaty unavoidably led to other great powers getting involved in the conflict. And so, the Plav-Gusinje question became an issue of European diplomacy, which would be solved only in late 1880 through military and political pressure.

During the dispute over the Plav-Gusinje question, Cetinje decided to open an embassy in Constantinople so that the handover arrangements could be constantly acted upon diplomatically in the Ottoman capital. The first Montenegrin representative in Constantinople, appointed in early 1879, was Duke Stanko

Radonjić, while Gavro Vuković was the embassy's secretary. In late August 1879, Montenegrin envoys presented their credentials to the Sultan, and several months later Duke Stanko Radonjić left Constantinople, having been given the task to take over as head of the new-



Carigrad

Constantinople

tek ustanovljenim Ministarstvom inostranih djela. Dužnost crnogorskog diplomatskog predstavnika u Carigradu preuzeo je Gavro Vuković, u rangu otpravnika poslova. On je, ostavši sam u osmanskoj prijestolnici, preuzeo sve poslove diplomatskog zastupanja Crne Gore, posebno u vezi sa rješavanjem plavsko-gusinjskog spora. Crnogorski predstavnik u Carigradu redovno je dobijao izvještaje s Cetinja o prilikama u plavsko-gusinjskoj oblasti, pokretu osmanskih trupa, incidentima koje je osmanska strana izazivala, a njegova obaveza je bila da o ovim događajima izvještava sve ambasadore velikih sila i ukaže im na Portinu krivicu za ove probleme. Istovremeno, crnogorski predstavnik je posjećivao i predsjednika osmanske vlade i ministra inostranih djela, predočavajući im nesporne dokaze o krivici osmanske strane za izazivanje nemira.

Plavsko-gusinjski spor riješen je sredinom 1880. godine, dogovorom da Plav i Gusinje ostanu u sastavu Osmanskog carstva, a da Crna Gora za uzvrat dobije Ulcinj. Kada je sporazum postignut, crnogorska vlada je odlučila da povuče svog diplomatskog zastupnika iz Carigrada i prekine rad poslanstva, pa se Gavro Vuković jula 1880. godine vratio na Cetinje. Kratko vrijeme nakon povratka iz Carigrada, knjaz Nikola je odredio Gavra Vukovića za crnogor-

ly introduced Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Gavro Vuković assumed the duty of Montenegrin diplomatic envoy in Constantinople as chargé d'affairs. After being left alone in the Ottoman Empire's capital, he took over all the tasks to do with the diplomatic advocacy of Montenegro, in particular with regards to the Plav-Gusinje question. The Montenegrin envoy in Constantinople regularly received reports from Cetinje concerning events in the Plav-Gusinje area, the movement of the Ottoman troops and incidents caused by the Ottomans, and his duty was to inform all the ambassadors of the Great Powers about this and highlight the Porte's culpability in causing these issues. At the same time, the Montenegrin representative visited the president of the Ottoman government as well as its minister of foreign affairs, displaying indisputable proof that the Ottomans were to be held responsible for causing the unrest.

The Plav-Gusinje question was resolved in mid-1880 by agreeing that Plav and Gusinje would remain part of Ottoman territory, as long as Montenegro was given Ulcinj in return. Once this agreement was reached, the Montenegrin government decided to recall its envoy from Constantinople and close the embassy. Hence, in July 1880, Gavro Vuković returned to Cetinje. Shortly after his return from Constantinople, Prince Nikola named

skog predstavnika kod međunarodnih snaga, koje su imale zadatak da primoraju Portu na predaju Ulcinja Crnoj Gori.

Kada je novembra 1880. Ulcinj vraćen Crnoj Gori, Vuković je dobio zaduženje da kao zamjenik glavnog komesara učestvuje u radu komisije koja je trebalo da izvrši razgraničenje između Crne Gore i Osmanskog carstva. No, ubrzo se pokazalo da je neophodno za taj posao imati poslanika u Carigradu, koji bi u direktnim kontaktima s osmanskom vladom rješavao sporove koji su se javljali prilikom utvrđivanja nove crnogorsko-osmanske granice. Zbog toga je knjaz Nikola odlučio da ponovo otvori poslanstvo u Carigradu. Cijeneći pokazano diplomatsku umješnost i iskustvo u diplomatskim odnosima sa Osmanskim carstvom, knjaz se lako odlučio za ličnost koja će biti crnogorski otpravnik poslova u Carigradu. Njegov izbor bio je – Gavro Vuković. U svojim memoarima Vuković navodi da se za njega knjaz odlučio i pored neskrivene netrpeljivosti njegovog šefa Stanka Radonjića, ministra

him the Montenegrin envoy to the foreign powers, whose task was to coerce the Porte into ceding Ulcinj to Montenegro.

When Ulcinj was returned to Montenegro in November 1880, Vuković was given the task to participate, as the deputy of the main commissioner, in the work of the board that would implement demarcation between Montenegro and the Ottoman Empire. However, it quickly became clear that, for this job to be successful, Montenegro needed an envoy in Constantinople, who would work directly with the Otto-

man government on resolving the disputes that would arise during the negotiations about the new border. Hence, Prince Nikola decided to re-open the embassy in Constantinople. Aware of the proven diplomatic skills and experience in diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Empire that Gavro Vuković had shown, the Prince readily chose him to be the Montenegrin chargé d'affaires in Constantinople. In his memoirs, Vuković stated that he was the Prince's choice despite the fact that his superior, Stanko Radonjić, openly disliked him.



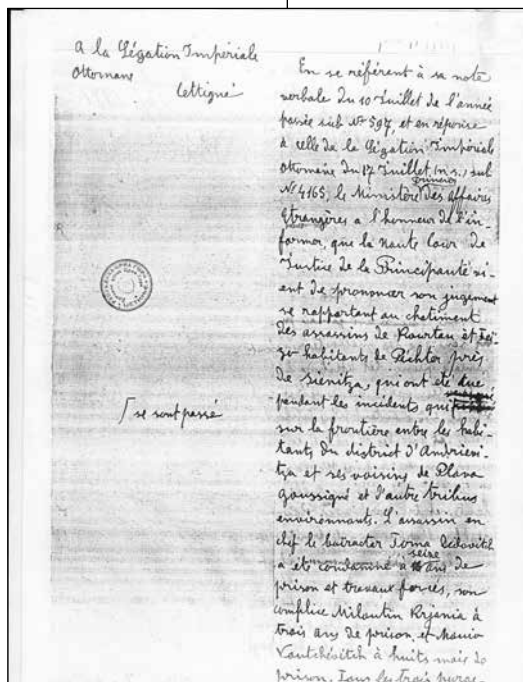
Kralj Nikola

King Nikola

inostranih djela. Očito da je crnogorski vladar cijenio Vukovićevo diplomatsko umijeće i da je bio zadovoljan njegovim radom, čim je odlučio da ne uvaži razloge koje je ministar inostranih djela iznosio protiv njegovog imenovanja.

Crnogorsko poslanstvo u Carigradu ponovo je otvoreno 1882. godine, a jedini na platnom spisku bio je otpravnik poslova Gavro Vuković. U svojim memoarima kasnije je zapisao: “Ni pomotnjika, ni dragomana, ni kavaza, pa ni sluge nijesam imao, a morao sam raditi najteži posao, pregovarati s nemogućim Turcima, dan i noć... Sa očajničkim strpljenjem izdržao sam, cijelu godinu dana, boreći se i sa materijalnim oskudicama; sam, tako reći, iskrpio (sam) pitanje političkih granica...”

Diplomatska akcija Crne Gore u Carigradu oko utvrđivanja nove granične linije i rješavanja spornih međudržavnih pitanja, nesumnjivo je predstavljala poseban napor za Gavra Vukovića,



*Izveštaj
Gavra Vukovića*

Appointing Gavro Vuković to this position in spite of the arguments presented by the minister of foreign affairs who was opposed to it clearly shows how much the Montenegrin sovereign valued Vuković’s diplomatic skills and how pleased he was with his work.

The Montenegrin embassy in Constantinople was re-opened in 1882, and the only person on its payroll was the chargé d’affaires, Gavro Vuković. He later wrote in his memoirs: ‘I had no assistant, no official interpreter, no guard, not even a servant, and I had to do the toughest job ever, to negotiate with the impossible Turks, day and night... With desperate patience I endured, for a whole year, battling material shortages too; and on my own, I somehow covered the issue of political borders...’

Montenegro’s diplomatic action in Constantinople, concerning the establishment of the new border line and the resolution of controversial inter-state issues, was certainly a demanding endeavour for Gavro Vuković, since the Ottoman government was

*Report by
Gavro Vuković*

jer je osmanska vlada odavno bila poznata po maniru da rješavanje pitanja koja joj ne donose korist stalno odlaže prebacivanjem nadležnosti sa jedne institucije ili ličnosti na drugu. Kada bi crnogorski predstavnik došao da razgovara o spornim pitanjima sa komesarom osmanske komisije za razgraničenje, komesar bi iskazao deklarativnu spremnost da učini sve da se pitanje riješi, ali bi naveo samo jedan uslov: da se s time saglasi ministar inostranih djela. Crnogorski predstavnik bi zatim posjetio ministra inostranih djela, koji bi takođe iskazao volju da se pitanje riješi, ali pod uslovom da dobije saglasnost predsjednika vlade. Kada bi crnogorski predstavnik posjetio predsjednika vlade, on bi uz najveću ljubaznost obećao da će potvrditi svaku odluku koju donese komesar komisije za razgraničenje. I tako bi crnogorski otpravnik poslova morao da krene ispočetka u obilazak osmanskih zvaničnika.

Kada su nakon iscrpljujućih pregovora konačno riješena najvažnija sporna pitanja oko utvrđivanja granice, Gavro Vuković je 1884. godine napustio Carigrad. Vrativši se na Cetinje preuzeo je dužnost člana Velikog suda, ali je često obavljao delikatne političke i diplomatske misije. "Tri put sam šiljat u Skadar", piše Gavro Vuković, "poradi savlađi-

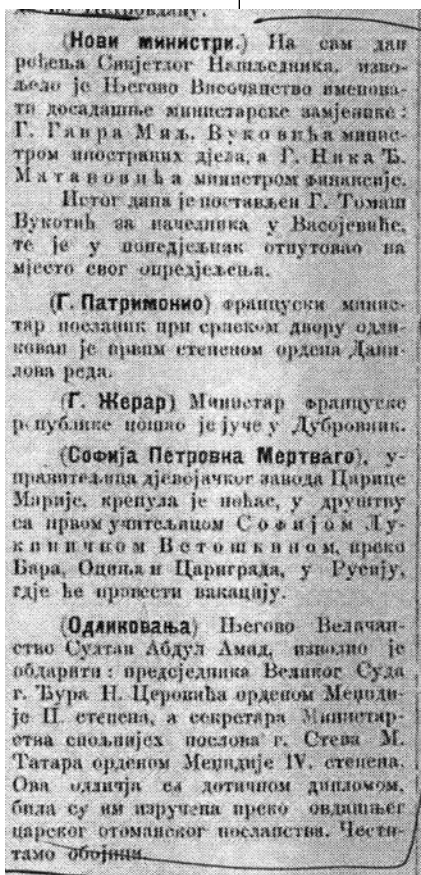
known for dealing with issues that were not to its advantage by constantly delaying them and transferring responsibility from one institution or individual to another. When the Montenegrin envoy would come to speak on disputes with the commissioner of the Ottoman board for demarcation, the commissioner would declare his readiness to do everything to resolve the matter, but would ask for one condition: that the minister of foreign affairs agree to this. Then the Montenegrin envoy would visit the minister of foreign affairs, who would also show his willingness to resolve the matter, but under the condition that the president of the government agree to this. When the Montenegrin envoy visited the president of the government, this official would, with the greatest of courtesy, promise to confirm any decision made by the commissioner of the board for demarcation. And so the Montenegrin chargé d'affaires would have to start over and speak to each of the Ottoman officials in turn.

Once the most important disputed issues of demarcation were settled, after tiring negotiations, Gavro Vuković left Constantinople in 1884. On his return to Cetinje, he assumed the role of member of the Grand Court, but frequently engaged in delicate political and diplomatic missions. 'I was sent to Scutari three times,' he wrote, 'to settle the unrest among the

vanja uzrujanosti katoličke Arbanije, koja je stranom intrigom vrela u anarhiji i upućivana da na nas iznemnogle napada... Šiljat sam više puta u Beč, raznim misijama, pa i finansijskim.” Nekoliko godina bio je i član zakonodavne komisije koja je pregledala i usvojila Imovinski zakonik Valtazara Bogišića.

Početkom 1889. godine nezlječiva bolest udaljila je od ministarske dužnosti vojvodu Stanka Radonjića, prvog čovjeka crnogorske diplomatije, pa je bilo neophodno da neko drugi obavlja njegove poslove. U takvoj situaciji knjaz Nikola odlučuje da već iskusni diplomata Gavro Vuković preuzme Radonjićevu dužnost, i to kao zastupnik ministra inostranih djela. Iste godine (1889) vojvoda Radonjić je umro, a knjaz, juna 1890. odlučuje da za novog ministra inostranih djela imenuje Gavra Vukovića. Nakon imenovanja na ovu dužnost, Gavro Vuković je dobio i zvanje vojvode, koje je imao i njegov otac.

Vijest o imenovanju Gavra Vukovića za ministra



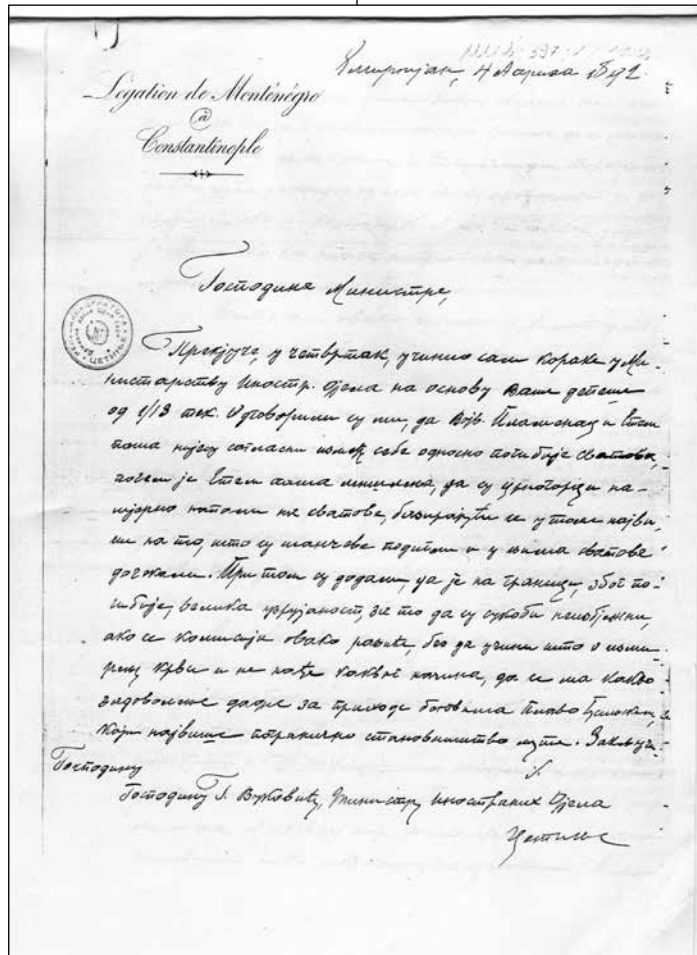
Catholic Albanians, who were prompted by foreigners in the midst of its anarchy to attack us when we were worn down... I was sent to Vienna multiple times, on various missions, even financial ones. For several years he was a member of the legislative board that reviewed and adopted the Civil Code of Valtazar Bogišić.

In early 1889, an incurable disease forced Stanko Radonjić, the head of Montenegrin diplomacy, to step down from his duty as minister of foreign affairs, and someone else was needed to carry out his duties. In this situation, Prince Nikola decided that the already experienced diplomat Gavro Vuković should take over Radonjić's responsibilities as acting minister of foreign affairs. During the same year (1889), Duke Radonjić died, and the Prince (June 1890) appointed Gavro Vuković the new minister of foreign affairs. After this appointment, Gavro Vuković was also given the title of duke, a title that his father also carried.

News article on appointment of Gavro Vuković for the minister

Crnogorska diplomatija u vrijeme ministrovanja vojvode Gavra Vukovića bila je velikog personalnog sastava, što se najčešće pravdalo nedostatkom novca. U poslanstvu u Carigradu uglavnom su radila tri ili četiri čovjeka, od kojih su dvojica bili tzv. pomoćno osoblje (čuvar i poslužitelj). Ni u jednoj evropskoj prestolnici ona nije imala svoje poslanstvo, pa čak ni u Petrogradu. Izuzumajući poslanstvo u Carigradu, konzulat u Skadru (od 1893) i poslanstvo u Beogradu (od 1913), Crna Gora je imala i nekoliko, uglavnom počasnih konzula i trgovačkih agenata. Krajem XIX vijeka ona je imala svoje konzularno-trgovačke zastupnike u Trstu, Kotoru, Napulju, Rimu, Kataniju, Bariju, Đenovi, Parizu, Avru i na Malti. Neposredno prije izbijanja svjetskog rata, Crna Gora je

During Gavro Vuković's period of service, Montenegrin diplomacy was short-staffed. The reason, most often, was a lack of funds. The Constantinople embassy was at most staffed by three or four persons, two of whom were the so-called 'assistant staff' (guard and servant). Montenegro had no embassies in any of the European capitals, not even in Saint Petersburg. Besides the embassy in Constantinople, the consulate in Scutari (from 1893) and the embassy in Belgrade (from 1913), Montenegro had a few, mostly honorary, consuls and trade agents. In the late 19th century, it had its consular trade representatives in Trieste, Kotor, Napoli, Rome, Cattani, Genoa, Paris, Le Havre and Malta. Immediately before the First World War, Montenegro had 27 honorary consuls.



Izvještaj crnogorskog poslanika u Carigradu

Report by the Montenegrin envoy to Constantinople

Since the Montenegrin diplomatic

imala 27 počasnih konzula. S obzirom da crnogorska diplomatija nije bila naročito brojna, i crnogorsko Ministarstvo inostranih djela je od svih crnogorskih ministarstava imalo najmanji budžet. Ministarstvo je krajem XIX vijeka imalo samo tri službenika: ministra i dva sekretara, a početkom XX vijeka na platnom spisku ministarstva bilo je sedam činovnika: ministar, načelnik Ministarstva, četiri sekretara i pisar. Pored toga, u crnogorskoj diplomatiji sve do 1905. godine nije bilo pisanih pravila i instrukcija. Tek početkom XX vijeka napisane su prve instrukcije za crnogorske diplomate, odnosno, za jedinog poslanika kojeg je Crna Gora u inostranstvu imala - za poslanika u Carigradu. Prema tim pravilima, poslanik u Carigradu nije smio tražiti audijenciju bez odobrenja s Cetinja, niti se svojom aktivnošću previše nametati turskim vlastima. On je morao da se u svakoj prilici drži dostojanstveno, ozbiljno i učtivo, te da se kloni ogovaranja i iznošenja sudova o svojim kolegama, pa čak i o predstavnicima onih zemalja sa kojima Crna Gora nije u prevelikom prijateljstvu. Crnogorskom poslaniku bilo je strogo zabranjeno i da bez odobrenja sa Cetinja obeća nekom ugledniku odlikovanje ili da bilo šta traži od sultana (dar, penziju, pomoć) bez naročite naredbe ministarstva. Crnogorskom poslaniku date su i precizne instrukcije o držanju u odre-

corps was not particularly numerous, the Montenegrin Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the ministry with the smallest budget. Towards the end of the 19th century, the ministry had only three officials: the minister and two secretaries, and in the early 20th century the ministry's payroll covered seven officials: the minister, ministry chief, four secretaries and a scribe. Besides this, there were no written rules or instructions in Montenegrin diplomacy until 1905. Only at the beginning of the 20th century were the first instructions for Montenegrin diplomats written down; that is, instructions for the only envoy that Montenegro had abroad – the envoy in Constantinople. According to these rules, the envoy in Constantinople could not seek an audience without approval from Cetinje, nor be so active as to impose on the Turkish government. On every occasion, he had to remain dignified, serious and polite, and stay away from gossiping about or judging his counterparts, even those from the countries Montenegro was not very friendly with. The Montenegrin envoy was strictly forbidden from promising, without approval from Cetinje, to any official a medal, or from asking for anything from the Sultan (a gift, pension, assistance) without an explicit order from the ministry. The Montenegrin envoy was also given precise instructions about his conduct on certain occasions: 'Observe the days of celebration and the days of mourning

đenim prilikama: “Svečane ili korotne dane poslanstva Ruskog, Italijanskog i Srbijanskog pazite kao svoje; Neizostajati od poziva Poslanstva, ma kakve vrste bili, jer se tim prilikama najbolje koristi dobiti informacije o svemu što se zbiva; Treba voditi lične odnošaje sa članovima Ambasada koliko je više moguće, a ne igrati se kartama od vizite, jer je hrđavo viđeno i svaki oni koji drži odnošaje na kartama od vizite na kraju krajeva izgubi potrebna poznanstva i ostane usamljen; Treba posjećivati salone Gospođa od Poslanstva, na dane njihova primanja - jour fixe - jer su i te prilike dragocjene za diplomata; Treba biti član serkla (manjeg društva), jer je i to dobra prilika za sastanke sa licima diplomatskog kora; Netreba se dati gledati ni po danu ni po noći po slabim mjestima, koja diplomatski kor izbjegava posjećivati; Tajne državne čuvati od svake Ambasade i od svake ličnosti najintimnijih odnošaja; Naročito se treba čuvati od prijatelja Srbijanske legacije. Njima nikakvu tajnu nepovjeravati, ali treba se truditi biti s njima u najbolje odnošaje.”

Prvi važniji zadatak koji je vojvoda Gavro Vuković trebalo da rješava kao šef crnogorske diplomatije, odnosio se na jedan ekonomski problem. Naime, zbog velike suše, koja je izazvala veliku nestašicu žita i glad, hiljade porodice odlučilo se na iseljavanje u Srbiju.

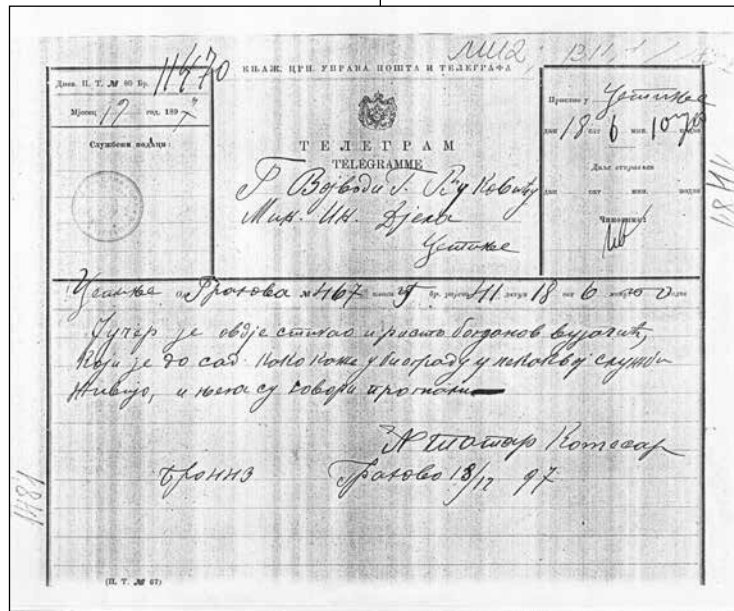
of the Russian, Italian and Serbian envoys as if they were your own; Always accept invitations from envoys, of whatever nature they may be, because on such occasions you can find out about current affairs; You should maintain personal relationships with the members of embassies as much as possible, and not toy with calling cards, because this is looked upon unfavourably and anyone who relies on this eventually loses acquaintances and remains isolated; You should visit the salons of the wives of envoys, on the days they receive guests – jour fixe – because those occasions too are precious to diplomats; You should be a member of a circle (a smaller group) because that too is a good opportunity for meeting persons from the diplomatic corps; You should not be seen either day or night at the sordid places that the diplomatic corps avoids; State secrets should be kept from every embassy and from every individual, no matter how close; Be particularly cautious with friends from the Serbian legation. Never tell them any secrets, but attempt to be in the best possible relations with them.’

The first task of major importance that Duke Gavro Vuković had to resolve as head of Montenegrin diplomacy was a matter of economic concern. Because of a widespread drought that had caused a shortage of wheat and a famine, thousands of families had decided to emigrate to

Ali, zbog loših odnosa između dvije zemlje koji su postojali od završetka rata, i nepostojanja bilo kakvih zvaničnih veza, takvu namjeru nije bilo moguće realizovati. Upravo zato, novi crnogorski ministar inostranih djela dobio je zadatak od knjaza da uspostavi zvanične veze sa Srbijom i da pokuša da od srpske vlade dobije odobrenje za naseljenje nekoliko hiljada Crnogoraca. Povoljna okolnost za ovu knjaževu ideju bila je abdikacija kralja Milana Obrenovića sa srpskog prijestola, 1889. godine, čije je neprijateljstvo prema crnogorskom vladaru bilo izrazito. S knjaževim odobrenjem, Gavro Vuković je napisao privatno pismo znamenitom srpskom državniku, Jovanu Ristiću, tada jednom od kraljevskih namjesnika, i pobratimu njegovog oca, u kome ga je zamolio da utiče da se otvore granice Srbije za porodice iz Crne Gore. Ristić je odgovorio Vukoviću takođe privatnim pismom, navodeći da će Srbija rado otvoriti svoje gra-

Serbia. But, because of the bad relations between the two countries since the war ended, and the lack of any official relations, such an intent could not be pursued. Hence, the Prince entrusted the new Montenegrin minister of foreign affairs with the task of establishing official relations with Serbia and of attempting to obtain permission from the Serbian government to allow several thousand Montenegrins settle in Serbia. A favourable juncture for this idea of the Prince was the abdication of King Milan Obrenović, who had been openly hostile to the Montenegrin ruler. He stepped down from the Serbian throne in 1889. Thus, with approval from the

Prince, Gavro Vuković wrote a private letter to the renowned Serbian official, Jovan Ristić, the then royal commissioner and his father's blood brother, asking him to influence the opening of the Serbian border for the Montenegrin families. Ristić replied to Vuković, also in a private letter, stating that Serbia would gladly open its borders to Montenegrins will-



Telegram vojvodi Gavru Vukoviću

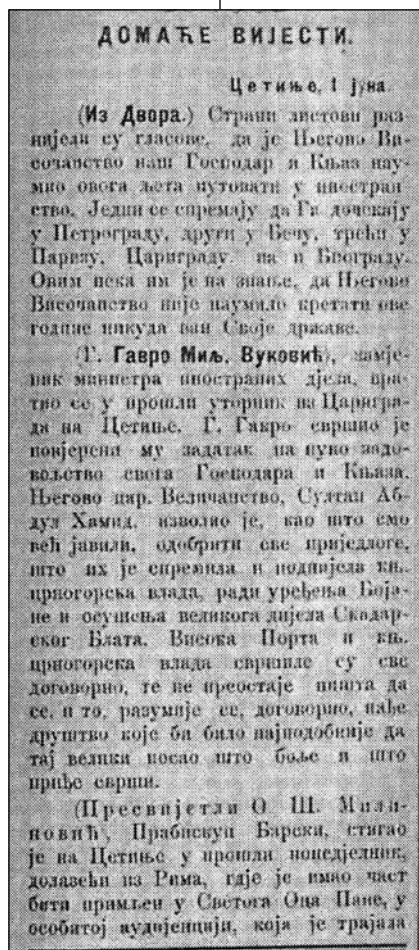
Telegram to Duke Gavro Vuković

nice za Crnogorce koji hoće da rade, ali mu je sugerisao da se za to zvanično obrati vladi. Sljedujući Ristićevo uputstvo, crnogorski ministar inostranih djela uputio je pismo predsjedniku srpske vlade, tražeći da vlada odobri da se određeni broj porodica iz Crne Gore trajno naseli u Srbiju. Imajući potrebu za prilivom novog stanovništva, i višak obradivog zemljišta u novodobijenim krajevima, srpska vlada je odmah dozvolila trajno naseljavanje 12.000 državljana Crne Gore.

Poslije uspješnog rješavanja ovog problema, crnogorska vlada pokušala je da pronade način koji će je trajno osloboditi ovih teškoća i koji će umanjiti loše posljedice nedostatka plodnog zemljišta. Svjesni da se preseljavanjem stanovništva ekonomski problemi Crne Gore samo privremeno umanjuju, ali ne i trajno rješavaju, na Cetinju su došli na ideju da snižavanjem nivoa vode Skadarskog jezera značajno uvećaju površinu obradivog zemljišta i tako prekinu vjekovnu

ing to work, but suggested that this official request should be addressed to the government. Following Ristić's instructions, the Montenegrin minister of foreign affairs addressed a letter to the Serbian prime minister, asking for the government's approval for the permanent settlement of a certain number of Montenegrin families in Serbia. In need of repopulation, and having an excess of arable land in its newly acquired areas, the Serbian government immediately granted approval for the permanent settlement of 12,000 Montenegrin citizens.

Following the successful resolution of this issue, the Montenegrin government attempted to find a way that would permanently solve difficulties of this kind and minimize the consequences of the lack of arable land. Aware that this population migration was only a temporary solution to Montenegro's economic problems, in Cetinje they came up with the idea that lowering the water level of Lake Scutari could significantly increase the area of arable land and thereby resolve the century-long problem



Vijest iz
Glasa Crnogorca

Telegram to
Duke Gavro Vuković

oskudicu Crne Gore u oraničnim površinama. Pretpostavljalo se da bi snižavašnjem voda jezera Crna Gora dobila oko 20.000 ha, ali da bi se snizio nivo voda Skadarskog jezera trebalo je regulisati tok rijeka Bojane i Drima. A izvršiti regulaciju Bojane i Drima nije bilo moguće bez saradnje osmanske vlade, na čijoj su se teritoriji ovi tokovi nalazili. Zbog toga je početkom 1890. godine ministar Vuković posjetio Carigrad.

U audijenciji kod sultana Abdul Hamida on je izložio ideju crnogorske vlade o regulaciji voda Skadarskog jezera, ukazujući kakav bi ekonomski značaj za Crnu Goru imalo rješavanje ovog pitanja. Sultan je, naravno, obećao da će narediti da se odmah pristupi realizaciji ovog poduhvata. Imajući sultanovu saglasnost, crnogorski ministar se odmah susreo sa osmanskim predsjednikom vlade (velikim vezinom), predloživši da dvije vlade sklope jedan ugovor o regulaciji voda Skadarskog jezera i formiraju zajedničku

of a shortage of arable land in Montenegro. It was assumed that lowering the lake's water level would make available about 20,000 ha of new land, but the lower level of Lake Scutari would mean that the flows of the rivers Bojana and Drim would need to be carefully managed. And it was impossible to manage the Bojana and Drim without the cooperation of the Ottoman government, in whose territory the flows of these rivers were located. Hence, in early 1890, Minister Vuković visited Constantinople.



Sultan Abdul Hamid

Having gained an audience with Sultan Abdul Hamid, he expressed the idea of the Montenegrin government regulating the water level of Lake Scutari, stressing the economic significance this would have for Montenegro. The Sultan, of course, promised to order the implementation of this endeavour immediately. Having obtained the Sultan's approval, the Montenegrin minister immediately met with the president of the Ottoman government (the Grand Vizier), proposing that the two governments draft a single contract about regulating the water level of Lake Scutari

tehničku komisiju. Razumije se, i veliki vezir je obećao da će svi crnogorski zahtjevi ubrzo biti povoljno riješeni. Kada je sve izgledalo načelno dogovoreno, nastupili su problemi: veliki vezir je naknadno obavijestio ministra Vukovića da će se sa realizacijom ugovora morati pričekati, jer je navodno albansko stanovništvo skadarske obalsti negodovalo zbog planiranih radova. I čim se ispituju uzroci nezadovoljstva, obećava veliki vezir, Porta će odmah pristupiti sklapanju ugovora. Tako je počelo uobičajeno osmansko odugovlačenje. Vojvoda Gavro Vuković u memoarima navodi da je svakog dana išao od jednog do drugog ministarstva, a ni veliki vezir nije bio pošteđen od njegovih čestih posjeta. Da bi izvršio pritisak na Portu, on je tražio podršku i od ruskog, austrougarskog i britanskog poslanika u Carigradu, ali je i njihove intervencije osmanska vlada obesnažila vještim izgovorima. Sve se još više zakomplikovalo kada je osmanska vlada iznijela novi razlog za odlaganje regulacije voda Skadarskog jezera. Navodno je skadarski upravitelj negodovao zbog ovog poduhvata, jer bi spuštanjem nivoa jezera oko Skadra, bilo stvoreno močvarno zemljište, stanište komaraca i malarije, što bi život tamošnjeg stanovništva učinilo nemogućim. Uz to, Skadrani bi ovim poduhvatom pretrpjeli veliku materijalnu štetu, budući da bi ostali bez velikih priho-

and form a joint technical board. It went without saying that the Grand Vizier also promised that all Montenegro's demands would be met. When everything appeared settled, problems arose: the Grand Vizier informed Minister Vuković that the implementation of the contract had to be postponed, because of alleged protests from the Albanian population against the planned works. As soon as the causes of discontent were examined, the Grand Vizier promised, the Porte would resume the drafting of the contract. And so began the usual Ottoman practice of delaying matters. In his memoirs, Duke Gavro Vuković stated that he visited the ministries on a daily basis, and not even the Grand Vizier was spared from his frequent visits. In order to exert pressure on the Porte, he asked for support from the Russian, Austro-Hungarian and British envoys in Constantinople, but the Ottoman government skilfully avoided their interventions too. The matter got more complicated once the Ottoman government proposed a new reason for the delay to regulating the water level of Lake Scutari. Allegedly, the administrator in Scutari had protested because this endeavour of lowering the water level of Lake Scutari would create a swamp, where mosquitoes and malaria would breed, rendering the lives of people in the area impossible. Moreover, this would incur immense material costs to the population of Scutari, since they would lose income from fishing. Such alleged problems

da od ribe. Ovi navodni problemi nametnuli su neka nova pitanja: da li crnogorska vlada garantuje da oko Skadra neće biti stvorene močvare i da li je spremna da skadarskim ri-barima nadoknadi izgubljene prihode?

Ministru Vukoviću bilo je jasno da je u pitanju samo osmanski manevar da se isušivanje dijela Skadarskog jezera odlaže u nedogled. Crnogorski ministar je ponovo zatražio audijenciju kod sultana, žaleći se na Portino odugovlačenje. Sultan je najljubavnije primio vojvodu Vukovića, saopštivši mu da je naredio Porti da tzv. Skadarsko pitanje najhitnije riješi. Da ne bi ostavio mjesta sumnji, crnogorskom ministru je pokazao i naredbu koju je s tim u vezi poslao velikom veziru, ali i pismo velikog vezira kojim ga obavještava da rješavanje ovog pitanja mora sačekati bolje vrijeme. Sultan je ljutito uzvratilo da je veliki vezir takvu odluku donio protiv njegove volje, iscijepavši u ljutnji vezirovu odluku. Bez obzira na sultanovu ljutnju, vojvoda Gavro Vuković se nakon četiri mjeseca boravka u Carigradu, i nakon stotinu audijencija, molbi i pisama, vratio u Crnu Goru neobavljena posla. Svoj neuspjeh objasnio je čudnovatom prirodom osmanske diplomatije: “Turska je jedinstvena država na svijetu, koja znade okretati s pregovorima, da izgleda iz dana u dan da posao galopira naprijed,

imposed new questions: could the Montenegrin government guarantee that there would not be swamps surrounding Lake Scutari and was it willing to offer compensation to the fishermen of Scutari for their loss of income?

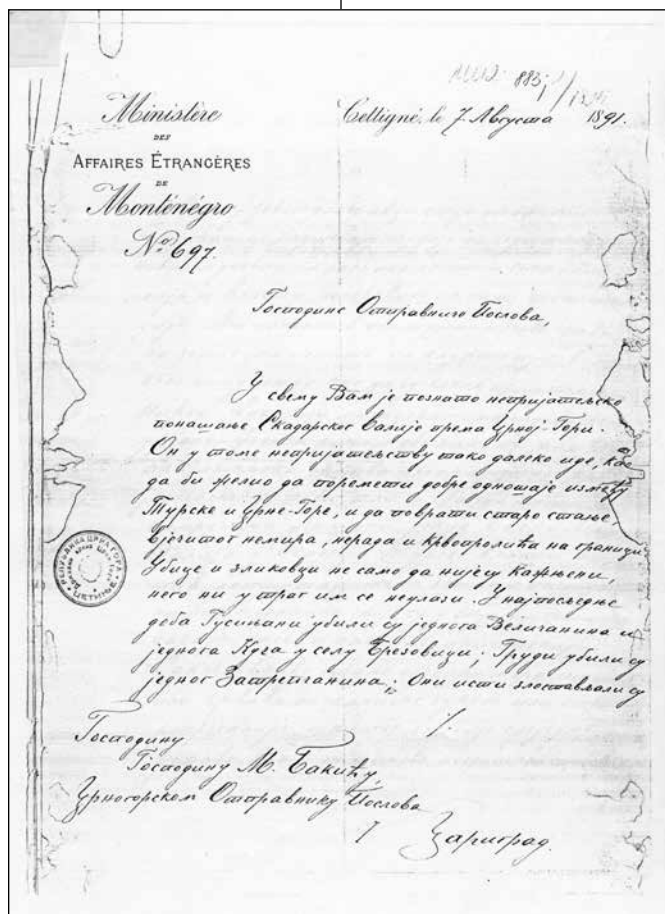
Minister Vuković understood that this was no more than an Ottoman manoeuvre to delay the drainage of Lake Scutari indefinitely. The Montenegrin minister sought an audience with the Sultan again, complaining of the Porte's delays. The Sultan received Duke Vuković most courteously, informing him that he had ordered the Porte to settle the so-called Scutari question urgently. So as to leave no place for doubt, he showed the Montenegrin minister the order he had sent to the Grand Vizier, but also a letter from the Grand Vizier informing him that the resolution of this issue would have to wait until better times. The Sultan angrily replied that the Grand Vizier had made this decision against his will, ripping the letter up in his rage. Regardless of the Sultan's anger, after four months in Constantinople, and after countless audiences, requests and letters, Duke Gavro Vuković had to come back to Montenegro without the job completed. He explained his failure by the outlandish nature of Ottoman diplomacy: “Turkey is the only country in the world that can make negotiations go such a way that it appears that the day-to-day business is galloping forwards,

a u stvari ili da stoji sve na jednom mjestu, ili da umjesto ide naprijed vraća se natrag.” On kaže i da pregovarač mora posjedovati veliku dozu strpljenja, koja će ga spasiti da ne napravi eksces, jer nepostojanost i prevrtljivost turskih državnika nema granica.

Zbor pregovora o regulisanju voda Skadarskog jezera vojvoda Gavro Vuković je još jednom boravio u Carigradu, 1895. godine, ali osim novih obećanja, nikakvog pomaka ni ovog puta nije bilo. Pored razmatranja ovog pitanja, on je u Carigradu pokrenuo i jedno, za Crnu Goru, važno pitanje – pitanje teritorijalnih kompenzacija. Naime, crnogorski ministar inostranih djela ponudio je Porti podršku Crne Gore za očuvanje cjelovitosti Albanije, što je podrazumijevalo i odricanje Crne Gore od bilo kakvih aspiracija prema

while matters actually are either standing still or going backwards.’ He also said that a negotiator must possess extensive patience, that would prevent him from doing anything injudicious, because the instability and inconstancy of Turkish officials had no limit.

Negotiations on regulating the water levels of Lake Scutari brought Duke Gavro Vuković to Constantinople again in 1895, but besides new promises, there were no advances this time around either. Besides this issue, while in Constantinople, he initiated another question of particular importance for Montenegro – the question of territorial compensation. Namely, the Montenegrin minister of foreign affairs offered Montenegrin support to the Porte for maintaining the integrity of the territory of Albania. This meant that Montenegro would give up any aspi-



Instrukcija vojvode
Gavra Vukovića

Instructions by Duke
Gavro Vuković

ovoj oblasti, s tim što bi kao protivuslugu ona dobila Beranski kraj. Ova misija vojvode Gavra Vukovića imala je za cilj da među osmanskim zvaničnicima stvori uvjerenje o zainteresovanosti Crne Gore za sporazumjevanje s Portom oko budućnosti Balkana, dok je u stvari služila za prikrivanje konačnog cilja crnogorske državne politike - podjele teritorija Osmanskog carstva između balkanskih nacionalnih država.

Upravo je vojvoda Gavro Vuković, u ime knjaza Nikole, bio glavni pregovarač sa balkanskim vladama o podjeli teritorije Osmanskog carstva. Razgovori o podjeli evorpskih teritorija Carstva vođeni su u najvećoj tajnosti sa Srbijom i Bugarskom, a crnogorski ministar inostranih djela bio je idejni tvorac zajedničkog sporazuma. Sve tri države – Crna Gora, Srbija i Bugarska, slagale su se u tome da je najpravednije da osmanske teritorije na Balkanu budu podijeljene između onih država i naroda kojima istorijski pripadaju, odnosno kojima su pripadale prije osmanskog osvajanja Balkana. No, kako i na koji način izvršiti podjelu teritorija Carstva, balkanske saveznice se nijesu mogle lako dogovoriti. Svaka od njih imala je svoje granice teritorijalnih aspiracija i skicu “istorijskih teritorija” koje treba da joj pripadnu, i po pravilu, te se granice i skice ni

rations it may have had to this area, but Berane and its surroundings would be granted as compensation. This mission of Duke Gavro Vuković was aimed at planting the belief among Ottoman officials that Montenegro was interested in communicating with the Porte about the future of the Balkans, while it actually served to cover up the ultimate goal of Montenegrin state policy – division of the Ottoman Empire territory amongst the Balkan nation states.

It was Duke Gavro Vuković himself who negotiated on behalf of Prince Nikola with the Balkan governments about the division of Ottoman territory. Talks regarding the division of the Empire's European territories were conducted in great secrecy with Serbia and Bulgaria, and the Montenegrin minister of foreign affairs was the initial drafter of the joint agreement. All three states – Montenegro, Serbia and Bulgaria – agreed that the Ottoman territories in the Balkans should be divided amongst those countries and nations they had historically belonged to, i.e. those that they had belonged to prior to Ottoman rule in the Balkans. But, how and in what way they were to carry out the division of the Empire's territories, was not an easy matter to determine for the Balkan allies. Each country had its own territorial aspirations and a sketch of the ‘historical territories’ it should obtain, and as a rule, those borders and sketches did not fit

u čemu nijesu podudarale. "Istorijske teritorije" koje je jedna balkanska država smatrala svojim, obično su obuhvatale i oblasti na koje je pretendovala ona druga. I tu je dolazilo do spora koji je onemogućavao postizanje sporazuma o zajedničkom uklanjanju Osmanskog carstva sa Balkana.

Sljedeći plan spoljnopolitičke akcije Crne Gore o zajedničkoj akciji balkanskih naroda protiv Osmanskog carstva, crnogorski ministar inostranih djela je u ime knja-

together at all. The 'historical territories' that a particular Balkan country thought of as its own usually included areas which at least one of the other countries considered rightfully theirs. And so, a quarrel developed that prevented them achieving an understanding of a unified expulsion of the Ottoman Empire from the Balkans.

Adhering to the Montenegrin foreign policy plan for unified action by the Balkan peoples against the Ottoman Empire, the Montenegrin minister of foreign affairs, on behalf of Prince



Osmansko carstvo poslije Berlinskog kongresa

Ottoman Empire after the Congress of Berlin

za Nikole, 1896. godine, ponudio Bugarskoj rad na sporazumnoj podjeli njegovih evropskih teritorija. Tokom posjete Sofiji, vojvoda Gavro Vuković je predočio bugarskom vladaru da se ovim sporazumom, kome je trebalo da pristupi i Srbija, jedino može spriječiti da velike sile na Balkanu crtaju granice prema svom nahođenju. Sa precizno utvrđenom linijom podjela osmanskih provincija – Makedonije, Stare Srbije i Albanije, balkanske zemlje trebalo je da sačekaju povoljan momenat za akciju. Bugarski vladar je ovu ideju smatrao umjesnom, ali je crnogorskom ministru spoljnih poslova rekao da sumnja da će do sporazuma doći, navodeći kao razlog neumjerene aspiracije Srbije. Knez Ferdinand je kao nespornu sferu bugarskih aspiracija smatrao najveći dio Makedonije – od Skoplja do Bitolja, i od Bitolja do Valone na Jadranu, ali je pretpostavljao da Srbija nikada neće pristati da Skoplje, nekadašnja prijestolnica cara Dušana, pripadne Bugarskoj.

Uviđajući da je sporazum nemoguć bez pridobijanja Srbije za ovu akciju, vojvoda Gavro Vuković je otpočeo tajne pregovore sa srpskom vladom. Do pregovori sa Srbijom o podjeli osmanskih teritorija došlo je 1896. godine, a crnogorski ministar je tokom pregovora predložio susret između srpskog i cr-

Nikola, offered Bulgaria in 1896 a proposal for the two countries to work together on an agreement determining the division of Ottoman territories in Europe. During a visit to Sofia, Duke Gavro Vuković told the Bulgarian ruler that this agreement, that Serbia would have to sign too, was the only thing that could prevent the Great Powers from drawing the borders in the Balkans according to their own will. Once a precise line of division of the Ottoman provinces – Macedonia, Old Serbia and Albania – was drawn, the Balkan states would only need to wait for a favourable moment to act. The Bulgarian ruler was in favour of this idea, but he told Montenegro's foreign minister that he had doubts concerning the agreement, noting as a reason Serbia's inappropriate aspirations. Duke Ferdinand considered that Macedonia – from Skopje to Bitola, and from Bitola to Valona on the Adriatic Sea – was an undeniable territorial aspiration of Bulgaria, but he supposed that Serbia would never agree to cede Skopje, which once was the capital under its Tsar Dušan.

Seeing that an agreement was impossible without convincing Serbia, Duke Gavro Vuković began secret negotiations with the Serbian government. The negotiations with Serbia about the divisions of the Ottoman territories began in 1896, and during the negotiations the Montenegrin minister proposed a meeting

nogorskog vladara, koji bi trebalo da postignu dogovor o granicama teritorijalnih aspiracija dvije zemlje. Njegova ideja je prihvaćena, pa je sredinom 1896. godine došlo do prvog zvaničnog susreta srpskog i crnogorskog vladara u Beogradu. Naredne godine srpski vladar je posjetio Cetinje.

Tokom posjete knjaza Nikole Beogradu, juna 1896, i posjete kralja Aleksandra Obrenovića Cetinju, aprila 1897. godine, vojvoda Gavro Vuković vodio je pregovore sa predsjednikom srpske vlade o zajedničkoj nacionalnoj politici i podjeli osmanskih provincija na Balkanu. Crnogorski ministar inostranih djela iznio je, u ime knjaza Nikole, prijedlog da Srbija i Crna Gora, a sa njima i Bugarska i Grčka, naprave sporazum o podjeli svih teritorija Carstva do Egejskog mora. Istovremeno, predložio je da se postigne sporazum o budućim granicama između Crne Gore i Srbije, odnosno, podjeli teritorija prema istorijskim pravima dvije države. U svojim memoarima navodi kakvu je podjelu predložio: "Da podijelimo Sandžak i Kosovski vilajet tako: Srbiji stara Dušanova prijestolnica Skoplje, Crnoj Gori Prizren. Prostor između Skoplja do Struge ili Ohrida da se podijeli tako kako bi granice bile što prirodnije – Sandžak popola, s obzirom na što prirodnije granice. Srbija da se raširi što je dublje moguće na jug, a

between the rulers of Serbia and Montenegro, who would reach an agreement about their countries' territorial aspirations. His proposition was accepted, and in mid-1896 the first official meeting between the Serbian and the Montenegrin rulers took place in Belgrade. The following year the Serbian ruler visited Cetinje.

During Prince Nikola's visit to Belgrade in June 1896 and King Aleksandar Obrenović's visit to Cetinje in April 1897, Duke Gavro Vuković led negotiations with the president of the Serbian government about joint national policy and the division of the Ottoman provinces in the Balkans. On behalf of the Prince, the Montenegrin minister of foreign affairs proposed that Serbia and Montenegro, along with Bulgaria and Greece, form an agreement about the division of all the territories of the Empire as far as the Aegean Sea. At the same time, he proposed an agreement on future borders between Montenegro and Serbia, i.e. the division of the territory according to the historical rights of the two states. In his memoirs he described the division he had proposed: "To divide Sanjak and the Kosovo Vilayet so that Serbia gets Dušan's capital Skopje, and Montenegro gets Prizren. The area between Skopje and Struga or Ohrid is to be divided in such a way as to make the borders as natural as possible – Sanjak split in half, bearing in mind the natural borders. Serbia to spread to the south as far as possible,

Crna Gora na zapadnu stranu put Adrijatika. Skadar, Drač do rijeke Skumbre Crnoj Gori, niže na jug Grčkoj, a Manastir (Bitolj) Srbiji, ostavljajući Ohrid Crnoj Gori.” No, ovi pla-

and Montenegro to the West towards the Adriatic Sea. Skadar [Shkodra] and Drač [Durrës] to the River Skumbra were to be given to Montenegro, the area to the south to Greece, while the



Balkan na početku XX vijeka

Balkans at the beginning of the 20th century

novi o podjeli teritorija, koji bi Crnu Goru proširili do Ohrida, ubrzo su odbačeni, jer srpski kralj Aleksandar nije htio pristati da u ovoj podjeli Crnoj Gori pripadne Prizren. Kada je to čuo, ni knjaz Nikola nije htio pristati da se odrekne Prizrena, što je sporazum učinilo nemogućim.

Kao ministar inostranih poslova, vojvoda Gavro Vuković bio je jedan od glavnih pobornika uspostavljanja dobrih odnosa sa Srbijom, koji su u XIX vijeku rijetko

Monastery (Bitola) should be given to Serbia, leaving Ohrid to Montenegro.' But, these plans for territorial division, that would extend Montenegro as far as Ohrid, were quickly rejected, because the Serbian King Aleksandar would not agree to cede Prizren to Montenegro, making an agreement impossible.

As minister of foreign affairs, Duke Gavro Vuković was one of the main supporters of establishing positive relations with Serbia, which were rarely friendly in the 19th century. He be-



И. И. В. Велики Къзз Петар Николајевич прегледа почасну чету. Август 1910.
Se. Hoheit Fürst Peter Nikolajevich vor der Ehrenkompagnie. August 1910.

Kraljev dvor

King's Court

bili prijateljski. U nastojanju da se odnosi između dvije zemlje poprave, smatrao je za neophodno da srpska vlada prihvati Crnu Goru kao ravnopravnog političkog partnera, bez obzira na državnu premoć Srbije, i da je uvaži kao suverenu državu koja ima svoju istorijsku prepoznatljivost. Jednom riječju, da u Crnoj Gori vidi saveznika, a ne poslušnika. U razgovorima sa izaslanikom srpske vlade, crnogorski ministar inostranih djela je rekao da od proglašenja Crne Gore za knjaževinu (1852) srpski državnici često omalovažavaju i ometaju njen državni razvoj, ne libeći se ni da u Crnoj Gori ogranižuju agenturnu mrežu "Po unutrašnjosti Crne Gore", piše vojvoda Vuković, "dolazili su agenti s gomilama dukata, da mite vrsnije Crnogorce da su pristalice Obrenovića bogatog, a da se mahnu siromašnih Njeguša." Crnogorskog ministra ljutilo je i uvredljivo pisanje većeg dijela beogradske štampe o knjazu Nikoli i Crnoj Gori, plasiranje raznih izmišljotina i protežiranje i materijalno pomaganje emigranata iz Crne Gore koji su radili protiv svoje zemlje i svog vladara. Iako je smatrao da Crna Gora treba da se bori za interese cjelokupnog srpskog naroda i da radi za dobro Srbije kao za svoje dobro, vojvoda Gavro Vuković nije smatrao da "srpski osjećaji" i ljubav prema Srbiji treba da budu iznad odanosti svojoj zemlji i

lieved that to improve relations between Serbia and Montenegro it was necessary for the Serbian government to recognize Montenegro as an equal political partner, regardless of Serbia's state pre-eminence, and to accept it as a sovereign state that had its historical distinctiveness. In a word, Serbia had to view Montenegro as an ally, and not as an inferior. During negotiations with representatives of the Serbian government, the Montenegrin minister of foreign affairs said that ever since Montenegro had been declared a Principality (in 1852), Serbian officials had often undermined and hindered its development, not hesitating to create a network of agents even in Montenegro. 'Agents came to the central parts of Montenegro,' wrote Duke Vuković, 'and used ducats to bribe eminent Montenegrins to become supporters of the rich Obrenović and to ignore the poor of Njeguši.' The Montenegrin minister was also upset because of the offensive writing by the majority of the Belgrade press about Prince Nikola and Montenegro; as well as about the fabrication of various untrue news stories, and favouritism and material support provided to emigrants from Montenegro who had worked against their country and their ruler. Although he believed that Montenegro should fight in the interests of the entire Serbian nation and work for the benefit of Serbia, just as much as for its own good, Duke Gavro Vuković did not believe that 'Serbian affiliations' and love for

svom vladaru. Kada ga je srpski kralj Petar Karađorđević jednom prilikom prekorio što vjerno služi knjazu, a ne “opštesrpskim interesima”, vojvoda Vuković mu je odgovorio: “Uzeti na sebe jednu ulogu kao što je biti ministar jednog vladara, pa nesavjesno igrati na štetu svoje domovine i vladara, a za račun ma koga drugoga, bilo bi mi ni manje ni više nego izdajstvo. Stoga ne znam s kakvim pravom Vi ste mogli od mene zahtijevati da budem u jedno isto vrijeme ministar moga Gospodara i agent za Vaše agitacije u Srbiji.”

Iako se u odnosima između Crne Gore i Srbije zalagao za političku ravnopravnost i uvažavanje državnih interesa svoje zemlje, vojvoda Gavro Vuković nije podržavao crnogorsku politiku koja bi značila miješanje u unutrašnje stvari Srbije, posebno u dinastičke sporove između Karađorđevića i Obrenovića. Njemu se nije do-

Serbia should take priority over loyalty to one's own country and sovereign. When the Serbian King Petar Karađorđević once reprimanded him for serving the Prince loyally and for not serving 'overall Serbian interests,' Duke Vuković replied: 'To assume a role such as the minister of the sovereign, and to unconscientiously act to cause harm to your homeland and your ruler, and promote anyone else's benefit, would for me be nothing short of treason. Hence I do not know what right you have to demand of me to be at the same time a minister of my Sovereign and an agent of your agitations in Serbia.'

Even though his goal was to ensure equality and recognition of his country's interests in its relations with Serbia, Duke Gavro Vuković did not support Montenegrin policies that would involve interfering in Serbian internal affairs, particularly with disputes between the Karađorđević and Obrenović dynasties. He did not like the aspirations



Crnogorska zastava

Flag of Montenegro

padala aspiracija knjaza Nikole na srpski prijesto, ukoliko bi došlo do nestanka vladajuće dinastije. Takve aspiracije smatrao je megalomanskim i nerealnim, čak smiješnim. O tome u memoarima navodi: “Često puta slušao sam Knjaza, u momentima njegovog raspoloženja, sa nekim samopouzdanjem, uobražava da bi on znao zadobiti Srbijance i za kratko vrijeme zadobiti ih za sebe. Na takve, lakomislene, priče davao sam mu opore primjedbe: ako se vi, Gospodaru, uzdate u vaše teatralne šetnje po Terazijama i Kalimegdanu, sa manjim ili višim grupama, kao što ste navili po Ćipuru, postali biste ne samo smiješni, već odvratni.”

Za vojvodu Gavra Vukovića kao crnogorskog ministra inostranih djela, poseban su značaj imali odnosi sa ruskom vladom i njenim diplomatskim predstavnicima. Budući da je Rusija bila najvažniji spoljnopolitički oslonac Crne Gore, dobri odnosi s njom bili su prioritet crnogorske diplomatije. Od kada je došao na čelo crnogorske diplomatije, on je osjetio svu delikatnost svog djelovanja kada je u pitanju Rusija, ali i važnost koju ona ima za državni život Crne Gore. No, često je Rusija, svjesna svoje moći u evropskim i svjetskim okvirima, svog ogromog značaja za Crnu Goru, i još većih zasluga za njen državotvorni razvitak, prema crnogorskim ministrima znala pokazati nadmenost i ne-

that Prince Nikola had to the Serbian throne, if the current dynasty were to vanish. He considered such aspirations megalomaniac and unrealistic, even ridiculous. He wrote about it in his memoirs: ‘I often listened to how the Prince, in his moments of good spirits and with certain confidence, imagined that he could gain support from Serbia and win the Serbians over to himself in no time. To such frivolous stories, I would give sharp remarks: if you, my Sovereign, relied on your theatrical walks along Terazije and Kalemegdan, in smaller or larger groups, as if you were strolling around Ćipur, you would become not only funny, but also repugnant.’

Relations with the Russian government and its diplomatic representatives were of particular importance to Duke Gavro Vuković as Montenegrin minister of foreign affairs. Since Russia was the most important foreign political supporter of Montenegro, good relations with them were the priority of Montenegrin diplomacy. Since he had become the leading figure of Montenegrin diplomacy, he sensed how delicate it was working with Russia, but also how important it was for the life of Montenegro as a state. However, aware of its power on the European and global arena, its huge importance to Montenegro and the credit due to it for the development of Montenegrin state, Russia often showed an air of superiority and failed to show political recognition

dovoljno političko uvažavanje. Crnogorskog ministra inostranih djela, kako tvrdi vojvoda Vuković, čak je i ruski poslanik na Cetinju “smatrao za nešto sićušno i kao nekog svog agenta, koji je po dužnosti obavezan držati ih u toku stvari svojih poslova, pa im podnositi i raporte, kao svome vladaru...” Za sebe kaže da je u odnosu prema ruskoj diplomatiji izabrao pristojnu sredinu: odan jedino svom vladaru, a prema ruskim diplomatama predusretljiv i povjerljiv, ali nikad servilan. Dodaje i da je diplomatija “čudljiva, zavidljiva, a često puta i pakosna”, ali je od svih diplomatija, kada je riječ o odnosu prema

to Montenegrin ministers. As Duke Vuković claimed, the Montenegrin minister of foreign affairs was considered by the Russian envoys in Cetinje ‘tiny and as if their own agent, who was by duty obliged to keep them informed of his work, even to report to them, as if to his own ruler...’ Talking about himself, he said that he had chosen a decent middle ground in his relations with Russian diplomacy: loyal only to his ruler, while towards Russian diplomats – quiet and trustworthy, but never servile. He added that their diplomats were ‘whimsical, envious, and often malicious’, but that out of all the diplomatic corps, when it came to their relationships



С-ПЕТЕРБУРГЪ. Невскій проспектъ и Гостинный Дворъ
ST-PETERSBOURG. Perspective de Nevsky et le Gostinny-Dvor

Petrograd

Saint Petersburg

Crnoj Gori, ipak, najčudljivija ruska. Ona se i pored zvaničnih molbi da podrži rješenje nekog crnogorskog spoljnopolitičkog problema, teško odlučivala na akciju. A ukoliko Crna Gora sama uspješno riješi taj problem, ruska diplomatija joj je na tome čestitila, iako nikako nije mogla da trpi “našu samostalnu radnju u spoljnoj politici”. Posebno je rusko nepovjerenje izazivalo uspostavljanje intenzivnih ekonomskih odnosa Crne Gore i Italije, odnosno, ulaganje italijanskog kapitala u razvoj industrije i saobraćajnica u Crnoj Gori. “Ruska diplomacija”, kaže vojvoda Vuković, “roptanjem, prijetnjama, šikanerijama, htjela je zaustaviti pokret našeg ekonomskog preporođaja.”

Pored političkih planova, vojvoda Gavro Vuković je kao ministar inostranih djela pokušavao da realizuje i jednu značajnu ekonomsku ideju - izgradnju transbalkanske željeznice od donjeg Dunava do Jadranskog mora, odnosno Bara. Svjestan ogromnog značaja koju bi transbalkanska željeznica imala za Crnu Goru, on je o realizaciji ove ideje vodio pregovore sa francuskom i italijanskom vladom, italijanskim kraljem Viktorom Emanuelom, kao i sa ruskim poslanikom na Cetinju. Francuska i italijanska strana smatrala je da ovaj projekat može biti od velike ekonomske koristi za balkanske na-

toward Montenegro, the Russians were the most whimsical. Despite official requests to support a resolution of some of Montenegro's foreign policy issues, Russia was very reluctant to act. And if Montenegro managed to successfully resolve an issue on its own, Russian diplomacy would congratulate them on it, even though it could barely tolerate 'our independent acting in foreign politics.' Russian distrust was particularly caused by the establishment of intense economic relations between Montenegro and Italy, in particular the investment of Italian capital into the development of industry and traffic in Montenegro. 'Russian diplomacy,' said Duke Vuković, 'wanted, by grumbling, threatening and chicanery, to attempt to stop the progress of our economic revival.'

Besides political plans, as minister of foreign affairs, Duke Gavro Vuković attempted to implement another significant economic idea – the building of a trans-Balkan railway stretching from the lower Danube to the Adriatic Sea (the city of Bar). Aware of the huge significance that a trans-Balkan railway would have for Montenegro, he negotiated the implementation of this idea with the French and Italian governments, the Italian King Vittorio Emanuele, as well as the Russian envoy in Cetinje. The French and the Italian sides thought this project could be of great economic benefit for the Balkan nations, particularly Montenegro. They also thought that

rode, a za Crnu Goru posebno, ali i političke, jer eliminiše austrougarsku dominaciju na glavnim balkanskim komunikacijama. I francuska i italijanska vlada iskazale su spremnost da politički i finansijski pomognu realizaciju Vukovićeve ideje. Nažalost, takva podrška nije dobijena i u Petrogradu. Ruska vlada odbila je da pomogne ovu ideju, plašeći se da bi za njeno ostvarivanje Crnogorci najprije tražili bespovratni zajam od Rusije, ali i zbog toga što je, kako tvrdi vojvoda Gavro Vuković, smatrala da Crna Gora ne treba da se ekonomski razvija, već zauvijek treba da ostane patrijarhalni vojni logor.

Pored ideje o transbalkanskoj željeznici, crnogorski ministar inostranih djela predlagao je početkom XX vijeka Srbiji zajednički rad na izgradnji jadranske željeznice, koja bi počinjala od Niša, a zatim linijom: Mitrovica - Prizren - Peć - Plav - Gusinje - Podgorica, jednim krakom izlazila na Bar, a drugim na Skadar i Medo-

it could be of political benefit, since it would eliminate Austro-Hungarian dominance of the main Balkan communication routes. Both the French and the Italian governments showed their readiness to politically and financially support the realization of Vuković's idea. Sadly, such support did not come from Saint Petersburg. The Russian government refused to help, fearing that, in order to implement the plan, the Montenegrins might ask for a loan from Russia that they would never pay back, but also because, as Duke Gavro Vuković claimed, Russia believed Montenegro should not develop economically, but forever remain a patriarchal military camp.

Other than the idea of the trans-Balkan railway, the Montenegrin minister of foreign affairs

had, in the early 20th century, suggested a joint project with Serbia to build an Adriatic railway, that would start in Niš, and then follow the Mitrovica-Prizren-Peć-Plav-Gusinje-Podgorica road, have one branch line going to Bar, and another to Scu-



Bar početkom XX vijeka

Bar at the beginning of the 20th century

vu. No, sve srpske vlade, kako tvrdi vojvoda Gavro Vuković, izbjegavale su podrže njegovu ideju. Pretpostavljao je da je glavni razlog neopravdani strah srpskih političara da bi izgradnjom pruge od Niša do Bara Srbija u svojoj spoljnoj trgovini postala zavisna od Crne Gore.

Vojvoda Gavro Vuković bio je i tvorac prijedloga ugovora o političkoj i vojnoj saradnji između Crne Gore i Srbije. Nacrt ugovora nastao je 1904. godine i predviđao je zajednički rad Srbije i Crne Gore u zauzimanju Stare Srbije, Makedonije i Albanije, tj. u oblastima koje su pod osmanskom vlašću. Sporazumom se predviđaju i principi na osnovu kojih treba izvršiti podjelu osvojenih teritorija, pri čemu treba voditi računa da interesi i aspiracije Bugarske ovom podjelom ne budu ugrožene. Predlogom ugovora Srbija i Crna Gora treba da postignu saglasnost o odbijanju miješanja drugih država u podjelu teritorija Osmanskog carstva na koje imaju istorijsko i etničko pravo, kao i da samostalno pristupe rješavanju albanskog pitanja. Nacrt ugovora koji je predložio crnogorski ministar inostranih poslova, i koji je predviđao veću samostalnost balkanskih država u nacionalnoj politici, kao i srpsko-bugarski sporazum oko podjele teritorija, srpska vlada je odbacila smatrajući da je, s jedne

tari and Medova. But, all the Serbian governments, as Duke Gavro Vuković claimed, avoided declaring open support for this idea. He supposed that the main reason was an unfounded fear among Serbian politicians that by building a railway from Niš to Bar, Serbia would become dependent on Montenegro in its foreign trade.

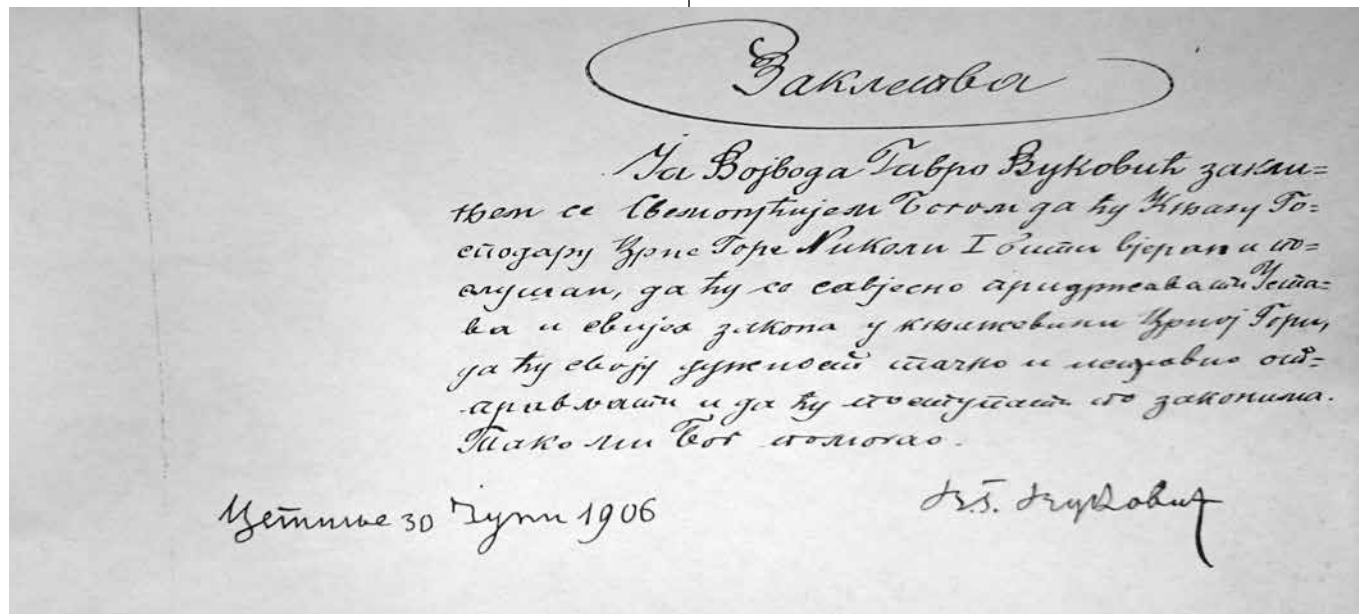
Duke Gavro Vuković was also the drafter of a proposed agreement on political and military cooperation between Montenegro and Serbia. A draft of the agreement was drawn up in 1904 and proposed Serbia and Montenegro working together in taking over Old Serbia, Macedonia and Albania, i.e. those areas still under Ottoman rule. The agreement also outlined the principles that should be considered when dividing the conquered territories, while also making sure Bulgaria's interests and aspirations were not jeopardized in this division of territories. The agreement also outlined that Serbia and Montenegro should reach an understanding about preventing the participation of any other countries in the division of the Ottoman Empire's territories that they had a historical and ethnic right to, as well as about dealing with the Albanian question on their own. The draft of the agreement proposed by the Montenegrin minister of foreign affairs envisaged greater independence of the Balkan states in their national policies, as well as an agreement between Serbia and Bul-

strane, nekorektan prema Rusiji, kojoj treba dati pravo da arbitrira u balkanskim pitanjima, a s druge, da je previše korektan prema Bugarskoj, koju je trebalo ostaviti bez dijela Makedonije. Rad na sklapanju ovog ugovora, tokom 1904. godine, bio je jedan od posljednjih diplomatskih zadataka vojvode Gavra Vukovića kao ministra inostranih djela Knjaževine Crne Gore.

Kada je decembra 1905. godine Crna Gora dobila svoj prvi ustav, postavši ustavna

garia concerning the division of territory. The Serbian government rejected the draft because they felt, on the one hand, that it was unfair to Russia, which should be given the right to arbitrate in Balkan matters, and, on the other hand, that it was too accommodating to Bulgaria, which should not be granted part of Macedonia. The work on drafting this contract during 1904 was one of the last diplomatic tasks that Duke Gavro Vuković worked on as minister of foreign affairs of the Principality of Montenegro.

When Montenegro got its first constitution in December 1905 and became a constitutional



Zakletva vojvode Gavra Vukovića

The Oath of Duke Gavro Vuković

i parlamentarna monarhija, dotadašnja vlada koju je na osnovu lične volje formirao vladar, okončala je svoju misiju. Tako je vojvoda Gavro Vuković završio svoj mandat ministra inostranih poslova. Poslije odlaska sa ministarske funkcije, knjaz Nikola ga je imenovao za predsjednika Državnog savjeta Knjaževine Crne Gore, najviše administrativne institucije u zemlji. Predsjednik Državnog savjeta bio je do 1907. godine, kada se zbog političkog neslaganja s knjazom, odnosno pripadnosti opozicionom pokretu, morao povući iz ove institucije.

Nakon prvih parlamentarnih izbora u Knjaževini Crnoj Gori, koji su održani septembra 1906. godine, formiran je prvi crnogorski parlament. Među njegovim poslanicima bio je i vojvoda Gavro Vuković, koga je kao predsjednika Državnog savjeta sljedovalo poslaničko mjesto u Crnogorskoj narodnoj skupštini na osnovu funkcije koju je imao u državnoj upravi. Vojvoda Vuković bio je tzv. virilni poslanik. Ali, u Crnogorskoj narodnoj skupštini vojvoda Vuković se ubrzo svrstao u grupu protivnika knjaza Nikole, postavši član poslaničkog kluba iz koga će izrasti Narodna stranka, prva opoziciona partija u Crnoj Gori. Kada je početkom 1907. godine formirana Narodna stranka, vojvoda Gavro Vuković bio je jedan od potpisnika njenog programa. Između crnogorskog vladara i njegovog

and parliamentary monarchy, the incumbent government, that had been formed by the ruler on the basis of his will, ended its mandate. Thus Duke Gavro Vuković ended his mandate as minister of foreign affairs. At that time Prince Nikola entrusted him with the office of President of the State Council of the Principality of Montenegro, which was the highest administrative function in the country. He remained in that position until 1907, when he had to withdraw because of political disagreements with the Prince, which came about because he joined the opposition movement.

Following the first parliamentary elections in the Principality of Montenegro held in September 1906, the first Montenegrin Parliament was formed. Duke Gavro Vuković was one of its members. As President of the State Council, he was automatically granted a seat in the Montenegrin national assembly. Duke Vuković became a so-called minister plenipotentiary. In the Montenegrin national assembly, he quickly joined a group that opposed Prince Nikola, thus becoming a member of the political movement that would grow into the People's Party, the first opposition party in Montenegro. When, in early 1907, the People's Party was formed, Duke Gavro Vuković was one of the signatories to its programme. It was a time of conflicts and the split between the

dugogodišnjeg ministra inostranih djela tada je došlo do sukoba i prekida njihovih ličnih veza.

Kao ličnost nespornog autoriteta, i zasigurno jedna od najznačajnijih političkih figura epohe knjaza i kralja Nikole, vojvoda

Montenegrin ruler and his long-time minister of foreign affairs.

As a figure of undisputable authority, and certainly one of the most important political personalities of the epoch of Prince, and later King,



Vladarska porodica Petrović-Njegoš

Royal family Petrović-Njegoš

Gavro Vuković je u vrijeme parlamentarnih borbi početkom XX vijeka predstavljao snažan oslonac opozicionom pokretu. Mnogi mlađi pripadnici ovog pokreta, posebno Marko Daković, nalazili su u njemu savjetnika i zaštitnika, iako ne i istomišljenika kada je u pitanju način bobre protiv crnogorskog režima i odnos prema vladaru. Vojvoda Gavro Vuković nije bio pristalica nasilne smjene crnogorskog vladara, pogotovo ne bombama i oružanom pobunom, niti je htio da u dnevno-političkoj borbi osporava velike Gospodareve zasluge za Crnu Gori i njegovo političko umijeće. On je bio njegov politički protivnik, ali ne i njegov lični neprijatelj.

Kao član Narodne stranke vojvoda Gavro Vuković bio je poslanik u Skupštini i u njenom posljednjem sazivu, 1914. godine. Od izbijanja Prvog svjetskog rata, u kome je od avgusta 1914. učestvovala i Crna Gora, zalagao se za više političke promišljenosti prilikom donošenja krupnih odluka, a manje nacionalnog romantizma i zanosa. Kada je tokom 1915. godine postalo izvjesno da Crnoj Gori predstoje teški dani, on je na sjednici Skupštine (decembra 1915.) predlagao sklapanje separatnog mira sa Austrougarskom, što je većina poslanika ocijenila kao akt izdaje i predlog nedostojan nacionalne časti Crne Gore.

Nikola, Duke Gavro Vuković provided strong support to the opposition movement at the time of parliamentary struggles in the early 20th century. Many younger members of this movement, in particular Marko Daković, saw him as an adviser and a protector, although he did not agree with them when it came to the manner of fighting against the Montenegrin regime and to their attitude towards the ruler. Duke Gavro Vuković was not a supporter of the violent replacement of the Montenegrin ruler, especially not by means of bombs and an armed uprising, nor did he wish to deny the ruler's credit for what he had done for Montenegro or his political skills in the day-to-day political struggle. He was his political opponent, but not his personal enemy.

As a member of the People's Party, Duke Gavro Vuković had a seat in the last convocation of Montenegrin Parliament in 1914. From the start of the First World War that Montenegro participated in from August 1914, he advocated more political forethought when rendering major decisions, and less national romanticism and zeal. When, in 1915, it became clear that Montenegro would face hard times, Gavro Vuković proposed a separate peace agreement with Austria-Hungary in the Parliament session held in December 1915. The majority of the members of Parliament considered this an act of treason and a suggestion not worthy of the national honour of Montenegro.

Kada je januara 1916. godine Crna Gora okupirana od austrougarske vojske, mnogi pobornici rata sa moćnom carevinom, napustili su Crnu Goru. Vojvoda Gavro Vuković ostao je na Cetinju. Odmah je uspostavio kontakt sa prvim čovjekom austrougarske okupacione vlasti u Crnoj Gori, pokušavajući da doprinese snošljivijem sistemu uprave. Smatrajući da je za crnogorsko stanovništvo najbolje da

When the Austro-Hungarian army occupied Montenegro in January 1916, many supporters of war against the powerful empire left Montenegro. Duke Gavro Vuković stayed in Cetinje. He immediately made contact with the head of the Austro-Hungarian occupation government in Montenegro, attempting to contribute to a more bearable system of administration. Believing that in such hard times



Crnogorska vojska u Prvom svjetskom ratu

Montenegrin Army in the First World War

u ovim teškim vremenima pokaže lojalnost novoj vlasti, protivio se oružanom otporu koji bi, u tadašnjim prilikama, više štete nanio neborbenom stanovništvu nego okupatoru. Tokom okupacije vojvoda Gavro Vuković je čak nekoliko puta intervenisao kod austrougarskih vlasti da se iz internacije vrate crnogorski državljani.

Napori vojvode Gavra Vukovića da saradujući sa okupacijskim vlastima ublaži nevolje i stradanja civilnog stanovništva, ponekad su nakon rata osuđivani kao oblik saradnje s okupatorom. Na takve optužbe obično je uzvraćao riječima - da sve što je radio, nije radio zbog sebe, nego zbog drugih. Izgleda da je i nova država koja je stvorena 1918. godine na takav način tumačila njegovo djelovanje tokom austrougarske okupacije, pa ga je imenovala opunomoćenim poslanikom Kraljevine SHS u Carigradu. Ovaj gest imao je isključivo politički i simbolički značaj, tako da je ubrzo nakon imenovanja penzionisan u rangu ministra-rezidenta.

Stvaranje zajedničke jugoslovenske države, vojvoda Gavro Vuković nije dočekao kao bezrezervni pobornik rada i odluka Podgoričke skupštine. Iako je u vrijeme knjaza i kralja Nikole bio poslanik opozicione

it was the best for the Montenegrin population to show loyalty to the new government, he was against any armed uprising which would, in the given circumstances, cause more harm to the unarmed population than to the occupiers. During the occupation, Duke Gavro Vuković even intervened several times with the Austro-Hungarian government to bring Montenegrin citizens back from internment.

Gavro Vuković's efforts to cooperate with the occupiers in order to ease the plight and avoid the deaths of the civil population were sometimes adjudged a form of collaboration with the occupier. To such accusations he usually responded saying that everything he had done, he had done not for himself, but for others. It appeared that the new state created in 1918 took the same view of his activities during the Austro-Hungarian occupation, and thus named him the fully authorized envoy of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Constantinople. However, this was more a gesture of political and symbolic significance, and soon after being appointed he retired to the rank of minister resident.

Duke Gavro Vuković did not welcome the creation of the unified Yugoslav state with unreserved support for the work and decisions of the Podgorica Assembly. Even though he was a member of the opposition People's Party during

Narodne stranke, on je smatrao da dinastija Petrović Njegoš nije zaslužila poniženje koje su joj nanijeli tzv. ujedinitelji, niti da Crna Gora treba da uđe u zajedničku državu kao jedan od srpskih okruga, umjesto kao viševjekovna nezavisna država. Zbog neslaganja sa potpunim potiranjem crnogorske državne posebnosti, vojvoda Gavro

the time of Prince, and later King, Nikola, he believed that the Petrović Njegoš dynasty did not deserve the humiliation it endured from the so-called unifiers. He also believed that Montenegro should not have joined the joint state as a district of Serbia. He thought that Montenegro should have been treated as a sovereign state, which it had been for centuries. Since he did not agree



Kralj Nikola

King Nikola

Vuković je 1920. godine prihvatio da bude nosilac izborne liste u Crnoj Gori, koja je okupljala buduće članove Crnogorske federalističke stranke. Potpisnici liste na čijem je čelu bio vojvoda Gavro Vuković, zastupali su stanovništvo da Crna Gora u novoj državi ne smije biti dio Srbije, već jedan od njenih sastavnih činilaca. Ovakvi politički stavovi nijesu bili posljedica nezadovoljstva ličnim statusom u novoj državi, već uvjerenja da je ona ustrojena na način koji je čini nestabilnom i neodrživom. Poslije ovog angažmana vojvoda Gavro Vuković povlači se iz političkog života, čime se završava njegova politička karijera, koja je trajala više od četiri decenije.

Posljednje godine života vojvoda Gavro Vuković proveo je u Beranama, živjeći povučeno i skromno. Upravo tih godina u Beranama je učio gimnaziju Milo-

with the absolute denial of Montenegrin statehood, in 1920 Duke Gavro Vuković accepted to become the leader of the list of candidates in the elections that gathered future members of the Montenegrin Federalist Party. The signatories to the list, with Duke Gavro Vuković being the most prominent among them, held the view that, in the new state, Montenegro could not and must not be a part of Serbia, but one of the constituent members of the new state. These political attitudes were not motivated by him being unhappy with his own personal status in the new country, but by his conviction that the new state had been set up in such a way that would render it

unstable and unsustainable. After this engagement, Duke Gavro Vuković withdrew from political life and ended a political career that had lasted for over four decades.

Duke Gavro Vuković spent his final years in Berane, leading



Kuća vojvode Gavra Vukovića u Beranama

House of Duke Gavro Vuković in Berane

van Đilas, revolucionar i kasnije najpoznatiji komunistički disident, koji je o nekadašnjem knjaževom ministru inostranih djela ostavio zanimljivo svjedočanstvo. U knjizi “Besudna zemlja”, Đilas kaže: “Vojvoda Gavro je živio ka vrhu varoši. Njegova nova kuća, u kojoj je i stanovao, tek ako je bila gotova... Bio je niskog srednjeg rasta, već star i oslabio. Tih i mio čovjek, kojemu nije bilo, što se kaže, zazorno ni s djetetom da progovori. Uprkos tom povučenom držanju, bilo je kod njega utoliko više nečeg dostojanstvenog i na dlaku odmjereno. Držao je do svakog pokreta i svake riječi. Vidjelo se na njemu da je iz glavarstvih kuća trebalo da se odnjeguje plemstvo... Prije podne vojvoda Gavro nikada nije izlazio. Ali je kasno popodne uvijek kretao u šetnju, s polucilindrom i u crnim naočarima. Išao je lagano kao da pipa štapom – niz ulicu, pa dalje k starom manastiru... Vojvoda se, što se brže primicao smrti, sve žudnije spajao s prošlošću – trebalo da bude veliko nevrjeme pa da on ne prošeta k manastiru. U mrak bi se vratio. A noću je dugo tinjala lampa iza zavjese na njegovu prozoru. Vojvoda je čitao ili pisao svoje uspomene. Živio je od sjećanja, čekajući smrt.”

a secluded and modest life. At that time, Milovan Đilas, the revolutionary and later the best-known communist dissident, was attending the grammar school in the same town. He left an interesting testimony about the former minister of foreign affairs. In his book ‘Land without Justice’, Đilas says: ‘Duke Gavro lived in the upper part of the town. The new house where he lived was barely finished... He was short to medium in stature, already old and weakened. The quiet and kind gentleman respected adults and children equally in his conversation. Despite his secluded behaviour and his modesty, there was something about him that showed dignity and a sense of balance. Every gesture and every move he made was thoughtful. You could see by looking at him that it took a family of leaders to raise a nobleman... Duke Gavro never went out in the morning. But he always went for walks in the late afternoon, with a bowler hat and dark glasses... He walked slowly, as if he was feeling his way with a cane – down the street, and further towards the old monastery... The older he got, the more enthusiastically he would connect with the past – and only a serious storm would prevent him from walking to the monastery. He would not come back until dark. And at night, for a long time, a lamp would glow behind the curtain in his window. The duke would read or would be writing his memoirs. He lived from his memories, waiting for death.’

Posljednjih godina života vojvoda Gavro Vuković je intenzivno pisao memoare, koji su ponajmanje lično sjećanje na jedno vrijeme i događaje, a više pokušaj da se napravi pregled spoljne politike Crne Gore u periodu kada je bio na čelu crnogorske diplomatije. To potvrđuje i činjenica da su memoari najvećim dijelom utemeljeni na originalnim dokumentima koja su dio lične arhive vojvode Gavra Vukovića. Memoari počinju opisom događaja koji su bili uvod u crnogorsko-osmanski rat 1876-1878. godine, zatim pregledom najvažnijih ratnih dešavanja, a nakon toga posvećeni su dešavanjima oko razgraničenja između Crne Gore i Osmanskog carstva i političkim odnosima Crne Gore sa balkanskim državama i velikim silama. Od posebnog historiografskog značaja su i poglavlja

During the last years of his life, Duke Gavro Vuković intensively wrote his memoirs, presenting an era and events, less as a personal recollection and much more as an overview of Montenegro's foreign policy at the time when he was head of Montenegrin diplomacy. His



memoirs are largely based on original documents that he had in his personal archive. He started with a description of the events that led to the Montenegrin-Ottoman war in 1876-1878, and continued with an overview of the most important events of the war. He provided a description of the process of demarcation between Montenegro and the Ottoman Empire and Montenegro's political relations with the Balkan states and the Great Powers. Of special historiographical significance are the chapters describing sev-

Italijanska kraljica Jelena

Jelena, Queen of Italy

o pojedinim delikatnim diplomatskim misijama vojvode Gavra Vukovića, koje su imale poseban značaj za međunarodnu afirmaciju Crne Gore. Jedno poglavlje "Memoara" posvećeno je rješavanju spora između Crne Gore i Osmankog carstva povodom spora oko predaje Plava, Gusinja i Ulcinja 1878. do 1880. godine. Zatim je ukazao na okolnosti koje su uticale na dolazak izbjegle srpske dinastije Karađorđevića u Crnu Goru, žendibu kneza Petra Karađorđevića princezom Zorkom Petrović Njegoš, kao i na političku djelatnost Karađorđevića i njihove odnose sa knjazom Nikolom. Jedno poglavlje "Memoara" odnosi se na udadbu princeze Jelene za italijanskog prestolonasljednika i politička tumačenja tog događaja. Opisane su i najvažnije diplomatske misije vojvode Gavra Vukovića, posjete knjaza Nikole Srbiji i kralja Aleksandra Obrenovića Crnoj Gori, značajni događaji iz diplomatskih odnosa Crne Gore sa velikim silama, a posebno sa Rusijom. Jedno poglavlje odnosi se na diplomatsku akciju za dobijanje međunarodne saglasnosti za povišenje vladarske titulu knjaza Nikole, povodom četiri decenije vladavine. Značajno je i Vukovićevo svjedočenje o posjeti knjaza Nikole sultanu Abdul Hamidu, odnosima Srbije i Crne Gore na početku XX vijeka, kao i povratku dinastije Karađorđević na vlast u Srbiji.

eral delicate diplomatic missions that Duke Gavro Vuković undertook and that had particular importance for the international recognition of Montenegro. One chapter of 'Memoirs' was dedicated to the resolution of the dispute between Montenegro and the Ottoman Empire over the surrender of Plav, Gusinje and Ulcinj from 1878 to 1880. Gavro Vuković also described the circumstances that affected the arrival of the fleeing Karađorđević dynasty in Montenegro and their relationship with Prince Nikola. Another chapter of 'Memoirs' deals with the topic of the marriage between the Montenegrin Princess Jelena and the Italian heir to the throne and with the political implications of this marriage. Duke Gavro Vuković also described his most important diplomatic missions, the visits of Prince Nikola to Serbia and of King Aleksandar Obrenović to Montenegro, as well as the significant events in diplomatic relations between Montenegro and the Great Powers, especially Russia. Another chapter concerns the diplomatic activities related to obtaining international consent to upgrade the ruling title of Prince Nikola, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of his rule. The memoirs also contain Vuković's account of Prince Nikola's visit to Sultan Abdul Hamid, of relations between Serbia and Montenegro in the early 20th century, and of the return of the Karađorđević dynasty to power in Serbia.

Djelovi obimnih memoara vojvode Gavra Vukovića, koji imaju u rukopisu više od hiljadu strana, publikovani su još za vojvodinog života. Jedno poglavlje memoara najprije je objavljeno 1927. godine u cetinjskom časopisu "Zapisi". Od 1927. do 1932. objavljen je u posebnim knjigama njihov najveći dio, a prvo kompletno izdanje memoara publikovano je tek 1985. godine u tri knjige. Istoričari su odmah prepoznali da su memoari izuzetno značajni kao istorijski izvor za istoriju crnogorske diplomatije i spoljnu politiku Crne Gore poslije Berlinskog kongresa. Pored toga, memoari imaju vrijednost za izučavanje crnogorskog društva, političke kulture i mentaliteta, jer je pišući o najvažnijim spoljno-političkim dešavanjima i odnosima autor ukazao i na unutrašnjopolitičke i društvene okolnosti koje su spoljne odnose Crne Gore imale

Parts of Duke Gavro Vuković's extensive memoirs, constituting over a thousand pages of manuscripts, were published during his lifetime. One chapter was published first in 1927 in the Cetinje journal 'Records' (Zapisi). The largest part of the memoirs was published between 1927 and 1932 in separate volumes, while the first complete edition was not published until 1985 when it appeared in three volumes. Historians immediately recognized how important the memoirs were as a source of information about the history of Montenegrin diplomacy and Montenegrin foreign policy after the Berlin Congress. Besides that, the memoirs are of value for studies of Montenegrin society, its political culture and mentality, because, in writing about significant events and relations in foreign politics, the author also described the situation on the domestic political



Memoari Gavra Vukovića

Memoirs of Gavro Vuković

znatnijeg uticaja. Mnogi djelovi memoara mogu se smatrati sasvim pouzdanim, jer su pisani na osnovu službenih izvora. Imajući u vidu činjenicu da su pisani poslije 1918. godine, u vrijeme kada je kralj Nikola bio predmetom osporavanja i diskreditacije, posebno je važno primjetiti da je vojvoda Gavro Vuković sačuvao mjeru objektivnosti prema vladaru čiji je ministar bio. Zasigurno i to dosta govori o moralnom profilu vojvode Gavra Vukovića.

Vojvoda Gavro Vuković umro je 29. jula 1928. godine u Beranama, a sahranjen je kod manastira Đurđevi Stupovi. Odmah nakon smrti, pojavile su se prve historiografske ocjene njegovog diplomatskog i političkog djelovanja, koje su upućivale na zaključak da je riječ o jednoj od najznačajnijih ličnosti u istoriji Crne Gore. Što su kasnija istorijska izučavanja prošlosti Crne Gore XIX i XX vijeka bila dublja i svestranija, to je i sud o njegovoj političkoj ulozi bio sve utemeljeniji, a zasluge uočljivije. Sam vojvoda Vuković je u memoarima napisao da o svim događajima i istorijskim ličnostima treba suditi i presuđivati na osnovu okolnosti i mjerila njihovog vremena, a ne prema mjerilima i okolnostima savremenosti. No, presuđivali o njegovim zaslugama i

scene and the social circumstances that had an immense influence on Montenegro's relations with other countries. Many parts of the memoirs can be considered completely reliable, since they are based on official sources. Bearing in mind the fact they were written after 1918, at the time when King Nikola was being impugned and discredited, it is particularly important to note that Duke Gavro Vuković maintained a level of objectivity towards the ruler under whom he served as minister. That certainly speaks volumes about Duke Gavro Vuković's morality.

Duke Gavro Vuković died on 29 July 1928 in Berane and was buried next to Đurđevi Stupovi monastery. The first historiographical evaluations of his diplomatic and political activity came immediately after his death. All of them said that he was one of the most significant figures in the history of Montenegro. As later historical research on 19th - and 20th - century Montenegro got deeper and more varied, evaluations of his political role became even more firmly based and his merits even more appreciated. Duke Vuković himself wrote in his memoirs that historic events and figures should be judged based on the circumstances and the criteria of their time, and not according to the contemporary criteria and circumstances. Yet, no matter what

značaju na osnovu mjerila njegovog ili našeg vremena, historiografski sud o vojvodi Gavru Vukoviću danas je uglavnom ujednačen - on se ubraja u najznačajnije političke ličnosti novovjekovne istorije Crne Gore.

criteria we take, those of his time or those of ours, opinions on Duke Gavro Vuković agree at least on one thing - that he is one of the most important political figures in Montenegro's recent history.



Vojvoda Gavro Vuković

Duke Gavro Vuković



Crna Gora 1913.

Montenegro 1913.

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Књ. Цр. Консулат

Број 76.

Генералот Рајсрат:

Јуни 2. 1904

Скадар, 18 Октобра 1904

Посвојенич
Ген. Рај. П. Вукотић
Министру Австралија Гела
Џејкокс.

По новој ризни Валија је чинио од Велике гониме, са
којим му је часописао на одговору реза у којима Валија и на држави ови:
тајана која овако је на страни Гела ПМ. —

Чинио је га у свом Валијању пре била млада, који би се
миме уединити, са овим то се догађају у овим Валијањима, а
којима млади, али се је гониме од ових да се миме реприсио о резу који ови
којима млади! — Чак ризни, миме то кети; Валија од млади и и овим
Валија младица. — У Валија. из овиме младица, гониме се се младица,
а млади и младица, и овим млади од младица у овиме младица, овиме
млади од младица брима и младица се, млади и у овиме младица млади
и младица. — Младица се се да млади гониме млади млади, који се
млади младица млади, млади се млади у Валија; Валија то млади, али
млади се се млади! —

Валија, који би младица да се Валија млади и да се млади
младица млади младица, у млади младица млади млади, који би младица
млади да младица у младица. —

Посвојенич
Ген. Рај. П. Вукотић

Izvještaj crnogorskog konzula
u Skadru

Report by the Montenegrin consul
to Scutari (Shkodra)



ISBN 978-9940-614-23-2



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