

Depiction of the Enemy in Croatia During World War I

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Abstract. The aim of this paper is to analyse and compare the visual representation and iconography in works depicting the enemy in Croatian visual arts during World War I. The article encompasses research on unpublished archival sources and contemporaneous press. The works of renowned Croatian artists, who were enlisted or volunteered for frontline duty are analysed, as are the works of art presented to the Croatian general public through graphics, cartoons and caricatures in the then popular press. Comparison of war-themed images shows differences in the visualisation of the enemy. The generally accepted belief that the enemy was visually satanised and ridiculed actually only applies to caricatures and cartoons.

Keywords: World War I; Croatian Visual Artists; Stereotype; Propaganda; Political Cartoon; Caricature.

[es] Representación visual del enemigo durante la Primera Guerra Mundial en Croacia

Resumen. El objetivo de este artículo es analizar y comparar la representación visual y la iconografía en obras que representan al enemigo en las bellas artes croatas durante la Primera Guerra Mundial. Se investigaron fuentes de archivo inéditas y revistas de la época. Se analizaron obras de reconocidos artistas que fueron reclutados o voluntarios para el campo de batalla, así como obras de arte presentadas al público croata a través de gráficos y caricaturas en los periódicos populares de aquella época. A través de la comparación de imágenes con temas de guerra se puede notar una visualización diferente del enemigo. La opinión generalmente aceptada de que el enemigo es satanizado y ridiculizado en la representación artística se deja a la caricatura.

Palabras clave: Primera Guerra Mundial; artistas croatas; estereotipo; propaganda; caricatura política; caricatura.

Summary. 1. Introduction. 2. Works of Art and Types of Representation. 3. Depiction of the Enemy in Works of Unknown Artists Published in the *Ilustrovani* list. 4. Photographs Published in the *Ilustrovani* list. 5. On the Depictions and Iconography in Caricatures and Cartoons 6. Conclusion. 7. Written sources and bibliographical references.

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1. Introduction

All the belligerent countries in World War I deployed predesigned propaganda, whose messages were transmitted through all forms of media². According to Harold D. Laswell, one of the goals of propaganda from the time of World War I was to “represent the enemy as an obstacle to the realisation of the cherished ideals and dreams of the nation as a whole” and “represent [the] opposing nation as satanic. [...] The maintenance of hatred depends upon supplementing the direct representations of the menacing, obstructive, satanic enemy by assurances of ultimate victory”³.

The Croatian lands, i.e. the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, were part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and thus fought on the side of the Central Powers against the Entente countries during World War I. The introduction of a state of emergency in Banal Croatia (i. e. Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia) in late July 1914 included, among other repressive measures, the censorship of the media⁴. The authorities, more precisely the War Surveillance Office (*Kriegsüberwachungsamt*), controlled which news was allowed to be published⁵. In Croatia, war propaganda first appeared in the media landscape in daily newspapers and magazines in the form of “adapted” war-related news. At the same time, printed texts were supplemented with visual information through photographs, graphics, and drawings brought to the public by the *Ilustrovani list*, a weekly magazine that was published in Zagreb from January 1914 till December 1918. The *Ilustrovani list* was the first periodical in Croatia focused on presenting visual contents, photographic reports⁶. The magazine was received exceptionally well among the readership, which is attested by its then impressive weekly circulation of approximately 15,000. In addition to various columns richly supplemented by graphical materials, the magazine also published caricatures and cartoons⁷.

Even though the authorities mostly dictated what could be published, there were cases when contents not in line with their measures were nonetheless published. In such cases, the author was marked as “politically suspect” or sent to the front⁸. Artists who published objectionable caricatures and cartoons in which they ironised war and wartime events suffered a similar fate, and were usually enlisted for military service. They tried to avoid this by changing their pseudonyms and drawing styles⁹. On the other hand, painters and sculptors were not enlisted “as punishment”, but were sent to the front so that they could make sketches and

² Harold D. Laswell, *Propaganda Technique in World War* (New York: Peter Smith, 1938), 209-210.

³ Laswell, *Propaganda Technique*, 195.

⁴ Marko Vukičević, “Aspects of Personal Freedom During The First World War in Zagreb”, *Rewiev of Croatian History* 10, no. 1 (2014): 99.

⁵ Ljiljana Dobrovšak, “Pozadina izlaženja Ilustrovanoga lista - izvora za povijest Prvoga svjetskog rata”, in *1914. Prva godina rata u Trojnoj Kraljevini i Austro-Ugarskoj Monarhiji*, ed. Vijoleta Herman Kaurić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2018), 101.

⁶ Marija Tonković, “Pretpovijest reportažne fotografije u Hrvatskoj”, *Život umjetnosti* 74/75 (2005): 110.

⁷ Dobrovšak, “Pozadina izlaženja Ilustrovanoga lista”, 103-104.

⁸ Josip Horvat, *Povijest novinstva Hrvatske 1771-1939* (Zagreb: Golden marketing - Tehnička knjiga, 2003), 331.

⁹ Frano Dulibić, *Povijest karikature u Hrvatskoj do 1940. godine* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2009), 146.

studies for works ordered by the War Press Office (*Kriegspressequartier*, KPQ) of the Ministry of War. Artists were obliged to produce exact numbers of works of art for the KPQ: one sketch weekly and one painting monthly¹⁰. During World War I, artists produced more than 8,000 paintings and sculptures, most of which were bought by Kriegsmuseum in Vienna (today the Heeresgeschichtliches Museum)¹¹. The museum was bombed near the end of World War II, and approximately 40% of its artefacts were destroyed. Therefore, it can be assumed that some of the “ordered” works of art dating from World War I were then lost¹². One could say that artists could not avoid being sent to the front, though some of them had to directly participate in combat, while others observed the flow of battle from further away.

2. Works of Art and Types of Representation

The works of renowned artists, painters and sculptors, constituted a specific type of propaganda. The Austro-Hungarian Ministry of War, more specifically the KPQ, recruited photographers, sculptors, and painters for making specific propaganda works containing war iconography. The presentation of the enemy to the public in Banal Croatia can be categorised according to visual art form, technique, and working method.

The depictions of war events by academy-trained artists, sculptors, and painters are propaganda works produced at the highest artistic level. Due to the working methods of sketching, studies, modelling, and painting, the process of creating such works was lengthy, and thus limited their number. Using their skills and knowledge, artists enlisted into the KPQ produced works of war iconography. Due to the constantly changing situation on battlefields, they had to use “faster and cheaper” techniques – such as ink or drawing in pencil¹³. In any case, the question arises whether the time they spent on the front influenced their works, i.e. did it prompt changes in their approach to their work.

Artists from the territory of Banal Croatia enlisted into the Austro-Hungarian armed forces included painters Oton Iveković and Oskar Artur Alexander and sculptor Robert Frangeš Mihanović, renowned artists educated before the war in Croatia, Austria-Hungary, and abroad. Despite the Croatian lands being on the side of the Central Powers during World War I, painter Vladimir Becić (Betzitch) voluntarily entered into the service of the Serbian royal army as a war reporter and photographer, and produced a series of significant photographs over the course of the war. These photographs are particularly interesting as they were not staged, and were published in the French magazine *L'Illustration* in 1916. He also produced

¹⁰ Marina Bregovac Pisk, “Slike velikog rata”, in *Slike Velikog rata / Images of the Great War*, exhibition catalogue (Zagreb: Hrvatski povijesni muzej, 2014), 18.

¹¹ “Die Geschichte des Museums”, Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, accessed June 7, 2020, <https://www.hgm.at/museum/entdecken/die-geschichte-des-hgm>

¹² Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, “Die Geschichte des Museums”.

¹³ Andreja Der-Hazarijan Vukić and Darija Alujević, “Lica rata na zagrebačkim izložbama 1914-1918”, in *Odjeci s bojišnice: Zagreb u Prvom svjetskom ratu*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Kristian Strukić (Zagreb: MGZ, 2015), 91.

war-themed drawings, graphics, and paintings that show soldiers during their everyday activities as well as portraits of individuals¹⁴.

Oton Iveković (1869-1939) learned painting in Zagreb, and studied it in Vienna, Munich, and Karlsruhe¹⁵. Iveković was a Historicist painter, and the topics of his pre-war paintings include important events from Croatian history, which made him very popular. Despite “indecisiveness in the composition”, his works are marked by a realistic depiction and the use of a “colourful palette”¹⁶.

He entered the service of war propaganda in 1915, after the Royal Land Government in Zagreb employed him to produce the painting *Naša pukovnija pred Jajcem* (“Our Regiment before Jajce”). The topic of this painting is war – it shows an event from 1878, during the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹⁷. Note that Iveković’s first war-related piece produced during World War I does not show an event from the then “current” war, but covers a Historicist topic.

Also in 1915, Iveković began his service in the KPQ¹⁸. In an interview published in the Zagreb newspaper *Agramer Tagblatt*, he stated: “The modern war painter should get into the trenches on the first lines, advance towards his enemy as a fighter in order to experience combat...”¹⁹. He described the duty, and also the significance of a propaganda painter. Iveković went to the front many times during World War I in order to make sketches, studies for works of visual art²⁰, and on one occasion got very near the first enemy trenches²¹. However, his initial fervour faded after he spent some time on the front. Namely, a newspaper article suggests that Iveković suffered a neurological disease after returning from the front and it was some time before he could paint (using the sketches he made on the front as a basis)²². This newspaper claim shows that he suffered what is today clinically known as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Despite this, Iveković managed to paint over 100 war-themed paintings and produce numerous sketches and studies²³. Iveković did not show the enemy in his sketches, illustrating instead the effect of the artillery on enemy defensive lines, or portraits of soldiers and officers, sketching them in the trenches or at their posts²⁴. The depicted soldiers do not show signs of weariness and their uniforms are tidy, which means Iveković idealised the state of affairs on the front lines. This technique of painting and sketching was probably used so that the viewers could better imagine a particular battle or

¹⁴ Zvonko Maković, “Vladimir Becić”, in *Vladimir Becić (1886-1954)*, exhibition catalogue, ed. Zvonko Maković and Iva Sudec Andreis (Zagreb: Galerija Klovičevi dvori, 2018), 35-39.

¹⁵ *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, s.v. “Iveković, Oton” by Snježana Pintarić, accessed April 25, 2020, <http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=118>

¹⁶ *Enciklopedija likovnih umjetnosti*, s.v. “Iveković, 2. Oton” by Duško Kečkemet.

¹⁷ “Hrvatski ratni slikar,” *Jutarnji list* no. 1160 (June 20, 1915), 6.

¹⁸ Marina Bregovac Pisk, “Prvi svjetski rat u zbirci slika, grafika i skulptura Hrvatskog povijesnog muzeja”, in *Dadoh zlato za željezo. Prvi svjetski rat u zbirkama Hrvatskog povijesnog muzeja*, collection catalogue, ed. Jelena Borošak Marijanović (Zagreb: Hrvatski povijesni muzej, 2012), 108-109.

¹⁹ “Die Kunst am Schlachtfelde”, *Agramer Tagblatt* no. 176 (July 31, 1915), 4-5.

²⁰ “Naši umjetnici na talijanskom bojištu”, *Jutarnji list* no. 1255 (September 21, 1915), 4.

²¹ “Iz Ivekovićeva ateliera”, *Narodne novine* no. 187 (August 16, 1917), 2.

²² “Slikar prof. Oton Iveković vratio se s ratišta”, *Jutarnji list* no. 1199 (July 27, 1915), 4.

²³ Bregovac Pisk, “Prvi svjetski rat u zbirci”, 110-111.

²⁴ Oton Iveković’s sketches *Vojnik s kutijom* (“Soldier Carrying an Ammunition Box”), *Vojnik s puškom* (“Soldier with Rifle”), *Prizori s ratišta* (“Scenes from the Battlefield”) are kept in Hrvatski povijesni muzej in Zagreb.

situation from the war as if they were at the front lines, and possibly so that they could identify with the soldiers. Iveković's war-themed paintings were highly valued and well-received by the public²⁵, and it is interesting that he produced only one World War I-themed painting after 1918, entitled *Povlačenje srpske vojske i kralja Petra I*. ("Retreat of the Serbian Army and King Petar I").

The most famous of Iveković's World War I-themed paintings is *Prijelaz Drine kod Batara* ("The Crossing the Drina by Batar"), oil on canvas, dimensions 2 x 3.7 m (Fig. 1). The painting depicts an event from the beginning of World War I in 1914, the landing of the 42nd Home Guard Division on the Serbian side of the Drina River under enemy artillery fire.



Figure 1. Oton Iveković, *Prijelaz Drine kod Batara* ("Crossing the Drina by Batar"), 1917.
Source: © Hrvatski povijesni muzej, HPM/PMH - 8821.

Austro-Hungarian soldiers are on the shore in the foreground; landing craft are casting off towards the other side of the river, where another group of landing craft, tightly packed with soldiers, is shown. In the background there is a detailed landscape, while enemy soldiers are not present at all.

It is possible that a photograph of Serbian king Peter I on a wagon, taken by Vladimir Becić during the retreat towards Corfu and published in the magazine *L'Illustration*²⁶, inspired Oton Iveković to paint a World War I-themed painting entitled *Povlačenje srpske vojske i kralja Petra I* ("Retreat of the Serbian Army and King Peter I") after 1918. This painting is a much more dramatic depiction of soldiers caught in a snowed-in pass. In the centre of the composition one finds the wagon bearing the Serbian king Peter I, while a dead soldier can be spotted in the lower left corner²⁷. Considering the time it was created, even though it depicts a war-related topic, the painting can also be said to have a political undertone.

²⁵ "Naši umjetnici na talijanskom bojištu", *Jutarnji list* no. 1255 (September 21, 1915), 4.

²⁶ Vladimir Becić, photograph of Serbian king Peter I on a wagon, in *Vladimir Becić (1886-1954)*, 175.

²⁷ Oton Iveković, painting *Povlačenje srpske vojske i kralja Petra I*.

Namely, after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Croatian lands were united with the Kingdom of Serbia (and Montenegro), their former enemies, in December 1918.

The painter Oskar Artur Alexander (1876-1953) began studying painting at the Académie Julien in Paris in 1894, continued his studies in the atelier of Eugène Carrière and James Abbott McNeill Whistler, and finally at the academy in Vienna in 1898²⁸. He joined the KPQ as a volunteer²⁹. He was wounded on the battlefield, and as recognition for his work he was awarded the Order of Franz Joseph with War Decoration³⁰. He made several flights over the battlefield in an aeroplane during his time at the Isonzo Front in World War I, so as to make better sketches. He produced portraits of officers and scenes of aerial combat, using the techniques of pencil drawing, pastel drawing, and oil painting³¹. Alexander's wartime paintings and sketches are today characterised as a "documentation of events and their participants"³². In the painting *Zračna bitka kod Ajševice (zapovjednik natporučnik Fiala)* ("Aerial Combat by Ajševica (Commander Lt. Fiala)") (fig. 2) one can see a depiction of the enemy not as a person, but allegorically, in the form of an aeroplane.



Figure 2. Oskar Artur Alexander, *Zračna bitka kod Ajševice (zapovjednik natporučnik Fiala)*. "Aerial Combat by Ajševica (Comander Lt. Fiala)", 1916. Source: © Hrvatski povijesni muzej, HPM – 87464.

²⁸ *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, s.v. "Aleksander, Artur Oskar (Alexander)" by Božena Šurina, accessed April 27, 2020, <http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=441>; *Enciklopedija likovnih umjetnosti*, s.v. "Aleksander, Artur Oskar" by Magda Weltrusky.

²⁹ Bregovac Pisk, "Prvi svjetski rat u zbirci," 114.

³⁰ Snježana Pintarić, "Životopis", in *Oskar Artur Alexander*, retrospective exhibition catalogue (Zagreb: Umjetnički paviljon, 1998), 143.

³¹ Bregovac Pisk, 114.

³² Snježana Pintarić, "Oskar Artur Alexander", in *Oskar Artur Alexander*, retrospective exhibition catalogue (Zagreb: Umjetnički paviljon, 1998), 42.

The artist painted a dogfight resulting in the destruction of the enemy aeroplane. Light blue is the predominant colour, and the aeroplanes in the middle of the painting are the focus of the work; both of them have been painted in dark colours, but their markings are clearly visible³³.

Sculptor Robert Frangeš Mihanović (1872-1940) was educated in Zagreb, Vienna, and Paris. His pre-war expression was marked by Art Nouveau and symbolism. His works were exhibited at the Exposition Universelle in Paris³⁴, and he was awarded the Grand Prix³⁵. His pre-war sculptures, reliefs, and medals were characterised by clean, clear lines and smooth surfaces.

At the beginning of World War I, R. Frangeš Mihanović was enlisted into the KPQ according to an order of the Ministry of War³⁶. Frangeš Mihanović produced 20 war-themed sculptures over the course of the war. Darija Alujević divides them into two thematic groups: “genre-scenes from the front” and “portraits of commanders”³⁷. Examples include the sculptures such as *Na straži* (“Soldier at Watch”) and *Teško ranjeni domobran na nosilima* (“Carrying the Heavily Wounded Home Guardsman”), sculptures of General Svetozar Boroević and Archduke Eugen – both are presented as cavalymen, idealised and in their prime³⁸.

In order to produce his studies and sculptures, Frangeš Mihanović went to the front, and spent some time at the front lines. During his time at the Isonzo Front in 1916, he directly witnessed the Italian capture of Gorica (today Gorizia, Italy), and held a lecture about it in Zagreb³⁹. This war testimony must have left a mark on him, which can to some extent be seen in his wartime artistic production, more precisely in the great changes in his artistic expression. As opposed to his pre-war Art Nouveau sculptures with pronounced clear lines, his expression in his war-related works was marked by expressionism and a restlessness in volume shaping⁴⁰.

A photograph (Fig. 3) published in *Ilustrovani list* no. 45 (November 6, 1915) shows two captured Italian officers posing for the sculptor, in the presence of an army surgeon.

³³ Bregovac Pisk, 113.

³⁴ *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, s.v. “Frangeš Mihanović, Robert” by Ive Šimat Banov, accessed April 30, 2020, <http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=6255>.

³⁵ Tatijana Gareljić, *Robert Frangeš Mihanović (1872-1940). U povodu 75. Obljetnice kipareve smrti*, exhibition catalogue (Zagreb: Moderna galerija, 2015), 7.

³⁶ *Imenik zavičajnika godišta 1872* [Directory of Zagreb residents 1872], Domaći [Zagreb residents], 1865-1872, Državni arhiv u Zagrebu (HR-DAZG) [State Archives in Zagreb], Gradsko poglavarstvo Zagreb [Zagreb City Government], Fund 4, Vojnički odsjek (VO) [Military Department of City Government], book VO 67.

³⁷ Darija Alujević, “Ratni opus Roberta Frangeša Mihanovića 1915-1918”, *Radovi Instituta za povijest Umjetnosti* 39 (2015): 137.

³⁸ Robert Frangeš Mihanović's sculptures *Na straži*, *Teško ranjeni domobran* and *Archduke Eugen* are kept in Gliptoteka HAZU in Zagreb, while the sculpture of fieldmarshal Svetozar Boroević is kept in Heeresgeschichtliches Museum in Vienna.

³⁹ “Umjetnik-kipar kao predavač”, *Jutarnji list* no. 1615 (September 15, 1916), 5.

⁴⁰ Gareljić, *Robert Frangeš Mihanović*, 6.



Figure 3. *Hrvat, kipar prof. Frangeš* (“Croat, sculptor Prof. Frangeš”). Source: *Ilustrovani list* no. 45 (November 6, 1915), 1059.

The photograph was taken in an atelier in Ljubljana and shows sculptor R. Frangeš Mihanović modelling a sculpture. The unnamed captured Italian officer stands in the foreground, while the model of the sculpture, sculptor, second Italian officer, and Austro-Hungarian army surgeon (right) are in the background. The captured officer in the foreground wears an Italian army uniform, which is tidy and has the appropriate insignia; the officer does not look like he has participated in combat and been captured. The sculptor has added a cap to the sculpture, obviously a detail that serves to mark it as a depiction of an Italian officer.

A sculpture of R. Frangeš Mihanović bearing two names – *Zarobljavanje Talijana/Zmiš* (“Capturing the Italian and Zmiš”) – is counted among his most famous wartime works (Fig. 4). It shows the enemy directly, more precisely the moment an enemy standard-bearer was captured.



Figure 4. Robert Frangeš Mihanović, *Zarobljavanje Talijana/Zmiš* (“Capturing the Italian-Zmiš”), 1916. Gliptoteka HAZU, G–MZ–746. Source: Miljenko Gregl.

The Austro-Hungarian soldier has grappled an Italian standard-bearer and lifted him into the air. The Austro-Hungarian soldier can be recognised by a part of his uniform – his cap – while the Italian soldier lacks any distinguishing marks. Symbolically, the Italian holds the flag, i.e. standard, close to himself, and it has covered him during his capture.

Vladimir Becić (1886-1954) was a Croatian painter, an important representative of Modernism, educated in Munich and Paris. As mentioned, he volunteered to join the Serbian army as a reporter during World War I. A series of his drawings, graphics, and photographs from the war have been preserved, and some were, as mentioned, published in the French magazine *L'Illustration*⁴¹. Becić used his photographs of King Peter I on a wagon as a basis for two paintings thematising the dramatic retreat of king Peter I into exile – *Kraljevo povlačenje* (“King’s Retreat”), painted in 1917, and *Kralj Petar s volovima* (“King Peter with Oxes”), painted around 1917⁴². Even though he worked for the opposing side, Vladimir Becić approached the subject of depicting the enemy and battles in drawings and photographs almost in the same way as the Croatian artists working for the KPQ. His portraits of “our” soldiers (i.e. Serbian soldiers) in combat are naturalistic and they express effort and strength⁴³. On the other hand, “enemy” soldiers, in this case Austro-Hungarian (fig. 5), are depicted ragged, tired and exhausted, in a sorrowful procession while being followed by an apparition – Death⁴⁴.



Figure 5. Vladimir Becić, *Prisonniers Autrichiens en retraite avec L'armee Serbe*, 1916.
Source: *L'Illustration* no. 3809 (March 4, 1916).

⁴¹ Some Becić’s wartime photographs and graphics are published in *Vladimir Becić (1886-1954)*, 174-182.

⁴² Becić’s mentioned paintings are published in *Vladimir Becić (1886-1954)*, 72-73; 152-153.

⁴³ Vladimir Becić, *Vojnici u borbi I*, in *Vladimir Becić (1886-1954)*, 203.

⁴⁴ Vladimir Becić, *Prisonniers Autrichiens en retraite avec L'armee Serbe*, in *L'Illustration* no. 3809 (March 4, 1916).

It can be said that direct representation of the enemy is almost completely absent in works of wartime iconography. Only in some isolated cases did Iveković, Alexander, and Frangeš Mihanović depict the enemy, and even then they maintained a degree of distance and a partially objective viewpoint. Even though they, in their paintings, drawings, and sculptures, realistically depicted the enemy's worst moments of defeat or his complete destruction, he nonetheless retained his dignity.

The mentioned works of Iveković, Alexander, and Frangeš Mihanović as well as other artists who worked in the service of the KPQ, were presented to the general public at numerous exhibitions abroad – Budapest, Vienna, Basel, Zürich, Stuttgart⁴⁵, Berlin⁴⁶ – and in Banal Croatia, at the Wartime Exhibition of Paintings held in the Royal University Library reading room in Zagreb⁴⁷ (today the Croatian State Archives). The works of academy-trained artists were not accessible to all citizens, and only the wealthier among them could afford to buy them. This is why reproductions of these paintings were printed in various formats⁴⁸, making them available to poorer citizens.

3. Depiction of the Enemy in Works of Unknown Artists Published in the *Ilustrovani list*

The works of other artists from Croatia, Germany, Austria, and Hungary were also presented to the general public of Banal Croatia in the *Ilustrovani list*. The mentioned works were published as graphics and were often unsigned⁴⁹. Such works were intended to directly convey the brutality of the fighting on the first lines.

The artists presented the enemy in various ways, depending on their perspective. The most commonly used perspective had friendly positions in the foreground, i.e. a view towards the enemy, precisely at the moment of the enemy charge⁵⁰. In these graphics, the enemy is often presented as a group at a long distance, with only a few individuals discernable as silhouettes. With such depictions, the artists obviously wanted to point to the great threat and danger of the whole situation, but also the calmness and decisiveness of their own troops⁵¹. Together with realistic details (weapons, equipment, uniforms), the artists showed the terror of battle and the composure of “our” soldiers, which can be seen on the photograph below (Fig. 6).

⁴⁵ Bregovac Pisk, “Prvi svjetski rat u zbirci”, 113.

⁴⁶ “Sočanska izložba” u Berlinu”, *Ilustrovani list* no. 1 (January 5, 1918), 9.

⁴⁷ “Ratna izložba slika”, *Jutarnji list* no. 1631 (October 1, 1916), 3.

⁴⁸ The mentioned Iveković's painting, *Prijelaz Drine kod Batara*, was reproduced in various sizes, from postcards to larger formats made for exhibition.

⁴⁹ *Sa granice Besarabije* (“From the Broder of Bessarabia”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 14 (April 1, 1916), 325.

⁵⁰ Unknown author, *Borbe na ledenjacima: Austrougarske čete odbijaju na ledenjaku Presanella jedno talijansko odjeljenje uz silne gubitke po neprijatelja* (“Fighting on the Glaciers: Austro-Hungarian Troops Repel an Italian Detachment at the Presanella Glacier, Inflicting Heavy Losses on the Enemy”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 30 (July 24, 1915), 708.

⁵¹ *Borbe na ledenjacima*.

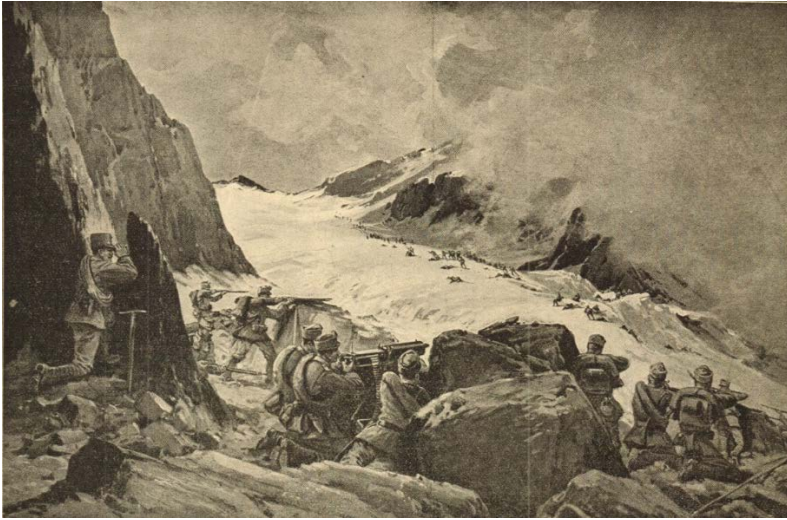


Figure 5. Unkown author, *Borbe na ledenjacima: Austrougarske čete odbijaju na ledenjaku Presanella jedno talijansko odjeljenje uz silne gubitke po neprijatelja* ("Fighting on the glaciers: Austro-Hungarian troops repel an Italian detachment at the Presanella glacier, inflicting heavy losses on the enemy"). Source: *Ilustrovani list* no. 30 (July 24, 1915), 708.

The artists also depicted battle scenes in other ways, by changing the viewpoint, i.e. showing the scene as seen from the enemy lines. The moments of the enemy's defeat are shown realistically and in detail. Enemy soldiers are shown individually in the foreground, and as a group in the middle ground. All are swept by chaos and destruction as they retreat or flee (Fig. 7).



Figure 7. Unkown author, *Rat sa Rusijom: Savezne čete progone Ruse prema Ivangorodu* ("War with Russia: Central Powers troops drive the Russians toward Ivangorod"). Source: *Ilustrovani list* no. 31 (July 31, 1915), 731.

This is a situation in which “our” soldiers are represented as a mass in which only a few individuals can be discerned. Significant details that always appear in the foreground include dead and wounded enemy soldiers. It can be said that the authors were presenting the chaos and destruction caused by “our” soldiers (sometimes assisted by allies), in which the enemy was depicted as completely helpless and panicked⁵².

Regardless of perspective, the focus is on the battle, the moment of combat, while the enemy is shown either as a silhouette in the background, or in the foreground losing the battle.

4. Photographs Published in the *Ilustrovani list*

Photographs published in the *Ilustrovani list* during World War I, despite originally having a propaganda function, have a documentary value today. Thanks to the possibility of quick production, many photographs were taken and published. As mentioned, photographers were enlisted and took photographs on the front lines and at the rear. Many photographs were obviously staged, though some were not⁵³.

Depictions of soldiers, “ours” and enemy, depended on how the photographers “caught” the situation. For example, on the photograph of a Serbian army unit being blessed in August 1914, the soldiers are lined up in parade uniforms and filmed during the ceremony, the military protocol. This photograph was obviously intended to present them as dangerous and serious enemies⁵⁴. Two months later, a photograph of a child wearing a Serbian army uniform and aiming a rifle was published⁵⁵. This photograph was probably intended to show how the enemy is using children as soldiers, and also that such an enemy cannot pose a real threat. On the other hand, children in the Austro-Hungarian armed forces were shown positively, as helping at the front by carrying messages, escorting prisoners, or even taking enemy soldiers prisoner⁵⁶.

Photographs of captured Russian soldiers usually show them as dishevelled, dirty, and ragged. For example, the first of a pair of photographs shows Russian soldiers in such a sorry state immediately after capture, while the other shows the same soldiers after “cleaning”. A note added to the photographs claimed that raggedness was common among the Russian soldiers⁵⁷. It should be noted that the same problems appeared among the Austro-Hungarian armed forces, which can be seen in the journals of those who participated in combat⁵⁸, but the wartime press did not mention these problems.

⁵² Unkown author, *Rat s Rusijom: Savezne čete progone Ruse prema Ivangorodu* (“War with Russia: Central Powers troops Drive the Russians Toward Ivangorod”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 31 (July 31, 1915), 731.

⁵³ *Slike s talijanske fronte* (“Images from the Italian front”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 15 (April 8, 1916), 347.

⁵⁴ *Srpska vojska, 1. Blagoslov srpske vojske nakon provedene mobilizacije* (“Serbian Army, 1. Blessing the Serbian Army after Mobilisation”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 32 (August 8, 1914), 757.

⁵⁵ *Sa srbskoga ratišta. Dvanaestogodišnje Srbčce kao vojnik* (“From the Serbian Front: A Twelwe-Year Old Serbling as a Soldier”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 40 (October 3, 1914), 939.

⁵⁶ *Dječaci kao aktivni vojnici u našoj i njemačkoj vojsci* (“Boys as Active Soldiers in Our and the German Armies”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 8 (February 20, 1915), 185.

⁵⁷ *Četiri Rusa prije i poslije očišćenja od razne gamadi* (“Four Russians Before and After Cleaning of Various Vermin”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 25 (June 19, 1915), 592.

⁵⁸ Grgo Turkalj Guslar, *1609 dana na fronti*. (1930. Reprint, Zagreb: Fortuna, 2015), 92.

Photographs often show the enemy during surrender⁵⁹ or immediately afterwards⁶⁰. The marks of combat are visible on the soldiers in such photographs – they lack equipment, and often also parts of their uniforms, their uniforms are in poor condition, and they are sometimes photographed in bandages. There is little difference between the depiction of Austro-Hungarian and enemy wounded on these photographs. All are in the same state, helpless in stretchers⁶¹ or making their way towards the rear⁶².

5. On the Depictions and Iconography in Caricatures and Cartoons

Caricatures and cartoons, “spiritual commentary [...] on a certain situation”⁶³ are visual representations in which the authors more freely express a given situation in a comical, ironic, or parodic fashion⁶⁴. In them, the enemy, although presented satirically, is openly insulted, belittled, and ridiculed – completely the opposite of his depiction in works of art and photographs. The *Ilustrovani list* also published caricatures and cartoons, together with photographs and copies of works of art, and it is apparent that the magazine presented the enemy in two very different, conflicting ways.

Caricatures and cartoons by several authors –Milan Freudenreich, Tomislav Kolombar, Pjer Križanić, Franjo Maixner, Boris Rambousek, and Slavko Vörös (Vereš)– were published in the *Ilustrovani list* during the war, often unsigned⁶⁵. Some caricatures and cartoons that were published in the magazine, usually those on the last page of each issue, were signed. The magazine also published caricatures and cartoons from the foreign press⁶⁶.

In caricatures and cartoons by Croatian authors, one can notice, in addition to their normal visual art expression, the primary purpose of ridiculing the enemy, but can also conclude that the authors, to a certain extent and mindful of censorship, ridiculed war and the situation on the fronts⁶⁷. Not all readers could have grasped this symbolic meaning, as it required access to reliable and precise news and information.

The themes of the caricatures and cartoons mostly contain political and war iconography, but religious iconography is also present, albeit far less often. The characters shown in such caricatures and cartoons include Jesus Christ⁶⁸, St Peter⁶⁹,

⁵⁹ *Sa ruskog ratišta* (“From the Russian Front”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 4 (January 23, 1915), 82.

⁶⁰ *Sa talijanskog ratišta: 2. Zarobljeni Talijani* (“From the Italian Front: 2. Captured Italians”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 45 (November 4, 1916), 1064.

⁶¹ *Slike s talijanske fronte: 4. “Povijalište”* (“Images from the Italian Front: 4. Field Hospital”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 13 (March 25, 1916), 295.

⁶² *Transport od 4000 zarobljenih Engleza pred Arrasom* (“Transporting 4000 Captured Englishmen before Arras”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 16 (May 25, 1918), 246.

⁶³ Frano Dulibić, *Definiranje karikature kao likovne vrste* (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet; Naklada Slap, 2005), 1-2.

⁶⁴ Dulibić, *Definiranje karikature*, 15.

⁶⁵ Dobrovšak, “Pozadina izlaženja *Ilustrovanoga lista*”, 111-112.

⁶⁶ Dobrovšak, 110-111.

⁶⁷ *Sa sjevernog ratišta* (“From the Northern Front”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 41 (October 10, 1914), 982.

⁶⁸ *Wilson iskušava...* (“Wilson Tempts”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 14 (April 7, 1914), 320.

⁶⁹ *John Bull i Sveti Petar* (“John Bull and Saint Peter”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 21 (May 26, 1917), 460.

and even the Devil⁷⁰, in situations where they are speaking with the enemy, i.e. enemy politicians⁷¹, who are presented as warmongers. For example, one shows an “Englishman” roasting an angel of peace on a trident⁷², or American president Thomas Woodrow Wilson trying to convince Jesus to join the Entente⁷³. The mentioned caricatures and cartoons are in complete agreement with Laswell’s mentioned claims.

The authors of caricatures and cartoons published in the *Ilustrovani list* during World War I iconographically depict the enemy in a completely different manner than sculptors, graphic artists, and photographers. It should be noted that the term “enemy” is a broader term when applied to caricatures and cartoons –it encompasses enemy soldiers, politicians, and commanders. The way these characters are depicted is typical of this kind of art: grotesque, satirical, and allegorical⁷⁴, highlighting certain stereotypes⁷⁵. Stereotypes are visible already in the names used for “ordinary” protagonists of caricatures and cartoons, which were common in the informal Croatian language of the day: “Englez”⁷⁶ (Englishman), “John Bull”⁷⁷, “Francez” (Frenchman), “Bačuška”⁷⁸ (Batchushka, Russian). In certain cases, the characters resemble enemy commanders and bear their “real” names, e.g. Russian tsar Nicholas II is called by his proper name or pejoratively – “Nikolajević”⁷⁹. Along with satire, there are also ironic depictions, such as children in British, French, and German uniforms playing war⁸⁰, or animals, most often a fleeing rabbit⁸¹.

The situations depicted in caricatures and cartoons are presented with much humour, jibes, sometimes even ridicule, and in some cases a complete lack of taste⁸². The lack of taste points to the “vindictiveness” of the author towards the characters⁸³.

The most common subjects of caricatures and cartoons were the closest, and therefore most dangerous, enemies: Serbia, Russia, and, from 1915, Italy. Depictions of Frenchmen and Britons were common during the first months of the war, but became less so from early 1915 because the Western Front was far away, and therefore the danger significantly lower. It is notable that there were no American soldiers depicted from 1917; caricatures of American president Wilson were presented instead⁸⁴.

Wartime caricatures and cartoons from the *Ilustrovani list* can be divided into several periods: those from the first year of the war, those published from 1915 to

⁷⁰ *Na početku 1917* (“At the Start of 1917”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 2 (January 13, 1917), 48.

⁷¹ *Wilson iskušava...*, *Ilustrovani list* no. 14 (April 7, 1914), 320.

⁷² *Angjeo mira – na lomači* (“Angel of Peace – At the Stake”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 34 (August 25, 1917), 720.

⁷³ *Wilson iskušava...*, 320.

⁷⁴ Dulibić, *Povijest karikature*, 19-24.

⁷⁵ Dobrovšak, “Pozadina izlaženja Ilustrovanoga lista,” 119.

⁷⁶ *Malokrvnost* (“Anemia”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 41 (October 10, 1914), 982.

⁷⁷ *Engleske vijesti o pobjedama* (“English News of Victories”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 9 (February 27, 1915), 214.

⁷⁸ “Francuske vijesti” (“French News”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 35 (August 29, 1914), 838.

⁷⁹ *Dobri ujak Nikolaj Nikolajeviću!* (“Good Uncle Nikolai Nikolaevich!”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 3 (January 16, 1915), 71.

⁸⁰ *Blokada Njemačke* (“The Blockade of Germany”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 18 (April 29, 1916), 432.

⁸¹ *Ratna opažanja* (“War Observations”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 1 (January 3, 1915), 22.

⁸² *Plemeniti saveznici* (“Noble Allies”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 2 (January 9, 1915), 47.

⁸³ Lucy M. Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian* (New York: Octagon Books, 1976), 387.

⁸⁴ *Wilson iskušava*, 320.

1917, and those from the last year of the war. The caricatures and cartoons from the first year contain depictions of ridicule, belittlement, and insulting of the enemy. The second period is characterised by a change in the selection of characters depicted –there are less Britons and Frenchmen, and a larger number of Italians. Along with war and political iconography, social-themed caricatures and cartoons as well as those of everyday life are also present⁸⁵. These contain the authors' criticisms of the state of affairs in the country, primarily the economic situation, which was marked by shortages⁸⁶, the appearance of a black market, and food smuggling⁸⁷.

Caricatures and cartoons with a social theme and those regarding everyday life predominate during the final years of the war, while there are very few depictions of the enemy. One of the reasons behind this change was surely the long duration of the war, which caused major economic and social changes; in the end, after so many years, the war was no longer interesting to the authors of the magazine – and apparently the readers. The total number of caricatures and cartoons published in the *Ilustrovani list* are shown in the Table 1 below:

Year of publication	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918
Total	43	125	103	62	10

Table 1. Total number of caricatures and cartoons published in the *Ilustrovani list* (Zagreb) from August 1914 till December 1918. Source: *Ilustrovani list* (Zagreb), 1914-1918.

The number of caricatures and cartoons was the highest in 1915, and their number fell during the next year, followed by a rapid decline in 1917; very few were published during the last year of the war. The enemy appears in four forms in these caricatures and cartoons: 1. Image of the enemy, 2. The enemy's failure in battle, 3. Relations between the Entente member states, 4. Representation of enemy politicians and commanders.

5.1. Image of the enemy

The cartoon (Fig. 8) illustrates the enemy as perpetually surprised, shiftless, and incompetent. In this type of depiction, we find scenes such as French soldiers in flight⁸⁸ and British soldiers observing a battle⁸⁹ or persuading their allies to fight⁹⁰.

⁸⁵ Dulibić, *Definiranje karikature*, 8.

⁸⁶ *Praksa i teorija* ("Practice and Theory"), *Ilustrovani list* no. 50 (December 9, 1916), 1200.

⁸⁷ *Provala kod hrčka* ("Break-in at the Hamster's Home"), *Ilustrovani list* no. 21 (June 29, 1918), 336.

⁸⁸ *Junački Francezi!* ("Heroic Frenchmen!"), *Ilustrovani list* no. 4 (January 23, 1915), 94.

⁸⁹ *Englesko "vodjenje" rata* ("How the English 'make' War"), *Ilustrovani list* no. 38 (September 19, 1914), 910.

⁹⁰ *Velika ofenziva* ("The Great Offensive"), *Ilustrovani list* no. 29 (July 15, 1916), 696.



Figure 8. Unkown author, *Nesigurna taktika* ("An uncertain tactic"). "Your Highness, how far back shall we retreat?– As far back as in the time of Napoleon!– But your Highness, Germans aren't as stupid as Napoleon!"

Source: *Ilustrovani list* no. 50 (December 12, 1914), 1198.

5.2. The enemy's failure

This cartoon (Fig. 9) shows a steamroller as an embodiment of the Russian army commanded by Nicholas II. The steamroller has become stuck in the Carpathians. The author satirically and alegorically shows the enemy's failure, but can also be said to ironise reality to some extent. Namely, the Austro-Hungarian forces barely managed to halt the powerful Russian Carpathian offensive in late 1914⁹¹. This cartoon is an example of a hidden message that would not have been understood by all readers.

Figure 6. Unkown author, *Iznenadjeni bačuška* ("Surprised bačuška"). "We have a steam roller, but they have Carpathian mountains!"

Source: *Ilustrovani list* no. 42 (October 17, 1914), 1007.

⁹¹ József Galántai, *Hungary in the First World War* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989), 93-94.

5.3. Relations between the Entente member states

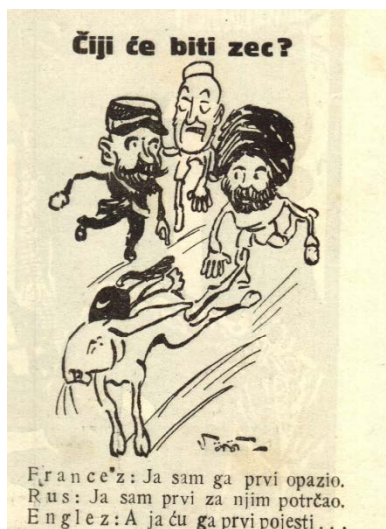


Figure 7. Slavko Vörös (Vereš), *Čiji će biti zec?* (“Who will get the Rabbit?”).

“French: I saw him first

Russian: I began chasing him first

English: And I will eat him first...”

Source: *Ilustrovani list* no. 20 (May 15, 1915), 479.

The figure 10 is a commentary on the Entente (ANZAC) landing at Gallipoli (fig. 10). It was typical to show a lack of cooperation between the Entente member states by suggesting that France and Russia are fighting according to the dictate of the United Kingdom, while the “Englishman” only watches, waiting for a chance to grab the lion’s share after the end of the battle in which he, according to the propaganda, did not even participate. This category also includes a sub-topic, the relationship of the Entente towards neutral countries and their politicians. Entente politicians are often shown attempting to bribe neutrals⁹², while individual Entente members are shown trying to persuade other members to exert pressure on neutral countries⁹³.

5. 4. Representations of enemy politicians and commanders

The figure 11 is a grotesque depiction of Italian king Victor Emmanuel III (fig. 11), who is always at most half the height of other characters in any cartoons. Enemy commanders and politicians are unsuccessful in politics and war, and are often

⁹² *Blaženi neutralni ili trojni sporazum i neutralni* (“The Blessed Neutrals or the Tripartite Pact and the Neutrals”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 51 (December 19, 1914), 1224.

⁹³ *Koncert na Dalekom istoku* (“Concert on the Far East”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 12 (March 20, 1915), 288.

shown with bags of money, either receiving them⁹⁴, or handing them out as bribes⁹⁵.



Figure 8. Franjo Maixner, *Talijanski trolist* (Italian trefoil), 1915.

Source: *Ilustrovani list* no. 41 (October 9, 1915), 983.

“Cadorna, Vittorio Emanuele and d’Annunzio: ‘It is said: without money there is no war, but we have convinced ourselves: without war there is no money!’”.

One can notice a specific relationship of the caricature and cartoon authors towards American president Wilson. He was depicted as a two-faced diplomat⁹⁶, or allegorically, saving a person resembling Winston Churchill from the sea after the latter was bitten by a shark, i.e. German submarine⁹⁷.

An analysis of the caricatures and cartoons through all years of the war, shown in Table 2, leads to the conclusion that most of them were about the enemy’s failures, followed by enemy politicians and commanders, while relationships between Entente member states were the least common topic.

However, after the end of the war, the same type of depiction began to be aimed against the “new” enemies. Namely, on October 29, 1918, after the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was established, the *Ilustrovani list* published caricatures and cartoons insulting and belittling the late emperor and king Franz Joseph I⁹⁸ and his heir Charles I as well as the German kaiser Wilhelm II⁹⁹, former rulers and allies.

⁹⁴ *Uvjjet* (“Condition”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 28 (July 14, 1917), 599.

⁹⁵ *Ratna pjesma* (“War Song”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 13 (March 27, 1915), 312.

⁹⁶ *Wilsonova politika!* (“Wilson’s Policy!”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 44 (October 28, 1916), 1056.

⁹⁷ *Spasavanje Engleske* (“Saving England”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 10 (March 10, 1917), 236.

⁹⁸ Unnamed caricature depicting Franz Joseph I and Hungarian prime minister Istvan Tisza, *Ilustrovani list*, no. 42 (November 23, 1918), 672.

⁹⁹ *Vjerni saveznici* (“Loyal Allies”), *Ilustrovani list* no. 39 (November 2, 1918), 624.

	Year of publication					Percentage, average
	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	
Image of the enemy	33%	13%	20%	29%	70%	22%
The enemy's failure	51%	29%	33%	27%	-	32%
Relations between the Entente member states	5%	22%	27%	23%	10%	21 %
Representations of the enemy politicians and commanders	12%	36%	19%	21%	20%	25%

Table 2. Prevalence of depictions in caricatures and cartoons published in *Ilustrovani list* (Zagreb) from August 1914 till December 1918.

Source: *Ilustrovani list* (Zagreb), 1914-1918.

6. Conclusion

Renowned Croatian artists, sculptors, and painters realistically depicted battles and events from the fronts. Usually, they did not show the enemy in the foreground, but as a group in the distance, with a few individuals discernible as silhouettes. In certain cases, battles were shown from the opposite viewpoint, i.e. the state of the enemy lines during an attack by “our” forces. At the moment of their defeat, enemy soldiers were shown in an unplanned retreat, chaos, even panic. Despite this, they were presented realistically, without demonisation or ridicule, which the artists accomplished by highlighting many details on their uniforms, equipment, and weaponry. Using a realistic depiction and documentary approach, the authors desired to highlight the heroism of “our” troops, which they could accomplish because they produced their studies on the front lines.

Photographs published in the *Ilustrovani list*, although mostly staged, have a documentary character today. The photographers took pictures of the enemy at the moment of their surrender or immediately afterwards. These photographs were also realistic, one could say more realistic than the works of artists, and often showed wounded enemy soldiers and the horrors of war. Characteristics common to works of art and photographs include a realistic depiction and a uniform depiction of “our” and enemy soldiers.

Caricatures and cartoons present the complete opposite of paintings, sculptures, and photographs. Their authors passionately and openly ridiculed the enemy and his failures. A special emphasis was put on stereotypes, with which they ridiculed the physical appearance and the character of the enemy as well as enemy politicians and commanders. Nonetheless, certain caricatures and cartoons can be interpreted as general criticisms and ridicule of war and propaganda, often embellished, news.

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