

Stojanka Lužija¹
University of Banja Luka
Faculty of Philosophy



Original scientific work

УДК 94(497.15)„1875“:929Кучбах А.

DOI 10.7251/SIC2508183L

COBISS.RS-ID 142899201

THE HERZEGOVINIAN UPRISING ACCORDING TO THE MEMORIES OF ALBIN HUGO KUTSCHBACH

Abstract: *After the outbreak of the uprising in Herzegovina (1875), the idea of a final solution to the Eastern Question seemed feasible. Volunteers, mainly from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, but also from other European countries, began to arrive in Herzegovina. The young German Albin Hugo Kutschbach arrived first in Montenegro and then in Herzegovina during the summer of the same year. Having joined the insurgent movement, he personally participated in the insurgents' war operations. In his later years, he wrote memoirs in which, among other things, he recalled his years in the uprising. The aim of this paper is, through analyze his memories during two years of the warfare, to examine the development of the uprising, the organization of the uprising movement itself, as well as the relationship between Montenegro, on the one hand, and the insurgents and their leaders, on the other. The author's personal testimonies are also an advantage in this regard, because Kutschbach's memoirs as a narrative historical source, despite all their limitations, are a valuable source of data for the Herzegovina Uprising.*

Key words: *Albin Hugo Kutschbach, Uprising, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Ottoman Empire.*

Autobiographies and memoirs that authors write for future generations are generally considered secondary historical sources. Their use in historical science has to be extremely cautious. Namely, the author's

¹ stojanka.luzija@ff.unibl.org

impartiality in telling the story should be constantly questioned. This is one of the premises when interpreting narrative sources. Although it does not seem so at first glance, there are differences between autobiographies and memoirs. John Tosh even calls autobiography a modern variant of a chronicle.² Although both types involve “self-description,” autobiography can be defined as a written record of an individual’s life written by themselves, with the theme of “describing life.” That is, it is generally a prose - that, among other things, offers a broader view of privacy itself, as well as family, personal, and other relationships. On the other hand, memoirs are personal chronicles of a person in public life, focusing primarily on social events and the environment the author encountered.³ That is why in memoirs, in the relationship between the private and the public, the public always has the upper hand. Memoirs are written with the clear intention of public use. This is precisely why one must be extremely careful when using them as a historical source, because the author could have downplayed the importance of certain memories, or have given too great, perhaps even unjustified, importance to certain events and processes in which he was a protagonist.

The subject of this paper is the memoirs of Albin Hugo Kutschbach, specifically the part that relates to the author’s personal participation in the Herzegovinian Uprising during 1875 and 1876. The aim of the paper is to define, through content analysis, primarily Kutschbach’s involvement and role in the uprising itself. We will try to find and highlight Kutschbach’s personal views on the uprising movement and its organization, then its leaders, as well as how he viewed Montenegro’s attitude towards the insurgents and the uprising.

Albin Kutschbach’s memoirs, covering 50 years of his political, diplomatic, and even military career, were published in Leipzig in 1929. The memoir, *The Europe’s hot spot- 50 Years of Balkan Memories* (Der Brandherd Europas – 50 Jahre Balkan-Erinnerungen), traces the life and career of Albin Kutschbach from the Herzegovinian Uprising (1875) to

² Џон Тoш with Шон Ланг, *У трагању за историјом. Циљеви, методи и нови правци у проучавању савремене историје* (Београд: Clio, 2008), 91.

³ Stipica Grgić, „Autobiografije i memoari u hrvatskoj povijesnoj znanosti“, *Historijski zbornik*, god. LXIX, br. 1 (2016), 190, 195. Accessed March 16, 2025. <https://hrcak.srce.hr/clanak/260426>

the diplomatic and political missions in which he was involved, which took place in the first decade after the World War I.

In historiography to date, Kutschbach's memoirs have been rarely used. And when they were used, their selective use was noticeable, as researchers were generally - interested in events from the 20th century. Thus, Benjamin Langer, writing about the "Macedonian question" and its perception in German-speaking literature, used this book.⁴ Fragments from Kutschbach's work that relate to the Young Turk Revolution were also used in her work by Irene Komposch Ortner.⁵ Kutschbach's memoirs were not - used in Serbian historiography, but in 2020, Kutschbach's book *Serbs in the Balkan War 1912–1913 and in the War against the Bulgarians* was translated into Serbian, thus creating the conditions for the public and researchers to become more familiar with one of Kutschbach's works.

Albin Hugo Kutschbach was born on March 24, 1853 in Leipzig. Apart from the fact that he was a Protestant, we do not have much information about his origins and family history. It is known that his father Johann Gottfried Kutschbach was a craftsman and owner of a trading shop, and this family tradition was later passed on to young Albin. It is also recorded that he was educated at the Real - High School in his hometown, and there are indications that he also graduated from a trade school. Already at the age of twenty-one, he owned a trade shop, which is confirmed by its entry in the Trade Register on June 22, 1874.⁶ The following year, Albin Kutschbach set off for Montenegro and Herzegovina. There, he had the opportunity to develop close, friendly relations with Prince (Knyaz) Nikola and personally participate in the Herzegovinian Uprising, and - he even commanded one troop for a while. Due to his merits in warfare, Prince Nikola awarded Kutschbach the military rank of brigadier general. After returning to Germany, he devoted himself to the journalism, and

⁴ Benjamin Langer, "Fremde, ferne Welt" *Mazedonienimaginationen in der deutschsprachigen Literatur seit dem 19. Jahrhundert* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2019), 78, 111.

⁵ Irene Komposch-Ortner, "Die kulturelle begegnung von Orient und Okzident in Bosnien-Herzegowina", *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, IV (1984), 286. Accessed March 19, 2025. <https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/112773>

⁶ Albin Kutschbach, *Jugenderinnerungen eines alten Leipzigers* (Leipzig: Verlag Heinr. F. A. Timm, 1926), 5, 11; *Leipziger Tagblatt und Anzeiger: Amtsblatt des Königlichen Amts- und Landgerichtes Leipzig und des Rathes und Polizeiamtes der Stadt Leipzig*, Seit dem 6. Juni Isd. Is. sind in Handelsregister für Leipzig folgende Einträge bewirkt worden, 9.7.1874.

was the editor and publisher of several newspapers, and also he owned a printing house. In 1881, he was elected as a liberal deputy to the Reichstag, representing the Saxon districts of Zschopau–Marienberg. After his parliamentary mandate, he was a representative of the Chamber of Commerce in the period from 1885 to 1890, as well as a city councilor of the city of Oppeln. After that, he found himself in the Balkans again, but this time as a correspondent for several Austrian newspapers. At that time, he also established close contacts with the Romanian King Carol I, who later sent Kutschbach on various political missions as a person of great trust. We come across the name Albin Kutschbach again in 1897 when he was at the head of the Saxon-Thuringian Industrial and Trade Exhibition held in Leipzig. In the following years, he was active in economic life, as a merchant and a prominent figure in the Chamber of Commerce. The complication of international relations in the first decade of the 20th century reawakened Albin Kutschbach's adventurous spirit. As a newspaper reporter and diplomat, he witnessed the Italian action in Libya in 1911, as well as the Balkan Wars (1912–1913). He published his testimonies about these events in separate publications. During the First World War, Kutschbach moved away from diplomacy and journalism and turned again to commercial activities. The last time Kutschbach visited the Balkans was in 1924, on which occasion he was a guest of King Aleksandar Karađorđević. In the following years, Albin Kutschbach devoted himself to writing, and then he published two significant books, including his memoirs. He died after a short illness on November 16, 1936 in Leipzig.⁷

Albin Kutschbach's memories related to the Great Eastern Crisis are contained in his book (*Der Brandherd Europas*) published in 1929 in Leipzig. Kutschbach's memories from that time can be viewed through two basic themes that the author deals with, namely the uprising on the one hand and Montenegro on the other. Writing about Montenegro, Kutschbach devotes great attention to Prince Nikola and the ruling house of Petrović-Njegoš in general. He also supplemented his memories with excerpts that refer to the diplomatic efforts of the European

⁷ *Westfälischer Merkur*, Ein wechselvolles Schriftstellerleben, Nr. 121, 25.3.1926; *Rieser Tagblatt und Anzeiger (Elbeblatt und Anzeiger): amtliche Bekanntmachungen für die Stadt und den Landkreis Riesa*, Der Senior der Leipziger Schriftsteller gestorben, 17.11.1936.

powers and the Porte to pacify Herzegovina. However, for us, the most interesting and useful parts were those that refer to the uprising itself and Kutschbach's participation in it.

Kutschbach's memoir begins with a romantic view of war and warriors. As he watched the infantry leave Leipzig for the war against France in 1870, he saw in them heroes of antiquity.⁸ These first lines of his memories - are marked by both his youthful enthusiasm and his regret that, due to his age, he was unable to join those warriors. Therefore, it is not surprising that he was delighted when - he successfully completed military training two years later. This young man, eager to prove himself in every way, longed for feats and adventure. News of the outbreak of the uprising in Herzegovina in the summer of 1875 influenced Kutschbach to decide to visit the Balkans.

Then, Herzegovina was - an integral part of the Bosnian Vilayet. Despite the apparent attempts of the Porte to introduce economic reforms in the area, the degenerate feudal system resisted them and again found ways to further economically exploit Christians. By the last quarter of the 19th century, tax burdens had grown so much that Friar Paškal Buconjić listed even 21 taxes that were imposed on Christians in Herzegovina in a booklet addressed to representatives of the European powers in September 1875.⁹ The situation was further aggravated by the practice of leasing state levies (iltism). Poor harvests, famine and poverty, as well as a sense of general insecurity, accompanied by murders and kidnappings, only further supported the thesis of the need for armed resistance during 1874 and in the early 1875. Although the Porte, through the governor Dervish Pasha, made attempts to calm the already agitated re'aya (serfs) through negotiations and promises. These efforts did not bring results. Re'aya did not trust the Porte's promises. Tensions reached a peak on July 5, 1875, when Pero Tungus's company attacked a Turkish caravan at Cvjetna Poljana (Floral Meadow) in Bišina, during which several Turks from the escort were killed. Four days later, an uprising

⁸ Albin Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd Europas-50 Jahre Balkan Erinnerungen* (Leipzig: E. Haberland Verlag, 1929), 1.

⁹ Andrija Nikić, „Fra Paškal Buconjić-Glavni uzroci ustanka kršćanskog stanovništva u Hercegovini (1875). Kratak osvrt na namete“, *Croatica Christiana periodica*, Vol. 5, No. 8 (1981), 67-89. Accessed April 9, 2025. <https://hrcak.srce.hr/98064>

broke out, which began with a clash between the insurgents forces and the Salko Forta bashi-bazouk in Krekovi close to Nevesinje.¹⁰

News of the Christian uprising against the Ottomans spread quickly. Albin Kutschbach learned of the uprising that same summer and decided to head for the Balkans. That young German boarded a ship in Trieste bound for Kotor. As he himself admitted, his original plan was to visit Montenegro and join its army, believing that a regular army has its advantages to an “unregulated band of rebels.”¹¹ His premise, that the Montenegrin army would actively engage in open warfare immediately after the uprising began, later proved to be a rather naive fantasy.

Namely, Prince Nikola¹² considered that it was not the time for a rebellion, because, having learned from previous experience, he realized that Montenegro would remain alone in the fight against the Ottoman Empire. The Prince even twice refused the requests of the Herzegovinian leaders who asked for help and support in organizing an uprising at the end of 1874. In doing so, he only postponed the inevitable. Finally, at the war council held on Lovćen on August 8/20, 1875, it was decided that Montenegro would secretly assist the uprising. Only after that, the uprising obtained a more organized character. Order and discipline were established, detachments were formed, and supplies were organized. From then on, all of this took place under the watchful eye of Prince Nikola and his loyal military commanders (vojvode) Petar Vukotić and Peko Pavlović. However, it was not until the summer of the following year that war was declared against the Ottoman Empire.¹³

¹⁰ Васа Чубриловић, *Босански устанак 1875–1878* (Београд: Службени лист СРЈ, 1996²), 57–60; Лазар Радан, *Устанак у Источној Херцеговини 1875–1878-узроци, ток и последице (на основу досадашње историографије)* (Требиње: Задужбина „Кнез Мирослав Хумски“, 2023), 74.

¹¹ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 5.

¹² Nikola I Petrović Njegoš (1841–1921) was the Prince (Knyaz) of Montenegro from 1860 to 1910 and King from 1910 to 1918. During his reign, Montenegro received international recognition and territorial expansion under the decision of the Berlin Congress (1878). Nikola I reformed the state administration and established the Council of Ministers. In 1905, he promulgated a Octroic Constitution, and a National Assembly was convened. In 1914, the King declared war on Austria-Hungary. However, the Kingdom capitulated in 1916. The King, Government, and Court went into exile in France. After the war, the King and dynasty were overthrown at the Podgorica Assembly. Nikola I died in exile. Accessed April 10, 2025. <https://nikola.dlib.me/me/biografija>

¹³ В. Чубриловић, *Босански ...*, 62–64, 178–179; Радован Субић, „Између цара и књаза. Српски устанак у Херцеговини 1875–1876“, In: *Концепти национализма и патриотизма у српском политичком дискурсу: Средњи век, нови век, савремено доба*, књ. I (Београд: Универзитет у Београду, Филозофски факултет, 2025), 372–373.

Describing his journey to Kotor, Kutschbach left important evidence of the work of the Committee for the Collection of Volunteers. Committees and boards for assistance to the uprising and the insurgents were also established in Belgrade and Cetinje, as well as along the entire coast in cities from Trieste to Kotor, most of which were located in the territory of Austro-Hungarian Dalmatia.¹⁴ Otherwise, Austria-Hungary was wary of openly aiding the uprising so as not to compromise itself with the Ottoman Empire. On the other hand, it also tried not to act against the uprising movement. The instruction that Minister Andrassy sent to General Rodić in Dalmatia prohibited the crossing of troops “publicly and in broad daylight”, which practically gave the green light for secretly aiding the uprising itself.¹⁵ During his trip, Kutschbach noticed that the leadership of the insurgent committees themselves was quite diverse. From the fact that - the boards of the committees were represented by Catholic priests, as was the case in Zadar (Zara) and Šibenik, to the fact that mayors, like the one in Dubrovnik, headed the committee, while the one in Zadar was headed by Miho Klaić,¹⁶ a politician and leader of the People’s Party.¹⁷ Namely, the Zadar committee was the main committee, at least when the Dalmatian coast was in question. Miho Klaić worked actively to collect aid for the uprising. During the second half of 1875, he sent aid from Zadar to Dubrovnik in the amount of 1,800 forints, then 3,400 rifles and 240,000 cartridges, and another 1,000 forints worth of ammunition.¹⁸

A particularly strong impression on Kutschbach was made by his meeting with Miho Klaić in Zadar, on which occasion, as Kutschbach writes, Klaić did not hide his delight at the fact that a German had be-

¹⁴ Л. Радан, *Устанак у Источној Херцеговини*, 192–193.

¹⁵ Milorad Ekmečić, *Ustanak u Bosni 1875–1878* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1973), 117–118.

¹⁶ Miho Klaić (1829–1896) was a Dalmatian politician. He was born in Dubrovnik and received his primary education there, while he completed his secondary education in Livorno. He continued his education in the field of architecture in Padua. After his studies, he worked at the Zadar High School, but was dismissed in 1863 due to his political views, only to be reinstated two years later. From 1861, he was a deputy in the Dalmatian Parliament, a position he held until his death. Klaić was also one of the leaders of the People’s Party in Dalmatia and the author of its program from 1873. Klaić advocated equality and cooperation between Serbs and Croats in Dalmatia. Accessed April 3, 2025. <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/klaic-miho>

¹⁷ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 3–4.

¹⁸ Trpimir Macan, „Gledišta Miha Klaića na bosansko-hercegovačku problematiku od 1874. do 1890.”, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1980), 35. Accessed April 9, 2025. <https://hrcak.srce.hr/57045>

come interested in the uprising. At the time of Kutschbach's trip, the strategy for transferring volunteers to the scene of the uprising had already been skillfully developed. Young people, came mainly from the wider area of Austria-Hungary, arrived in Trieste. There they registered with the uprising committee, from which they would receive some money and a ticket for a steamer to Pula. Thus began their stage journey from Pula, via Zadar, Šibenik, Split, Dubrovnik and Herceg Novi. In each of these ports, there were representatives of the committee who welcomed the volunteers, gave them additional instructions and money, and sent them further on their way. When they finally reached Kotor, efforts were made to transfer them to the rebel area as quickly as possible, preferably at night.¹⁹

Albin Kutschbach himself went through this staged four-day journey. After arriving and spending the night in Kotor, he did not go to Herzegovina, but instead headed for Cetinje along a steep mountain path. He was determined to join the Montenegrin army and was encouraged by a letter of recommendation he received from Miho Klaić in Zadar. Despite a cordial audience with Prince Nikola, Kutschbach's wish was not granted. His admission to join the Montenegrin army was refused because he was a foreigner. That disappointing realization prompted him to volunteer and ahead to Herzegovina, the very epicenter of the uprising.²⁰ During his stay in that area, he left valuable evidence about the course of the uprising in the wider area around the towns of Trebinje and Bileća.

Kutschbah's arrival at the main rebel camp in Zupci probably occurred in the second half of August 1875. We conclude this from the fact that he mentions a mission of the consuls of the European powers and Server Pasha, who were supposed to influence the cessation of armed struggle through promises after meeting with the leaders of the uprising. The entire undertaking ended ingloriously, because the insurgents did not even meet with the delegations.²¹ In Zupci, Kutschbach became

¹⁹ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 2–5.

²⁰ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 13–14, 18–19. The route to the insurgents positions led first from Kotor to Herceg Novi by boat, and then on foot past Risan and across Krivošije to Zupci. The stopover in Herceg Novi extended the journey, but it was necessary since the weapons depot was located in this city.

²¹ B. Чубриловић, *Босански...*, 89–92; A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 22.

close to the insurgents, and he also got to know very well Mićo Ljubibratić,²² the leader of the uprising. At that time, according to Kutschbach, an interesting event occurred in the rebel camp itself. Namely, a young man appeared at the headquarters in Zupci in an “elegant uniform and patent leather boots,” who, along with his entourage, brought the insurgents ammunition and 60 rifles. It was Petar Mrkonjić. He claimed to come “from northern Serbia and that he was very wealthy”. A couple of days after his arrival, Ljubibratić received a dispatch from Belgrade, from Prince Milan, demanding that this “foreigner” be expelled. Ljubibratić, writes Kutschbach, reluctantly had to ask his guest to leave the rebel camp.²³ To this day, there is no confirmation in historiography that the mysterious visitor to the Zubac headquarters was indeed Petar Mrkonjić (Karađorđević).²⁴ An important moment in the entire event is Ljubibratić’s action on the direct orders of the Serbian prince. We believe that Kutschbach is trying to subtly convey that Ljubibratić was a “man of Serbia”.

Not long after this episode, Ljubibratić moved his headquarters a little further north to Duži, after which Kutschbach, eager to prove himself, was transferred, at his personal request, to the “Hubmajer Small Corps”

²² Mihajlo Mićo Ljubibratić was born in 1839 in Ljubovo near Trebinje. He was educated in Dubrovnik, where he graduated from the Classical High School in Italian. At the age of sixteen, he joined Luka Vukalović’s uprising, quickly becoming the commandant’s secretary. He also participated in the negotiations that were held in Dubrovnik in 1862. When Luka Vukalović went to Russia in 1863, Ljubibratić was in his entourage. However, he did not stay there for long, a year later he returned to Belgrade. There he was involved in preparations for a new uprising. He was sent to Herzegovina before the start of the Great Eastern Crisis. His activities were met with fierce resistance from Prince Nikola. Ljubibratić therefore went to Bosnia with the aim of continuing his activities. However, he was arrested by the Austrian border patrol. He was interned; first to Linz, then to Graz. He was released in 1877. After the Congress of Berlin, he participated in the preparations for resistance to the Austro-Hungarian occupation. After 1882, he took refuge permanently in Serbia. There he was the head of the Pirot District, and then the secretary of the Tax Administration of the Ministry of Finance in Belgrade. He also distinguished himself as a translator. Among other things, he translated the Quran into Serbian. He died in Belgrade in 1889. . Л. Радан, *Устанак у Источној Херцеговини*, 61–62: Радован Субић, „Страни путописци о „вођи“ Херцеговачког устанка Мићи Љубибратићу“, In: *Устанак Срба у Херцеговини и Босни 1875–1878. године* (Бања Лука: Филозофски факултет Универзитета у Бањој Луци, 2016), 113–115.

²³ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 23–25.

²⁴ Historian Dragoljub Živojinović, in his biography of King Peter, states that in August 1875, the young prince was in Vienna without money. During the same month, he repeatedly asked his father to send him money. At the end of August, Peter arrived in Sisak, and then in Dubica, to Mašo Hrvacanin, who connected him with various personalities. Драгољуб Р. Живојновић, *Краљ Петар I Карађорђевић: у изгнанству 1844–1903. године* (Београд: Завод за уџбенике, 2009), 115–116. For provided data, I would like to thank my colleague Radovan Subić.

that was attacking the Trebinje fortress. Truth be told, the insurgents did not have the weapons to seriously threaten the fortress itself, but they tried to inflict significant losses on it through tactical guerrilla attacks.

Kutschbach, his eagerly awaited trial of fire in a battlefield, had right there in a clash with the regular Ottoman army in front of the Trebinje fortress. It was “two hours of useless shooting,” as Kutschbach later recorded.²⁵ After that battle, he began to realize that tactical thinking and planning were necessary to threaten Ottoman positions. Especially those in fortified cities. This was already evident during the attack on the strategic tower of Drieno (Drijen), which, due to its specific position, had a view of the entire area around the city of Trebinje. Miroslav Hubmajer,²⁶ Albin Kutschbach, and another insurgent took upon themselves the task - to sneak near the tower carrying seven kilograms of dynamite cartridges. Hubmajer took upon himself the responsibility to throw the explosives into the tower itself, while the other two were responsible to protect his back. The night climb over the rocky, steep terrain was particularly challenging and full of danger. Hubmajer managed to set off an explosive device only at the base of the tower wall. Spotted by the guards, they had to flee. The explosion that followed, although it did not seriously collapse the tower, allowed them to escape. The frightened Turks spent the whole night shooting aimlessly into the darkness. Kutschbach did not mince words when describing Hubmajer’s audacity as he sneaked near the tower and set explosives, as well as his fearless-

²⁵ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 25–26.

²⁶ Miroslav Hubmajer (1851–1910) was born in Ljubljana under the name Friedrich (nickname Fritz) Hubmayer. He was educated in Graz and Budapest as a printing worker. For a time, he even worked at the National Printing House in Ljubljana. In 1875, he joined the Herzegovinian insurgents. He changed his German name to Miroslav, although among the insurgents, due to his long black beard, he was better known as “Black Miro”. Later, he went to Bosnia, where he was elected for a commander of all the insurgent troops at the assembly in Jamnica. After the Berlin Congress, he lived for five years in Serbia and then ten years in Romania. Namely, after the Timok Uprising (1883), he took refuge in Bucharest with Nikola Pašić, where he founded the Lithographic Institute. He later married the daughter of a Sarajevo pharmacist, and around 1895 he settled in Sarajevo and became a correspondent for the newspaper *Nada*. From 1896, he worked at the National Museum as an expert advisor. He died in 1910 in Sarajevo. *Sarajevski list*, Miroslav Hubmajer, 31.1.1896. Accessed April 4, 2025. <https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi241529/>; More detail in: Božidar Jezernik, „Methodological Piedmontism and the Re-writing of early Yugoslav History“, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, Vol 53, No. 2 (2021), 107–143. Accessed April 4, 2025. <https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/398234>

ness as he fled under a hail of bullets.²⁷ Although their paths diverged after this action, his acquaintance with Hubmajer later grew into friendship, as Kutschbach often visited him while the latter lived in Sarajevo.²⁸

Namely, Hubmajer soon left for Bosnia, and Mićo Ljubibratić made the decision to form a corps under commander (vojvoda) Filipović, and Kutschbach was then placed under his command. Staying in this formation allowed Kutschbach to get acquainted with the terrain of Herzegovina, since the corps was on the move. The insurgents had the task of reaching Bileća through difficult terrain. According to Kutschbach's testimony, the entire route involved crossing Novice, Vron, Mosko, Orah and Popeljik. However, on the road between Vron and Mosko, the insurgents encountered strong Ottoman forces, and, avoiding conflict, were forced to turn southwest between Budoš and Borilović. Further along the route, near the village of Orah (part of it exists on the shore of Lake Bileća, author's note), a clash with Ottoman forces occurred - in which the insurgents won. However, the triumph turned out to be short-lived, as reinforcements that arrived for the Ottomans the next day forced the insurgents to flee. Namely, the insurgents, believing that the danger had passed, rested by the Čepelica River. Without proper shelter, they were an easy target. After the attack, they panicked and fled to the mountains for a shelter. Kutschbach and a few comrades managed to take refuge on Mount Viduša near Odjek. Only later - he found out about - the true extent of the disaster that had befallen them. Commander Filipović was killed. The corps lost a third of its men, both from wounds and from capture. At the request of his comrades, Kutschbach took command of the rest of the corps.²⁹ The exhausted forces needed urgent recovery. The situation was made worse by the arrival of "women, children and frail old men", who, fleeing from the Turks, tried to find at least temporary salvation in the insurgents camp. Therefore, as commander, Kutschbach decided that the insurgents and civilians should retreat towards Montenegro in short daily marches, with great precautions. "We arrived there safely, and the grateful refugees blessed us," Kutschbach later recalled.³⁰

²⁷ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 28–30.

²⁸ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 30–31.

²⁹ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 36. Kutschbach uses the term corps.

³⁰ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 37.

As the leader of the corps, it was extremely important for him to obtain the consent of Prince Nikola and the approval of Mićo Ljubibratić for his actions. Immediately upon his arrival in Montenegro, the prince agreed to Kutschbach's new role. After a long wait, he finally received a response from Ljubibratić, who approved his taking over of the leadership role, "wished him God's blessing" and issued an order for further steps.³¹ Ljubibratić's role as the undisputed leader of the Herzegovinian uprising is highlighted in Kutschbach's memoirs. From his narration, it seems that Ljubibratić's authority among the Herzegovinian insurgents in 1875 was unquestionable. Although Kutschbach did not record the existence of tensions between Ljubibratić and Prince Nikola. If he knew about them, then he probably decided to leave them out due to loyalty and close ties with the Montenegrin prince.

Although, at the beginning of the uprising, Ljubibratić advocated that "the insurgents themselves govern authority in the conquered territories and conduct state affairs themselves".³² Such views conflicted with the plans of the Montenegrin prince. Kutschbach cunningly skips over this information (if he knew about them). He attributes Ljubibratić's departure for northern Bosnia in 1876 to adventurism and naive trust in the promises of Jeanne Merkus, whom Kutschbach calls the "Dutch Joan of Arc".³³ Namely, in early March, Ljubibratić headed for northern Bosnia via Klek, Ljubuški and Imotski with the insurgents and an entourage. However, his plans to get involved in the Bosnian Uprising conflicted with the strategic goals of Austria-Hungary.³⁴ Kutschbach himself, in the rest of his memoirs, portrays Ljubibratić as a naive and reckless man, sarcastically commenting that this "adventurous bunch" was met and disarmed by Austrian border guards, and Ljubibratić was interned.³⁵

After a short stay and rest in Montenegro, Kutschbach's corps, reinforced by volunteers from Bay of Kotor and Krivošije, regained its pre-

³¹ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 38.

³² Л. Радан, *Устанак у Источној Херцеговини*, 86.

³³ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 48–49.

³⁴ Ferdo Hauptmann, „Internacija hercegovačkog ustaničkog vojvode Miće Ljubibratića u Grazu (Gracu) god.1876/77“, *Prilozi*, 14–15 (1978), 366–367. At the end of July 1876, Ljubibratić was transferred from Linz to Graz due to the milder climate. At first, he and his wife were accommodated in a hotel, and a few months later they were given accommodation in a private apartment. Ljubibratić was under constant surveillance by the Austrian secret service.

³⁵ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 49.

vious strength of 150 men. Under his command, they set off on a march along the Trebišnjica River valley, reaching the Klenak Tower in the early evening. Kutschbach emphasizes in his memoirs the strategic importance of this tower in the eventual capture of Trebinje. The insurgents under his command launched a surprise attack on the garrison during the night. After a short battle inside the tower itself, they won. They seized a lot of ammunition and two mountain cannons, while the captured Turkish garrison was transferred to Montenegro the next day.³⁶ This is just another confirmation of the active participation of the Principality of Montenegro in the uprising itself.

After the capture of the Klenak Tower, Kutschbach's authority among the insurgents grew. As a commander, he faced various challenges. By his own admission, he found it particularly difficult to fight the superstitions of insurgents. In his memoirs, he recalled an incident when, during a fight, he noticed a insurgent firing a pistol without aiming. When he later asked him why, he replied that he had placed a hair from his amulet in the barrel and "the bullet will hit wherever you want, without aiming at the target". It seems that this was not the only case, as Kutschbach admits that there were difficulties in the fight against superstition. Aware that he did not have a regular army under his command, but a "diverse bunch", he tried to have understanding for the sometimes strange and incomprehensible behavior of his comrades.³⁷

After a day's rest in the Klenak Tower, Kutschbach's corps continued its advance towards Bileća. As a commander, he did not rush, but relied on patrols and scouts who brought news from the field. Thus, they found out on time that the Ottoman army under the command of Suleiman Pasha was approaching them, determined to recapture the Klenak tower. Kutschbach took advantage of the configuration of the terrain and he was ready to set one's face against the approaching forces. He managed to lure them into the valley to accept the fight, and then, retreating, he drew them into the ravine, when suddenly the rebel detachments descended from the slopes and pushed them back. On the same day, Suleiman Pasha attempted an attack twice more only to be finally definitely

³⁶ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 39.

³⁷ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 40.

repulsed.³⁸ In the evening, Kutschbach's corps captured the strategically important village Mosko and its surroundings. Upon entering this village, Kutschbach and his comrades were greeted with salt and bread by the "mayor," and Kutschbach, as commander, was offered two girls "for entertainment," which he refused. This was one of the rare instances where he describes interacting with the local population. The next day they continued towards Bileća. They managed to reach the mountains north of the city. However, winter was approaching. Snow and blizzards appeared. Kutschbach therefore dismissed his men with the promise to meet again in Zupci in the spring. He himself went to Herceg Novi to spend the winter there.³⁹

In the spring, at the beginning of the new season of warfare, certain changes occurred in the insurgent movement. The leadership of the uprising and the insurgents was taken over by Peko Pavlović, "a brave and determined man" according to the decision of Prince Nikola, as Kutschbach describes him.⁴⁰

Recalling 1876, Kutschbach in his memoirs pays great attention to the descriptions of the diplomatic efforts of the European powers to pacify Herzegovina. He also points to the crisis in the Ottoman Empire, both economic and dynastic. Of course, he also mentions the entry of Serbia and Montenegro into the war against the Porte.

In that context, the battle of Vučji Dol (near Bileća) takes a central place in Kutschbach's memories from the second year of the warfare. Namely, after the declaration of war on the Ottoman Empire, Prince Nikola ordered the insurgents to join the Montenegrin Northern Army. Kutschbach's corps was under the command of Peko Pavlović, who, according to Kutschbach, operated almost independently in eastern Herzegovina.⁴¹

The Montenegrin army, after the declaration of war, began offensive operations. After the unsuccessful siege of Nevesinje and the attack on Mostar, the main forces of the Ottoman army under the command of Muhtar Pasha was noticed approaching. Therefore, it was decided that

³⁸ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 40–42.

³⁹ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 44–45.

⁴⁰ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 49.

⁴¹ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 60.

the insurgent-Montenegrin army withdraw closer to the border with Montenegro and surprise the approaching forces with an attack on inaccessible terrain. The camp was set up near Vučji Dol on a rocky ridge below which ran the road that the Ottoman army was supposed to pass. Kutschbach says that they did not even allow to lit a fire so as not to reveal their positions. The exception was a small fire for making coffee, which Kutschbach says was necessary. However, most of the fighters did not sleep in anticipation of the battle. Kutschbach recalled that Prince Nikola went from one group of soldiers to another, encouraging them. He hugged and kissed Kutschbach on the forehead, saying: "When the sun rises today, we will either be victors or dead. Let us be victors, and I also trust in you, dear friend". Recalling that situation, Kutschbach wrote in his memoirs: "Even today, after so many years, I hear those words ringing in my ears and they give me chills".⁴²

The Battle of Vučji Dol, thanks to tactical preparation and the surprise factor, ended with a great victory for the Montenegrin army. Kutschbach noted that it was the most significant battle of the war year of 1876, but they were not aware of it at the time. The victory was celebrated with great enthusiasm and mutual congratulations, while prince treated Kutschbach and other commanders to champagne. It was a Russian present.⁴³

Not long after this battle, Kutschbach was forced to return to Germany due to family circumstances. However, his friendship with the Montenegrin prince was not interrupted. Kutschbach was also among the guests who celebrated the proclamation of Montenegro as a Kingdom in Cetinje in August 1910.⁴⁴

Albin Hugo Kutschbach left an important testimony about the Herzegovinian Uprising in his memoirs. As a young man who joined the insurgent army by chance, he developed from a volunteer, an insurgent, to a company commander in two years of war. The significance of Kutschbach's memories is manifold. In his memoirs, he further shed light

⁴² A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 61–62.

⁴³ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 63.

⁴⁴ A. Kutschbach, *Der Brandherd ...*, 64.

on the process of sending volunteers to the insurgent field. He personally witnessed the activities and organization of the committees for assisting the uprising along the Dalmatian coast. Fighting as an insurgent in the wider area around the cities of Trebinje and Bileća, he left striking descriptions of those conflicts. What we noticed as a constant in his narration is his devotion to Montenegro and Prince Nikola. We believe that this was precisely the reason for Kutschbach's failure to mention the tensions between the prince and the insurgent leader Mićo Ljubibratić.

In his memoirs, Kutschbach also left vivid impressions of the insurgents, their behavior, habits and superstitions. His contacts with the local population were quite limited, as there is no indication that Kutschbach knew any other language than German.

However, with all the burden and limitations that a memoir-type work carries, we believe that Kutschbach's observations about the insurgent movement itself, the warfare in Herzegovina, individual insurgent leaders, and Montenegro's attitude towards the uprising, represent valuable information, especially since they come from the pen of a foreigner.

REFERENCES

Autobiography and Memoirs:

Kutschbach, Albin. *Jugenderinnerungen eines alten Leipzigers* (Leipzig: Verlag Heinr. F. A. Timm, 1926). Accessed March 13, 2025.

Digitale Sammlungen: Jugenderinnerungen eines alten Leipzigers

Kutschbach, Albin. *Der Brandherd Europas–50 Jahre Balkan Erinnerungen* (Leipzig: E. Haberland Verlag, 1929).

Newspapers:

Leipziger Tagblatt und Anzeiger: Amtsblatt des Königlichen Amts- und Landgerichtes Leipzig und des Rathes und Polizeiamtes der Stadt Leipzig, Seit dem 6. Juni Isd. Is. sind in Handelsregister für Leipzig folgende Einträge bewirkt worden, 9.7.1874. Accessed March 14, 2025. https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/I32LM46MWAUAC2SBIWKEVMJDTBVOTH0?query=albin+kutschbach&page=1&sort=sort.publication_date+asc&hit=4&issuepage=3

- Rieser Tagblatt und Anzeiger (Elbeblatt und Anzeiger): amtliche Bekanntmachungen für die Stadt und den Landkreis Riesa*, Der Senior der Leipziger Schriftsteller gestorben, 17.11.1936. Accessed April 4, 5025. https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/W2BSAJD4E-3GWJRKOQI634EKSF6RI3R32?query=albin+kutschbach&sort=sort.publication_date+asc&page=12&hit=12&issuepage=15
- Sarajevski list*, Miroslav Hubmajer, 31.1.1896. Accessed April 4, 5025. <https://infobiro.ba/article/943684/miroslav-hubmajer-autor-nije-naveden>
- Westfälischer Merkur*, Ein wechselvolles Schriftstellerleben, Nr. 121, 25.3.1926. Accessed April 4, 5025. https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de/newspaper/item/Z2FI36VT7BVRRANJEB06W3IVD3A7F4F6?tx_dlf%5Bhighlight_word%5D=albin%2Bkutschbach&issuepage=2&query=albin+kutschbach&sort=sort.publication_date+asc&page=11&hit=6

Literature:

- Чубриловић, Васа. *Босански устанак 1875–1878* (Београд: Службени лист ЦПЈ, 1996²).
- Ekmečić, Milorad. *Ustanak u Bosni 1875–1878* (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1973).
- Grgić, Stipica. „Autobiografije i memoari u hrvatskoj povijesnoj znanosti“, *Historijski zbornik*, god. LXIX, br. 1 (2016): 189–212.
- Hauptmann, Ferdo. „Internacija hercegovačkog ustaničkog vojvode Miće Ljubričića u Grazu (Gracu) god.1876/77“, *Prilozi*, 14–15 (1978): 363–370.
- Jezernik, Božidar. „Methodological Piedmontism and the Re-writing of early Yugoslav History“, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, Vol 53, No. 2 (2021): 107–143.
- Komposch-Ortner, Irene. „Die kulturelle begegnung von Orient und Okzident in Bosnien and Herzegowina“, *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, IV (1984): 281–303.
- Langer, Benjamin. *“Fremde, ferne Welt” Mazedonienimaginationen in der deutschsprachigen Literatur seit dem 19. Jahrhundert* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2019).
- Macan, Trpimir. „Gledišta Miha Klaića na bosansko-hercegovačku problematiku od 1874. do 1890.“, *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1980): 33–50.
- Nikić, Andrija. „Fra Paškal Buconjić-Glavni uzroci ustanka kršćanskog stanovništva u Hercegovini (1875). Kratak osvrt na namete“, *Croatica Christiana periodica*, Vol. 5, No. 8 (1981): 67–89.

Радан, Лазар. *Устанак у Источној Херцеговини 1875–1878-узроци, ток и последице (на основу досадашње историографије)* (Требиње: Задужбина „Кнез Мирослав Хумски“, 2023).

Субић, Радован. „Страни путописци о „вођи“ Херцеговачког устанка Мићи Љубибратићу“, In: *Устанак Срба у Херцеговини и Босни 1875–1878. године* (Бања Лука: Филозофски факултет Универзитета у Бањој Луци, 2016), 113–123.

Субић, Радован. „Између цара и књаза. Српски устанак у Херцеговини 1875–1876“, In: *Концепти национализма и патриотизма у српском политичком дискурсу: Средњи век, нови век, савремено доба*, књ. I (Београд: Универзитет у Београду, Филозофски факултет, 2025), 363–377.

Тош, Џон, Шон Ланг. *У трагању за историјом. Циљеви, методи и нови правци у проучавању савремене историје* (Београд: Clio, 2008).

Живојновић, Драгољуб Р. *Краљ Петар I Карађорђевић: у изгнанству 1844–1903. године* (Београд: Завод за уџбенике, 2009).

Literature from the Internet:

Accessed April 3, 2025. <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/clanak/klaic-miho>

Accessed April 4, 2025. <https://www.slovenska-biografija.si/oseba/sbi241529/>

Accessed April 10, 2025. <https://nikola.dlib.me/me/biografija>

Internet:

<https://hrcak.srce.hr/clanak/260426>

<https://dergipark.org.tr/tr/download/article-file/112773>

<https://hrcak.srce.hr/98064>

<https://nikola.dlib.me/me/biografija>

<https://hrcak.srce.hr/57045>

<https://hrcak.srce.hr/file/398234>

Стојанка Лужија

ХЕРЦЕГОВАЧКИ УСТАНАК ПРЕМА СЈЕЋАЊИМА АЛБИНА ХУГЕ КУЧБАХА

Сажетак: Устанак који је 1875. године избио у Херцеговини наговјестио је могућност коначног рјешења Источног питања и пажњу европске јавности усмјерио је на то подручје. Добровољци, углавном са подручја Аустроугарске Монархије, али и других европских држава почели су да пристижу на устаничку територију. Млади Нијемац Албин Хуго Кучбах већ током љета исте године стигао је прво у Црну Гору, а потом и у Херцеговину. Придруживши се устаничком покрету лично је учествовао у ратним операцијама устаника. У својим позним годинама написао је мемоаре у којима се, између осталог, присјетио и својих устаничких година. Кучбахова сјећања послужила су нам као главни историјски извор при писању овог рада. Наиме, током двогодишњег ратовања он је прошао развојни пут од добровољца, устаника, па све до команданта чете. Управо због тога значај Кучбахових сјећања је вишеструк. Користећи се Кучбаховим мемоарима успјели смо да додатно расвијетлимо процес слања добровољаца на устаничко подручје. Од великог значаја било је и лично свједочанство Кучбаха о активностима одбора дуж далматинске обале који су помагали устанак. Борећи се као устаник на ширем подручју око градова Требиња и Билеће оставио је упечатљиве описе тих сукоба. Могли смо запазити и његова лична промишљања о ефикаснијим, стратешким начинима ратовања, које је и сам примјењивао. Његове перцепције о устаницима и устаничким вођама важан су сегмент мемоара. Без задршке он је износио своје импресије о Мирославу Хубмајеру, Пеки Павловићу, па и самом устаничком вођи Мићи Љубибратићу. Међутим, мишљења смо да је приврженост Црној Гори и књазу Николи, која се јасно осликава на страницама Кучбахових мемоара, донекле и обликовала његове ставове. Запазили смо такође да су Кучбахови контакти са локалним становништвом били су прилично лимитирани. И поред свих ограничења, Кучбахова сјећања су важан извор за сагледавање Херцеговачког устанка, тим више, што је аутор био и активни учесник догађаја о којима пише.

Кључне ријечи: Албин Хуго Кучбах, устанак, Херцеговина, Црна Гора, Османско царство.