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**EARLY TOURISTS AT ŠKOCJANSKE JAME
- 18TH CENTURY TO 1914**

**PRVI TURISTI V ŠKOCJANSKIH JAMAH
- OD 18. STOLETJA DO 1914**

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Izvleček

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Trevor R. Shaw: Prvi turisti v Škocjanskih jamah - od 18. stoletja do 1914

Udorni dolini ter ponori v Škocjanskih jamah so bili omenjeni že v antiki in označeni na zemljevidih iz 16. stoletja, opisal jih je Valvasor (1689), obiskovali pa so jih tudi popotniki v 18. stoletju. Vzpodbudo je pomenila tudi pot, ki so jo 1823 speljali v Veliko dolino. Knjiga obiskovalcev, ki so jo uvedli 1819 je izgubljena, toda nekaj informacij o obiskih je mogoče dobiti iz drugih virov, vključno iz popotnih dnevnikov in Schmidlovih knjig okoli leta 1853. V Evropskih turističnih vodnikih je opaziti porast priljubljenosti jam. 1884 je Primorska sekcija Nemško-avstrijskega planinskega društva vzela jame v zakup in uredila vodeni turistični obisk. Isti vodniki so pomagali članom društva pri dolgotrajnih in težavnih raziskavah jam, vzporedno z njimi pa so stalno podaljševali turistično pot. V 1890-tih letih so v obisk vključili Dvorano planinskega društva in 1903 celo Martelovo dvorano. V prispevku so opisane tudi vstopnina in plačila za vodnike in razsvetljavo.

Ključne besede: speleologija, zgodovina speleologije, turizem, Slovenija, Škocjanske jame.

Abstract

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Trevor R. Shaw: Early tourists at Škocjanske jame 18th century to 1914

After mention in Classical times and on 16th century maps, the dolines and sinks of Škocjanske jame were described by Valvasor (1689) and visited by travellers in the 18th century. Tourists were encouraged from 1823 when a path down Velika dolina was made. The visitors' book started in 1819 is lost but information on some visits is available from other sources including travellers' reports and Schmidl's books of around 1853. European guide books mark the increasing popularity of the caves. In 1884 the Section Küstenland of the Deutscher und Österreichischer Alpenverein leased the caves and arranged guided tours for visitors. These same guides assisted Club members in lengthy and difficult explorations, and the tourist route was constantly extended. In the 1890s it included the Alpenvereins Dom, and in 1903 even the Martel Dom. The system of charging visitors for entry, for guides and for lights is described.

Key words: Speleology, history of speleology, tourism, Slovenia, Škocjanske jame.

INTRODUCTION

The period, 18th century until the outbreak of World War I, has been chosen because before that no tourists have been traced visiting the Škocjanske jame area; and afterwards tourism was already modern in style, with large groups of visitors using easy tourist paths. In the 150 years between, the visits developed from admiring the great dolines at the surface to going deep within the river caves.

Škocjanske jame and their surroundings were known first as the place where a large surface river disappeared underground; then for the spectacular collapse dolines up 160 m deep, at the bottom of which the river could be seen before its final disappearance; and lastly as a most remarkable and impressive cave system. The changes happened as travelling became easier and then as the river cave was explored and made accessible.

Perhaps because of the difficulty of descending the dolines and entering the caves, fewer travellers described their visits here than they did to other caves in the region, such as Postojnska jama and the cave at Vilenica. Another problem for the historian is that the 19th century visitors' book for Škocjanske jame is lost. Nevertheless it has been possible to build up quite a detailed picture of 19th century tourism, largely from the guidebook descriptions which are, in themselves, evidence that the place was visited frequently.

Before studying what the guidebooks can reveal, though, two other sources of information will be examined:

- a) records of the missing visitors' book;
- b) comparison with the nearby tourist cave of Vilenica, for which more records survive.

The very earliest sources of information, from over 2000 years ago, are mentioned first.

KNOWLEDGE OF ŠKOCJANSKE JAME BEFORE 1750

The association of the Reka river, sinking at Škocjanske jame, with the risings of the Timavo near Trieste was correctly surmised in classical times. Poseidonius (135 BC 51 or 50 BC), quoted by Strabo, said that "a river, the Timavus, runs out of the mountains, falls down into a chasm, and then, after running underground about a hundred and thirty stadia, makes its exit near the sea"¹. This supposition was repeated without comment or proof by many writers, both in classical times and as late as Kircher² in 1665.

A few years after Kircher, the Slovene topographer Valvasor³ published in 1689 an original description together with a drawing of the two great dolines. This picture was not accurate but it made a point of showing all four places where the water appeared and disappeared.

It may be wondered what this has got to do with the development of tourism, Its significance is in showing that the place was already well known, even so long ago; and being well known is one of the essentials for touristic success. Another essential is accessibility and, as will be seen, the story of Škocjanske jame is very largely one of improved access to the place, to the bottom of the dolines, and into the caves. The third requirement for success is intrinsic interest and spectacular attraction, and this the place clearly has it was the reason both for the earliest writings and for its acceptance as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

Early maps, too, showed the Reka sinking prominently, often with a printed note indicating that it rose again at the Timavo springs near Trieste. The earliest of these maps was one made by Lazius⁴

and first published in the 1573 supplement to Ortelius's great atlas of 1570⁵, which gave it a wide circulation and hence influence in making intending travellers aware of this "wonder".

VISITORS BEFORE 1819

A few travellers to Škocjanske jame are known from the period before visitors' books and guidebooks enable a more detailed pattern of visits to be identified. Valvasor's 17th century description has been mentioned already but the circumstances of his actual visit are not known. Reports of four visits before 1819 survive, however, showing that people really did come to see the dolines and cave entrances at that time.

The French artist Louis François Cassas went there in August 1782, having just been to Predjama. He had a guide to show him the way from Senožeče and saw the Reka sinking beneath the village of Škocjan, reappearing in the dolines and finally sinking again^{6,7}. He was impressed by the scale and ruggedness of the place, his description emphasizing its wildness: "no one can conceive the dreadful and incessant roaring...; disorder and confusion...; the tomb of a river".

The drawing he made of the river flowing towards the spot where it first disappears captures much of the same feeling.

Some time in 1808 or 1809 Charles Kelsall^{7A} "saw also a river which disappeared beneath a vast natural vault; it soon reappeared as a waterfall in a very deep depression; then it went underground again and emerged once more. I believe this is the same place that Virgil records as the 'Fons Timavi'."

Then on 6 March 1816 two German botanists, Heinrich Hoppe and Friedrich Hornschuch, came and published a short account of their visit⁸. On the previous day they had been taken into the cave Pečina na Hudem Letu, near Padriciano, by Josef Eggenhöfner (Fig. 1) who had been showing it to tourists since about 1808. It was probably Eggenhöf[n]er who accompanied them to Škocjanske jame, where they evidently remained on the surface. Their book describes the sinking of the Reka in Mahorčičeva jama: "The cave itself is worth seeing, though because of its depth and the water running through it one cannot safely go into it. Several years ago our heroic Eggenhöf[n]er did do just this, swimming right through the entire cave" into Mala dolina.



Fig. A: Heinrich Hoppe^{84A}.

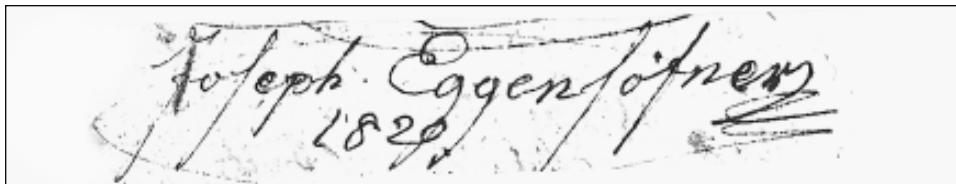


Fig. 1: Eggenhöfner's signature in the Postojnska jama visitors' book in 1820.

In 1818, soon after 10 July, Peter Edmund Laurent came to see the Reka sink while waiting for his ship to sail from Trieste^{8A}, but he gave no description of it.

Other, unrecorded, visits took place in this period also according to an entry made in the lost visitors' book in 1824. Ludovico Kert wrote in it on 24 October that people had already been coming for 17 years⁹.

THE ŠKOCJANSKE JAME VISITORS' BOOK

It is tantalizing that a visitors' book for the caves, which would have told so much about when people came and in what numbers, was destroyed either "in war" or "in 1924"¹⁰.

Two dates have been assigned for the start of the book. Müller^{11,12} states that in 1823 Tominc, who had just had a path made down Velika dolina, provided the book in anticipation of more visits. The first entry, presumably in 1823, was said to have been made by an Englishman. Moser's firm statement that "There is in the inn at Matavun a visitors' book which J. Mahorčič started on 1 January 1819 and which carries the title *Liber Cavernae St. Canziani*"¹³ seems more convincing. He goes on to print an acrostic signed "G.U. 1819", from the first page, in which the initial letters of the twelve lines of a Latin poem read "DIVI CANSIANJ" ("of St. Cancian"¹⁴). Moser also lists the names of 22 prominent scientists and others who had recorded their visits in the book.

In the early 1850s the book was kept in Matavun by Jožef Mahorčič, the mayor of the Naklo commune, which included Škocjan and Matavun¹⁵, and from 1884 it was constantly referred to as being at Gombač's inn at Matavun where visitors bought their entry tickets.

The only known 19th century statement about total numbers at Škocjanske jame is that of Schmidl in 1853: "it is surprising how few visitors come only about 150 per year"¹⁵. In the early 20th century visitor numbers are precisely known for only three years, no doubt from ticket sales: in 1903 there were 2230 people; in 1904, 2960; and in 1905, 3013¹⁶.

DEDUCTIONS FROM THE VILENICA CAVE VISITORS' BOOK

Records of visits to the Vilenica cave, 62 km away near Lokev, are available¹⁷ and much can be deduced from them about the probable pattern of visits to Škocjanske jame.

The location of the two sites is similar. Both could be visited from Trieste in a day, so they could be seen by travellers waiting there for their ships. From 1888 carriages from Trieste would follow a set route through Vilenica to Škocjan¹⁸. Both caves were accessible from the main road between Wien and Trieste, and once the railway reached Divača in 1857 both were within easy walking distance from there. The Vilenica visitors' book was started in 1821, and that for Škocjanske jame in 1819. Visits to both were physically somewhat tiring, with many steps in each case.

So some similarity may be expected in the visiting of the two caves. The relative numbers can never be established, and in any case the popularity of the two caves peaked at different times. A coarse indication of this is provided in Fig. 2, derived from the number of lines devoted to each cave in guidebooks, year by year. A similar pattern is suggested by the fact that eleven visitors to Vilenica (all before 1840) described the cave in their books, whereas Škocjanske jame were mentioned by six (only four of them before 1840).

The similar locations of the two caves does enable certain conclusions about Škocjan visitors to be drawn from the Vilenica book. Firstly, very many people did indeed come from Trieste, as expected. Secondly, the crews of many ships, both military and commercial, visited as parties. In consequence there was a higher proportion of people from maritime nations, such as England and U.S.A. especially up to about 1830, than might otherwise have been expected.

THE FIRST PREPARATION FOR TOURISM

The first physical arrangement for tourists at Škocjanske jame was the construction of a path down the side of Velika dolina to the bottom. The year usually given for this is 1823^{19,20} and indeed that is when it was completed. It was however in 1819 that Matej Tominc (1790-1832), a citizen of Trieste and later councillor at Sežana, first decided to have the path cut the same year in which the

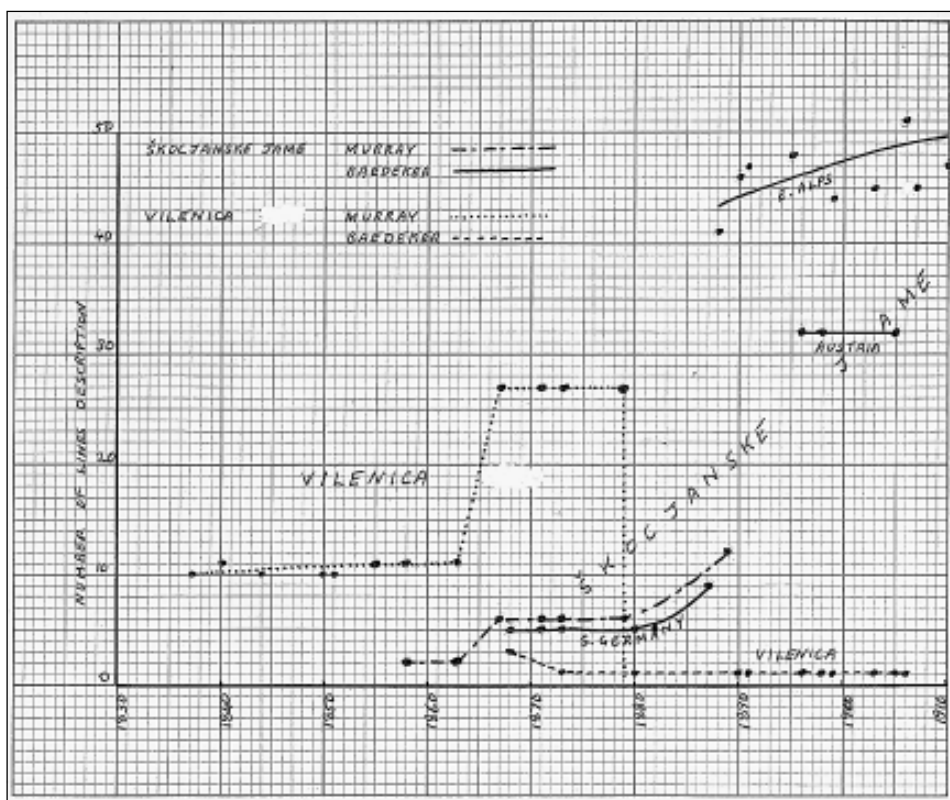


Fig. 2: The relative popularity of Škocjanske jame and Vilenica from 1873 to 1910, estimated from the number of lines of text devoted to each in Murray and Baedeker handbooks. With the Baedekers it will be seen that there are differences in coverage between the books for S. Germany, Austria, and the E. Alps, but the trends are consistent.



Fig. 3: Part of the footpath made down Velika dolina in 1823, from a picture of 1890⁸⁵. In the foreground on the left is the rock wall along which Schmidl had to climb in 1851.



Fig. 4: The inscription above the gate on Tominc's path down Velika dolina, in which the date 1823 appears, disguised.

visitors' book was started¹³. The path is the one still in use (Fig. 3) and the present locked gate part way down is still in the gateway Tominc had made. Above the gate there remains this inscription (Fig. 4):

IMPERANTE AVGVSTO
FRANCISCO I.
thoMIn CIICVRJsaC VicI InDagIne patVIIt

This not only includes Tominc's name in a slightly disguised form, "thoMIn C", but it also provides the date of construction in the form of a riddle. If all the relevant capital letter in the last line, M,D,C,V and I, are added up, the result is 1823.

In the same year there appeared the first regional guidebook²¹ to the caves from Postojna to the coast (Fig. 5). Thirteen pages are devoted to Škocjanske jame, thus treating the place as a tourist attraction for the first time, though the author does admit "the cave itself is altogether rather little known". The best approach, he says is from Dolenje Ležeče by the footpath (part of which is now designated as on the Slovene Transverse Route I) that was later to become the recommended way from Divača railway station.

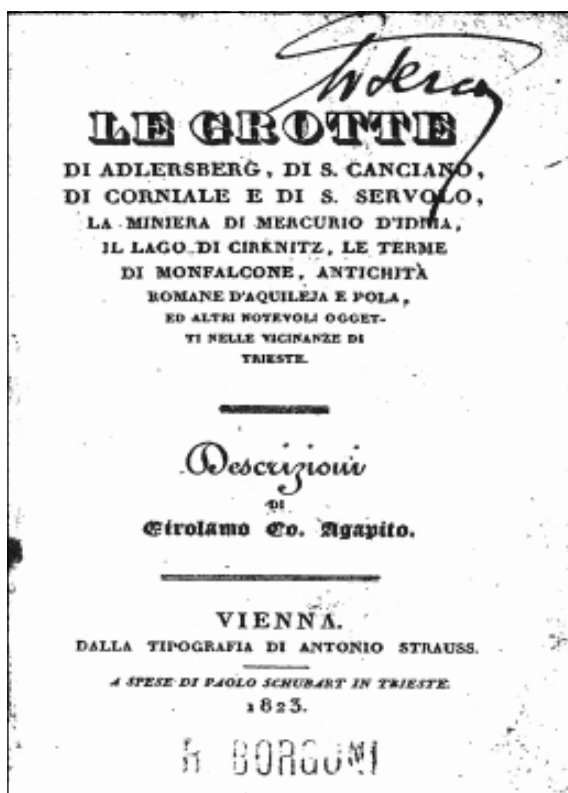


Fig. 5: The title page of Agapito's guidebook to the caves²¹, published in 1823.

At this time the only dry cave known at Škocjanske jame was Tominčeva jama which could be reached quite easily from the bottom of the dolina. This was still the situation on 20 May 1838 when King Frederick Augustus II of Saxony (Fig. 6) made a private visit in the course of a primarily botanical tour²². The king was a friend of Heinrich Hoppe who had been there in 1816, and with him was Dr. Bartolomeo Biasoletti who, according to the lost visitors' book, had made a previous visit in 1824¹³. They visited a “cave with stalactites in the entrance” (almost certainly the Tominc cave) and looked at the waterfall beneath the Natural Bridge.

THE FIRST EXPLORATIONS IN THE CAVE, 1839-40 AND 1851

When in 1839 the Trieste city council was trying to alleviate the water shortage there, efforts were made to locate the underground course of the Reka/Timavo so that water could be pumped from it. Anton Lindner reached this in the Trebiciano cave in 1841, while Giovanni Svetina had decided to try exploring the underground Reka from its sink at Škocjan. He entered by boat for a little way on 21 July 1839 and again on 14 June 1840, claiming to have gone in for 800m^{23,24}.



Fig. 6: King Frederick Augustus II of Saxony who visited the cave in 1838.

However his assistant later pointed out to Schmidl the point where they had turned back, at the 3rd cascade about 110 m in²⁵.

In 1851 there came on the scene the Czech-born Austrian, Adolf Schmidl (1802-1863) who had already made new discoveries in Postojnska jama and was later to investigate caves in Austria and Hungary. He was accompanied by Ivan Rudolf of Idrija who, as a professional surveyor, normally made accurate plans of the caves they explored together. For Škocjanske jame, however, no plan seems to have been published.

Unlike Svetina, they did not attempt to follow the river directly from the entrance. Instead they scrambled up the rocky slope from the bottom of the dolina, very near the water sink, up to the large dry cave now known as Schmidlova dvorana. This bends to the left and brought them down a slope to the river between the 1st and 2nd cascades. It was possible, Schmidl said, to follow the river some way back towards the entrance but in one place a rope ladder several metres long was necessary. Downstream they followed the rocks on the right bank for some way, as far as what is now called the 6th cascade, about 6 m deep²⁴. This was as far as they went, only some 300 m from the entrance but nevertheless a significant advance. Their explorations lasted from 20 February to 6 March 1851. The discovery of Schmidlova dvorana was particularly important, providing not only a dry route to the interior of the cave but also a place high enough above the river for explorers to store their equipment there²⁶. Schmidl himself called it the "Lager Grotte" (Depot Cave)²⁷.

GUIDEBOOKS 1851 TO 1881

Schmidl was also an effective publicist. He described his discoveries not only in a learned journal²⁴, but also in a series of newspaper articles in Wien^{28,29,31} and Ljubljana³⁰, thus making the cave widely known. There was also a lengthy description of visiting Škocjanske jame in his popular little guidebook to the principal caves of the Slovene lands. Two German editions of this^{32,33} appeared and it was also translated into French³⁴. The following account of the caves at that time is summarized from these books.

To get to Škocjan by a horse-drawn carriage from Sežana (on the main post road), through Divača and Dolenje Ležeče, he says, takes 2½ hours and costs 2 florins (200 kreuzer). When the railway reaches Divača, it will take only ¾ hour to reach Škocjan from the station. If one comes from Trieste by carriage, one can visit Vilenica before lunch and then admire the dolina at Škocjan while the horses rest ready for a fast return journey.

At Škocjan there is only a bad tavern; in Matavun not even a lodging; but Naklo has a good inn [now house no. 2, no longer an inn]. The dolina belongs to the commune which has made steps and walls and closed access with a locked gate. The key can be drawn from the inn-keeper at Škocjan, paying 15 kreuzer per person. It is surprising how few visitors come only about 150 per year. The visitors' book is kept in Matavun at the house of Mr. Mahorčič, the mayor. Schmidl named the upstream cave beneath Škocjan village after Mahorčič, in tribute for the help he had received from him for his explorations. In front of the cave mouth is a weir and a mill belonging to the innkeeper at Naklo (another Mahorčič, brother of the mayor³⁵). A steep track leads down to this mill from the mayor's house in Matavun, which is thus identified as the large house at the east end of the village [no. 8]. The cave can be reached and entered on the other (right) side of the river by a steep footpath (from the road above).

For descending into the dolina, a path has been cut from the village of Betanja, but it is not suitable for those with vertigo and it is dangerous in rain or high wind. There are 400 steps, of which the first half are *without* handrails. About half way down is a wall with a doorway and a locked gate. Above the door is the inscription (Imperante...). Below it the stairway does have railings. It brings one to the bottom, covered with boulders and debris. Where the dolina narrows [downstream] it is necessary to climb along the vertical rock wall on the right (Fig. 3), 2 m above the water, to reach the place where the water goes underground. It is not possible to follow it for more than about 57 m before the wall goes vertically down to the water. [In the 1880s iron handrails were provided here to allow visitors in for a little way¹²]. A scramble up a rocky slope outside, covered with vegetation, leads to “an interesting cave which we wish to call the Depot Cave” (Schmidlova dvorana).

No doubt a local man had been available to act as guide ever since the visitors’ book was started in 1819, and certainly once Tominc’s path and the gate were built. But it was not until 1852 that there is any proof of this. In that year a guidebook refers to “a large dry cave with beautiful stalactites” (Tomincjeva jama) and “the guide will show and advise the visitor”³⁶.

It was in the late 1850s that the standard European travellers’ guidebooks started to notice Škocjanske jame. The Baedeker handbooks for the region did not start until 1868, but the English language ones of Murray had been published since 1837, though with no mention of the cave until 1858. Their coverage, with the gradually increasing amount of information provided, is presented in Table 1. As will be seen, the editions after 1887 include vital information such as the extent and duration of the route underground. Even before this sudden increase of coverage in 1888, resulting from the Section Küstenland’s work (to be described later), the short notices in the handbooks reveal a steady increase in the interest aroused by the caves:

“Near [Divača] is the cave of St. Canzian.” (1858)

“...the wonderful cave of St. Canzian, which some people prefer to Adelsberg...” (1863)

“...even more imposing than those of Adelsberg, but much more difficult of access.” (1868-1883)

“...should certainly be visited.” (1887).

It was thus question of access, as well as sheer exploration and extension, that the Deutscher und Österreichischer Alpenverein addressed from 1884 onwards. First, though, there are more visitors to be noticed.

VISITORS IN THE 1870s

Two English travellers left records of their visits at this time. One, known only as “R.H.R.”⁶⁷, went just to the bottom of the Velika dolina, in June or July 1873. The other, now identified as Charles Russell⁶⁸ from India, followed in Schmidl’s footsteps some time between 1870 and 1874, even exploring part of the river in a boat.

Both arrived from Trieste and both mentioned what Schmidl had called the bad tavern in Škocjan where the key was kept in his time. R.H.R. calls it “a roadside pot-house where nothing could be got for love or money”⁶⁹. Russell said that the key was kept there where it hangs “with several others on a nail in the wall”⁷⁰. From the 1880s the key was kept in Matavun but Müller’s 1890 map¹² (reproduced here as Fig. 7) shows the Škocjan inn close to the opening of the Okroglica shaft and

names it as “Deles Inn”. The Janez Delles, who was one of those assisting Hanke, Marinitsch and Müller in the next decade, was no doubt of this family.

Russell was accompanied by a guide from Postojna who knew the cave. They followed exactly the same route as Schmidl, down and across the dolina and up into Schmidlova dvorana. Reaching the river close to the 2nd and 3rd waterfalls (cascades), “we let ourselves down by a rope into a small boat, moored in the stream beneath the aperture, and provided with a length of rope, by gradually paying out which the next fall was safely reached”⁷¹.

One further visitor may be mentioned here. This was the Hungarian novelist, Mór Jókai, who was almost certainly using Škocjanske jame as the scene of an imaginative novel published in 1887^{72,73}. The date of Jókai’s visit to the cave is not known but might have been when he was on his way to or from Italy in 1876.

THE DEUTSCHER UND ÖSTERRECHISCHER ALPENVEREIN FROM 1884

A great step-change in the history of Škocjanske jame occurred in the years following 1884. Besides the successful exploration of the cave, tourist paths and bridges were made, experienced guides made available, and standard fees were introduced, all more or less at once.

Although in many ways the most remarkable achievement was the exploration of the extensive and very difficult cave system, the emphasis here will be on how the cave was prepared for tourist visits and how these were arranged.

The Section Küstenland (Section for the Region near the Sea) of the Deutscher und Österreichischer Alpenverein (D.Ö.A.V.) formed an Abtheilung für Grottenforschung (Cave Investigation Group) on 19 October 1883. Their explorations started on 20 January 1884 and are best followed on two maps the contemporary one published in 1890¹² (Fig. 7) which uses the German names only, and a modern one (Fig. 8) covering rather more of the cave and with present-day names as well. The original German forms of the names are used here (except in quotations), following the literature, as the meaning is usually self-evident and in any case can be interpreted in Fig. 8.

On 8 or 9 November 1884, the explorers went beyond Schmidl’s stopping point at the 6th cascade and also passed the 7th to reach Müller Dom. The Brunnengrotte (Dvorana s ponvicami, or Gour Cave) was reached by climbing on 15 April 1888. The Alpenvereins Dom and the 18th waterfall had been reached on 4 September 1887, and the Rinaldini Dom on 3 August 1890. Martel Dom was entered on 17 August 1890⁷⁴. It was in 1904 that a climb up the 60 m high south side of Müller Dom led to the discovery of the high level dry Lutteroth Grotte (Tiha jama), now part of the tourist route inside the cave.

Much of this exploration was done by traversing along the walls, sometimes at high level. Foot-paths, either temporary plankways projecting from the walls or more permanent paths cut in the rock, were constantly being made so that the routes could be repeated and ultimately shown to visitors. From time to time emergency escape routes, using metal pegs and iron handrails, were made, rising steeply to enable the explorers to escape above any sudden floods. Some of the earliest and most elementary steps are shown in Fig. 9.

Not only were paths made for future use by visitors, but a lease was agreed on 7 December 1884 between the Section Küstenland and the commune. With this lease was an agreed notice about visits by the public, their extent, prices and organization^{48,75}, to come into effect on 1 May 1885:

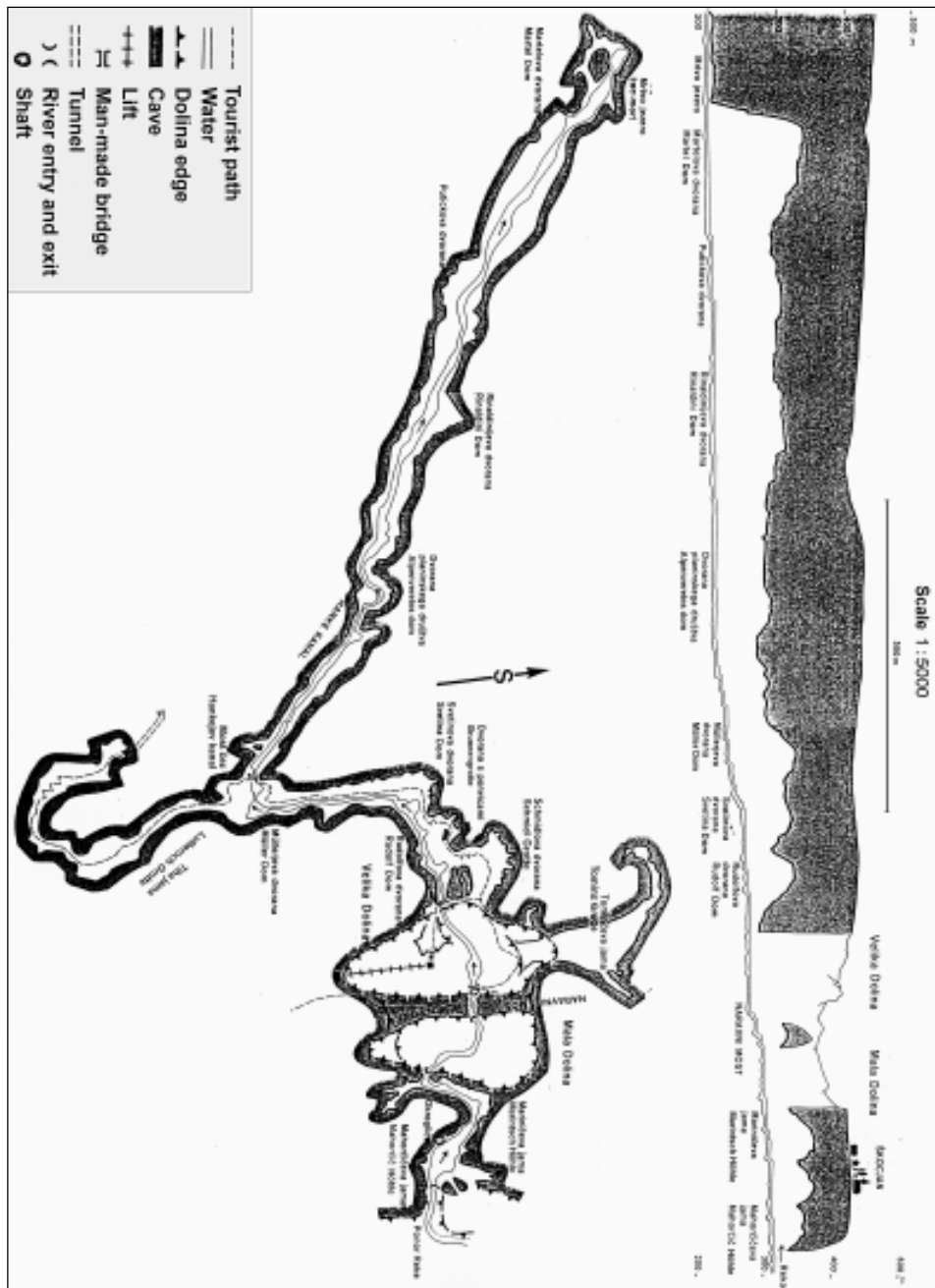


Fig. 8: A modern simplified plan and section of Škocjanske jame. The left-hand part of the plan is inaccurate but it shows the general relationship of the various parts of the cave.



Fig. 9: Steps cut in the rock by the Section Küstenland. View from Rudolf Dom looking downstream. The shallow steps on right in the middle distances are the earliest, dating probably from 1884 or 1885. The steep steps in the background were perhaps made in preparation for the tourist route extending to Müller Dom in 1890. (photo A. Mihevc).

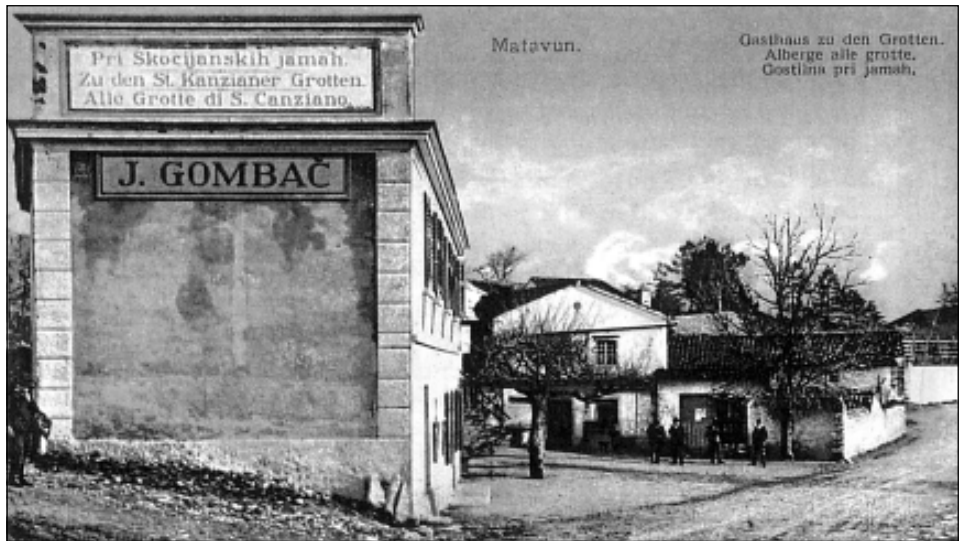


Fig. 10: End view of the Section Küstenland headquarters and Gombač's inn, "Zu den St. Kanzianer Grotten", from a postcard of about 1910.

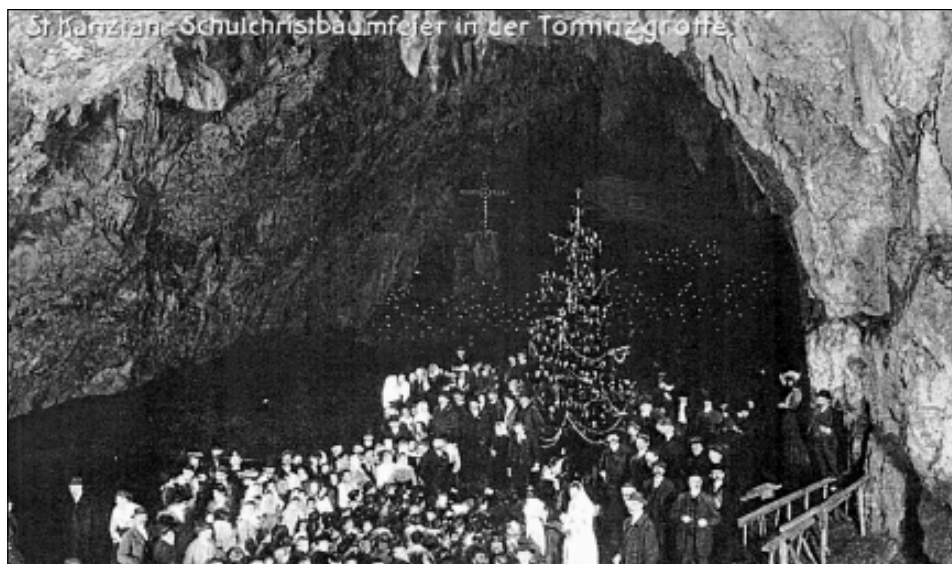


Fig. 11: A Christmas tree in the Tominc cave from a postcard of 1909. There had been Christmas trees there every year from 1886.



Fig. 12: Commemorative plates put up in Martel Dom by the Section Küstenland in 1890 (photo A. Mihevc).

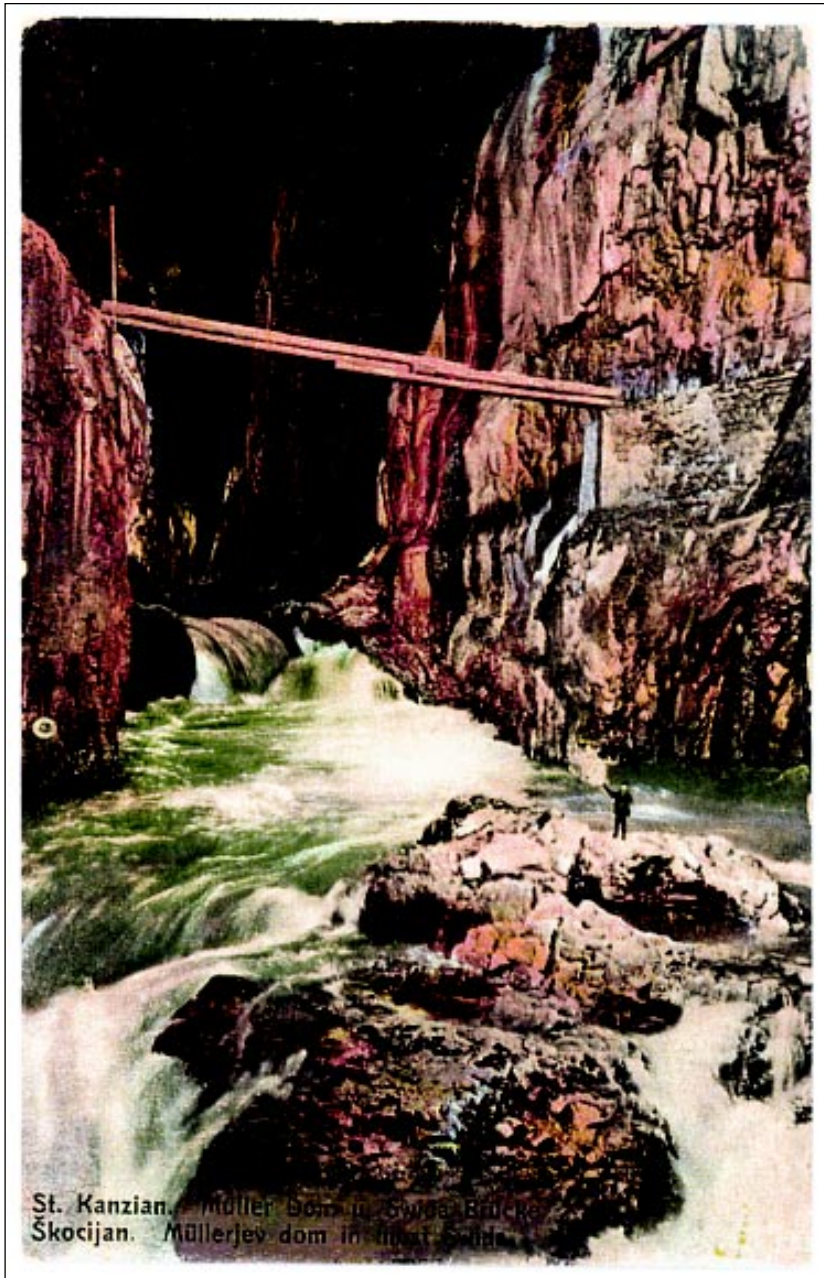


Fig. 13: The Swida bridge, erected between 1904 and 1907 to enable visitors to cross the river in Müller Dom and so reach the newly discovered Lutteroth Grotte (Tiha jama). A postcard published by the Section Küstenland about 1909.

Entry tickets are sold at Gombač's inn in Matavun, where the visitors' book was also kept. They entitle the visitor to go as far as Rudolfs Dom, "making use of boats, ladders and ropes".

Entry fee 30 kreuzer per person; free for DÖAV members.

The guide charges 20 kr per hour for a single visitor or 10 kr each from more than one.

Candles cost 10 kr each.

Gombač's Inn "Zu den St. Kanzianer Grotten" was the second house in the row of buildings at Matavun and was still an inn in 1976. The Section Küstenland headquarters and store were in the end building (Fig. 10), next door to it, where tickets were sold as late as 1973. The only time when tickets could be obtained elsewhere also was about 1903, for the Baedeker handbook of that year⁶⁰ said that they were to be got at Gombač's "or at the railway restaurant" at Divača, where normally only tickets for Divaška jama, quite near the station, were sold.

The first of the annual Grottenfests, in which the cave was specially illuminated and visitors paid an all-inclusive fee, was held on 2 May 1886^{76,77}. At Christmas in the same year a Christmas tree was first erected in Tominčeva jama⁷⁸ (Fig. 11), an annual custom for many years but not followed now.

The 1887 guidebook to the cave⁷⁹ lists the guides employed, all living in Matavun:

Jože Antončič, holder of the Alpenverein guide badge; speaks Slav, Italian and a little German

Micha Gombač, shoemaker, speaks Slav and Italian

Luka Gombač, speaks Slav and Italian

Jože Cerkvnik (the father), speaks Slav and a little Italian

Paul Antončič, speaks Slav

Juri Cerkvnik, speaks Slav and Italian

Jože Cerkvnik, speaks Slav.

Probably all of these had worked in the cave making paths and cutting steps. Many took part in the specially dangerous explorations, and the last three on the list are named on the tablet commemorating the discovery of Martel Dom (Fig. 12).

From 1888 the Baedeker handbook¹⁸ notes "guide advisable every 3-4 pers[ons] in a party", a reflection of the problems of lighting as well as of the rather primitive paths and steps. The same ratio was suggested even when the tours extended as far as the Rinaldini Dom in 1910⁶⁵.

The principal information provided in the various guidebooks is summarized in Table I, especially where it changed as exploration proceeded and the parts of the cave accessible for tourists extended. Facts such as where the tickets were got, the kinds of lighting and the prices (unchanged since 1885), although stated in almost every guide, are discussed in the text and not included in this table.

It is not always easy to tell with certainty which year the information given applies to. Guidebooks are usually as up-to-date as possible on publication but they may have been written in the previous year. In a few cases prefaces are dated and occasionally a volume is known to have been issued before the year printed on its title page, but generally the best guide is the actual date the book was received in a major library to which, by law, the publisher had to supply a copy. These dates in the British Library show that the Baedeker and Murray handbooks the majority of the sources in the table were generally received after the middle of the year of publication or even in the

following one, so it has usually been assumed here that the information in them is valid for the year given on the title page. Sometimes the English Baedekers are stated to “correspond with” a particular German edition, and in those cases the date of the latter has normally been used.

According to guidebooks (Table I), normal tourists were taken only as far as Rudolf Dom until about the end of 1889 and to Müller Dom in 1890. By 1888, however, “Those who do not object to a rough scramble may penetrate to the twelfth waterfall”¹⁸ (which is about half way along the Hanke Canal). Remembering that the Alpenvereins Dom and the 18th waterfall were discovered only in September 1887⁸⁰, it is astounding to read in the 1890 Baedeker that “intrepid climbers can go along the Hanke Canal to the 18th waterfall”, no doubt along the original explorers’ paths and with the guides who had made them.

By 1895 “the grottoes and waterfalls are easily accessible ... by means of new paths and bridges built by the local Alpine Club”, and “the magnificent Alpine Club Dome, with the eighteenth waterfall” were on the regular tourist route⁵⁴.

After the Lutteroth Grotte (Tiha jama) passages had been discovered in 1904, the Swida bridge (Fig. 13) was built to enable visitors to cross the river and climb up to them⁸¹, and the normal route

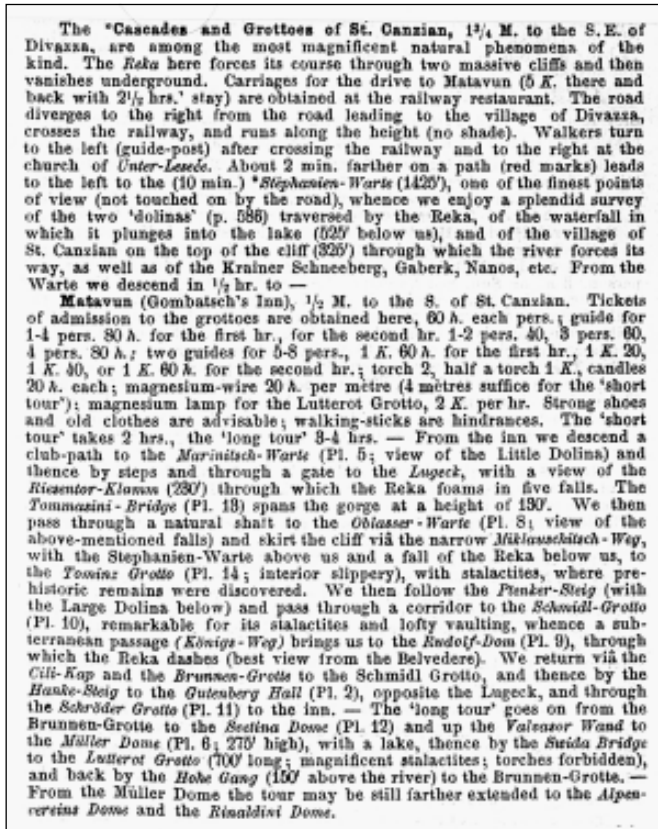


Fig. 14: The entry in Baedeker's handbook⁶⁵ describing Škocjanske jame in 1910.

Rekahöhlen von St Canzian.

$\frac{3}{4}$ Gefstunden,
20 Minuten Wagen-
fahrt von der
Südbahnstation
Drača.



Bestärkter
Tagesausflug von
Triest mit der
Süd- oder Staatsbahn
nach Drača oder
mit Wagen
nach St. Canzian.

Diese können in jeder Jahreszeit bei Tag und bei Nacht besucht werden, aber nur mit autorisierten Führern, die im Gasthaus Gemäl in St. Canzian zu finden sind, allwo der Eintrittskarten behoben werden.

TARIF

Eintrittsgebühr: 60 Heller pro Person.
Tabellarischer Führer-Tarif:

	Mit Einem Führer:			
	Eine Perso:	Zwei:	Drei:	Vier:
Erste Stunde:	80 Heller	80 Heller	80 Heller	80 Heller
Zweite Stunde:	40 »	40 »	60 »	80 »

	Mit Zwei Führern:			
	Fünf Pers.:	Sechs:	Sieben:	Acht:
Erste Stunde:	Kr. 1.60	Kr. 1.60	Kr. 1.60	Kr. 1.60
Zweite Stunde:	» 1.20	» 1.20	» 1.40	» 1.60

	Mit Drei Führern:			
	Neun Pers.:	Zehn:	Elf:	Zwölf:
Erste Stunde:	Kr. 2.40	Kr. 2.40	Kr. 2.40	Kr. 2.40
Zweite Stunde:	» 2.—	» 2.—	» 2.20	» 2.40

Bei mehr Personen, für je eine bis vier Personen je ein Führer mehr, mit entsprechender Erhöhung des Führer-Lohnes nach vorstehender Skala.

Jede folgende Stunde wie die zweite. Die angegebene Stunde wird für voll gerechnet.

Für je 1 bis 4 Personen ist ein Führer notwendig.

Beleuchtung für 1 bis 4 Besucher: Für den kleinen Rundgang, der 2-3 Stunden dauert, genügen:
1 halbe Pechfackel à Kr. 1.—
und 1 Kerze » —.20

Für den grösseren Rundgang, der 3 bis 4 Stunden und auch länger dauern kann, braucht man:
1 grosse Pechfackel à Kr. 2.—
u. je 1 Kerze pro Besucher u. Führer » —.20 p. St.

Empfehlenswert, aber nicht absolut notwendig sind für den kleinen und grösseren Rundgang:
2 od. 3 kleine Zinkfackeln . . . à Kr. 1.20 pro Stück
Brenndauer 8 Minuten, Leuchtkraft 550 Kerzen)
5 bis 10 Meter Magnesiumdraht à Kr. —.20 pro Meter.

Für die **neuentdeckte Lutteroth-Grotte**, die schöne Tropfsteinbildungen enthält und vor deren Eingang die Pechfackeln ausgelöscht werden müssen, braucht jeder Besucher und Führer eine Kerze (à 20 Heller pro Stück) und stehen Magnesiumlampen (3 Kr. per Stunde) zur Verfügung.

— Für grössere Beleuchtungen besteht ein eigener Tarif. —

Am ersten Sonntag im Juni findet ein grosser Festabend statt, gegen Eintritt von Kr. 1.20, ohne weiteren Anschlag.

Der Ausschuss der Sektion Kärntenland
des Deutschen und Oesterr. Alpen-Vereines.

Fig. 15: The complex system of charging separately for entry to the cave, for guides and for lights, from a guidebook of 1907⁸³. The currency (1 krone = 100 heller) is equivalent to 2 florin (=50 kreuzer) in the old money.

no longer continued downstream as far as the Alpenvereins Dom. In 1910, however, “The tour may be still further extended to the Alpenvereins Dome and the Rinaldini Dome”⁶⁵ (some 300 m beyond the Alpenvereins Dom and half way between it and Martel Dom). The Martel Dom itself had been listed as part of the tour in 1903⁶⁰, but the name may have been loosely applied to a nearer part of the passage.

The description in the edition for 1910⁶⁵ was completely rewritten, rather than just updated from previous editions and, as it summarises the various tours available, it is reproduced here in facsimile as Fig. 14. The same edition also contained a plan of the cave for the first time.

The approach to Škocjan before the railway reached Divača in 1857 was from Trieste, taking four hours²², or two and a half hours by horse-drawn carriage. Once Divača station could be reached by train, the recommended approach was on foot via the village of Dolenje Ležeče, taking three quarters of an hour, because “carr[iage] at Divača dear”¹⁸. The actual price was 300 kreuzer⁵⁰, or 250 kreuzer from 1899⁵⁸, including 2½ hours waiting time at the caves.

The prices charged were always complex, as at other caves at that time. One standard payment covered entry to the cave; fees to the guides from each visitor depended on the number of people in the party as well as the number of hours spent in the caves. The prices remained essentially the same as those charged in 1885. The later, longer tours were automatically more expensive by the system of hourly guide fees. The complexity of the structure, however, is illustrated by Fig. 15, which shows the charges for 1907, including those for lights. From 1903 prices were quoted in the new currency where 2 krone (=200 heller) is equivalent to 1 florin (=100 kreuzer) in old money. All



Fig. 16: An artist's impression of Rudolf Dom, looking towards the entrance. The figures have been drawn too small, to exaggerate the size of the cave. A footpath is visible on the left and the smoke from the resin torches is well shown. From a postcard published by the Section Küstenland about 1909.

prices here in the text have been converted to kreuzer, for ease of comparison.

Illumination needs some comment. Clearly the amount needed depended on the expected length of the tour, as well as the standard of lighting required. In 1885 only candles were used, costing 10 kr. each⁴⁸. By 1888 “torches, candles, magnesium wire, etc. are sold at a tariff fixed by the Alpine Club”¹⁸. The torches were made of twisted material soaked with resin or other flammable substance, and flamed (and smoked) like those in Fig. 16. A complete resin torch cost 100 kr⁸² but usually a half-size one at 50 kr. was regarded as enough⁶³. Magnesium wire cost 10 kr. per metre. In Lutteroth Grotte, “torches [are] forbidden” because the smoke from them would have blackened the newly discovered stalactites, and magnesium lamps were provided for use there at an hourly cost of 150 kr. in 1907⁸³ (see Fig. 15) and later for only 100 kr/hr⁶⁵. How the white smoke from the burning magnesium affected subsequent parties is not stated.

The Küstenland Section published guidebooks devoted entirely to Škocjanske jame in 1887, 1896 and 1907, thus making knowledge of the caves widely available as well as informing those who were actually visiting them. Another form of publicity was from picture postcards. The earliest of these were certainly in use by 1898 (Fig. 17), and the Section Küstenland itself published a series of at least 22 postcards, both monochrome and in colour, in 1909 or possibly a little earlier (Figs. 11, 13 and 16).

As an appropriate way to mark the end of the period studied (to the eve of World War I) and to show that modern tourism had just arrived, here is a quotation from Geuter’s guidebook of 1913: Triest to St Canzian by motor car in the summer months takes 45 minutes at a return fare of 10 krone [=500 old kreuzer] per person.⁸⁴



Fig. 17: One of the earliest postcards of Škocjanske jame, printed not later than 1898. The third little picture from the left shows the early footpaths leading to Schmidlova dvorana from the bottom of the doline.

Table 1: The Development of Tourism at Škocjanske jame, according to the guidebooks.

Table I – The Development of Tourism at Škocjanske jame, according to the guidebooks

Year	Furthest point shown	Duration	Comments	Source
1823			“The cave is rather little known”	Agapito 1823:170 ²¹
1852			Mentions Tominc cave; there is a guide	Anon. Triest : 75-76 ³⁶
1858			“Near [Divjača] is the cave of St. Canzian”	Murray, 8 th ed. 1858:409 ³⁷
1863			“4 m[iles] from this is the wonderful cave of St. Canzian, which some prefer to Adelsberg but more difficult of access”	Murray, 9 th ed. 1863:404 ³⁸
1867			Divjača is “not far from the great Dolina of St. Canzian, the finest in the Karst... [go] to Nakle (good Inn)...and while dinner is preparing, the Dolina can be seen.”	Murray, 10 th ed. 1867:452 ³⁹
1868			“The Recca Caverns of St. Canzian are not less remarkable and even more imposing than those of Adelsberg, but much more difficult of access”	Baedeker. S. Germany, 1 st edn. 1868:344-5 ⁴⁰
1871			(as in 1867 edn.)	Murray, 11 th edn. 1871:454 ⁴¹
1871			(as in 1868 edn.)	Baedeker. S. Germany 2 nd edn. 1871:331-2 ⁴²
1873			(as in 1868 edn.)	Baedeker. S. Germany 3 rd edn. 1873:386-7 ⁴³
1873			(as in 1867 edn.)	Murray, 12 th edn. 1873:454 ⁴⁴
1873			The place is interesting because of the sinking river. 16 lines of text	Anon. Istrien, 1878:216 ⁴⁵
1879			(as in 1867 edn.)	Murray, 14 th edn. 1881:441 ⁴⁶

The Development of Tourism at Škocjanske jame, according to the guidebooks

1880			(as in 1868 edn.)	Baedeker. Südbaiern, 19 th edn. 1880:369-370 ⁴⁷ Baedeker. E. Alps, 5 th edn. 1883:351 ^{47A} Anon. 1885:25-26 ⁴⁸
1885	Rudolfsdom		The visit "makes use of boats, ladders and ropes"	
1887	Rudolfsdom (normally)	2 hr + 1 hr	A guide book of 111 pages. One hour extra to visit the separate Mahoričič cave	Müller, 1887 ⁹
1887		3 hr	"the Reka Cataracts and Cavems ... are even more imposing than those of Adelsberg and should certainly be visited"	Baedeker, S. Germany 6 th edn., 1887:276 ⁴⁹
1888	Rudolfs Dom "Those who do not object to a rough scramble many penetrate to the twelfth waterfall"	3 hr	Text extended to 41 lines for the first time / "guide advisable for every 3-4 pers[ons] in a party"	Baedeker. E. Alps, 6 th edn. 1888:413-414 ¹⁸
1889		3 hr	Murray's text extended to 12 lines since the previous edn.	Murray, 15 th edn. 1890:217 ⁵⁰
1890	Müller Dorn "Intrepid climbers can go along the Hanke Canal to the 18 th waterfall"	2-3 hr	Text now extends to 48 lines	Baedeker. Südbaiern, 24 th edn. 1890:424-25 ⁵¹

The Development of Tourism at Škocjanske jame, according to the guidebooks

1891	6 th waterfall “Those who do not object to a rough scramble may penetrate to the eighteenth waterfall”	2-3 hr	47 lines of text	Baedeker. Eastern Alps, 7 th edn. 1891:426-427 ⁵²
1892	Müller Dom (normally)		4 pages, with illustrations and a plan of the cave	Hartleben. 1892:79-83 ⁵³
1895	“Alpine Club Dome, with the eighteenth waterfall”	2-3 hrs	48 lines of text	Baedeker. E. Alps, 8 th edn. 1895:451-452 ⁵⁴
1896	“Alpine Club Cathedral”	2-3 hrs	32 lines of text	Baedeker. Austria, 8 th edn 1896 : 198-199 ⁵⁵
1896	Müller Dom (normally)	3-4 hrs	A 16 page guide book in Italian, with a plan	Pazze, 1896 ²⁰
1898	Alpenvereinsdom & 18 th waterfall		3 pages, with photos	Geuter, 1898:41-44 ⁵⁶
1898	“Alpine Club Cathedral”	2-3 hrs	(as in 1896 edn)	Baedeker. Austria, 9 th edn. 1900 [1899]:199 ⁵⁷
1899	“Alpine Club Dome, with the eighteenth waterfall”	2-3 hrs	44 lines of text	Baedeker. E. Alps, 9 th edn. 1899:492 ⁵⁸
1901			16 lines of text	Woerl, 1901:36-37 ⁵⁹
1903	Alpine Club Cathedral, Rinaldi Cathedral, Martel Cathedral to 18 th waterfall	2-3 hrs	45 lines of text	Baedeker. E. Alps, 10 th edn. 1903:498-499 ⁶⁰
1905	“Alpine Club Cathedral”	2-3 hrs	(as in 1896 edn)	Baedeker. Austria-Hungary, 10 th edn. 1905:194-195 ⁶¹

The Development of Tourism at Škocjanske jame, according to the guidebooks

1906	Müller Dom (but not yet Lutteroth). The tour can be extended to Alpenvereins Dom & Rinaldini Dom	2 hrs	51 lines of text	Baedeler/ Südbaiern, 32 nd edn. 1906:560:561 ⁶²
1907	Müller Dom ... & Lutteroth Grotto	2-3 hrs	45 lines of text	Baedeker, E.Alps, 11 th edn. 1907:500 ⁶³
1907	Müller Dom & Lutteroth Grotte	3-4 hrs	16 page guide book with a cave plan	Pazze & Müller, 1907 ⁶⁴
1910	Short tour: Rudolf Dom, Brunnen Grotte Long tour: Müller Dom, Swida Bridge, Lutteroth "The tour may be still farther extended to the Alpenvereins Dome & the Rinaldini Dome"	2 hrs 3-4 hrs	Text of 47 lines re-written since previous edition (see Fig. 14) The first Baedeker to contain a plan of the cave. "... old clothes are advisable; walking sticks are hindrances."	Baedeker, E.Alps, 12 th edn. 1911:588 ⁶⁵
1913	Short route Long route	2 hrs 3-4 hrs	45 minutes from Trieste by motor car. "On the first Sunday in June is a great Grottenfest."	Geuter, 1913:69-73 ⁶⁶

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PRVI TURISTI V ŠKOCJANSKIH JAMAH - OD 18. STOLETJA DO 1914

Povzetek

Udorni dolini ter ponori v Škocjanskih jamah so bili omenjani že v antiki in označeni na zemljevidih iz 16. stoletja, opisal jih je Valvasor (1689), obiskovali pa so jih tudi popotniki v 18. stoletju. V začetku sta ljudi privlačevali predvsem slikoviti udorni dolini, globoki do 160 m, z reko, ki izginja v njenem dnu. 1823 so speljali pot do dna Velike doline in tako je bilo mogoče obiskati tudi Tominčevo jamo. Knjigo obiskovalcev so uvedli 1819; danes je izgubljena, toda nekaj izvlečkov iz nje je bilo objavljenih in več popotnikov je podrobno obiskalo svoj obisk. Vzorec obiska, to je vrsto obiskovalcev in od kod so prišli, lahko predvidevamo iz take knjige bližnje jame Vilenice, ki je ohranjena. Adolf Schmidl ni le opisal svojih raziskav vzdolž podzemeljske reke med 2. in 6. slapom leta 1851, ampak tudi pot, ki so jo uporabljali turisti. Zaporedne izdaje mednarodnih vodnikov založb Murray's in Baedeker opisujejo jame ter poti do njih in priporočene gostilne. 1852 je bil na razpolago vodič in ključ je bilo mogoče dobiti v gostilni v Škocjanu.

Po 1885 se je razvoj pospešil. Primorska sekcija Nemško-avstrijskega planinskega društva je od občine dobila jame v zakup 1884. Od maja 1885 so obiskovalci lahko kupovali vstopnice in sveče, bila je vodniška služba po običajnih cenah. Prvo izmed jamskih slavij (Grottenfest) s posebno razsvetljavo je bilo 1886 in 1887 je bil izdan ilustriran vodnik po jamah na 111 straneh. Z raziskovanjem so redno nadaljevali tako vodiči kot tudi sami člani društva. Njihovi prostori v Matavunu so bili hkrati njihovo zbirališče, skladišče opreme in mesto, kjer so obiskovalci kupovali vstopnice in odkoder so krenili na pot z vodiči in lučmi. Obenem z raziskavami so tudi stalno podaljševali turistično pot in posebne obiske so vodili tako rekoč v na novo odkrite dele. Tako so lahko 1890 turisti, ki so bili "smeli plezalci", obiskali Dvorano Planinskega društva in 18. slap, oboje daleč naprej od današnje turistične poti, od 1895 dalje pa sta bili ti mesti že vključeni v redni obisk. Po 1885 je izdelan celotni sistem vstopnin, vključno s priporočano razsvetljavo za posamezne poti in cenami zanje. V tem prispevku so opisi takratnih poti in načinov, kako priti do jam, kot tudi pregled objav o njih v mednarodnih vodnikih. Jamske razglednice so pričeli izdajati 1898, morda celo že prej.