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VSEBINA / INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS

- Mojca Golobič & Katarina Ana Lestan:** Potential impacts of EU policies on cultural landscape diversity: example of Slovenian coastal landscapes 193
I potenziali effetti delle politiche europee sulla diversità del paesaggio: esempio di paesaggi di Costa Slovena
Potencialni vplivi politik EU na raznolikost kulturne krajine: primer slovenskih obalnih krajin
- Ines Unetič:** Pyramidal cypress trees, linear terraces and a walk among aromatic herbs. Multifaceted cultural landscape and human perception thereof 213
Cipressi piramidali, terrazze lineari e una passeggiata tra le erbe aromatiche.
Paesaggio culturale sfaccettato e la percezione che l'uomo ha di esso
Piramidalne ciprese, linearne terase in sprehod med dišavnicami. Večplastnost kulturne krajine in človekove percepcije le-te
- Boris Dorbič & Elma Temim:** Povijesni pregled razvoja vrtlarstva i krajobraznog uređenja Šibenika i okolice u razdoblju 1880.-1945. godine 227
Rassegna storica dello sviluppo del giardinaggio e dell'arte ambientale di Sebenico e dei suoi dintorni durante il periodo 1945-1985
A Historical Overview of the Development of Gardening and Landscaping in Šibenik and Its Outskirts during the Period 1880 to 1945
- Nina Jurinčič:** Literarni turizem in kulturne geografije krajev: Študija primera – Center Jamesa Joycea in Dublin 247
Turismo letterario e geografie culturali dei luoghi: Caso di studio – Centro James Joyce e Dublino
Literary tourism and the cultural geography of a place: Case study – James Joyce Centre and Dublin
- Metod Šuligoj:** Memories of War and Warfare Tourism in Croatia 259
Ricordi di guerra e turismo di guerra in Croazia
Spomini na vojno in z vojno povezani turizem na Hrvaškem
- Daniela Angelina Jelinčič, Anamarija Farkaš & Sanja Tišma:** Social Innovations: Sign of the Times? 271
Innovazioni sociali: segno dei tempi?
Družbene inovacije: značilnost današnjega časa?
- Dragana Francišković & Lidija Nerandžić Čanda:** The Mediterranean Discourse in the Short Stories by Ivo Andrić 285
Il Discorso del Mediterraneo nei racconti di Ivo Andrić
Mediteranski diskurz v pripovedkah Iva Andrića
- Asta Vrečko:** Representations of trauma: Davide Toffolo's *Italian Winter* 293
Rappresentazione del trauma nel L'inverno d'Italia da Davide Toffolo
Reprezentacija travm in roman v stripu
Italijanska zima Davida Toffolo
- Andrea Matošević & Iva Youens:** Prkos političkoj i zemaljskoj sili teži. Genealogija „devete“ umjetnosti u ranom opusu Antuna Motike 305
La sfida alla forza di gravità politica e terrestre. Genealogia dell'arte fumettistica nell'opera giovanile di Antun Motika
Defiance to the political and the earthly gravity. Genealogy of the »ninth« art in the early opus of Antun Motika
- Nenad Perošević & Miloš Krivokapić:** Prosvjećivanje naroda i problem nepismenosti u Crnoj Gori i Jugoslaviji (1947–1951) 317
L'erudizione del popolo e il problema dell'analfabetismo in Montenegro ed in Jugoslavia (1947-1951)
Enlightenment and the Illiteracy Problem in Montenegro and Yugoslavia from 1947 to 1951
- Mojca Kukanja Gabrijelčič:** Nekatere vrzeli v obstoječem učnem načrtu za zgodovino iz vidika optimalnega razvoja učno uspešnih učencev 331
Alcune lacune del curriculum attuale di storia in termini di sviluppo ottimale dei studenti di successo
Some gaps in the existing History curriculum in terms of optimal development of successful students

Lara Kobal: Likovna ustvarjalnost: mnenja učiteljev likovne umetnosti v slovenskih nižjih srednjih šolah v Italiji in italijanskih osnovnih šolah v Sloveniji 343	Kazalo k slikam na ovitku 355 <i>Indice delle foto di copertina</i> <i>Index to images on the cover</i>
<i>La creatività figurativa: opinioni degli insegnanti di arte figurativa nelle scuole elementari italiane in Slovenia e nelle scuole secondarie di primo grado slovene in Italia</i> <i>Visual art creativity: views of visual art teachers in lower secondary Slovene schools in Italy and in the upper level of elementary Italian schools in Slovenia</i>	Navodila avtorjem 356 <i>Istruzioni per gli autori</i> 358 <i>Instructions to authors</i> 360

POTENTIAL IMPACTS OF EU POLICIES ON CULTURAL LANDSCAPE DIVERSITY: EXAMPLE OF SLOVENIAN COASTAL LANDSCAPES

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ABSTRACT

Recent EU agriculture and nature conservation policies explicitly target cultural landscape preservation. In absence of a national policy on cultural landscapes, the measures of these policies are transposed to national legislation without much consideration of their impacts in local territories. A framework for impact assessment of these measures on cultural landscape diversity is presented and tested in six landscape units of Slovenian coastal landscapes. High landscape and bio-diversity of the observed landscapes is reflected in the existing (informal) guidelines for management. These are used as reference framework to evaluate the measures of EU policies. The approach is based on the territorial impact assessment concept using expert opinion and an analysis of data on land-use change. The expected impacts are positive in both units where either intensification or forest regrowing processes have already diminished landscape diversity. In other four units, the expected impacts are ambiguous and difficult to forecast, but may also involve negative consequences.

Keywords: European policies, nature conservation, common agricultural policy, cultural landscape diversity, territorial impact assessment

I POTENZIALI EFFETTI DELLE POLITICHE EUROPEE SULLA DIVERSITÀ DEL PAESAGGIO: ESEMPIO DI PAESAGGI DI COSTA SLOVENA

SINTESI

In Slovenia non abbiamo una politica, che affronterebbe lo sviluppo e la tutela del paesaggio in una maniera coerente, e quindi neanche uno strumento per coordinare gli effetti dei diversi regolamenti sul paesaggio. Articolo presenta una valutazione degli effetti spaziali (Territorial impact assessemnt – TIA) che la politica agricola con gli obiettivi di conservazione della natura, ha sulla diversità del paesaggio culturale in sei unità di paesaggio delle regioni costiere slovene. In due unità di paesaggio, dove i processi di l'agricoltura intensiva e crescita eccessiva hanno già ridotto la diversità del paesaggio, sono previsti gli effetti positivi dei provvedimenti europei. Nelle altre quattro unità i loro effetti rimangono imprevedibili, con potenziali conseguenze negative.

Parole chiave: Politiche europee, conservazione della natura, la politica agricola comune, la diversità del paesaggio culturale, valutazione di impatto territoriale.

INTRODUCTION

Landscape is a result of the interaction of human and natural processes (European landscape convention, 2015, Zakon o ratifikaciji..., 2003). In the history, humans had economic motives to cultivate the landscape and thus change it from natural to cultural one. While these changes have been traditionally slow and adapted to the spatial context, the contemporary cultural landscapes are undergoing an accelerated transformation. Loss of landscape diversity, coherence and identity have been recognized among their most critical negative consequences (European landscape convention, 2015, Zakon o ratifikaciji..., 2003, Antrop, 2005, Palang et al., 2006). A number of contemporary policies have responded by integrating the protection of (traditional) cultural landscape into their objectives and measures, most notably agricultural and nature conservation policies. In the EU, these two are developed centrally within the Commission of the EU and implemented by the EU legislation and financial instruments. Unlike these, spatial (including landscape) policies have not been centralized on the EU level. This is to a large extent due to the recognition that landscapes are too heterogeneous to be easily managed from a centralized perspective. However, many of those centralized policies have strong impacts on landscape and these impacts are rarely evaluated, especially ex-ante (Golobič, Marot, 2011). Disregard for secondary impacts might explain why good individual policies, based on strong values and even on common sense, often lead to disappointing overall results (Fischer et al., 2015). While the member states have some flexibility in the transposition of EU regulations in the national legislation, this »territorialization« is seldom successful (Golobič, Marot, 2011; Golobič et al., 2015).

The question of the future of cultural landscapes has specific relevance for Slovenia. These landscapes are today recognized as valuable from a variety of perspectives. High geographical and cultural diversity, which has given rise to a wide range of cultural landscapes, is probably the main element of national identity. High biodiversity, which is the focus of nature conservation, is strongly related to cultural landscape. Between 60 and 80% of agricultural land in Slovenia could be defined as areas of high natural value (Program razvoja podeželja RS..., 2015), where biodiversity is maintained by traditional and extensive agriculture practices. Consequently, biodiversity is reduced by either the intensification of agricultural production in lowlands or abandonment of agriculture in remote areas. Cultural landscapes in some parts of Slovenia, including the Mediterranean, are also important tourism destinations. Of five identified landscape macroregions in Slovenia, Mediterranean regions are considered to have the highest variability of landscape patterns (Marušič et al., 1998).

The following part of the paper discusses the potential impacts of nature conservation (Natura2000) and agricultural (Common agricultural policy; CAP) policies, whose objectives and measures since recently directly target cultural landscapes. It is expected that the implementation of their measures conceived for an »average« European cultural landscape, may reduce landscape diversity and increase unification. Testing this hypothesis was done by confronting a chosen set of »european« policy instruments with landscape objectives (management guidelines) as specified for coastal landscapes in Slovenia. Comparison of the land use change in the period between these measures came into effect (2002) and recent data (2015) was additionally used to explain the trends and support the assumptions. Although the comparison of the findings does not allow for definite cause-effect conclusions, it does give an indication whether and in which direction the impacts should be further investigated.

SCOPING: MEASURES OF THE NATURE CONSERVATION AND AGRICULTURE POLICIES RELATED TO LANDSCAPE DIVERSITY

The analysis of the policies in this paper focuses on a selection of measures of the nature conservation and agricultural policies, which have intended or already proven impacts on landscape diversity. The nature conservation policy has been transposed to Slovenian legislation by two main strategic documents: National biodiversity strategy (Strategija..., 2002, Strokovne podlage za strategijo ... za obdobje 2015–2025, 2014) and Natura2000 management plan (Program upravljanja ... za obdobje 2014–20, 2014)¹. The measures include definition of habitat types requiring improvement or restoration and the most suitable restoration areas. Specifically, the measures involve the establishment and the maintenance of hedges, groups of trees and individual trees, vegetation along streams, windbreaks and hedges (field margins) outside the forest. These measures can be performed through sector plans for natural resources management (forestry, fishing, hunting, water resource management), as well as the appropriate spatial planning practice. In the absence of an explicit planning instrument for agriculture, the farmers can be stimulated by the use of financial instruments of the Common agricultural policy (CAP), in particular through rural development programme as well as regulations referring to direct payments (i.e. cross-compliance). Cross-compliance system (Uredba (EU) št. 1306/2013) incorporates in the CAP basic standards regarding the environment, climate change, good agricultural and environmental condition of land, public health, animal health, plant health, and animal welfare. Presently, the national requirements for the cross-compliance (Uredba o predpisanih zahtevah ravnanja..., 2011) include soil erosion, soil organic mat-

1 Although these documents are presently in their draft versions it can be expected for both to be adopted soon without major revisions.

ter, soil structure, minimum level of maintenance, and protection and management of water resources.

The latest changes in the CAP involve dedicating 30% of the finance to »greening« component of direct payments which will support agricultural practices beneficial for the climate and the environment applicable throughout the Union. This involves the obligation for the member states to establish »ecological focus areas« on 5% of the agricultural holdings areas that have more than 15 hectares of the arable land. The compulsory nature of those practices should also concern farmers whose holdings are fully or partly situated in »Natura 2000« areas. The following types of land management could be con-

sidered as »ecological focus areas«: permanent grassland, set-aside land, terraces, landscape features (hedgerows/forest strips, individual trees, tree rows, groups of trees, field margins, ponds, ditches, traditional stone walls, buffer zones, agro-forestry areas, strips along forest edges, areas with short rotation coppice with no use of mineral fertilizer and/or plant protection products, afforested areas, etc. (Uredba (EU) št. 1307/2013).

Relevant instruments are listed in Table 1 (Strokovne podlage za strategijo ... za obdobje 2015–2025, 2014, Program upravljanja ... za obdobje 2014–20, 2014, Uredba o predpisanih zahtevah ravnanja..., 2011, Uredba (EU) št. 1306/2013, Uredba (EU) št. 1307/2013).

Table 1: Policy measures (objectives + instruments) which are considered to be potential drivers/inhibitors of landscape change (summarized in the rows of the impact assessment matrix)

Preglednica 1: Ukrepi politik (cilji + ukrepi), ki veljajo za možne pospeševalce/zaviralce sprememb v krajini (povzeti so v vrsticah matrike ocene vplivov)

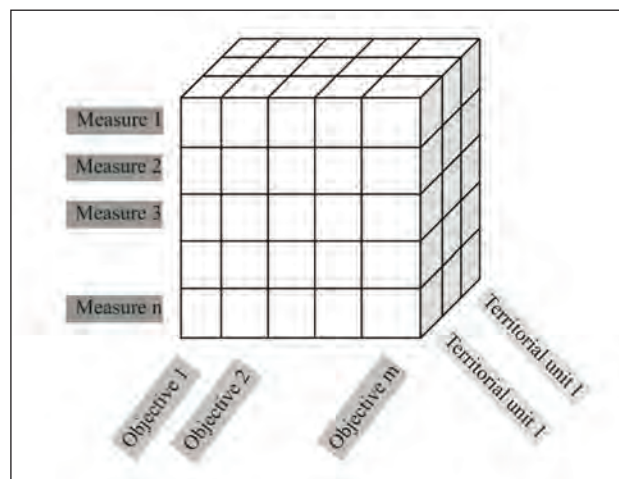
Tabella 1: Misure politiche (obiettivi + strumenti), che sono considerati potenziali conducenti / inibitori del cambiamento del paesaggio (riassunte nelle righe della matrice di valutazione d'impatto)

Policy objective	Instrument
Maintenance of permanent grassland	Biodiversity measures of agri-environment payments: permanent grassland I & II; special grassland habitats; grassland habitats of butterflies; habitats characterized by steep grassy areas; bird habitats of humid extensive meadows, Cross-compliance: grasslands shall be managed (mowed/grazed) at least once per year, no later than 15. 10. of the current year. Natura2000 management plan: designation of endangered habitat types and the most suitable restoration areas.
Maintenance of pastures	Biodiversity measures of agri-environment payments: rearing of local breeds, at risk of rearing termination
Maintenance of meadow orchards (traditional orchards where fruit trees are grown in low density on grassland)	Biodiversity measures of agri-environment payments: meadow orchards; Cross-compliance: in Natura 2000 sites (birds) green cover in meadow orchards shall be managed at least 1x per year, no later than 15. 10. of the current year.
Preservation of the landscape features: individual trees or groups of trees, hedges, tree alleys, hedgerows/border tree strips, pools, meadow orchards, strips of terrestrial vegetation, stone walls, boulders and solitary rocks, windbreaks, field margins, borders, ditches, hayracks, haystacks etc.	Biodiversity measures of agri-environment payments: maintenance of hedges; Cross-compliance: Minimum level of maintenance / the preservation of the landscape features on agricultural land (currently only for features, which are defined as natural values under Nature Conservation Act and under Rules on the designation and protection of valuable natural features) Cross-compliance: existing border tree strips and hedgerows in Natura 2000 sites (birds) shall be trimmed (pruned) and thinned only in prescribed time Biodiversity measures of agri-environment payments: water resources: Cross-compliance: Buffer strips along watercourses.
Preservation of the landscape features: topography and surface configuration, slopes, terraces	Cross-compliance: maintenance of terraces due to protection against erosion. In agricultural areas where fields have slope of 20% or more, from 15 November to 15 February at least one of the following measures has to be applied: - contour plowing - maintenance of stubble - revegetation

EVALUATION OF THE IMPACT OF BIODIVERSITY FOCUSED AGRICULTURAL MEASURES ON LANDSCAPE DIVERSITY

The slow but consistent shift of the CAP from an increase of productivity towards environmental objectives is the result of the recognition that the original market and structural support payments achieved intensification of practices, which are responsible for increasing habitat degradation, loss of biodiversity and homogenization of rural landscapes (Lomba et al., 2014). Since the agri-environmental schemes were introduced to CAP in 1992, followed by the environmental cross-compliance schemes in 1998, the share of the payments with environmental focus increase with each policy reform and financial perspective. There are no evaluations whether and to what extent these measures succeeded in preservation of the cultural landscape diversity. There are however some findings about the impact on biodiversity in cultural landscapes. The evaluation of Rural development programs for the period 2007-2013 indicates that the CAP changes have not managed to provide adequate instruments to protect the high natural value farmlands (Lomba et al., 2014). However, the efforts to map these areas have not been very successful until now, partly also due to high diversity of European landscapes as well as the diversity of national management and policy frameworks.

Similar to the EU level, the effectiveness of CAP measures on cultural landscape diversity has not been explicitly measured in Slovenia. The cause-effect conclusions are difficult to make, partially due to the fact that the national agricultural policy objectives and measures have been similar to those of the CAP also before their implementation in Slovenia in 2004 (Knep, 2008). The assessments most often refer to the uptake of the measures by the farmers and not to actual effects in the landscape. For the programming period 2007-2013, the nature conservation objectives have only been achieved in 11 % of the areas (22% grasslands) as measured by the share of the adapted agricultural activities by 2012. The low involvement in the biodiversity agri-environment payments could be attributed to their unattractive financing, high monitoring and control requirements, demanding entry conditions, uncertainty due to unclear and changing rules as well as insufficient promotion and lack of education activities (Program upravljanja ... za obdobje 2014–20, 2014, Rode et al., 2013, Žgavec, 2012). Furthermore, there are structural reasons within the agricultural sector, such as farm holder's age, as well as small and fragmented properties (Žvikart, 2010). The result is vanishing of species-rich grasslands in some areas of Natura2000 (for example Ljubljansko barje, Goričko, Šentjernejsko polje ...), due to intensification of use. Additionally, the realization of the objectives failed due to the overgrowth of grassland with forest, as a result of the abandonment of agricultural activities.



Picture 1: Hypercube concept of TIA (ESPON 2006b; p.55)

Slika 1: Večdimenzionalni koncept presoje učinkov na prostor

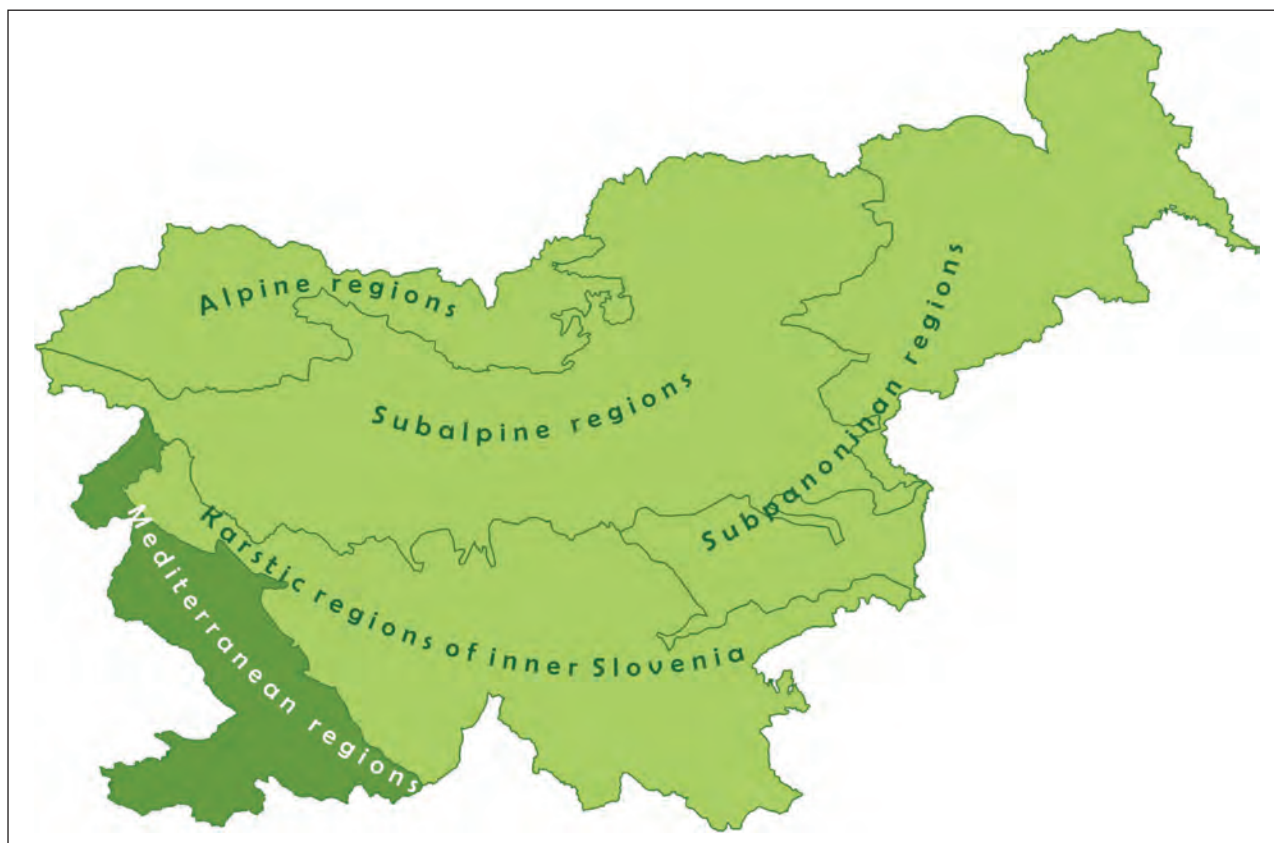
Immagine 1: Il concetto multidimensionale delle valutazioni d'impatto territoriale ovvero TIA - Territorial impact assessment

The protection of the landscape features was inadequate as well (Žvikart, 2010, Strokovne podlage ... za obdobje 2015 – 2025, 2014) in particular because the appropriate actions have not yet been established. Furthermore, certain incentives and grants also obstruct the biodiversity conservation (Strokovne podlage ... za obdobje 2015 – 2025, 2014).

METHOD

The adopted approach is one of territorial impact assessment (Golobič, Marot, 2011; Marot et al., 2013; Golobič et al., 2015; Fischer et al., 2015), which is specifically developed for differentiating the impacts of centralized policies across the territorial units. Instead of using a traditional two-dimensional impact matrix (Leopold et al., 1971); this approach introduces the third dimension; i.e. territorial units, in this case landscape units (Picture 1). The evaluation focuses on the instruments from the ongoing financial perspective (2014-2020) with acknowledgment that similar instruments have been in place since Slovenian accession to the EU (and to some extent also before). The perspective of the evaluation is therefore partly ex-ante and partly ex-durante.

The approach is divided in two parts. The first one involves the qualitative evaluation of the compatibility of the measures with the landscape diversity objectives using the impact assessment matrix (IAM). The first side of the matrix is filled-in by policy measures, as identified above (Table 1). The second side of the impact evalua-



Picture 2: Five Slovenian macro-regions: Alpine, Subalpine, Subpanonian regions, Karst- regions of inner Slovenia and Mediterranean regions

Slika 2: Pet slovenskih krajinskih makro-regij: Alpske, Subalpske, Subpanonske regije, Kraške regije notranje Slovenije in Mediteranske regije.

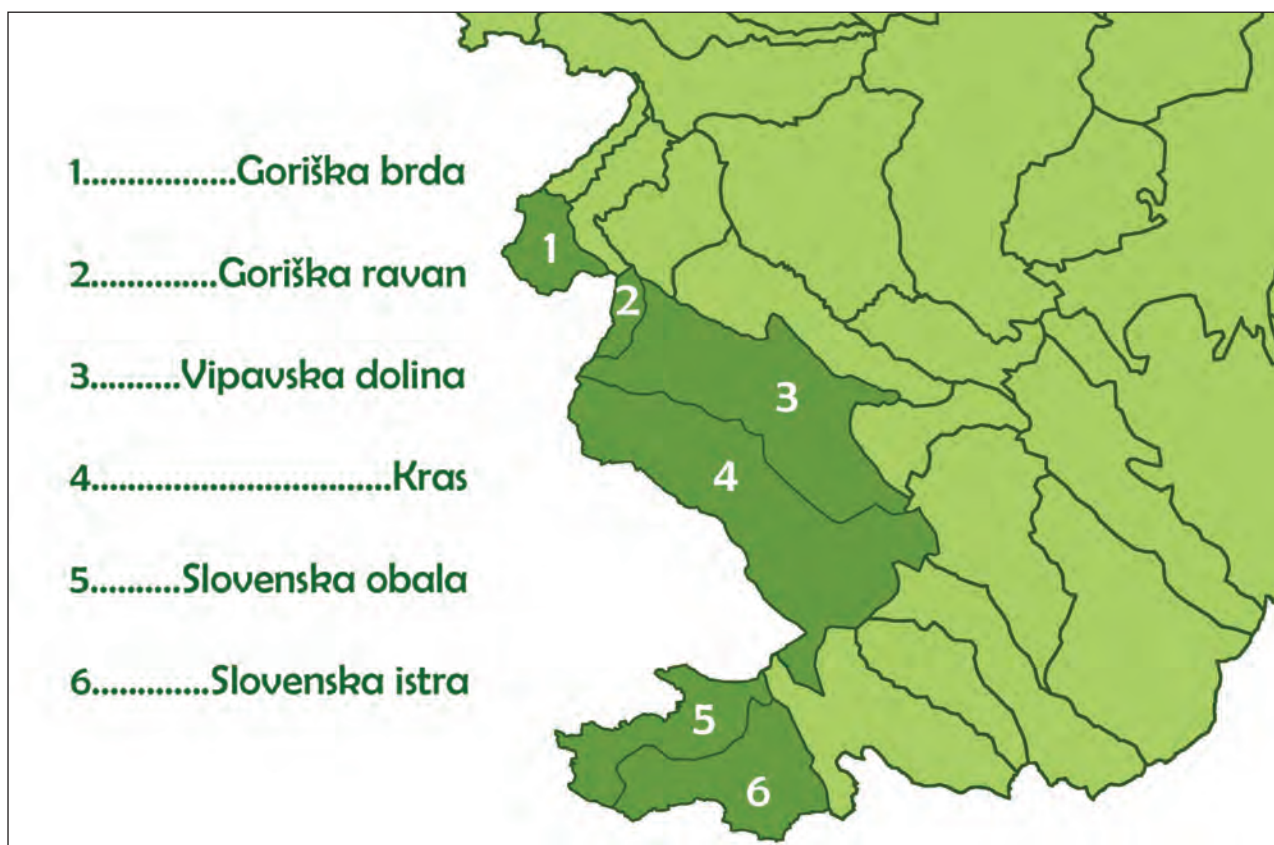
Immagine 2: Cinque macro-regioni Slovene: regioni alpine e subalpine, regioni della Subpannonia, regioni carsiche della Slovenia interiore e regioni del Mediterraneo.

tion matrix requires definition of criteria and reference for cultural landscape diversity. These are described by the guidelines and objectives (Table 2) as defined in the Regional distribution of landscape types in Slovenia (Marušič et al., 1998; Marušič et al., 1998a; Marušič et al., 1998b), for each landscape unit. Although the document itself does not have a formal status, it has been used as a reference in several policy documents (i.e. Spatial Development Strategy of Slovenia, 2004; Spatial order of Slovenia, 2004, local land use plans) and procedures (e.g. environmental impact assessments). A selection of guidelines, which explicitly address either agriculture or protection of natural features in the agricultural landscape, was used for the purpose of this analysis.

The third dimension of the IAM is defined by the territorial units. The Regional distribution of landscape types in Slovenia applies landscape regionalization on 4 levels: macro-regions, regions, units and subunits, which were identified by their climate, geomorphology and land use.

There are five macro-regions: Alpine, Subalpine, Subpanonian regions, Karstic regions of inner Slovenia and Mediterranean regions (Picture 2). This paper focuses on Mediterranean regions, more specifically Coastal regions, which include the following landscape units: Goriška Brda, Goriška ravan, Vipavska dolina, Kras, Slovenska obala and Slovenska Istra (map Picture 3). These 6 units contain 35 different landscape patterns. Although there are some landscape patterns, which appear in different units, each unit has specific characteristics and unique landscape identity. Climate is the most important element influencing the common identity of Mediterranean landscapes, as it conditions typical landuse; vineyards and orchards and at the same time limits the share of forested landscape. The differences within the landscape units are due to bedrock, which is either limestone (Carst) or flysch (Marusic et al 1998).

To test whether the diversity among the units also reflects in the specific management guidelines, the guidelines are listed in the matrix and compared (Table 2).



Picture 3: Coastal regions including the landscape units 1 - 6
Slika 3: Obalne regije, ki vključujejo krajinske enote od 1 do 6
Immagine 3: Regioni costiere comprese le unità di paesaggio 1-6

The evaluation is implemented using impact assessment matrix (IAM) (Golobič, Marot, 2011) where the measures of agricultural and nature conservation policy (Table 1) are confronted with guidelines for landscape management (Table 2). IAM is filled separately for each landscape unit. As policy measures are equally applicable in all units, the list of the measures (rows of the matrix) is the same in all IAMs. The list of landscape objectives (columns) differs as to include those guidelines, which are relevant for certain landscape unit. Every policy measure is then assessed from the aspect of every landscape objective as: – (negative impact), o (not applicable) or + (beneficial impact). In the cases, where impacts could not be reliably foreseen or are ambiguous (depending for example on the technique adopted or micro location); the (+/-) is used. The evaluation was done by the Delphi procedure, collecting the expert opinions of a group of four landscape researchers. The diverging scores were discussed, followed by the second round of collecting. Finally, the average score was calculated for each cell of the IAM. The aggregated result for a landscape unit was obtained by the synthesis of all scores relevant for this unit. The synthesis is not an average as

the trade-offs between the impacts are not considered to be acceptable (Radej, 2011). The negative scores were therefore retained in the final score.

The extensive quantification or modelling are not commonly applied in the case of strategic assessment as their results usually don't justify the required effort (Fischer et al., 2015; Golobič et al., 2015). We used a simple quantitative analysis of landscape change during the last decade to complement the findings from the evaluation. These data were obtained from the Records on Actual Land Utilisation for the years 2002 and 2015, which are freely accessible on the Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Food web site (Javno dostopni podatki ... <http://rkg.gov.si/GERK/>). The area of individual land use category in each landscape unit was calculated in the ArcMap 10.1 software. Some recalculation was needed to make the data comparable, as some categories changed between the data sets. New categories were introduced (1180 – permanent crops on arable land, 1190 – greenhouse, 1212 – nurseries, 1600 – untreated agricultural land), while one (1130 – temporary meadow) was abandoned (Nastran et al., 2013, Pravidnik o registru kmetijskih gospodarstev, 2014). The at-

Table 2: An overview of the landscape management objectives as applicable for each of the considered landscape units (Marušič et al., 1998a)

Preglednica 2: Pregled usmeritev za upravljanje krajin, ki veljajo za vsako od obravnavanih krajinskih enot (Marušič et al., 1998a)

Tabella 2: Compendio delle linee guida per la gestione del paesaggio che si applicano a ciascuna delle unità di paesaggio considerate (Marušič et al., 1998a)

Landscape objective	Goriška Brda	Goriška ravan	Vipavska dolina	Kras	Slovenska obala	Slovenska Istra
Preserve the small scale land-division with vineyards	X					
Plant trees around the houses (Mediterranean conifers, fruit trees)	X					
Plant trees along the main lines in landscape (roads on ridges paths, property borders, terraces) and specific (symbolic) places	X					X
Preserve forests/ natural growth on steep slopes and in the cloughs	X		X			
Preserve/manage/revitalize/reconstruct orchards and vineyards	X	X	X			
Preserve the rocky outlook on Skalnica and Sveta gora slopes		X				
Preserve the natural riverbeds and the typical vegetation along the streams / revitalize regulated streams		X	X		X	X
Control the meliorations to comply with traditional landscape / revitalize meliorated agricultural areas by planting of the bushes and trees			X	X		X
Maintain animal husbandry to prevent the spontaneous reforestation and preserve typical vegetation of Carst including pastures and meadows with stone walls				X		
Preserve fields in the pothole bottoms				X		
Leave the abandoned terraces on northern/ steep slopes to natural overgrowth to prevent erosion					X	X
Preserve the terraces on southern slopes with traditional "cultura mista"					X	
Preserve the natural (cliffs, coast) and cultural (saline fields) landscape					X	
Preserve the features of karstic edge						X

tempt to analyse the change of landscape pattern using the size and numbers of the land use polygons could not be fulfilled, because the method and detail of mapping changed, which would have biased the data too much.

RESULTS

A comparison of the landscape objectives between different landscape units shows that these are unit specific, but they also overlap (Table 2). None of them is common for all 6 units; the most general one is the objective referring to *preservation/revitalization of the natural riverbeds and the typical vegetation along the streams*, which is applicable in 4 out of 6 units. Half of the units share the objectives regarding *preservation and/or management of orchards and vineyards* and *control of the meliorations or revitalization of the meliorated*

agricultural areas by planting of bushes and trees. 8 out of 14 objectives are specific for a single unit.

In the following part the results of policy evaluation and land cover change analysis are presented for each landscape unit separately.

Goriška brda:

The changes of the land use in Goriška Brda are of a small scale. The most notable one is an increase of the traditional orchards and the olive groves areas. So the 5th landscape objective for this unit has been met. Shrinking of the fields and meadows is a trend similar to many other parts of Slovenia, while the reduction of the forest area is less common. It should have been further verified whether this shrinkage happened in the cloughs or elsewhere, to see whether this process contradicts the 4th

Table 3: Evaluation results for Goriška Brda
Preglednica 3: Rezultati vrednotenja za Goriška Brda
Tabella 3: I risultati della valutazione per Collio Goriziano

Goriška Brda	Cultural landscape objectives					
Policy measures	Preserve the small scale land-division with vineyards Plant trees around the houses (Mediterranean conifers, fruit trees) Plant trees along the roads on ridges and specific (symbolic) places Preserve forests in cloughs Preserve orchards					
	1	2	3	4	5	agr
Preservation of permanent grassland	+	o	o	o	o	o/+
Preservation of pastures	+	o	o	o/-	o	o
Preservation of traditional orchards	+	+	o	o	+	+
Preservation of landscape features (trees, shrubs, hedges...)	+	+	+	o	+	+
Preservation of landscape features (geomorphology, terraces...)	+	o	+	+	+	+
aggregate	+	o/+	o/+	o	+	+

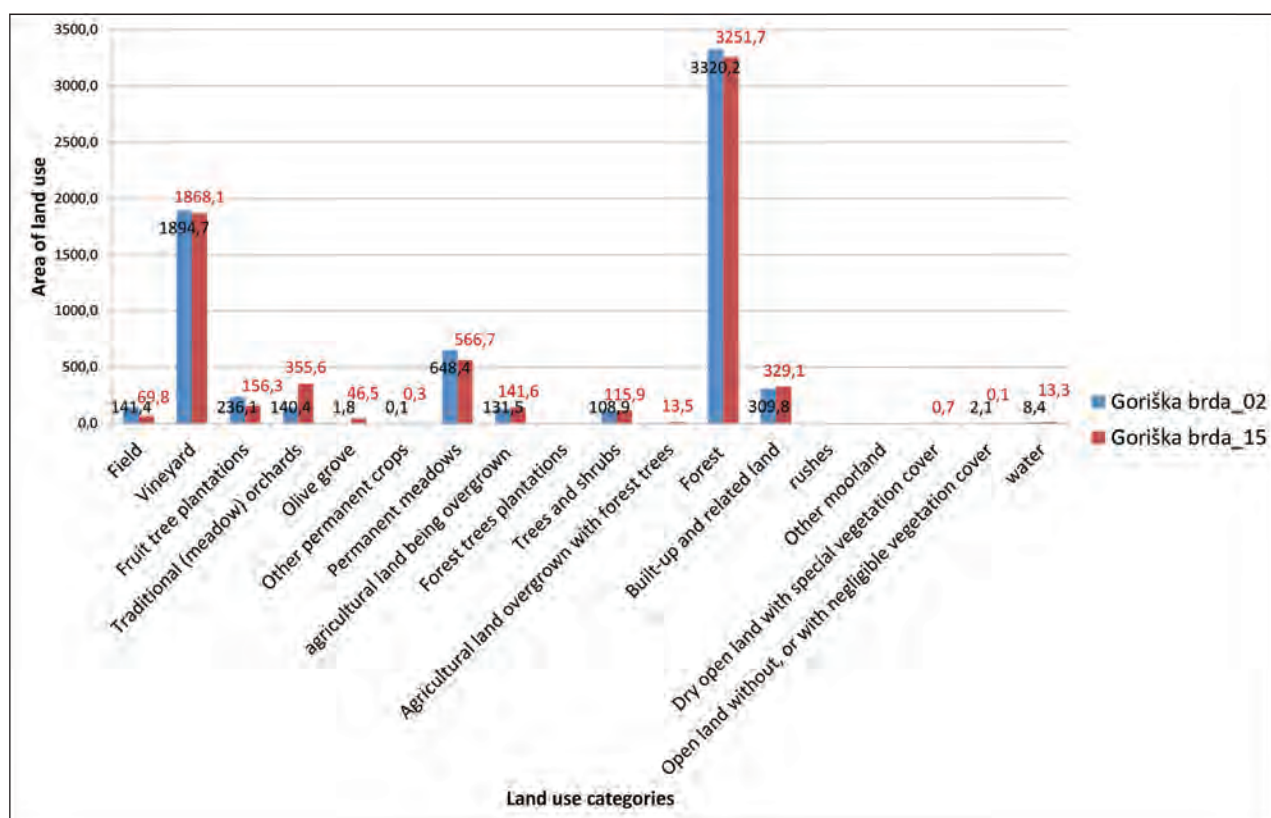
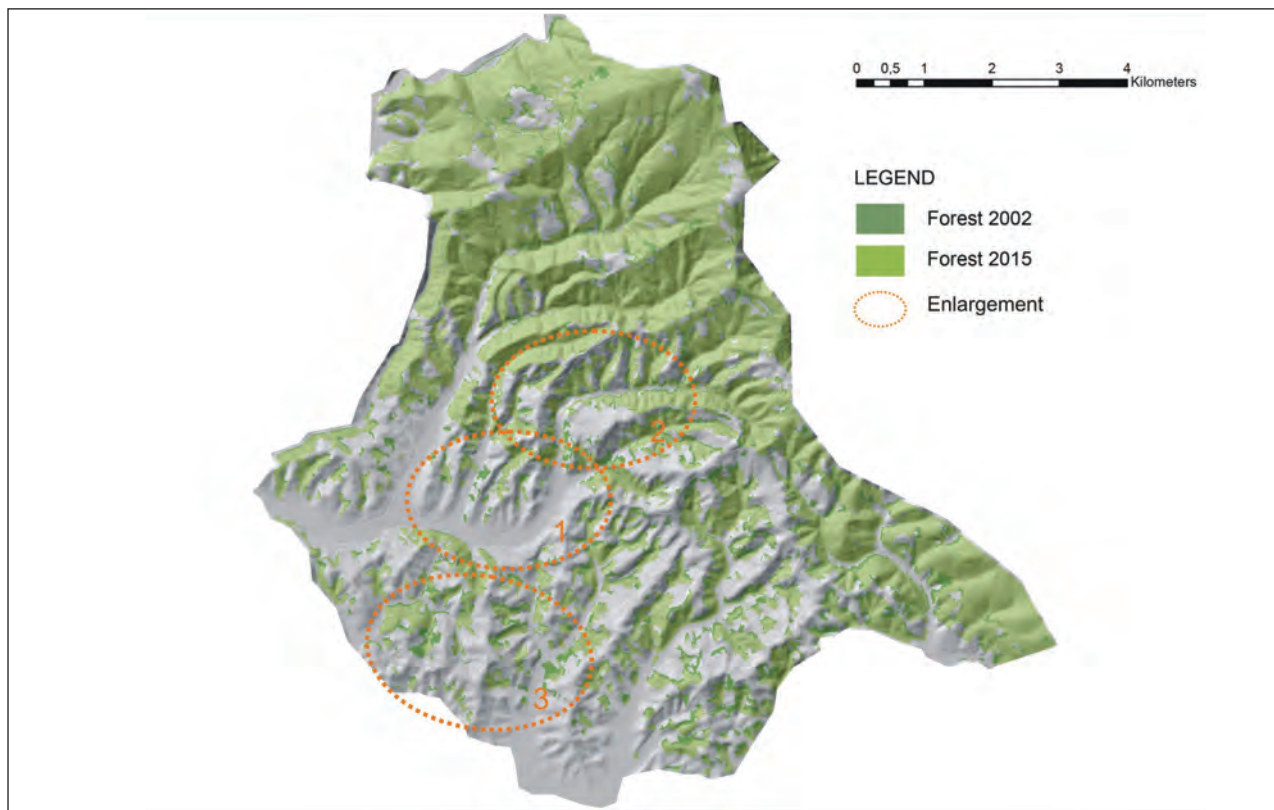


Chart 1: Area of the actual land use categories in the coastal region Goriška brda, comparison between the years 2002 and 2015

Grafikon 1: Površina kategorij dejanske rabe v Goriških brdih, primerjava med leti 2002 in 2015

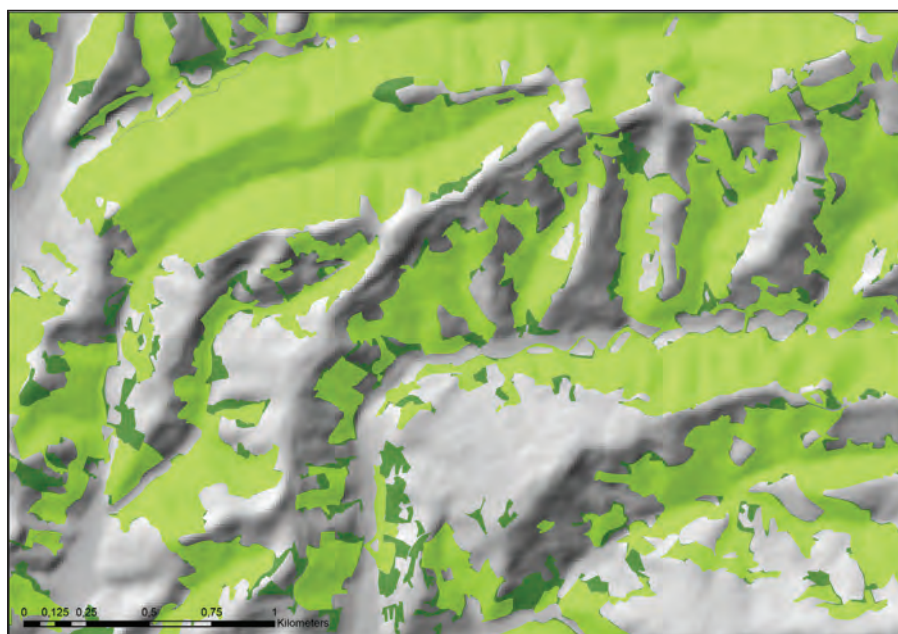
Grafico 1: La superficie delle categorie di uso effettivo in Collio Goriziano, un confronto tra il 2002 e il 2015



Picture 4: Detailed analysis of change in the forested areas in the Gorška Brda region

Slika 4: Podrobnejša analiza sprememb v površini gozda v Goriških Brdih glede na teren

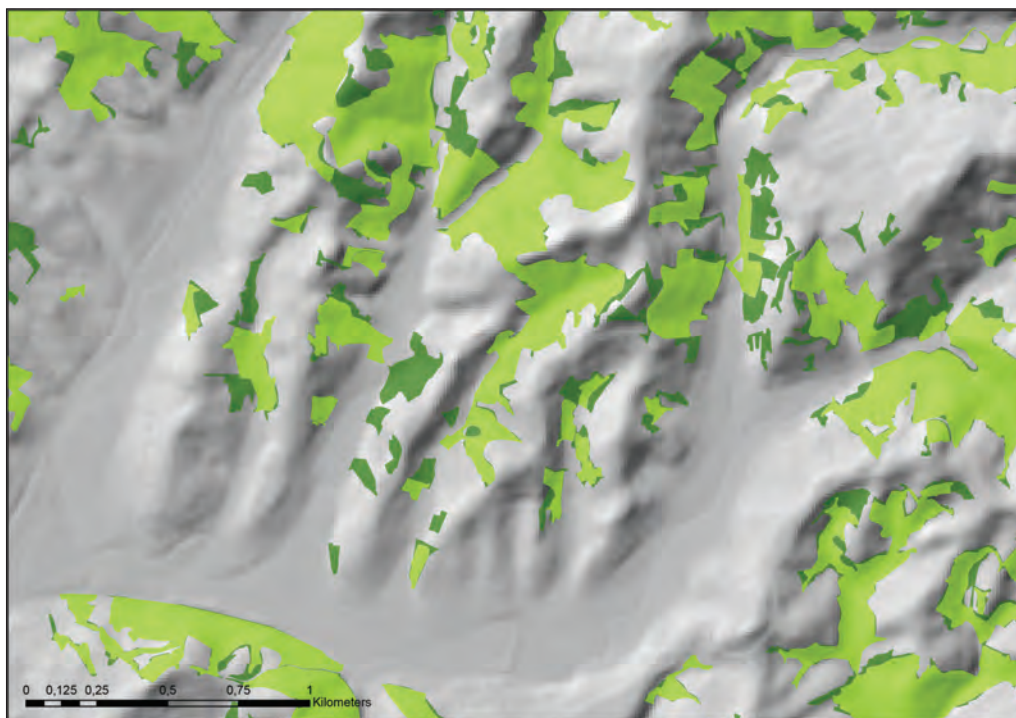
Immagine 4: Un'analisi più dettagliata dei cambiamenti della superficie forestale del terreno in Collio Goriziano



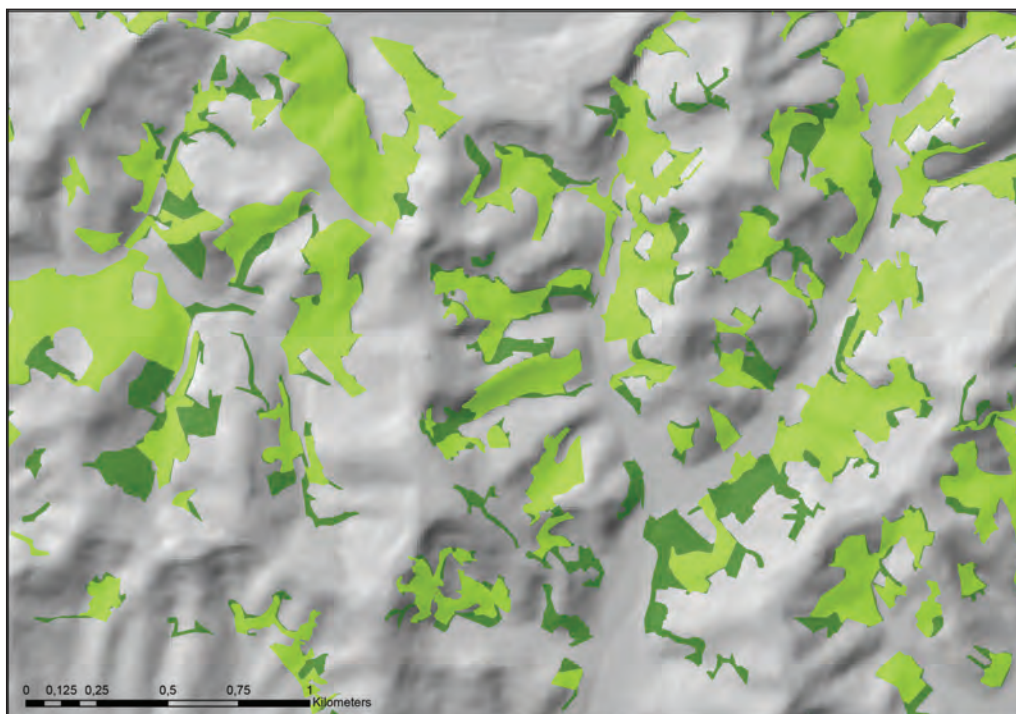
Povečava 1

Enlargement 1

Allargamento 1



Povečava 2
Enlargement 2
Allargamento 2



Povečava 3
Enlargement 3
Allargamento 3

Table 4: Evaluation results for Goriška ravan
Preglednica 4: Rezultati vrednotenja za Goriško ravan
Tabella 4: I risultati della valutazione per Pianura goriziana

Goriška ravan	Guidelines referring to cultural landscape			
Policy measures	Preserve the rocky outlook on Skalnica and Sveta gora slopes Manage orchards and vineyards Revitalize regulated streams			
	1	2	3	aggr
Preservation of permanent grassland	o	o	o	o
Preservation of pastures	o	o	o	o
Preservation of traditional orchards	o	+	o	+
Preservation of landscape features (trees, shrubs, hedges...)	o	+	+	+
Preservation of landscape features (geomorphology, terraces...)	+	+	o	+
aggregate	+/-	+	o/+	+/-

landscape objective. An example of possible approach for a more detailed analysis is provided in pictures 4 (En-

largement 1-3), which present shadowed digital terrain model overlayed by forested areas in 2002 and 2015.

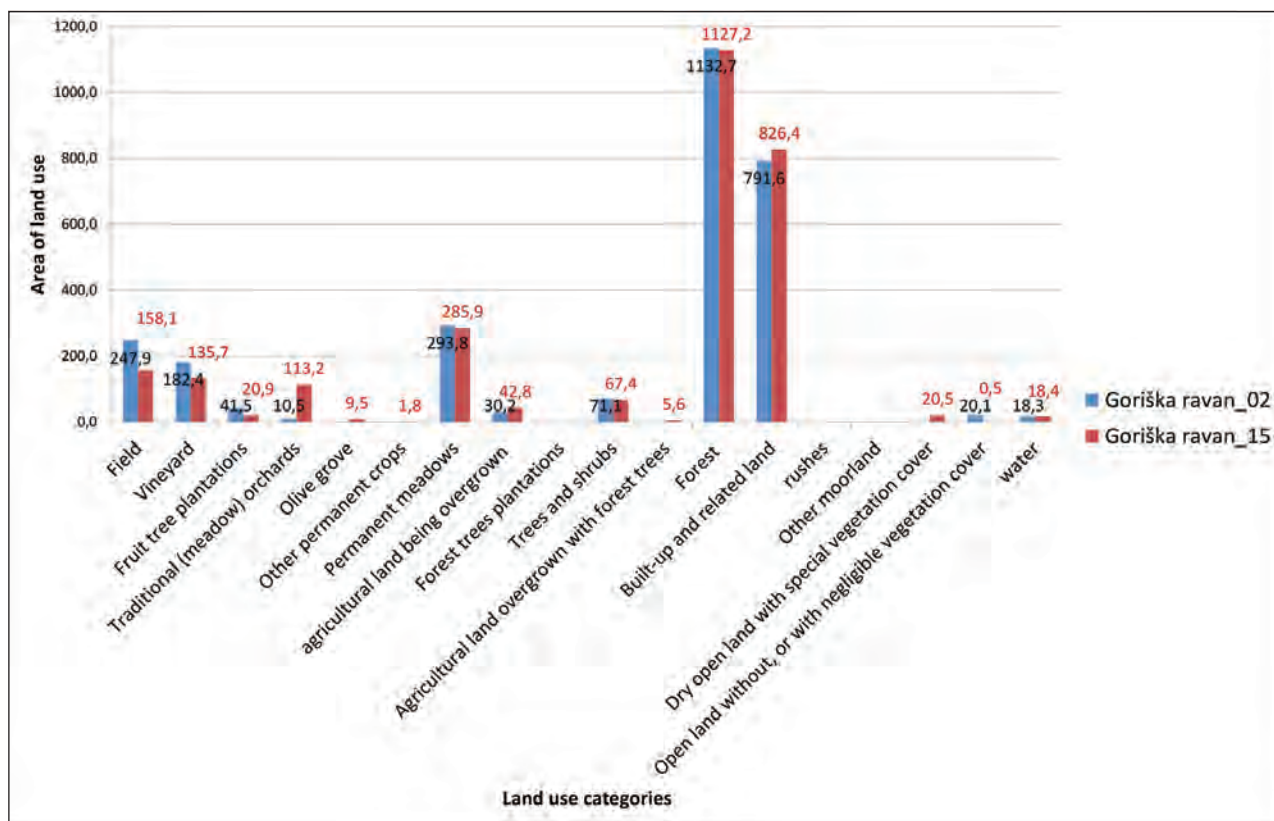


Chart 2: Area of the land use categories in the coastal region Goriška ravan, comparison between the years 2002 and 2015

Grafikon 2: Površina kategorij dejanske rabe na Goriški ravnih, primerjava med letoma 2002 in 2015

Grafico 2: La superficie delle categorie di uso effettivo nella Pianura goriziana, un confronto tra il 2002 e il 2015

Some deviations are the result of a more detailed mapping in 2015. The northern part of the region is more hilly and overgrown with forests, while in the central and southern part of the region forest is fragmented in patches. Some patches in these areas are grubbed up or have entirely disappeared within ten years (Picture 4, Enlargement 2 and 3). It can not be concluded that this is the case for the forest in cloughs, but in some cases partial grubbing up of the forest in cloughs is visible (Picture 4, Enlargement 1). Despite the very strong wine producing tradition of the region, the area of vineyards has also reduced a little.

Two of the observed policy measures targets some of those changes. »Preservation of permanent grassland and pastures«, which has been in place already for some time now, obviously did not achieve the results in this region. »Preservation of the landscape features« (trees, shrubs, hedges...) measure matches the landscape objective; however the objective is more specific, these feature should appear around the houses, along the roads, on ridges and specific (symbolic) places, and not (as could be the case) due to decrease of fields and vineyards. The landuse results show that trees and shrubs area has (marginally) increased. Detailed location of these increases as well as tree species would be required for the evaluation of this finding, but in any case this trend could not be attributed to the policy measure as it has not yet been operational.

Goriška ravan:

The main changes of the land use in the coastal region Goriška ravan are strong decrease of fields and

vineyards, and high increase of traditional (meadow) orchards. Built-up land has also increased. These trends contradict landscape objective (2) as far as vineyards are concerned. The difference in the trends between these two categories (vineyards and orchards) could be the result of policy measures, but we would need additional data to prove this. The first and last objectives are too specific to be related to overall landuse data, but the policy measured do not contradict them.

Vipavska dolina:

Fields, vineyards and permanent meadows in Vipavska dolina decreased, while orchards and forest area increased. As this is one of the most intensively used agricultural areas in Slovenia, these changes should not be considered negative. They are also congruent with the landscape objectives; which have a strong emphasis on the preservation of natural environment (riverbeds, vegetation) or even its revitalization (meliorated areas, regulated streams). Again, for a concluding evaluation, the detailed sites of these changes would have to be known. The decrease of vineyards could be considered negative, increase of the orchard positive in the view of the objective to revitalize and reconstruct orchards and vineyards. EU policy measures are targeted at the intensively used cultural landscapes, so they could in general be viewed as positive.

Kras:

Although the category »agricultural land being overgrown« has decreased, other changes indicate that Kras

Table 5: Evaluation results for Vipavska dolina
Preglednica 5: Rezultati vrednotenja za Vipavsko dolino
Tabella 5: I risultati della valutazione per Valle del Vipacco

Vipavska dolina	Guidelines referring to cultural landscape					
Policy measures	Revitalize and reconstruct orchards and vineyards Preserve the natural riverbeds, including the occasional ones Preserve the natural growth on steep slopes and in the cloughs Revitalize meliorated areas (Vipavska dolina, Šempasko polje) Revitalize regulated streams					
	1	2	3	4	5	agr
Preservation of permanent grassland	o	o	o/-	+	o	o/+
Preservation of pastures	o	o	o/-	o	o	o
Preservation of traditional orchards	+	o	o	o	o	o/+
Preservation of landscape features (trees, shrubs, hedges...)	+	+	o/+	+	+	+
Preservation of landscape features (geomorphology, terraces...)	+	+	+	+	o	+
aggregate	+	o/+	-/+	+	+	+

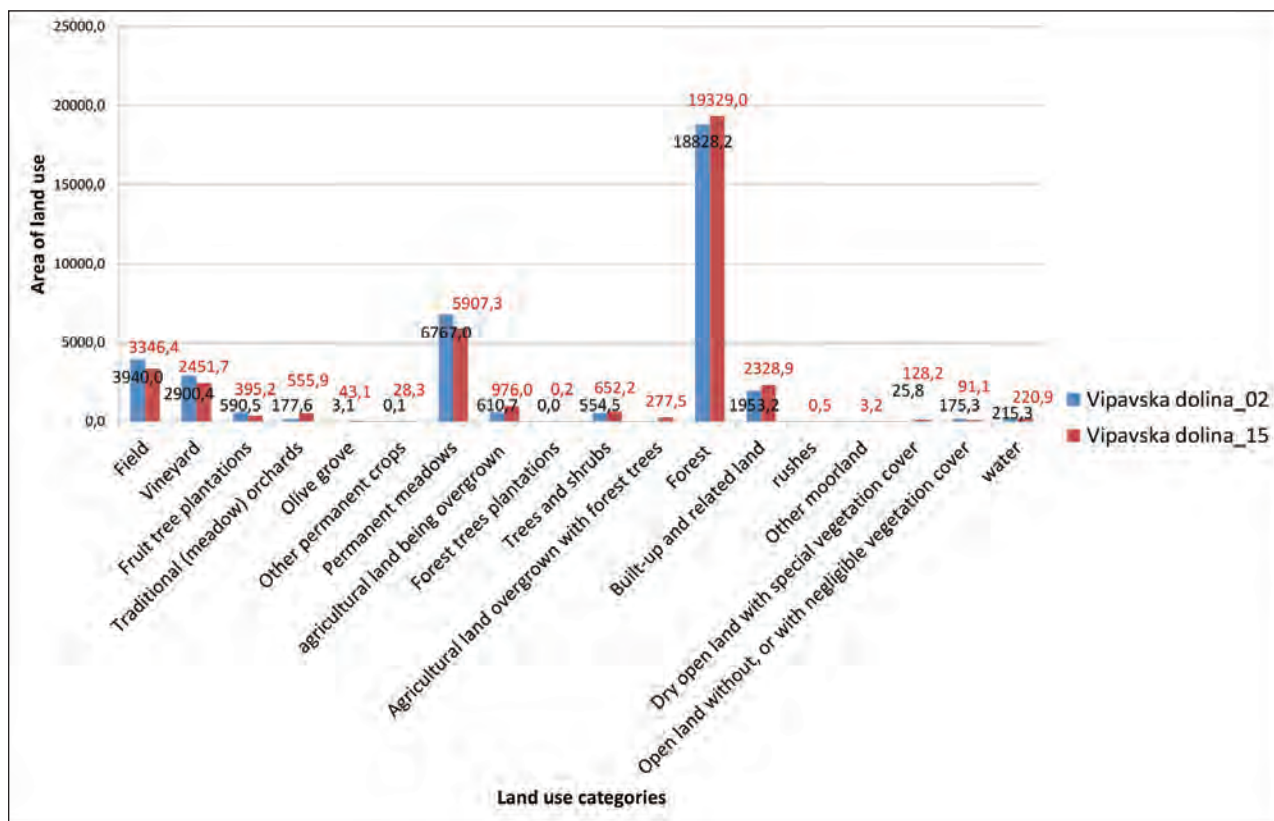


Chart 3: Area of the actual land use categories in the coastal region Vipavska dolina, comparison between the years 2002 and 2015

Grafikon 3: Površina kategorij dejanske rabe v Vipavski dolini, primerjava med leti 2002 in 2015

Grafico 3: La superficie delle categorie di uso effettivo nella Valle del Vipacco, un confronto tra il 2002 e il 2015

Table 6: Evaluation results for Kras

Preglednica 6: Rezultati vrednotenja za Kras

Tabella 6: I risultati della valutazione per Carso

Kras	Guidelines referring to cultural landscape				
Policy measures	Prevent the spontaneous reforestation to preserve of typical vegetation of Kras Maintain vine and fruit growing, animal husbandry to protect pastures and meadows including stone walls Control the meliorations to comply with traditional landscape (e.g. avoid filling the potholes with stones) Preserve fields in the pothole bottoms				
	1	2	3	4	agr
Preservation of permanent grassland	+	+	+	o	+
Preservation of pastures	+	+	o/+	o	+
Preservation of traditional orchards	+	+	o	o	+
Preservation of landscape features (trees, shrubs, hedges...)	+	+	+	o	+
Preservation of landscape features (geomorphology, terraces...)	o	+	+	o	+
aggregate	+	+	+	o	+

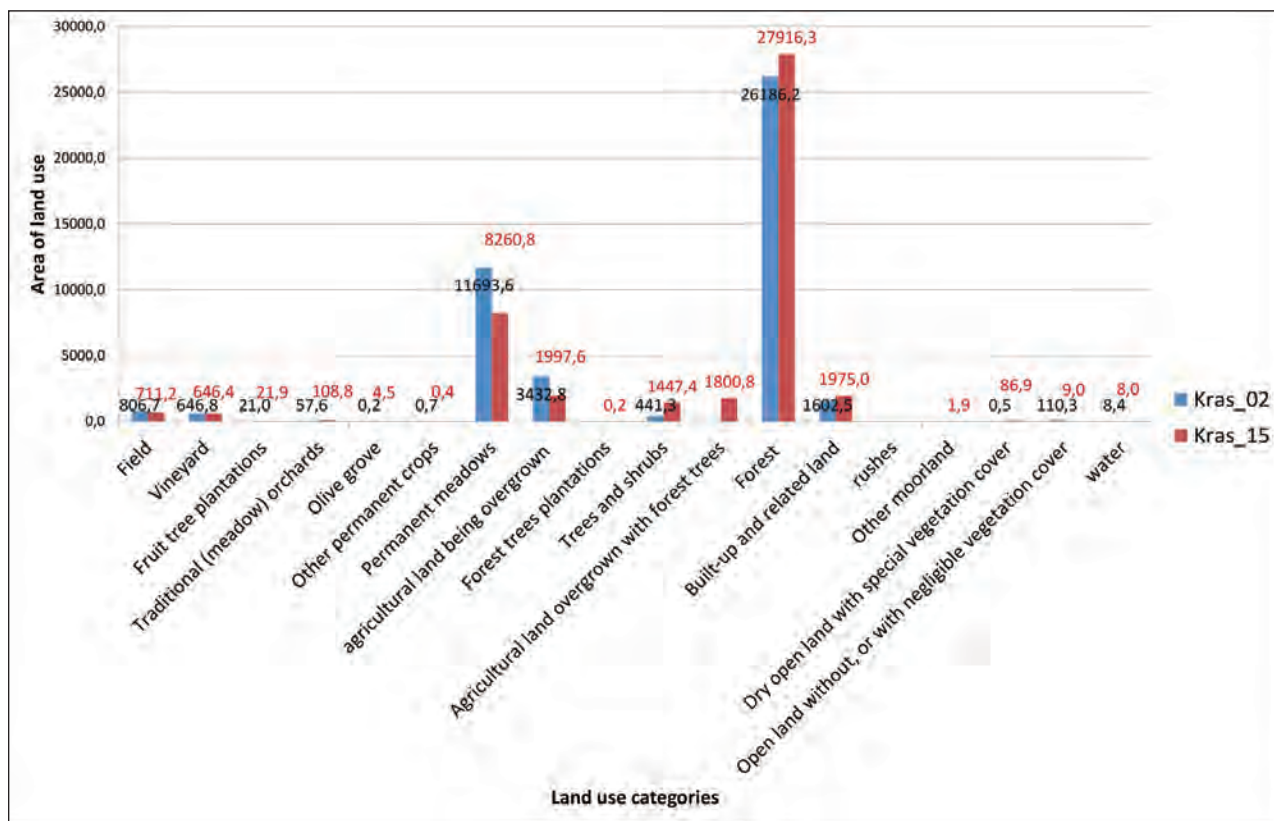


Chart 4: Area of the actual land use categories in the coastal region Kras, comparison between the years 2002 and 2015

Grafikon 4: Površina kategorij dejanske rabe na Krasu, primerjava med letoma 2002 in 2015

Grafico 4: La superficie delle categorie di uso effettivo sul Carso, un confronto tra il 2002 e il 2015

Table 7: Evaluation results for Slovenska obala

Preglednica 7: Rezultati vrednotenja za Slovensko obalo

Tabella 7: I risultati della valutazione per Costa slovena

Slovenska obala	Guidelines referring to cultural landscape				
Policy measures	Leave the abandoned terraces on north slopes to natural overgrowth to prevent erosion Preserve the terraces on southern slopes with traditional “cultura mista” Preserve the natural (cliffs, coast) and cultural (saline fields) landscape Revitalize regulated streams				
	1	2	3	4	agr
Preservation of permanent grassland	o/-	o	o	o	o
Preservation of pastures	-	o	o	o	o/-
Preservation of traditional orchards	o/-	+	o	o	o/+
Preservation of landscape features (trees, shrubs, hedges...)	o	+	o	+	+
Preservation of landscape features (geomorphology, terraces...)	-	+	+	o/+	+/-
aggregate	-	+	o	+	+/-

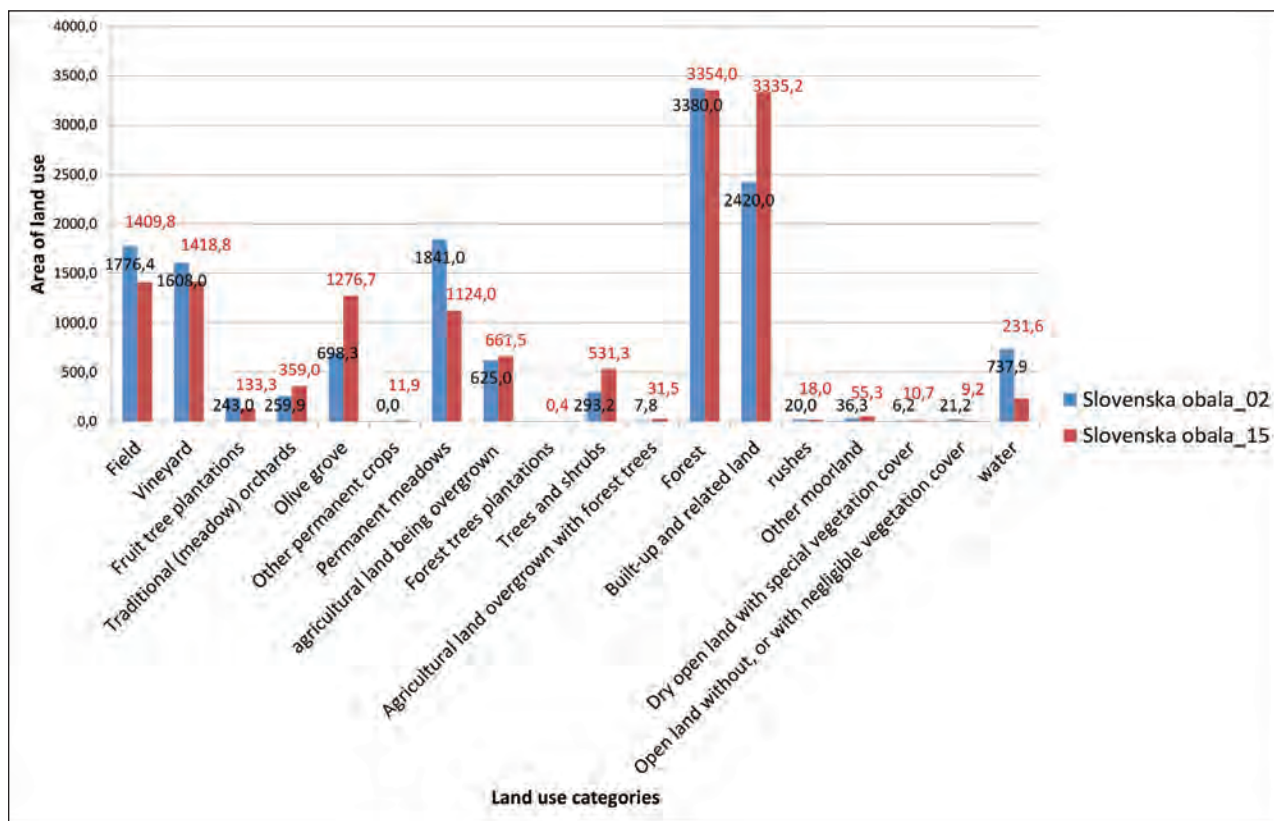


Chart 5: Area of the actual land use categories in the coastal region Slovenska obala, comparison between the years 2002 and 2015

Grafikon 5: Površina kategorij dejanske rabe v regiji Slovenska obala, primerjava med leti 2002 in 2015

Grafico 5: La superficie delle categorie di uso effettivo nella regione della Costa Slovena, un confronto tra il 2002 e il 2015

is still undergoing the process of the overgrowing of the agricultural land by forest. These changes include the decrease of the permanent meadows area and increase of the forest area and »trees and shrubs« and »agricultural land overgrown with forest trees«. The first landscape objective is therefore not met. Small increase of the orchards and stable area of vineyards is congruent with the second objective. The last two objectives can not be assessed from the land use data. All the evaluated policy measures are in general in favor of stated landscape objectives, but have until now obviously not been effective.

Slovenska obala:

In contrast to the areas in the hinterland, the area adjacent to the coast is characterized by intensive building processes. The major agricultural categories, fields, grassland as well as vineyards decreased accordingly, while orchards and olive groves increased. The landscape objectives for this region are very specific, so the effect of these processes would have to be verified on

site. Some of the policy measures could also contradict these objectives, especially the one requiring abandonment of intensive use on the northern, erosion prone slopes.

Slovenska Istra:

Forest is the prevailing feature in Slovenska Istra, and it further increased in the observed period. Unlike in the rest of the units, fields as well as olive groves also increased. On the other hand the area of the permanent meadows decreased for more than half of the area in 2002. So the general objective of upkeeping the agricultural land has been only partly achieved. For the assessment of other objectives more detailed data would be needed. The measures targeting grassland preservation should have beneficial effect in this region, but have until now obviously not had the desired effect. Similar to the Slovenska obala unit, the policy measures which aim towards cultivation could contradict the proposed abandonment of use on the northern, erosion prone slopes.

Table 8: Evaluation results for Slovenska Istra
Preglednica 8: Rezultati vrednotenja za Slovensko Istro
Tabella 8: I risultati della valutazione per Istria Slovena

Slovenska Istra	Guidelines referring to cultural landscape					
Policy measures	Preserve the features of karstic edge Prevent the abandonment of agricultural land Preserve the typical vegetation along the streams (upper Rizana) Revitalize the meliorated agricultural areas with planting of the bushes and trees along the main lines in landscape (paths, property borders, terraces) Leave the abandoned terraces on steep slopes to natural overgrowth to prevent erosion					
	1	2	3	4	5	agr
Preservation of permanent grassland	o	+	o	o/+	o	o/+
Preservation of pastures	o	+	o	o	-	+/-
Preservation of traditional orchards	o	+	o	o/+	o/-	o/+
Preservation of landscape features (trees, shrubs, hedges...)	o	o	+	+	o	+
Preservation of landscape features (geomorphology, terraces...)	+	o/+	+	+	-	+/-
aggregate	o	+	+	+	-	+/-

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Integration of policies in the horizontal and vertical dimension has come to the front of the desired approach for better governance in the EU. Integration of the nature conservation – biodiversity objectives into agricultural policy measures is an example of horizontal integration. However, as these policy measures also directly target cultural landscapes, it is necessary for them to also observe landscape diversity. Therefore, the vertical integration should also be considered. The TIA approach, which was used in this paper to analyse the potential impacts of EU policy measures on regional (local) level indicated the potentials and also barriers of evaluating in the multilevel contexts. The use of map analysis, which disclosed the change in landuse during the last decade, was useful to explain the contemporary trends and helped to relate the relevance (although not the actual cause-effect relation) of policy measures in each of the observed regions.

Although there are common trends threatening landscape diversity in Slovenia; such as intensification of land cultivation on the one hand and its abandonment and forest overgrowth on the other; there are considerable differences on the regional and local scales. The landscape character as well as trends observed in the landuse change data differ considerably among the six units included in the analysis. The landscape diversity in the six landscape units of the Slovenian coastal regions is reflected in different landscape objectives. Vipavska

dolina is characterized by intensive agricultural land use, which already led to degradation of landscape and biodiversity. In this respect it is the most similar to an »average« European agricultural region, and would profit from extensification of agricultural practices. Kras is very different as it is still undergoing agricultural land abandonment and overgrowing. Here the support for revitalizing traditional agricultural practice would be beneficial for revitalizing (agri)cultural landscape. Slovenska obala is specific for being under strong development pressures, therefore agricultural land and specifically its natural features should be protected effectively.

The majority of the policy measures were assessed - as expected - positive, although there are also some ambiguous scores. Landuse data were useful for the interpretation and argumentation for the assessment. For example landscape objectives call for preservation of both the orchards and vineyards in most of the observed units. The difference in trends (increase for the former and decrease for the latter) could be attributed to the fact that there is a policy instrument targeting orchards, but not a specific one for the vineyards. The measure »preservation of permanent grassland and pastures« targets some of the observed changes in a favourable way. However, as these measures have been in place already for some time now, they obviously did not achieve the results (in Kras, Goriška Brda and Slovenska Istra units). There are also measures where negative impacts could be expected; i.e. all measures supporting further cultivation may contradict with the landscape objective re-

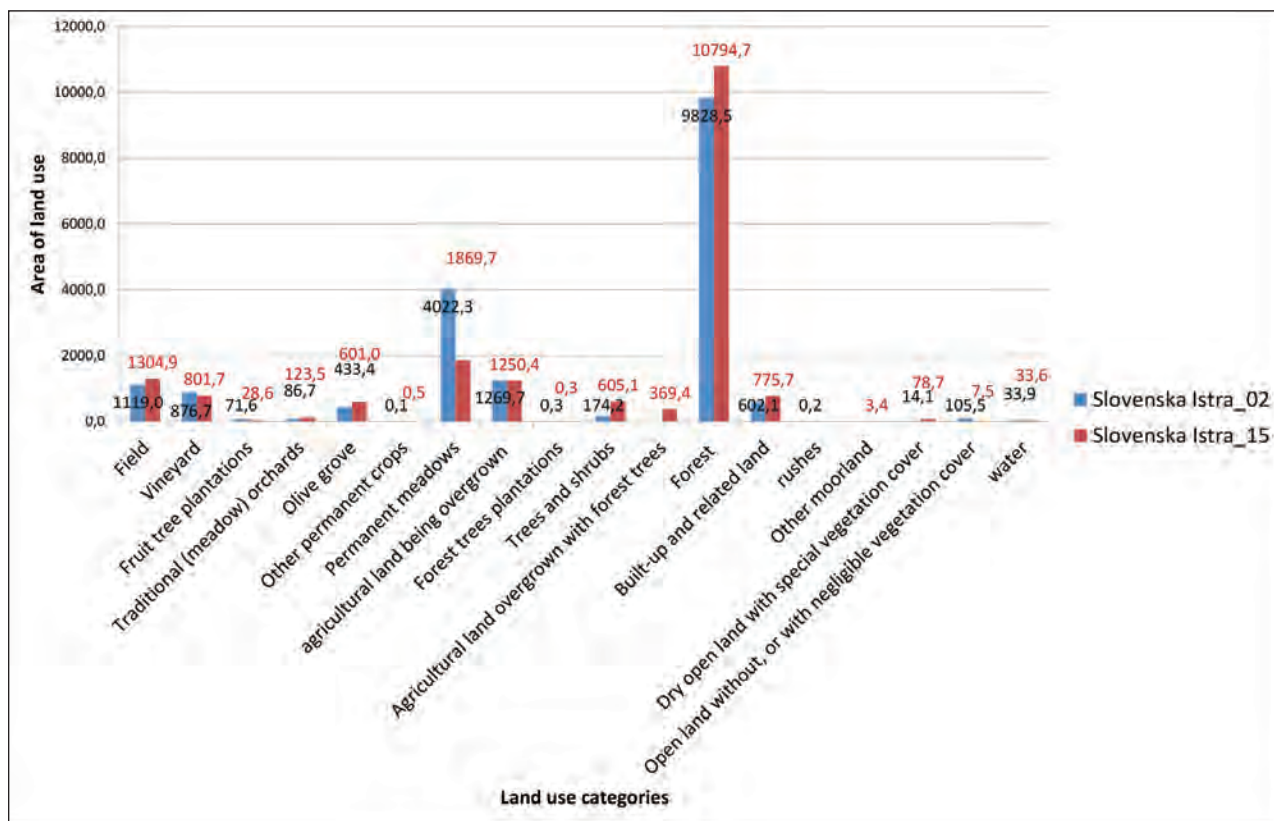


Chart 6: Area of the actual land use categories in the coastal region Slovenska Istra, comparison between the years 2002 and 2015

Grafikon 6: Površina kategorij dejanske rabe v Slovenski Istri, primerjava med letoma 2002 in 2015

Grafico 6: La superficie delle categorie di uso effettivo in Istria Slovena, un confronto tra il 2002 e il 2015

quiring abandonment of intensive use on the northern, erosion prone slopes in Slovenska obala and Slovenska Istra units. For some of the objectives, which refer to specific land feature (i.e. Preserve the rocky outlook on Skalnica and Sveta gora slopes, Preserve fields in the pothole bottoms, Preserve the features of karstic edge), it was difficult to assess the relevance of policy measures. Also the landuse data analysis was at this stage too general to allow for concluding comments.

The question of landscape objectives; i.e the reference for the evaluation seems to be a pertinent one in the policy development. The analysed policy documents consider the desired state of cultural landscape as static; either in its present state or even a reconstruction of some near-past state. For the nature conservation objectives, this reference state is 2004, the year when Slovenia accessed EU. The refusing to accept landscape change can be explained by the meanings invested in landscapes which come to represent symbolic value and important element of individual and collective identity (Golobič, Kučan, 2004). Change of a symbol's appearance requires people to »reinvent« own identities. This view is against the inherent dynamism of landscape.

Also, similar to fast changing, the »frozen landscape« which prohibit people to interact with them, lose their capacity to be carriers of identity. Marusic et al claim that »preserving of cultural landscape is not maintaining its present form but rather maintenance of the balance and vitality of its functions« (Marusic et al, 1998, p.66). Instead of standards, trying to hit the »moving target« of a vital and sustainable landuse seem the best approach for achieving landscape quality.

This dynamics and dependence of landscape patterns from the socio-economic and political context can be illustrated by an example from the Krkavče village in observed region, provided by Ažman Momirski and Matej Gabrovec (Ažman Momirski, Gabrovec, 2014). They described several phases in the development of terraced landscapes: in the 19th century, at the time of Austro-Hungarian monarchy, winegrowing was in the forefront; in the 20th century, agriculture was redirected from Mediterranean cultures to crop husbandry; the Yugoslavia era was typical of the abandoning and overgrowing of farming areas; and after 1991, at the time of Slovenia, market-oriented olive production has taken the lead. The latter trend was confirmed in our research,

with olive groves as the only agricultural land use category, which increased in all analysed landscape units.

This contribution presents an approach for analyzing the policy impacts in a multilevel context. While several concluding answers could not be given at this stage, the test indicates that such an analysis is useful for providing

feedback to be used in the policy development cycle. In particular, the method would have to be supplemented by a more detailed map analysis, field work and interviews with stakeholders (i.e. agricultural consultants) to enable better support for cause-effect conclusions.

POTENCIALNI VPLIVI POLITIK EU NA RAZNOLIKOST KULTURNE KRAJINE: PRIMER SLOVENSКИH OBALNIH KRAJIN

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POVZETEK

Kljub pomenu kulturne krajine za nacionalno in lokalno identiteto v Sloveniji nimamo politike, ki bi izrecno in koherentno obravnavala razvoj in varstvo krajin. Zato tudi ni instrumenta, ki bi usklajeval vplive različnih predpisov, predvsem s področij kmetijstva in varstva narave, na krajino. Večina teh politik je zasnovana na ravni Evropske unije, pri njihovem prenosu na nacionalno raven pa niso bile ocenjene posledice za pestrost slovenskih krajin. V prispevku je uporabljen pristop ocene prostorskih učinkov (Territorial impact assesemnt – TIA), na primeru vpliva ukrepov kmetijske politike z naravovarstvenimi cilji na raznolikost kulturne krajine v šestih krajinskih enotah slovenske obalne regije. Njihova velika krajinska pestrost je upoštevana v obstoječih (neformalnih) smernicah za upravljanje, ki so bile uporabljene kot referenčni okvir za vrednotenje učinkov. Pričakovani učinki evropskih ukrepov so pozitivni v tistih dveh krajinskih enotah, kjer so bodisi intenzifikacija bodisi procesi zaraščanja že zmanjšali krajinsko pestrost. V ostalih štirih enotah so pričakovani vplivi težko napovedljivi in lahko vključujejo tudi negativne posledice.

Ključne besede: Evropske politike, varstvo narave, skupna kmetijska politika, pestrost kulturne krajine, presoja učinkov na prostor

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PYRAMIDAL CYPRESS TREES, LINEAR TERRACES AND
A WALK AMONG AROMATIC HERBS.
MULTIFACETED CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AND HUMAN
PERCEPTION THEREOF

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ABSTRACT

The author discusses the multifaceted nature of cultural landscape and the human perception. We are usually not aware of the significance of this multifaceted nature. By studying scientific publications and certain statutory provisions in the field of environmental conservation, the author wanted to examine the diversity of the term cultural landscape and of the differences in our perception of it. This diverse picture (based on examples from the Slovenian Littoral region) incorporates findings from different fields such as psychology, phenomenology, hermeneutics, aesthetics etc. The aim of this paper is to present the many layers of our perception and thus our interpretation of landscapes that influences also our relationship with and conservation of landscape.

Keywords: Landscape, cultural landscape, historic cultural landscape, perception, authenticity, visual attributes, intangible attributes, visual analysis, appreciation of landscape, environmental aesthetics, the Slovene Littoral

CIPRESSI PIRAMIDALI, TERRAZZE LINEARI E UNA PASSEGGIATA
TRA LE ERBE AROMATICHE.
PAESAGGIO CULTURALE SFACCETTATO E LA PERCEZIONE CHE L'UOMO HA DI ESSO

SINTESI

Nel contributo l'autrice mette in evidenza la poliedricità del paesaggio culturale e della percezione umana, di cui non siamo sufficientemente consapevoli. Attraverso lo studio di alcune disposizioni di legge relative alla tutela dell'ambiente e di diverse pubblicazioni scientifiche, cerca di esaminare ogni sfaccettatura del concetto del paesaggio e della nostra percezione di esso. Questo quadro caleidoscopico (basato su esempi del paesaggio culturale del Litorale sloveno) comprende conclusioni provenienti dall'ambito della psicologia, fenomenologia, ermeneutica, estetica ecc. Lo scopo del contributo è quindi di segnalare i numerosi livelli della nostra percezione del paesaggio e della nostra conseguente interpretazione, che influiscono anche sul nostro rapporto con il paesaggio, nonché sulla nostra gestione e tutela dello stesso.

Parole chiave: paesaggio, paesaggio culturale, paesaggio culturale storico, percezione, autenticità, elementi visivi, elementi immateriali, analisi visiva, valutazione del paesaggio, estetica dell'ambiente, Litorale sloveno

People strive to preserve cultural and natural landscape – landscape that they deem (appreciate) worth preserving. A landscape is evaluated as such by specific criteria defined by experts. In the past, professionals relied mostly on visual and physical elements and structures of a landscape; however, at the end of the 20th century they somewhat broadened these criteria. How did they broaden these criteria? What did they emphasise? Why are these new criteria important and what do they indicate? These are some of the questions this paper aims to answer. Thus, the paper contains a short definition of (historical) cultural landscape, followed by a presentation of the already mentioned criteria that enable the evaluation and further preservation of landscape. Further, since man is the one who lays down these criteria, the paper discusses the multifaceted human perception of space. The paper is based on a review of scientific and technical literature from different scientific disciplines as well as a comparison between certain statutory provisions or strategies.

In the early 19th century, a simple definition of landscape was laid down, according to which a landscape is the overall appearance of an area of land (Earth's surface).¹ But when we try to specify landscape as cultural or historical cultural landscape, this definition or basis becomes too narrow and the need arises for a broader interpretation. Cultural landscape could be defined as a part of the physical space that surrounds us, the space where we live or as the landscape that man has visibly changed. It can also be defined as the opposite of the natural landscape.² When exploring different ways to define the term cultural landscape, we must not disregard the term "cultural" itself, since it originates from the Latin word *colere* (meaning to cultivate, care, maintain, reside, colonize etc.) and clearly indicates the relationship between man and his surroundings, his perception of these surroundings in terms of their value, and a relationship between wild and cultivated nature (Wöbse, 2008, 22; Kučan, 1999, 72; Wöbse, 1998, 157). In the

case of cultural landscape, the role of humans is always emphasised. Thus, some authors provide a very general definition of such landscape, e.g. »If the concept of a cultural landscape is to be given a broad definition, then any area where there are traces of human activity is a cultural landscape« (Frislid, 1990, 10). Other authors focus on the changeable human activity or the interaction of natural and human actions in a time frame in which these actions took place (Sedej, 1965, 1; Curk, 1965, 1).³ Although we regard human actions in space as changes made in landscape, we can also understand them as something stable, something that creates a cultural landscape which can "retain the same structure for a long period of time or can change quickly and radically, always as a reflection of social happenings" (Ogrin, 1989, 21–22).⁴

When speaking of historical cultural landscape, the element of time is of special importance. Historical cultural landscape is a complete "record" of changes in cultural landscape in a certain time frame. This record has different layers, some of which have been preserved until the present day, thus there are some elements or structures in the landscape that originate from past times (even preindustrial periods) but have maintained their original form. On the other hand, these historical elements or structures of the landscape can disappear and we can obtain knowledge about them only from older, archival sources or by examining findings based on newer archaeological or other methods and tools (Broermann, 2003, 11).⁵

As mentioned above, we today evaluate visual, physical as well as non-physical characteristics of a landscape. Landscapes all over the world that should be protected or "landscapes of special value are defined as areas of great experiential value connected with outstanding natural or designed landscape structures, with a high level of nature conservation or outstanding forms of cultural landscape or with other, mostly symbolic-associative meanings" (Bratina Jurkovič, 2011, 64). Provisions of of-

1 According to a text attributed to Alexander von Humboldt: "Landschaft ist der Totalcharakter einer Erdgegend" (Wöbse, 2008, 23; Wöbse, 1998, 157).

2 This definition should be considered with caution: if we define cultural landscape as a landscape with traces of human activity, any landscape of today's Central Europe can be considered cultural (Küster, 2008b, 14). As is generally known, there is hardly a piece of land that has not been directly or indirectly influenced by humans.

3 It was already in the 1960s that Slovene professionals acknowledged the important role of humans in designing the cultural landscape. Some authors defined a cultural landscape as a designed landscape formed not only by climate, relief, soil, flora and fauna but also by a "dynamic role of a human-creator" (Sedej, 1965, 1), while others saw the cultural landscape as "a synthesis of geographical conditions and anthropographical consequences that accumulated throughout centuries in a given landscape and were tightly weaved together into a net of mutual causality, forming its physiognomy in a vertical temporal sequence, in whose visual image these conditions and consequences live in mutual coexistence as elements of the landscape's specific expression" (author's own translation – please consider that the translations from Slovenian to English have been made by the author of this contribution and are freely translated) (Curk, 1965, 1).

4 Therefore, man determines the form and interpretation of a cultural landscape, since he with his interventions changes the space in which he lives (his habitat) and thus creates different types of cultural landscape (for a possible classification of landscape see e.g. Küster, 2008b, 10–12; Ogrin, 1989, 13–14).

5 Man changed his environment according to the circumstances in which he lived. His interference with the environment was greatly influenced by historical structures such as: political-administrative (law, political regime); economic (production, production relationships); socio-cultural (tradition, legal system); natural and spatial structures (climate, geology). These structures thus affected the appearance of historical cultural landscape (Broermann, 2003, 12).



Slika 1: Piramidalne ciprese, vertikalni poudarek primorske krajine kot ga je prikazal Božidar Jakac na sliki Človekova usoda (istrski grobovi) leta 1979 (Jakac, 1988, sl. 147)

Figure 1: Pyramidal cypress trees – vertical emphasis in the Mediterranean landscape as shown in the painting Človekova usoda (istrski grobovi) by Božidar Jakac, dated 1979 (Jakac, 1988, sl. 147)

ficial documents dealing with the protection of the environment, nature and consequently landscape lay down the features that classify a landscape as a landscape of special value. In the field of environmental protection, Great Britain and Switzerland have played a leading role, since they started to designate areas of special value (outstanding landscapes and natural monuments of national importance) already in the 1960s and 1970s (Ogrin et al., 1996, 34). However, there is also a piece of German legislation regarding environmental protection that can be traced as far back as 1935. German legislation in this field is based on source material from 1935 and 1977 and emphasises physical and non-physical components of a landscape. More specifically, some paragraphs of this

legislative act refer to natural elements, animal and plant world and categories such as diversity, special features (authenticity) and beauty of the landscape (die *Vielfalt, Eigenart*⁶ und *Schönheit*). Furthermore, there are terms such as historical landscape and elements of the “image” of landscape (*das Landschaftsbild*; Küster, 2008a, 19; Wöbse, 2008, 25; Wöbse, 1998, 159–160). The criteria for classifying outstanding cultural landscapes are thus linked with the viewer’s perception of a specific part of a landscape or on a section of landscape “image”. Categories such as diversity, special features and beauty of a landscape are also stressed – these are the categories that do not relate only to what we see in a landscape (as explained further below).

6 “Mit dem Begriff *Eigenart* umschrieben wir den Charakter, die Identität und damit die Unverwechselbarkeit einer Landschaft” (Wöbse, 2008, 25).

The wider significance of cultural landscape is acknowledged worldwide. Participants of the 1992 UNESCO World Heritage conference emphasized the interaction between people and the environment, and in 1993 they included (into the process of valuation of a cultural landscape as an area of special value) the term *authenticity* which is reminiscent of the German term *Eigenart*. Since 1977, professionals have discussed the *intangible attributes* of a cultural landscape that were later defined as “the forces that shape the landscapes, and the values they are perceived to have” (Rössler, 2008, 50). Thus, these attributes include those elements in a landscape that cannot be clearly visually or physically determined and are consequences of the interaction of people with their environment (such elements can include: toponyms,⁷ folk tales about a specific landscape, mythization of a landscape, “symbolic” meanings of places, etc.; Rössler, 2008; Mitchell, 2008).

Such broadened significance of the landscape is recognized also at European level. The *European Landscape Convention* came into effect in 2004 and its general definition of landscape reads as follows: “Landscape means an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors” (European Landscape Convention, 2000). Thus, it emphasizes not only the connection of natural and anthropogenic factors, but also human perception.

In Slovenia, important steps towards the definition and preservation of landscape were made in the 1990s – especially with the *Strategy for landscape conservation in Slovenia*, which defines, among other things, outstanding landscapes or landscapes of exceptional value (Ogrin et al., 1996). In this research paper we can find definitions and criteria for different landscapes, including outstanding landscapes. The criteria for the selection of outstanding landscapes include: structural value, a high level of correspondence between spatial use and natural characteristics of the area, authenticity of the structure, traditional landscape patterns, the presence of historical, monumental, archaeological and similar qualities, the correspondence between landscape and urban patterns, complexity, symbolism, prospects of landscape survival etc. (Ogrin et al., 1996, 9–10). Looking at these criteria, we can see that they are based on visual or rather physical characteristics, such as landscape structures and patterns, the correspondence between natural and anthropogenic elements, diversity within a single structural element, urbanization patterns etc. However, the proposed criteria also include intangible elements (non-physical characteristic of a landscape) such as the testimonial value of landscape patterns, the descriptiveness of social condi-

tions, the symbolism of a landscape, and landscape as an educational tool. There are also other criteria that indicate a connection with physical elements, e.g. the “*historical, monumental, archaeological and other qualities*” that Dušan Ogrin and his colleagues incorporated into their criteria for outstanding landscapes (Ogrin et al., 1996, 9–10). This broad interpretation of landscape and criteria for classifying outstanding landscapes were accepted by professionals in the field of environmental protection and conservation, as indicated in an article by Blanka Bartol from 1999, where all of the aforementioned criteria can be recognized more or less easily. Bartol divides the criteria into natural and cultural values. Natural values in the cultural landscape are: natural elements, structural characteristics of natural elements, the level of nature conservation, and natural processes. Cultural values include historical, spatial-structural, typological, visual, functional, symbolic and non-material values (Bartol, 1999, 79). With regard to criteria listed above, an issue arises regarding the criterion of symbolic value of a landscape, as it is understood differently by different authors. The symbolic value of landscape is classified as an intangible attribute in the UNESCO Convention – in this case, the symbolic value is a value that can develop and change. Ogrin (as well as Bartol) understands landscape as a medium that carries specific symbolism: “a landscape carries symbolical meanings arising from a historical tradition of a ritual, state-building, political or other nature” (Ogrin et al., 1996, 32). The interpretation of an outstanding landscape by Nataša Bratina Jurkovič also does not clarify the symbolic-associative meanings that give a landscape its special significance. It seems that, in all the examples stated above, the term “symbolic” refers to emphasizing a special meaning attributed to landscape by the society, a meaning that depends on historical circumstances and can be e.g. a myth about a specific landscape or even a toponym. According to Svend Erik Larsen (Larsen, 2004, 476), it is also possible to understand these symbolic meanings of a landscape through the existence of deities.⁸

As regards the criteria for definition and evaluation of landscapes that were laid down in the nineties in Slovenia, we can conclude that these criteria were in line with the contemporary environmental policy and that they gave rise to the need to understand the intangible elements of landscape in Slovenia. However, when examining the relevant Slovenian legislation (especially in the field of environmental protection) we can see that the legislation does not sufficiently take into account the aforementioned criteria. Thus, the *Spatial Management Act* defines landscape as “part of an area which is char-

⁷ Penko Seidl, 2011.

⁸ Larsen’s definition of landscape is based on the temporal aspect and the emphasis that man places on his environment. Historically speaking, landscape was first defined as *physical surroundings* (Greek *physis* or Roman *mundus*), and later as a *geographical and geological entity* (mountains, plains, etc.); subsequently, it was regarded as a *symbolic phenomenon* controlled largely by deities (mostly with reference to the will of God or the gods). In recent history, landscape has been understood as a *mental projection* of human hope, fear, joy, or memory (Larsen, 2004, 476).

acterized by a prevailing presence of natural components and is the result of the interaction between natural and human factors" (ZUreP-1, 2002). The same definition can be found in the *Spatial planning Act* (ZPNačrt, 2007). In the *Nature Conservation Act*, landscape is a natural value and a "spatially complete part of nature with a specific distribution of landscape components resulting from the characteristics of animate and inanimate nature and human activity" (ZON, 2004). The *Cultural Heritage Protection Act* contains a definition of cultural landscape – it defines cultural landscape as immobile heritage and "an open space with natural and artificially made (man-made) components, whose structure, development and use are mainly determined by human intervention and activity" (ZVKD, 2008). It is evident that the physical aspects of landscape were considered as well as active human intervention in the landscape and the understanding of the landscape as a space of human and natural activities. However, while the European Landscape Convention defines landscape as "an area, as perceived by people," such interpretation is missing in Slovenian legislation. Therefore, the multifaceted nature of human influence, actions and perceptions in the context of time and society is neglected.

Recently, the question of man's perception of his environment has become important, as indicated by the fact that professionals have introduced new terms such as *intangible elements* or *authenticity*, i.e. terms that indicate the multifaceted nature of landscape, the physical and non-physical elements of the environment, the meanings attributed to heritage (in this case to the cultural landscape) by man and society, and the values that were shaped over time and are connected with a certain landscape. The importance of these new criteria is reflected also in the wider definition of objects to be protected. In the case of landscape we can – taking into account all the relevant criteria – define it as physical space shaped by natural forces and humans, and as "mental"⁹ space, as perceived by people.

How does man perceive the space? This is an important question since it is man's perception that dictates the decisions on whether something (e.g. cultural landscape) is worth protecting or not.

When we try to describe the space around us, we first look at it and then describe it with words. So, we first

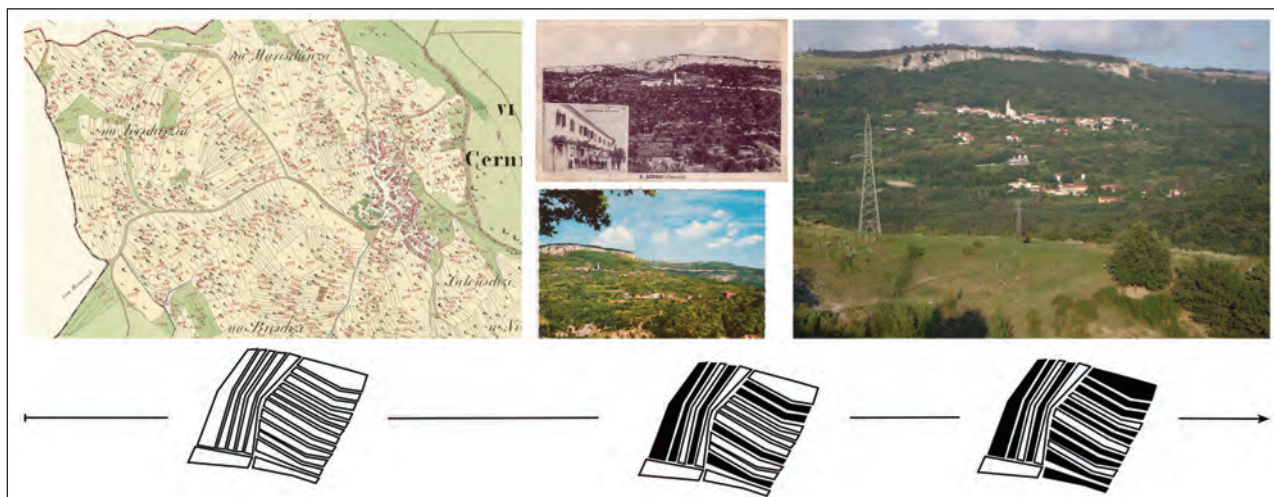
look and listen and then use all the other sense organs and let all other external and internal factors influence our perception of the surroundings. Therefore, sight plays an important role in our perception of space and it is not unusual that our description, valuation and protection of a landscape are based on the visual elements of the landscape. Today, professional analysis and evaluation of a landscape are also mostly based on its visual elements and structures of a specific part of the landscape. Visual analysis was used in the United States of America in the 1960s and 1970s, and it is still used all over the world (Benzinberg Stein, 1991, 243). Apart from this analysis, let us mention the descriptive-analytical approach that was first used by German geographers and moved away from the subjectivity of the viewer, thus contributing to the understanding of a landscape as an object. Landscape thus became more objective and German geographical community defined it as a physical substance, divided into an area of inanimate nature, an area of biosphere and a socially determined area (Ogrin, 1989, 12). Such perception of a landscape (through sight) creates a clear dividing line between the user of a landscape and the landscape itself – it creates distance between the subject and the object and in thus follows the traditional aesthetic evaluation discussed below (Berleant, 1991).

As observers of landscape we first focus on visual elements and thus identify structures and patterns in our environment. We then connect these perceived structures and patterns with the particular landscape. As already mentioned in relation to the Slovene Littoral (southwest part of Slovenia), identifiable visual patterns in a landscape can also be found in characteristic vegetation – one of such patterns are pyramidal cypress trees, which create a sort of vertical emphasis in space and are characteristic of the region. These vertical green elements are familiar to every user of landscapes in the abovementioned region. Therefore, these trees are identified as part of the Mediterranean and serve as some kind of a landscape sign (see Fig. 1).¹⁰

Characteristic landscape patterns of the Littoral also include narrow terraces that (visually) divide slopes into linear belts. We perceive these terraces and analyse them first as visual elements as shown in Figure 2, which shows a part of a landscape that generally encompasses the essential characteristics of the studied landscape.

⁹ The term "mental" is taken from Larsens' definition of landscapes (see footnote 6)

¹⁰ The Slovenian Littoral consists of many recognizable landscape patterns, and every landscape pattern gives to the region its unique structure, which includes narrow settled terraces and natural vegetation in narrow gorges that are part of the traditional image of Istrian and seaside landscapes. This landscape image is slowly disappearing due to the reclamation of coastal lowlands, abandonment of salt pans, arrangement of large viticulture areas, overgrowing of slopes, soil sealing etc. Littoral is also characterized by grapevine and the abundance of fruit trees. In Slovenian Istria agriculture, which was once intensive, is slowly disappearing, the terraces (above Strunjan and Fiesa) which used to be inhabited and cultivated are now being overgrown, and the traditional "plante" (mixed cultures of grapevine, fruit trees and garden crops) are now disappearing from the landscape image. Visible changes can be observed as a result of settlement and emigration – many inhabitants have moved (and are still moving) to coastal areas, especially large coastal towns, and villages in the hinterland (e.g. in Šavrinsko gričevje) are being abandoned. In different parts of the Littoral region one can observe different patterns – flysch hills (Brda, Brkini); karst fields; bare karst; karst plateaus with karst phenomena; wide valleys (Vipavska dolina) or karst grasslands. Apart from the seacoast and flysch cliffs, characteristics of the Slovenian coast also include salt pans, agricultural areas on seaside plains and on terraced hillsides, settlements on terraced hillsides and overgrown terraces (Marušič et al., 1998, 37–38, 64–67)..



Slika 2: Analiza spreminjanja zgodovinske kulturne krajine Črnega Kala na podlagi starejših virov (katastra iz 19. stoletja in fotografij iz 20. stoletja) in obstoječega stanja (delo avtorice)

Figure 2: An Analysis of major changes in the historic cultural landscape of Črni Kal on the basis of archival sources (19th-century cadastre and photos from the 20th century) and the present state (prepared by the author)

Based on this landscape fragment in Figure 2, a notion of all the linear belts arranged in a landscape can be created taking into account their changes in the past. We can determine that the terraces are placed close to one another and that they run parallel or perpendicular to each other. When we analyse the selected pattern over a certain time frame, we can conclude that, over time, more and more terraces became overgrown (in the Fig. 2 they are marked with black colour). Thus, a part of visual analysis is performed based on old maps (cadastre), postcards, photographs etc. The chosen part of the landscape is located on a hillside at Črni Kal. Our visual analysis enabled us to partly analyse and evaluate a typical landscape in the Slovenian Littoral. Our findings suggest that the landscape elements and structures that give this area its characteristic appearance are now being overgrown and consequently the traditional image is disappearing. Based on our findings we now know that it is necessary to encourage terrace cultivation to recreate the traditional recognizable image of this landscape.

As stated above, man perceives his environment through different sensory receptors – with his whole body; through hearing, taste, haptic sensory system, kinaesthetic sense etc. (Berleant, 2012, 54). Sight and hearing, which enable us to distinguish between different structures, shapes, colours and distances, and to detect movement and hear noise or sounds, belong among *distance receptors*, while scent, taste, haptic sensory system and kinaesthetic sense, which enable us to perceive objects and space from close up, belong among *contact receptors* (Berleant, 2012, 54–55). Thus, landscape can be perceived from a distance by looking at it or listening to different sounds (sounds of waves, seagulls, folk music etc.), while the scent of a place (the scent of lav-

ender or other Mediterranean herbs, the scent of the sea, the smell of seafood etc.), immediate touch of a surface (when touching soil, grass, plant leaves, sand or even sensing humidity in the air etc.), the way we move in the landscape (walking up the hills, cycling among salt pans, cultivating the terraces etc.) enable us to perceive the space in which we are from close proximity. Based on a closer examination and deeper understanding of different ways in which man perceives a landscape, we can create a broader image of the landscape. Consequently, it is also easier to find answers to questions such as how we can protect and preserve specific landscapes. Using the example of the slope at Črni Kal (given in Fig. 2), we can ask ourselves: What are the characteristics of this area? Which senses should it awaken? Which plants attract visitors or what kind of paths should be arranged among them? By answering these questions we could – with a system of pathways among Mediterranean herbs – revive the visual image of the historical cultural landscape on the abandoned terraces at Črni Kal.

Our perception of the surroundings is inseparably connected with what is happening inside of us. This fact is well known in the field of psychology, which emphasises the influence of many different factors and circumstances on an individual. In this context and in the context of landscape perception, it can be said that an individual who never came into contact with the cultural landscape in his/her childhood will perceive it differently than an individual who grew up in it. Furthermore, various events (not necessarily taking place in childhood) influence our perception of cultural landscape. One of such events is war, a shocking event with a strong effect on people and their perception of their environment. War can give a landscape a totally different significance and

a new function which is usually (but not necessarily) replaced with the old one after wartime. However, for the people who actively took part in activities in a specific landscape during wartime, this landscape will have a different significance after the war despite the old function it re-assumed (e.g. for former soldiers, cultivated fields can still represent a battlefield in time of peace). Furthermore, a former soldier can transfer his perception of a specific landscape – as he perceived it during the war – to a “neutral” landscape, that is a landscape where war battles did not take place. Thus, the (former) soldier can get an unpleasant feeling in a large open field that offers no protection and thus represents a high-risk area. On the contrary, the same soldier can see a forest or a wooded area as a possible hideout, a dense and dark place that enables him to hide from the danger. Only when this individual perceives a wooded area as an area, which serves a different function (not as a hiding place), this area can be seen as a brighter, airy space (Lewin, 2009).

Man interprets a landscape also with regard to the aim of his action or as a space in which to perform his activity. Therefore, it is not unusual for a soldier to perceive a forest as a pleasant space (more than open fields), while a recreational user of the space considers the same cultivated fields with paths suitable for cycling more pleasant. Indeed, our perception is influenced by the society of which we are a part, by our profession, our way of life, our economic situation or our national consciousness. All these factors determine whether or not we see the overgrown terraces at Črni Kal as a lost historic cultural landscape or merely as some hillside that we pass while driving on the highway on our way to the coast. At this point, we will not proceed with an analysis of all the circumstances that can affect human perception, but we can discuss the influence of education, knowledge and profession using the example of the Slovenian painter Božidar Jakac (1899–1989). We can use this painter, who left us some written accounts of his impressions, as an example of how all three factors influence a person's perception of a landscape in which he/she is located. Božidar Jakac worked in different countries, including the United States of America, where he visited and painted the Grand Canyon. He described his impressions in the following words: “*Before me was a deep abyss, on whose bottom the mysterious Colorado River flowed through the dark chasm. On both sides – mighty terraces that narrow into spaces reminiscent of shrines of ancient deities, temples of the ancient Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Indians. The Na-*

ture itself formed them.” (Jakac, 1968, 34). The painter's knowledge enabled him to make a connection between the natural phenomena in the observed landscape and advanced ancient civilisations, which also demonstrates the influence of the society in which he lived (the society that appreciated the exceptional achievements of these ancient civilisations). The nature of his profession further affected his perception, which the painter described with words such as deep abyss, dark chasm and mysterious river. In addition, this painter's knowledge of the history of the observed landscape contributed to another experience described in the text: while painting, he heard Indians drumming and singing and an awful echo, “... *as if all the dormant demons of the “valley of dead spirits” have awoken...*” (Jakac, 1968, 34). The fact that the painter “heard” the drums and the singing of the Indians and used the words *valley of dead spirits* when describing his experience in the landscape clearly demonstrates his knowledge of the history of the area, since he enriched his interpretation of the landscape with the tradition of American Indians irrespective of whether they were actually present in the area.¹¹

With all this in mind we need to stress that a user of a space cannot be separated from the object he/she is perceiving – in this case from cultural landscape. The observer creates the space around him; he is connected with it and perceives it from his viewpoint (while the viewpoint is constantly changing). From a phenomenological point of view, it is important to know that the person perceiving the space is in a situation (*being in a situation*) – the person not only looks at the landscape but sees “with” the landscape or in relation to the space in which he is (Berleant, 1991, 61–62).

A landscape is also a social construct and is subject to cultural process; therefore, it should be kept in mind that human perception of landscape is learned. Man determines the meanings of the studied object and those meanings are always in correlation with the contemporary society's interpretation and also depend on the interpreter himself. Thus, various influences, dependencies or connections can be found within an individual interpretation of a landscape and within the contemporary society's interpretation (Berleant, 2012, 55; Berleant, 1991, 59). The landscape in the Slovenian Littoral is appreciated in today's capitalist society and understood mostly as a popular tourist destination. That is why it is possible to assume that the majority of (leisure-time) users of this area would describe the Littoral landscape as pleasant or use other positive words.

11 Let us add that Jakac's profession, education and national identity exerted an even broader influence through his works. Through his work, the painter strove to preserve his contemporary world, as he saw “*how his beloved world changed before his eyes, how farmers modernise their homesteads and do not cover their hay drying racks, not even with brick, let alone with wood or straw, how fields are disappearing beneath new settlements...*” (Čopič, 1988, 104). In a way, Jakac acted as a conservator of the cultural landscape by striving to capture and preserve its contemporary image (even though only on canvas) and by emphasizing the significance of the cultural landscape and trying to weave it into social consciousness and national identity. He succeeded in achieving these aims, for example in the case of the landscape of Dolenjska region, which is today well known and appreciated because of his many landscape paintings of this region.

Cultural conditionality of our perception of the environment is connected with the construct of identity, and cultural landscape is an important medium that shapes the identity of a certain group of people. People used to tie their identity to the place where they lived and to folk traditions preserved through the words of older inhabitants. At the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, there were two main levels of identity – “the local one, learnt through the living memory of vernacular culture, and the national one, produced by history and taught within the school system” (Claval, 2007, 85–86). Now, at the beginning of the 21st century we can again observe the strengthening of “local identity” as we are now more inclined to identify ourselves with our surroundings in which we live (as indicated also in a research paper by Sedmak and Zadel, 2015, 165).

Most Slovenians attach great national significance especially to agricultural landscape. Our attitude towards cultural landscape as an area of great importance that is worth protecting arose recently, when we became aware that cultural landscape is a fast changing structure and when we learned how to distance ourselves from it in the role of tourists that offers a different viewpoint on the landscape (Kučan, 1999, 72, 74). We started to recognize our landscape as a symbol of national identity and thus some Slovenian landscapes or their images became “carriers of special meaning, signs understandable to certain social groups” (Kučan, 1999, 72).¹² In Slovenia, the landscapes typically recognized as national landscapes are those that contain scenes of homeliness and tradition – sometimes even moralistic scenes of idyllic homeliness (deriving from the agricultural origin of Slovenian landscapes). Such perception was evident already at the beginning of the 20th century, e.g. in the works of Slovenian impressionists,¹³ and further strengthened somewhat later in the 20th century through ample propaganda material (Žerovc, 2013; Kučan, 1999, 73–76; Kučan, 1998).

We can see that man perceives landscapes in different ways, and he does not even recognize many of them – not until he conducts an in-depth deliberation. How and what we perceive in a landscape dictates our appreciation of the landscape that can be linked with arts and the question of the aesthetic. Indeed, the greater

the aesthetic value attached to a landscape, the more people will appreciate it (and thus be more interested in its preservation and protection).

As Alois Riegl wrote in 1905, when he emphasized the importance of protection of natural and cultural heritage and proclaimed them equal, Georg Gottfried Dehio and Alois Riegl believed that the question of aesthetics was inappropriate in the case of cultural heritage (including the cultural landscape; Riegl, 1905; Wunsch, 2010, 5). According to Riegl, an observer sees a cultural monument – whether a painting, a castle or a landscape – as proof of our existence (*das Dasein*) which has greater significance than the aesthetic aspect. This proof of human existence is linked to history, to national consciousness and to humanity – thus, it is more than just artistic or historical interest that is evoked by the monument in professionals; it is a subjective feeling, a honour of a man, of a nation or of a humanity (*das Menschenheitsgefühl*), a feeling reminiscent of a religious feeling, which cannot be easily analyzed like for example the category of the historical or the beautiful (Riegl, 1905).

Despite the above view from the beginning of the 20th century, it seems that the question of the aesthetic and environment became popular again in the late 20th century. A new connection was established between the aesthetic, which is usually associated with art, and the environment, especially landscapes or, more specifically, landscape painting. Landscape painting is based on a sight (or view) of a part of a landscape¹⁴ framed in a picture frame, and on the artist’s creative work. We, as the observers of a landscape, also perceive it first with our sight, thus the idea of looking or gazing – which is also present when observing a painting – is familiar to us. This familiarity evidenced by some historical facts, such as the use of a Claude glass, small and tinted convex mirror, which tourists used to observe a landscape, or the popular *camera obscura* and pictorial boxes used in the 18th and 19th centuries. In addition to these examples from the past, there are more recent successful projects which combined the legacy of landscape painting with existing landscapes¹⁵ (Bos, 2015, 92; Berleant, 2012, 55; Berleant, 2004, 78–79; Berleant, 1991, 68; Carlson, 1979, 270). The other contact point between a landscape as a human habitat and a landscape as a mo-

12 The author names this phenomenon landscape iconography (Kučan, 1999, 72).

13 A picture of Ivan Grohar (titled *Sower*) was marked as a Slovenian myth and as a mental picture of patriotic scenery. This fact demonstrates how big influence could the art have on a subjective public perception of a landscape. After the exhibition in the year 1907 in a National home in Trieste in the newspaper *Slovenec* (Slovenian) said: “*This picture needs to become the most popular picture of our nation; you can see in it not only a piece of our country life, but also it reflects our soul, our being. It seems, as if the soft sound of heavy sowers’ step and a hidden melody of a mellow national song strike your ear from the morning mist ...*” (Slovenec, 1907).

14 Here, it is worth recalling the German legislation on environmental protection and the term *das Landschaftsbild* used in it.

15 In Great Britain, some cultural landscapes were restored based on paintings of these landscapes by the local artist John Constable. In south France, reproductions of impressionist landscape paintings were put into the landscapes where the original paintings were created. The Dutch followed the French example and put into a landscape a painting from the Hague school from the second half of the 19th century with the aim of raising the awareness of the locals and tourists and highlighting the importance of cultural-historical values of these landscapes (Bos, 2015, 92). In the Nordic lands, landscape paintings have been included in the elementary curriculum – since the 19th century landscape paintings have been a teaching tool for pupils enabling them to gain additional knowledge on their environment (Mels, Setten, 2007).



Slika 3: Ozke, navadno dolge obdelovalne površine, ki si stopničasto sledijo na terasiranem pobočju tvorijo prepoznaven krajinski vzorec primorskega sveta kot ga lahko vidimo tudi na Jakčevi risbi Zvonik in ciprese – Izola iz leta 1961 (Jakac, 1988, sl. 149)

Figure 3: In the painting *Zvonik in ciprese – Izola* by Božidar Jakac, dated 1961, we can see narrow cultivable terraces that rise in tiers and represent a recognisable landscape pattern of the Slovene Littoral region (Jakac, 1988, sl. 149)

tif in a picture is the fact that both are cultural constructs (Berleant, 2004, 86).

A landscape is an entity that can be aesthetically appreciated. When we talk about *appreciation* we need to understand it as a two-part process consisting of: the *sizing up* of the object and our reaction to the discovered object (this reaction is mostly equated with gratitude); at the same time, appreciation is a process in which the greatest importance should not be placed on the object we appreciate but on the process of appreciation itself (Berleant, 2012, 53; Carlson, 1995, 395–397). In the process of aesthetical appreciation we can encounter a problem if we evaluate environment as a whole, we see the world around us and we take it for granted, as something that we barely notice – as a background. What should we appreciate in the background, when no object is exposed? Allen Carlson suggests that

we appreciate everything (Carlson, 1979, 271). Consequently, this means that sight and hearing lose their priority when perceiving an object, as different senses must be used for perception (Carlson, 1979, 272). This fact – the loss of priority of the sight and hearing in perception – should be emphasized in the field of aesthetics, since the aesthetic appreciation and evaluation in western civilisation has been based especially on these two sense receptors in the last two hundred years (this process could be described as a *disinterestedness* that underlines the distance between the object and the subject; Berleant, 1991, 54). Today, the emphasis is on the process of our perception, which leads to the broad idea that we should appreciate everything. However, appreciation of everything in our surroundings from different points of view, with different methods and based on different theories is an uncontrollable task. Therefore, it is

possible to find various approaches and ideas in scientific literature about which elements of a landscape (particularly natural landscape or general surroundings) are important for the appreciation of the landscape. Carlson emphasises knowledge as the main distinctive factor in our perception.¹⁶ Different landscapes are perceived differently and we have different knowledge of them that determines how and where we can find the essential aesthetic value and an adequate manner of assessing it (Carlson, 1979, 274). Of course, there are many other factors significant for aesthetic appreciation and evaluation. In his 1995 paper, Noël Carroll believed the thrill that is evoked in people when observing a natural phenomenon to be most important for their appreciation of nature. On the other hand, Stan Godlovitch (just a year before the publication of Carroll's paper) wrote that the most important factor in the process of aesthetic appreciation is the mystery of nature, including the feelings it evokes – resulting in the realization about the insufficiency of human knowledge or our powerlessness in general. However, this idea about mystery could be connected with acts of worship (Carlson, 1995). In addition to these approaches, we should mention Emily Brady's idea. She understands the emphasis put on knowledge by Carlson in relation to our appreciation of nature as the search for objectivity that would make it easier for conservators and other environmental professionals to determine the aesthetic value of our environment – wherein (as she believes) the problem of aesthetic value being equated to scientific value can arise. She

emphasizes a different factor in aesthetic appreciation, namely imagination or, as she puts it, our *perceptual and imaginative capacities* (Brady, 1998, 142). Thus she presents a non-science-based model for aesthetic appreciation that encourages a variety of possible perceptual perspectives, thereby expanding and enriching our appreciation, as imagination leads us to an unpredictable, arbitrary and fantasy-prone experience (Brady, 1998).¹⁷ When examining all the mentioned criteria for assessing aesthetic value we can observe that they overlap – it is hard to imagine being able to admire the stone terraces of the Slovenian Littoral using only imagination, without knowing the significance of farmers' work, the geology or the geography of the area. Similarly, it would be hard to evaluate a landscape that evokes thrill¹⁸ without including imagination or perception of known and unknown objects (e.g. when perceiving a strong blast of Bora wind or rough seas) into such evaluation.¹⁹

We can conclude that human perception and appreciation of landscape are multifaceted – and so is landscape. It is difficult to assume how exactly an individual perceives a cultural landscape or its constituent part. In the case of the historical landscape of the Slovenian Littoral we could anticipate some of the possible ways of perceiving such landscape by a member of our society. While walking on narrow terraces on a slope (e.g. hillside at Črni Kal), an individual will identify in a landscape specific elements such as cypress trees, parallel lines of the terraces, nucleated villages etc. His eyes will capture the structure of the landscape, while his hearing will help him

16 "We cannot appreciate everything; there must be limits and emphasis in our aesthetic appreciation of nature as there are in our appreciation of art" (Carlson, 1979, 272). "... knowledge, essentially common sense/scientific knowledge, seems to me the only viable candidate for playing the role in regard to the appreciation of nature which our knowledge of types of art, artistic traditions, and the like plays in regard to the appreciation of art" (Carlson, 1979, 273).

17 Brady divides imagination into 1) *exploratory imagination* that enables parallel associations (e.g. the image of wrinkled mountains or skin of an old man when observing tree bark texture) when observing an object; 2) *projective imagination* that adds to the observed object or even overlays it with some other image or experience (e.g. when looking at the stars at night, imaginative activity can overlay what we actually see with geometrical shapes created by the constellations we are familiar with); 3) *ampliative imagination* demands creative powers and a special curiosity (e.g. when we admire sea pebbles while visualizing the relentless surging of the ocean as it has shaped the pebbles into their worn form); 4) *revelatory imagination* that upgrades the object we perceive, stretches the power of imagination to its limits and often gives way to a kind of truth or knowledge about the world (e.g. we can perceive a lamb as something pleasant and adorable, which could lead us to forming an association between the lamb and purity/innocence. Brady determines two (safety) guidelines for landscape evaluation using the criterion of imagination, which is quite a subjective criterion. One of these guidelines is *disinterestedness*, which enables the observer to distance himself from the observed object so as to eliminate the danger of self-indulgence by the imaginative subject. The second guideline is characterized by comparing imagination to a virtue, so that we "imagine well" - "imagining well involves spotting aesthetic potential, having a sense of what to look for, and knowing when to clip the wings of imagination" (Brady, 1998, 142–146). A more precise look at the mentioned categories of imagination tells us that almost all of them (except maybe the first one) are in a way connected with knowledge; in order to see the geometrical shapes in constellations we need to know these constellations and these shapes; in order to be amazed by the form of pebbles, we need to know the workings of the sea; to be able to see innocence in a lamb or at least consider this connection reasonable, we need to know and understand cultural determinism.

18 Mystery as well as thrill can be connected also to the term "sublime". Yet even the experience of the sublime demands an intellectual emotion (Brecht, 2008, 54).

19 Let us give one more example regarding all the mentioned criteria for assessing the aesthetic value of the cultural landscape of the Littoral. When appreciating sinkholes on a karst plateau near the village of Črnotiče, where these circular forms create a moon-like landscape, we incorporate (in our appreciation) the knowledge of the creation of these karst phenomena and the resourcefulness of the local people to recognize in these holes filled with fertile soil a kind of farmland. The whole landscape dotted with the circular forms can activate other above-mentioned criteria – thrill, mystery and imagination. Looking at a landscape that is so unfamiliar to us wonder how such a landscape can exist on Earth (although we are familiar with the scientific explanation); at the same time, this sensation can evoke a feeling of thrill. Furthermore, our imagination can transport us from this landscape at Črnotiče to the Moon, which could constitute yet another criterion worth considering when preserving this landscape.

gather different information about this area (e.g. about the seagulls that found their dwellings among the salt pans). Through the use of other senses, his perception may be complemented with the sensation of the temperature of the atmosphere, the taste of local food, the scent of blossoming herbs, the touch of rough evergreen plants or his movement over the stony surface. It is possible that, in addition to the pleasant fragrances, temperature and views, his memory of e.g. a summer vacation in his childhood would make his experience in such surroundings even more relaxing. His education might direct his attention to cypresses, which he might perceive as a characteristic element of the Mediterranean, as a sign indicating the presence of a cemetery and death, as a carrier of ancient mythological symbolism, or he will notice similarities with other evergreen plants of the Littoral region. Maybe he will start to wonder what other vertical elements are present in the landscape or he will think of an artistic work such as *Cypresses* by van Gogh while observing a cypress tree in front of him. At this point, the observer's sight can contribute yet another perspective, as it triggers a comparison between the observed landscape and a landscape we know from before or a landscape that is typical and well known in this area. This comparison can result in the *anxiety of influence*. The observer's perception of a landscape in the Slovenian Littoral will also be strongly influenced by the society and culture to which he belongs. Thus, it is most likely that he will perceive the historical cultural landscape of the Littoral as a touristic attractive destination, as a cultural heritage object and as a part of Slovenian identity. Furthermore, such perception could be strengthened through a presentation of the landscape by placing panels showing reproductions of landscape paintings into the landscape itself (an example is given in Fig. 3) – following the examples of some European countries (see footnote 15) that succeeded in clearly demonstrating the cultural and historical value of an observed landscape. This kind of projects are successful due to the fact that a landscape is a result of relationships between action, conception and physical experiences – which take place while observing a landscape and its former image on a reproduction of a landscape painting. Thus, narrative becomes essential factor for the percep-

tion of a landscape (Hunt, 2012, 20). Based on the above findings, we can conclude that perception as well as aesthetic appreciation of a historical cultural landscape in the Slovenian Littoral by an individual will be positive.

This paper presents definitions of historical cultural landscape, a state of some of the existing provisions in the field of environmental protection, the fact that human perception, in the case of Slovenian legislation, is not taken into account in such provisions, new elements that are included in the process of definition and protection of landscapes (authenticity, intangible attributes, symbolic meanings of a landscape), the significance of cultural landscape for us as a human as a being (*Dassein* and *Menschenheitsgefühl*), the influences on man's perception of the environment (from different scientific fields of psychology, phenomenology, perception theory, aesthetics etc.), but mostly it presents some elements of landscape and of human perception that should be considered when evaluating or protecting a landscape. Keeping all these factors in mind, we can determine which criteria to use in order to make a comprehensive analysis of the landscape and consequently to protect an environment as a whole. Thus, we could make it possible for an authentic landscape to remain authentic. At this point, we should keep in mind the words of Lev Kreft, who warns that the authentic loses its authenticity as soon as we start to question it:

"It may seem paradoxical, but it is like this: when we talk about the authenticity of a work of art and about the authenticity of human historical and general existence, this is precisely how non-authenticity dictates the non-authentic, endangered and discontented existence of authenticity. As soon as we start talking about authenticity, it is already gone, since it becomes the topic of a conversation only when it is problematic or barely authentic." (Kreft, 2005, 69)

Therefore, we conclude that it is necessary to understand the multifaceted nature of landscapes and human perception to ensure that our authentic landscape retains its authenticity and remains as pristine as possible.

PIRAMIDALNE CIPRESE, LINEARNE TERASE IN SPREHOD MED DIŠAVNICAMI. VEČPLASTNOST KULTURNE KRAJINE IN ČLOVEKOVE PERCEPCIJE LE-TE

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POVZETEK

Prispevek želi poudariti široko polje, ki ga zaobjema krajina in človekovo dožemanje le-te. Najprej so predstavljene različne definicije in pogledi na kulturno krajino, ki jih predstavlja strokovna literatura in nekatera zakonska določila. Že začetni pogled na definicije nam razkrije, da je kulturno krajino nemogoče opisati le kot fizični prostor ali zgolj kot prostor, v katerem delujeta človek in narava, ampak jo moramo gledati tudi kot neke vrste "mentalni" prostor, ki ga pogojuje človekovo zaznavanje njegovega okolja. V tujih zakonskih določilih in v Evropski konvenciji o krajini lahko opazimo, da je v podanih definicah krajine vključeno tudi človekovo zaznavanje, medtem ko v primeru slovenskih zakonskih določil iz področja varstva okolja in dediščine slednje ni prisotno. Tako se zdi, da so v času oblikovanja teh zakonskih določil od devetdesetih let 20. stoletja do danes, strokovnjaki pozabili na dognanja, ki so bila zbrana in objavljena v Strategiji varstva krajine v Sloveniji in so sledila sočasnim svetovnim trendom s tega področja. Že v devetdesetih letih sta se namreč na konferencah o ohranjanju svetovne dediščine UNESCO, utrdila pojma pristnost (authenticity) in neotipljivi elementi (intangible attributes) kulturne krajine, ki kažeta na novo, razširjeno dožemanje krajine.

V primeru preučevanja in varovanja kulturne krajine je pomembno, da se zavedamo, kako človek pravzaprav dožema svoje okolje. Posameznik prostor okoli sebe zaznava ne samo s čutili (vidom, sluhom, okusom, tipom ...), ampak nanj vplivajo še mnogi drugi dejavniki – od družbe, izobrazbe, poklica, finančnega stanja, počutja, spominov, notranjih doživetij idr. Zato moramo opazovalca prostora videti kot posameznika, kot del družbe, kot del opazovalnega prostora itn. Poleg tega je krajina kulturni konstrukt, je tvorec identitete, je dokaz človekovega obstoja in lahko vzbudi časten občutek človeka oz. človeštva. Dožemanje krajine moremo povezati tudi z estetiko in estetskim cenjenjem, saj večja kot je estetska vrednost, ki jo pripisemo krajini, večji bo interes za njeno ohranitev. Pri tem na našo estetsko cenjenje vpliva (glede na različne avtorje) znanje, vznemirjenje, skrivnostnost ali domišljija.

Pomembno je, da se zavedamo, da človek ne dožema svojega okolja le z vidom (in sluhom), ampak v njegovi zaznavi sodelujejo mnogi faktorji, ki se jih sam niti ne more takoj zavedati, ki pa lahko strokovnjakom pomagajo pri poglobljeni (in ne zgolj vizualni) analizi kulturne krajine ter posledično pri njenem celostnem ohranjanju.

Ključne besede: Krajina, kulturna krajina, zgodovinska kulturna krajina, zaznavanje, pristnost, vizualni elementi, neoprijemljivi elementi, vizualna analiza, cenjenje krajine, okoljska estetika, Primorje

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POVIJESNI PREGLED RAZVOJA VRTLARSTVA I KRAJOBRAZNOG
UREĐENJA ŠIBENIKA I OKOLICE U RAZDOBLJU 1880.-1945. GODINE*Boris DORBIĆ*Veleučilište „Marko Marulić“ Knin, Odjel Poljoprivreda krša, Petra Krešimira IV. 30, 22 300 Knin, Croatia
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IZVLEČEK

Neugodna gospodarska kriza v poznem 19. stoletju in v prvih desetletjih 20. stoletja ni bila ugodna za razvoj vrtnarstva in krajinskega oblikovanja na področju mesta Šibenika in okolice. Tradicija mestnih središč iz preteklosti, posvetna ali cerkvena, je pustila svoj pečat v poskusih lokalnega urbanega vrtnarstva in krajinskega oblikovanja. Ob koncu 19. stoletja pa se je slika gojenja mestnega tkiva začela spreminjati. Mesto se je nato urbaniziralo proti svojemu vzhodnemu delu. Počasi se je obnovila in izgradila komunalna infrastruktura, šole, bolnišnice, sodna stavba in vse večje so bile potrebe po večji »ozelenitvi«, pogozdovanju, gojenju nasadov in vzdrževanju mestnih krajinskih površin. Z delom je narejena analiza stanja urbanega vrtnarstva in krajinskega oblikovanja v obdobju 1880-1945. Pri razvoju skromne urbane krajine iz takratnega obdobja je pomembno izpostaviti vrtove Roberta Visianija, Luje Maruna in krajinske površine znotraj mestnih vil, občinskih objektov in mestne infrastrukture.

Ključne besede: Šibenik, pogozdovanje, urbano vrtnarstvo, urejanje krajine, izobraževanje

RASSEGNA STORICA DELLO SVILUPPO DEL GIARDINAGGIO E DELL ARTE
AMBIENTALE DI SEBENICO E DEI SUOI DINTORNI DURANTE IL PERIODO 1945-1985

SINTESI

La crisi economica sfavorevole che ebbe luogo verso la fine del diciannovesimo secolo e nei primi decenni del ventesimo secolo non ha favorito allo sviluppo del giardinaggio e dell'architettura del paesaggio nel territorio della città di Sebenico e nei suoi dintorni. La tradizione del nucleo urbano dalla storia, come quella mondana così quella ecclesiastica, ha lasciato tracce nei tentativi del giardinaggio locale urbano e nell'architettura del paesaggio. Tuttavia, verso la fine del diciannovesimo secolo comincia ad alterarsi considerevolmente l'immagine contadina del tessuto urbano. La città si urbanizza verso le sue parti ad est. Lentamente si rinnova e costruisce l'infrastruttura comunale, le scuole, gli ospedali, l'edificio della corte e quindi c'era più necessità per il rinverdimento, l'imboschimento, le piantagioni e la manutenzione delle aree del paesaggio urbano. L'articolo scientifico analizza lo stato del giardinaggio urbano e dell'architettura del paesaggio nel periodo tra l'anno 1880 e l'anno 1945. Nello sviluppo del modesto paesaggio urbano di quel periodo è importante mettere in rilievo i giardini pubblici di Roberto Visani e Lujo Marun, come pure le superfici del paesaggio all'interno delle ville urbane, degli edifici municipali e dell'infrastruttura urbana.

Parole chiave: Sebenico, imboschimento, giardinaggio urbano, architettura del paesaggio, educazione

UVOD

Vrtovi i parkovi u prošlosti zasigurno nisu bili najvažniji u komunalnom životu, gradova i naselja, ali su bili nezaobilazni i oduvijek prisutni u svijesti pučanstva te u slici gradova (Ščitaroci, Ščitaroci, 1996, 90). Teška gospodarska kriza krajem 19. stoljeća i u prvim desetljećima 20 stoljeća otežavala je razvoj pejzažnog oblikovanja pa tako i na području Šibenika i njegove okolice. Šibenik ipak polako započinje mijenjati težačku sliku gradskog tkiva, širi se prema istočnim dijelovima. Obnavlja se i izgrađuje komunalna infrastruktura, škole, bolnice, sudska zgrada itd, a time rastu potrebe i za većim „ozelenjivanjem“, podizanjem nasada te održavanjem pejzažnih površina.

Povijesna tradicija šibenske gradske sredine bilo svjetovne ili crkvene ostavila je traga u pokušajima lokalne hortikulture.

„U vrtovima, dvorištima i klaustrima samostana možemo pratiti nastanak i razvoj srednjovjekovne hortikulture i prve zametke vrtne umjetnosti europskog zapada.“ (Milić, 1993, 99).

Dio je tradicije preko baroknog razdoblja i ranog klasicizma na prijelazu 18.-19. stoljeća iznjedrio neka lokalna rješenja uređenja pejzaža oko dalmatinskih gradova, pa tako i Šibenika. Bio je to pokušaj stvaranja parka-šume tzv. „*satro-bosco*“.

Javni parkovi javljaju se tek od 19. stoljeća, a od tada seže i početak uređenja zelenih površina na području Dalmacije i Šibenika (Piplović, 2003, 85).

Razvoj krajobraznog uređenja, krajem 19. stoljeća na šibenskom području, dolazi iz mediteranskih arhitektonskih krugova i škola. Zbog toga se u ovom periodu javljaju strogo zadani parkovni stilovi (Fantulin, 1997, 8; Dunkić, 1998, 82).

Stilski karakteristični parkovi bili su brižljivo uklopljeni u krajobraznu sliku mediteranskog grada. Vrtlarski stručnjaci, arhitekti, projektanti i izvođači radova su dolazili većinom u Šibenik iz srednjoeuropskih i mediteranskih zemalja (Austro-Ugarska, Italija itd). Njihovo stvaralaštvo i znanje za tadašnje građansko poimanje bilo je iznenađujuće, nadasve vrijedno i korisno.

„Da bismo shvatili i pravilno primijenili parkovnu arhitekturu u funkciji slike grada, potrebno ju je razlikovati od hortikulture i ozelenjavanja, na što smo nerijetko nailazili, osobito tijekom druge polovice 20. stoljeća. U tom ekološkom ozelenjavanju gradskog prostora bio je mnogo važniji broj kvadratnih metara po stanovniku grada, da-

kle kvantitativni kriterij, negoli kvaliteta i urbana kompozicija prostora čovjekova življenja. Vrtovi i parkovi uvijek su bili predmet zanimanja različitih struka pa ih je moguće gledati i promišljati na različite načine. Naše razmišljanje o parkovnoj arhitekturi polazi od shvaćanja da je vrt ili park arhitektura u organskom materijalu, dakle artificialni prostor stvoren čovjekovim radom, znanjem i kremacijom.“ (Ščitaroci, Ščitaroci, 1996, 81)

Kao dio poljoprivredne djelatnosti vrtlarstvo, zahvaljujući „*rasadnik*“ koji se nalazio u Šibeniku, utječe na početak razvoja krajobraznog uređenja i ukrasne hortikulture. Građani su stvarali minijature ukrasne kućne vrtove s povrćem ili bez njega. Oni bogatiji su imali bolje oblikovane ukrasne vrtove u prednjem planu i s korisnim vrtom u zaklonjenom dijelu kuće.

„Godine 1907. Središnja vlada u Beču donijela je opsežan program za gospodarsko unapređenje Dalmacije. Sadržavao je i djelovanje na organizaciji uzgoja cvijeća. U početku je država davala privatnim vrtlarima tj. uzgajama cvijeća pomoć kroz subvencije. Taj način je 1910. godine napušten.“ (Piplović, 2003, 89)

Edukacija stanovništva o vrtlarstvu se obavljala uglavnom usmenom predajom. Knjige i časopise su posjedovali tek oni učeniji i bogatiji, a nabava pisane riječi je dolazila iz Austrije, te iz talijanskih pokrajina i gradova (Venecija, Padova, Verona).

SAŽETI POVIJESNI PRIKAZ RAZVOJA KRAJOBRAZNOG UREĐENJA ŠIBENIKA TIJEKOM 19. STOLJEĆA

Tijekom druge polovice 18. stoljeća i prvih decenija 19. stoljeća o vrtlarstvu, uzgoju bilja, hortikulturi i unapređenju poljodjelstva najviše se raspravljalo u obrazovnim krugovima poljodjelskih akademija u Zadru i Splitu. Radilo se o europskim odrazima u dalmatinskoj zatvorenoj sredini onog pokreta koji je promicao ideje fiziokratizma pod utjecajem francuskih enciklopedista i tadašnje recentne prirodne znanosti u osvit novog ere.¹

Fiziokratizam je preko utjecaja Mletačke republike prešao i u Dalmaciju. U drugom dijelu 18. stoljeća niču u Dalmaciji (Split, Zadar, Trogir) akademije fiziokratske zamisli. Prva akademija osnovana je 1767. godine u Splitu (Božić-Bužančić, 1993, 281). Na šibenskom području od kraja 18. stoljeća nije bilo organiziranih pokušaja usmjerenih prema inovacijama toga tipa ili je bilo pojedinih pokušaja u vrtlarstvu i unapređenju poljoprivrede. Ne-

1 Danica Božić-Buzančić, Južna Hrvatska u europskom fiziokratskom pokretu: pokret za obnovu gospodarstva, gospodarske akademije, ogleđni vrtovi i poljodjelske škole druge polovice 18. i početka 19. stoljeća. *Književni krug*. Split, 1993. 1767. godine Juraj Parčić, svećenik i šibenski plemić, dao je vlastima prijedlog o osnivanju poljodjelske škole u Šibeniku. Želio je da to bude škola ratarskoga tipa, namijenjena običnim težacima na hrvatskom jeziku, 266.



**Slika 1: Zapušteni vrt plemićke obitelji Divnić u šibenskom predjelu Gorica
Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2015**

dostatak kadra kao i nepostojanje poljoprivrednih škola uvjetovalo je stagnaciju u tom pogledu. Franjevci su pri pučkim nižerazrednim školama i nedjeljnim podukama pučanstvu prezentirali način i tehniku u vrtlarskim radnjama, a u svezi povećanja prihoda. Pojedini plemići kao npr: Galbiani, Divnić, Pinneli, Soppe-Papali i Cortellini promovirali su nove ideje u potrebi naprednog educiranja gradskog težaštva i seoskog puka.²

U Dalmaciji se uzgoj cvijeća tijekom 19. stoljeća pratio putem intelektualnih krugova iz susjedne Italije i pogotovo trgovačkih veza za Ankonu, Rimini, Trst, Veneciju i putem pojedinaca koji su studirali u Padovi i Veroni.

Postojale su i želje za unapređenje postepenog uzgoja šafrana (*Crocus* sp.), koje su navedene u dopisu iz 1838. godine. Službe javnog informiranja Carstva Austrijskog su svake godine povećavale uvoz novih količina šafrana (*Crocus* sp.) iz Francuske, Napulja i Turske u prehrambene, medicinske i tekstilne svrhe. Navodi se da se šafran može uspješno uzgajati na području Dalmacije gdje se takav može koristiti kao prvoklasna roba, kao lijek u farmaceutske svrhe te da je puno kvalitetniji

od onog koji dolazi iz Trsta. Uzgoj ove vrste u Dalmaciji je trebala spasiti mnoge siromašne obitelji.³

„Godine 1846. održana je u Padovi velika izložba rijetkih biljaka uzgojenih na području pokrajine Veneta po zamisli Šibenčanina Roberta Vissianija. Ta manifestacija je potekla i osnivanje jednog novog društva kojemu je on bio predsjednikom. Oni su davali novčane priloge za unapređivanje hortikulture i organiziranje javnih izložba cvijeća na kojima su nagrađivani uzgajачi najboljih primjeraka.“ (Piplović, 2003, 88)

Ranije, u godini 1827.-oj Visiani je s šibenskim liječnikom Vicom Giadorou i poduzetnim Antonijem Galbianijem pokušao osnovati Zavod za proučavanje prirode u Šibeniku, ali se to zbog njegova česta odsustva u Italiji nije ostvarilo. Inicijativa je polazila od potrebe da se uz tu ustanovu formira i stalni muzej⁴

Vrtal je izvorna riječ, u hrvatskoj pisano-govornoj tradiciji, a dolazi od glagola vrtiti. Vrtlarstvo je djelatnost

2 Dorbić (2015): Šibenska plemićka obitelj Divnić je pripadala istaknutom i bogatijem sloju gradskog šibenskog plemstva od sredine 15. stoljeća. Isticali su se u obavljanju raznih svjetovnih-javnih, kulturnih i crkvenih funkcija, a pojedini članovi Šibenika i u obrani grada za vrijeme Turskih vojnih pohoda u Dalmaciji. Vrt obitelji Divnić čiji se ostaci i danas nalaze u šibenskom predjelu Gorica (Ex. Galera) iznad tzv. stuba Dragojevića je oblikovan u srednjovjekovnom stilu s centralnom osi i bočnim alejama odvojenim dvostrukom kolonadom kamenih stupića krajem 16. stoljeća (Slika 1.). Kao takav služio je kao dnevno odmaralište gradskog plemićkog sloja. U vrtu su krajem 2015. godine popisane sljedeće biljne vrste: smokva (*Ficus carica* L.), dud (*Morus* sp.), badem (*Prunus dulcis* (Mill.), šipak (*Punica granatum* L.), vinova loza (*Vitis vinifera* L.), bršljan (*Hedera helix* L.), kana (*Canna* sp.), perunika (*Iris germanica* L.), velika zimzelen (*Vinka major* L.). Sadašnje stanje ukrasnog bilja ukazuje na neujednačenost u općoj kompoziciji biljnog materijala, budući se posljednjih desetljeća vrt nestručno održavao.

3 DAŠI, Zbirka hortikultura, (dalje: ZH), *Invito, perpromuovere la raccolta del Zafferano spontaneamente crescente, e la coltura regolare di questo prodotto indigeno in Dalmazia., 1838.*

4 Milivoj Blažević: Bilješke i zapisi o Šibeniku, rukopis.

koja je u poratnom vremenu druge polovice 20. stoljeća s ubrzanom urbanizacijom grada, a i sela praktički nestala ili se infiltrirala u prigradsku infrastrukturu. U vrtu se moglo naći različitog povrća: blitva, rajčica, kupus, artičoka, salata, grah, grašak, bob, celer, peršin itd. Nadalje u vrtu je bilo neizostavno i ukrasno bilje: ruže, karanfili, lijepe kate, kadifice, neveni, oleandri, viole, šeboji⁵ itd te ljekovite vrste: metvica, bosiljak, lavanda, ružmarin i lovor. Od voćaka šipak ili mogranj je bio obavezan, dok su ostale vrste bile prisutne zavisno o veličini. Bilje se gnojilo prirodnim gnojivima i „lugom“. Nisu se koristila kemijska zaštitna sredstva. Ono je zalijevano minimalno zbog oskudice vode (Grgurević, 1983, 55).

„Poljoprivreda je značajno zanimanje velikog broja pučanstva grada Šibenika i njegove okoline u međuratnom razdoblju od 1918. do 1941. godine.“ (Blažević, 2006, 645)

Nedostatak vode je ograničio veću biljnu pa i cvjetnu lokalnu produkciju u Šibeniku tijekom 30.-ih godina 20. stoljeća.⁶ Prve inicijative za vodu polaze od francuske vojne uprave 1808. godine na predjelu Rupine na Šubićevcu (Blažević, 2009, 182–183).

Potrebe za vodom Šibenik je riješio tek 1879. godine u vrijeme općinske narodne vlasti gradonačelnika Ante Šupuka.⁷

Uzgoj cvijeća na *prozorima* dalmatinskih kuća je vrlo star i spomije se već u 15. i 16. stoljeću. Često su ispod prozora ugrađene kamene konzole s letvama i ukrasnim gredicama na koju su nanizane razne cvjetne posude (Piplović, 2003, 93).⁸

Tijekom prve polovice 19. stoljeća u Šibeniku su se u nekoliko navrata dodjeljivale i lokalne nagrade za ukrasno cvjetno uređenje na starim gotičkim i renesansnim pločama. Tradicija uređenja fasada i trgova u Šibeniku po ugledu na talijanske izvore potječe od sredine 18. stoljeća od kada su održavane gradske feste „Candelle e sardelle“ Šibenski puk je na njima nagrađivan hranom, a za uzvrat je grad uređivan girlandama cvjetnih buketa, vjenčićima i različitim ukrasnim biljem (lovorom (*Laurus nobilis* L.), maslinama (*Olea europea* L.), rakitom (*Salix purpurea* L.) itd.). Takovo je uresno uređenje šibenskih

trgovina i trgova nastavljeno u doba austrijske uprave u Dalmaciji od 1814. do 1848. godine. u prigodama proslava rođendana careva Franje I. i Ferdinanda IV., što se svjedoči u arhivskim izvorima.⁹

Povijesni pregled razvoja krajobraznog uređenja Šibenika i okolice u razdoblju 1880.-1945. godine

Gradsko pejzažno oblikovanje i uređenje Šibenika u razdoblju od 1880.-1945. godine. može se opisati i kroz sjećanja pojedinaca i starih fotografija. Grad je u tadašnjem vremenskom razdoblju odavao opću sliku težačke sredine, ali je do kraja 19. stoljeća komunalno napredovao i izgledao poprilično težački. Od kraja 19. stoljeća zapaža se u Šibeniku interes za „vrtno i parkovno uređenje“ kultiviranjem pejzaža i ozelenjavanjem urbanih cjelina, najčešće na inicijativu poduzetnih građana i Društva za uljepšavanje grada, u kojem je djelovao i vlč. don. Krsto Stošić (Marković, 2009, 163–169).

Godine 1895. formira se gradski perivoj Roberta Visianija na prostoru od Poljane do Šibenske obale. To je i najznačajniji park u povijesti krajobrazne arhitekture tog vremena. Pejzažni stil perivoja je nalikovao talijanskim klasičnim perivojima, a za ondašnji Šibenik to je bio pravi kulturno-socijalni izazov za novi način života i doživljaja stvarnosti. Početak urbanizacije, izgradnja cesti, komunalne infrastrukture i pojedinih gradskih objekata također upotpunjuje ne odveć bogatu povijest pejzažnog oblikovanja i uređenja Šibenika.¹⁰

Značajno je spomenuti i poluurbanističko područje jugoistočne periferije grada u sklopu gradogradnje Šibenika. Za istaknuti je Vilu Pasini kao raskošnu jednokatnicu s terasama zaklonjenim od prolaznika s pomno zasnovanim vrtom s karakterističnom kovanom ogradom, koja prati glavnu liniju uz cestu. Na istočnom rubu Poljane ugledni šibenski pravnik dr. Vice Iljadica-Grbešić 1911. godine je izgradio reprezentativnu trokatnicu. Uzduž glavne prometnice postepeno su se izdizale obiteljske kuće s vrtovima, dok se na suprotnoj strani neurbanizirane periferije namjenjuje nova svrha za zgradu Okružnog suda (Slika 2. i 3.) i Pokrajinsku bolnicu (Slika 4. i 5.) (Marković, 2009, 142–143).

5 Janko Lipovec, dipl. ing. iz Maribora, a koji se amaterski bavi proučavanjem šibenske povijesti, u intervjuu s autorima rada, obavljenim u kolovozu 2015. godine komparira naziv grada Šibenika s biljkom „šeboj“ (*Cheiranthus cheiri* L.). Po Lipovcu šeboj (*Cheiranthus cheiri* L.) je uklesan na portalu ulaza kuće Jurja Dalmatinca. On je također uvidio da sve boje cvijeta navedene biljke ima i šibenska kapa. Njegove teze o porijeklu imena grada Šibenika uvrstio je pok. Milivoj Zenić u svoje djelo „Stari Šibenik, kalama, skalama i butama“.

6 Dorbić, B., Pamuković, A., Blažević, M. (2014, 264): Uzgoj povrća je u Šibeniku tijekom 30.-ih godina 20. stoljeća bilo glavno gradsko zanimanje u poljoprivredi.

7 Milivoj Blažević: Bilješke i zapisi o Šibeniku, rukopis.

8 DAŠI, ZH, *Općina Šibenik, Dopis br. 361, Gosp. Tereži Strišević pok. Jerka iz Grada, Šibenik 28.9.1898. „Dopis upućen gosp. Tereži Strišević pok. Jerka iz Grada: Buduća da gosp. Tereža Strišević pok. Jerka netiti uzeti u nikakvom obziru poziv njoizi dojavljam dan 28/9 tek. god. Pod isti broj, to jest ukloniti cvjetnjak sa prizorišta mišinog pribivališta koi je u velikoj opasnosti padanja, naređuje se istoj gosp. Tereži Striševića da kroz 24 sata ukloni cvjetnjak sa prizorišta stojećeg na drugi pod nješinog pribivališta u ovomu gradu pod broj 925 i u slučaju neposluha daje se njoizi na znanje da će ova općina rasporediti na nježine troškove za ukloniti gori rečeni cvjetnjak sa onoga prizorišta.*

9 DAŠI, Zbirka spisa o komunalijama u Šibeniku, 1797.-1918, kutija 1.-4. (dalje: ZK).

10 Milivoj Blažević: Bilješke i zapisi o Šibeniku, rukopis.



Slika 2: Pejzažne površine ispred Okružnog suda u Šibeniku

Izvor/Surce: Marković, 2009, 149



Slika 3: Pejzažne površine ispred Županijskog suda u Šibeniku, 2015.

Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2015¹¹



Slika 4: Zračni pogled na Pokrajinsku bolnicu u Šibeniku, 1895.

Izvor/Surce: Marković, 2009, 145



Slika 5: Pejzažne površine ispred gradske bolnice u Šibeniku, 2015.

Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2015

Za istaknuti su i pejzažne površine podignute na prostoru tadašnje Pokrajinske bolnice i umobolnice. Oko 1880. godine, na tom prostoru nalazilo se neuređeno zemljište i šuma u vlasništvu trgovačke obitelji Kovačević iz Šibenika. Nakon izgradnje bolnice 1883. godine kod zgrade njezine uprave nalazio se manji dio uređenog vrta. Nasadi su podignuti i kod Dječjeg odjela od zapadne strane pa do zgrade Okružnog suda i istočno do Odjela za bolesti uha, grla i nosa. Ta površina se u

razdoblju od 1850.-1883. godine koristila kao vangradsko sastajalište, šetalište i dokonsko odmaralište gospodskog dijela Šibenčana.¹

Zapažaju se i različite pejzažne površine na drugim mjestima u gradu Šibeniku i u prigradskoj okolini. Tako npr, u predjelu Mandalina, ispred Vojnog objekta i Radio telegrafske stanice austrijske vojske u Šibeniku (Ex. Mandalina), a od 1945 do 1990. godine kasarne Ante Jonjić nalazio se planski urađen vrt na potezu od

¹¹ Dorbić, (2015): Danas se uz zgradu Županijskog suda u Šibeniku uz lijepo zasnovan i održavan ukrasni travnjak nalaze sljedeće drvenaste vrste u skupinama i kao živica: atlaski cedar *Cedrus atlantica* (Manetti ex Endl.) Carrière, juka (*yuka* sp.), lovor (*Laurus nobilis* L.), šimšir (*Buxus sempervirens* L.).

¹² Milivoj Blažević: Bilješke i zapisi o Šibeniku, rukopis.



Slika 6: Vojni objekt u Mandalini
Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2015

željezničkog prijelaza za Mandalinu do ceste pred remontnim vojnim zavodom (Velimir Škorpik) u Šibeniku (Slika 6.). Taj je prostor bio dužine 150 m i širine 15 m. Središnji dio ispred zgrade radio stanice bio je uređen u varijanti talijanskog stila s trokutastim i kvadratnim segmentima, te kružnim oblikom u sredini. Vrt je bio zasaden s različitim nižim i visočijim bjelogoričnim drvenastim biljem.¹³

S obje strane ceste preko puta od željezničkog prijelaza do ulaza u zgradu remonta nalazio se drvored crnih i bijelih murvi (*Morus* sp.) te bagrema (*Robinia pseudo-acacia* L.), koji su uglavnom zadovoljavajuće vitalnosti i danas, premda održavanje ovih drvenastih nasada zahtjeva veću brigu gradske komunalne tvrtke „Zelenilo“.

U Mornaričkoj kasarni tzv. „Kuline“ na poluotoku Mandalina nalazio se i dio uređenog uzvišenog pejzažnog prostora okrenutoga prema južnoj strani pored zgrade Prve komande Austro-ugarske mornarice u Šibe-



Slika 7: Uzvišeni pejzažni prostor kod Mornaričke kasarne „Kuline“ 2015. godine
Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2015

niku (Slika 7.). Donji dio zelene površine posaden je s ukrasnim grmljem, među kojima je dominirao lovor (*Laurus nobilis* L.), a strmiji dio koji vodi do zgrade raznim egzotičnim biljem i agavama (*Agave* sp.), uz uređeno stepenište i kapelicu s Bogorodicom u središnjem dijelu tog malog vrta. Navedeni prostor je često služio za odmor i sastajalište vojnog kadra. Iza objekta Kulina nalazilo se uređeno vježbalište za austrijsku vojsku s borovom šumom. Taj je dio sačuvan sve do današnjih dana kada je čitav prostor s okolišem temeljito preuređen u suvremeno hotelsko odredište obogaćeno šumom alepskog bora (*Pinus halapensis* Mill.) i lavandinim (*Lavandula* sp.) nasadima.¹⁴

Većina prigradskog stanovništva Šibenika se krajem 19. stoljeća bavila s vrtlarstvom kao jednom od primarnih grana poljoprivrede. Tada je to bio ekstenzivan pristup proizvodnje.¹⁵ Doktor Igor Belamarić u knjizi Šibenska sjećanja navodi: „Težačke kuće izvan grada, tj. na Plišcu, Baldekinu, Varošu, Škopincu, na Građi i u Crnici... imale su ograđene obore, često s većim ili manjim vrtom. U vrtlu pogotovo ako je veći i s dubljom zemljom, bilo je raznovrsnog povrća, a i po koje stablo smokve, bajame, vočke (breskve), murve i naročito odrine.“ (Belamarić, 2007, 55). Slike 8-13. predstavljaju tipične šibenske vrtove (s povrćem i ponešto ukrasnog bilja i cvijeća), koji su danas u malom broju zabilježeni u starijim dijelovima gradskog tkiva.

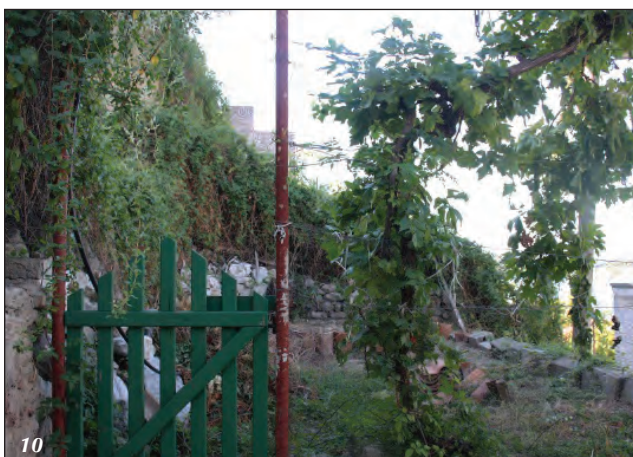
Početak 20. stoljeća se proizvodnjom cvjetnog rasada i općenito vrtlarstvom bavio i vrtlar Stipe Zorić iz Šibenika, koji je održavao i gradski perivoj.¹⁶ Rasadnik

13 DAŠI, Zbirka Vojništvo u Šibeniku 1884.-1918, kut 1, (dalje: VŠ).

14 Milivoj Blažević: Bilješke i zapisi o Šibeniku, rukopis.

15 Vrtlarstvo je širok pojam a obuhvaća dvije grane poljoprivrede, uzgoj povrća i ukrasnog bilja. Ukrasno bilje se zatim dijeli na: Cvjećarstvo, Parkovnu dendrologiju te Održavanje i njegu zelenih površina.

16 DAŠI, ZH, Troškovi za izradu vrtlarskog kioska Stipe Zorića na Poljani u Šibeniku. *Iskopavanje temelja 12,90 x 0,80 x 0,50 5,16 m³ 5,16 Jed. cijena 30,00, Ukupno din 154,80, 2). Izgradnja betonskog temelja u omjeru 1:4 12,90x0,70x0,50, jed. Mj 4,51 m³, količina 4,51, Jed. cijena 450,00, Ukupno din 2029,50, 3). Izgradnja betonskog zida u omjeru 1:4, debljina 0,25 m, m³ 8,35, Jed. cijena 500,00, Ukupno*



Slika 8: Zapušteni vrt obitelji Škarica na Gorici

Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2015

Slika 9: Zapušteni vrt Stanka Paića na Gorici

Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2013

Slika 10: Zapušteni vrt pok. Šime Krnčevića na Građi

Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2013

Slika 11: Starinski vrt obitelji Livaković na Gorici

Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2013

Slika 12: Starinski vrt obitelji Livaković na Gorici

Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2013

Slika 13: Zapušteni vrt pok. Marije Bumber na Gorici

Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2013



Slika 14: Vrtlarstvo Zorić-oglas iz Narodne straže

Izvor/Surce: Anonymous, *Uzorno vrtlarstvo Stipe Zorić Šibenik, Narodna straža, Broj 16, Šibenik, 1927.*

Slika 15: „Vrtlarija“ obitelji Zorić, fotografija iz 1932. godine

Izvor/Surce: Milivoj Blažević, 2013



Slika 16: Južni ulaz u Perivoj Roberta Visianija, krajem 19. stoljeća

Izvor/Surce: Marković, 2009, 170

i vrt Zorić je unajmio od Vlasnika zemljišta i poslovne zgrade tvrtke „Inchiostri i sin“, koji su od kraja 19. stoljeća, dugi niz godina i to kroz prvu polovicu godina 20. stoljeća proizvodili tjesteninu te se bavili vrtlarstvom i cvjećarstvom. Prvi zabilježeni vrtlari u razdoblju od 1925. do 1941. godine kod Zorića bili su Duje Grbac,

Ante Blažević-Jurišić i Mate Bumber. Oni su bili prvi šibenski educirani vrtlari za gradske javne potrebe raznih ustanova i gradskog parka te izrađivači različitih cvjetnih aranžmana za razne društvene i privatne potrebe.

U privatnom vrtu navedenih bila je radionica cvjetnih aranžmana, rasadnik cvijeća i izrada vijenaca za pogrebe u Šibeniku (Slika 14. i 15.). Vrt je bio u funkciji vlasnika do 1948. godine, a onda je legaliziran kao državni monopol do 1962. godine.¹⁷

PERIVOJ ROBERTA VISSIANIJA U ŠIBENIKU

Zaslugom općinskog povjerenika Frane Madirazze iniciranom, daleke 1890. godine, 1896. godine se započine s izgradnjom šibenskog perivoja Roberta Visianija (Slika 16.). Perivoj ima površinu od 4163 m². Sastoji se od tri dijela: gornjeg, središnjeg i donjeg koji se kaskadno spuštaju od Gradske poljane prema obali. Izduženog je pravokutnog oblika. Svi dijelovi perivoja su oblikovani kao zaseban kompozicijski element skladne perivojne cjeline (Sironić, Sironić & Mornar, 2008, 132).

Za ovo razdoblje u cilju usporedbe s parkovnim graditeljstvom susjednih hrvatskih gradova potrebno je navesti i Garanjinov park u Trogiru, kao i Marmontovom zaslugom početkom 19. stoljeća izgrađen splitski perivoj na prostoru srušenih baroknih utvrda. Perivoj u

din 4175,00, 4). Izgradnja prednjeg drvenog kostura sa gredicama 15/15 prema proračunu ukupno din 1300, 5). Stakleni prozori sprijeda i sa strane u svjet 1,40/1,50 i jelova drva s željezarijom kom 6, Jed. cijena 500, 00, Ukupno din 3000,00, 6). Krov od stakla položen na T-željezu profila 40 mm, s odnosnim štukom 5,40 x 8,80, m² 47,52, Jed. cijena 170,00, ukupno din 8078,00, 7). Vrata prosta od jelova drva svjet. 80/210 potpuno izrađena i bojadisana, kom 1, Jed. cijena 400,00, ukupno din 400,00, 8). Bojadisanje staklenih okvira i drvenog kostura na 3 ruke uljenom bojom. 8,55 x 1,70, Jed. Mj 14,54 m², Jed. cijena 30,00, ukupno din 436,20, 9). Bojadisanje prozora sa strane kao gore 1,50/1,50 2,25 m², Jed. cijena 30,00, ukupno din 436,20, 10). Bojadisanje krovnog željeza minijem na 2 ruke te uljenom bojom na 2 ruke 124,20 m, Jed. cijena 2,00, ukupno din 248,40, Ukupni troškovi 19.889, 80 din.

¹⁷ Kazivanja mr. sc. Milivoja Blaževića: Vijenci za „slavoluk“ su se izrađivali pri dolasku kralja Aleksandra u Šibeniku na poljani i obali u Šibeniku. „Slavoluk“ je izrađen od drva i omotan cvjetnom dekoracijom, a projektirao ga je šibenski slikar Zvonimir Rakamarić rodom s otoka Zlarina.



Slika 17: Plan restrukturiranja jugoistočnog dijela povijesne jezgre

Izvor/Surce: Marković, 2009, 162.

Zadru 1829. godine na nasipu bastiona Grimani (Marković, 2009, 163).

Šibenski perivoj je nastao rušenjem bastiona Bernardi, te započinje nivelacija terena i cestovna regulacija prilazne ceste na obalu (Slika 17.).

Iz arhivskih podataka u različitim troškovnicima i ugovorima se doznaje da su građevinski zahvati (ogradni zidovi) 1893. godine povjereni Andriji Orlandiniju iz Pučišća na otoku Braču, na koju će se nakon toga postaviti dekorativna čelična ograda u izradi šibenskih kovača.¹⁸ Parkovnu opremu poput ukrasne vodoskok fontane s ribnjakom izradila je tvrtka Juhasz iz Graza. Isti proizvođač je ugradio i dekorativne stupove od kovanog željeza s utilitarnom rasvjetom.¹⁹ Fontane su postavljene u sredini prvog i drugog dijela parka (Slika 18.). U perivoju su također postavljene i kamene vaze za cvijeće na rubnim dijelovima te dječje figure na dva mjesta.²⁰

Iako nedostaju izvorni grafički prikazi projekta, sukladno sačuvanoj dokumentaciji, oblikovna koncepcija bila je bliska talijanskim uzorima javnih parkova. Parkovne površine su imale pravilan ortogonalan raster šetnica, koje su zauzimale polovicu ukupne površine parka, a cvjetne ronele su davale naglasak u središnjoj osi. Pojedine cjeline s drvećem i grmljem oblikovanim u stereometrijskim formama bile su omeđene gustim bršljanom i živicom. Dominantni akcenti u rubnim zonama su postignuti uporabom stabala za mediteransko podneblje, uzgajanim u općinskim rasadnicima ili uvozom iz talijanskih rasadnika (Marković, 2009, 166–167).

Navedeno potkrijepljuju i arhivski podaci o nabavi 10.000 sadnica šimšira iz Splitskog rasadnika za urede-



Slika 18: Izvorna ukrasna fontana u perivoju Roberta Visianija

Izvor/Surce: Daši, Zh, Šibenski perivoj 1890.-1941.

nje Općinskog perivoja.²¹ Značajno je spomenuti i interpolaciju tzv. upita za ponudu rasadnika iz Gorizzije kojom se željelo popuniti gradske nasade s 15 sadnica dudovca (*Brussonetia papyrifera*), od 6 cm promjera u deblu.²²

Arhivski podaci govore o uporabi sljedećih izvornih dendroloških vrsta u perivoju:

Alepsi bor (*Pinus halapensis*), platana (*Platanus acerifolia*), libanonski cedar (*Cedrus libani*), divlji kesten (*Aesculus hippocastanum*), pajavac (*Acer negundo*), atlaski cedar (*Cedrus atlantica*), koštela (*Celtis australis*), čempres (*Cupressus sempervirens*), očenašica (*Melia azedarach*), srebrna smreka (*Picea pungens*), japanska velelisna kalina (*Ligustrum lucidum*), javorlisna platana (*Platanus acerifolia*), bagrem (*Robinia pseudoacacia*), japanska sofora (*Sophora japonica*), tamaris (*Tamarix* sp.), žumara (*Chamaerops* sp.), brijest (*Ulmus* sp.) i grm lovor (*Laurus nobilis*), Šimšir (*Buxus sempervirens*), oleander

18 Daši, ZH, Šibenski perivoj 1890.-1941.

19 Daši, ZH, Šibenski perivoj 1890.-1941.

20 Daši, ZH, Šibenski perivoj 1890.-1941.

21 DAŠI, ZH, Br. 14578, Općinskoj upravi Split, Općinska uprava Šibenik, 13.11.1923.

22 DAŠI, ZH, Br.5045, Rasadniku u Goriziji.



19a



19b

Slika 19a: Perivoj Roberta Visianija-1996. godine

Izvor/Surce: „Zelenilo d.o.o“, 2014.

Slika 19b: Perivoj Roberta Visianija-1996.godine, nakon „obnove“ 1996. godine

Izvor/Surce: „Zelenilo d.o.o“, 2014.

(*Nerium oleander*), pitospora (*Pittosporum tobira*), vatretni trn (*Pyracantha coccinea*), suručica (*Spiraea* sp.), lemprika (*Viburnum tinus*), juka (*Yucca* sp.), jasmnin (*Jasminum* sp.), bršljan (*Hedera helix*) i dvornik (*Polygonum* sp.) (Marković, 2009, 167).

U tadašnjem komunalnom održavanju perivoja sprovedene su stroge zaštitne mjere u zaštiti branja parkovnog cvijeća, oštećenja stabala, grmova i parkovne opreme, sve do prijetnje globom u iznosu do 5 fiorina. Ulaz u park bio je dozvoljen „staloženim“ osobama, pristojno odijevenim, a redarstvo je stalno pazilo na mir i red.²³

“Prije Drugog svjetskog rata nedjeljom i praznikom, u srednjem dijelu Gradskog perivoja, svirala je šibenska glazba, a brojni šetači su šetali širokim stazama. Nakon Drugog svjetskog rata perivoj je služio uglavnom kao okupljalište umirovljenika, odmaralište turista i polazišna točka otočanima na putu za brodske linije.” (Dorbić, Temim, 2015, 334 u Fantulin, 1997).

Nedjeljna glazbena promenade upotpunjavala je romantični ukus vremena 19. stoljeća u fazi novoformiranog ukusa nove generacije gradskog pučanstva. Spomenik Nikoli Tomaseu²⁴, slavnom piscu i lingvisti

upotpunio je ljepotu opće slike parka i ispunio njegov prostor prema morskoj obali i pristaništu brodova.²⁵

Spomenik na visokom postolju (zajedno sa skulpturom do 5 m) zaista je stvorio scenografiju perivoja snažnog naboja i simbolike kojeg je upravo novo građanska klasa srednjeg i bogatijeg sloja udahнула u onovremenu osebnju šibensku slikovitost, a sve u trendu tadašnjeg recentnog ukusa oblikovanja raspoloživa gradskog prostora.

Perivoj je održavan od strane lokalnih obrtnika (kovači, zidari, bojadiseri), a prvih decenija 20. stoljeća članovi obitelji Inchiostri, koji su imali lokalni rasadnik u blizini Poljane. Od njih su pred Prvi svjetski rat 1914. godine poslove održavanja preuzeli članovi obitelji Zorić koji su i u vrijeme izgradnje perivoja povremeno istog održavali.²⁶

Zorićevim prestankom održavanja i upotpunjavanja pejzažnih površina s cvijećem, perivoj je zapušten do te mjere da se krajem 20. stoljeća moralo temeljito obnoviti isti (Slike 19a i 19b).²⁷ Nestalo je mnogo perivojne opreme, a ponešto je i porušen (Sironić, Sironić & Mornar, 2008, 133).

POČECI GRADSKJE URBANIZACIJE, ODRŽAVANJE NASADA I POŠUMLJAVANJE U ŠIBENIKU

Krajobrazna arhitektura je neposredno vezana s urbanizmom, gdje preobrazba hrvatskih gradova u sastavu Ha-

23 Daši, ZH, Šibenski perivoj 1890.-1941.

24 Blažević, M. (1996): Nicollo Tomaseo-Povodom 100. godina spomenika u Šibeniku., Šibenski list, Br. 1693, 8. VI., 6.-7.

25 Marijana Sironić, Dario Sironić, Nives Mornar, Gradski perivoj u Šibeniku-Metode i rezultati rekonstrukcije u 20. stoljeću, *Prostor 1* (35) 16, Zagreb, 2008., 132. Nikola Tomaseo (1802.-1874), književnik, jezikoslovac, leksikograf, filozof, kritičar i prevoditelj. Najveći je talijanski pisac 19. stoljeća s opusom većim od 200 djela. Napisao je i poznato djelo na hrvatskom jeziku „Iskrice“. Spomenik N. Tomaseu (autor Ettore Ximens), postavljen kod otvaranja perivoja 1896., uklonjen je 1945. godine. odlukom komunističkih vlasti.

26 Kazivanja mr. sc. Milivoja Blaževića.

27 Bojanić Obad Ščitaroci i Obad Ščitaroci (2004, 183): Zaključuju da iako je perivoj obnovljen prema povijesnoj matrici, sve je u perivoju novo, te da takav pristup uopće nije prihvatljiv, prvenstveno ako nema uporište u znanstvenom istraživanju i znanstvenoj podlozi cijeloga projekta.



Slika 20: Privatni vrtovi kod šibenske gimnazije

Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2016.

Slika 21: Okoliš kod šibenske gimnazije

Izvor/Surce: DAŠI, 2013.



Slika 22: Zelenilo na šibenskoj poljani

Izvor/Surce: Belamarić, 2007, 10

Slika 23: Šibenska poljana i glavna cesta

Izvor/Surce: Daši



bsburške monarhije slijede grado-graditeljske trendove²⁸ ostalih europskih zemalja.²⁹ Identitet Šibenika temeljio se na postulatima proširenja povijesnih struktura, u kojem poslu urbanisti u danim okolnostima pojedine gradske pozicije za strukturiranje nove pejzažne slikovitosti.

Među ostalim naglašeno je i planiranje novih javnih prostora s estetskim nabojem (trgovi, parkovi, promenade, aleje). Policentrični karakter naselja u sred-

njovjekovnim okvirima održao se sve do sredine 19. stoljeća, kada doživljava svoju najveću transformaciju s novim urbanističkim identitetom (Marković, 2009). To se osobito zapaža od 1875. godine pa dalje sve do uređenja obale do 1890. godine i rušenja gradskih bedema 1888.-1890. godine.³⁰

Šibenik se širio prema agrarnim područjima na rubovima grada postepeno do 1918. godine i novom okru-

28 Urbanističkim temama Šibenika bavili su se: Perić, 1956., 233-271; Fisković, 1958., 45-60; Dujmović, 1962., 439-1451; isti, 1976., 77-120; Ivanišević, 1963., 84-110; Babić, 1972., 440-4su se: Perić, 1956., 233-271; Fisković, 1958., 45-60; Dujmović, 1962., 439-1451; isti, 1976., 77-120; Ivanišević, 1963., 84-110; Babić, 1972., 440-443; isti, 1989., 7-25; I.Fisković, 1986., 387-413; isti, 1990., 103-134; Šprljan, 1988/1989., 85-95; isti, 1994.; Juras, 1997., 68-71.; Tadić.Marković-Horvat-Levaj, 1987., 5-29; Marković, 1990., 199-201; Ista, 1997., 127-141.

29 Pederin (1983)., u Marković (2009); 122. Godine 1818 Car Franjo Josip posjetio je Šibenik. Posebno ga se tada dojmila tadašnja arhitektura i prirodni krajobraz, kanal sv. Ante i tvrđava sv. Nikole., 196-197.

30 Milivoj Blažević: Bilješke i zapisi o Šibeniku, rukopis.



Slika 24: Šibenska poljana, 2015. godine
Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2015

ženju tijekom 1920.-1941. godine, istočno u pravcu uz glavnu cestu (Poljićak, 1995, 31).

Bliža pejzažna područja grada Šibenika kao npr. Brodarica, Ražine, Donje polje, Bilice, Njivice itd. sve do Šibenskog mosta bila su posadena poljoprivrednim kulturama vrtovima, izgrađenim gusternama i bunarima. Kultivirani prostor šibenskog gradskog i prigradskog teškaka je ureden i priveden kulturi vinove loze i masline s značajnim prinosom. Gradski pejzaži su obilovali s održanim

vrtovima manjih površina, u kojima su bile posađene većinom povrtne kulture i to na prostoru od Buala do Varoša prema Crnici. Karakteristični su vrtovi bili na području ispod šibenske gimnazije, uređeni od 1936.-1941. godine (Slika 20.).

U polu koncentričnim krugovima oko zgrade Gimnazije zasadene su agave (*Agava sp.*) s ukrasnim biljem, lijevo i desno od centralnog stepeništa do školske zgrade (Slika 21.).³¹

Za povijesni prikaz tadašnjeg pejzažnog uređenja značajno je istaknuti i gradski dio uz tzv. „Stari pazar“ i gradsku Poljanu (Slika 22., 23. i 24.). Uz cestu Starog pazara na potezu od kazališta do kuće obitelji Bogdan bila su posađena bjelogorična stabla.

Sjevernije od kuće obitelji Bogdan u podnožju sjevernog zida tvrđave Sv. Mihovila uređivan je od 1890. godine tzv. Mrkičin gaj, nazvan po zaslužnom Kanoniku Josipu Mrkici poznatom dobrotvorcu i ljubitelju zaštite prirode (Slika 25. i 26.).³²

Od kuće obitelji Juras do kuće Gospodnetić ispred tadašnje fontane bile su uređene pejzažne površine sa sezonskim cvijećem u razdoblju do 1945. godine, djelomično obnovljeno i u poratnom razdoblju socijalističke obnove novog komunalnog sustava nakon 1956. godine. Na Poljani su bili posađeni nizovi od dva drvo-reda sa sjeverne i južne strane, započevši od kazališta prema crkvi Blažene Djevice Marije, a između stabla su bile postavljene kamene klupe, koje su zabilježene na



Slika 25: Šibenske gospođe u Mrkičinom gaj u Šibeniku, 1914. godine

Izvor/Surce: Blažević, 2014

Slika 26: Perivoj Ane Rukavine u Šibeniku, 2015. godine

Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2015



³¹ Kazivanja Milivoja Blaževića.

³² Danas je donji dio parka obnovljen i prozvan po pokojnoj gđici. Ani Rukavini, a ostali prostor do Vatrogasnog doma ureden je kao manja park šuma, u kojoj su većinom posađena stabla Alepskog bora (*Pinus halapensis* Mill.).



27



28

Slika 27: Perivoj Luje Marune pogled s Gradske poljane

Izvor/Surce: DAŠI, 2015

Slika 28: Perivoj Luje Marune, 2015.

Izvor/Surce: Dorbić, 2015

slikama i fotografijama koje bilježe dolazak cara Franje Josipa u Šibenik, u travnju 1875. godine. Također se na tim fotografijama vidi i Bernardov zid koji je bio priključen na gradski bedem, a uklonjen je 1890. godine. Kameni materijal s tog bedema je bio korišten za dovršetak gradske obale u Šibeniku. Usmeni podatci govore da su kočijaši iz gradskih obitelji Junaković, Bogdan i Mileta sproveli gotovo 1500 kareva (1 kar = 1000 kg) kamene građe na obalu. Šibenska Poljana se počela uređivati oko 1850. godine nasipanjem sitnog materijala, a u to vrijeme je osim šetnice služila i kao trgovište za konje.³³

Intenzivna trgovačka aktivnost na obali nalagala je proširenje luke, koju je 1875. godine financirao magnat Ante Makale za potrebe vlastitog poduzetništva (Marković, 2009, 100).

Počeci održavanja pejzažnih površina mogu se povezati s 1889. godinom i gradskom čistoćom te obvezama za građane što iz toga proizlaze.³⁴

Različitim komunalnim djelovanjima uspostavljaju se bolji uvjeti života u gradu, a provode se i mjere higijenzacije.³⁵ Neki od njih su bili angažirani i kao pomoćni vrtlari u gradskim parkovima.³⁶

To se jednako odrazilo na ulice i trgove u centru grada, u Varošu i na tada izgrađenoj gradskoj obali, što je bilo uvjetovano novoj prometno-trgovačkoj ulozi šibenske luke.³⁷

Raspisivane su različite dražbe za koncesiju oko polijevanje grada, obale, poljane i glavnih ulica, te prilaznih cesta od 1. lipnja do 1. rujna tekuće godine.³⁸

PERIVOJ LUJE MARUNE U ŠIBENIKU

Godine 1923. se na sadašnjem mjestu zgrade Financijske agencije (Fine) gradila učiteljska Pedagoška preparandija, kao čvrsti i djelomično montažni objekt.

U donjem dijelu građevnog sklopa prema gradskoj Poljani tada je ostala djelomično uređena pejzažna po-

33 Milivoj Blažević: Bilješke i zapisi o Šibeniku, rukopis.

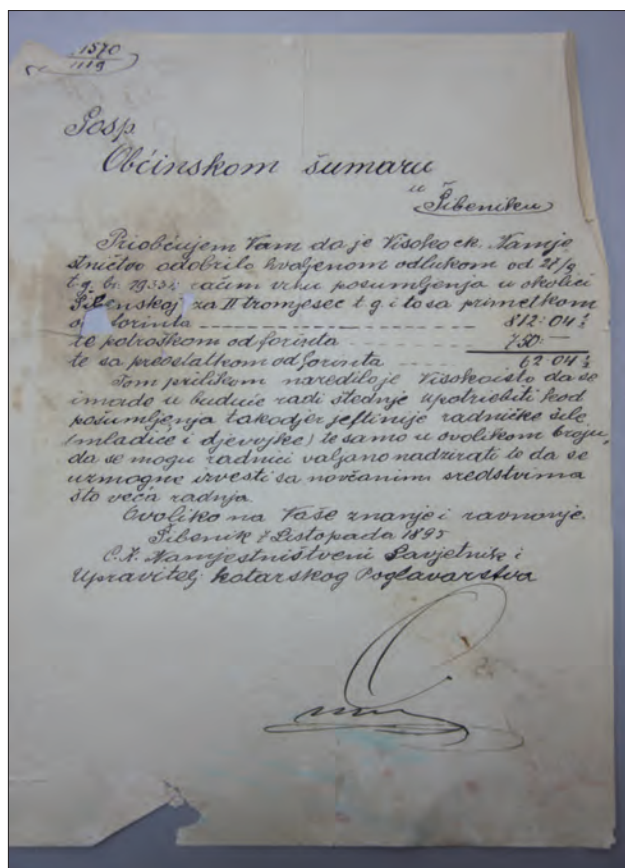
34 DAŠI, ZH, Oglas iz 1905. godine: *O održavanju čistoće na području grada, a osobito predgrađa Docca, Gorice i Varoša da brižno paze na čistoću svojih dvorišta, ulica, štala itd. U protivnom će se pristupiti prema zdravstveno-redarstvenom pravilniku.*

35 Zelić (1995.), u Marković (2009.): *U Varošu, Crnici i Docu bilo je dozvoljeno držanje krupne i sitne stoke, što gradu pridaje jednoznačno ruralno obilježje.*, 43.

36 DAŠI, ZH, Oglas iz 1909. godine: *U prvom desetljeću 20. stoljeća birani su nadničari (pometači) koji su odvozili gradski otpad iz kućanstava na udaljenija mjesta od grada pod određenim uvjetima. Odvoz gnojiva bi se vršio jednom dnevno. Zakupniku se iznajmljuju općinska kola. Sve moguće kvarove na kolima bi snosio zakupnik. Rok zakupa traje jednu godinu. Predaju se pismene i usmene ponude. Uplata će se obavljati kod općinske blagajnice u jednakim mjesečnim ratama.*

37 Više u Blažević, M. (2007): *Prilog za povijest lučko-trgovačkog i željezničkog prometa Šibenika od 1921. do 1941. godine.* Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru., N0. 49., 583-643.

38 DAŠI, ZH, Načelnik općine Šibenik izjavljuje: *Uzet će se u obzir najpovoljnija po Općinu ponuda, a pri tome će se gledati da li dotični pruža dovoljno jamstva. Ponude su usmene ili pismene. Polijevanje je uredno i obilno 2 x na dan, a prema potrebama općine i više puta na dan. Naplata će biti 15-og u mjesecu i na koncu svakog mjeseca odbivši razmjerno kišne dane, Šibenik, 1912.*



Slika 29: Dopis obćinskom šumaru, Šibenik, 7. listopada. 1895. godine

Izvor/Surce: Daši, Zbirka šumarstvo (dalje: Zš)

vršina, sadašnji Perivoj Luje Marune (Slika 27. i 28.).³⁹ Na tom mjestu prije krajobraznog uređenja je bilo gradsko groblje, tzv. šematorij, koji je izgrađen u drugoj polovici 18. stoljeća. Na strani do glavne gradske ceste tzv. Splitskog puta u parku se nalazila kapela sa reljefom Blažene djevice Marije izradene u klasicističkom stilu. U sredini središnje osi prema Poljani nalazilo se sadašnje kameno stepenište. Kameni zid koji okružuje Perivoj Luje Marune bio je izrađen od kamena sa otoka Brača. Perivoj je sadašnji oblik dobio zbog gradske prometnice

tzv. Splitski put koji se pružao od gradskog naselja Crnica kroz grad, pored Šibenskog pazara, Baldekina i dalje prema istočnom izlazu iz grada.⁴⁰

POŠUMLJAVANJE ŠIBENSKOG PODRUČJA TIJEKOM 19 I PRVE POLOVINE 20 STOLJEĆA

Od kraja 19. stoljeća započelo se s organiziranim radovima na pošumljavanju većih površina u blizini i široj okolici Šibenika. Prvi akt za rasadnik u Šibeniku Br. 8359 donosi i troškovnik za pošumljavanje u Šibeniku i okolini za razdoblje do 1896. godine. Sve akcije započele su od 2. rujna. 1886. kao organizirane i podržavane od tadašnje općinske uprave.⁴¹

U Šibenskom Državnom arhivu o tome tumači pronađen spis u kome šumski povjerenik Mate Baranović, dostavlja troškovnik općinskoj upravi u Šibeniku u vezi za pošumljavanje tada pretežno ogoljelog i zapuštenog prigradskog krajobraza. Pošumljavanje bi se obavljalo u roku od 10 godina.⁴²

Pošumljavanje oko Šibenika spominje i spis iz 1895. godine (Slika 29.).⁴³

Godine 1894. započeto je organizirano pošumljavanje na području šibenskog kotara. Pregledavane su nepošumljene šumske površine Zatona, Srime i Pakline u zapadnom dijelu kanala Sv. Ante u Šibeniku. Dana 27 i 28. ožujka. 1894. godine pošumljivan je općinski pašnjak „Rupina“, na brdu iznad Varoša dio Šubićevca, zatim pašnjaci u Slivnu i Vrpolu. 1894. godine i kroz 1895. godinu je pošumljavano područje „Kopar“ kod Rogoznice. Izvršeno je i pošumljavanje površine od 10 jutara na otoku Kapriju. Za pošumljavanje Rogoznice i Kaprija općinski je šumarski inženjer primio od Poglavarstva u Markarskoj 40 kg sjemena Alepskog bora (*Pinus halapensis* Mill.). Kaprije je bio zbog izuzetne ljepote prvi otok kojeg su općinske vlasti počeli pošumljavati. Prvo pošumljavanje zelenih površina u istočnom dijelu Šibenika izvršeno je uz put do željezničke stanice 1885. godine i to je uradio tadašnji „obćinski vrtlar Mate Baranović“.⁴⁴

Godine 1896. je započelo i uređenje gradskog parka, a istodobno su na adresu općinskih vlasti stizala upozorenja izvjesnog građanina da gosp Andelić nije imao kompetencije ni stručnosti za održavanje i oblikovanje gradskog perivoja.⁴⁵

39 U perivoju su tijekom 2013. godine zabilježeni sljedeći grmovi: oleander (*Nerium oleander* L.), pitospora (*Pittosporum tobira* Thunb. ex Murray W. T. Aiton.), zimzelena kalina (*Ligustrum ovalifolium* Hassk.), bazga (*Sambucus nigra* L.), japanska velelisna kalina (*Ligustrum lucidum* W. T. Aiton.), sirijski hibiskus (*Hibiscus syriacus* L.), te stabla: divljeg kestena (*Aesculus hippocastanum* L.), čempresa (*Cupressus sempervirens* L.), kelreuterija (*Koelreuteria paniculata* Laxm.), koštela (*Celtis australis* L.), smreka (*Picea* sp.), bagrema (*Robinia pseudoacacia* L.) i brijesta (*Ulmus* sp.) shodno istraženom stanju na terenu može se zaključiti da velika većina dendrološkog bilja pripada izvornom zelenilu ovog perivoja (Dorbić, 2015).

40 Milivoj Blažević: Bilješke i zapisi o Šibeniku, rukopis.

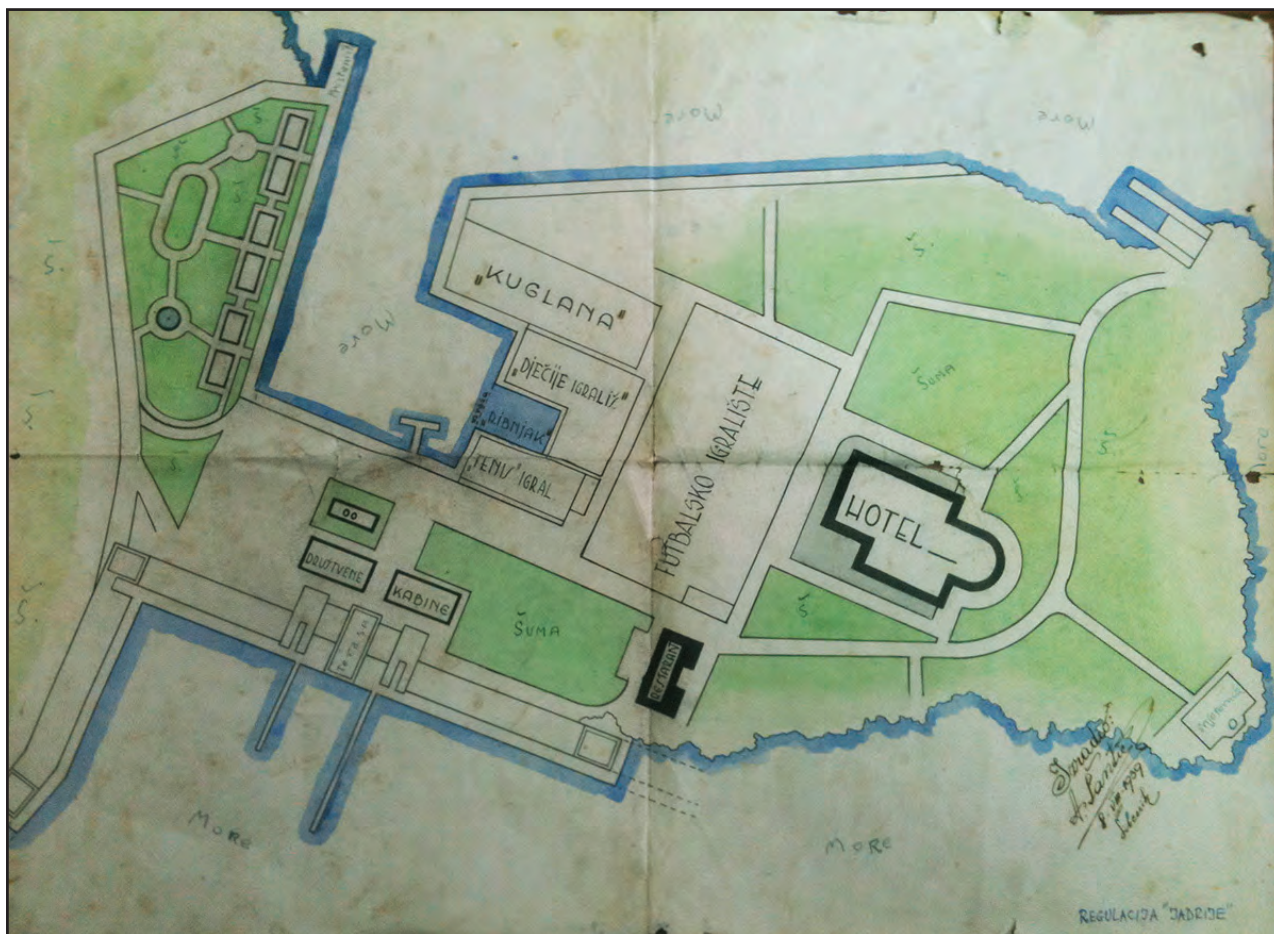
41 Milivoj Blažević: Bilješke i zapisi o Šibeniku, rukopis.

42 DAŠI, ZH, Br. 835, Ugladnom obćinskom upraviteljstvu, Kotarski poglavar, Šibenik 02.09.1886.

43 DAŠI, ZH, Br. 579, Općinskom šumaru, Upravitelj kotarskog poglavarstva, Šibenik 07.10.1895.

44 Milivoj Blažević: Bilješke i zapisi o Šibeniku, rukopis.

45 Daši, ZH, Ugladnom općinskom upraviteljstvu, 30.03.1896.



Slika 30: Projekt regulacije gradskog kupališta na Jadriji iz 1939. godine
Izvor/Surce: Daši, ZŠ.

U drugom desetljeću 20. stoljeća navode se i podaci o uporabi zaštitnih sredstava u urbanim prostorima i gradskim perivojima: „Ova općina namjerava izvesti i neke radnje kao čišćenje borovih stabala od gusjenica i zamagljivanje stabala u općinskom perivoju, Mrkičinom gaju te vađenje nekih usalih stabala kao što i zamagljivanje Poljane Kralja Petra i drugih javnih mjesta u gradu. E, da bi općini bude lakše izvesti te radnje umoljava se to predsjedništvo da bi se izjavilo bil bi ono bilo voljno dozvoliti da bi se te radnje izvele pomoću užnika.“⁴⁶

„U isto doba se pripominje da bi bilo korisno po same radnje da bi se nadzor nad užnicima povjerio nadziratelju Vicku Jurasu.“⁴⁷

Do Drugog svjetskog rata uređivana je šuma i vidikovac oko tvrđave Sv. Mihovila, a nakon rata Vidilica, šibenske tvrđave te park-šuma Šubićevac i dio šumskog

kompleksa na prostoru između tvrđava Barone (Degelfeld) i Svetog Ivana, obje iznad gradskog predjela Varoš (Anonymous, 2011, 48 i 49). Uređenje „Gradskog“ kupališta Jadrija je započeto 1922. godine. Kupalište je otvoreno za javnost 1923. godine. Nakon toga su se uređivale pejzažne površine oko kupališta i zasnivala šuma alepskog bora (*Pinus halapensis* Mill.) do 1941. godine (Slika 30.).

EDUKACIJA IZ PODRUČJA VRTLARSTVA, URBANOG ŠUMARSTVA I KRAJOBRAZNOG UREĐENJA NA PODRUČJU ŠIBENIKA TIJEKOM DRUGE POLOVICE 19. STOLJEĆA I U PRVOJ POLOVICI 20. STOLJEĆA

Prije razvoja visokog školstva u Hrvatskoj naši stručnjaci i znanstvenici su se školovali prvenstveno u Italiji,

46 DAŠI, ZH, 14.12.1916. br. 34513/556: Općinskom upravitelju u Šibeniku, Namjesništveni savjetnik. Uništavanje borovog prelca u općinskim borovim šumama 1917.

47 DAŠI, ZH, 8.12.1923, Predsjedništvu okružnog suda u Šibeniku, Predsjednik općine.

Austriji, Češkoj i Slovačkoj, a pojedinci u Njemačkoj ili u Francuskoj.⁴⁸

U Splitu je osnovano 1767. godine Gospodarsko društvo (Società economica di Spalato). Gospodarsko-šumarski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu 1905. godine. Poljodjelska škola i kušaona u Splitu 1902. godine. Kraljevsko gospodarsko učilište u Križevcima postaje Kraljevsko više gospodarsko učilište (Košutić, 2004, 18).

Tvrtke „Zelenilo“ i „Šumarija“ u Šibeniku nisu odveć marile za kvalitetu primljenog kadra, što ne treba čuditi uzevši u odnos tadašnje društveno stanje.⁴⁹ Bilo je tu različitih kadrova a ponajmanje specijalista sa solidnim inženjerskim znanjima iz područja proizvodnje i edukacijsko-znanstvene primjene (Šumarski inženjeri, inženjeri poljoprivrede VVVV smjera⁵⁰, poljoprivredni tehničari, lugari⁵¹, vrtlari i poljoprivrednici-težaci).

Gospodarsko-šumarski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu osnovan je 1919. godine.⁵²

Na poljoprivrednom fakultetu u Zagrebu se 1937. godine osniva zavod za vrtlarstvo. Zadaća zavoda je bilo unapređenje vrtlarskih grana kao što su: cvjećarstvo, povrćarstvo, vrtna dendrologija i vrtna arhitekturna (Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Agronomski fakultet, 2016).

Od poznatih Šibenčana, koji su se posredno ili neposredno doticali vrtlarstva i krajobrazne arhitekture mogu se izdvojiti: dr. Robert Vissiani, Petar Luka Biankini Mastličević, Nikola Vežić, Mate Baranović, vlč. don. Krsto Stošić, Ante Frua, Mate Rajčić i dr.

Dr. Robert Vissiani

Dr. Robert Vissiani rođen je 9. travnja 1800. godine u Šibeniku, u kojem je završio osnovno školovanje. Gimnaziju je završio u splitskom sjemeništu. Zatim upisuje studij medicine u Padovi, koji završava 1822. godine. Bio je asistent botanike na medicinskom fakultetu (Zenić, 2002, 266).

Godine 1826. objavljuje svoje prvo florističko djelo *Ogled dalmatinskog bilja (Stirpium dalmaticarum specimen)*, napisano na latinskom jeziku.“ (Zenić, 2002, 268).

Kao liječnik deset je godina živio u Dalamciji-Šibeniku, Splitu, Kotoru, Drnišu i Budvi. Za vrijeme službovanja u Drnišu od 1830.-1835. godine proučavao je dalmatinsku floru. Rezultat toga rada kapitalno je djelo „Flora Dalmatica“ u tri toma, tiskana u Leipzigu 1842, 1847 i 1852. godine, drugi dio tiskan je 1882. godine. Flora Dalmatica s dodacima ima više od 1500 stranica (Zenić, 2002, 269).

Petar Luka Biankini Mastličević

Među pionire šibenskog vrtlarstva može se svrstati zasigurno i Petar Luka Biankini Mastličević, koji je rođen na Hvaru 14. listopada 1856. godine. Visoko obrazovanje završava na Gospodarsko-Šumarskom učilištu u Križevcima. Nakon toga studije nastavlja na Poljodjelskoj Madžarskoj akademiji u Magyardvaru. Potom prelazi u Beč na Visoku školu za kulturu tla, koju završava u 23 godini života. Najplodonosnije Biankinijevo djelovanje bilo je u Šibeniku (1878-1892. godine)

Biankini je u Šibeniku imenovan za nastavnika stručnih poljoprivrednih predmeta na Građanskoj školi. Trudio se i zalagao za unapređenje, tada zaostale mediteranske poljoprivrede. Organizirao je različite ratarske tečajeve, za ondašnje gospodarstvenike iz Šibenika i okolice. Osnovao je tzv. „Pokušališta“ u kojima su bile formirane različite parcelice za pokusni uzgoj u introdukciji i uzgoju različitih ratarskih, voćarskih i vrtnih kultura (Matković, 1993, 17). Zalagao se i za unapređenje rasadničarske proizvodnje.⁵³

Među ostalim se bavio i znanstvenim radom. Pokazivao je izraziti smisao za kreativni rad, snažnu upornost i marljivost. U Šibeniku 1882. godine, u dobi od svega 26 godina je osnovao „*Napredno gospodarsko glasilo-Gospodarski poučnik*“ koji je izlazio dva puta mjesečno na četiri

48 Košutić, ur., Agronomski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu 1994-2004; spomenica, *Agronomski fakultet*, Zagreb, 2004, U 12. stoljeću Herman Dalmatin iz Istre je pohađao predavanja u Chartresu i Parizu, napisao je oko 20 knjiga i prijevoda doprinijevši prirodoslovlju i egzaktnim znanostima u Europi., 13.

49 DAŠI, Zbirka šumarstvo (dalje: ZŠ), 3.9.1951, god je osnovana Šumarija Šibenik, ing. Mate Huljev njezin je prvi direktor. Sve do 1950. god šumarstvo je bilo kao odjel, odnosno odsjek kotara. 1951 se šumarstvo odvojilo od kotara te je osnovana šumarija.

50 DAŠI, ZŠ, Program predavanja o štetnicima i suzbijanju na vinovoj lozi iz 1910. godine.

51 DAŠI, ZP: Kao dnevničari ili radnici dok ne polože lugarske ispite imaju prednost lica, koja su učestvovala u narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi ili su surađivala sa narodno-oslobodilačkim pokretom. (KNO Šibenik, Odjel poljoprivrede i šumarstva 1946.). Kao stalni lugar bez obzira na starost moglo bi se primiti u službu lice, koje je ranije bilo lugar, imade lugarski ispit, nije se politički ogriješilo, a tjelesno je sposoban (NRH-MINPIŠ 1945).

52 Košutić, ur., Agronomski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu 1994-2004; spomenica, *Agronomski fakultet*, Zagreb, 2004., 18.

53 DAŠI, Kotarsko vijeće, Ugladnom Obćinskom Upraviteljstvu Šibenik Dopis Br. 422. Visoko c.k. dalmatinsko namjesništvo željelo bi, da se kod ratarskoga tečaja zametne rasadnik voćaka i drugih biljaka. Od različitih voćaka imalo bi se odgojiti svake godine do 3000 mladica, te bi sve bile na raspoloženje visokog Namjesništva uz sljedeće ciene:

a) za jabuke, kruške, orahe, bajame, lješnjake po 10 novč. Komad;

b) za trešnje, višnje i šljive po 15 novč;

c) za breskve i kajsije po 20.

Osim toga imalo bi se odgojiti na godinu 10. 000 mladica u loncima, a to od vrsti: Pinus halapensis i pinea, Cupressus sempervirens horizontalis i pyramidalis, Thuja itd. Namjesništvo bi davalo potrebna sjemenja i lonaca. Za ostale potrebe: zemlju, gnjoj, sprave itd. imala bi se starati ratarska škola uz naknadu od 3 novč zagodišnju biljku koje bi se prve godine odgajale na lijama a druge godine u loncu.

stranice. Napisao je i sljedeća vrtlarska djela: O uzgoju i njegovaju cvijeća, uresnog grmlja i drveća, Buhač itd. Ostala djela su bila iz ratarskog vinogradarskog i voćarskog područja. Njegove knjige i studije bile su napisane na znanstveno-stručni način te su predstavljale visok doprinos razvoju tadašnje poljoprivrede (Matković, 1993, 17).

Nikola Vežić

Jednako je za Šibenik značajan i Nikola Vežić, nadšumarski djelatnik. Službovao je na poslovima šumarskog stručnjaka od 1874.-1918. godine, kada je i umro u Zagrebu. „Radni vijek je službovao na Drniškom kršu.“ Na širem području Drniša putem uspostave šumskih zabrana i njege obnovio je više od 30 tisuća hektara terena, a borovih šuma bar 1500 ha. Može ga se svrstati u ondašnje pionire u podizanju borovih šuma ne samo na području Drniša već i na području do Like i mora. U Šibeniku je podizao borove šume na Kršu u Kanalu Sv. Ante, na Šubičevcu, u Vrpolju, Perkoviću itd. Od 1887-1907. godine za područje Šibenika Vežić dobiva za vježbenika poznatog šibenskog šumara Matu Baranovića (Rajčić, 1965, 4).

Mate Baranović

Baranović je rođen 1867. godine u Šibeniku, a preminuo je u Zagrebu 1939. godine. Završio je šibensku Ratarsko-gospodarstvenu školu kao odličan učenik. Kao takvog ga tadašnja uprava općine Šibenik o svojem trošku upućuje na više gospodarsko-šumarske nauke u Križevce, na smjer šumarstvo. Nakon završenog višeg školovanja vraća se u rodni grad u kojem radi na ozelenjivanju prigradskih šuma i krša punih 18 godina. Godine 1905 seli u Zagreb. Baranović je za rada u Šibeniku ozelenio Paklinu, kanal sv. Ante, Šubičevac, kao i brojne parkove i zelene oaze na području grada Šibenika. Ovaj istaknuti Šibenčanin, pionir ozelenjivanja, otac je poznatog kompozitora Krešimira Baranovića (Rajčić, 1964, 7).

Vlč. don. Krsto Stošić

Vlč. don. Krsto Stošić rođen je u Šibeniku 1881. godine. Dolazi iz šibenske težačke obitelji. Gimnaziju je pohađao u Sinju i Zadru u kojem je završio i studij teologije 1909. godine. Službovao je po različitim župama te je obavljao nastavu iz vjeronauka u šibenskim osnovnim i srednjim školama. Može se istaknuti i njegova dužnost u Jugoslavenskoj matici gdje je bio dugogodišnji potpredsjednik. Bio je potpredsjednik i tajnik društva Šubičevac za poljepšavanje Šibenika i okolice (P, I, 1934).

Ante Frua

Ante Frua je rođen 1889. godine, a potječe iz talijanskog grada Padove. Bio je najistaknutiji i najstariji član društva „Šubičevac“. Poslovno je surađivao s Šimom Grubišićem-Rovilom, koji je 1912. godine osnovao Društvo Šubičevac, s ciljem očuvanja gradske „hortikulture“. Grubišić-Rovilo bavio se pošumljavanjem „brina“ oko Skradinskog buka, Kanala sv. Ante i Martinske. Frua je s Grubišićem-Rovilom započeo s realizacijom projekta gradskog kupališta Jadrija. Osnovao je planinarsko društvo Kamenar čiji je bio dugogodišnji član, predsjednik i tajnik (Dorbić i Temim, 2015.).⁵⁴ Do drugog svjetskog rata uredio je staze, šumu i vidikovac oko Tvrdave Sv. Mihovila, a nakon rata se posvetio Vidilici, šibenskim tvrđavama te park-šumi Šubičevac (Anonymous, 2011, 48 i 49).

Mate Rajčić

Mate Rajčić je po zanimanju bio šumarski tehničar. Umro je 1989. godine. Svoj radni vijek proveo je u šibenskoj šumariji. Radio je na pošumljavanju Šibenika i okolice. U slobodno vrijeme bavio se i uređenjima privatnih vrtova.⁵⁵

Od edukativnih materijala u ondašnje vrijeme, Časopis i knjiga „Školski vrt“ su bili dostupni Šibenčanima. Osobito i to veoma korisno sredstvo za promicanje pučke naobrazbe, jesu „Školski vrtovi, u kojih će djeca obćec s prirodom postati prijateljem prirode i u kojih će se pomoću obuke vrhu raznovrstnih promjena u prirodi moći mnogo lagnje odgojiti za zdrave, dobre i pametne ljude, negoli u samoj školskoj sobi. U svojem gore nomenutom djelu naznačio je Dr. Šwab, C. K, zemaljski nadzornik osobito važnost tog sredstva za odgoj, te je u pomenutom djelu potanko razložio, kako školski vrt može biti školom pravoga i naravskoga suda i vrelo najčišće djetinske i nevine radosti i veselja naše omladine, a po tom kako može pučka učiona postati pravom polugom blagostanja narodnoga. Djelo obsizat će 2 tiskana arka u 8. Ni; biti će providjeno sa jednim bojisanim nacrtom jednog školskog vrta; bude izdano posebno u talijanskom i u hrvatskom jeziku u prvoj polovici mjeseca rujna t. g. a predplatna cijena je u Zadru 30 novčića, van Zadra 35 novčića, za svaki primjerak, budi u talijanskom, budi u hrvatskom prevodu.“⁵⁶

Časopis „Školski vrt“ počeo je izlaziti kao mjesečnik od siječnja 1889. godine na 16 stranica formata 27,5x18 cm. Odgovorni urednik od 1894. godine bio je Miroslav Cugšvert, koji je bio učitelj. Članci su bili iz različitih područja šire hortikulture. Neki zapaženiji

54 Više u ZŠ.

55 Prema kazivanju Ante Dunkića, dipl. ing., Gosp. Mate Rajčić, iako marljiv i ustrajan u poslu nije imao smisla za estetsko oblikovanje prostora. Bez ikakvog razmišljanja bi združio različite vrste autohtonih i alohtonog bilja u vrt: bor, platanu, palmu, brijest itd, što je možda donekle bilo smisljeno i originalno, ali se nije moglo vezati uz dotadašnju ustaljenu tradiciju.

56 DAŠI, ZH, Letak poziv na predplatu za knjižicu „Školski vrt“, Zadar 10.08.1872.

članci iz vrtlarskog područja su: Ciganović, J. (1899): „O važnosti školskih vrtova“; Štampar, I. (br. 6): „Uzorni školski vrt“; Ciganović, J. br. 9: „Kako se imadu urediti školski vrtovi“; Matok, A.: „Gajenje ruža, br. 10, 11 i 12, kao opširan stručni rad“. 1890 u br. 2 i 3 napisao je Josip Ciganović: „Nešto iz povijesti vrtlarstva“, u članku je prikazan povijesni prikaz vrtnje umjetnosti. U godištu III, koji je izlazio 1891. godine tiskana je na prvoj stranici broja 1. Obavijest iz koje se zaključuje o visokom mišljenju zemaljske vlade o kvaliteti „Školskog vrta“.⁵⁷

ZAKLJUČAK

Razvoj vrtlarstva i krajobraznog uređenja na području Šibenika je započet krajem 19. stoljeća, projektnim, oblikovanjem i uređenjem gradskog perivoja Roberta Visianija u samom centru grada. Do tada su sporadično uređivani manji privatni vrtovi, uglavnom bogatijeg talijanskog građanstva. Većina zapisa o uzgoju ukrasnog bilja i krajobraznom uređenju u ovom razdoblju su na talijanskom jeziku ili su tiskani u Italiji. Hrvatsko građanstvo tada nije odveć marilo za ovom

djelatnošću. Pučanstvo je preživljavalo, uzgojem većinom ratarskih i povrčarskih kultura.

Početak 20. stoljeća grad se počinje polako urbanizirati, počinju se održavati gradske ulice i trgovi, gradi se Pokrajinska bolnica i sud itd. U tom vremenu je nedostajalo „vrtlarske struke“. Pejzažne površine i nasadi su uglavnom održavale uglavnom osobe slabijeg socijalnog statusa, kao i oni s ruralnih dijelova grada i obližnjih mjesta. Također se vršilo i pošumljavanje okolice Šibenika s alepskim borom (*Pinus halepensis* Mill.). U to vrijeme malo je bilo zapaženih stručnjaka na području ukrasne hortikulture i uređenja pejzaža. Od stručnjaka koji su djelovali u ovom području mogu se izdvojiti: Robert Visiani, Petar Luka Biankini Mastličević, Vlč. don Krsto Stošić, Mate Baranović, Nikola Vežić, Mate Rajčić i dr.

Recentne izvedbe oko centralnih gradskih parkova i pošumljavanja užeg gradskog područja (Šubićevac, dio Varoša) ukazuju na činjenicu da se i potkraj nedostatka lokalne tradicije vrtlarstva, uređenja pejzaža i šumarstva jasno održavaju u građanskoj svijesti starog Šibenika, te se otkrića predstavljena u ovom istraživačkom radu daju kao potvrda tim dostignućima.

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF GARDENING AND LANDSCAPING IN ŠIBENIK AND ITS OUTSKIRTS DURING THE PERIOD 1880 TO 1945

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SUMMARY

The adverse economic crisis that occurred by the end of the 19th century and during the first decades of the 20th century did not contribute to the development of gardening and landscape architecture on the territory of the city of Šibenik and its surroundings. The tradition of urban nucleus from the past, both mundane and ecclesiastical, made a considerable impact on the attempts of local urban gardening and landscape architecture. Nevertheless, towards the end of the 19th century the agricultural image of urban tissue commenced undergoing changes. The city became urbanised towards its eastern parts. Communal infrastructure, schools, hospitals and the court building were slowly both reconstructed and constructed and consequently there were increasing requirements for large-scale greening, afforestation, newly planted plants and maintenance of urban landscape areas. The situation of urban gardening and landscape architecture during the period between 1880 and 1945 is analysed throughout the paper. In the development of modest urban landscape of that period it is important to highlight the public gardens by Roberto Visani and Lujo Marun, as well as landscape areas within urban villas, municipal facilities and urban infrastructure.

Keywords: Šibenik, afforestation, urban gardening, landscape architecture, education

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LITERARNI TURIZEM IN KULTURNE GEOGRAFIJE KRAJEV: ŠTUDIJA PRIMERA – CENTER JAMESA JOYCEA IN DUBLIN

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IZVLEČEK

Prispevek predstavlja ugotovitve, ki so se oblikovale na podlagi kritične diskurzivne analize jezika, uporabljenega na izbranih spletnih straneh Centra Jamesa Joycea. Objave so vezane na aktivnosti centra, predstavitev Joycea in ponudbo, namenjeno turistom. Interpretacija, ki jo oblikuje ponudnik, je posebej zanimiva v luči kulturne geografije kraja. Z analizo jezika, s katerim poskuša center vzbujati v naslovniku specifičen odnos do Dublina, bomo poskušali odgovoriti na vprašanja, kako je predstavljen Joyce, kako tvorec vsebin naslavlja turista in kako je predstavljena identiteta kraja, predvsem pa bomo poskušali priti do zaključkov, kakšna je umeščenost Joyceove literarne pokrajine na globalni turistični trg.

Ključne besede: turizem, literarni turizem, identiteta, dediščina, spletna stran, Dublin, James Joyce

TURISMO LETTERARIO E GEOGRAFIE CULTURALI DEI LUOGHI: CASO DI STUDIO – CENTRO JAMES JOYCE E DUBLINO

SINTESI

Nell'articolo sono presentati i risultati ottenuti in base alla analisi critica del linguaggio usato sui specifici siti web del Centro James Joyce. Le pubblicazioni si riferiscono alle attività del Centro, alla presentazione di Joyce e alla promozione rivolta ai turisti. La interpretazione del Centro è specialmente interessante dal punto di vista della formazione della geografia culturale del luogo. La analisi del linguaggio, con cui il Centro cerca di creare uno specifico approccio verso Dublino, ci permetterà di rispondere alle domande: come è raffigurato James Joyce, in che modo l'autore delle pubblicazioni si rivolge al turista e come è rappresentata l'identità del luogo. Ma soprattutto cercheremo di capire il posizionamento di queste pubblicazioni sul mercato del turismo globale.

Parole chiave: turismo, turismo letterario, identità, eredità, sito web, Dublino, James Joyce

UVOD

V pričujočem prispevku so predstavljene ugotovitve, ki so se oblikovale na podlagi kritične diskurzivne analize jezika, uporabljenega na izbranih spletnih straneh Centra Jamesa Joycea. Pregledali smo tekste, ki se navezujejo na aktivnosti centra, hišo, v kateri se center nahaja, Joyceovo življenje in delo. Center s svojimi objavami sooblikuje literarno pokrajino Dublina in ima pomembno vlogo pri razvoju literarnega turizma na Irskem. Podoba mesta, na katero naletimo ob branju objav, je osnova za konstrukcijo literarno-turistične destinacije. Interpretacija ponudnika pa je zaradi oblikovanja literarne pokrajine še posebej zanimiva v luči kulturne geografije kraja, saj se navezuje na človeško interpretacijo pokrajine.

Vsak skrbnik literarno-turistične destinacije poskuša v potencialnem obiskovalcu vzbuditi poseben odnos, ki temelji na različnih občutkih, nekateri so povezani s samim dejanjem branja, nekateri pa z nostalgijnimi spomini na čas, v katerem je bilo besedilo brano. Primer slednjega so obiski krajev, kjer so ustvarjali pisatelji otroških knjig, kar v obiskovalcu prebudi spomine na mladostne dni (Ceglar, 2015).

Z analizo jezika, s katerim poskuša center vzbujati v naslovniku specifičen odnos do Dublina, bomo poskušali odgovoriti na vprašanja, kako je predstavljen Joyce, kako tvorec vsebin naslavlja turista in kako je predstavljena identiteta kraja, predvsem pa bomo poskušali priti do zaključkov, kakšna je umeščenost Joyceove literarne pokrajine na globalni turistični trg.

V teoretičnem delu članka je najprej prikazan kratek pregled literarnega turizma, ki je, kakor ugotavljamo, relativno malo poznan v Sloveniji. Sledi del, v katerem so predstavljene teoretične podlage povezave med literarnim turizmom, kulturno geografijo in identiteto kraja. V nadaljevanju smo preverili teorije, ki govorijo o konstruiranju literarno-turistične destinacije. Vse navedeno pa je služilo kot podlaga za analizo izbranih tekstov. Te smo izbrali na podlagi prepoznavnosti Centra Jamesa Joycea in dejstva, da je v današnjem času pomembno objavljane na spletnih straneh, če želi ponudnik konkurenčno vstopati na globalni turistični trg.

LITERARNI TURIZEM

Literarni turizem je podkategorija kulturnega turizma, ki se ukvarja s preučevanjem krajev, ki so povezani

z literarnimi deli in z življenjem literarnih ustvarjalcev. Literarni turizem se je razvil kot nekakšna različica verskih romanj, danes pa lahko govorimo o več vrstah literarnega turizma. Literarno-turistični kraji se delijo, kot že omenjeno, na kraje, ki so povezani z literarnimi deli oziroma pripovedmi, in tiste, ki so povezani z življenjem avtorjev. Podrobneje je literarni turizem razvrščen (Watson, 2006) na obiske spomenikov in grobov, rojstnih krajev, literarnih pokrajin in pa fantastičnih dežel.

Literarni turizem, povezan z grobovi in spomeniki, se je začel razvijati, ko so družbene spremembe privedle do novega dožemanja religioznega in posvetnega. Tako imenovani nekro-turizem se je razvil na podlagi obiskovanja in čaščenja religioznih relikvij. Grobovi in spomeniki piscev, pomembnih za narodno identiteto, so postali znamenitosti. Zelo znana tovrstna destinacija je na primer Westminsterška opatija, v kateri je znani Poets' Corner¹ (Watson, 2006).²

Začetke turizma rojstnih hiš literatov zasledimo v 18. stoletju, ko so ob 200-letnici rojstva Williama Shakespeara priredili proslavo v njegovem rojstnem kraju Stratford-upon-Avonu (Watson, 2006). Tudi ta zvrst literarnega turizma je povezana z avtorjevim življenjem in delom. Pojavu ideje o rojstnih hišah kot destinacijah literarnega turizma je sledilo urejanje obstoječih hiš in zbiranje ohranjenih predmetov, s pomočjo katerih so nato skrbniki znamenitosti poskušali prikazati avtentično okolje, v katerem se je pisec rodil, odraščal in delal.³

Preostali dve vrsti literarnega turizma sta povezani s samimi literarnimi deli oziroma pripovedmi. Začetki segajo v 18. stoletje, a se je turizem literarnih pokrajin razcvetel šele v 19. stoletju. Turiste je začela zanimati pokrajina, v katero je pisec umestil dogajanje svoje pripovedi. Prva in dolgo najbolj priljubljena (Watson, 2006) literarna pokrajina je bila pokrajina, v katero je svoje zgodbe umestil angleški romanopisec Walter Scott. Med najbolj obiskanimi prizorišči je bil kraj, kjer se je odvijala zgodba Roba Roya. Scottovi romani so postali podlaga za literarne pokrajine zaradi snovi, ki jo je Scott črpal iz zgodovine. Drugi primer literarne pokrajine, ki se povsem razlikuje od Scottove, je Dickensov London. Gre za resničen kraj, v katerega so postavljeni izmišljeni junaki in njihove zgodbe. Na podlagi pripovedi v povezavi z resničnimi koticami mesta so se oblikovali itinerariji, na katerih je turist lahko stopal po stopinjah glavnih junakov. Podoben primer so pohodi po Dublinu Jamesa Joycea, ki v svojih delih opisuje dnevne literarnih junakov v prestolnici Irske.⁴

1 Kotiček pesnikov

2 V Sloveniji imamo številne spomenike, ki so vezani na literarno dediščino. Kje najdemo nekatere, si lahko ogledamo na spletnem zemljevidu Geopedia.si.

3 V Sloveniji je ohranjenih in urejenih kar okoli 50 hiš oziroma sob, med drugimi hiša Franceta Prešerna v Vrbi, hiša Primoža Trubarja na Raščici pri Velikih Laščah, rojstna hiša Franca Saleškega Finžgarja v Doslovčah, rojstna hiša Simona Gregorčiča v Vrsnem in druge. Navedene hiše so izbrane kot primeri kulturne dediščine, ki jih je mogoče uvrstiti v določeno skupino literarnih destinacij po tipologiji Watsonove zaradi splošnih značilnosti (rojstni kraj) in prepoznavnosti.

4 V Sloveniji težko govorimo o literarni pokrajini, kot jo poznajo v Veliki Britaniji. Če se omejimo na tipologijo, ki jo predlaga Watsonova, lahko sem uvrstimo npr. Krpanovo pot, saj gre za umestitev literarne zgodbe in junaka Martina Krpana pisatelja Frana Levstika v geo-

Zadnja zvrst literarnega turizma je turizem, povezan s fantazijskimi deželami. Gre za pokrajine (Watson, 2006), ki so popolnoma izmišljene, kot na primer čudežna dežela deklice Alice. Nihče še ni našel luknje, v katero je padla Alica, so pa ljubitelji literarnega dela našli majhna vrtna vrata, za katerimi je breg, kjer se je Alica dolgočasila in nato našla zajčjo luknjo; nahaja se na območju Oxforda.⁵

LITERARNI TURIZEM, KULTURNA GEOGRAFIJA IN IDENTITETA KRAJA

Pojem identiteta se danes pojavlja v številnih kontekstih, zato je težko zapisati enotno definicijo, ki bi zajela vse. Posplošeno je identiteta skupek občutkov, ki definirajo posameznika, in sicer glede pripadnosti. Cilj članka je povezan z identiteto kraja, kar lahko v ožjem smislu navežemo na nacionalno identiteto, zato navajamo Žagarjevo definicijo identitete, ki pravi, da je vsaka kolektivna identiteta občutek pripadnosti določeni skupnosti, kolektivni entiteti, ki jo določajo različni objektivni in subjektivni kriteriji. Nadalje Žagar trdi, da se morajo, ko gre za kolektivno identiteto, o kriterijih in o samem občutku pripadnosti strinjati zlasti pripadniki takšne kolektivne entitete, hkrati pa morajo te kriterije priznavati tudi tisti, ki tej entiteti ne pripadajo (Žagar, 2002). Reprezentacije skupnosti in njene kolektivnosti, s katerimi se posameznik identificira in zaradi katerih se ena skupnost razlikuje od druge, so zajete v skupinski identiteti (Musek, 1995; Pušnik, 1999; Checkel, Katzenstein, 2009; Fligstein, 2007), ki jo lahko poimenujemo tudi nacionalna identiteta (Musek, 1995).

Skupinska identiteta, s katero se posameznik identificira, je odvisna tudi od identitete kraja, saj ima prostor posebno simbolično vlogo pri produkciji identitete (Hetherington, 1998). Proces namreč potekajo v prostoru in »razdalje, bližine, geografske razlike ter pomeni posameznih krajev so izrazito pomembni za delovanje samih družbenih procesov« (Massey v Urry, 1995, 13). Kraji se zaradi prihoda ali potencialnega prihoda turistov spreminjajo, kar pomeni, da se spreminja tudi skupinska identiteta in posledično identiteta posameznika. Urry to dokazuje z naslednjo mislijo: »Družbene identitete se oblikujejo iz imaginarnih skupnosti, iz specifičnih struktur občutkov, ki povezujejo tri elemente: prostor, čas in spomin, v določenem delu pogosto tudi kot nasprotovanjem namišljenemu ‚drugemu‘, na primer sosednji državi« (Urry, 1995, 166). Nadalje Urry razčlenjuje omenjene tri elemente, in sicer opozarja,

da določeni kraji obstajajo samo zaradi turistov, čeprav se med domačini pojavlja občutek, da jim je bil kraj ukraden. Čas je element, ki ga turizem precej spremeni. Poleg tega, da pogojuje obstoj določenih znamenitosti, omogoča turistom, da potujejo skozi čas preko prezentacij različnih zgodovinskih obdobij (Urry, 1995), ki jih turisti dojemajo kot avtentične. Tretji element je spomin. Turisti iščejo kratko, razumljivo zgodovino oziroma dediščino, ki jo je mogoče asimilirati na enostaven način, Urry pa ob tem opozarja, da je družbeni spomin vedno selektiven. Drugače povedano, ne obstaja resničen spomin, ki je nasprotje domnevno napačnega spomina turistov (Urry, 1995). Vedno torej obstaja razlika med tistim spominom, ki je reprezentiran, in tistim, ki ga turisti sprejemajo. Oba sta namreč selektivna, podoba, ki reprezentira znamenitost oz. turistično destinacijo, je kombinacija obeh in podlaga za oblikovanje krajevne identitete.

Tako kot velja za turizem na sploh, je tudi literarni turizem tesno vezan na kraj. Kraj oziroma lokacija je tisto, na kar je vedno vezana realnost (Skakouei v Beigi, Ramesht & Azani, 2015), v primeru literarnega turizma pa tudi fiktivni del pripovedi. Identiteta tako ne more biti obravnavana, ne da bi upoštevali lokacijo in z njo povezan socialni kontekst. Identiteta je namreč skupek zadovoljevanja potreb posameznika, pa tudi kolektivnih potreb (Shasti, Mirzaee, v Beigi, Ramesht & Azani, 2015), ki so vezane na določen kraj. Pri tem je najpomembnejši element, ki določa kraj, človek, hkrati pa je percepcija kraja med pomembnejšimi elementi, ki oblikujejo človeško vedenje. Vsak človek drugače dojema določen kraj in predstave vplivajo na oblikovanje identitete kraja. Identiteta sama se namreč oblikuje tako, da ljudje ponotranjijo, kar jim ponuja kraj. Gre za vzpostavitev odnosa med krajem in človekom. Identiteta kraja je temelj, na katerem se oblikuje identiteta ljudi, ta pa vključuje spomine, čustva, odnos, vrednote, prioritete, zaznave in aspiracije (Beigi, Ramesht & Azani, 2015), ki usmerjajo nadaljnji razvoj kraja in oseb.

Turizem ima pomembno vlogo pri projiciranju (Light, 2007) lokalne identitete, zato promociji kraja veliko pozornost namenijo tudi državne in lokalne institucije. Cilji so seveda ekonomski, vendar tudi politični, in sicer projiciranje točno določene nacionalne podobe na način, ki bo utrjeval nacionalno identiteto. Promocijski materiali so zato napisani na točno določen način. Vključena so sporočila, kot na primer »kdo smo« ali »kako želimo, da nas drugi vidijo« (Light v Light, 2007). Promocijski material, ki ga pripravljajo javne ustanove,

grafsko pokrajino, podobno kot v primeru Roba Roya. V Sloveniji sta sicer med bolj poznanimi Pot kulturne dediščine na Gorenjskem in Levstikova pot. V prvem primeru gre za pot, ki ne temelji na zgodbah ali literarnih junakih, temveč je pot, ki v celoto povezuje rojstne hiše Franceta Prešerna, Janeza Jalna, Frana Saleškega Finžgarja, pa tudi hišo Matije Čopa. V primeru Levstikove poti pa gre pravzaprav za pot, ki se je oblikovala na podlagi opisov v potopisno-programskem spisa Popotovanje iz Litije do Čateža (Portal Ribnica24.eu, 2015).

5 V Sloveniji takega primera literarnega turizma, povezanega s fantazijsko deželo, kot ga poznajo npr. v Veliki Britaniji, nimamo. Bi pa tukaj lahko izpostavili Kekčevo deželo, ki je postavljena v Kranjsko goro, rojstni kraj avtorja zgodbe Josipa Vandota. Sama zgodba o Kekcu ni postavljena v fantazijsko deželo, vsebuje pa pravljичne elemente. Podobno, kot v primeru Alice, tudi v primeru Kekca ljudje iščejo asociacije v svojem okolju.

lahko posledično dojemamo kot obliko diskurza, povezanega s politično in kulturno identiteto kraja.

Krajevno identiteto sooblikuje kultura in je ne moremo izključiti pri obravnavi reprezentacije kraja v turistične namene. Kultura je vključena v vse tri zgoraj omenjene elemente, saj jo najdemo v prostoru, predstavlja dediščino in potovanje v preteklost oziroma zgodovino. Vsak kraj oziroma pokrajina zrcali družbo kot celoto, podobno kot kultura, saj kultura ne more biti nekaj individualnega. Kultura je bistvena za oblikovanje identitete, na podlagi katerih ljudje prepoznajo sebe in druge (Crang, 1998). Kultura se manifestira z dejavnostmi, katerih vloga je simbolna, obsega namreč aktivnosti, kot so gledališče, umetnost, literatura, pa tudi institucije, ki skrbijo za ohranjanje navedenih aktivnosti. Ko v luči kulturne geografije⁶ preučujemo kraj oziroma pokrajino moramo torej upoštevati (Crang, 1998) tudi delovanje institucij, ki skrbijo za ohranjanje in razvoj kulture. Vsaka institucija oblikuje svojo interpretacijo znamenitosti in s tem vpliva na predstave o skupnosti in kraju.

Kot element kulture ima literatura, poleg drugih medijev, pomembno vlogo pri oblikovanju geografske imaginacije ljudi (Crang, 1998). Subjektivnost literature prikazuje družbeni pomen prostora, s čimer se ustvarja podoba urbanega življenja v različnih časovnih obdobjih. Ne gre več za statistične podatke o kraju, temveč za oblikovanje celostnega pomena, ki vključuje čustva in izkušnje, povezane s krajem. Razumljivo je torej, da ne gre za preproste opise krajev, temveč za procese, na podlagi katerih so se določene pokrajine tudi oblikovale. Literatura vpliva na to, kakšen predstave imajo ljudje o določenem kraju, kakšen pomen mu pripisujejo. Literatura kot vir in nadgradnja geografskih podatkov v določenih primerih odločilno vpliva na oblikovanje turistične geografije kraja, ponudnik oziroma instituti, ki ohranjajo literarno dediščino, pa morajo, če želijo pritegniti obiskovalce, oblikovati podobo literarno-turistične destinacije, ki odgovarja na subjektivni literarni prikaz družbenega okolja.

KONSTRUIRANJE LITERARNE DESTINACIJE

Za literarni turizem je pomemben kraj z materialnimi elementi, ki za obiskovalca predstavljajo avtentičnost, oblikovano na podlagi konstruirane podobe, temelječe na procesu interpretiranja, tako s strani managementa destinacije kot s strani samega obiskovalca. Prostor se zaradi kriterijev, ki jih postavi management turistične destinacije, interpretacije, ki jo ponudi, in »branja« po-

nudbe, spremeni v kraj spominov na že doživeta čustva, povezana tako z občutki ob branju, odnosom do avtorja in spominov na okoliščine, v katerih je obiskovalec prvotno sprejel in interpretiral podatke o literaturi in avtorju.

Opis krajin je tisti, ki bralca uvede v prostor in mu pove, kje se nahaja, kdo so prebivalci, kakšni so običaji. V turističnih vodičih in brošurah, ki so namenjeni promoviranju kraja, najdemo idealizirane poglede na okolje (Weber, 2003, 20). Avtorji literarnih del si v večini primerov⁷ ne postavijo cilja promocije kraja, zato njihove predstavitve niso idealizirane, so pa kljub vsemu pogojene s subjektivno interpretacijo. Podoba kraja se oblikuje na osnovi treh interpretacij, in sicer avtorjeve, bralčeve, pa tudi interpretacije, ki jo javnosti predstavi management turistične destinacije.⁸

Weber (2003) predlaga praktično neločljivo povezanost med umetniško reprezentacijo, tako tekstualno kot vizualno, in konstrukcijo turistične krajine. Po drugi strani pa Herbert (1996) izpostavlja, da se turistična krajina kreira na podlagi konstrukta, ki se oblikuje iz kriterijev in prioritet, postavljenih s strani managementa turistične destinacije, in pa tega, kako obiskovalec sprejme in vrednoti pridobljene podatke. Strinjamo se lahko z obema trditvama, saj je mogoče sklepati, da je konstrukcija turistične destinacije rezultat več vpletenih faktorjev, tako subjektivnih kot objektivnih. Literatura kot medij vpliva na bralca tako, da si ta ustvari svojo predstavo o še ne videnem kraju (Weber, 2003), ki je lahko sanjska ali grozna, odvisno od čustev, ki jih vzbudi branje.

Zaradi večkratnih interpretacij se odpre vprašanje avtentičnosti krajine, na kar opozori Webrova. Herbert (1996) navaja, da se v primeru, ko obiskovalci iščejo namišljeni kraj in njegovo povezavo z literarnimi junaki, odpre vprašanje avtentičnosti v neobičajni obliki, ki pa je še posebej zanimiva za kulturne geografe. Avtentičnost v takih primerih ni enostavna delitev na domišljjsko in realno, temveč je kompleksen skupni produkt, saj se pri oblikovanju kulturnih geografij krajev ne oblikuje le realnost, marveč dobivajo taki kraji nov pomen. »Literarni ali umetniški kraj je kraj, kateremu obiskovalci dodajo pomen in prav vrednost tega pomena je tisto, kar obiskovalce vleče tja« (Herbert, 1996, 78). Bralci si sliko kraja ustvarijo ob branju literarnega besedila ali ob biografiji avtorja, ta slika pa je ključna pri oblikovanju pomena, ki ga ima kraj za obiskovalec. Na samem kraju se slika obiskovalca spoji z realnostjo in posledično se oblikuje nova geografija kraja, ki je vezana na dva nivoja, domišljjskega in stvarnega.

6 Kulturna geografija preučuje aktivnosti človeške družbe, ki izhajajo iz kulturne naravnosti, vpliv materialne in nematerialne človeške kulture na okolje in organizacijo družbe v prostoru. Kulturna geografija tudi preučuje, kako človek interpretira svet, prostor in kraje (Crang, 1998; Urbanc, 2002).

7 Na svetovnem spletu lahko najdemo zapise o novem literarnem žanru »Tourism fiction« (dobeseden prevod: turistična pripoved, op. a.). Kot je zapisano na spletni strani Južno vzhodne literarno-turistične iniciative (SELT), gre za literaturo, ki nastaja prav z namenom promocije regije, prireditve ali znamenitosti (SELT, 2015).

8 Podoba kraja, ki se ustvarja v procesu oblikovanja turistične destinacije, se razlikuje od podobe kraja, kot se oblikuje v očeh domačinov (op. a.).

Na literarne kraje lahko gledamo tudi z druge perspektive, in sicer tiste, ki zadeva izkustveni spomin obiskovalcev. V nekaterih primerih namreč obiskovalci ob obisku krajev, ki imajo literarno vrednost, obudijo spomine, ki niso neposredno vezani na avtorja ali literarno delo, temveč na okoliščine, v katerih so nastopili kot bralci ali poslušalci. Kot navaja Herbert v primeru obiska nekdanjega doma angleške pisateljice Beatrix Potter, so nekateri obiskovalci bolj kot povezavo z avtorico ali vsebino njenih zgodb Peter Rabbit, čutili nostalgijo ob spominu na otroštvo, družinske vezi in nekdanje življenje. Kraj ima vlogo medija, preko katerega se prenašajo sporočila, povezana s kulturnimi pomeni in vrednotami (Herbert, 1996, 78). Prostor obiska se izenači s prostorom iz spomina, ki ima posebno emocionalno vrednost za obiskovalca, ki lahko posledično podoživi tako občutke ob branju kot občutke, vezane na okolje, osebe, ki so v določenem obdobju zaznamovale življenje. Izkušnja obiska »literarnega« kraja postane zelo osebna in oblikuje se nov pomen, zaradi katerega posamezni obiskovalec doživlja kraj kot nekaj avtentičnega.

Danes lahko bralec obiše številne kraje, ki so tako ali drugače povezani z znanimi avtorji. Morda se je avtor tam rodil, odraščal, živel ali umrl. Obiščemo lahko tudi kraje, kjer je bila naša najljubša knjiga napisana, ali kraje, v katere je postavljeno dogajanje. Pri tem je izkušnja morda najmočnejša, če se kraj pisanja in kraj dogajanja ujemata. Kot že napisano, pri prepoznavanju takih krajev imajo bistveno vlogo emocije in domišljija, saj obiskovalec ne gleda na kraj objektivno, temveč z vidika interpretacije. Brez interpretacije obiskovalca, katere posledica so dolgoročni vplivi (Herbert, 1996), ki se kažejo, ko se obiskovalec vrne domov, bi turistično-literarna destinacija izgubila dobršen del vrednosti, saj proces konstruiranja destinacije⁹ ne bi bil sklenjen.

Literarni turizem je sicer del kulturne dediščine, a raziskave (Herbert, 1996, 2001; Busby, Shetliffe, 2013) nakazujejo, da so določeni kraji tako popularizirani, da jih obiskujejo večinoma turisti, ki jih ne motivira literarno ozadje, temveč pridejo na primer zaradi zgodovinske dediščine, narave in druge kvalitetne turistične ponudbe. Literarna teoretičarka Jennifer Eisenlau si je ob obisku skrivališča Anne Frank v Amsterdamu postavila vprašanja, koliko izmed milijonov obiskovalcev ni prebralo dnevnika in koliko obiskovalcev bo poseglo po dnevniku po obisku. Sama navaja primer svojega sina starega komaj osem let, ki je po obisku skrivališča vpra-

šal, ali bo lahko prebral knjigo, ko se vrnejo domov (Eisenlau, 2010). S tem se izpostavlja cikličnost literarnega turizma od teksta k branju – tako literarnega besedila kot promocijskega – in obratno prek vplivov nazaj k oblikovanju podobe in teksta. Kakšna je končna podoba kraja, je odvisno tudi od tipa literarnega turizma, ki se v kraju razvija.

ŠTUDIJA PRIMERA – ANALIZA IZBRANIH BESEDIL CENTRA JAMESA JOYCEA

Center Jamesa Joycea je muzej, posvečen promociji in razumevanju življenja in dela irskega pisatelja Jamesa Joycea. Center, ki ima podporo dublinskega mestnega sveta, deluje tako, da obiskovalcem nudi celostno literarno izkušnjo Joyceovega Dublinca. Hiša, v kateri je urejena stalna razstava o pisateljevem življenju in delu, je bila zgrajena leta 1784 v takrat zelo priljubljenemu delu mesta. V 19. in 20. stoletju je priljubljenost te četrti upadla in do leta 1982 so na ulici, kjer stoji center, zaradi nevarnosti rušenja porušili kar dvanajst praznih hiš. Center s hišno številko 35 je rešil David Norris, senator in akademik, ki preučuje Joycea. Hiša je bila obnovljena in center odprt za javnost junija 1996. Upravljanje centra so prevzeli potomci Joyceovega brata in sestre. Desetletje kasneje je center prevzela družba z omejeno odgovornostjo in statusom dobrodelne organizacije, ki z dediščino upravlja ob podpori Ministrstva za umetnost, dediščino in Gaeltacht¹⁰. Sama hiša je del Joyceove literarne pokrajine, saj je v njej živel in vodil plesno akademijo profesor Denis J. Maginni. Dublinčani so Maginnija dobro poznali, saj je bil zelo zanimiva osebnost, tako zelo, da se nekajkrat pojavi v Joyceovem delu Ulikses (James Joyce Centre, 2014).

Center obiskovalcem nudi številne možnosti. Organizirajo različna izobraževanja, predavanja, delavnice, razstave, bralna srečanja in druge dogodke. Ponujajo tudi vodene ogledje mesta, na katerih si lahko turisti ogledajo kraje, ki so povezani z Joyceovim življenjem in delom, pa tudi kraje, ki so omenjeni v njegovih delih¹¹.

Grafični prikaz promocije in interakcije na turistični destinaciji kaže, da je destinacija zgrajena ali predstavljena na način, ki nastane na podlagi ciljev in podatkov upraviteljev turistične destinacije. Sama izgradnja destinacije je glede na shemo razdeljena na izgradnjo in tekst. V nadaljevanju besedila se bomo osredotočili na

9 Po shemi, ki jo predlaga Herbert (1996), je proces izgradnje podobe turistično-literarne destinacije sestavljen iz štirih faz, in sicer faza oblikovanja podobe, ki temelji na prioritetah in vrednotah tistih, ki so zadolženi za promocijo kraja, sledi faza teksta, ki vključuje načine, kako je nekaj predstavljeno ali interpretirano s strani managementa turistične destinacije, nato je faza branja, torej načini, kako obiskovalci uporabijo pridobljene podatke in reagirajo na sporočila, zadnja je faza vplivov, ki so dolgoročni in se kažejo na podlagi tega, kar obiskovalec odnese od obiska. S tem se tudi sklene proces, saj posledice vplivov lahko vplivajo na prioritete, ki si jih postavi management destinacije.

10 Gaeltacht: izraz, s katerim so imenovana področja Irske, kjer je irščina glavni, ali je vsaj do nedavnega bila, govorni jezik večjega števila ljudi (Údarás na Gaeltachta, 2015).

11 Casey in O'Rourke sta sicer v svojem poročilu opozorila, da je center osredotočen na preozek trg, predvsem na tiste turiste, ki so ljubitelji Joycea in literature na sploh. Navajata podatke iz leta 2006, ko je center obiskalo 17.000 turistov, in iz leta 2010, ko je bilo turistov le 11.000.

izgradnjo, ki zajema vprašanja, kako ponudniki predstavijo turistično destinacijo, kako z navezovanjem na avtorja ustvarjajo literarno podobo in kaj želijo ponudniki vzbuditi v obiskovalcu.

Dublin je zanimivo mesto, ki kot že zapisano, s svojo živahnostjo in zgodovinsko ter kulturno dediščino pritegne številne skupine turistov. Mesto je ravno dovolj veliko, da je za ogled dovolj konec tedna. Dodatno goste privablja kulturna ponudba, ki vključuje tako ulične umetnike kot literarno dediščino. Številne ulice in poslopja so ostala zelo podobna tistim, ki jih je v svojih delih opisoval James Joyce. Kot navaja Hongyan (2009), je taka podlaga primerna za razvoj literarnega turizma, ki privablja obiskovalce, ki želijo podoživeti občutke, povezane z branjem literarnih del. Gre za osnovo, na podlagi katere je bilo v Dublinu mogoče razvijati literarno podobo kraja, zgraditi literarni kraj in tako ponuditi obiskovalcem posebno izkušnjo (Hongyan, 2009).

V nadaljevanju besedila bomo analizirali predstavitve Dublina in Jamesa Joycea, kot so jo oblikovali v Centru Jamesa Joycea. Center ponuja različne aktivnosti, prireditve, predavanja, delavnice, pa tudi vodene ogledje mesta, pripravljene na osnovi življenja in dela pisatelja. Osredotočili se bomo na izbrane spletne strani: domača stran, stran z osnovnimi informacijami o centru, vključeno s predstavitvijo Joycea, stran, kjer so predstavljene izbrane aktivnosti, med drugim tudi literarni sprehodi po Dublinu. S pomočjo analize diskurza bomo ugotavljali, kako je predstavljen Joyce, kako Dublin, kakšen je odnos do literarne dediščine in kakšen pomen ima Joyce za nacionalno identiteto oziroma za identiteto Dublina.

Domača stran

Diskurz domače strani Centra Jamesa Joycea je osredotočen na aktualne dogodke, pomembne pretekle dogodke in dostope do podrobnih vsebin. V osnovi je uvodna spletna stran kot nekakšna oglasna deska, namenjena objavljanju novic, dosežkov, zanimivosti in pa vzpostavljanju identitete (Saichaie, 2011). Predstavljeni so dogodki, na katerih so sodelovale ali sodelujejo znane osebe iz akademskega, zvezdniskega sveta, predstavljanja je ponudba, zanimiva za tiste, ki pridejo v Dublin na izlet, pa tudi v izobraževalne namene. Objavljena je na primer povezava do pogovora med igralcem Stephenom Fryem in senatorjem Davidom Norrisom, kateremu pripisujejo, da je »praktično sam odgovoren za vnovično obuditev Jamesa Joycea v nekdaj neodobravajočih očeh Ircev« (Chrisafis, 2004). Norris je tudi, kot že omenjeno, zaslužen, da je bila stavba, v kateri je danes center, ohranjena in obnovljena. Objavljene so tudi povezave do vodenih ogledov po Dublinu, povezane z Joyceovim življenjem in delom, do razstave ilustracij nastalih na podlagi Joyceovih del, do serije predavanj priznanih profesorjev. Ti elementi so postavljeni na zgornji, osrednji del domače strani in predstavljajo osrednjo vsebi-

no, pojavljajo pa se kot posebej oblikovani večji zapisi, ki dopolnjujejo primarno fotografijo ali ilustracijo.

Sekundarna vsebine, in sicer »dogodki«, »razstave«, »izobraževanje«, »novice«, delujejo kot dodatni dokazi o širini in poglobljenosti dejavnosti, ki jih izvajajo v centru. Ti zavihki vodijo do informacij o uspešno izpeljanih aktivnostih centra, o znanih osebah, ki sodelujejo s centrom. Med novicami je tako na primer objavljen prispevek o sodelovanju z grammyjem nagrajenim skladateljem in glasbenim producentom Davidom Kahnem, ki je sodeloval z glasbeniki, kot je Paul McCartney, zaslužen pa je tudi za glasbeni prispevek v filmu Bloom iz leta 2003.

Povezovanje institucije s pomembnimi osebnostmi in dogodki služi kot oprijemljiv dokaz, zaradi katerega se center loči od konkurenčnih ponudnikov. Center iz pohval in dejavnosti, kot podpornih elementov, črpa reference za konstruiranje in promoviranje identitete.

S spletne strani je razvidno tudi, da center poudarja vrsto aktivnosti, ki so povezane z intelektualnimi prizadevanji. Zavihek »izobraževanje« vključuje povezave do ponudbe za študente, delavnice, predavanja, tečaje, uporabne članke in povezave do uporabnih virov informacij. Na domači strani so tudi objave, povezane s poglobljanjem znanj o Jamesu Joyceu in njegovi literaturi. Primeri objav nakazujejo širino intelektualnih prizadevanj centra: »Branje Joycea: Umetnikov mladostni portret«; »Ulikses, za vse! Spomladne / poletne bralne skupine v Centru Jamesa Joycea«; »Pomladno / poletna serija predavanj v Centru Jamesa Joycea«; »Pogloblite se v literarno zgodovino mesta na naših tedenskih vodenih ogledih«; »Mrtvi – razstava; serija ilustracij o Joyceovi najbolj znani kratki zgodbi ob praznovanju njene stoletnice«; »Ulysses ‚seen‘ : Stripovska adaptacija Roberta Berryja z vodnikom za bralce po straneh«. Uporaba izrazov kaže, da center poudarja širjenje znanj o Joyceu in da se zavestno trudi širiti Joyceovo dediščino med širšo publiko, zato ponuja širok spekter aktivnosti, od predavanj, do likovnih razstav, vodenih ogledov in bralnih krožkov. Specifično navezavo do zavzemanja, da bi center nudil aktivnosti čim širši publiko, nakazuje besedna zveza »Ulikses, za vse!«

Kot smo že povedali, deluje domača spletna stran kot oglasna deska s hiperpovezavami, preko katerih je omogočen dostop do drugih spletnih strani centra. Uporabljen jezik je večinoma jedrat in sporočila so zajeta v eni besedi ali dveh (dogodki, novice, izobraževanje, trgovina, odpiralni čas itd.). Pojavijo se tudi daljša besedila, napisi, ki skupaj s slikami oziroma fotografijami služijo kot hiperpovezave. Na dnu domače strani pa se izmenično izpisujejo citati iz različnih Joyceovih del.

Na domači strani centra raba jezika nakazuje promocijski diskurz z večkratnim omenjanjem posebnih preteklih dogodkov, ki so se odvijali v okviru centra in na katerih so sodelovali akademiki, umetniki ter druge priznane osebe. Prepoznavnost akterjev, ki sodelujejo na prireditvah in pri drugih aktivnostih, omogoča, da se cen-

ter lahko identificira kot edinstveni institut in s tem večja svojo prepoznavnost. V svojem bistvu je domača stran prostor, kjer institucija utrjuje svojo relevantnost s predstavljanjem svojih specifičnih aktivnosti (Saichaie, 2011).

O centru

Spletni zavihek Obisk vsebuje praktične podatke o dostopnosti, delovnem času, vstopnini, možnosti najema prostorov, možnosti za pridobitev novinarske akreditacije in kratko predstavitev zgodovine centra. Uporabljeni jezik je praktične narave, saj je namenjen informiranju potencialnih obiskovalcev. Gre za turistični diskurz v delu, ki odgovarja na vprašanje turista o dostopnosti objektov, tako s finančnega kot fizičnega zornega kota, specifičnih aktivnostih, ter omogoča turisti primerno organizacijo obiska.

Na strani, namenjeni kratki predstavitvi zgodovine centra, je izpostavljen dediščinski pomen hiše (npr. leto gradnje, pomen hiše za umetnost), v kateri je center, povezava z Jamesom Joyceom in drugimi priznanimi dublinskimi osebnostmi (npr. tistimi, ki so zaslužne za ohranitev in restavracijo hiše), zaslužnost centra za ohranitev kulturne dediščine (npr. vrata hiše, kjer naj bi živel literarni junak Leopold Bloom) ter podpora mestne oblasti. Povezanost z Joyceom večkrat poudarijo, in sicer v primeru: »Čprav Joyce ni nikoli živel v hiši, je bil z njo povezan preko profesorja Denisa J. Maginnija, ki je v hiši vodil plesno akademijo. /.../ Maginni je bil dobro poznana ter zanimiva osebnost v Dublinu in večkrat se je pojavil v Ulikseu Jamesa Joycea«. Poseben pomen centra je izpostavljen z navajanjem dejstva, da ga je desetletje vodila Joyceova družina oziroma potomci: »Več kot deset let so Center vodili člani družin Joyce in Monaghan, potomci Joyceovega brata Charlesa Joycea in sestre May Monaghan«. Turistični diskurz v besedilu stremi k vzburjanju občutkov avtentičnosti: »Štukatura je originalna, med tem ko so figurice plesalcev in medaljoni iz časa Maginnija«. Besedilo se nanaša na Maginnijevo sobo, kjer je bila včasih glavna jedilnica. V čast Erla Kenmarskega, ki je dal hišo zgraditi leta 1784, so poimenovali eno izmed sob Kenmarska soba. Čeprav so bile štukature v sobi uničene so jih »restavriral na podlagi fotografij, ki jih je posnel Constatine Curran«, tesen prijatelj Jamesa Joycea, ki je hišo omenil v svojem delu Dublinske dekorativne štukature iz sedemnajstega in osemnajstega stoletja. Pristnost joycevske izkušnje je predlagana tudi s trditvijo, da je Joyceova družina živele v podobni hiši. Tako je potencialnemu obiskovalcu obljubljen, da bo izkusil okolje, v katerem je živel Joyce. Hkrati na navezovanje na okolje, v katerem je živel Joycea, center poudarja tudi skrb za literarno pokrajino Dublina, saj si je pri njih mogoče ogledati vrata stavbe, ki je stala na naslovu Ulica Eccles št. 7 (No. 7 Eccles Street): »V romanu Ulikse je to naslov, na katerem

živi Leopold Bloom, a hiša sama je bila porušena, ko so dozidavali bližnjo bolnišnico. Na srečo so bila vrata rešena ...« (James Joyce Centre, 2014). Navedbe na strani služijo kot dokaz zaslužnosti centra za ohranitev pomembne kulturne dediščine, ki ima tudi veliko nacionalno vrednost, saj delo centra podpirata tako mestni svet kot Direktorat za umetnost, dediščino in Gaeltacht. S podporo mestne in državne oblasti se oblikuje pomen Joycea kot nacionalne ikone.

James Joyce

Center na svojih spletnih straneh predstavlja življenje in delo Jamesa Joycea. Predstavitev vključuje daljše besedilo o življenju pisca in spletno stran s fotografijami naslovnice Joyceovih knjig, ki služijo kot hiperpovezave do opisov del. Joyce je predstavljen kot svetovljanski intelektualca, ki je že zelo mlad zapustil rojstni Dublin in se je pozneje tja vrnil le štirikrat, zadnjič leta 1912. Kljub temu da je Joyce v Dublinu preživel malo časa, je zapisano, da je »eden najbolj vplivnih in slavjenih Irskih piscev«. Kot najpomembnejše delo je izpostavljen Ulikse, ki spremlja pot, ki jo v enem dnevu Leopold Bloom naredi po Dublinu. Poudarjeno je, da se je Joyce rodil v Dublinu in da se je izobraževal v šoli, ki stoji »na isti ulici kot Center«.

Joyce se je za časa življenja precej selil, živel je v Parizu, Puli, Trstu, Zürichu, kar ga prikazuje ne le kot irsko ikono, temveč kot evropsko. Kot eno izmed pomembnejših del je izpostavljena tudi zbirka kratkih zgodb Dublinčani, za katero piše, da je Joyce želel napisati »moralno zgodovino svoje države in izbral si je Dublin zaradi scene, ker se mu je mesto zdelo središče paralize«. Izpostavljen je Joyceov negativen odnos do Dublina, kar je bil tudi morda razlog, da ga je tako hitro zapustil: »Po zaključenem dodiplomskem študiju, je Joyce odšel v Pariz, *dozdevno* zato, da bi študiral medicino«. Diskurz predstavitve Joycea je vezan na Joyceovo identiteto kot »evropskega državljanca«. Besedilo vključuje precej faktografskih podatkov. Predstavljeni so Joyceovi dosežki, pa tudi vključenost v evropsko umetniško srenjo: »... pesnik Ezra Pound ga je prepričal, naj gre z njim v Pariz za nekaj časa in Joyce je tam ostal naslednjih dvajset let.« Že za časa življenja je bil Joyce v Evropi sprejet kot cenjen literat, med tem ko so ga v Dublinu začeli odkrivati in ceniti šele v drugi polovici dvajsetega stoletja. Spletna predstavitev je na podlagi navedenega izobraževalno naravnava, kar potrjuje tudi časovnica ob strani teksta, na kateri so predstavljeni pomembnejši datumi iz Joyceovega življenja.

Dogodki – stoletnica prvega romana¹²

Zavihek Dogodki vsebuje povezave do več aktivnosti, ki jih redno ali izjemoma organizira center. Priredi-

12 Reading Joyce's Portrait of the Artist, 1916–2016

tev, ki je posebej izpostavljena, je povezana s stoletnico izida prvega Joyceovega romana Umetnikov mladostni portret. Naslov prireditve je »Branje Joyceovega Umetnikovega portreta, 1916–2016«, trajala bo celo leto in vključevala različne aktivnosti, pretežno pa take, ki so namenjeni ljubiteljem kulture, literature, umetnosti in zgodovine. Dogodek bo mednarodno zaznamovan, saj bodo sodelovali tuji akademiki, vključene pa bodo tudi teme, ki obravnavajo Joyceovo življenje v tujini. V uvodnem tekstu je mogoče razbrati, da je prireditev za center izreden dosežek: »... Center Jamesa Joycea z velikim veseljem predstavlja poseben program dogodkov...«. Povezava z Joyceovemu raziskovalnim centrom, ki deluje v okviru univerzitetnega koledža v Dublinu, deluje kot dokaz o prestižnosti in strokovnosti Centra Jamesa Joycea. Tudi na tej spletni strani je izpostavljeno, da aktivnosti podpira Direktorat za umetnost, dediščino in Gaeltacht, kar dokazuje, da imajo prireditev in druge aktivnosti centra podporo državnih oblasti. Država torej sprejema Joycea kot nacionalno ikono, njegovo literaturo pa kot pomembno nacionalno dediščino.

Dogodki – literarni sprehodi

Glede na vključenost v kontekst so za center pomembni vodeni ogledi. Center organizira več različnih ogledov, neposredna povezava do njih pa je že na domači spletni strani. Vodeni ogledi so predstavljeni ločeno, glede na vsebino. Besedilo se začne z velikim naslovom Sprehajalni ogledi, ki ga dopolnjuje ilustracija ‚sprehajalca‘ v mestu, pod njo pa je napis »ogledi« v posebnem fontu, ki se navezuje na ilustracijo. Besedilo sestavlja šest odsekov, vsak ima podnaslov, ki je hkrati ime ogleda, in ilustracijo, ki s simboliko dopolnjuje besedilo.

Uvodni grafični podobi sledi odsek, v katerem so predstavljene temeljne informacije o ogledih. Besedilo je pisano v prvi osebi, kot turistična ponudba: »... ponujamo sprehajalne ogledje mesta na podlagi Joyceovega življenja in dela«. Namen tega dela besedila je zadošiti potrebi obiskovalca, da izve, kako je dostopna in oblikovana ponudba. Odsek vključuje tudi interaktivne povezave, na katerih lahko obiskovalec pridobi dodatne aktualne informacije, med drugim omogočajo tudi zasebne ogledje za zaključene družbe. Turistični diskurz dokazuje resnost centra v svojem namenu, da ponuja aktivnosti za turiste, domače in tuje.

Drugi odsek je namenjen ogledu poimenovanem »Joyce circular«, na priloženi ilustraciji lahko ljubitelj Joycea že razbere, da bo v ogled vključen, kot je zapisano: »... eden najbolj znanih naslovov angleške literature, Ulica Eccles št. 7«. Zaradi barv ilustracija pade v oči in pritegne bralca, da pregleda tudi spremljajoče besedilo. Poudarek je na povezovanju posameznih realnih krajev, ki so služili kot inspiracija za nekatera Joyceova besedila. »Med sprehodom po severnem starem mestu bo naš vodič pojasnil, katere so bile življenjske

inspiracije nekaterih najbolj znanih Joyceovih besedil in kako je središče mestnih ulic ‚hibernijske metropole‘ vplivalo na avtorjevo življenje in delo« (James Joyce Centre, 2013). Na podlagi navedenega ugotavljamo, da ponudnik sprehoda ponudbo oblikuje na podlagi povezave med realnim okoljem in literarnimi deli. Na ta način ustvarja podlago, na katero se lahko obiskovalci oprejo pri iskanju objektivne identitete. Ponudnik predstavlja Dublin kot mesto, ki je služilo kot ‚muza‘ avtorju s svojimi ulicami in prizorišči. Lahko bi rekli, da s tem v obiskovalcih vzbudi občutek, na podlagi katerega se lahko poistovetijo z avtorjem samim, saj vidijo in čutijo, kar je videl in čutil Joyce in kar je Joycea nagovorilo, da je ustvaril vrhunske umetnine. Z besedno zvezo ‚hibernijske metropole‘ v obiskovalcu vzbudijo občutek pomembnosti in vrednosti Joyceove dediščine, kot primerljive z zgodovinsko dediščino, ki sega globoko v preteklost, obenem pa dodajo dodatno vrednost Joyceovi literaturi, ki jo je navdihnila več stoletna dediščina mesta. V nadaljevanju je predvidna pot od naslova Ulica Eccles št. 7, po poti Leopolda Blooma. Ogled je krožen, zaključí pa se v Centru Jamesa Joycea. Uporaba izrazov »nepozabni prizori«, »ljubeče«, »najbolj znan«, »znamenito potovanje« kažejo na vrednotenje poti ogleda in samega avtorja, hkrati pa so ti superlativi namenjeni prepričevanju povpraševalcev, da je pot vredna njihovega časa. Avtor namenoma z uporabo pridevnikov, s katerimi izrazito pozitivno vrednoti avtorja in njegovo delo, in navezovanjem na resnične kraje, gradi podobo mesta, ki je privlačna za poznavalce Joycea in njegovih del.

Drugi ogled se tesno navezuje na literarno delo Dublinčani. Tudi v tem primeru je besedilo nadgrajeno z ilustracijo, povezano z literarnim besedilom. Na ogledu izpostavlja kritičen pogled na Dublin. Že uvodoma zapišejo, da je Joyce videl Dublin kot zaostalo in represivno mesto, kar je tudi opisal v svoji zbirki kratkih zgodb Dublinčani. Joycea prikažejo kot ikono, ki je danes posebej pomembna za kraj, a je bila hkrati do istega kraja izrazito kritična. Hkrati poskušajo avtorji promocije v bralca vzbuditi željo, da bi se poistovetil z avtorjem in opazoval socialno, religiozno ter politično pokrajino mesta. Z besedo »razpravljati« ponudnik nakaže, da v svojo ponudbo aktivno vključuje obiskovalca, s čimer mu da vedeti, da gre za specifično ponudbo, namenjeno tistim, ki so seznanjeni z Joyceovim pogledom na Dublin, pa tudi za ponudbo, ki je namenjena vsem, ki kritično spremljajo svet okoli sebe. Ogled po poteh Dublinčanov omogoča obiskovalcem, da se seznanijo tudi z zgodovino objavljanih kratkih zgodb. Poseben poudarek pa je znova namenjen Joyceovemu odnosu do rojstnega mesta, kar nakažejo z besedno zvezo »kontroverzen pristop«. S tem ponudnik ustvarja podobo mesta, ki ni le idilično in superlativno, temveč ga oblikujejo tudi kritični komentarji življenja. Obiskovalcu je s tem ponujena alternativa običajnim ogledom, ki v večini primerov poudarjajo le pozitivne plati turistične destinaci-

je, hkrati pa podaja obiskovalcu možnost, da soustvarja izkušnjo in odide domov z novimi spoznanji.

Ogled Po poteh Leopolda Blooma popelje obiskovalca skozi mesto od Ulice Middle Abbey do narodne knjižnice. Izpostavljene so Bloomove misli, ko ga muči lakota in se njegov tok misli usmeri na socialno, politično, kulturno in religiozno pomembnost hrane. Znova ponudniki z besedami »pridruži se«, »sledi«, »razpravljaj« ustvarjajo idejo, da bo obiskovalec aktivno vključen v dogajanje. Hkrati se poudarja Dublin kot kolonialno mesto, kar lahko razumemo kot navezovanje na Joycea kot nacionalne ikone. Kot zanimivost je izpostavljena primerjava hrane in prehranjevanja kot političnega in socialnega komentarja. Na ogledu se, tako lahko sklepamo, ustvarja povezava med realno podobo mesta in podobo, ki jo je v svoji kritiki ustvaril Joyce. Obiskovalci oz. bralci bi lahko na kraju samem ugotavljali, koliko resnice je v Joyceovi kritiki in tudi, zakaj je sploh bil tako kritičen.

Daljši ogled – ostali so 90-minutni, ta pa je 120-minutni – je Joyce in irska literarna renesansa. Tudi v tem primeru besedilo spremlja ilustracija knjižnice in knjige, kar dopolnjuje naslov odseka. Ogled poudarja Joyceovo vlogo v obdobju tako imenovane irske literarne renesanse in kasnejše življenje v kontinentalni Evropi. Poudarek je na Joyceu kot posamezniku, ki so ga oblikovali politika, umetnost in kultura Dublina v obdobju, ko je bil na vzponu nacionalizem. »Joycea je to okolje oblikovalo, a je imel kompleksen odnos do svojih sodobnikov in svojega naroda« (James Joyce Centre, 2013). Oblikuje se podoba Dublina, kot okolja, ki je hkrati pozitivno vplivalo na pisatelja, mu omogočilo, da je dobil širino, ob enem pa je nanj delovalo represivno, zato se mu je upiral, kar kaže uporaba izrazov, kot so »zavračanje«, »kritičen prestop«, »zapustil«, »dolg«.

Zadnji ogled vključuje obisk priljubljenih »pubov« (Joycean Pub Crawl). Ogled je predstavljen kot bistven za ljubitelje Joycea, avtor namreč uporablja izraze, kot so »ključna točka«, »pubi, ki so oblikovali Joycea«, »ikonične«, »najstarejše«. Ponudnik nagovarja pretežno intelektualne potencialne obiskovalce, kar je razvidno v predstavitvi pubov kot forumov, kjer se odvijajo živahne diskusije in argumentacije. Pubi so tudi izpostavljeni kot središčne lokacije, ki so Joycea oblikovale kot umetnika, ki so vplivale na njegove literarne junake, pa tudi na njegove sodobnike. Sklepamo lahko, da so bili pubi nekakšna zbirališča, kjer so se združevali intelektualci v začetku 20. stoletja in skupaj razpravljali o politiki, družbi, religiji. S tako predstavitvijo se na novo vrednoti pub – iz gostinskega lokala v kraj, kjer se srečujejo veliki umi –, kar je za obiskovalca, željnega novih intelektualnih izkušenj, veliko bolj zanimivo.

SKLEP

Analiza tekstov potrjuje dejstvo, da je Joyce prikazan kot nacionalna in evropska ikona 20. stoletja. Kot

je že bilo izpostavljeno, je bil Joyce že za časa življenja v tujini priznan kot ugleden literat, na Irskem pa so njegov prispevek k literarni dediščini začeli odkrivati šele po njegovi smrti. Največ zaslug gre senatorju Norrisu, ki je leta 1982 preprečil rušenje stavbe, ki je del dublinske literarne pokrajine, in v kateri se danes nahaja Center Jamesa Joycea. Da ima Joyce pomembno mesto v nacionalni zgodovini Irske in samega Dublina, kaže tudi to, da promoviranje njegove dediščine podpirata tako država kot mestni svet Dublina. Joyce je kljub temu, da je predstavljen kot del narodne identitete, označen kot kontroverzna osebnost, za katero je bil Dublin zadušljiv kraj. Samo mesto je Joycea oblikovalo že v mladosti, saj mu je omogočilo, da je bil vključen v zanimivo politično, gospodarsko in kulturno dogajanje. Ne glede na to se je Joyce v domačem mestu čutil omejenega, predvsem zaradi konservativnosti mesta samega. Najverjetneje je tudi zaradi tega odpotoval v kontinentalno Evropo, kjer je preživel večji del svojega življenja. Bil je prava evropska osebnost, saj je živel v Puli, Trstu, Švici in Franciji, kar se kaže tudi v njegovi svetovljanski miselnosti. Center predstavlja Joycea nevtrarno in objektivno.

Iz Centrove predstavitve Joycea si lahko potencialni obiskovalec oblikuje podobo Dublina kot živahnega in odprtega mesta, ki po eni strani nudi intelektualno podlago za razvoj skupnosti, po drugi strani pa posameznika omejuje zaradi konservativne mentalitete, ki zavira kritične poglede in omejuje eksperimentiranje. Dublin je mesto, ki se lahko pohvali z bogato kulturno dediščino, ki pa je vsaj v preteklosti ni cenil dovolj. Kot smo že omenili, so Joycea začeli ceniti razmeroma pozno. Tudi sam center je bil odprt šele konec dvajsetega stoletja. Center danes predstavlja Dublin tudi preko vodenih ogledov po stopinjah Joycea in Blooma. Ker so ogledi prepoznani kot pozitivni za mesto tudi s pozicije moči, in sicer s strani države in lokalnih oblasti, lahko sklenemo, da se s tem preoblikuje kulturna geografija kraja. Ta se namreč prilagaja opisom Dublina, kot ga je videl in doživel Joyce.

Promocijska besedila centra, v katerih je naslovljen potencialni obiskovalec, so pisana v prvi osebi množine, kar povzroči, da se bralec poistoveti s piscem. S tem je zrušena četrta stena, kar omogoča potencialnemu bralcu, da lažje vstopi v Joyceov svet. Glede na izbran jezik in nekatere vsebine lahko sklepamo, da so ciljna publika centra pretežno izobraženci, intelektualci, ljubitelji literature, hkrati pa niso zanemarjene tudi druge skupine turistov, saj center obljublja »Ulikseša za vse«. Promoviran je na primer strip, narisani in napisani na podlagi Ulikseša z razlago, poleg tega pa so v aktivnosti vključene tudi osebnosti iz sveta zabave, npr. igralec Stephen Fry.

Joyce je, kot že povedano, tako nacionalna kot evropska ikona, zaradi česar center cilja tudi na turiste iz drugih evropskih držav in s tem že vstopa na globalni turistični trg. K uspešnosti ponudbe med globalnimi potrošniki prispeva tudi dejstvo, da aktivnosti niso na-

menjene izključno intelektualnim oziroma izobraženim turistom. K izboljšavi ekonomske plati prispevajo tudi vodeni ogledi mesta po stopinjah Joycea, zanimivi za kateregakoli turista, ker se na ogledih »izstopi« iz Joycea samega in se začuti utrip mesta. Seveda ne gre pozabiti tudi na izobraževalno ponudbo, ki jo sestavljajo predavanja, tečaji in delavnice, številne bodo tudi letos del dogajanja ob stoletnici izdaje Joyceovega prvega romana *Umetnikov mladostni portret*, napisanega v Švici.

Z uporabo modernih, multimedijskih predstavitev postaja ponudba centra zanimiva širši populaciji, hkrati pa to kaže na spreminjanje turističnih pristopov v dobi globalizacije, ki jo prinaša svetovni splet. Dodatno globalno vrednost centru namreč prinašajo tako imenovane spletne razstave, ki poglobljeno prikazujejo, s čim se center ukvarja in kako ustvarja svoje programe. Predvidamo lahko, da bodo spletne objave v ne tako daljni prihodnosti postale eden pomembnejših virov turističnih informacij in promocije, kar nakazuje že to, da slovenski turistični ponudniki omogočajo rezervacije ne le preko spletnih strani, temveč tudi preko pametnih telefonov.

Literarni turizem sicer v Sloveniji ni tako razširjen kot v anglosaških deželah, pa vendar imamo določene, že omenjene, turistične destinacije, ki predstavlja-

jo zanimiva izhodišča za razvoj turizma, povezanega predvsem z rojstnimi hišami in bivališči, kjer so literati ustvarjali. Na podlagi preučevanega primera Centra Jamesa Joycea, ki je prav tako osredotočen na hišo literata, bi lahko našli smernice predvsem na področju promocije destinacije. V dobi globalizacije, ko postaja vse bolj pomemben medij splet, bi se morali slovenski ponudniki zgledeovati po tujih, kot je Center Jamesa Joycea, in multimedijsko predstavljati lokacije ter literaturo povezovati z drugimi tipi umetnosti, pa tudi z drugimi področji, ki bi bila zanimiva za potencialne turiste. Ob pregledu spletnih strani slovenskih literarnih destinacij je bilo sicer ugotovljeno, da ima interaktivne vsebine vključene v svojo promocijo Zavod za kulturno dediščino Žirovnica, ki predstavlja Pot kulturne dediščine. Kljub vsemu pa je zaznana pomanjkljivost zapisa v tujih jezikih; opisi in informacije so namreč omejene zgolj na slovenski jezik. Zaradi majhnosti države in manjše prepoznavnosti na tujih trgih bi morali biti slovenski ponudniki toliko bolj dosledni pri skrbi za prevode v tuje jezike. Smiselno pa bi bilo tudi, če bi se slovenski ponudniki odločali za regijsko povezovanje s ponudniki iz sosednjih držav ter za oblikovanje literarnih destinacij oziroma pokrajin, ki bi presegle mednarodne meje.

LITERARY TOURISM AND THE CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF A PLACE:
CASE STUDY – JAMES JOYCE CENTRE AND DUBLIN

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SUMMARY

The article presents the results based on the critical discourse analysis of the on line language used by the James Joyce Centre. The publications are related to activities of the Centre, to the presentation of Joyce and to the tourist promotion of Dublin. The Centre's presentation of the tourist destination, the town of Dublin, is interesting from the point of view of the cultural geography of the place itself. With the analysis we tried to answer the following questions: how is the poet presented, how does the author of the publications refer to the tourist and how is the place identity described. We also tried how the promotion offered by the Centre is placed on the global market.

We concluded that Joyce was presented as a national and European icon due to his open-mindedness related to the fact that he spent most of his life on continental Europe. Consequently, Dublin is not presented as a place where Joyce would be cherished during his life time. He gained national recognition only in the last decades of the 20th Century. The Centre is now trying to rehabilitate the image of the writer and his literary work. That's way they try to use different approaches to promote Joyce, from lectures to workshops, walking tours and other projects that include famous people like the actor Stephen Fry. The goal of these activities is to attract different groups of potential tourist, although as we could see the current presentation is targeting mostly intellectual and educated tourists.

The fact that Joyce is presented as an international icon and that the promotion includes a vast number of different activities can help the Centre on the long run when speaking of the global tourist market.

Keywords: tourism, literary tourism, identity, heritage, web site, Dublin, James Joyce

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MEMORIES OF WAR AND WARFARE TOURISM IN CROATIA

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ABSTRACT

The main objective of the paper is to clarify the nature of the phenomenon of warfare tourism in relation to the homeland war through empirical research focusing on the perspective of young Croatian residents. A total of 292 filled questionnaires were prepared for the analyses – Ward's principal component score method, Independent Sample test and descriptive analyze were employed in this paper. We found out that only a small share of youths see warfare sites visitation directly as being a part of tourism; remembrance and educational purposes were at the top of identified reasons. Hence, two clusters of youths could be identified – supporters of remembrance and skeptics.

Keywords: warfare heritage, dark tourism, warfare tourism, Croatia, homeland war

RICORDI DI GUERRA E TURISMO DI GUERRA IN CROAZIA

SINTESI

L'obiettivo di ricerca principale è di chiarire la natura del fenomeno del turismo di guerra riguardo alla Guerra della Patria in Croazia. La ricerca empirica è stata concentrata sulla prospettiva dei suoi giovani residenti. Un totale di 292 questionari compilati sono stati preparati per l'analisi empirica – nella ricerca sono stati usati il metodo delle componenti principali di Ward, il test T per campioni indipendenti e la statistica descrittiva. Abbiamo constatato che solo una piccola quota di giovani vede la visita dei siti di guerra come una parte del turismo; la preservazione del ricordo e l'educazione sono state le più importanti tra le ragioni identificate. Sono stati inoltre identificati due gruppi di giovani diversi – sostenitori della preservazione del ricordo e scettici.

Parole chiave: patrimonio della guerra, turismo nero, turismo di guerra, Croazia, guerra della patria

INTRODUCTION

From the beginning of mankind, people have always been interested in site and event visitations or other attractions that are linked in any way with disaster, suffering, violence or death (Stone, 2005; Stone, Sharpley, 2008, 574; Stone, 2011a, 2). This is today denoted as *dark tourism* which should be understood as a complex socio-cultural phenomenon where some semantic and terminological views should be pointed out first. One of the earliest attempts to classify suffering- or death-related tourist activity resulted as *holidays in hell* (O'Rourke, 1988; Pelton, 2003). Rojek (1993) introduced the terms *fatal attractions* and *black spots*, but there are also other terms in use, like *thanatourism* (Seaton, 1996; Seaton, 1999; Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood, 2007; Strange, Kempa, 2003; Naef, 2013a), *morbid tourism* and an *attraction-focused artificial morbidity-related tourism* (Blom, 2000), *fatal attractions* (Ryan, 2002), *sombre tourism* (Butcher, 2003; Hughes, 2008), *fright tourism* (Bristow and Newman, 2004), *atrocitiy tourism* (Ashworth and Hartmann, 2005), *grief tourism* (Grief Tourism, 2009), *trauma tourism* (Clark, 2006), *phoenix tourism* (not proposed as a type of tourism) (Causevic, Lynch, 2011), *tourism of memory* (Hertzog, 2012) or *memorable tourism* (Kim, 2013) which are not synonyms. However, Foley and Lennon (1996) and Lennon and Foley (2000), on the basis of preliminary works, have defined the phenomenon (term) called *dark tourism* and as a result have corroborated the concept as a research area¹, where war related sites represent its core component.

Croatia, as one of the recognisable Mediterranean countries, is highly dependent on tourism, where one of the most significant problems is that mainland Croatia (with the exception of the City of Zagreb) is not so recognisable for its tourism offering. Furthermore, some of the mainland areas were strongly affected by the 1990s war, what is another problem concerning tourism development. During the war 15% of housing units and 2,423 cultural heritage sites (including 495 sacral structures), 334 schools, many hospitals and traffic infrastructure were destroyed or damaged (Beskrajna obnova od rata, 2010). Similarly Karač (1997, 48), Baillie (2012) and Živić (2008, 41) claim that no other European city since WWII had sustained as much warfare destruction of cultural heritage and properties as Vukovar. On the other hand, Hasic (2004, 2006), Šundalić & Barković (2008), Goulding & Domic (2009) argue that the conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina were very cruel with the most rapid, forced movement of the population. However, these conflicts did not present the most intensive killing campaigns and constant human suffering, worst destruction of physical infrastructure and the destruction of all societal systems since WWII. In addition, in the 20th century different wars and to-

talitarian regimes have impacted negatively on people of different nationality, and political and religious orientation. Consequently, continental Croatia as well as coastal part and islands offer war remains, prisons and labour/concentration camp buildings, monuments, and cemeteries, combined with different stories of affected people. Could these sites be a (warfare) tourism asset? Should Croats hide this part of their national past? What do young Croatian residents, who do not have direct homeland war experiences, think about that? Accordingly, the main objective of this study is to further clarify the nature of the phenomenon of warfare tourism in relation to the homeland war through empirical research focusing on the perspective of young Croats. Such a local resident-, consumer-family/relatives-oriented approach is still needed in dark tourism studies where conceptual researches are still dominant (Seaton, Lennon, 2004; Stone, Sharpley, 2008; Stone, 2010; Biran, Poria & Oren, 2011; Kidron, 2013). This paper with the multidisciplinary approach highlights only a variation of dark tourism – war related tourism or *warfare tourism*.

FROM DARK TOURISM TO WARFARE TOURISM

As mentioned in the previous part, there are still many terminological ambiguities related to dark tourism which call for an interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and transdisciplinary research approach. Hence, this paper does not wish to enter into a semantic or philosophical debate over the terms, but rather to acknowledge a commonly accepted general meaning of the term, as applied to tourism, although it may be theoretically limited, fragile and thus indeterminate (Seaton, Lennon, 2004; Stone, Sharpley, 2008, 575; Sharpley, Stone, 2009; Jamal, Lelo, 2011; Stone, 2011a). In accordance with this basis, dark tourism may simply be related to sites of remembrance, education or entertainment (Foley, Lennon, 1997; Wise, Mulec, 2012) and it could also be an area for political manipulation or economic gain (Ashworth, Hartmann, 2005; Stone, 2006, 148; Stone, Sharpley, 2008).

According to Smith (1998; see also Weaver, 2000; Wiedenhoft Murphy, 2010), Henderson (2000) and Ryan (2007), warfare sites and events probably present the world's largest and the most recognisable single category of tourist attractions. Massive visitation of warfare sites began in 1816 after the battle of Waterloo (Seaton, 1999; Smith, 1998; Knox, 2006), although intensive development of battlefield tourism was initiated not earlier than the end of WWI (Winter, 2009a; Winter, 2009b; Winter, 2011; Hertzog, 2012). Today WWI and WWII offer many sites, especially in Europe and Asia (Siegenthaler, 2002), such as Gallipoli in Turkey (Slade, 2003; Basarin, 2011; Ozer, Ersoy & Tuzunkan, 2012; McKay, 2013), WWI's Western front battlefield (Iles, 2006; Win-

1 The field of dark tourism may be considered as a micro niche of special interest tourism (Novelli, 2005; Minić, 2012).

ter, 2009a; Winter, 2009b; Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood, 2011; Hertzog, 2012), Italian front (Zilli, 2015; Klemenčič, Koderman, 2015), Hiroshima and Nagasaki (Siegenthaler, 2002; Cooper, 2006), Auschwitz-Birkenau and other holocaust sites (Ashworth, 1996; Miles, 2002; Ashworth, 2002; Thurnell-Read, 2009; Biran et al., 2011; Cohen, 2011; Kidron, 2013). Moreover, among many other sites, we also have to mention sites linked with the Vietnam War (Henderson, 2000; 2013; Sunti-kul, 2013), the Balkan conflict (Dann, 1998; Goulding, Domic, 2009; Causevic, Lynch, 2011; Baillie, 2012; Naef, 2012; Wise, Mulec, 2012; Naef, 2013a; Naef, 2013b) and the Cambodian conflict (Hughes, 2008), as parts of contemporary history and consequently especially interesting for tourists².

All stated authentic sites have distinct conservational, educational and commemorative meaning (the aspect of entertainment may be even obtrusive – see Stone, 2012 and Winter, 2011), which, according to Miles (2002), Robb (2009, 56), Hertzog (2012) and Kidron (2013, 178), must engender a degree of empathy between the visitor and the (past) victim. While remembering the dead, the sites also commemorate the survivors of the war (Winter, 2009a) and demonstrate the ambiguity in the tension between history or historical reality and memory or imaginary construction, “a horrific battleground and a place of leisure, fratricide and unity, emancipation and state-rights, celebration and regret” (Chronis, 2012, 1798). Consequently, Ashworth (1996), Beech (2000), Henderson (2000), Austin (2002), Siegenthaler (2002), Ashworth & Hartmann, (2005), Wight & Lennon (2007), Goulding & Domic (2009), Stone (2010) highlighted the same representative cases of warfare sites, which are very sensitive from an interpretational point of view because they offer the opportunity to write (make) or re-write (change) the history of people’s lives, sufferings and deaths, to provide some kind of political description of past events³ or, according to Ivanov (2009), those sites may be used as a tool for propaganda of the achievements of the regime. Hence, Goulding and Domic (2009, 99; see also Rivera, 2008) claim that the case of Croatia shows that the “past can also be used as a vehicle to create a greater sense of nationalism and social bonding”. This is particularly hazardous because the post-modern tourist does not (critically) seek only cases/sites with the authentic values⁴ (Blom, 2000, 31; McKay, 2013), although this cannot be generalized – see Cohen (2011) and Kidron (2013).

The bondage between tourism and memories of war was recognised by Slade (2003) and Winter (2009b)

who put forward the battlefield of Gallipoli, which has de facto psychological and cultural origins and a strong nationalistic hint (Slade, 2003). Moreover, this destination has significant impact on the construction of nationhood and notions of mythmaking for most visitors from Australia and New Zealand where many of them are not interested in death itself (Slade, 2003). Basarin’s (2011) findings indicate that the antecedents of values and motives have important implications for the appreciation of the visitors of the commemoration in Gallipoli and on its associated attributes including the emotional experience. McKay (2013), according to many authors, sees every exposure and excessive sentimentalization of the battlefield of Gallipoli and WWI as a symptom of a systemic and unrelenting militarisation of Australian history and culture, especially in relation to the youth; this is a phenomenon of *touristification* of traumascapes (Naef, 2013b, 51) or the creation of spectacular, fantastic scenes which are unlikely to do justice to the pain of others and present some kind of recreational, voyeuristic allure of violence (Robb, 2009, 54; Causevic, Lynch, 2008). On the other hand, for many of these conflict-affected states or regions, tourism is often a potential contributor to socio-economic development and regeneration, and the vector for their integration into the global economy (Novelli, Morgan & Nibigira, 2012, 1447; Wiedenhoft Murphy, 2010, 573, 541; Weaver, 2000, 155). Wiedenhoft Murphy (2010, 555), in the case of Belfast, found that tourism in “post conflict societies both builds peace and reproduces some processes of past conflict”. Similarly, according to many authors, the case of the Croatian city of Vukovar shows this very controversial and problematic post-conflict situation (see Šundalić, Barković, 2008). Naef (2013a, 4, 8) and Baillie (2012) claim that, contrary to famous Dubrovnik which was also affected by the homeland war, suburban Vukovar was never an recognizable tourist destination, but the current situation in tourism which accompanies the creation of memorials is often seen as “nationalistic” tourism, a “*facet intrinsically linked to the symbolic/iconic status of the city*”. Divided memorials help to foster and maintain mental barriers between Croats and the Serbian minority. In this context Lennon and Foley (2000) claim that sites/events which have a longer history are “less dark” than those which are more recent, although Causevic and Lynch (2011, 782), in the case of the memory of the battle of Kosovo, refute this claim.

Many scholars like Minić (2012, 84), Henderson (2000), Seaton & Lennon (2004), Wight & Lennon (2007), Logan & Reeves (2009), Walter (2009), Biran et

2 There are many other “dark sites” and many of them are not commemorated or commercialized.

3 Interpretation as an important issue is stressed also in the paper of Linenthal (2001), Wight & Lennon (2007), Causevic & Lynch (2008), Hughes (2008); Robb (2009), Stone (2006a; 2011b; 2010; 2012), Wiedenhoft Murphy (2010); Causevic & Lynch (2011), Hertzog (2012), Naef (2013b).

4 The use of original objects, such as weapons, torture devices, buildings and similar located on the territory of the conflict represent an authentic and endemic cases of warfare tourism. On the other side, we can find various (military) parks, events, exhibitions, performances and simulations in areas that are not related to the conflicts.

al. (2011), Lee et al. (2012), Ozer, Ersoy & Tuzunkan (2012) and Stone (2012, 1580) argues that dark tourism is only culture's subtype and a special form of expression or part of heritage. In this context, war related sites could have the same meaning. Although visitors of war-related sites could be people predominantly keen on military history, their stories demonstrate the approaches in which battlefield tours offer opportunities for corroboration/validation, for deliberation of death, suffering, war and commemoration; it offers the opportunity to mark the commemoration and transfer of narratives and their meaning from one generation to another in order to preserve (individual and collective) memory (Dunkley, Morgan & Westwood, 2011, 866, 867; Cooper, 2006; Iles, 2006). The relevant question here is, what is the perspective of young people with regard to war-related sites? The findings of the research of Kang et al. (2012, 262) indicate that educational programs and activities performed by educational institutions do not have always a positive effect when it comes to on-site (warfare) experiences. In addition, Thurnell-Read (2009), in the case of young visitors of Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp, highlights the way in which singer visitor seek to actively employ with the site/event and aspects of the motivations (reasons) for the visit: (1) achieving a deeper comprehension of the authentic historical facts of the dark past (holocaust) and, (2) the affirmation of ambivalently of humanist values, with reference to contemporary society. Those findings should impact on the creation of special programmes/offers and on marketing activities. Kim (2013) in his work studied memorable tourism experiences of Taiwanese and USA college students, where he found that the design and promotion of dark tourism programmes for each of the two groups should not be the same.

In previous parts of the paper, many relevant assumptions and questions have been pointed out. One of the main issues is that we do not know how the young residents of Croatia understand warfare tourism in relation to the 1990s war. Consequently, based on the meta analyze, this study proposes the following hypothesis:

Young residents of Croatia mainly visit and recognize warfare sites/events as part of tourism, but on the other hand, they do not have the same perceptions about the homeland war as being part of warfare tourism. They can be divided in two or more statistically significantly different groups.

METHODOLOGY

Instrumentation

First, a preliminary web questionnaire pertaining to youths' perceptions was initially developed from the relevant research, i. e. Kim (2009); Stone (2010); Biran et al. (2011), which were focused on different parts of dark tourism. Second, the developed questionnaire was test-

ed in a two-step process: (1) initial technical testing on a sample of 500 computer-completed questionnaires by using a specialized web application; (2) a pilot survey simulation and group interview with 10 Croatian post-graduate students were conducted. Based on the findings, the questionnaire was improved in a technical and substantive sense.

The questionnaire in Croatian language opened with a dichotomous item addressing students' past visitations to warfare sites/events. On the principle of contingency question, a set of sub-items regarding students' reasons for visiting or non-visiting Croatian homeland war sites/events (as multiple choice type items) followed. In addition, the question with items measured on a five-point Likert-type scale was determined: 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree; a set of statement designed to clarify their understanding of homeland war sites/events, offers an opportunity for expression of the respondent's opinion on visiting significant buildings, monuments, museums, etc. and attending events related to the war in Croatia in the 1990s which could be understood as:

- Q1a preserving the memory of the courage of the participants and victims of war;
- Q1b visiting of the national cultural heritage sites;
- Q1c strengthening of national identity;
- Q1d contemporary politicization of history;
- Q1e an example of a special form of tourism, so-called dark tourism.

SPSS 20.0 software was chosen as a mechanism to collate survey data, as well as to analyze and present the results. The hierarchical clustering method was used to identify clusters, which were additionally compared by the t-test. The descriptive comparison between clusters was undertaken to analyze and describe the groups' characteristics.

Respondents and sampling

Eight public tourism- and/or business-oriented university departments and faculties were invited to participate in the study and all, except the University of Dubrovnik, responded to the invitation. In addition, using a Monte Carlo sampling approach we contacted six public Universities of applied sciences inviting them to participate in the study, and four responded to the invitation (from Požega, Čakovec, Karlovac and Knin). The surveying initiative ran in the late spring 2014. Data for this study were collected from the undergraduate students of tourism- and/or business-oriented university departments, faculties or universities of applied sciences in Croatia, which voluntarily responded to the web questionnaire immediately after class periods at the university or later at home (they received the invitation, basic information and link to the questionnaire from the teaching staff). In total, 361 questionnaires were recorded in the system. Of these, 19% questionnaires with incomplete and missing important questions were

removed. The remaining questionnaires were coded for data analysis.

Respondents belong to the postwar generation⁵ since they were mainly aged between 18 and 27 years. Among the respondents, 69.4% of the sample was female and 30.6%, male, coming from all Croatian Counties, although the largest proportion came from Osječko-Baranjska County (14.8%). Respondents were relatively evenly spread across all age groups with the largest proportion, just over a quarter (26.8%), were 19 years old, followed by 21-year-olds (25.1%) and 22-year-olds (17.2%), with all other groups representing shares of less than 15% each (6.2% had more than 27 years⁶). Most of the respondents (92%) were of Croatian nationality, 2.8% of Serbian nationality and 2.1% were Bosniaks. The others represent less than 3% all together.

ATTITUDE TO WARFARE TOURISM IN CROATIA

A descriptive analysis shows that 87.50% of young residents of Croatia visited one or more times (any) warfare site, and 56.20% attended events related to the (any) war. Fully 73% of respondents would visit a building, monument, museum and similar or attend events that are related to the homeland war in Croatia. Evidenced the top five main reasons for the site visitation are: (1) better understanding of everything that happened during homeland war (27,15 %); (2) empathy with victims and survivors of the homeland war (20,16 %); (3) learning more about homeland war (20,16 %); (4) to pay tribute to all victims of the homeland war (15,97 %); (5) the memory on the victims of my family and relatives (7,58 %)⁷. Listed reasons originate in the abovementioned dark tourism theory: remembrance (see No. 2,

4 and 5) and education (see No. 1 and 3) are the main groups of reasons; however, only a small share of young respondents (directly) sees sites visitations as tourist activity (2,40 %). On the other hand respondents do not see warfare sites/events visitation as some kind of recreational, voyeuristic allure of violence, which denies the allegations of Robb (2009). These findings are related to the initial part of the hypothesis and are crucial for the continuation of the research. After that, we undertook a hierarchical cluster analysis of the five statements (clustering variables) to identify groups with different views and attitude toward warfare tourism. However, we calculated Cronbach's α to test for reliability, first. For all five variables, the coefficient was 0.640, showing an acceptable reliable set of variables where $0.600 \leq \alpha < 0.700$. We also calculated the 95% confidence intervals for the means as well⁸.

The Euclidian distances as a measure of the distance between the cases, and Ward's principal component score method as the procedure of the cluster creation were employed. Clusters can be identified by analysis of agglomeration schedule and dendrogram, which shows us the links between variables, while their structure gives us clues as to which variables form coherent clusters. In our case, it was found that two clusters of youths could be identified – see Figure 1 in the Appendix.

Cluster 1 members present the majority of the entire sample (Table 1) and score relatively highly on supporting the opinion that warfare sites/events could be intended for visitation, although even here there are differences related to perception; average ratings for all items are shown in the Table 2. Here we can see again that young residents of Croatia have problems with understanding warfare sites/events visits as tourist activity,

Table 1: Clusters of young residents of Croatia

Characteristic	Cluster 1	Cluster 2
Name	<i>supporters of remembrance</i>	<i>Skeptics</i>
n (%)	217 (74.3%)	75 (34.6%)
Gender	mainly female (67.3%)	mainly female (76.0%)
Nationality	Croatian (93.5%)	Croatian (82.7%)
Age	19 or 20 years old (45.6%)	21 or 22 years old (53.3%)
Visiting warfare sites means... Warfare event attendance means...	...preserving the memory of the 1990s war; ...part of Croatian national heritage and a way of strengthening national identity	...not an element of strengthening of national identity
Warfare sites/events as tourists sites/ events	Indecisive	Indecisive

5 Memories of the second generation are those of their parents and their generation, and are transmitted in order to influence descendants' understanding of the 1990s war (for general description see Walter, 2009 and Stone, 2012).

6 This paper does not wish to enter into a debate over the heterogeneous definitions of youth.

7 Respondents could choose no more than three of ten offered options.

8 Sig. (2-tailed) amounted 0.000 for all variables.

Table 2: Difference between clusters – Independent Sample test

Variable	Cluster	N	Mean	std.dev.	sig.	T	Sig. (2-tailed)	Df
Q1a	1	217	4,48	0,536	0,000	7,933	0,000	86,351
	2	75	3,43	1,105				
Q1b	1	217	4,08	0,771	0,001	6,671	0,000	113,822
	2	75	3,31	0,900				
Q1c	1	217	4,06	0,691	0,002	17,862	0,000	125,400
	2	75	2,37	0,712				
Q1d	1	217	3,29	1,029	0,012	1,721	0,088	138,501
	2	75	3,07	0,949				
Q1e	1	217	3,46	1,178	0,001	-0,666	0,506	172,721
	2	75	3,55	0,874				

although all other reasons originate in the dark tourism theory. Hence, data show a distinct asymmetrical distribution of ratings where cluster members mostly agree with the items ($M_o = 4$). However, lower proportions of higher values in the last two variables are evident. Consequently, we could define this group of young residents as *supporters of remembrance* which only indirectly support warfare tourism. Cluster members obviously want to preserve the memory of the 1990s war; recognition in site/event visitation of Croatian national heritage and a way of strengthening national identity are an entirely reasonable consequence of such thinking.

Cluster 2 is much smaller than the first one and includes mainly female students (Table 1). They do not identify visiting warfare sites/events as a tourist activity, where we have to take in to account that they are not categorically against it (the mean value of this variable is even higher – see Table 2). Descriptive analysis confirms a symmetrical central distribution of ratings where cluster members are mostly neutral ($M_o = 3$) with slightly more of those who do agree/agree completely, compared with those who do not agree/do not agree completely with the items. In this context we cannot call them opponents but only *skeptics*. However, this skepticism definitely separates them from the Cluster 1 members. Central orientation shows consistency of views as well, since respondents on average do not recognize even the indirect elements of warfare tourism.

We carried out the t-test method for independent samples to determine the difference in youths' views in different clusters. The t-test confirmed a statistically significant difference between the mean values of Cluster 1 and Cluster 2 when $p = 0.05$ (Table 2): variables Q1a, Q1b and Q1c show significant difference, where members of Cluster 2 mainly do not see visiting warfare sites/events as an element of strengthening of the national identity. Hence, members of Cluster 1 and 2, taking into

account variables Q1d and Q1e, are not significantly different. Despite some foresights that the answers were impacted by gender, place of residence (county) or nationality (especially minorities), the Spearman's correlation coefficients do not show any significant correlation of them with the selected variables and clusters. The reasons would be therefore reasonable to find with in-depth qualitative research, as they probably arise from the divisions of the Croatian society.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Warfare tourism has been and remains an under-researched theme in Croatia and yet, according to Novelli, Morgan and Nibigira (2012, 1465), it is also less susceptible to any global economic downturn. At the same time, increased international tourism in the country "could boost the wider economy, promote social and business opportunities and encourage interactions between residents of the war-affected areas" (see also Wise, Mulec, 2012). That was the basis for our research work and should serve as guidance for future research as well. Empirical results show that our presumptions were inappropriate. A major proportion of young residents of Croatia visit warfare sites and attend events that are related to the war in Croatia in the 1990s, but only a small share of them see these activities directly as being a part of tourism; remembrance and educational purposes were the foremost of the reasons identified. The others recognized warfare sites and events mainly as part of dark tourism, but at the same time they indicated that such sites and events held no interest for them. Hence, respondents do not have the same views about warfare tourism in Croatia. *Supporters of remembrance* recognize only the indirect elements of warfare tourism and do not see site/event visitations as a tourist activity, while *skeptics* on average do not recognize even the

indirect elements. Here we can see that warfare sites/events visitation is not warfare tourism *per se*, resulting in a partial rejection of the hypothesis. Consequently, terms like memorable tourism (Kim, 2013), tourism of memory (Hertzog, 2012) or even heritage tourism would probably be more appropriate, although the term *tourism* is perhaps the most problematic. The lack of a unified term, mentioned in introductory part, is shown as problematic in this research as well.

The results of our research are representative for the involved population, which is one of the survey's limitations (it can be seen as a research of specific social segment). Another limitation is the exclusive involvement of respondents who have access to information technology, although today this should not be a big problem. Hence, neither the potential impact of the general apathy of the young generation nor the socio-economic situation in the country have been observed. As we mentioned before, by using the qualitative approach we could clarify some quantitative outputs which remained unexplained; on the other hand, this could be potentially solved with an additional set of quantitative variables as well. The University of Dubrovnik and its students were not included in the research, which is unfortunate, given the town's worldwide distinctiveness and the extent to which it was affected by the 1990s war.

In consideration of difficult circumstances, when it seems that in some Croatian counties conflict is still smouldering somewhere in the background, the findings of the research were somehow predictable. On the other hand, the restraint of young residents, future managers, developers and operators in Croatian tourism is still surprising. In the case of Croatia we could confirm Dunkley, Morgan and Westwood's (2011, 867) assertions that visitation of war-related sites offers the opportunity to mark the "commemoration and trans-

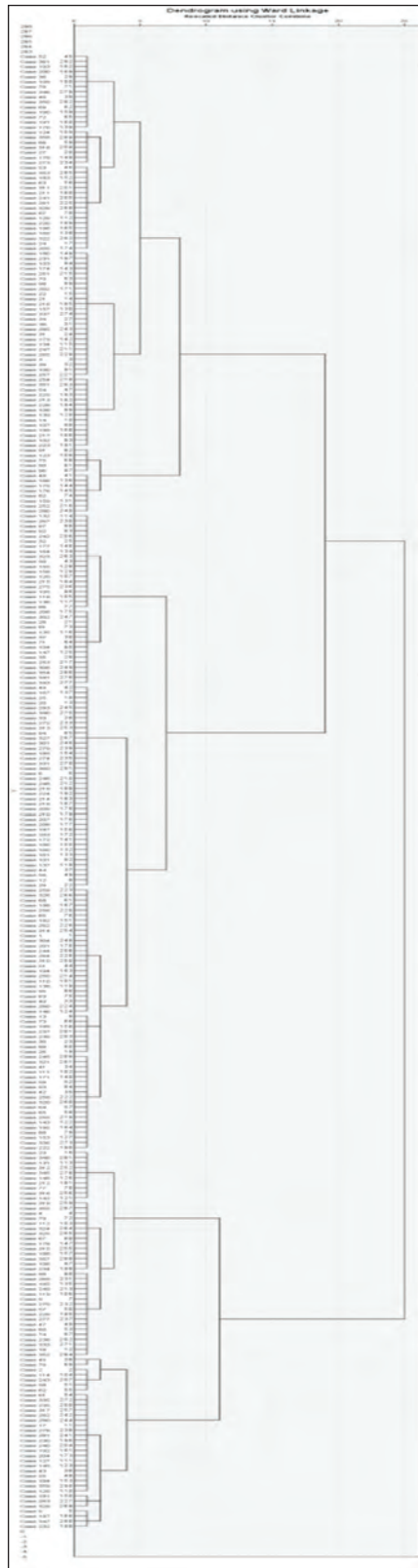
mission of meaning from one generation to another in order to preserve (collective) memory", similarly noted as well by Winter (2009a and 2011), Stone (2012), Hertzog (2012), Foley & Lennon (1997), Slade (2003) and others. Finally, according to Kang and colleagues (2012), educational programs performed by educational institutions regarding warfare tourism do not necessarily have a positive effect on youths. We can gather that Croatian educational institutions in general do not teach that warfare sites/events visitation could be a special form of tourism (see Rivera, 2008); they are mainly focused on maintaining and strengthening national memory and identity. Consequently, residents of Croatia are failing to tap into this supplementary tourism potential, especially considering the fact that warfare sites probably present the world's largest and the most recognisable single category of tourist attractions (Smith, 1998; Henderson, 2000; Ryan, 2007). Examples of the former Nazi concentration camps show that with their inclusion into the tourist offer, their core value was not reduced. That is why it is necessary to continue investigating the various aspects of warfare tourism in Croatia and disseminating findings.

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APPENDIX

Figure 1: Dendogram



SPOMINI NA VOJNO IN Z VOJNO POVEZANI TURIZEM NA HRVAŠKEM

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POVZETEK

Hrvaška je močno odvisna od turizma, a ima na območjih, ki so bila prizadeta v vojni v devetdesetih letih, občutne razvojne probleme. Danes so ostanki te vojne vidni na skoraj celotnem državnem ozemlju. Glavni cilj študije je predstaviti fenomen z vojno povezanega turizma v navezavi na hrvaško domovinsko vojno. Empirična raziskava je bila osredotočena na perspektivo njenih mladih prebivalcev. Izhajali smo iz splošnega pomena, povezanega z zaščito, izobraževanjem in ohranjanjem spomina, ki kaže na razpetost med zgodovino ali zgodovinsko realnostjo in spominom ali imaginarno konstrukcijo. 292 izpolnjenih vprašalnikov je bilo pripravljenih za empirično analizo – Wardova metoda glavnih komponent, test neodvisnih vzorcev in deskriptivna analiza so bili uporabljeni v raziskavi. Ugotovili smo, da le majhen delež mladih razume obiskovanje z vojno povezanih mest kot del turizma; ohranjanje spomina in izobraževanje sta bila na vrhu ugotovljenih razlogov. To pomeni, da obiskovanje z vojno povezanih mest še ni samo po sebi z vojno povezani turizem. Nadalje smo identificirali dve skupini mladih – podpornike ohranjanja spomina in skeptike. V sklepnih ugotovitvah so izpostavljene nekatere omejitve in predlogi za nadaljnje raziskave.

Ključne besede: vojna dediščina, mračni turizem, z vojno povezani turizem, Hrvaška, domovinska vojna

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to predict development trends based on social innovations. It introduces the concept of social innovations explaining the reasons of social changes marking transmodernity. By analyzing European Union policies in the field, it provides grounds for practical implementation of social innovation projects. The results of the mapping exercise of social innovations in Croatia is presented in order to provide analytical data based on which public policies in the field of social innovation may be designed. This is matched with theoretical knowledge on social changes and social innovations as to offer thoughts on future development trends.

Keywords: new economy, social innovations, social entrepreneurship, transmodernity, Croatia and the EU

INNOVAZIONI SOCIALI: SEGNO DEI TEMPI?²

SINTESI

Il contributo si propone di prevedere le tendenze di sviluppo in base alle innovazioni sociali. Introducendo il concetto delle innovazioni sociali, spiega le ragioni alla base dei cambiamenti sociali che contrassegnano la transmodernità. Analizzando in seguito le politiche dell'Unione europea in materia, fornisce i motivi per l'attuazione pratica dei progetti di innovazione sociale. Il contributo inoltre presenta i risultati della mappatura delle innovazioni sociali in Croazia con lo scopo di fornire dati analitici in base ai quali si potrebbero delineare le politiche pubbliche nel settore dell'innovazione sociale. I dati, avvalorati dalle conoscenze teoriche sui cambiamenti e innovazioni sociali, offrono spunti per riflettere sulle tendenze di sviluppo in futuro.

Parole chiave: nuova economia, innovazioni sociali, imprenditoria sociale, transmodernità, Croazia e l'UE

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INTRODUCTION

The world today is hardly affected by the economic crisis which calls for a change in the existing economic model. Changes are generally introduced slowly and only when a critical mass is reached they seem to take deeper roots. Practice as well as sociological research witness new societal developments which stem from value changes (Ray, Anderson, 2000). The fallout of global economy and failure of capitalism shifted the focus from individual to societal values. The growing unemployment issues and precarious work teamed with failures in environmental protection, health systems, energy provision, urban planning, tourism industry, etc. forced our societies to search for new solutions which could diminish the existing problems or eventually lead to a systemic change. Indications leading to the changes happening today trace back in the early 20th century in Schumpeter's pioneering work on the theory of innovation. While this, however, focused on the economic and technological innovations, the buzzword of today is 'social innovation'. It is often paired with 'social entrepreneurship' concept representing an important point of departure from classical entrepreneurship (Phillips, Lee, Ghobadian, O'Regan & James, 2014) mainly focusing on profit for the individual or the shareholders towards entrepreneurship which cares for wider society. Although 'social entrepreneurship' at some point in time also represented an organizational social innovation, today it is not a novelty. New innovations are sought for not only in the organizational sense of companies but those being able to solve different societal problems ranging from very local to global ones across different sectors. They should not only bring profitability but enhance our quality of lives, contribute to equality and balanced development. As to lead to a systemic change, larger numbers of social innovations and companies which operate as social enterprises should be established. Different social movements have been evident in our societies and their number is growing and leading to some societal changes. Although a significant body of literature has developed around social entrepreneurship (e.g. Nicholls, Murdock, 2012; Shaw, de Bruin, 2013) and social innovation (e.g. Shaw, de Bruin, 2013; Howaldt, Butzin, Domanski & Kaletka, 2014; Karzen, 2015 a), the subject is still relatively new either in the academic discourse as well as in practice. This article explains historical developments which led to these phenomena and provides theoretical grounds for the concepts of new economic paradigms. The empirical research findings on social innovations in Croatia confirm that the concept is rather new but has a growing potential for solving societal problems. The European Union policies dealing with the subject are also analyzed as to provide grounds for predicting future trends in the field.

SOCIAL CHANGES: FROM MODERNITY TO TRANSMODERNITY - FROM CREATIVE TURN TO SOCIAL TURN

The end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was marked by monopolistic capitalism, industrialization, development of science and new art forms as well as birth of big cities. The key words marking this period could be the following: new, different, contemporary, away from tradition. The period brought new developments for our societies which were seen in the growing numbers of companies, employment opportunities and fast production describing the period as 'modernity'. At the same time, it had a strong impact on dehumanization, the shift towards alienation from society was evident.

This slowly led to the increased individual interests stemming from the censure of the existing economic models and their deconstruction which marked the second half of the 20th century. Criticism of absolute truths, identities and existing values characterised the era which is known as 'postmodernity'. It characterised by a certain negativity towards the previous period but the reality was a certain chaos: the growing use of new technologies and computerization of work led to new work models and redistribution of working hours and rationalization of work (Nahrstedt, 1998). Consequently, it resulted in the increased and faster production, decreased prices and needs for working force, and dislocation of production in cheaper parts of the world. A number of industries collapsed and the need for new production resources was seen. The fallout from the 2008-2009 Global Financial Crisis (GFC) and the worst recessionary times, experienced since the Great Depression of the last century, sharpened the focus on cultural and creative resources and their role in employment creation and regional regeneration. This new, 'creative economy' is now firmly acknowledged as an engine of economic growth and development, with national, regional and local initiatives (de Bruin, Noyes, 2015; UNCTAD, 2008; United Nations, 2010). A general 'creative turn' in society manifested itself in many social and academic fields, including urban development, cultural and social policy, entertainment, media, and education (Richards, 2011; Richards, Wilson, 2006). The creative prefix proliferated, e.g. creative industries, creative classes, creative economy, creative cities, and creative governance. The creative buzz has been around for quite some time (Jelinčić, Žuvela, 2012) and creativity became the catchphrase of development in general. Although the role of creativity in the formation of a city, nation and organization, is not entirely a novel phenomenon and practice, in recent decades with the decline of physical constraints on cities and communities, creativity has become the principal driving force in the growth and development of cities, regions and nations (Florida, 2002).

The creativity boom was arguably a consequence of failures of the modernist economy and it was the 'creative turn' which marked the post-GFC period (de Bruin, Jelinčić, 2016). Although it brought new visions, possibilities and hopes for development, at the same time it brought negative consequences such as precarious work and extensive commodification of culture (Gill, Pratt, 2008; Hesmondhalgh, Baker, 2008; Keat, 1999).

Therefore, again, our societies are faced with the need for reconstruction. Hence, a need for a more just as well as sustainable economy arose, which would guarantee fair conditions for everyone. This new economy cares about all individuals who are part of the greater society; every individual is equally important and deserves the basic right to work. Such an economy was termed empathy (Singer, Fehr, 2005; Fontaine, 1997; Kirman, Teschl, 2010) or compassionate economics (Norman, 2008) and marks the general 'social turn' in society. There is now a reconfiguration of capitalism with no longer a sole focus on individual gain and greater awareness for societal problems as a shared responsibility of actors across all sectors (Bornstein, 2007; Mackey, Sisodia & George, 2013; Porter, Kramer, 2011; Shaw, de Bruin, 2013).

Sociological discourse named this new period 'transmodernity'. Ghisi sees transmodern concept as implying that the best of modernity is kept while at the same time we go beyond it (2006): transmodernity is critical of modernity and postmodernity while at the same time drawing elements from each. It is a return to some form of absolute 'logic' that goes beyond the Western ideology and tries to connect the human race to a new shared story, which can be called a global relational consciousness (Magda, 1989). Contemporaneously, the time has come for transmodernity, a world paradigm shift; Ateljević provides a comprehensive review of different perspectives of transmodernity and calls for a unified approach in order to advance theory as well as to enlighten the practice (2013).

The 'social turn' may, therefore, be conceived as an integral part of the movement from postmodernity to transmodernity. As postulated by Ray and Anderson (2000), it is about value changes; with priority placed on authenticity, engaged action, whole process learning, idealism and activism, globalism and ecology, women's issues, altruism, self-actualisation and spirituality. It is about integrating tradition and modernity, taking the best from the tradition while trying to revitalise and modernise it. All ... with the purpose of creating a better society while at the same time going through a process of self-actualisation and individual spirituality development. People sharing transmodern values have a heightened social conscience and the stronger their values and beliefs about altruism, self-actualisation, and spirituality, the more likely they are to be interested in social action and social transformation. They reject materialism, greed, 'me-firstism', social inequal-

ities, intolerance, big institutions and superficiality; their reality includes heart and mind, ... individual and community (Ray, Anderson, 2000). While focus on the individual is a remnant from postmodernism, another focus on the better, more human society may be identified as a distinguishing feature of the social turn. The characteristics of individualism seen in postmodernism were very strong but superficial; transmodernity brings personal evolution that starts in one's own deep analyses and spirituality development. It eventually leads to the need to reconceptualise society and its lost values (de Bruin, Jelinčić, 2016).

CREATIVITY, INNOVATION, SOCIAL INNOVATION AND NEW ECONOMY

Despite numerous definitions for creativity, the focus in this paper is on the one which highlights its power in driving economic growth and its role in development in general. Creativity refers to the formulation of new ideas and to the application of these ideas to produce original works of art and cultural products, functional creations, scientific inventions and technological innovations. There is thus an economic aspect to creativity, observable in the way it contributes to entrepreneurship, fosters innovation, enhances productivity and promotes economic growth (UNCTAD, 2008).

The Oslo manual, defines innovation as the implementation of a new, significantly improved product (merchandise or service) or a process, new marketing method or new organizational method in a business practice, a new work or external relations organization (OECD, 2005). Although creativity and innovation are often considered synonyms, there is a difference: creativity refers to the re-formulation of the existing ideas as to create something new while innovation implies the creation of something which did not exist before. Creativity is a prerequisite for innovation: it can exist without innovation but there is no innovation without creativity.

In parallel with the development of modernist and postmodernist (later on also creative) economy, research of innovation focused on its economic and technological perspectives. In line with the capitalist development, its function was to increase the production and sales, and decrease the expenses, with the aim of increasing profit. In line with the 'social turn', the concept of 'social innovation' comes center-stage since it is required to cope with the significant challenges that societies are facing now and in the future (Howaldt *et al.*, 2014). A social innovation is a novel solution to a social problem that is more effective, efficient, sustainable, or just than present solutions and for which the value created accrues primarily to society as a whole rather than private individuals (Centre for Social Innovation, 2015).

The pioneering work in the field of social innovations has been the one of Schumpeter in the beginning

of 20th century. His concept slightly differed from today's implication of social innovations being rather generic while innovation's social value is secondary. Today's understanding of social innovation, however, puts its social value center-stage often being the trigger for an innovation. The 'social' prefix marks its application to any area of everyday life in which the focus is on people and their needs (Karzen, 2015 a).

In the academic discourse, the introduction of the creative economy has already been marked as the 'new economy' due to its focus on new type of production resources: while previously, in the modern period, it was the tangible resources the economy relied on, creative postmodern economy focuses on intangible resources such as knowledge, skills, culture and creativity which are individual in nature. The research shift from *economic/technological innovation* towards *social innovation* has been evident and the transmodern paradigm shift towards social values calls for the new 'new economy' which can be termed 'pro-social economy'. This is why research on social innovations has recently been re-actualized. It does not mean though that social innovation should be researched only in relation to the economy since its scope is broadened to practically every aspect of society. In the following chapter, we offer an analysis of the existing European Union policies and documents focusing on the subject of (social) innovation as a starting point for the research of social innovations in Croatia.

SOCIAL INNOVATIONS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION CONTEXT

Europe is facing serious problems that endanger its currency, economy and social model. Perhaps at no time since the 1940s has social innovation been so urgently needed (European Commission, 2013b) and this is why its role in the Europe 2020 Strategy is firmly recognized. It is crucial to ensure that EU countries can exit the social crisis making the European social model more resilient through better cooperation. This is the vision of the Europe 2020 Strategy, which seeks to build an EU, based on a social market economy fit for the 21st century, capable of fostering smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. In times of social, political and economic crisis, social innovation has evoked many hopes and further triggered academic and political debates. With the adoption of the EU's Europe 2020 Strategy, social issues have been brought to the fore (European Commission, Policy Review, 2013b). They have potential to promote smart

specialization; to enhance working conditions and the quality of education; to foster longer and healthier life; to promote gender equality in the community development; to fight crime and social exclusion; to strengthen civil society; and to promote social integration. The Europe 2020 Strategy has identified targets in five areas: employment; R&D/innovation; climate change/energy; education; poverty/social exclusion. Social innovation can be a tool to help achieve them.

A number of documents, policies and projects have been developed in the last decade³ which offer important elements in the Commission strategy for social innovations and could be strengthened in the future (BEPA, 2010). For example, Renewed Social Agenda includes most important policy framework for social innovations by providing opportunities, access and solidarity through empowerment and responsibility which are the essence of social innovations (BEPA, 2009). Furthermore, Education and Training 2020 (ET 2020), European Union's strategic framework for national education and training sets 'enhancing creativity and innovation, including entrepreneurship, at all levels of education and training' as one of its four strategic goals (European Commission).

The European Structural Fund regulations for 2014-2020 offer new opportunities for social innovation. Cohesion policy has supported social innovations in the past and some good practice examples can be found in the fields of social inclusion, migration, urban regeneration, social economy, microfinance, health and aging, incubation, workplace innovation, and regional strategies, which can inspire new programmes and projects in the future (European Commission, 2013a). For that reason, the Communication 'Towards Social Investment for Growth and Cohesion - including implementing the European Social Fund 2014-2020' (Social Investment Package – SIP) gives special importance to social policy innovation in policy making and connecting social innovation policies to priorities (European Commission, 2013c).

European platform against poverty and social exclusion is based on some areas for action through promoting powerful evidence of what does and does not work in social policy innovations before implementing them more widely. EU carried out its policies also by FP7 projects⁴ and supports research on social innovations (Cordis, 2015).

The popularity of social innovations within the EU is evident in the fact that it takes part practically in every sector. Table 1 presents an overview of EU policies which support (social) innovations.

3 Such as Challenge Social Innovation & Vienna Declaration; Reinvent Europe through Innovation: From a knowledge society to an innovation society, Business Panel on future EU innovation policy; Europe 2020 Flagship Initiative Innovation Union; Empowering people, driving change: Social Innovation in the European Union; Culture as a factor for economic and social innovation, etc.

4 For example, Social Policy and Innovation (ImPROvE) is an international research project that brings together ten outstanding research institutes and a broad network of researchers in a concerted effort to study poverty, social policy and social innovation in Europe.

Table 1. Overview of (social) innovations in the EU policies

Policy	Innovation	Social innovation
Tourism	X	X
Health and social care	X	X
Culture	X	X
Education	X	X
Science and research	X	X
Employment	X	X
Environment and climate change	X	X
Poverty reduction		X
ICT	X	X
Renewable energy	X	X
Sustainable development	X	X
Consumer policy		X
SME	X	X

It can easily be said that (social) innovations are a drive of the EU 2014-2020 programming period and various programs, policies as well as projects include (social) innovation. In practice, Sweden has the best performing innovation system in the EU, followed by Denmark, Germany and Finland. These countries belong to the category of ‘innovation leaders’. Bulgaria, Latvia and Romania are on the other side of the spectrum, in the category of ‘modest innovators’ (Holanders,

Es-Sadki, 2014). The performance of Croatia, Czech Republic, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia and Spain is below that of the EU average. These countries are ‘moderate innovators’ while the EU average innovation performance falls within the category of innovation followers (see Figure 1).

Social innovations appear in many areas and policies and are researched from a number of theoretical and methodological angles but the conditions under

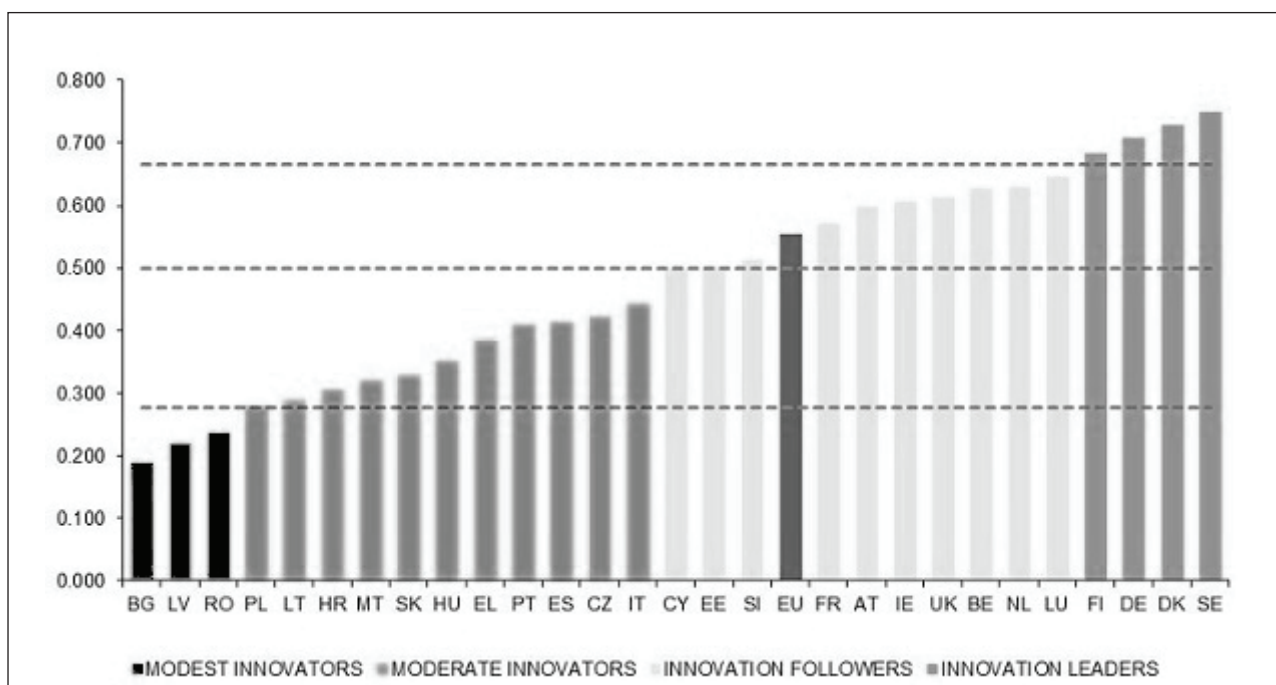


Figure 1: EU Member States' innovation performance

Source: Innovation Union Scoreboard, 2014

which social innovations develop, flourish and sustain and finally lead to societal change are not yet fully understood (2013 b). The following chapter focuses on the research of social innovations in Croatia with the aim to add to understanding of this popular but still under-researched subject.

SITUATING SOCIAL INNOVATIONS IN CROATIA

Background

In Croatia, innovation policy and National Innovation Systems are still not recognized as tools for socio-economic development and as the essence of strategic policy. Despite traditionally been a research and science oriented society, Croatia with its both traditional and alternative institutions have not made a shift from the socialist-style science policy towards a modern innovation policy oriented country, which uses the R&D for the socio-economic challenges (Karzen, 2015b). Lately though, Croatia has made a move toward the innovation policy in line with the EU policies. There exist different strategic document which do not focus on innovation but open doors to them (such as Strategy of Education, Science and Technology) while the key document is the Strategy of Fostering Innovation in the Republic of Croatia 2014-2020. This document also treats social innovation (Priority 2. Responding to social challenges through application of innovations). Another important document is the Proposal of the Strategy of Smart Specialization of the Republic of Croatia since it changes the approach to the regional development. This document also has social innovations as one of its foci. The key document, passed in April 2015, is the Strategy of Social Entrepreneurship Development 2014-2020. Although it focuses on social entrepreneurship and not social innovation, it has been a move forward to opening up of this field.

The idea of the integration of science and innovation, as well as of the integration of science policy and industrial and technology policies, has, so far, in Croatia, been poorly received and understood. From the socio-economic and cultural point of view, it has hardly been accepted at all. The last two decades of the 20th century did not make the necessary shift from the standard research and industrial policies to the innovation policy (Švarc, 2004).

Despite such situation, some developments have been noticed and the situation has somewhat changed lately. In the period February-May 2015, Institute for International Relations and Social Innovation Laboratory did a mapping exercise in order to detect good practice examples of social innovation in Croatia. The research has been done within the larger EU FP7 proj-

ect "Social Innovation: Driving Force of Social Change" (SI-DRIVE).

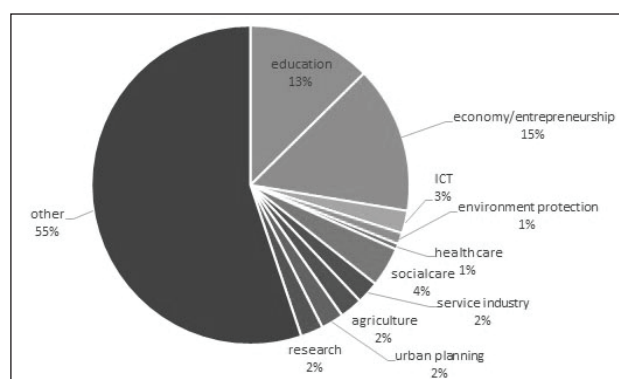
Methodology

A specially designed on-line questionnaire has been sent to 1255 e-mail addresses. The sample consisted of previously detected respondents working in public, private or civil sectors; some of them have already been known as those creating/promoting social innovations or entrepreneurship and the others were selected based on information on their activities which could potentially lead to new developments. The content of the questionnaire was defined and tested within the framework of the EU FP7 project SI-DRIVE (**Social Innovation: Driving Force of Social Change**)⁵ which was the same for all countries involved, and consisted of 28 closed and open-ended questions. The response rate was 14% (N=172 in absolute numbers). Given the novelty of the subject, the number of responses is satisfactory. As this was the first such mapping on the subject in Croatia, the results may be indicative.

Results

The greatest number of innovations come from the sector of economy/entrepreneurship (15%) and education (13%). 4% of them are categorized as social care innovations, 3% of them as ICT innovations while only a small number of them are distributed in the service industry, agriculture, urban planning and research (2% each), health care and environment protection (1% each). The largest category (55%) is not clearly defined and belongs to different sectors (see Chart 1). The diversity of sectors where the social innovations occur shows its correspondence and adaptability to all sectors thus indicating its great potential in solving societal problems.

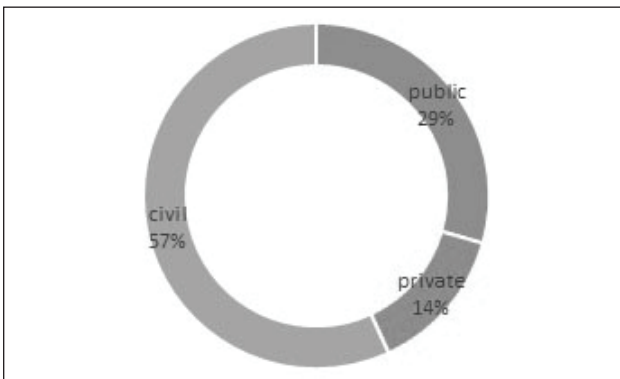
Chart 1: Sectors by industry



⁵ See www.si-drive.eu; the questionnaire has been prepared by a group of experts and then sent to all project partners who tested it themselves, commented and revised it. In this way participatory process in the creation and testing of the questionnaire has been respected.

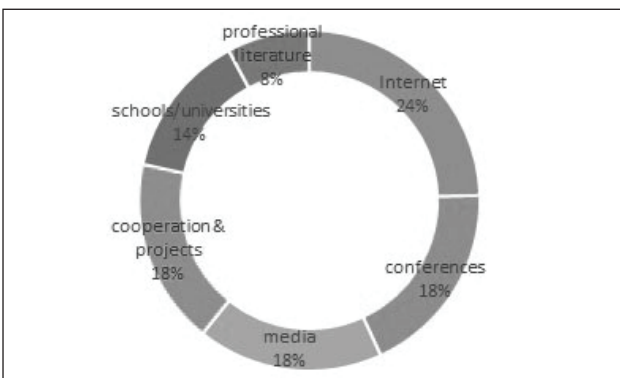
Concerning ownership, the greatest number of innovations come from the civil sector (57%). They are followed by the public sector innovations (29%), and somewhat surprisingly private sector (14%) (see Chart 2). One would expect the greatest number of innovations to be in the private sector or at least greatest than those in the public sector due to the slow and bureaucratic mentality in transitional countries such as Croatia. The greatest number of innovations in the civil sector is not surprising since their agility and activism has been seen also in other sectors.

Chart 2: Sectors by ownership



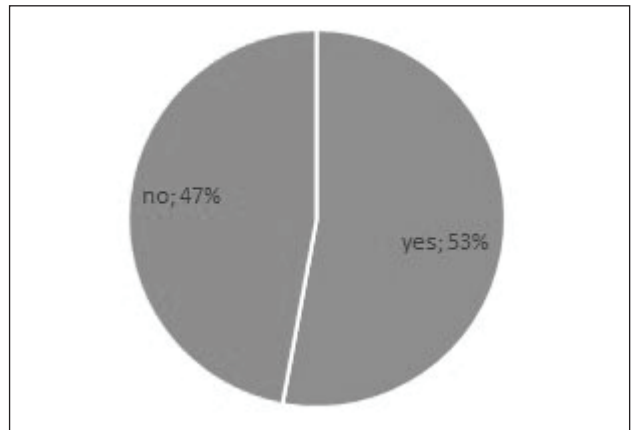
86% of the respondents are acquainted with the term 'social innovation'. When it comes to the source of information about the term 'social innovation', majority of respondents (24%) have found out about it on the Internet. Others heard about it at conferences, through cooperation and projects and in the media (18% each) or in schools/universities (14%). Relatively small number of respondents (8%) first read about 'social innovations' in the professional literature (see Chart 3). This indicates that as much as the finding out about and understanding of the social innovation concept is left to individuals themselves, a lot of its promotion can be done through the media, conferences as well as schools/universities.

Chart 3: Source of information



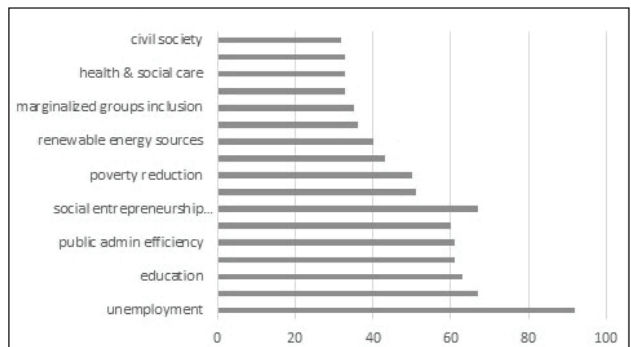
Just over a half of the respondents (53%) are acquainted with some social innovation model (see Chart 4). When put in the relation with the acquaintance of respondents with the term 'social innovation', it is obvious that the knowledge on the subject is still quite superficial (86% of them heard about the term but only 53% know about it in more depth). This again shows the need for further education and promotion on the subject.

Chart 4: Acquaintance with the SI models



A number of fields require the innovative practice: although the majority of respondents 'vote for 'employment'', they see a need for it also in education, creative industries, public administration, development and sustainable governance, entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship support, poverty reduction, urban development, renewable energy sources, environment protection, marginalized groups inclusion, culture, health and social care, care for elders and disabled, civil society (see Chart 5).

Chart 5: Need for innovative practice – fields



The majority (51%) of respondents see a great potential of social innovations' to contributing to the society. 40% think they greatly add to solving societal problems and 9% see their moderate contribution. Not one of the respondents thinks that the contribution is small.

When it comes to the innovation drivers, 52% of the respondents claim that they belong to the category of social challenges. 13% of them think that the driver is the model seen somewhere else and 10% of respondents share the opinion that it's the new policies/strategies which drive the innovation. 6% think that it's the advancement of technology. Also, 6% say that the availability or limiting resources can drive the innovation, while 13% think it is something else (see Chart 6). Therefore, the majority of innovations are developed when there is a social need or challenge. Still, other drivers can also trigger the development of innovations. Additional triggers were also mentioned such as problems (isolation, unavailability) and needs (representativeness, competitiveness), etc.

Chart 6: Innovation drivers

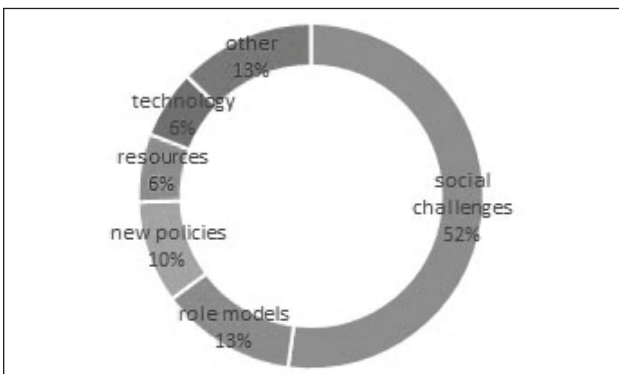


Chart 7: Geographic relevance of innovations

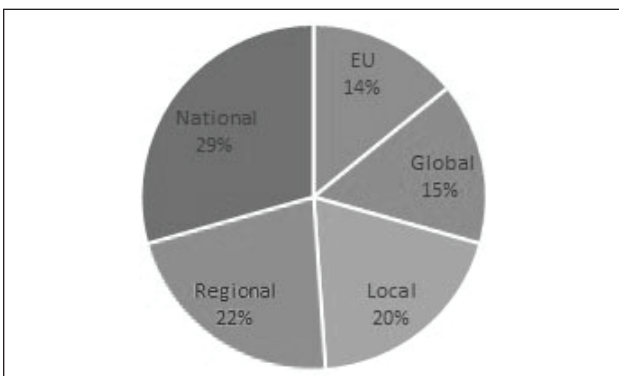
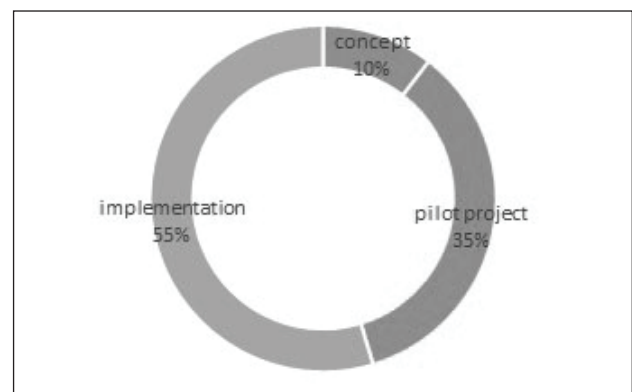


Chart 7. Represents relevance of the respondents' innovations in geographical terms. Majority of them (29%)

has national, regional (22%) and local relevance (20%). 15% has global and 14% EU relevance. Although only around one sixth of innovations mapped by this exercise have a global value, and the majority is of national or lower relevance, it is still a step forward for a small country like Croatia.

Mapped innovations have a different status: 10% of them is in the concept development phase, 35% are in the phase of pilot projects and the majority (55%) has already been implemented (see Chart 8). These statuses are encouraging showing that innovations thrive and compete.

Chart 8: Status of the innovation

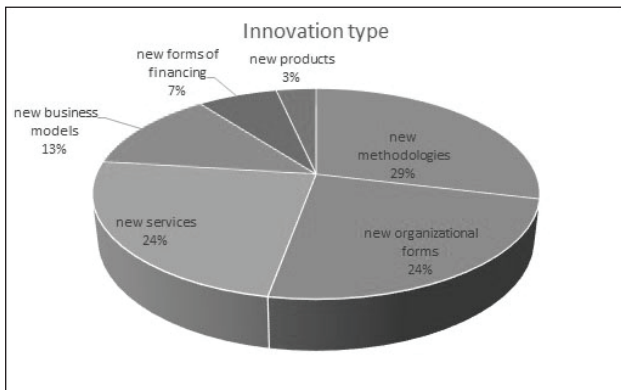


The number of social innovations in Croatia are tracked from 1994 until present day. In 1994, there were only two of them. There were none, one or two innovations in the following years so far as 2008 when the number increased to four, and has been gradually rising in the next two years (five in 2009 and six in 2010). Then it again fell to one in 2011, and increased to three in 2012. From then on, a great increase is noted in 2013 when there were fourteen of them as well as in 2014 with as much as eighteen. The year 2015 notes three innovations so far. It is somewhat surprising that already in 1994 social innovations were noted. The increase of their numbers in the period 2008-2010 might be due to the global financial crisis which acted as a driver. It can be speculated that the largest increase of innovations starting from 2013 on is due to availability of funds designated for innovative practices as well as a global change of modernist and post-modernist capitalist economic models which led to different solutions for societal problems.

According to the type of innovation, 29% of the respondents classify them as new methodologies/strategies/means. New organizational forms and new services (24% each) follow. 13% of them belong to new business models, 7% of them to new types of financing/fundraising or use of resources, and only 3% to new products (see Chart 9). Although in general, innovative practices in business

are mainly focused on new products, this is not the case with social innovations which are more concentrated on other types of innovation presented above. This may also indicate new economic or governance models which today's societies are going through at the moment.

Chart 9: Innovation type



When it comes to target groups, besides a number of them listed individually, mostly they are as follows: schools, unemployed persons, public administration, entrepreneurs, and elderly and disabled. The diversity of target groups is seen which proves the non-limiting nature of innovations.

99% of researched innovations can be applied in other contexts. Their advantages are that they mostly fill the gap on the market and satisfy social needs (26%), include users in all phases of the process (22%), efficiently solve long-term problems in the community (16%), enhance the quality of life of target groups (15%), change social relations and decrease inequalities (10%), enhance users' access (6%) and decrease the risk of marginalized groups exclusion (5%).

Chart 10: Number of employees

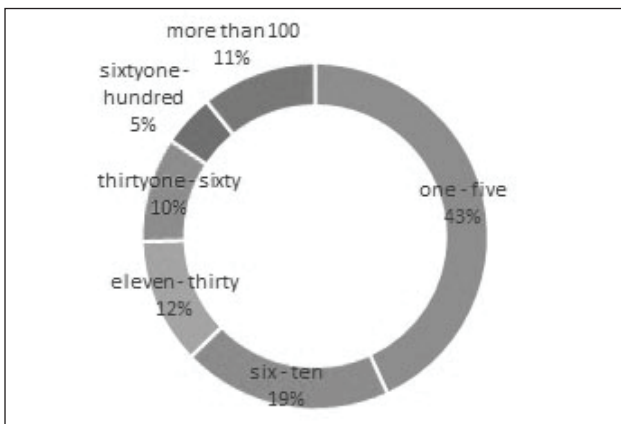


Chart 10 represents the number of employees on a certain innovative practice. The greatest number of organizations are small type organizations and employ 1-5 people. There is 19% of them employing 6-10 people, 12% employing 11-30 people, 10% with 31-60 employees, 5% of those having 61-100 employees and 11% of those with more than 100 employees. A number of organizations additionally have volunteers working on their projects. This corresponds to general trends in the creative sector where the greatest number of creative enterprises are those employing only a small number of workers (for ex. Florida, 2002; Flew, 2012; Rašić Bakarić, Bačić & Božić, 2015).

When it comes to users of innovations, 33% of them has between 1-100, 22% has 101-500, 15% has 1.000-10.000, 14% has more than 10.000, and 13% has between 501-1.000 users. The greatest share of those which have the smallest number of users is seen but other numbers, although small in absolute values, are not to be neglected. Some of the organizations are also members of different networks.

Discussion

Croatia is not an innovation policy oriented country: so far, R&D sector has not been seen as a priority for the socio-economic challenges while standard research and industrial policies have failed to make a necessary shift to the innovation policy. Still, although scarce, innovation practices take roots in various fields of the Croatian society. This research has shown a diversity of sectors where social innovations occur (employment, education, environment protection, urban planning, etc.); they have a great potential in solving societal problems regardless of the sector. They equally occur either in public, private or civil sector but the greatest number of social innovation examples are seen in the civil sector.

The subject of social innovations is relatively new in Croatia. Although there are examples which date back to 1994 already, they were not widely recognized. Today, the majority of respondents are acquainted with the term 'social innovation' but their knowledge on the subject is still quite superficial. This opens the door to promotion and education activities.

The problem of unemployment is seen as the one to be dedicated the greatest attention in terms of innovative practices. Still, numerous other fields are also detected such as education, creative industries, public administration, development and sustainable governance, entrepreneurship and social entrepreneurship support, poverty reduction, urban development, renewable energy sources, environment protection, marginalized groups inclusion, culture, health and social care, civil society.

Majority of innovations are developed when there is a social need or challenge but also other drivers can trigger the development of innovations. Mapped examples



A rainbow coloured pedestrian crossing on the Marshall Tito Strand in Poreč on the occasion of the International Day Against Homophobia 2014. Source: Center for Civic Initiative Poreč (Centar za gradanske inicijative Poreč). File:IDAHOT 2014 Poreč Croatia 2.JPG. From Wikimedia Commons

mainly have national or lower level relevance (regional or local) but it is to be pointed out that as much as around one sixth of them have a global value and 14% have the EU relevance. More than half of innovations is in its implementation (55%) or pilot phase (35%) which proves a high level of their success and chances for sustainability. The number of innovations has been largely increased especially in the period 2013-2014.

Mapped social innovations are mainly seen in new methodologies/strategies/means (29%) and new organizational forms and new services (24% each). New business models, new types of financing/fundraising or use of resources, new products are less represented. The diversity of target groups is mentioned which proves the non-limiting nature of innovations while almost all researched innovations can be applied in other contexts. Results show that even without the policy context in the field of (social) innovations, individuals successfully manage to be innovative even across national borders.

CONCLUSION

In today's world of economic, ecological and social crisis, resource depletion and unsustainability, there is a strong need for new future paradigms. Basic framework for tomorrow has to be built to support employment, environmental protection, health and education system, urban planning, tourism, etc. The main idea is to improve the society through the concept of transmodernity. This concept was developed as a reaction on capitalism, industrialization and dehumanization in the second half of the 20th century; it is to improve postmodern economic theory and practice and to influence development of the society in general.

Social innovation is seen as a promising method for addressing growing developmental challenges through flexible solutions, active stakeholder engagement, strong institutional support and integration of society, science and innovative practices. Social innovation aims to meet social needs and empower the society with new capacities to act.

It has an important place within the Europe 2020 Strategy, recent EU policies, programs and almost all sectoral development documents. Croatia only recently committed itself to fostering social innovation through the framework of the Strategy of Social Entrepreneurship Development 2014-2020, as well as through some other policy documents.

In general, the knowledge on the concept in Croatia is still not fully understood as shown by the results of the mapping of social innovation, conducted in Croatia in March 2015. Despite a relatively low response rate of the research, the results are indicative since it was the groundbreaking trial to map the situation in the field. The responses were not surprising as respondents have

little knowledge on what the social innovation is. Out of all analyzed sectors, social innovation mostly comes from entrepreneurship (15%) and education (13%). Notwithstanding the low level of representation of social innovation, the majority of respondents consider that it is a significant factor for development in the future. Internet (24%) and media (18%) had important impact on its growth. Most common form of social innovation in Croatia are new strategies/methodologies (29%), new organizational forms (24%) and new services (24%).

Main problems Croatia is facing today are insufficient implementation of social innovation policies; excessive administration; lack of knowledge on the subject; inadequate use of mechanisms, tools and solutions; and a lack of understanding of positive impacts it can produce. Still, most of social innovation ideas are implemented; innovations occur in diverse sectors and are adaptable to different contexts; their rather high level of success is seen on national, but also global and EU level; they address diverse target groups.

Great opportunity for Croatia lies in the private sector and civil society, which are open to the implementation of new ideas and strategies. At the moment of the research, civil sector accounted for 57% of innovations, public for 29% and private sector for 14%. Most of innovators come from small type businesses which hire between one and five people (43%) and six to ten people (19%).

Social innovations are a recent practice which requires further studying and analysis. Institutions and policy tools which support their development are still of rudimentary nature. However, so far implemented social innovations across the EU have caused tangible benefits which makes it just to consider them as a potential catalyst for social changes within development models. Social innovations have proven to contribute to improving the conditions of many local communities, either by establishing new organizational structures, processes or services or by setting up new interventions, such as new financial or tax arrangements. They prove to be a great solution for many problems Croatia is facing today and could engage innovative professionals of different profiles in rural area development, ecological food production, local communities' development, etc. In doing so, significant efforts are needed to raise the capacity of institutions to monitor and support the new challenges, for example through organizing educational workshops and promotion activities.

In future, Croatia can expect growth in social entrepreneurship and social innovation since there is a growing interest and there are opportunities to build and acquire new knowledge, while new policy context is being completed. There are a number of new innovation triggers initiated by the EU which support both social innovations and prosperity for the benefit of our society.

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POVZETEK

Prispevek predstavlja koncept družbenih inovacij kot nove ekonomske in družbenorazvojne paradigme. Škoda, ki sta jo povzročili moderna in postmoderna kapitalistična ekonomija, je močno vplivala na družbene spremembe, značilne za transmodernost. Te spremembe so vidne v tako imenovanem »družbenem zasuku«, zaznamovanem z novimi družbenimi vrednotami, ki so med drugim pripeljale do vpeljave družbenega podjetništva in koncepta družbenih inovacij. Avtorica v prispevku analizira politike Evropske unije na področju (družbenih) inovacij in predstavlja rezultate empirične študije, ki je obravnavala njihovo opredelitev na Hrvaškem. Raziskava je temeljila na anketnih vprašalnikih odprtega in zaprtega tipa, poslanih predhodno zaznamim izpraševancem. Rezultati so pokazali, da je koncept družbenih inovacij na Hrvaškem še relativno nepoznan, vendar primeri dobre prakse dokazujejo, da njihov razvojni potencial presega tako državne kot tudi sektorske meje. Namen pričujočega prispevka je predstaviti teorijo družbenih sprememb in očitne razvojne trende, na podlagi katerih je mogoče napovedati, da bodo socialno podjetništvo in družbene inovacije pomembno vplivale na oblikovanje nove ekonomije, temelječe bolj na vrednotah družbe kot pa posameznika.

Ključne besede: nova ekonomija, družbene inovacije, socialno podjetništvo, transmodernost, Hrvaška in EU

⁶ Raziskavo smo izvedli v okviru ključnega projekta TÁMOP 4.2.1.D-15/1/KONV-2015-0006 – Razvoj inovacijske raziskovalne baze in centra znanja v Kószegu v okviru izobraževalno-raziskovalne mreže na Univerzi v Panoniji, ki ga subvencionirata Evropska unija in Madžarska in se sofinancira iz sredstev Evropskega socialnega sklada.

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THE MEDITERRANEAN DISCOURSE IN THE SHORT STORIES BY IVO ANDRIĆ

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ABSTRACT

The Mediterranean discourse of Andrić's short stories is an obvious and inexorable metatext which contributes the structure, vocabulary and semantics of this part of Andrić's writings.. This paper deals with the Mediterranean discourse in the examples of several cities: Rome, Dubrovnik, Sintra and Lisbon. The focus of this research is Andrić's attitude towards the Mediterranean, as well as the dominant features of this clime in the writings of the author.

Keywords: the Mediterranean, Ivo Andrić, short stories, the Mediterranean discourse, the South

IL DISCORSO DEL MEDITERRANEO NEI RACCONTI DI IVO ANDRIĆ

SINTESI

Il discorso del Mediterraneo è un metatesto ovvio e inesorabile che foggia la struttura, il lessico e la semantica dei racconti di Andrić. Il presente contributo affronta il discorso del Mediterraneo negli esempi di diverse città: Roma, Dubrovnik, Sintra e Lisbona. Lo studio si incentra sull'atteggiamento di Andrić verso il Mediterraneo e sulle caratteristiche dominanti del clima riconducibili agli scritti di questo autore.

Parole chiave: Mediterraneo, Ivo Andrić, racconti, il discorso del Mediterraneo, il Sud

The sky, the sea and its shore, and a stone on it. A stone alone; and it doesn't lean on another stone; it has no name; it is not desecrated by a name; it serves nothing. No bird nor a blade of grass, no voice nor a movement. Only the stone. I am standing holding my breath. (Andrić, 1978)

INTRODUCTION

The work of Andrić aroused the attention of readers since the publication of his first poem (1911). The first criticism of his work was published already in 1914, and since then his work has often been subject to different analyses. The most comprehensive data on the bibliography of Ivo Andrić can be found in the document *Bibliography of Ivo Andrić* (1911-2011) (publishers: Ivo Andrić Foundation, Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and Serbian Matica, Belgrade – Novi Sad, 2011). The bibliography includes books, magazines and newspapers from the period between 30th September 1911 and 31st December 2010. This material contains 15,631 bibliographic units. The section *Literature about Ivo Andrić* is divided into two parts: books about Ivo Andrić (229 units) and segments about Ivo Andrić (9,633 units). Through careful analysis of the contents of this Bibliography, one can observe a heterogeneous and multiple approach of the work of Andrić.

The subject of the Mediterranean occurs in Andrić's work in the context of broader study units or within segments focused on some aspects of the Mediterranean lifestyle, characters from this region or the functioning of Mediterranean cities. Depending on the subject of analysis, the Mediterranean appears as the frame of the action, some kind of justification for the actions of the characters, a possibility for the writer to display human destiny in a nuanced way and the specificities of perception of life: happiness and sadness. The Mediterranean is a major historiographical topic, but it is primarily a place of cultural encounters. Andrić's Mediterranean is sunny, bright, aqua blue, but it is also a place of contact between East and West where different human destinies interlace and touch. In addition to the authors who sporadically address this topic in their studies: Petar Džadžić (1957), Ljubo Jandrić (1982), Isidora Sekulić (1962), Radovan Vučković (2002, 2006), let us enumerate some more works, in which the Mediterranean is analysed in more details:

1. Bodiřoga, Milan (1994): *Odnos domaćih ljudi prema strancima u Travničkoj hronici*.
3. Bok-Lejting, Nel de (1961): *Italijanska renesansa in Andrić: Pisma iz Nizozemske-ga*.
4. Brlečić-Vujić, Branka (2010): *Andrićeva poetska slika dvaju gradova: Dubrovnik i Split: (San o gradu, 1923. i San u splitskoj tamnici, 1924)*.
5. Jevtić, Mirjana (1988): *Italijanske teme u delu Ive Andrića*.

International research Andrić's works are numerous. Here are some of the studies:

1. Cooper, Jr., Henry, R. (1984-1985): *The Image of Bosnia in the Fiction of Ivo Andrić*.
2. Tošović, B. (Ed.) (2011): *Die K.U.K. periode in leben und schaffen von Ivo Andrić (1892-1922)*.
4. Ivo Andrić e l' Italia (2000). In: *I romanzi-cronache di Ivo Andrić*.

Andrić associates the love for unknown regions, the Mediterranean and its specific features, with early childhood, fascinating experiences and extreme curiosity in the short story *Panorama*. Describing the arrival of moving pictures – the Panorama in Sarajevo, which showed the life in the cities of the world, Andrić discovers a new world and depicts the intensity of experience of a boy discovering these unknown regions. *Everything that meant my real life until then, sank into non-existence. And everything I read in novels or wished and created in my imagination, all that could be associated with these images. My field of vision, and the entire consciousness with it, was completely filled with the pictures of countries and cities which were sliding in front of me and in which I got lost. The silence was solemn and total, and only from time to time the boy's fine hearing could register a weak sound, a barely audible creaking of the mechanism that drives the whole machine of the Panorama. But to me it seemed like a distant music of the spheres, which always follows the moving of the Earth and its parts through the universe.* (Andrić, 2013, 124-125) Andrić also shows the reaction of another boy, Lazar, who remains completely indifferent about the same Panorama. In fact, one's attitude in the early childhood somehow determines one's future interests. *He thought that there was nothing in particular. Pictures, like any other pictures, pictures of cities and places you know nothing about, where you haven't been and will never go to. Of what use is all that? None.* (Andrić, 2013, 134) His best friend's indifference and rejection of the new, his disbelief in the opportunities to meet other worlds, makes the boy feel a physical pain. *I only saw that my best friend was blocking my most beautiful view and destroying my best hopes. I avoided his look and felt a physical pain in the chest.* (Andrić, 2013, 134) *All of me was rebelling against that bad word and against his entire opinion, but I said nothing, thinking only about one thing: the difference there can be between two men, even though they are best friends.* (Andrić, 2013, 135) On his travels later in his life, a familiar image from the Panorama would pop up, and the grown-up man would always return to Sarajevo in his thoughts to the room where he watched the moving pictures. (The Panorama closed down very soon because there had not been enough spectators in Sarajevo). Andrić talks about his love for the cities that flourished due to the moving pictures in his childhood. *It is such love, which was born in me while I was watching the pictures of cities and landscapes in that dark room, that never died nor diminished, but grew and matured with me, without losing intensity nor splendour over the years. That passion was costly and difficult, but I paid for*

it joyfully and lavishly, no longer in nickels and dimes, but by the best part of myself. Nevertheless, I owe it, and will always do, because those pictures of the world I saw or sensed can never be paid enough. They inspire and motivate me, and attach me to life, and they prove again and again that wandering the world for years I didn't waste my strength. (Andrić, 2013, 156-157)

ROME

The Mediterranean atmosphere of Rome is found in two short stories: *A Day in Rome* and *The First Day in the Joyful City*. *A Day in Rome* describes the contact of the Mediterranean and the South Slavic regions through the character of Nikola Kriletić, a second lieutenant from Mostar. *As a volunteer and a courier*, Nikola Kriletić had been to most of the European capitals. (Andrić, 2013, 7) *And they say he had never been surprised.* (Andrić, 2013, 7) He made his opinions, stunning or severe, about the countries and the cities, but his scantest opinion was about Rome: *"They are all canny fellows."* (Ibid) He made this opinion after a day in March spent in Rome, before he travelled to Corfu. There are several Roman toponyms in the short story, such as Via Nazionale where he and a Dalmatian, Stanić, were caught in the rain. Here they are faced with the image of the Presbyterian Church and the expanse of the Mediterranean, with the differences that are found in one place. The reaction of the second lieutenant Kriletić is interesting – he joined the singing of church songs and then abruptly stood up and left the church. After that, he went to the Pincio which is full of tourists. Kriletić remains indifferent watching the panorama of Rome, but the lilac he saw brought back his childhood memories. By this narrative technique, leaving the present time, with the associations of his past life at home and the events of his childhood, the writer manages to link the South Slavic regions, Mostar, Sarajevo and Sremski Karlovci, with the Mediterranean, although some of them belong to the Mediterranean. In the city, *every corner promises that something pleasant will happen.* (Andrić, 2013, 10) *It's one of those evenings when the cigarette is sweet and the wine is drinkable, and there are no desires, except the great one which fills him up, and which is joy itself.* (Ibid) The wine brings back memories, of his friend Tikica, together with whom he was expelled from the trade school, and of Karlovci. Kriletić faces himself, the basic parts of his being, and the elements of his identity which make him what he is, untamed and true to life. The songs about beautiful women which Kriletić croons make him feel better. The innkeeper's reaction to the behaviour of his guest is interesting – every time he starts singing, he comes frightened and begs him to leave. It is also interesting that they speak different languages, Serbian and Italian, but perfectly understand the behaviour of one another, that is, Kriletić understands the innkeeper's fear and desire for profit, but the innkeeper can not

understand the inner world of the second lieutenant, and sees him as a drunken guest whom he needs to get rid of. Having promised free brandy to other guests if they help him get rid of Kriletić, the innkeeper throws him out into the street, all of which he comments with the saying: *"Miloš in the Latin world."* The hustle and bustle of the Mediterranean city, its multiculturalism and multilingualism, but also the unwritten rules, bring back the second lieutenant's memories of some parts of his life, the subtlest and earliest memories of his childhood and youth. With its smells and flavours, the Mediterranean reminds him of his home, the Mostar wine *Žilavka* and beautiful women. The city inhabited by all canny fellows brings back his subtlest memories. The Mediterranean soon arouses all the Mediterranean traits in the rational soldier. The experience of Rome in the short story *The First Day in the Joyful City* is already hinted in the title: Rome is a joyful city, the city of life, of beautiful women, commotion and sunlight. *And as I walk these streets, narrow and always a bit damp and dark, which were built not for life, but for the troubled times to pass by them, I remember every day and night spent in the joyful city because, of all the things in the world, joy supports us and invigorates us best.* (Andrić, 2013, 22) Troubled times leave the city and life rules in its most beautiful aspects, full and meaningful. Nevertheless, the man from the North, a foreigner even in his own country, does not trust the South easily. *I've never liked the South; now I hate it. Nature itself has punished the southern countries and their people, condemning them to an eternal fast, all their lives to eat salad and fish, prepared with oil, and giving them grayish landscapes full of poor cypresses which bear small bitter fruits, or pretentious oranges and southern flowers, which don't smell and don't cheer them up. Of course, the people who live on such a poor diet must be full of prejudice, and can easily delude themselves: that there is something to be added to or taken from life, as it is. And therefore many of them spend their lives doing futile work and fighting bitterly, with no perspectives of any permanence nor endurance.* (Andrić, 2013, 17) The Mediterranean liveliness is felt everywhere – the boys selling hot and greasy cakes (*And so warm and sweet is the smell which these cakes shed in the morning, that the abundance and peaceful joy of the city can be felt with it.* (Andrić, 2013, 18)), shops full of lamps, but none standing still, the endless rows of shops, delicious Mediterranean food, the rapidness of experience, in seconds. The joyful city is the place where the North and the Italian countryside meet. A young woman, desirous of the world, of new experiences, of life, was *the first lesson that the joyful capital of the joyful country gave me.* (Andrić, 2013, 21) *It was one of those hidden treasures which sociologists probably have in mind when they write about the hidden possibilities, resources, strengths and beauty, which the countryside has to offer to the big cities.* (Andrić, 2013, 20) The Mediterranean liveliness, joyful life and joyful city make the

man from the North realize that he is living a rare joyful moment, that in front of him there is a woman *who has already surpassed the small-town manners but hasn't yet learnt the new big-city manners*. Meeting this woman, talking to her late at night, her world, which suddenly opened in front of him, made Rome a joyful city. He met a woman about whom he did not know whether she was *a wise woman from the stories of the Orient, or the poor girl you meet in the dusk who asks you in a trembling voice where a certain street is*. (Andrić, 2013, 21)

DUBROVNIK

In Andrić's Mediterranean discourse, Dubrovnik as a toponym appears in five short stories: *"The Twilight Time"*, *"The Two Records of the Bosnian Scribe Dražeslav"*, *"The Encounter"*, *"The Dubrovnik Blizzard"* and *"A Dream about the City"*. The centre of this Andrić's Mediterranean sub-discourse as the place where the bare and harsh Bosnian crag and the Mediterranean peace, smells and flavours meet, is Dražeslav, a Bosnian scribe, as a metaphor of human striving for better, more beautiful and brighter sides of life. Not only Dražeslav, but also much better-known Andrić's heroes celebrate *"the faith, dignity and liberty of Dubrovnik, a peaceful town"* (Andrić, 2011, 130) in front of the sea as the altar. Take, for example, Ćamil from *"The Damned Yard"*, a young man from Smyrna who, even behind the walls of Constantinople prison, finds his own universe in which he can still smell the sea and the Mediterranean cypresses. His inner Mediterranean peace can not be disturbed because he himself is the place where the sky and sea merge. It is a gift from the Mediterranean to him which not even the prison walls can take away from him.

In everything that the Mediterranean landscape offers – luscious, flowery vegetation, the warmth of the stone and the smell of the sea air, the heroes of Andrić's Mediterranean discourse seek the peace of their souls while, at the same time, their spirits are elevated and inspired, and their minds are strengthened, even though in the beginning, during the confrontation of their past and present *I*, they are almost unaware of it. Dubrovnik as the jewel of the Mediterranean, is the stage for the writer's insight into the human fascination with the beauty and mystery of life. Therefore, it is almost a rhetorical question: *"Is there a better and more beautiful stage for this encounter of man and beauty than beautiful Dubrovnik?"*

Dražeslav, the scribe of the Bosnian envoy, tries to measure his temporariness by the change of Dubrovnik itself, by the wine which is worse than the wine he used to drink there at the time when he was younger and healthier. The words of a doctor from Dubrovnik soon make him change his belief and realize the truth: *"You're wrong. Everything in the world around you is the same. More or less the same. But the major change is in you."* (Andrić, 2011, 90) And Dražeslav is tormented by a serious and insurmountable thought because he clearly sees

the difference *"between a Bosnian and a gentleman from the coast,"* and knows that it is impossible to become equal with him. The confrontation of different worlds, climes and mentalities, is as great as the sea that strikes the ramparts of Dubrovnik: *"You feel it everywhere and you can't explain it nor banish it out of your mind. And you bear a grudge against yourself and him, although you would never admit it to anyone. Not even to yourself. But you can't hide it. At least not from yourself."* (Andrić, 2011, 94) The focal point of the short story *"The Two Records of the Bosnian Scribe Dražeslav"* is found at the very end, in order to emphasize the fact that it is not just a narrative about a Bosnian scribe going to the doctor's in Dubrovnik but the focus is on the philosophical basis, which expresses the thought about life, which can never be compared to a straight line. On the contrary, life deceives us, excites us, makes us realize the truth and change our beliefs and it warms us up and cools us. And we are constantly tossed between the land and the sea.

In his two records Dražeslav continues contemplating the gentlemen of Dubrovnik for whom money is *"the measurement of permanence of all things and relations"* (Andrić, 2011, 98), although they live by the principle of change of two elements: earth and water. Everything they know and have has to serve the purpose of acquiring property. That is how it survived. And every newcomer, even though his stay is temporary, as the time passes starts to notice the inevitable changes in himself, caused by the sea, food, drink, breathing, looking and his own attempt to change a certain word, syllable length or rhythm of speech. And again there is anxiety in Dražeslav (the metaphor of all of us), a new duel with himself, with his past and present *I*. In this new nightmare he manages to perceive a tiny bit of beauty in the length of a vowel, because it encompasses all the beauty seen in the Mediterranean regions and their reflections in his soul. *"And it happens, either in a dream or in reality, that the Mediterranean world, which would seem to you a ridiculous and vicious game, appears sometimes in front of you, suddenly and in its entirety, and secretly but strongly makes you, too, play that game for a while, even if you have to blame them and yourself because of that later."* (Andrić, 2011, 98)

Dražeslav's encounter with the beauty of a woman, Lucia, an only daughter, a representative example of the Mediterranean female beauty, was only slightly longer than a moment, but long enough for him to start thinking about the temporariness of physical beauty which lasts *"as dew and is always somewhere, but no one can take it and keep it to themselves."* (Andrić, 2011, 98) Not all beauty is the same, the Mediterranean beauty of Dubrovnik *"flourishes and keeps on flourishing here, but can not be transplanted."* (Andrić, 2011, 112)

The last day of Dražeslav's stay in Dubrovnik, depicted in the short story *"The Dubrovnik Blizzard"*, completes Andrić's opinion that life alternately fascinates and disappoints us, excites us and makes us realize

the truth, and surprises us when we least expect it. The hero of this short story discovers the multiple meanings of what apparently means only *one thing*. Four seasons would be encompassed by this *one thing*. But there is *the fifth season* in Dubrovnik, which is exactly in the month when the city celebrates its patron saint, Saint Blaise. Snow is not common in Dubrovnik, but the reaction to it is completely different among the local people and newcomers. Just as all wonders, this one is also short-lived. They are elusive and remain only in the eye of the beholder, because the sun melts the snow even before the noon, and the veils of snow carried by the wind become thinner and thinner. You might think that he had a dream about the blizzard, just as it happens in life during beautiful short encounters with the wonders of beauty and nature, of which one can not be sure whether one saw them or dreamt about them. You do not talk about them or at least you do not talk about them for a long time. Life requires going on. The experienced gentlemen know it well, strongly attached to the stones sunlit for centuries and the eternal sea that expands their horizons, and they themselves live by the ancient traditions and established rules. Their ships are in the well-sheltered harbours, their money is safe, they are protected by their saints and patrons, and that is why they do not talk about “*the fifth season*” with their newly-arrived Bosnian negotiators. The morning blizzard is forgotten in their universal peace and harmony. Confused by their refusal to talk about the blizzard and shunting the conversation onto work, Dražeslav can only watch the leaves of orange and lemon trees in the gardens sparkling like mirrors in the evening sun. Nevertheless, in his mind and in his look enchanted by the scene of the Mediterranean landscape, there is the embryo of the idea that “*the arrival of a tribe at the seaside is the beginning of their true history, their entrance into the realm of better chances and more opportunities.*” (Andrić, 2011, 11)

For Dražeslav, the beginning was characterized by the amazement before the beauty of the Mediterranean, before the beauty that can not be fully described, nor bought nor retained “*nor pleaded for from God.*” And finally, the verses at the beginning of “*The Masquerade below the Kuplje*” by Ivo Vojnović:

*Faith, dignity and liberty
Of Dubrovnik, a peaceful town*

marked not only the first encounter with the city, but also the memories of Dubrovnik, whose longevity is measured by the magnitude of the sacrifice by which it was redeemed.

SINTRA

The Mediterranean discourse related to Portugal, the country in which solitude is merry if it is meant to be, is a framework for the encounter of Byron and a girl whom

he calls the Little Creature. This encounter in Sintra enriches Byron's life and gives it meaning and a reason for bright thoughts at least temporarily. When we read about the girl, with clever eyes full of health and joy, we see a broader framework for this character. *It seems to him that now he has found everything his entire being has ever sought, and much more, on this green height. The unknown evil that banished him out of England and drove him all over the world seems to have driven him here deliberately.* (Andrić, 2013, 118) Here, Andrić also follows the idea that good and evil alternate in human life and here good is personified in the girl, although Byron believes that she was sent by evil. Andrić describes the beauty of Portuguese women in *Panorama*, too. *It seems to me that all human life begins with them, life with its birth, growing up and growing old, with hunting, food and love.* (Andrić, 2013, 156) In Byron's mind erotic thoughts confront bright thoughts, and he extinguishes his desire with a bright thought in order not to fall into an abyss even deeper. *In the lightning visions, that flared up on this Little Creature like a forest fire out of shepherds' embers, for the first time Byron had what dreams promise us, what women never give us and what life always takes away from us. All of that was running through his veins, together with his boiling blood.* (Andrić, 2013, 118-119) Byron calms down this instinctive, unreasonable reaction and the expression of his soul by bright thoughts. *But then he would immediately extinguish all his desires, and he would encompass this lively and cheerful human being with a free, new, bright thought, which would fill him with endless shame and diffidence and infinite respect for human personality – the greatest living sanctity.* (Andrić, 2013, 119) Here again, Andrić does not give words great power because words have lost their original meaning and people use them as they like it, but he lets souls talk. Byron and the girl do not talk. They just listen and feel each other. *They looked at and went around each other like two beasts, a small one and a big one, which smell and watch each other before they begin a strange game in which they stroke and insult each other alternately... It seemed that the man multiplied and that all his senses lived individually with such intensity that, at the same time, it meant the enriching and death of him as a person.* (Andrić, 2013, 119) Immediately there is comprehension of the importance of the moment, and what the real moment of ecstasy and oblivion is. The hell, like the life of every mortal, does not allow many moments like that. Aware of the fulfillment of the moment and not wanting to interrupt it, nor other people to see it or feel it, Byron runs away. In *Panorama* there is a similar encounter where the main character goes along with the beautiful Portuguese women and, although it seems to him that they are making fun of him, he does not leave them *because he prefers their light-hearted ridicule to being separated from them.* Nevertheless, after the encounter Byron was *as calm as a lamb, and paid full attention not only to*

people but also to things. The dream of happiness, of a perfect moment, and knowing that there is fulfillment bring peace. Lisbon speaks through women, the bare-foot fisherwomen who are interested in Byron and his conversation with the Little Creature. Lisbon, a luscious city with its silly architecture of palaces and churches, is also a city with *something human and noble* in the arrangement of its boroughs. It is a place where the Mediterranean mentality and life itself are most beautifully reflected in Lisbon women. And that is exactly how Andrić depicts it. In both short stories, he writes about the Lisbon fisherwomen and girls. *Around them, the sound waves of their laughter and conversation.* (Andrić, 2013, 155) The images of these women last long in his thoughts, memories and feelings.

Leaving Lisbon and Portugal, Byron takes with him the image of the Mediterranean world, the image of a more beautiful, harmonious environment that provides encounters that bring him life and give him strength and a wish for the better. During one year the Little Creature invigorated Byron's spirit, followed him and found him in the expected coincidences. *Lemon, salt, oil and malvoisie characterized her being. Having lunch with twenty people, he was able to recall the green Sintra and its Little Creature, playing discreetly with two grains of salt between his thumb and forefinger. He found the least trace of her in the faces, words and movements of women.* (Andrić, 2013, 121) When the Little Creature started to fade away and lose her power, when what gives life meaning started to disappear, Byron felt impoverished, desperate and powerless. The encounters and confrontations which the mainstream of life brought about again provoked dark thoughts in him and he was less and less able to keep to the bright side of life. And as if Sintra taught him about the importance of the moment, he could no longer avoid seeing clearly *that the laws of blood in one's life extended their power to*

the realm of imagination and that there was no escape nor salvation from them. (Andrić, 2013, 121) The Mediterranean way of life, freedom and deep feelings excite and overwhelm all those who set off for this region. Andrić first met the Mediterranean as a boy in Sarajevo and he got to know Lisbon through the moving pictures of the Panorama. And since then, the images of the world had instantly appeared and instantly disappeared in his mind. But they appeared again because his love of this region never ceased nor diminished.

CONCLUSION

In all Andrić's works, the Mediterranean, the sea, the sun, the cities and regions, as part of "the destined length of the Višegrad path", represent the place where cultures meet, where the South Slavic regions meet the Mediterranean. From the Panorama in Sarajevo, via Rome, Dubrovnik and Sintra to Lisbon, this paper shows what Andrić perceives in each of these cities – indisputable beauty, but also the fascination of the man who has not grown up and matured watching the vastness of the blue sea, nor smelling the Mediterranean vegetation nor being part of the Mediterranean culture. In each of the characters of the short stories from the corpus, the common features are amazement and fascination in front of beauty inevitably followed by partial misunderstanding and again there appears the other, less bright side of the world and life. All of them confirm Andrić's opinion about beauty: *"Beauty is visible but unreachable; it can not be retained, nor captured, nor stolen, nor bought, nor taken away from people, nor pleaded for from God; it is like a vision, unreal and short-lived, but more preferable to anything that is alive, real and reachable."* (Andrić, 2011, 154)

Translated by Aleksandra Kolarić, MA

MEDITERANSKI DISKURZ V PRIPOVEDKAH IVA ANDRIĆA

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POVZETEK

Meditranski diskurz Andrićevih pripovedk je nedvoumno metatekst, ki prispeva k strukturi, leksiki in semantiki tega dela Andrićevega ustvarjanja. Andrić v svoje delo vnaša Mediteran kot kulturološki, geografski in duhovni prostor ter uporabi prednosti tega podnebja, da bi kar se da slikovito ustvaril polnopomensko književno besedilo. V pripovku je mediteranski diskurz preučevan na primeru nekaj mest: Rima, Dubrovnika, Sintre in Lizbone. Delo prinaša odgovore na nekaj ključnih vprašanj, kot so: kako Mediteran vpliva na ljudi, kako njegovi nepisani zakoni določajo usode ljudi in kako izgleda dotik južnoslovanskih prostorov s kulturami na Mediteranu. V središču našega raziskovanja je tudi Andrićev odnos do Mediterana, ravno tako kot prevladujoče značilnosti tega podnebja v piščevem delu.

Ključne besede: Mediteran, Ivo Andrić, pripovedke, mediteranski diskurz, jug

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REPRESENTATIONS OF TRAUMA: DAVIDE TOFFOLO'S *ITALIAN WINTER*

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ABSTRACT

The graphic novel Italian Winter (L'inverno d'Italia) by Davide Toffolo relays the story of two children, Drago and Giudita, who are interned in the Italian Fascist concentration camp Gonars. The paper will analyse the work and examine its visual language regarding to the content. For the interpretation of the work as a representation of trauma a comparison between Italian Winter and the acclaimed graphic novel Maus by Art Spiegelman. Since Maus has inspired new concepts in the interdisciplinary field of memories studies, this paper builds on some of them for an interpretation of Italian Winter.

Keywords: *Italian Winter, L'inverno d'Italia, Davide Toffolo, Gonars, concentration camp art, Art Spiegelman, postmemory, traumatic realism*

RAPPRESENTAZIONE DEL TRAUMA NEL *L'INVERNO D'ITALIA* DA DAVIDE TOFFOLO

SINTESI

La novella grafica L'inverno d'Italia di Davide Toffolo racconta la storia di due bambini, Drago e Giudita, internati nel campo di concentramento fascista di Gonars. Il saggio analizza la novella ed esamina il suo linguaggio visivo rispetto al contenuto. Per interpretare il lavoro come una rappresentazione del trauma si fa un confronto a Maus, la celebre novella grafica di Art Spiegelman. Maus ha ispirato nuovi concetti nel campo interdisciplinare di studio sulla memoria ed alcuni di loro vengono usati per dare un'interpretazione a L'inverno d'Italia.

Parole chiave: *L'inverno d'Italia, Davide Toffolo, Gonars, arte dei campi di concentramento, Art Spiegelman, postmemoria, realismo traumatico*

REPRESENTATIONS OF TRAUMA

The unimaginable destruction brought by the World War II has left a strong mark on artistic imaginary. The topic is addressed not only by those who witnessed the war and suffered internment, but also by subsequent generations who became acquainted with these crimes through their families, education, mass media, and art.

The field of inquiry called “memory studies” is expanding, and there is a growing number of studies of the representation of trauma and collective memory. Yet, these studies overwhelmingly focus on representing the Holocaust, while studies of representations of internment, concentration camps, and systematic killing of non-Jewish populations—for example, mass internment of Slovenes in Fascist and Nazi camps during World War II—remain scarce.

Holocaust representation is a field of trauma representation that is so vast it has its own distinctive characteristics and warrants classification as a genre with subgenres (cf. Lang, 2000). Holocaust art is the term most commonly used, and Henry W. Pickford defines it as »any artwork that is about the Holocaust, that is, the intentionality or content of which includes reference, direct or indirect, to the Nazi project of humiliation, deprivation, degradation, and extermination against the Jews and other marked groups« (Pickford, 2013, 3). The shortcoming of this term is that it does not include non-Jewish internees and internees in non-German concentration camps, thereby excluding the experiences of large numbers of people.¹ A vivid example is the fact that only from the Province of Ljubljana (*Provincia di Lubiana*), the part of Slovenia occupied by Fascist Italy; 10% of the population (cca. 30,000 people) were taken to Italian concentration camps during the time of the occupation.² Among them, there were many artists, and since Italian camps were less restrictive regarding artistic pursuits than German ones, a sizeable corpus of work by Slovenian artists produced in internment camps survives (cf. Visočnik, 1969). Yet the term Holocaust art, which denotes the mass killing of Jews during World War II, *cannot* be applied to works by Slovene artists interned as Yugoslavs or because of political reasons (such as collaboration with the Liberation Front) or those

dealing with Fascist camps. To avoid these problems, I propose the term “concentration camp art” to refer to art that is connected to either Nazi or Fascist concentration camps (Vrečko, 2014a, 214–215).

This paper will focus on the graphic novel *Italian Winter* by Davide Toffolo,³ a story about two child internees at the Gonars concentration camp, which I will interpret in the context of concentration camp art. I will build on concepts drawn from the studies of Holocaust art, and while some of them are specific to the representation of the Holocaust, many can be fruitfully used to (re-)think the broader field of concentration camp art and representations of World War II trauma. On this note, I will make a comparison between *Italian Winter* and Art Spiegelman’s *Maus*. Firstly, for the obvious reason that they are both done in the same medium and dealing with a similar subject, and secondly, because *Maus* has been a central point of academic studies focusing on Holocaust art and has thus contributed to a new understandings of the representation of trauma and atrocities.

For telling the story, both Spiegelman and Toffolo, have turned to their own medium of expression – comic art. With his pioneering work, Spiegelman has at once posed and dismissed the question about the “appropriateness” of comic art for such a serious topic (Young, 2000, 20). *Maus* has not only transcended this question, but it has achieved »considerably more by addressing certain impossible issues and topics« (LaCapra, 1998, 140). Even though nowadays we might not ask ourselves whether the graphic novel is an appropriate medium, there are still considerations inherent to art that directly or indirectly tackle the topic of concentration camps. Leaving aside the question whether such art is even possible, there is quite a debate about the style. On one hand, there is a tendency toward realism and referentiality as one of the »defining features of study of the Holocaust« and the »commitment to documentation and realistic discourse has come to hold an almost sacred position in confrontations with genocide« (Rothberg, 2000, 99). On the other, there are considerations as to whether any kind of representation is even suitable; furthermore, there are moral implications of this decision (cf. Bartov, 1996; Lang, 2000). Representations of concentration camps continue to struggle with moral considerations and dilemmas regarding the

1 There have also been many debates about the uniqueness of the Holocaust and the Holocaust solely as a Jewish tragedy, for example, genocide and suffering Roma people during the World War II (cf. Hancock, 2009).

2 Deportation and confinement to small islands or poor remote places was one of the central repressive measures of Fascist Italy. A network of “camps” (confinement colonies; *colonie di confino*) existed in Italy even prior to the outbreak of World War II. In June 1940, when Italy entered the war, it began interning civilians—foreigners on its territory as well as citizens deemed dangerous or merely suspicious (Capogreco, 2011, 49). Exact numbers of civilians in internment are not known. Between 1942 and 1943 the network of camps of the Ministry of the Interior was supplemented by a network of camps exclusively for Slovene inmates. It was comprised of six large camps under the control of military authorities: Gonars, Monigo, Chieanuova, Renicci, Colfiorito, and Visco (Capogreco, 2011, 77). The number of inmates varies in the scholarly literature. As Božidar Jezernik claims, the problem originates from the fact that even Italian authorities were not aware of the exact numbers. According to his estimates, the five concentration camps Rab, Padova, Treviso, Gonars, and Renicci accommodated 20000 civilian internees at the end of October 1942 (Jezernik, 2004, 73).

3 Davide Toffolo (1965, Pordenone, Italy) is an acclaimed Italian author of contemporary auteur comics and co-founder of many comic-centred publications. The graphic novel *Italian Winter* was originally published in 2010 by Coconino Press under the title *L’Inverno d’Italia* (Toffolo, 2010).

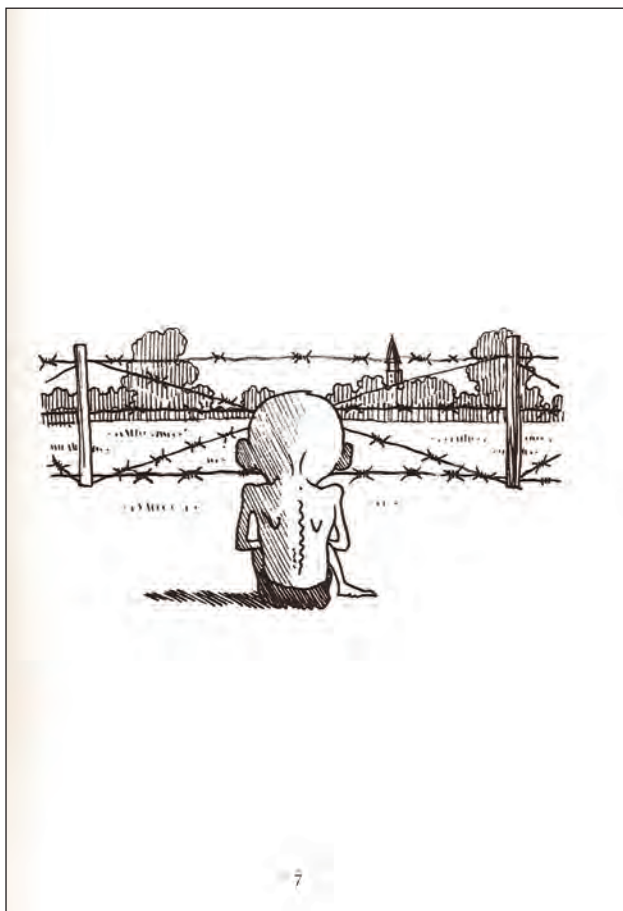


Fig. 1: Davide Toffolo, *Italian Winter*, 7 (Toffolo, 2012)
Fig. 1: Davide Toffolo, *L'inverno d'Italia*, 7 (Toffolo, 2012)
Sl. 1: Davide Toffolo, *Italijanska zima*, 7 (Toffolo, 2012)

boundary between artistic and historical representation. As Van Alphen claims, imaginative discourses such as art and literature are met with suspicions when dealing with the topic of the Holocaust (Van Alphen, 1997, 16–17). Imaginative discourse is juxtaposed to historical facts in a hierarchy in which the latter is superior to the former. According to Pickford, to be successful, each Holocaust artwork must fulfil two criteria not applicable to other artworks or non-aesthetic works related to the Holocaust. First, it must maintain a *historical relation* and, secondly, it must maintain an *aesthetic relation* in that it must in some way evince aesthetic properties, properties that induce an aesthetic experience of the work by the subject. However, Pickford does not regard the *moral-political relation* as essential and stresses the *aesthetic-historical*

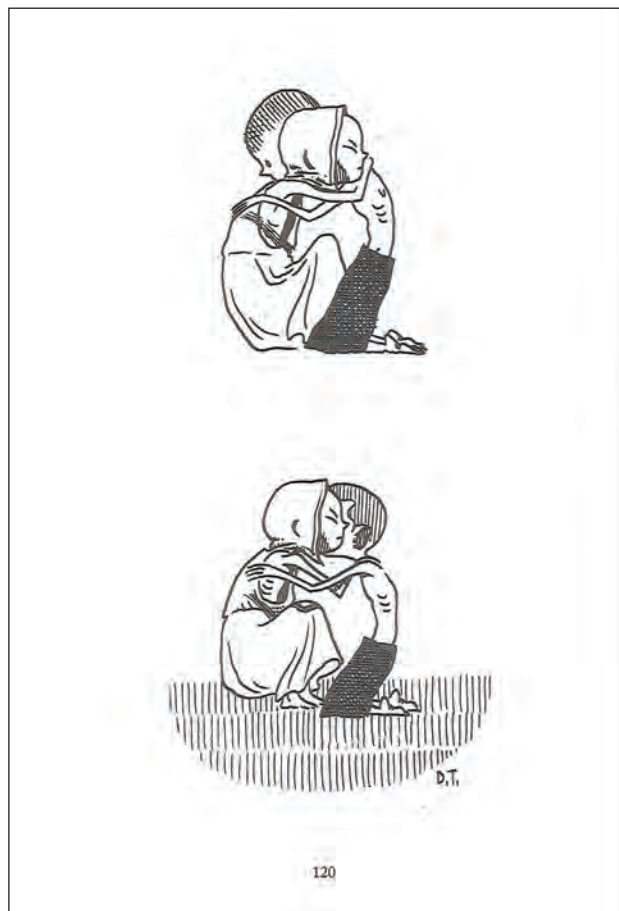


Fig. 2: Davide Toffolo, *Italian Winter*, 120 (Toffolo, 2012)
Fig. 2: Davide Toffolo, *L'inverno d'Italia*, 120 (Toffolo, 2012)
Sl. 2: Davide Toffolo, *Italijanska zima*, 120 (Toffolo, 2012)

(Pickford, 2013, 3–4). I will discuss some of these questions in my analysis of *Italian Winter* further on.

ITALIAN WINTER—CHILDREN IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMP

Toffolo's *Italian Winter* is a graphic novel set in the concentration camp at Gonars, which operated from 1941 to 1942. At first it was used to contain prisoners of war and civilian internees, yet after March 1942, it was also used for civilian internees, many of them children. The protagonists of the graphic novel, Drago and Giudita, are such young internees.⁴ The book is divided

⁴ Not all children joined their parents in internment. The children of some interned mothers who were working for the Liberation Front were taken care of by the Liberation Front. If the children were to fall into the hands of the occupying forces, they could have been used as leverage against their parents. The Liberation Front created a network of virtual families to take care of a large number of children, and they were called illegal children (slo. "ilegalčki") (cf. Štrajnar et al., 2004).



Fig. 3: Davide Toffolo, *Italian Winter*, 70 (Toffolo, 2012)
Fig. 3: Davide Toffolo, *L'inverno d'Italia*, 70 (Toffolo, 2012)
Sl. 3: Davide Toffolo, *Italijanska zima*, 70 (Toffolo, 2012)

into five chapters, each of which takes its name from an animal (Hawk Moth, Centipede, Fly, Lice, and Cricket). The first image in the book is not the author's; before the beginning of the first chapter, there is a sketch of the civilian concentration camp divided into three sectors, and this is the first included historical document I will focus on later. The opening scene of the first chapter depicts a hunched child gazing at a church steeple on the other side of the barbed-wire fence (Fig. 1).⁵ The tall,

insurmountable fence has perhaps become one of the most widely known symbols of concentration camps. Besides an iconographic meaning, it also represents the concrete border dividing the space between people whose lives were not considered equal by the official Italian ideology of the time.⁶

For the most part, the children are depicted against a blank white background, which contains no additional objects (Fig. 2). Their physical appearance is cause for concern from the outset, since they are visibly malnourished, their ribs and cheekbones are protruding, their eyes are recessed, and their heads too large for their bodies. As the story progresses, their physical appearance deteriorates even more as insufficient nutrition was one of the greatest challenges faced by internees of concentration camps and the reasons for the large number of casualties.⁷ Children were even more affected by hunger. Malnutrition led to their lips shrinking to the degree that they could no longer fully cover their teeth; the children were pale, and they walked with the steps of an old man. Many younger children developed ascites, they had large bellies, and were plagued by scabies and lice. Those near death could not even cry anymore, only whimper (Jezernik, 1997, 129). The problem of the lack of food is omnipresent in the graphic novel, most prominently in two scenes. In the first, the boy is suffering from stomach aches because he had been eating garbage. On the second occasion, Drago is telling Giudita about a soup that he has eaten that consisted of two pieces of macaroni and three beans.⁸ As the story progresses, the boy becomes ever more visibly starved, and he attempts to eat dirt from the ground until he finally falls silent and starts having delusions. As he lies on the ground, resembling a corpse, the agonizing moment is amplified by the empty space around him, showing how isolated he is from the world (Fig. 3). As we enter his hallucination, panels, which are a staple of comic book narration, appear for the first time. The drawing fills the panels, the emptiness disappears, and the panels seem to frame his inescapable suffering.

Throughout the book, the children are portrayed barefoot and insufficiently clothed. Drago is wearing only a pair of shorts, Giudita a light summer dress and a

5 The larger concentration camp for civilian internees was subdivided into three sectors: alpha (α), beta (β), and gamma (Υ). Sector α at first had limited capacity, but after it was enlarged, it could hold as many as 2,800 persons. For a while it contained only protected internees. Sector β had seventeen barracks that could hold 2,000 persons, while sector Υ had seven barracks housing various supplementary facilities. The camp was the largest for civilian internees on Italian soil during World War II (Capogreco, 2011, 227; Kersevan, 2003).

6 Barbed wire was used to mark the border of the so-called forbidden zone a few metres from the outside fence. On the outside of the fence was the path for guard patrols. There were two six-meter-high guard towers on each side. At night guards were stationed in guard houses every 20 meters and used reflectors to illuminate the camp and its surroundings (Jezernik, 1997, 30).

7 Testimonies by survivors show that the desire for proper nourishment quickly became the central concern of internees. Even children began to focus almost all of their attention on obtaining food, and after a while, that became their primary source of satisfaction (Jezernik, 1997, 148, 282).

8 This is unfortunately a rather precise description of the meals for internees. The amount of food each internee received was rationed, but they rarely received the amount allotted to them (Jezernik, 1997, 135–136). The menu was normally composed of a soup, which contained a piece of pasta or two or a bit of rice and no more than 200 grams of bread. A lot of food was “lost” before it even reached the internees. Yugoslav internees were lucky to receive rations that fulfilled half of their needs. Only when the death rate started to skyrocket did the Fascists start to explore possibilities to improve living conditions (Capogreco, 2011, 131, 138).

headscarf. At some point, Giudita reveals she received the dress from a woman whose daughter had died at Rab. This short episode relates the dire straits of the children who did not have relatives who could send them packages.⁹ Besides malnutrition and inadequate clothing, internees were suffering from other problems connected to bad living conditions such as lice, scabies, and infection. These are referenced numerous times in *Italian Winter*. A whole chapter takes its title from one of the most ubiquitous pests in concentration camps—lice. The authorities resorted to shaving the heads of internees to remediate the problem, and Giudita is depicted with her bald head in this chapter. A shaved head was a badge of dishonour among internees and girls at the Rab concentration camp sometimes had to be physically restrained during shaving (Jezernik, 1997, 127). After seeing Giudita's bald head, Drago refuses to talk to her. The children often reminisce about their homes and through their memories, we learn about their lives prior to internment. Yet their memories of home do not provide the children with a safe haven of imaginary escape since they are poisoned by the brutality of the Italian occupation.¹⁰ At another point in the story, the children are enumerating the Italian words they are familiar with, a device the author uses to point to the Fascist policy of Italianization of Slovene people. The children refer to it as the Italians wanting them to become "like them".¹¹

Life in a concentration camp was particularly unmerciful to the most vulnerable, among them children. They had to make do with the same quantity and quality of food and shelter as other inmates, which often had fatal consequences. Death is a topic touched upon in *Italian Winter* several times, mostly through Giudita while Drago tries to remain unmoved. Giudita first mentions death when she talks about the death of her mother who died from the consequences of dysentery at the Rab concen-

tration camp.¹² The children talk about death in the vicinity of a barren tree that resembles a flame. They are not pictured; we see only the tree and read the dialogue between them. In the conversation, the tree becomes a symbol for internees as the children conclude their discussion by noting that the Italians do not bury dead trees but throw them into a hole, representing how dead people were disposed of in concentration camps.¹³ It is important to notice, that when the topic of the insignificance of one's life is debated between children; we encounter the only metaphor used in the book. The language in the book is otherwise rather simple, consisting of short sentences or words spoken by the children.

The drawings are as simplified as the language, conveying only the most substantial elements. As already mentioned, the protagonists are mostly portrayed against a plain white background. The text is not positioned in balloons or captions and the pages are not divided into panels. The text and the drawing are integrated into a visual whole. Space is occasionally implied by short vertical lines representing the ground, here and there vegetation is sketched. Representations of the barbed-wire fence and other visual signs denoting that the children are trapped in a concentration camp are present only on a few occasions, mostly at the beginning and end of the graphic novel. In that aspect, the space in which the story takes place can be said to be rather abstract or universal. The emptiness inhabited by the children is all the more suffocating since nothing notable actually happens in the story. The children sit around, gaze into the sky and the distance, and converse among each other.¹⁴ The visual emptiness can be understood as a symbol of the eternity of time, which the protagonists struggle to fill. Paradoxically, the infinite emptiness is at the same time constraining since there is no escape from it. The children are prisoners on the barren pages.

9 Internees in Italian concentration camps were not required to wear uniforms. Rather, they kept the clothing they had been wearing or what was sent by their relatives. At the end of December 1942 almost half of all women and children in Gonars were barefoot (Jezernik, 1997, 119–120).

10 We learn that Giudita was from the city of Ljubljana, while Drago was living on a farm in the countryside. Fascists had burned the farm, but the cows ran away and managed to elude them. At the end of this conversation, as memories of the suffering he had to endure even before he was taken to Gonars, Drago says: "I hate the Italians". Giudita replies: "No. They hate us" (Toffolo, 2012, 47).

11 Italianisation of the Slovene population in Italy started in the middle of the 1920s after the Treaty of Rapallo awarded the Kingdom of Italy a large part of western Slovene territories (and almost a quarter of the Slovene population came under Italian rule) and in connection with the rise of Fascism in Italy. The Fascist government considered all annexed territories to be geographically and historically part of Italy (Širok, 2012, 133–134). Use of the Italian language was made obligatory by educational and cultural policies. The Slavic-Slovene race, considered inferior by the Fascists, was subject to a systematic program of Italianisation (Kacin Wohinz, 2006).

12 The living conditions at Rab were even worse. Internees did not have access to shelter, toilets, and kitchens. At the end of August 1942, there were more than 1,000 persons under the age of 16 interned at Rab. These children, along with pregnant and nursing mothers, were subject to the same regime as the other internees. As a consequence, the death rate was high, particularly among the youngest, and continued to rise even after the most vulnerable were transported to Gonars in the fall and winter of the same year (Jezernik, 1997, 286–288).

13 In contrast to Nazi concentration camps, Fascist camps were not equipped with infrastructure for mass extermination like gas chambers and crematoria. Nonetheless, because of the exposure to weather, hunger, constant physical and mental torture, inadequate living conditions, and the spread of diseases the number of casualties in the fascist camps was very high (Gombač, Gombač, 2013, 24). Due to the increasing number of dead in Gonars at the end of 1942, a separate cemetery for internees had to be created (Capogreco, 2011, 231).

14 This is in accord with what sources claim about the daily routine in the concentration camp. Gonars was not a labour camp and therefore, the internees were plagued by boredom. Those children who were well enough to be able to play, did so. As there were no toys available in the camp, they had to improvise (Jezernik, 1997, 230).



Fig. 4: Davide Toffolo, *Italian Winter*, 127 (Toffolo, 2012). *Italy has lost the war. Italy surrendered. - Did you hear? We are returning home. - How?*

Fig. 4: Davide Toffolo, *L'inverno d'Italia*, 127 (Toffolo, 2012). *L'Italia ha perso la guerra! L'Italia si è arresa! - Hai sentito? - Si torna a casa. - E come?*

Sl. 4: Davide Toffolo, *Italijanska zima*, 127 (Toffolo, 2012). *Italija je izgubila vojno! Italija se je vdala! - Si slišala? Vračamo se domov. - Kako?*

Towards the end of the comic, the white pages turn black and the action takes place in a white bubble. The inversion of the visual field denotes a transformation:

Italy has surrendered and the children can look forward to returning home. Yet the darkness descending on the pages and the dialogue between the children do not allow for optimism. Drago tells Giudita, »Did you hear? We are returning home.« She asks, »How?« He answers, »On foot.« (Toffolo, 2012, 127–128) (Fig. 4). Such a reaction from the exhausted children is hardly surprising since we already know at this point that Giudita has lost her mother, Drago has lost his father and does not know where his brothers are. But the war will not end with the capitulation of Italy; it will drag on for another two years, one occupying force being substituted for another.¹⁵ The last page of the graphic novel concludes with the same view of the wire fence with a church steeple in the background, only this time the boy is sitting on the other side of the fence. The date of the Italian capitulation, September 8, 1943 is written under the drawing.

POSTMEMORY AND TRAUMATIC REALISM

Toffolo's *Italian Winter* inspires an instant comparison to the famous graphic novel *Maus* by Art Spiegelman. Since *Maus* has been, from the beginning, the focus of many interesting scholarly discussions that opened new ways of thinking about the representation of trauma, I will turn to some of them for analysing Toffolo's work.

Maus tells the story of Art Spiegelman's parents, Polish Jews, from the mid-1930s to the end of World War II and the consequences of the fateful events of this time for the family (Art's brother died during infancy, and his mother committed suicide).¹⁶ *Maus* is based on interviews the author conducted with his father during the 1970s, and the making of these interviews has provided the frame story for the core story of the graphic novel—the survival story of the author's parents. Even though Spiegelman's is a true story, he chose to narrate it in a fictional manner by representing people as animals (Jews are mice, Germans are cats, Poles are pigs etc.).¹⁷

The concept of post-memory developed by Marianne Hirsch in her study of *Maus*, holds a special place in memory studies dealing with artists of the second or third generation after World War II. Postmemory refers to the temporal and qualitative difference between the memory of the survivor and secondary, already transmitted memory.¹⁸ One of the hints that *Maus* is such a work of

15 After the fall of Benito Mussolini on July 25, 1943, the government of Pietro Badoglio took office. It continued with the anti-Slovene policies of Fascism and was stalling the process of dissolution of the concentration camps. Many internees fell into the hands of the German occupying force after September 8, 1943. After that date, some 4,000 internees left for Slovenia; some joined the partisan resistance, and some were captured and returned to the camps by the Wehrmacht. On October 19, 1943 there were still 737 civilian internees in Gonars, among them children (Capogreco, 2011, 111–112, 232).

16 *Maus*, Volume I (*Maus: A Survivor's Tale. My Father Bleeds History*) was first published in 1986, *Maus*, Volume II (*And Here My Troubles Began*) in 1992. *The Complete Maus* was first published in the United States by Pantheon Books in 1996.

17 The portrayal of people as animals lends an air of fiction to the graphic novel. Nonetheless, Spiegelman was surprised to see *Maus* enter the New York Times best-seller list in 1991 on »the fiction side of the ledger« (Young, 2000, 38–39). After the author's intervention, it was moved to the nonfiction list since, as LaCarpa claims, »*Maus* is not made up, although it is obviously made or shaped« (LaCarpa, 1998, 146).

18 »Postmemory most specifically describes the relationship of children of survivors of cultural or collective trauma to the experiences of their parents, experiences that they "remember" only as the narratives and images with which they grew up, but that they are so powerful, so monumental, as to constitute memories in their own right« (Hirsch, 2001, 218–219).

postmemory is the original photographs of the author's mother and father included in the book (Hirsch, 2008, 107). As we will see, *Italian Winter* also contains original archival documents, including a list of children interned at Gonars, from which Toffolo took the names of the protagonists. Even though the names are real, *Italian Winter* is not a biographical story of Drago and Giudita, but an invented story set in real historical circumstances.

¹⁹ In this context, the extension of the concept of postmemory as proposed by Michael Rothberg can be useful. Rothberg claims that postmemory may refer to people haunted by the memories they have inherited from their families but also »from the culture at large« (Rothberg, 2000, 186). When discussing Spiegelman, he claims that the cultural logic of postmemory thus provides the field in which Spiegelman engages with the Holocaust. He proposes a working definition for collective postmemory that allows us to simultaneously transgress and uphold the ethical injunctions related to acts of representation »after Auschwitz« (Rothberg, 2000, 189).

Such cultural trauma may include a sort of collective repression of the memory of Fascist atrocities. The transmitted memories used by Toffolo were not the memories of his family, and more importantly, they were rather marginal in the author's cultural environment. Even though the discussion of the issue has intensified in re-

cent years and the number of publications dealing with the topic has increased, remembrances of Fascist concentration camps and knowledge of Italian concentration camps, especially civilian camps, is weak among the general population in Italy. Concentration camps for Slovene and Croatian civilians during World War II can consequently be counted among the suppressed aspects of Italian history.²⁰ Denial or manipulation of memory of Fascist concentration camps has been happening and continues to happen at the highest levels of the state, as attempts to revise history are very much alive in Italian politics and public discourse.²¹ A notable example of this happened on Italian National Memorial Day of the Exiles and Foibe (*Giorno del ricordo*) in February 2010, only a month after *Italian Winter* was published in Slovenia, when the Italian public broadcaster RAI chose to broadcast a photograph of Italian soldiers executing Slovene hostages with the title »They were convicted to death because they were Italians«, as part of the program *Porta a Porta*.²²

Davide Toffolo himself was shocked to learn about the history of Gonars, which is only an hour's drive from his place of birth.²³ He started working on the graphic novel following the influential exhibition on children interned in Fascist concentration camps, *Quando morì mio / When my Father Died*,²⁴ and formation of his graphic

19 »The story is fictional but it is set in a real context. I planned to use children. I searched for a girl from Ljubljana and a boy from the countryside, from the hills surrounding Ljubljana. I wanted them both to be 9 or 10 years old. I searched the long list of internees and found the names of two children, a girl and a boy, who fitted my purpose. The names of the children in the story are real, they are not made up: Drago and Giudita. Documentation about them was available. I tried to imagine how children would behave in such a cruel environment, how they react to messages of ethnic hatred that surround them« (Primorske novice, 25.3.2011: Davide Toffolo, avtor knjige stripov o koncentracijskem taborišču Gonars).

20 It might sound incredible, but the Republic of Italy did not prosecute those responsible, while immediately after the end of the war, investigations of concentration camps were often met with resistance (Capogreco, 2011, 14). As Božidar Jezernik claims, Italian concentration camps are less known than German ones in part because archival data about them are largely unavailable (Jezernik, 2004, 66). All of this has contributed to the fact that collective consciousness about Fascist atrocities is very weak in Italy (cf. Capogreco, 2011, 13–22; Matussi, 2014).

21 Francesco Cossiga, who was the president of the Republic of Italy at that time, claimed during an official visit to Germany in 1990 that »the horrors of concentration camps never happened in Italy«. Even more widely known is the statement by controversial Italian politician Silvio Berlusconi, who, in 2003, said in an interview, »Mussolini never killed anybody; when he sent people into confinement it was like a holiday for them« (Capogreco, 2011, 17).

22 Also appearing in the show was the historian Alessandra Kersevan, author of a monograph about the Gonars concentration camp (Kersevan, 2003), who was silenced by the TV show's host after pointing out the falsehood. She claimed that the show contained further misinformation and that such practice was not uncommon in Italy (RTV MMC, 14.2.2012: RAI manipuliral s fotografijo slovenskih talcev). The entire show is available online at <http://www.rai.tv/dl/RaiTV/programmi/media/ContentItem-1784a3df-aa07-4bcd-a5ab-1be49cfa2899.html#p=0> (1.6.2015). Despite protests the following year, the same photograph was used with the same title (RTV MMC, 10.2.2013: Italijani znova zlorabili fotografijo usmrtitve talcev).

Sadly, such manipulation with photographs is not an exception. Capogreco mentions a well-known example in his book about Italian concentration camps in the Italian anthology of World War II, *Notte sull'Europa*. A photograph of children at the Rab concentration camp is titled »Children in Auschwitz«, and another of a Slovene internee is titled »After liberation« (Capogreco, 2011, 16–17). According to Susan Sontag, »ideologies create substantiating archives of images, representative images, which encapsulate common ideas of significance and trigger predictable thoughts, feelings« (Sontag, 2006, 68 on Kindle edition). Since familiarity of some photographs with Sontag's words, »builds our sense of the present and immediate past« (2006, 67), these 'incidents' are not some sort of meaningless mistake, but an aim to construct a historically inaccurate collective memory.

23 Primorske novice, 25.3.2011: Davide Toffolo, avtor knjige stripov o koncentracijskem taborišču Gonars. For further information on the lack of knowledge about this part of history among the local population of Gonars, see Piani, 2014, 47–61.

24 The exhibition *Quando morì mio padre: disegni e testimonianze di bambini dai campi di concentramento del confine orientale (1942–1943) / Ko je umrl moj oče: risbe in pričevanja iz koncentracijskih taborišč na italijanski vzhodni meji (1942–1943)* was first presented to the public on the Italian National Memorial Day of the Exiles and Foibe in February 2005 in Gorizia. It drew the attention of the broader public in Italy. For further information about the exhibition and responses to it, see Gombač, Gombač, 2013, 43–51. The incentive for the graphic novel also came from Ivan Cignola, the mayor of Gonars at the time (Širok, 2012, 141).



Fig. 5: Stane Kumar, Children in Gonars, 1942, ink, National Museum of Contemporary History

Fig. 5: Stane Kumar, Bambini a Gonars, 1942, inchiostro, Museo di Storia Contemporanea della Slovenia

Sl. 5: Stane Kumar, Otroci v Gonarsu, 1942, tuš, Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije

novel is to some extent connected with the suppression of remembrance. This lack of public debate and acknowledgment about the existence of Fascist camps can provide an entry point where the past meets the present and for Michael Rothberg's "traumatic realism". He uses this concept for literature dealing with the Holocaust, including *Maus*, as it »brings together history, experience, and representation, but not in order to unite them. Rather, traumatic realism reveals their overlaps and their tensions« (Rothberg, 2000, 176). According to him, traumatic realism »does not ignore the demand to confront the unfounded nature of writing, but it nevertheless attempts to develop new forms of 'documentary' and 'referential' discourse out of that very traumatic void« (Rothberg, 2000, 96).

If we broaden the horizon from the merely linguistic to the visual, this paradigm can be found useful for the analysis of *Italian Winter*. Toffolo collaborated with scholars and made use of scholarly literature and archival sources in the creation of the graphic novel.²⁵ As mentioned above, the book itself includes five archival documents: a sketch of the Gonars camp, an essay by Drago Kalčič titled "My Father", a postcard sent to Gonars, a list of children interned at Gonars, and a sketch



Fig. 6: Stane Kumar, Children in Internment, 1943, pencil, National Museum of Contemporary History

Fig. 6: Stane Kumar, Bambini interanti, 1943, matita, Museo di Storia Contemporanea della Slovenia

Sl. 6: Stane Kumar, Internirani otroci, 1943, svinčnik, Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije

of a tunnel that was dug under barrack XXI. The documents are accompanied by a short informational text, while the appendix to the book contains more information and references. All of the archival materials are connected to the content of the graphic novel. Moreover, at the end, a selection of artworks from the concentration camp²⁶ are added in the afterword by Kaja Širok, director of the National Museum of Contemporary History, where these artworks are archived.²⁷ These drawings are an important reference point for *Italian Winter*. They are valuable documentary sources that help us understand and reconstruct internment life, while they are, at the same time, works of art and personal testimonies of life in extreme circumstances.

Among the preserved oeuvres of Slovene artists in internment, the work of Stane Kumar contains the largest number of drawings of children. As he wrote, he was deeply affected by the inhuman conditions into which children were forced.²⁸ Most of his works were made by pencil or ink on an empty background; sometimes he would record colours to serve as hints for paintings he made after the war (Kumar, 1980, 147). Kumar reveals himself as a lucid observer in his portrayals of children in the midst of misery (Fig. 5). His drawings of emaciated children with flaccid faces wearing shabby clothing transgress mere documentarism, and are works of skilful

25 Primorske novice, 25.3.2011: Davide Toffolo, avtor knjige stripov o koncentracijskem taborišču Gonars.

26 Many Slovene visual artists were interned in Italian concentration camps because the Italian occupying forces targeted the intelligentsia since they suspected them of being particularly inclined towards collaborating with the Liberation Front (Durjava, 2009, 39). Painters were allowed to work in the war camps and were able to acquire materials through connections. They were even allowed to host exhibitions. Gonars was an artistic centre of sorts since many artists were interned there and for a short while (for two months during the summer of 1942) a course in painting was organised at the initiative of Nikolaj Pirnat (Visočnik, 1980).

27 In Italian book the afterword is written by Paola Bristot (Toffolo, 2010).

28 For the complete testimony of Stane Kumar about children in concentration camps, see Kumar, 1980.



Fig. 7: Stane Kumar, *Boy in Internment, sitting behind fence with billycan in his hands*, 1943, pencil, National Museum of Contemporary History

Fig. 7: Stane Kumar, *Bambino internato*, 1943, Museo di Storia Contemporanea della Slovenia

Sl. 7: Stane Kumar, *Internirani deček, sedeč za žico z menažko v roki*, 1943, svinčnik, Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije

hands of a socially-sensitive artist.²⁹ His drawings are focused on the essential, and the artist is more intrigued by the children's reactions and emotions than with their surroundings (Fig. 6).

Andreas Huyssen claims that when creating *Maus*, Spiegelman knew that the past could not be made ac-

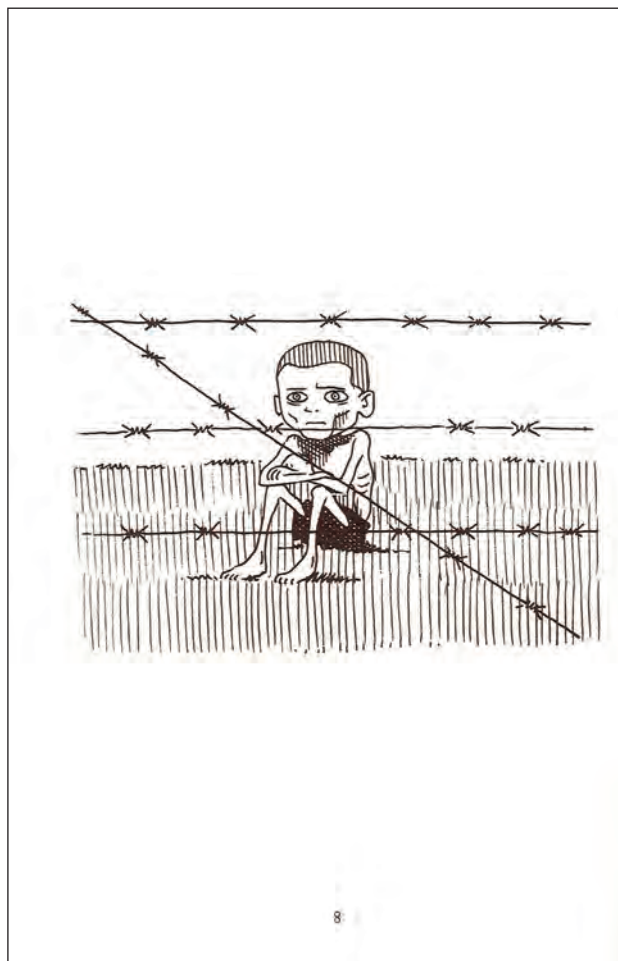


Fig. 8: Davide Toffolo, *Italian Winter, 8* (Toffolo, 2012)

Fig. 8: Davide Toffolo, *L'inverno d'Italia, 8* (Toffolo, 2012)

Sl. 8: Davide Toffolo, *Italijanska zima, 8* (Toffolo, 2012)

cessible by documentary authenticity of the representation, which will always remain "inauthentic". That is why Spiegelman attempted »*authentication* through the interviews with his father« (Huyssen, 2001, 35). In *Italian Winter*, authenticity is created not only by the use of archival documents, but also through the visual aspect. It contains enough visual associations and symbols—e.g., the appearance of the children and the wire fence—for us to understand what it is referring to even if the origi-

²⁹ Stane Kumar (1910–1997) graduated in painting at the Academy of Fine Arts in Zagreb under the mentorship of Ljubo Babić. At the outbreak of the war, he joined the Liberation Front and was interned (Nedog-Urbancić, 2000, 11). Even before he began his studies at the Academy, he was impressed by the socially engaged drawings of Nikolaj Pirnat, with whom he was later interned at Gonars. In Zagreb he studied drawing under the guidance of Krsto Hegedušič, who was among the founders of the socially critical art group, Association of Artists Zemlja (Udruženje umjetnika Zemlja). Together with fellow students from Slovenia, Kumar founded the group Gruda in Zagreb and Hegedušič influenced them as a painter as well as ideologically. As a professor, he encouraged students to work also outside the academy walls since he believed that this sort of observation and finding motifs was important for socially critical artists (cf. Vrečko, 2014b, 119–123). Other members of the group Gruda who were interned in Fascist concentration camps were Vladimir Lamut, Mirko Lebez, and Lubo Ravnikar. Their drawings from the concentration camps reveal the influence of their professor, Hegedušič.

nal documents had not been included. There are similarities between the two works—in both cases the drawing is monochromatic and simplified—but Spiegelman pays more attention to detail than Toffolo. The latter's drawing is very stylised and is similar in style to what resembles a simplified and sketchy style we can imagine might be done in a concentration camp (cf. Fig. 7 and Fig. 8).

The fact that *Italian Winter* is dedicated to "To the Roma people, who are being persecuted in Europe today"³⁰, hints that the work is also a response to current events. This dedication can remind us that the persecution of Roma during World War II has been pushed towards the margins of collective historical consciousness, while at the same time, drawing parallels between the past and present. As Rothberg claims: »Instead of understanding the traumatic realist project as an attempt to reflect the traumatic event in an act of passive mimesis, I would suggest that traumatic realism is an attempt to produce the traumatic event as an object of knowledge and to program and thus transform its readers so that they are forced to acknowledge their relationship to posttraumatic culture. Because it seeks both to construct access to a previously unknowable object and to instruct an audience in how to approach that object, the stakes of traumatic realism are both epistemological and pedagogical« (Rothberg, 2000, 103).

Even though it might not be as obvious as in some other works that are used by Rothberg, I would nonetheless claim that there are enough clues in *Italian Winter* to be regarded as a work of traumatic realism. In addition to the dedication to the Roma, I base this decision on

the suppression of historical memory of Fascist concentration camps for civilians, which was an impetus for the creation of the comic, even though this aspect is not made explicit in the graphic novel itself.

CONCLUSION

We live with images and we relate to the world through images. Therefore, they are more than the products of perception. They emerge from the process of personal and collective symbolisation, as Hans Belting noted (Belting, 2004, 13). There is no other image that better encapsulates the horrors of World War II than scenes from concentration camps. Not only barbed-wires, piles of bones, but also the barely alive; images of starving bodies have come to epitomise the evil of the Nazis in the collective consciousness. However, these are not only images related with German camps, but also Italian Fascist's camps.

In *Italian Winter*, we are set on an emotional journey that tells this story. Toffolo navigates the terrain between literal representation of history, documentarism, and artistic freedom to create a convincing story of two children imprisoned in a concentration camp. As the invented story of the children in *Italian Winter* is set against a real historical background, Toffolo's drawing, to some extent, resembles drawings from the concentration camps. His drawing is simplified, purified of all extraneous elements, and only the most essential is recorded. Like life in concentration camps, the drawing is reduced and limited to the essential.

30 Italian: »Alla gente Rom, perseguitata oggi in Europa« (Toffolo, 2010). Slovenian: »Romom, ki jih danes v Evropi preganjajo« (Toffolo, 2012).

REPREZENTACIJA TRAVM IN ROMAN V STRIPU *ITALIJANSKA ZIMA* DAVIDA TOFFOLA

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POVZETEK

Roman v stripu *Italijanska zima* (Italian winter) avtorja Davida Toffola je zgodba o dveh otrocih, interniranih v fašističnem taborišču Gonars v Italiji. Fašistična taborišča za civilne internirance, med katerimi je bilo zelo veliko otrok, še vedno spadajo med bolj zamolčane zgodbe italijanske zgodovine. Po drugi strani pa narašča število študij in zanimanje za t. i. ‚spominske študije‘, ki se ukvarjajo tudi z reprezentacijo travme v umetnosti. V tem kontekstu lahko Italijansko zimo primerjamo s svetovno znanim romanom v stripu *Maus* Arta Spiegelmana, ki je že od nastanka predmet mnogih akademskih razprav. Kljub temu da so med deloma očitne razlike, so nekateri koncepti, ki jih srečamo v teh študijah, kot sta postspomin in travmatični realizem, pomembni za interpretacijo Italijanske zime.

Italijanska zima je postavljena v resnične zgodovinske okoliščine in vključuje ključne momente, ki so zaznamovali fašistično internacijo in okupacijo. Prav tako sta imeni protagonistov imeni resničnih interniranih otrok v Gonarsu. V prispevku preko primerjalne analize dela, ki ga umestim tudi v polje taboriščne umetnosti, pokažem, da kot se zgodba otrok prepleta z realnim zgodovinskim ozadjem, se je Toffolova avtorska risba prepletla z upodobitvami iz taborišč, kar lahko interpretiramo kot poizkus, da bi zgodba vizualno vzbujala vtis avtentičnosti. Avtor v Italijanski zimi tako manevrira med dobesedno reprezentacijo zgodovine, dokumentarnostjo in umetniško svobodo, da ustvari zgodbo dveh otrok, ujetih v taborišču.

Ključne besede: *Italijanska zima*, *L'inverno d'Italia*, Davide Toffolo, Gonars, taboriščna umetnost, Art Spiegelman, postspomin, travmatični realizem

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PRKOS POLITIČKOJ I ZEMALJSKOJ SILI TEŽI.
GENEALOGIJA „DEVETE“ UMJETNOSTI U RANOM OPUSU
ANTUNA MOTIKE

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POVZETEK

Analiza štirih del Antuna Motike, ki so nastala v njegovem Istrskem obdobju ustvarjanja (ki se konča leta 1919), kaže na vpliv družbeno-političnih, umetniških in tehnoloških značilnosti začetka dvajsetega stoletja na avtorjevo delo, kot tudi na njegov mladostniški opus. Ne glede na to, da so navedena dela po svoji vsebini heterogena, jih lahko opredelimo s skupnim imenovalcem – stripom ali z izraznimi formami, ki so stripu sorodne. Tako je deveta umetnost, ki se danes pogosto definira kot avantgardna umetnost, na teh področjih deležna tudi poglobljene zgodovinske potrditve o svoji avantgardnosti, kot tudi intermedialnosti, saj jo ustvarja avtor, katerega nadaljnje ustvarjanje je bilo definirano kot eksperimentalno tudi v kasnejših fazah ustvarjanja. Eden izmed rezultatov takšnega kreativnega stališča je prav »Majmun Flok« (Opica Flok), ki je bil verjetno prvi avtorski strip na teh področjih.

Ključne besede: Antun Motika, strip, karikatura, intermedialnost

LA SFIDA ALLA FORZA DI GRAVITÀ POLITICA E TERRESTRE
GENEALOGIA DELL'ARTE FUMETTISTICA NELL'OPERA GIOVANILE DI ANTUN MOTIKA

SINTESI

Attraverso l'analisi storico-culturale di quattro lavori di Antun Motika creati durante il suo cosiddetto periodo istriano, nell'articolo si presenta quanto le caratteristiche socio-politiche, artistiche e tecniche dell'inizio del ventesimo secolo hanno influenzato il suo opus giovanile. Anche se questi lavori hanno forma e contenuto eterogeneo tra di loro, il loro denominatore comune è il fumetto, inteso in senso largo e genealogico. In questo modo la "nona arte" che oggi spesso è definita l'arte d'avanguardia, in senso reversibile, riceve la conferma di propria avanguardia e intermedialità visto che viene creata dal artista il cui opus è definito sperimentale. Uno dei risultati del atteggiamento creativo del genere è anche "Majmun Flok" (Scimmia Flok), probabilmente primo fumetto in questi territori.

Parole chiave: Antun Motika, fumetto, caricature, intermedialità

Pisati o stripu unutar ogromnog korpusa Motikina stvaralaštva znači baviti se prvenstveno, čitamo li između redaka onih povijesno-umjetničkih tema koje su tematizirale rad plodonosnog autora, njegovim marginaliziranim stvaralačkim periodom. Razloge tomu možemo tražiti u malom opsegu građe koja sadrži formu stripa i njemu srodnih izričaja, poput ilustracije ili karikature, kao i u činjenici da isti nastaju u začecima autorove svijesti o sebi kao umjetniku. Te radove stvara srednjoškolic od svojih 16-17 godina pa je izgledno da ih historiografija povijesti umjetnosti kao i šira humanistička analitika, iako spominju, nisu naglasile upravo zbog manjka njihove likovne vrijednosti u „odnosu na daljnje Motikino stvaralaštvo“ (Ziherl, 2008).¹ Radovi poput *Majmuna Floka*, *Put na mjesec* ili pak *Mojih karikatura* sadrže formu više ili manje bližu onoj koju danas ima standardizirani medij stripa, a nastaju u tzv. istarskom razdoblju koje traje od 1902. do 1919. godine i koje je bitno, zaključuje Frano Dulibić, „za karikaturni dio Motikina stvaralaštva, pri shvaćanju nekih elemenata njegova budućeg rada, elemenata koje bi s lakoćom pogrešno pripisali kasnijim utjecajima“ (Dulibić, 2003, 194). Dulibić na kraju teksta dodaje kako upravo primjer Antuna Motike pokazuje koliko je pitanje vanjskih utjecaja na umjetnika kompleksnije no što to obično pretpostavljamo, dok će Glavan u monografiji posvećenoj autoru zaključiti da „(...) su i Schneider i Mihailović, kao i većina kasnijih tumača Motikina stvaralaštva suglasni u neporecivoj važnosti dječaćkih i adolescentskih nagnuća i iskustava za nastanak Motikina svjetonazora kao i jedinstvene umjetničke poetike“ (Glavan, 2002, 11).

U tim ranim radovima odista se donekle reflektiraju kasnije autorove umjetničke tendencije kao i elementi stvaralačke osobnosti, no njihova vrijednost nije isključivo u otkrivanju rudimentarnih elemenata autorova izričaja, već imaju i širi značaj za povijest hrvatskoga

stripa, čiju bismo početnu granicu, nakon analize *Majmuna Floka*, uratka koji se najviše približio mediju devete umjetnosti u Motikinom opusu, mogli pokušati pomaknuti šest godina unatrag, odnosno u 1919.,² godinu njegova nastajanja.

Od prethodne dvije stavke, značaja stripa u parcijalnom osvjetljavanju geneze autorova izričaja i važnosti istoga za povijest tog medija u Hrvatskoj, nije manje bitna ni ona svojstvena devetoj umjetnosti, i tiče se upravo stripa samog. Teoretičari pišu da su u današnje doba oni veliki prevoditelji, ali i znakovi imaginarnog koji istražuju rubove i fragmente globalnih promjena te da im je svojstveno upijanje, prevodenje, reflektiranje, ali i iznevjeravanje svijetla koje dolazi iz izvora koji ga najviše privlače, a to su kino, televizija i popularna književnost (Frezza, 1995). Na samom početku hrvatskoga stripa, u Motikinom *istarskom razdoblju* pokazat ćemo da su dominantne političke teme u Istri onih prijelomnih godina, kao i teme znanstvene fantastike koje su pomalo, ali sigurno počele golicati kolektivni imaginarij, u uskoj sinergiji s gore navedenom tvrdnjom o povezanosti stripa s ostalim medijima. Dakle, percipirani kroz prizmu autorove senzibilnosti i mašte one su bile dominantna preokupacija u njegovoj inačici stripa. Upravo u toj bazičnoj tripartitici značaja, rana autorova izričaja te napose njihovom amalgamu, tražiti ćemo smjernice nastanka devete umjetnosti i njoj srodnih formi u Motikinom opusu.

Sljedećih pet radova svojom su formom najbliži mediju stripa i ekstrakt su šireg umjetničkog djelovanja Antuna Motike, koje nije nužno imalo direktne veze s devetom umjetnošću: *Crvena brada* (ilustrirana knjiga 1917.-1919.), *Put na mjesec* (ilustrirana knjiga 1917.-1918.), sačuvani listovi iz časopisa *Slavenska lipa* (1919.), *Moje karikature* (ilustrirana bilježnica 1919.), sačuvani listovi časopisa *Vinko Lozić* unutar kojeg se nalazi tabla stripa *Majmun Flok* (1919.).³

1 * Prva verzija ovoga rada napisana je za izlaganje na znanstvenom skupu 31. Pazinski memorijal koji je održan 29. rujna 2006. godine u Pazinu na temu *Umjetnost 20. stoljeća u Istri – likovne teme*. Za ovu priliku, napose u teorijskom dijelu koji se tiče povezivanja Motikinog djela sa širom „kulturom“ stripa, rad je reispisan i ažuriran. Jedan od poticaja za dodatnu elaboraciju ove teme dolazi i od sve veće recentne popularizacije devete umjetnosti čega je jedan od rezultata i izložba *Antun Motika – Protostrip i karikature*, ostvarena u suradnji Zbirke umjetnina grada Pule i Sajma knjige u Puli. Izložba je otvorena 3. prosinca 2015. u Gradskoj galeriji Pula. Povjesničarka umjetnosti Jerica Ziherl u doktorskoj disertaciji *Antun Motika – razdoblje od 1930. do 1953. godine (od «pariške škole» do «intimističke» koncepcije intimizma)* istraživački fokus posvećuje upravo Motikinom tzv. istarskom razdoblju u kojemu donosi niz novih priloga za hrvatsku povijesno-umjetničku historiografiju, ali i, za nas i temu ovog rada puno interesantnije, postavlja okvir unutar kojeg se o ranom opusu Antuna Motike ne govori više isključivo kroz prizmu estetike već šireg povijesno-društvenog, antropološkog, rakursa. Također, zahvaljujemo autorici što nam je na čitanje ustupila dio doktorata.

2 Rani oblici stripa nedjeljivo su vezani uz karikaturu, kako u svijetu tako i u Hrvatskoj gdje njezino pojavljivanje „datira od 1861. godine u časopisu *Podravski jež*, dok će prvi strip povijest hrvatske devete umjetnosti vidjeti u *Maksu i Maksu* Sergija Mironovića Glovčenka, jednog od ponajboljih karikaturista satiričnog lista *Kopriva* s kojim će, dvadesetih godina, kao karikaturista u istom listu surađivati i sam Motika. Prva tabla Mironovićeve strip-šale pod nazivom *Maks i Maks* kao *ribari* objavljena je 4. travnja 1925. u 14 broju *Kopriva*, pod, bitno je spomenuti, izravnim utjecajem stripa *Maks und Moritz* Wilhelma Bucha, objavljenog u Hrvatskoj godinu dana ranije, dakle 1924. od iste redakcije“ (Kručić, 1984, 5-6).

3 *Crvena Brada* i *Put na mjesec* pohranjeni su u fondusu Zbirke umjetnina Grada Pule dok su *Moje karikature* pohranjene u Kabinetu grafike HAZU u Zagrebu. Sačuvanim listovima *Vinka Lozića* nismo uspjeli ući u trag pa smo se za njegovu analizu koristili fotografijama koje je učinila Jerica Ziherl za potrebe pisanje poviše navedene doktorske disertacije na čemu joj se također zahvaljujemo. Fotografije priložene ovom radu fotografirala je Tanja Drašković Savić.

MOTIKA I ISTARSKI PERIOD

Antun Motika rodio se 30. prosinca 1902. godine u Puli,⁴ koja je nosila oznake razvijenog srednjoeuropskog grada i slovila, zahvaljujući arsenalu, kao drugi grad po veličini u hrvatskim zemljama Austro-Ugarske Monarhije. U domu Motikinih govorilo se hrvatskom čakavštinom, dok su se na ulicama Pule mogli čuti svi jezici Monarhije, koja je zauzimala tolerantan stav prema jezično-kulturološkim različitostima, što dokazuje i trojezično štampanje većine službenih dokumenata: na njemačkom, talijanskom i hrvatskom. Nakon propasti Monarhije 1918. godine i sa sve većom prisutnošću talijanskih vlasti, ovaj multikulturalni i donekle interkulturalni sistem suživota doživjet će krah.

Antunov istarski period završava 1919. seljenjem na Sušak, nakon čega se cijela obitelj seli u Zagreb 1925. godine.⁵ Tih prvih sedamnaest godina života bit će obilježeno mnogim seljenjima, poput onog 1909. kada Motikini odlaze iz Pule u Žminj da bi se 1911. vratili u Pulu, a već 1914. ili 1915. bez oca nastanili u Pazinu, gdje borave do 1918. ili 1919. godine. Idemo li tragom Mihailovićeve biografije Antuna Motike, doznajemo da je u obitelji, iako se štuje ondašnji patrijarhalno-kršćanski mentalitet, „centralnu odlučujuću ulogu i utjecaj u kući imala gospođa Motika“ (Mihailović, 1981, 16). Prema zaključku Jerice Zihlerl, učestala seljenja Motikinih bila su potaknuta prvenstveno majčinim traženjem hrvatskog miljea, „enklave“ za daljnje školovanje djece, kao i sve češćim obolijevanjima oca Motike.⁶

Gospođa Motika imala je jasnu viziju o hrvatskoj narodnoj pripadnosti, koju je u nekim prilikama manifestirala i kao građanski neposluš. Angažiranost u tom smjeru možda najbolje prikazuje njezino prikupljanje potpisa rodoljuba da se Istra pripoji državi Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Gotovo sva pisana djela koja se bave autorovim umjetničkim stvaranjem i životom naglašavaju snažan utjecaj majke na sina Antuna. Izloženost političkom mišljenju i stavu majke, u sprezi s ratnim i društvenim previranjima, bit će generator njegova prvog, još dječaćkoga stvaranja, jer upravo je ratna tematika, kako je to zabilježio Mihailović, ona koja okupira Motiku desetogodišnjaka.

Možda upravo u toj činjenici, barem djelomično, leže razlozi i fascinacije temama znanstvene fantastike

na početku njegova stvaralačkog opusa koje će autor ponovo aktualizirati šezdesetih godina svojim kolažima, ali i nizom „skica za keramičke tanjure“ s predlošcima raketa i „sputnjika“, dok će „tzv. kozmički motivi biti uočljivi na više štafelajnih slika galerijskog formata nastalih na razmeđu 50-ih i 60-ih“ (Glavan, 2002, 26). Osjećajan, maštovit i introvertan dječak sa smislom za humor velik dio svog primarnog opusa „tematski povezanih sličica“ gradi upravo temama okrutne politizirane realnosti koja ga okružuje, ali i stvaranjem ludičkih i fantastičnih svjetova, koji pripadaju itineraru seljenja unutar Istre ili pak dalekim svjetovima izvan zemljine orbite koje su u kolektivni imaginarij onih godina uvrstili ponajprije znanstveno fantastična književnost, ali također i film. Prkos političkoj i zemaljskoj „sili teže“ s početka stvaranja, *mutatis mutandis*, postat će sastavnim dijelom autorova karaktera i stvaranja do samoga kraja jer, kako zaključuje Glavan „Motika je uvijek ostao tvrdoglav, talentirano i dosljedno svoj, kao dokaz da ‘periferija’ i ‘granična sredina’ mogu i u razdoblju (post)avangardi funkcionirati na potpuno samosvojni način, bez mehaničkog udovoljavanja oscilacijama ukusa ‘centra’, neovisno je li riječ o Parizu, Zagrebu ili New Yorku“ (Glavan, 2002, 32). Istarski period, sagledan kroz vizuru Glavana citata, ipak sadržava jednu bitnu stavku, posebnost svojstvenu jedino tim godinama stvaranja - društveno angažirane crteže prožete samoironičnim humorom koji neće činiti dio daljnjeg stvaralačkog autorova opusa.

FRANCUSKI UTJECAJ NA POČETKE U TEMATSKI POVEZANIM ILUSTRACIJAMA

Slijedimo li načelo da je svaki umjetnički jezik ili medij sa svojim zakonitostima derivat prethodnih izražajnih formi, nameće se zaključak kako je strip, odnosno deveta umjetnost, njezini začeci i geneza, neodvojivo vezana prvenstveno za ilustraciju i karikaturu. Stoga se na strip nužno mora gledati kao na njihova „potomka“. Shodno tomu neke se iste ili vrlo slične karakteristike - konvergencije, mogu pronaći u sva tri umjetnička izraza.⁷

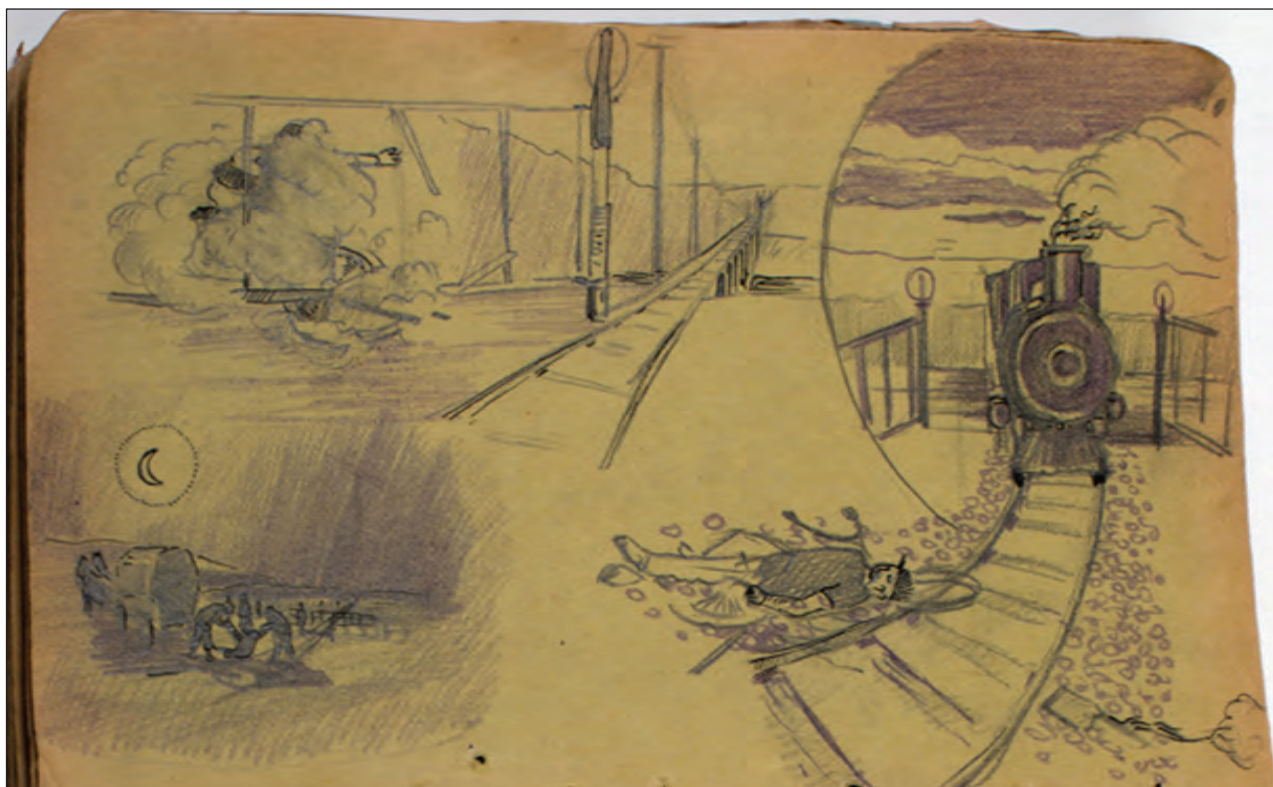
U stručnoj literaturi teorije stripa, iako bitna, manje zastupljena stavka na utjecaj geneze devete umjetnosti jest ilustrirana literatura, no u kontekstu analize Motiki-

4 Majka Anka potječe iz Škriljeva iznad Bakra iz pomorske obitelji dok je otac Antun rođen u istarskom selu Motiki kraj Orbanići, iz obitelji poljoprivrednika. Obitelj Motika, početkom 20. stoljeća nastanila se u Puli i dobila četvero djece (usp. Zihlerl, 2008).

5 Osim *istarskog* Motikin će život i stvaralaštvo biti obilježeni tzv. *mostarskim periodom* gdje seli 1929. godine, kada počinje raditi u prosvijeti pa „ujutro predaje u učiteljskoj školi a popodne u gimnaziji te *pariškim*, gdje će boraviti 1930. i 1935. godine deset, odnosno pet mjeseci, da bi se nakon toga permanentno nastanio u Zagrebu. Tek će *pariški period* označiti otkrivanje osobnog stila i posvajanje niza motiva koji će trajno obilježiti njegov cjelokupni umjetnički put“ (Glavan, 2002, 14).

6 Jedina institucija u Istri koja je stvarala i njegovala hrvatske nacionalne osjećaje bila je pazinska gimnazija, „carsko-kraljevska velika državna gimnazija utemeljena 1899. s radom nastavlja do propasti monarhije. Tijekom tih sedamnaest godina kontinuiranoga rada gimnazija je imala, osim odgojno-obrazovnog primata u promicanju i širenju nacionalne svijesti Hrvata i Slovenaca u Istri, i ulogu nositelja društveno-kulturnih i prosvjetnih djelatnosti u Pazinu i okolici. Službeni je jezik u gimnaziji, za školske i izvan školske aktivnosti, bio hrvatski.“ (Zihlerl, 2008, 5-6)

7 Talijanski semiotičar Daniele Barbieri navodi kako je sličnost tih žanrova toliko velika da je često vrlo teško razlikovati ilustraciju od table stripa, te je shodno tomu jednostavnije govoriti o različitosti među njima. Divergencije je jednostavnije pronaći jer osobnost stripa



A. Motika, *Crvena Brada / Barba rossa / Red Beard (1917.-1919.)*, Zbirka umjetnina Grada Pule, Pula

na istarskog perioda ona poprima sasvim novo svijetlo. *Crvena brada* i *Put na mjesec* među prvim su ilustriranim pripovijetkama znanstvene fantastike na ovim područjima, one su „prapovijest tog žanra“ (Ziherl, 2008, 25).

Mogli bismo ustvrditi stoga kako je autor do 1919. godine, kada crta i objavljuje strip *Majmun Flok*, baratao cjelokupnošću „umjetničkih izraza“ koji su uvjetovali nastanak tog narativnog medija. U njegovu su mladenačkom opusu prisutni ilustracija, karikatura, portreti kao i spomenute ilustrirane pripovijetke, u ovom slučaju - znanstvene fantastike.⁸ Stoga nije pogrešno zaključiti kako je autor u tri godine svojega djelovanja, od 1916. do 1919., sazeo velik dio „genealoškoga stabla“ stripa. Iako ne znamo je li imao strip uzore, kreacija tog medija bila je rezultat gotovo „prirodnog“ ulančavanja i ispre-

plitanja njemu srodnih izražajnih sistema, pa bi odgovor na pitanje – zbog čega je *Majmun Flok* izolirani slučaj u Motikinoj strip produkciji,⁹ mogli parcijalno pronaći u pomalo „romantiziranoj“ izjavi Jakova Sedlara kako se radilo o nemirnom karakteru koji je vječito tragao za novim u svom stvaranju te da gotovo nikad nije bio zadovoljan onime što je postigao, čemu je i sam posvjedočio u jednom intervjuu: „traganje za novim uvijek me uzbuđivalo, to me i tjeralo iz monotonije“ (Motika, 1984, 6).¹⁰

Krenemo li kronološki u analizu, prva djela srodna devetoj umjetnosti u istarskom periodu, pronaći ćemo upravo u „albumima s oslikovljenim pričama“, ilustriranim pripovijetkama znanstvene fantastike – *Crvenoj bradi* i *Putu na mjesec*. Iako ih je i sam Motika u svo-

leži u narativnoj sekvencijalnosti crteža, no teorijski problemi nastaju kada svaki zasebni crtež stripa uspoređujemo s ilustracijom. Može li se jasno odrediti granica ovih usko povezanih medija? Iako bi ovom problemu trebalo pristupiti dijakronijski, složiti ćemo se sa Barbierievom tvrdnjom kako „pojedinačna slika stripa ‘pripovijeda’ dok ona ilustracije ‘komentira’“. U stripu svaki pojedinačni crtež –vinjeta ima direktno narativnu funkciju, čak i kad dijalozi ili didaskalije nisu prisutni. Svaki je crtež bitan dio priče i ne može ga se ukloniti bez narušavanja cjelokupnog djela, dok ilustracija ‘dodaje’ komentar priči ili je obogaćuje“ (Barbieri, 1991, 13) Na crtačkom nivou također postoje blage razlike. Ilustracija je često detaljnija jer jednom slikom mora „iskomunicirati ideju u potpunosti“, dok strip ima puno više prostora za naglašavanje detalja bitnih za priču.

8 Primjerice portreti *Moj djed Mate Blažević (i njegova sestra)*, *Moj otac*, *Otokar Keršovani* nastaju tijekom 1917. godine.

9 Spominjemo taj uradak iz razloga što je, koliko god ostala djela žanrovski gravitirala oko medija stripa, tabla s osam narativno povezanih sličica na jednoj stranici jedina koja se toliko približila standardiziranoj formi stripa da nije na odmet razmišljati o pomicanju povijesnih granica stripa na ovim područjima.

10 Motika, A. (1984): Antun Motika – a glazba je boja. Mora se mnogo eksperimentirati da bi se došlo do pravoga. Intervju s autorom. *Odjek*, 15-28. 2. 1984. 6.

jim pismima okarakterizirao kao „ilustracije dviju knjiga stripova“ tu se ipak radi, po mišljenju Jerice Zihelr, o prapovijesti ilustrirane pripovijetke hrvatske znanstvene fantastike (Zihelr, 2008, 25). To su uradci u kojima se isprepliće narativno i vizualno, lijeva strana knjige rezervirana je za crteže, dok se na desnoj može iščitati tekst, pisan hrvatskim jezikom, čiji sadržaj prati zgone i nezgone jednog dječaka te dviju osoba – „M“ i „B“ u dugom vremenskom nizu.¹¹

Ono što je posebno zanimljivo i što se ističe kao imanentna medijska simbioza jest odnos i prilagodba prvo filma na strip, dok će evolucija oba medija imati karakter reverzibilnosti odnosa. Drugim riječima, strip je kao medij i specifična umjetničko izražajna forma postao nezaobilazna stavka ne samo „američke tvornice snova“ već i manje komercijalnih autora,¹² što je dodatno pogodovalo njegovoj popularnosti. Jedan od najpoznatijih slučajeva utjecaja i anticipacije stripa na film/kino jest onaj francuskog crtača Moebiusa, poznatim i pod pseudonimom Jean Gabin, čiji su crteži iz priče *The Long Tomorrow* (1978.) uvelike utjecali na scenografiju Ridley Scottovoga filma *Blade Runner* (1982.).¹³ Forma stripa stoga se nalazi na razmeđu, ona je sazdana od elemenata filma s jedne strane i ilustracije/ literature s druge pa zaključak Gina Frezza kako ga se „Mora locirati na rubu statično-dinamične ekspresivnosti“ (Frezza, 1995, 143), pogađa u samu bit njegove narativne specifičnosti. U našem slučaju albuma s oslikovljenim pričama, posebno u *Putu na mjesec*, uočavamo upravo te utjecaje. Kako je primijetila Zihelr, podudarnost između nekih kadrova *jednookog mjeseca* George Mèliéova filma *Put na mjesec* i stranice na kojoj je Motika oslikao mjesječev krug iz čijeg kratera suklja dim, gotovo da i ne ostavlja mjesta upitnosti utjecaja francuskog filma, snimljenog 1902., na mladog autora.¹⁴ Tim više što je sklonost istraživanju i propitivanju različitih medija, pa tako i filma, lajtmotiv Motikina djelovanja. Dodamo li tomu podudarnost naslova te elemente humora prožete kroz Mèliéov kao i Motikin tadašnji, ali i daljnji rad, izvor inspiracije postaje još manje upitan.



A. Motika, *Put na Mjesec / Il viaggio sulla Luna / Journey to the Moon* (1917.-1919.), *Zbirka umjetnina Grada Pule, Pula*

La voyage dans la lune slobodna je ekranizacija Verneova romana. Motika je imao prilike gledati i čitati njegova djela prevedena na hrvatski jezik, pošto prva

11 Uradci su povezani, literarni dio *Crvene brade* ima svoj nastavak u *Putu na mjesec* tako da moramo govoriti o radovima koji čine tematsku cjelinu. Na likovnom nivou uradci se razlikuju, pa će ilustracije „*Crvene brade*, rađeni olovkom ili tušem, imati realističan karakter dok će u drugom djelu autor stvarati oslikane prizore ili tušem izvedene pune siluete i konture“ (Zihelr, 2008, 21-22).

12 Odnos stripa i filma prvenstveno će u kolektivnom imaginariju biti okoštan američkom ekranizacijom strip junaka poput *Supermana* ili *Batmana*, no činjenica da se poznati surrealistički cineasta Alejandro Jodorowsky, autor kulturnih filmova *El Topo*, *Montagna Sacra* i *Santa Sangre* devedesetih godina posvetio crtanju stripova u suradnji s francuskim strip crtačem Moebiusom, čini taj odnos decentraliziranim. Razlog zbog kojih je, doduše samo privremeno, promijenio komunikacijski kod jest „veća dinamičnost stripa, gdje čitatelj participira u rekonstrukciji priče, dok je kod filma on samo pasivni promatrač“ (Jodorowsky, 1997, 25).

13 Za suvremenu povezanost stripa i filma u dijelu post-jugoslavenske produkcije vidi Matošević i Škokić, 2014. dok se široka rekonstrukcija vizualnih izvora u filmovima znanstvene fantastike pronađenih u ilustracijama i stripovima može konzultirati u Brancato i Fabozzi, 1990.

14 U Puli su se filmske projekcije održavale redovito od 1906. godine kada se otvara stalni kinematograf *Internacional* nakon kojeg je otvoren i *Edison*, gdje su organizirane *crne večeri* namijenjene samo gospodi. Kraj Zlatnih vrata djelovalo je 1906.-1908. kino *Excelsior* a potom *Minerva* u kojem je 1908. prikazan prvi ozvučen film. Prve projekcije *živih slika* u Puli datiraju iz 1896., nepunu godinu dana nakon prve filmske projekcije braće Lumière, kada su kratkometražne filmove prikazivali ondašnji putujući kinematografi u kazalištu *Ciscutti*. Osim Pule projekcije su bile prikazivane u razdoblju od 1906.-1918. i u Rovinju, Labinu, Pazinu, Žminju, Bujama, Poreču i Vrsaru. Film je uvelike bio prisutan na istarskom poluotoku tako da je velika mogućnost da je mladi autor između ostalog imao priliku pogledati i *La Voyage dans la lune*.



A. Motika, Put na Mjesec / Il viaggio sulla Luna / Journey to the Moon (1917.-1919.), Zbirka umjetnina Grada Pule, Pula

publikacija, u izdanju Matice hrvatske, *Od zemlje do mjeseca ravan je put/ Oko mjeseca* datira iz 1875. godine, s reprintom iz 1907. Za vrijeme autorova boravka u Pazinu prevedeno je i tiskano nekoliko Verneovih djela – *Put oko zemlje za osamdeset dana, Ideja doktora*

Oxa ili Čudan prirodni pojav, Put u središte zemlje, U školi Robinzona, Gospodar svijeta, Crna Indija, Zvijezda Juga, Pet nedjelja u balonu dok se Mathias Sandorf sa 111 ilustracija Leona Bennetta mogao pronaći u Pazinu od 1885. godine te će naknadno biti objavljen i kao podlist u *Obzoru*. Neka od tih djela bila su sastavni elementi školskog programa kod učitelja Josipa Rože, koji je na pazinskoj gimnaziji predavao do 1918. godine, dakle i Antunu Motiki.¹⁵

Čini se kako su fantastični svjetovi francuskog pisca bili plodno tlo za stvaralaštvo istarskog autora jer njegove ilustracije imaju prvenstveno avanturističku okosnicu, ali i mnoštvo elemenata koje je u ono vrijeme mogao preuzeti jedino iz „literature znanstvene anticipacije“ (Virilio, 2002, 74).¹⁶ Motika se za potrebe svoje priče služi raznim izumima Verneove provenijencije, kao što su leteci tanjuri, motocikl, svemirska odijela, sateliti, zvjezdarnica (zvjezdarna), različitim čudnim napravama i strojevima, letećim balonom i „opisima idealnih gradova u budućnosti“ (Ziherl, 2008, 24). Interesantno je da su upravo u tim prvim radovima, temelj na kojima je stvarao likovna rješenja, postojane boje cijelih stranica – plavo, zeleno, žuto i ljubičasto obojani papir. Svoju je sklonost *studiranju* boja autor naznačio 1984. godine: „Materijal mi nikada nije bio važan. Može se raditi u bilo čemu. Mene je zanimala glazba, tj. boja. (...) Crtež je konstrukcija, a boja pravi sadržaj, crtež je tijelo a boja je duša. Crtež ne mora pričati. To je zgrada bez ljudi. Duša je četvrta dimenzija. Tartaglia kaže da je crtež primaran. Ja mislim sasvim suprotno. To je kao glazba a boja i jest glazba“ (Motika, 1984, 6).¹⁷ Dakle snažan koloristički izražaj u *Putu na mjesec*, jednom od njegovih prvih uradaka uopće, vjerojatno je izvor proučavanja i korištenja boja, ali i umjetničkih preokupacija u tom smjeru.

Koliko god jasno artikulirana, Motikina „futuristička“ avantura, ipak, niti počinje niti završava *Putom na mjesec* jer će povremeno raditi skice za, već spomenute, keramičke tanjure s predloščima raketa i sputnjika te će koristiti i kozmičke motive na nizu slika galerijskoga formata između '50-ih i '60-ih, dok će šezdesetih godina stvarati i kolaže od novinskih isječaka s motivima astronautike.¹⁸

15 Podatak da su Julesu Verneu morali učiti nalazimo kod Mate Balote: „Pišući o pazinskom učitelju Josipu Roži on navodi kako je sve razrede kojima je predavao umarao reproduciranjem sadržaja, dijelova ili duhovnosti Jules Verneove - *Djeca kapetana Granta*“ (Balota prema Ziherl, 2008, 24).

16 Znanstvena će anticipacija puta u svemir i čovjekovog permanentnijeg zadržavanja izvan zemljine orbite postati znanost djelovanjem puljana Hermana Potočnika *Noordunga*, koji je u svojoj knjizi *Problem vožnje svemirom (Das problem der befahrung des weltraums)*, objavljenoj 1929. godine kada i umire u 36. godini, dao prvi cjelovit strateški nacrt za ljudski prodor u svemir. Ilustracije njegovih „svemirskih stanica“, formom se podudaraju s Motikinim/Verneovim rješenjima. Zanimljivo je Motikino umjetničko anticipiranje svemirskog odijela na jednoj stranici *Putu na mjesec*, jer će i *Noordung* u znanstvenim krugovima pisati o tom neophodnom elementu ljudskog zadržavanja u svemiru.

17 Motika, A. (1984): Antun Motika – a glazba je boja. Mora se mnogo eksperimentirati da bi se došlo do pravoga. Intervju s autorom. *Odjek*, 15-28. 2. 1984. 6. U istom je razgovoru s novinarom izjavio kako je „petnaest godina proučavao zelenu boju prije nego što ju se usudio upotrijebiti pri slikanju lišća“ (Isto).

18 Iako često korišteni, „svemirski“ motivi u kasnijim fazama autorova stvaranja biti će sastavnim dijelom njegove sklonosti istraživanju tehnike u kontekstu umjetničkog izraza, pa će '60-ih godina, kada radi kolaže s motivima astronautike stvarati iste i s različitim tehničkim napravama poput bušilica, brusilica, svrdla, navoja, zavrtnja, traktora i konstrukcija od drvenih greda. Takvom su izričaju srodne i njegove umjetničke intervencije tušem na medicinskim raspravama i rendgenskim slikama iz 1975. godine.

Sklonost promišljanju „budućih svjetova“ te njihov prikaz vjerojatno započinje slikom *Futuropolis*, radenom tušem i akvarelom na papiru 1917. godine. Iako crtežom „uhvaćen“ samo trenutak, i to centralnog dijela dana – podneva, što saznajemo iz položaja kazaljki na satu smještenom u gornjem dijelu slike, na *Futuropolis* ništa ne odiše statičnošću. Prikazom grada visoko razvijene civilizacije, njegovim nadvožnjacima, automobilima, autocestama, vlakovima, žičarama, avionima, pistama Motika prikazuje užurbani ritam života metropole u budućnosti, čija se povijesnost može iščitati u ispreplitanju elemenata različitih arhitektonskih stilova - od kupola, arena i šatora do tvornica i parkova smještenih na vrhovima zgrada. Dinamika je stoga, u svojem dijakronijskom i sinkronijskom aspektu, glavno obilježje *Futuropolis*a, ali i jedan od, u kasnijim fazama, studiranih modaliteta Motikinog umjetničkog izraza.

URBES LUDENS I KARIKATURA KAO POLITIČKI ANGAŽMAN

Gotovo usporedo s kreiranjem ilustrirane literature i slika fantastičnih svjetova pod utjecajem Verneovih književnih djela znanstvene anticipacije, filma i onodobnih znanstvenih dostignuća, sastavni dio Motikina umjetničkog izraza je i karikaturno prikazivanje glavnih točaka-gradova istarskog itinerara seljenja koje je, zajedno s crtežima koje bismo mogli okarakterizirati političkim karikaturama, objedinio u bilježnici *Moje karikature* 1919. godine. Sva 52 tušem radena crteža ironična su kronika mladog umjetnika, ali i obitelji Motika, čija impostacija/ kadriranje, „scenarij“/slijed događaja i crtež odaju utisak kako se ne radi o nasumično crtanim karikaturama već da je posrijedi provedba umjetničke konceptualne ideje u djelo. Na tom tragu valja razumijevati istaknuti zaključak Frane Dulibića: „Motika je od najranijih dana znao konceptijski razraditi i sprovesti ideju do kraja“ (Dulibić, 2003, 194), jer je upravo to slučaj i sa oba prethodno analizirana uratka - *Crvenom bradom* i *Putom na mjesec*.

Krenemo li konzultirati *Moje karikature* od prvog lista, uvidamo da je vodič kroz prikazanu kroniku Motika sam. Jer, osim što na naslovnoj strani autor crta sebe kako nosi crtež sa četiri karikature likova na čijim se licima mogu iščitati redom veselje, zabrinutost i tuga - emocije koje nagovještaju što možemo očekivati od djela koje imamo pred sobom, na prvoj stranici ispod vlastitog sjetnog portreta ispisuje „EGO“. Dakle „JA“, slikar, Il pittore, kako su ga zvali srednjoškolski prijatelji (Ziherl, 2008), provest ću vas kroz svoj svijet sadašnji i budućí, ali i prošli.

Cjelokupan likovni uradak obuhvaća razdoblje od 1902. do 1919. godine, koje nam kronološki, slijedom gradova i mjesta stanovanja – Pula, Žminj, Pula, Pazin, prikazuje autor. Ziherl je također primijetila kako Motikino ocrtavanje Životopisa u *karikaturama* gotovo da graniči sa sinopsisom preuzetog iz filmskog medija – „Svaki je list kadriran, a skup kadrova čini omnibus sastavljen



A. Motika, *Moje karikature / Le mie caricature / My Caricatures: „Ja na Zemlji“* (1917.), Kabinet grafike HAZU, Zagreb

od pet dijelova – poglavlja koja se, naizmjenično ispreplićući, drže kronološkog niza“ (Ziherl, 2008, 25). Stoga struktura njegova djela sadrži elemente celuloidne umjetnosti kao i stripa, kojem idu u prilog kronološki slijed događaja te narativno povezani dijelovi-crteži, dok bismo kao manjkavosti mogli istaknuti nepostojanje dijaloga kao i činjenicu da djelo nije umnoženo - štampano ili crtano u više primjeraka. Dakle njegova unikatnost, stoga i nepristupačnost širem krugu ljudi, jedna je od glavnih zapreka definiranja tog djela stripom. Glavan za *karikature*, koje je Motika sam nazvao humorističkom biografijom, koristi termin (proto)strip, dok ih poviše spomenuta autorica locira u nešto drugačijoj izražajnoj formi – (proto)knjizi autora, iz razloga što Motika upravo u njima izražava tendenciju da vlastita iskustva i zamisli uobličuje u knjigu/bilježnicu.

No, posebno je zanimljiva u *Mojim karikaturama*, među ostalim, koegzistencija i fuzija dvije oprečne teme - one zaigrane, ludičke i vojno-političke. Vizualna dinamika prve bit će naglašena nasmiješenim ili tužnim dijelovima urbanih centara u kojima je autor obitavao. Da-



A. Motika, *Moje karikature / Moje karikature / Le mie caricature / My Caricatures: „Euro Pa“ i „Jugoslavija“* (1917.), Kabinet grafike HAZU, Zagreb

kle zaigrane stijene, dimnjaci, kuće, začuđeni tornjevi i zbudjeni prozori u *Konviktu*, *Zaokretu kod pučke škole* ili pak *Starom Pazinu*, odražavat će autorov privatni umjetnički animizam, ali i začetak težnje da „život pretvori u umjetnost“ (Dulibić, 2003, 192) antropomorfizirajući neživu okolinu,¹⁹ dok će tmurne teme sive svakodnevice, s ironičnim predznakom, svoj prostor dobiti u *Aprovizionalnoj navali* ili pak *Velikoj crkvi* gdje je prikazan ulazak talijanskih vojnika u Pazin. Da karikature ne stvara apolitični adolescent, koji uostalom niti ne potiče iz apolitičnog obiteljskog miljea, pokazuju i parole koje je ispisao u oblačiće pojedinih crteža – „Wilson“ i „Pomoć-Sloboda“. Svoju političku kulminaciju djelo će dobiti angažiranim karikaturama, svojevrsnim europskim geopolitičkim bestijarijem. Za *Pazin* i *Istru*, *Tugoslaviju* ili crtež naslovljen *Euro Pa* kao i slijedeći niz uradaka na koji se nadovezuju, karakteristično je da su crtani po principu „priče o repi“ (Ziherl, 2008, 16) odnosno filmskog *zoom outa* i svaki je prethodni prikaz sastavni dio idućeg. Cjelina počinje Pazinom koji je u Istri, i čije su konture prikazane kao glava životinje. Istra je sastavnim dijelom te iste životinje, koja graniči sa snažnim muškarcem u položaju ustajanja – SHS-om. U donjem lijevom rubu *Tugoslavije* prikazan je i dio Italije iz koje izvire otvorena šaka koja se preko Jadrana pruža prema dalmatinskim otocima, dok će u *Euro Pa* Motika cijelu „čizmu“ prikazati kao desnu ruku Europe koja drži maramicu, odnosno lepezu čiju glavu predstavlja Iberijski poluotok. Ostatak će tijela staroga kontinenta prikazati orisima životinjskih ili dječjih glava/tijela. Slijed se nastavlja prikazom sunčeva sustava bez političkog predznaka.

Kontekstualizirajući te radove možemo se zapitati jesu li oni djelomično logičan slijed refleksije o političkoj situaciji mladog autora koji, kako je uočila Ziherl, svoji lik uvrštava u *Moje karikature* kao stiliziranog, ali prepoznatljivog promatrača. Prikazan s naočalama ili bez njih on je prisutan u donjem dijelu radova velikog broja crteža, poluprofilom i okrenutog nam leđima. Možemo zaključiti kako on svojom karikaturnom naracijom ne samo da pokušava biti svojevrsan kroničar prostora i vremena koje živi, već kako i sam traži svoje mjesto u istima. On je stoga autor, kroničar, ali i sudionik opisanih situacija. A da taj promatrač-sudionik razumije, ima mišljenje koje se odražava u likovnoj interpretaciji dokazuju upravo poviše opisane karikature političko-društvenog predznaka, specifične upravo za istarski period i koje unutar šireg autorova opusa predstavljaju izoliranu epizodu.

Tendencija k ironiziranju politike karikaturom bit će prožeta i *Vinkom Lozićem*, časopisu samizdatu u kojem neki od crteža imaju formu stripa u engleskom značenju riječi – crtice. U *Slici bez riječi* ili *Radićevstvu* Motika u nekoliko povezanih crteža političkog predznaka spaja vizualno i verbalno dok se u nekim karikaturama/cртеžima, poput *Ženidbe* ili *Tragedite/ va fuori straniero* može i iščitati njegov projugoslavenski politički stav.²⁰ Nije naodmet spomenuti da je Vinko Lozić popularni lik Jovana Sterije Popovića, koji se vezuje uz razdoblja nove vinogradarske godine pa će imenovanje školskog časopisa tim imenom 1919. godine u Istri, kada je svako isticanje jugoslavenstva i istrijanstva u slavenskom kontekstu strogo zabranjeno, reflektirati njegov mladenački prkos i građanski neposluh.

Ako nas traganje za genezom političke karikature dovodi i do njegove ljubavi prema filozofiji, nazvanom „naukom nad naukama“ (Motika, 1984, 6),²¹ koja je u mladim danima neizostavno bila provučena kroz duh vremena u kojem je stvarana, onda će nas njegova ljubav prema svemiru i mladenačkim lociranjem priča u izvan-orbitalna prostranstva dovesti do kasnije spoznaje o duhovnosti kozmosa. Iako je malo toga duhovnoga u posljednjem poglavlju *Mojih karikatura*, ono je smješteno u sunčev sustav, kojim dominiraju nasmiješeni planeti. Njihova je međuzavisnost, fizički nevidljivim silama teže, prikazana kao dio zaigranog međuplanetarnog odnosa pa će Sunce Zemlju oko sebe vrtjeti držeći ju na „štriku“, dok će zbudjeni Mjesec biti ogledalce u Zemljinoj ruci. „Geo i heliocentrični sustav“ obilježeni su naizmjeničnim trčanjem Sunca oko zemljine orbite i obrnuto dok će dominantan lik u zadnjoj karikaturi *Ja na zemlji* biti Antun sam. Prikazan kao stariji gospodin s lulom u ustima, udobno smješten na vrhu planeta, on se gleda sa smiješućim Suncem, Mjesecom i još dva ne-definirana planeta.

Moje karikature stratificirano su konceptualno djelo, dinamičan prikaz i razrada više tematskih cjelina, od zaigranih autobiografskih preko političkih u čijim porama percipiramo turobnu političku atmosferu onih godina pa sve do, kao u *Putu na mjesec* i *Crvenoj bradi*, prikaza vanzemaljskih odnosa i svjetova. Motika je *Mojim karikaturama* dodatno istražio likovnu formu kojoj će se u kasnijim fazama vraćati. Karikaturi, osim što će se 1929. i 1930. godine profesionalno posvetiti suradnjom sa zagrebačkim satiričnim časopisom *Koprive* gdje je pod pseudonimom *Lopata* uspio stvoriti jedinstven karikaturni jezik,²² dati će pozamašan prostor i u svojevrsnom

19 Zanimljiva se paralela može povući i sa stvaralačkim *mottom* oca kinematografije, pošto je Louis Lumièreova ambicija bila *reprodukcija života*. Motika na tom tragu „živim prikazuje sunce izražajnoga lica, a s crteža se smiješe, zabrinuto i tugaljivo promatraju ili pak prijeteći djeluju, upored sveprisutnog sunca, čitavi gradovi, kvartovi, ulice, zgrade, kontinenti, planete, sunčev sustav, kao i sam svemir“ (Matošević, 2015, 4).

20 U *Ženidbi* je nanovo prisutna autorova tendencija ka antropomorfiziranju, u ovom slučaju Jadran i Jugoslavija prikazani su kao zagrljeni par – goli muškarac i žena ispod kojih beživotno pluta *Il terzo non gradito* – Italija. Cijela je ilustracija podcrtana komentarom: „Jugoslavija se ženi s Jadranom!“.

21 Odjek, 15-28. 2. 1984. Antun Motika – a glazba je boja. Mora se mnogo eksperimentirati da bi se došlo do pravoga, 6.

22 „Motika je u tom periodu kao karikaturist u *Koprivama* surađivao i sa jednim od najvećih majstora hrvatskog stripa - Andrijom Maurovićem“ (Dulibić, 2003, 175-176).

almanahu *Vinko Lozić* iz 1919. godine, unutar kojeg će stvoriti svoju prvu tablu stripa.

FLOK KAO PRVI HRVATSKI (PROTO)STRIP JUNAK?

Iako okupiran društvenim problemima Motika kroz svoje radove nikada nije bio ozbiljan socijalni kritičar, već je češće kroz njih provlačio elemente humora. Njegova zaigrana i humorna strana karaktera bila je prožeta i kroz daljnje djelovanje,²³ a kao primjer možemo navesti serije skulptura od stakla koje je izradio nakon 1952. godine kao i stotinjak crteža grotesknih glava pronadenih nakon njegove smrti, ali i već spomenutu, jedinstvenu epizodu u njegovu stvaralaštvu – tablu stripa “Majmun Flok” koju crta za drugi broj *Vinka Lozića*. Motika je Floka najavio u prvom broju Lozića. Ispod naslova “Flok Jugoslaven” autor je predstavio svog junaka – velikog čovjekolikog majmuna koji preko ramena nosi plavo-bijelo-crvenu lentu, dok u dvije sličice – lijevo i desno od Floka crta dva dječaka kako gađaju manjeg majmuna.²⁴

Iako marginalan uradak u autorovu mladenačkom opusu, četiri trake po dvije vinjete stripa, odaju sigurnost i uvjerljivost tehničke izvedbe jednog od najtežih elemenata svojstvenog mediju stripa - vizualne dinamike, koja je naglašena ponajviše u trećoj, četvrtoj i petoj vinjeti.²⁵ Upravo će tim studiranim elementom biti povezani “Majmun Flok” i “Crvena Brada”, na čijim će se stranicama naći crtež gotovo istovjetan petoj vinjeti stripa - nedefiniranog lika čije se jasne konture gube zbog brze vožnje biciklom.

Element dinamičnosti dovodi nas i do izražajne mogućnosti stripa sadržane u prikazivanju ulančanih radnji čiji vremenski tijek nikako ne bi mogao stati u jedan instant – prikazan pojedinom vinjetom. Iz tog razloga strip ima donekle razvijenije izražajne mogućnosti u odnosu na fotografiju ili tradicionalni crtež – “U jedan crtež stane cijela kretnja ili radnja. No to je omogućeno približavanjem različitih dijelova crteža koji pripadaju različitim vremenskim momentima, a posebna je sposobnost

autora spojiti te različite trenutke bez utiska da se radi o nečem umjetnom” (Barbieri, 1991, 143). Motika je takav pristup primijenio u “Floku”, prikazavši povezanost nekoliko simultanih radnji unutar vinjete, koje, osim što sažimaju “duži” vremenski period, također najavljuju i slijed radnje – sadržaj idućeg crteža.²⁶

Dinamičnost uratka nije riješena samo tehničkom izvedbom unutar vinjete, već i jednostavnošću svakog pojednog crteža, što dozvoljava brzo prelaženje s jedne slike na drugu, odnosno ne predugo zaustavljanje na svakoj od njih - što bi narušilo narativnu rekonstrukciju table stripa kao i čitaočevu koncentraciju. Čini se kako je Motika poznavao ili naslutio ono što će teorija kasnije definirati kao zakonitosti, jer dok *Moje karikature* obiluju detaljima iz razloga što je svaka karikatura priča za sebe, za “Majmuna Floka” karakteristično je likovno detaljiziranje samo onog dijela bitnog za naraciju, dok će okolina poput šuma, livada, brežuljaka ili planina biti nacrtana s nekoliko jednostavnih poteza tušem ili jednostavno prikazana kao netaknuti dijelovi bijelog papira. Također, iako je cijela priča nacrtana u profilu/poluprofilu, autor je čestim mijenjanjem kuta kadra doskočio mogućoj vizualnoj monotonosti crtajući njezine dijelove iz ptičje, horizontalne i polu-ptičje perspektive pa čitalac takvom “montažom” stječe dojam brzine kojom se odvija naracija unutar table.

Nastavak “Majmuna Floka” najavljen riječju “slijedi” nije proveden u djelo, no namjera autora da nastavi priču jedna je od bitnih stavki u argumentiranju kako se nalazimo ispred prvog, ili barem jednog od prvih stripova na ovim područjima. Tome u prilog, osim poviše opisanih specifičnosti vizualne i narativne dinamike stripa kao i širok spektar kadriranja pojedinačnih elemenata cjelokupnog djela, idu i struktura stripa, vještina crtanja, signatura, godina izlaska, hrvatski jezik kao i originalnost priče. Zihlerl zaključuje kako postoje indicije da je “Flok” slobodna interpretacija Natorova epa “Medvjed Brundo” objavljenog 1915., te da su oba djela konotacija/ kritika na ondašnju političku situaciju te shodno činjenici da je strip pisan hrvatskim jezikom, možemo govoriti o uratku čiji autor apelira, ali i preten-

23 Segmentom karikature Motika je povezan sa svojim velikim slikarskim uzorom - Pablom Picassom, čije su knjige skica bile prožete karikaturama, koja je bila njegov “urođen” oblik izražavanja. Nakon 1906. karikatura i “visoka umjetnost” biti će prožete Picassovim djelima do te točke da ih se neće moći jasno odvojiti (Dulibić, 2003, 186).

24 Glavni junak je i podno slike najavljen riječima: “Eto nam Majmuna Floka! Od sad napred će Majmun Flok u našoj novini izlaziti. Flok će biti jedno od glavnih lica u našem listu. U ovoj slici donasmo ga kako Jugoslavena sa školskom kapićom. Slika ova zapravo nema ni značaja, no donasmo je samo da uvedemo Majmuna Floka u naš list. Pišite nam što o Floku i pošaljite na uredništvo” (prema Zihlerl, 2008).

25 Priča svoj narativni dio ima ispisan na pola stranice teksta: Majmun Flok bježi od svog gospodara i luta šumom. Nakon tri dana nađe ga lovac i nahrani. Flok bježi od lovca koji se dao u potragu za njim. Lukavi majmun se popeo na stup željezničke rampe, koja se, u trenutku kada prolazi lovac na motoru, spušta. Flok skoči na motor i “vratolomnom brzinom” bježi dalje. Brži je od automobila koji jure za njim, a sustiže i vlak koji “goniocima” prijeći put.

26 Tako će, primjerice, trećim crtežom, iz ptičje perspektive, biti prikazan Flok na vrhu željezničke rampe dok mu se iz daljine približava biciklista koji iza sebe pušta trag prašine. Iz prikazanog nam je jasno da se Flok pripremio za zasjedu te kako će biciklista vjerojatno kroz nekoliko sekundi nasjesti na pripremljenu lukavštinu/psinu, no za cjelokupnu rekonstrukciju priče (odnos Floka i bicikliste, Motiv Floka da nasamari biciklistu te uspješnost provedbe takvog plana) potrebne su nam prethodne kao i slijedeće vinjete/scene. Dakle vidimo da jedan prikazani trenutak sadrži duži naracijski period bitan za priču i kako je neodvojiv od konteksta, te da je za isti bitan koliko i kontekst za njegovo pravilno uvrštavanje unutar priče, a shodno time i razumljivost.

dira na Jugoslavenstvo hrvatskog dijela Julijske krajne (Ziherl, 2008).²⁷

Iako se kao prvi hrvatski strip spominje *Maks i Maksić* objavljeni 1925. godine gotovo ništa nije sporno, osim „niske tiraže“, da bismo s tablom „Majmuna Floka“ imali argumente za povlačenje lokalne povijesne granice stripa šest godina unatrag. U Motikinu se mladenačkom djelovanju širokoga spektra stoga, iz analize proizlazi, mogu detektirati i rudimenti devete umjetnosti na ovim područjima.

ZAKLJUČAK ILI OD FLOKA DO SUPERHRVOJA

Iako su analizirana djela heterogena, ona u većoj ili manjoj mjeri gravitiraju oko današnje forme standardiziranog medija stripa, bilo sekvencijalnošću radnje, popratnim tekstom kraj/ ispod crteža ili pak vizualnom dinamičnošću. Inspiraciju za njihov sadržaj mladi je Motika crpio iz srodnih medija literature, filma, onodobnih tehničko-znanstvenih dostignuća, kao i duha vremena i prostora u kojim ih kreira pa u tom pogledu njegov itinerar stvaranja, srodnog ili istovjetnog devetoj umjetnosti, prati genezu svjetskog stripa (usp. Barbieri, 1991). Ono

što je specifično za njegov strip, karikaturu i ilustraciju istarskoga perioda, osim karakterističnog autorskog crteža i tehničke potkovanosti, jest upravo njihova „funkcionalnost“, društveno-politički motiv s kojim su stvarani. Da li je njegovu mladenačku političnost uvjetovala „autoritarna“ majka s jasnim nacionalnim opredjeljenjem ili zasićenost političkim reperkusijama druge dekade dvadesetog stoljeća ne možemo sa egzaktnom sigurnošću ustvrditi. No, ukoliko „Majmuna Floka“ možemo čitati kao političku alegoriju, onda to znači da autor, osim što je vrlo vjerojatno stvorio prvi hrvatski strip, stvorio ujedno i prvi hrvatski politički obojan strip. Takav će „umjetnički izričaj“ u drugoj Jugoslaviji, između ostalih biti zastupljen, primjerice, i popularnim „Mirkom i Slavkom“ (usp. Krulčić, 1984), dok će u Hrvatskoj devedesetih godina taj žanr svoj izričaj dobiti prvenstveno stripom *Superhrvoje*, u kojem se prate dogodovštine junaka čijim se kamenim tijelom obistinilo hrvatsko tisućljetno proročanstvo - spasenje „svetog hrvatskog tla“ od novovjekog agresora (Matošević, 2004/2005; Matošević, Škokić, 2014).²⁸ Interesantno je da, poput „Majmuna Floka“, *Superhrvoje* osim najave stripa i prvog broja koji je završavao riječju *slijedi*, nikada nije doživio drugi nastavak.

27 Vladimir Nazor „Medvjeda Brundu“ stvara u fazi u kojem do potpunog izražaja dolazi nacionalni sentiment i vjera u narod koji jedini može izboriti vlastitu slobodu. Temeljnu inspiraciju za djelo Nazor je našao u aktualnoj političkoj situaciji u nas početkom 20. stoljeća, kad je u Hrvatskoj vladala nesloga među mnogobrojnim političkim strankama. Prikazujući kuda nas vodi nesloga kroz simbole sukobljenih životinja na Velebitu, Nazor ustvari ukazuje na snagu koja živi u mnoštvu, u puku, kao jedinjoj zdravoj snazi naroda (Šicel prema Nazor, 1990, 252).

28 O hrvatskom ratnom stripu devedesetih godina više u A. Matošević: Hrvatski strip 1990-ih: Etnološki aspekti, Etnološka tribina 27-28, vol. 34/35, Zagreb 2004/2005. te o onom post-jugoslavenskom u Matošević, Škokić, 2014, 99-143.

DEFIANCE TO THE POLITICAL AND THE EARTHLY GRAVITY
GENEALOGY OF THE "NINTH" ART IN THE EARLY OPUS OF ANTUN MOTIKA

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SUMMARY

The paper analyses four of Antun Motika's works originated during his time in Istria (1902-1919.) and have the form imminent to today's comic books as a medium. Works such as "Red Beard" (1917-1919.), "Journey to the Moon" (1917-1918.), "My Caricatures" (1919) as well as magazine "Vinko Lozić" (1919.) within which Motika created his first comic book "Monkey Flock", extract the wider author's creative work which subsequently did not necessarily have common points with the ninth art. Although the above mentioned works, form and content, are heterogeneous, they are still banded with several elements, such as drawings and/or caricatures narratively related, aspirations towards illustration dynamism likewise concomitant captions/comments on the action. The importance of these works lies in the fact that they were created at the very beginning of the author's consciousness of being an artist, and accordingly, are able to detect the rudiments of Motika's later expressions, as well as confirming the connection between comic books with other media such as film, literature or press. Creativity inherent to this period still retains a special feature, characteristic symptomatic only to those adolescent days spent in Istria - socially and politically engaged works whose pathos infused with fine irony which reflects a subsequently developed tendency towards humour.

Keywords: Antun Motika, comic book, caricatures, intermediality

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PROSVJEĆIVANJE NARODA I PROBLEM NEPISMENOSTI U CRNOJ GORI I JUGOSLAVIJI (1947–1951)

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IZVLEČEK

Proces poučevanja in opismenjevanja ljudi v Črni Gori in Jugoslaviji je bila ena izmed prioritarnih nalog ljudske oblasti v socialistični Jugoslaviji in Črni Gori v času prve petletke 1947-1951. Delo temelji prvenstveno na relevantnih arhivskih virih in literaturi. V delu se analizira proces poučevanja in opismenjevanja ljudstva, s posebnim poudarkom na Črni Gori, ki je bila v družbeno-ekonomskem pogledu, kot tudi v deležu pismenega prebivalstva, ena izmed najbolj nerazvitih republik socialistične Jugoslavije. Kljub nekaterim pomanjkljivim podatkom, je iz primerjave rezultatov poučevanja in opismenjevanja Črnogorcev z rezultati drugih federativnih republik razviden velik napredek. To je bil tudi eden izmed pogojev za temeljno družbeno-ekonomsko preobrazbo družbe v Črni Gori, kakor tudi v ostalih republikah bivše Jugoslavije, do katerega bo prišlo po prvi petletki.

Ključne besede: Črna Gora, Jugoslavija, poučevanje, opismenjevanje, Petletni razvojni načrt 1947-1951

L'ERUDIZIONE DEL POPOLO E IL PROBLEMA DELL'ANALFABETISMO IN MONTENEGRO ED IN JUGOSLAVIA (1947-1951)

SINTESI

Il processo di erudizione e di alfabetizzazione del popolo in Montenegro ed in Jugoslavia era uno dei compiti primari che, nell'attuazione del Piano di sviluppo quinquennale 1947-1951, si erano prefisse le autorità nazionali nella Jugoslavia socialista e in Montenegro. Il presente lavoro si basa principalmente su rilevanti fonti archivistiche e letterarie e intende analizzare il processo di erudizione e di alfabetizzazione del popolo, ponendo un particolare accento sulla situazione in Montenegro, una delle più sviluppate tra le repubbliche della Jugoslavia socialista per quanto riguarda l'aspetto socio-economico e l'alfabetizzazione del popolo. Confrontando i risultati ottenuti relativamente al processo di erudizione e di alfabetizzazione del popolo in Montenegro con quelli delle altre repubbliche federali, emerge che, nonostante alcune manifeste carenze, sono stati compiuti grandi passi in questo processo, il che rappresentava una delle condizioni per quella radicale trasformazione socio-economica in Montenegro come anche nelle altre repubbliche dell'ex Jugoslavia, a cui si sarebbe poi giunti in seguito al Piano di sviluppo quinquennale.

Parole chiave: Montenegro, Jugoslavia, erudizione, alfabetizzazione, Piano di sviluppo quinquennale 1947-1951

UVOD

Obrazovna politika bitan je pokazatelj i obilježje modernosti, stoga je bitno ukazati na statističke podatke. Tako je prema broju nepismenog stanovništva 1921. godine Crna Gora bila na trećem mjestu sa 67,02% nepismenog stanovništva u Kraljevini SHS. Ispred nje su bile Makedonija (83,86%) i Bosna i Hercegovina (80,55%), a iza nje Srbija (65,43%), Dalmacija (49,48%), Hrvatska, Slavonija i Međumurje (32,15%), Banat, Bačka i Baranja (23,31%) i Slovenija sa 8,85% nepismenog stanovništva. Od ukupnog broja stanovnika Zetske banovine starijeg od 10 godina bilo je pismeno 51,2% muške i 17,1% ženske populacije, što je u prosjeku činilo 34% (Dimić, 1997, III, 418–419). Mali broj analfabetskih tečajeva u banovini (svega od 15 do 20 godišnje, sa 1.000 do 1.500 polaznika) nije mogao značajnije da utiče na prosvjećenost stanovništva (Dimić, 1997, II, 92). U Zetskoj banovini je naročito bila izražena još jedna negativna tendencija koja je imala velikog uticaja na sveukupan kulturno-prosvjetni razvoj – odliv inteligencije iz kontinentalnog dijela (naročito iz Crne Gore i Hercegovine). U najvećoj mjeri on je bio usmjeren prema Srbiji (oko 72,7%), zatim prema Hrvatskoj (11,4%), dok je procenat odliva u druge dijelove države bio znatno manji (Babović-Raspopović, 2002, 123). Svakako, sve ove pokazatelje treba imati u vidu kada se razmatra proces prosvjećivanja i opismenjavanja stanovništva u Crnoj Gori i Jugoslaviji nakon Drugog svjetskog rata jer su ratna razaranja i stradanja u kombinaciji sa naslijeđenim predratnim siromaštvom i oskudicom dodatno otežali taj proces. Poslije oslobođenja u Crnoj Gori bilo 79.741 nepismenih, a 1947. godine 50.377 (DACG, 86, 1947/1). U periodu 1947-1951. učinilo se dosta u pogledu opismenjavanja stanovništva i Crne Gore i ostalih bivših jugoslovenskih republika. Međutim, ovaj problem nije u potpunosti riješen jer je i u posljednjoj deceniji dvadesetog vijeka, preciznije 1991. godini, u Jugoslaviji registrovano 17,3% nepismenog stanovništva, a u Crnoj Gori 11,2% (Lakić, 2001, 25).

PROBLEM NEPISMENOSTI U CRNOJ GORI U DOBA KRALJEVINE SHS (JUGOSLAVIJE) 1918-1941.

Crnu Goru za vrijeme Kraljevine SHS/Jugoslavije (1918–1941) karakterizovao je nizak nivo kulturno-prosvjetnih aktivnosti. Uzrok tome, prvenstveno, treba tražiti u veoma skromnim materijalnim potencijalima i u nedostatku stručnog kadra. Svega 200 fakultetski obrazovanih ljudi, tri štamparije i tri velike gimnazije (koliko ih je bilo 1923), nije predstavljalo adekvatnu podlogu, niti je imalo potrebnu snagu da pokrene kulturne aktivnosti na širim osnovama. To je, uglavnom, bila posljedica lošeg ekonomskog nasljeđa¹. Broj škola u Crnoj Gori

u periodu od 1918. do 1941. sporo je rastao. Školske 1923/24. u Zetskoj oblasti (kojoj je pripadala i Peć) radile su 342 škole sa 23.472 učenika. Zetska oblast je tada obuhvatala 322.130 stanovnika. Dakle, jedna škola na 942 stanovnika, jedan učitelj na 444 stanovnika i jedan učenik na 13 stanovnika. Posljednje školske godine (1939/40) prije izbijanja rata 1941. u Crnoj Gori je registrovano 440 osnovnih i osnovnih viših škola, sa 37.620 učenika, čime je obuhvaćeno 49,8% ukupnog broja djece dorasle za školu. Bilo je 12 gimnazija 1940. godine a broj učiteljskih škola je u 1941. spao sa četiri na dvije (Pejović, 1986, 17–19, 29–30).

Posebno treba imati u vidu da je nakon stvaranja banovina 1929. godine današnja teritorija Crne Gore (13.812 km²) ušla u sastav Zetske banovine (30.741 km², sa 875.315 stanovnika po popisu iz 1931) koja je obuhvatala južnu Dalmaciju sa Dubrovnikom, Hercegovinu sa Trebinjem, Gackom, Bilećom, Nevesinjem, Čapljinom, zatim Foču, Kalinovik, Pljevlja, Priboj, Novu Varoš, Sjenicu, Rašku, Novi Pazar i Mitrovicu (Dimić, 1997, II, 86). Tako veliko teritorijalno proširenje i povećan broj stanovnika zahtijevao je duži vremenski period povezivanja tih, u kulturno-ekonomskom pogledu, različitih regiona.

PROBLEM NEPISMENOSTI U CRNOJ GORI ZA VRIJEME OBNOVE I IZGRADNJE 1945-1946.

Obnova školstva u Crnoj Gori u toku dvije godine obnove i izgradnje (1945–1946) ratom razrušene zemlje, podrazumijevala je ne samo popravku školskih objekata, već i otvaranje novih škola i uvođenje novih oblika obrazovanja. Osobito velika pažnja bila je usmjerena na opismenjavanje stanovništva. Arhivski podaci govore da je poslije oslobođenja u Crnoj Gori bilo 79.741 nepismenih, a da se u 1947. godinu ušlo sa 50.377 nepismenih. Od toga broja bilo je 23.000 osoba starijih od 69 godina koja nijesu dolazila u obzir za opismenjavanje, tako da je ostalo 27.377 nepismenih (DACG, 86, 1947/1).

I pored dobrih rezultata ostvarenih u borbi protiv nepismenosti, u Crnoj Gori taj problem, ipak, nije bio riješen u dvogodišnjem periodu obnove 1945–1946. Treba istaći da je do 1. II 1947. godine kampanja protiv nepismenosti u Crnoj Gori dala bolje rezultate u planinskim krajevima, i pored težih uslova za rad, nego u primorskim srezovima. „Pobjeda“ prenosi podatke o broju nepismenih stanovnika u Crnoj Gori koji se unekoliko razlikuju od podataka dobijenih iz arhivske građe (Pobjeda, 5/1947), što samo ukazuje da statistika u Crnoj Gori u tom periodu nije bila u potpunosti precizna i da su statistički podaci dopunjavani i mijenjani shodno situaciji na terenu, a na to ukazuju podaci u Tabeli 1.

1 Tako, na primjer, tadašnja crnogorska inteligencija nije učestvovala ni u manifestaciji organizovanoj povodom prenosa Njegoševih kostiju na Lovćen 1925. godine (Pejović, 1982, 13–14).

Tabela 1

Srez	Broj nepismenih	Obuhvaćeno do 1. II 1947.	Procenat obuhvaćenih	Primljena obaveza
Andrijevića	6.156	1.600	25,98	30%
Bijelo Polje	7.038	2.089	29,65	25%
Bar	4.421	500	11,30	20%
Berane	7.152	1.247	17,43	25%
Danilovgrad	2.136	380	17,78	30%
Kolašin	2.025	435	21,48	20%
Kotor	2.023	215	10,62	25%
Nikšić	4.277	905	21,13	20%
Pljevlja	8.236	1.722	20,90	25%
Titograd	8.398	1.323	17,35	25%
Ulcinj	5.672	811	13,81	20%
Herceg Novi	1.798	132	7,34	25%
Cetinje	2.949	609	20,61	20%
Šavnik	3.496	650	18,07	20%
Grad				
Nikšić	127	43	34	70%
Pljevlja	313	132	42	40%
Titograd	579	96	16,57	80%
Cetinje	392	270	68,8	70%
Ukupno	67.488	13.159	19,5	

AGITPROPOVSKA FAZA KULTURNE POLITIKE U CRNOJ GORI I JUGOSLAVIJI

Za razliku od većine država istočno od „gvozdene zavjese“ u Jugoslaviji su komunisti već u ljeto 1945. preuzeli apsolutnu vlast i počeli radikalno da mijenjaju društveni sistem. Pri tome su se ugledali na iskustvo „velikog komunističkog brata“ – Sovjetskog Saveza (Gabrić, 2008, 64). Prilikom formulisanja svoje kulturne politike u vrijeme obnove i izgradnje zemlje KPJ se koristila iskustvom stečenim u međuratnom periodu, ali i formama i metodama međunarodnog radničkog pokreta, prije svega iz Sovjetskog Saveza, kao i izvučenim poukama iz sopstvenog iskustva u NOR-u. U prvi plan Partija je isticala prosvjetnu politiku kao realnu potrebu za prevazilaženje opšte kulturne zaostalosti. Nakon reorganizacije agitprop aparata po Direktivi CK KPJ od marta 1945. godine u agitprop aparatu ustanovljene su agitaciono-propagandne komisije koje su imale svoje sektore rada: za štampu i agitaciju, teorijsko-predavački, kulturni, organizaciono-tehnički i pedagoški. Svaki sektor je imao svog rukovodioca dok je dok je radom cijele komisije rukovodio jedan član partijskog rukovodstva (biroa). Tako je, na primjer, rukovodilac pedagoškog

sektora brinuo o udžbenicima, pravicima u nastavi, izdavanju pedagoških časopisa, o pravilnom provođenju direktiva koje su dolazile „iz centra“ itd. (Dimić, 1988, 31, 37–38).

Od samog početka oslobođilačkog rata Partija je proklamovala da su sva kulturna dobra i institucije opšte dobro naroda, a takav stav je zastupala i u periodu obnove zemlje. Partija je nakon oslobođenja preko Komisije za agitaciju i propagandu (AGITPROP) suzbijala staru ideologiju, a istovremeno je nastojala da pojača unutarpartijski teorijski rad i borbu za opšte uzdizanje i vaspitanje partijskog kadra. U prvoj poslijeratnoj godini ideološko-politički rad se obavljao u osnovnoj partijskoj organizaciji na redovnim teorijskim sastancima da bi od 1947. do 1951. poprimio nove forme ideološko-političkog rada (Kovačević, 1986, 250–251).

Sa obnovom zemlje i Petogodišnjim planom radnička klasa počela je da se brojčano uvećava, a tu je pojavu neminovno pratio prelazak seoskog stanovništva u gradove i njegovo zapošljavanje u industriji. To je u znatnoj mjeri mijenjalo socijalnu i obrazovnu strukturu industrijskog radnika. Potrebe u industrijalizaciji zemlje zahtijevale su da radnici dobiju viši obrazovni i kulturni nivo (Dimić, 1988, 77).

Partija je i u periodu Petogodišnjeg plana najvažnije strateške odluke razmatrala na sjednicama Politburoa, a pitanjima kulturne politike bavio se Agitprop na čijem čelu je bio Milovan Đilas. Djelatnost Agitpropa odlikovala je direktnost, obaveznost, autoritarnost, dirigovanje, nametanje i bespogovornost, a upravo to je bilo u suprotnosti sa samom suštinom nauke, kulture i umjetnosti. Cjelokupni društveni život došao je pod nadzor Agitpropa, dok su članci i govori partijskih funkcionera bili obavezujuće štivo za intelektualnu elitu. Sve je tumačeno sa pozicija „opšte partijske linije“ i „vaspitanja masa“. Sfera kulture bila je do kraja ideologizovana i podređena izvršenju ključnih partijskih i državnih zadataka u privredi, ustavno-pravnoj izgradnji i unutrašnjoj i spoljnoj politici. Koliko je polje kulture bilo značajno za državu i Partiju odslidikava i sljedeći podatak – prema procjenama iz zvaničnih izvještaja više od 50% političke agitacije KPJ je provodila kroz kulturno-prosvjetni rad (Dimić, 1999, 106).

Osnovni zadaci propagande, koje je saopštio Đilas, ozvaničeni su na V kongresu KPJ-u (21-28. VII 1948), gdje je, između ostalog, istaknuto da treba omogućiti, pod rukovodstvom i kontrolom partijskih foruma „razmah kulturnog života“ i „osnivanje kulturnih i naučnih ustanova“ (V kongres, 1949, 215–216). U kulturnim ustanovama osnivane su partijske ćelije.

Aleš Gabrič tvrdi kako Agitprop nije sam uspio ostvariti planove, a partijske ćelije u kulturnim institucijama bile su preslabe, jer su ih često činili pojedinci koji su imali slabije kvalifikacije ili bili manje sposobni i nijesu uživali ugled (Gabrič, 1991, 544). Ipak, sukob sa Sovjetskim Savezom i zemljama Informburoa namećao je drugačiji put izgradnje socijalizma, pa samim tim i nešto demokratičniji pristup ovim pitanjima što je već ozvaničeno na Trećem plenumu CK KPJ (29-30. XII 1949). Kritika dotadašnjeg stava koja se čula na Trećem plenumu značila je odbacivanje stava, koji je proizašao iz centralističkog uređenja vlasti, da administrativni aparat treba da ima monopol u ideološkim pitanjima. Smatralo se da je razvoj na planu kulture jedino moguć ako ga prati razvoj socijalističke demokratije u društvu (Dimić, 1999, 118). Dakle, očito je da je, nakon sukoba iz 1948. godine, Jugoslavija u ranim pedesetim godinama prošlog stoljeća bila prva socijalistička zemlja koja je napustila političke obrasce uplitanja u umjetničku kreativnost (Gabrič, 2008, 68).

Nakon Trećeg plenuma, postepeno se prešlo na ukiđanje komisija za agitaciju i propagandu. U tom smislu naročito je značajno junsko Pismo CK KPJ iz 1950, koje je predstavljalo uvod u demokratizaciju i reorganizaciju političkog rada. Sljedeći taj kurs već 1951. godine prestale su da rade komisije za agitaciju i propagandu pri sreskim i gradskim komitetima Partije, a 1952. i Uprava za propagandu i agitaciju CK KP Crne Gore. Ideološko-

-politički rad se od tada prenosi na komitete kao rukovodstva i na organizacije Narodnog fronta i druge masovne i društvene organizacije (Kovačević, 1986, 254–255).

PETOGODIŠNJI PLAN RAZVITKA NARODNE PRIVREDE CRNE GORE I PROBLEM NEPISMENOSTI 1947–1951.

Ubrzo nakon donošenja prvog jugoslovenskog petogodišnjeg plana Narodna skupština Crne Gore donijela je 12. VI 1947. godine *Zakon o Petogodišnjem planu razvitka narodne privrede Narodne Republike Crne Gore u godinama 1947–1951*. Ovim planom je bilo predviđeno da se u Crnoj Gori uradi mnogo toga, a u oblasti prosvjete i kulture trebalo je riješiti osnovna pitanja podižući opšti kulturni nivo naroda, što je podrazumijevalo proširenje mreže ustanova za opšte obrazovanje i kulturnih ustanova, potpuno ukinuti nepismenost, obezbjediti obuku omladine koja u uslovima rata nije mogla dobiti redovno obrazovanje u školi i posvetiti brigu predškolskom vaspitanju i školama za defektnu djecu. Za kulturu i prosvjetu bilo je predviđeno 420.000.000 dinara².

Prema kriterijumima Komiteta za školu i nauku pri Vladi FNRJ od 14. V 1947. godine pismenim licem tada se smatralo (AJ, 315–28–66, 1947/28-44):

1. lice koje je završilo osnovnu školu;
2. lice koje je završilo s uspjehom neki analfabetski tečaj i dobilo zvaničnu potvrdu o svršenom tečaju;
3. lice koje nije svršilo ni osnovnu školu ni analfabetski tečaj, a kome će prosvjetni organi (mjesnih, sreskih ili okružnih NO-a) odrediti prosvjetnu ustanovu ili lice (uprava osnovne škole, prosvjetni referent) koje će provjeriti njegovu pismenost i izdati mu potvrdu o tome.

U svrhu likvidacije nepismenosti kod odraslih donijet je i Petogodišnji plan nižih i viših opšteobrazovnih tečajeva od 1946/47. do 1950/51 (DACG, 86, 1947/22), čiji je pregled dat u Tabeli 2.

U Ministarstvu prosvjete NR Crne Gore održano je 15. IX 1947. godine savjetovanje sa predstavnicima centralnih odbora narodnih organizacija povodom konačne likvidacije nepismenosti u Republici i organizacije prosvjetnih tečajeva. Kod nekih sreskih i gradskih narodnih odbora nije se u potpunosti mogao ostvariti plan o konačnoj likvidaciji nepismenosti. Ostalo je nepismeno još 1.397 osoba starosti do 50 godina (DACG, 86, 1947/24), što potvrđuju podaci u Tabeli 3.

Prema poslatim statističkim podacima, plan konačnog opismenjavanja bio je ostvaren u Ivangradskom, Bjelopoljskom, Danilovgradskom, Kolašinskom, Nikšićkom, Hercegovačkom i Cetinjskom srezu, kao i u gradu Nikšiću (DACG, 86, 1947/24).

Sljedećih godina u Crnoj Gori i Jugoslaviji održan je veliki broj analfabetskih tečajeva na kojima je angažo-

2 Vidi opširnije: Petogodišnji plan, 1947, 39-50, 102-103, 109-113.

Tabela 2

Niži opšteobrazovni tečajevi					
Srez/grad	1946/47.	1947/48.	1948/49.	1949/50.	1950/51.
Andrijevića	-	-	300	500	500
Bar	-	-	1.000	2.000	2.000
Berane	-	-	200	600	800
Bijelo Polje	-	-	1.150	1.430	1.625
Danilovgrad	-	-	500	1.000	1.000
Kolašin	-	-	500	650	700
Kotor	-	-	360	250	150
Nikšić	-	17	600	1.000	1.300
Pljevlja	-	-	1.000	1.600	2.000
Titograd	-	-	1.000	1.200	1.400
Herceg Novi	-	-	100	130	150
Cetinje	-	-	200	300	470
Šavnik	-	-	200	420	726
Nikšić-grad	-	-	20	-	-
Pljevlja-grad	-	-	50	80	100
Titograd-grad	-	-	80	60	40
Cetinje-grad	-	20	50	100	150
Ukupno	-	37	7.310	11.220	13.111
Viši opšteobrazovni tečajevi					
Andrijevića	-	-	200	200	200
Bar	38	30	50	100	200
Berane	-	20	80	100	150
Bijelo Polje	44	60	150	320	420
Danilovgrad	15	20	80	100	140
Kolašin	34	40	80	100	120
Kotor	-	11	50	120	230
Nikšić	-	40	80	150	200
Pljevlja	-	-	30	100	150
Titograd	-	-	88	125	150
Herceg Novi	-	34	60	100	150
Cetinje	-	-	20	30	50
Šavnik	-	30	60	100	150
Nikšić-grad	33	30	20	20	20
Pljevlja-grad	-	30	50	70	100
Titograd-grad	-	50	80	100	120
Cetinje-grad	63	65	70	75	80
Ukupno	227	460	1.148	1.910	2.630

Tabela 3

Srez/grad	Broj nepismenog stanovništva
Andrijevića	46
Bar	95
Durmitorski	99
Kotor	278
Pljevlja	128
Titograd	714
Pljevlja-grad	9
Titograd-grad	15
Cetinje-grad	13

Tabela 4

Narodna republika	Tečajevi i predavači	Brojno stanje po godinama				
		1945/46.	1947.	1948.	1949.	1950.
Ukupno u FNRJ	tečajeva	17.584	31.470	38.932	35.329	34.652
	predavača	19.548	34.323	34.378	36.980	31.116
Srbija	tečajeva	9.235	12.318	14.762	17.385	13.848
	predavača	10.987	12.655	13.870	19.059	10.389
Hrvatska	tečajeva	1.750	7.632	6.764	2.347	2.585
	predavača	6.123	10.052	5.198	2.360	2.612
Slovenija	tečajeva	-	6	29	-	130
	predavača	-	10	29	-	101
Bosna i Hercegovina	tečajeva	5.091	8.319	11.852	11.735	12.873
	predavača	900	7.981	10.985	11.735	12.873
Makedonija	tečajeva	1.000	2.188	3.560	2.922	5.057
	predavača	1.030	2.315	2.578	2.922	5.037
Crna Gora	tečajeva	508	1.007	1.969	940	200
	predavača	508	1.310	1.718	904	164

van veliki broj predavača (AJ, 317–50–73, 1951). Rečeno potvrđuju podaci u Tabeli 4.

Kroz ove tečajeve prošao je sljedeći broj polaznika koji su opismenjeni (AJ, 317–50–73, 1951), a to je prezentovano u Tabeli 5.

U Crnoj Gori je najveći broj polaznika ovih tečajeva bio 1947. godine (24.481) i 1948. (26.281) kada je procentualno zabilježen i najveći broj opismenjenih (78% i 80,7%). Tokom ovih godina u Jugoslaviji i u Crnoj Gori otvarane su i škole za opšte obrazovanje radnika i namještenika. Njihov broj bio je sljedeći (AJ, 317–50–73, 1951), što se vidi po podacima prezentovanim u Tabelama 6 i 7.

Postignuti rezultati u borbi protiv nepismenosti u Crnoj Gori, prema ocjeni rukovodstva Narodne omladine, „bili su zadivljujući“. Prema jednom izvještaju iz 1950.

godine, u Makedoniji je bilo 24.000 nepismenih, u Srbiji 19.000, u Bosni i Hercegovini više od 17.000, za Hrvatsku nije bilo preciznih podataka, a za Crnu Goru i Sloveniju je konstatovano da više nemaju nepismenog stanovništva (AJ, VIII, 1950, II/2–d–40).

Međutim, jedna detaljna analiza iz 1951. godine pokazala je manjkavosti u dotadašnjim prikupljenim statističkim podacima, koji se odnose na broj nepismenog stanovništva i njegovog opismenjavanja u Jugoslaviji (AJ, 317–22–42, 1951). Savezni zavod za statistiku i evidenciju obradio je statistički materijal o suzbijanju nepismenosti u FNRJ od 1946. do 1950. godine, koji je dobio 1951. od Saveta za nauku i kulturu FNRJ i koji je dopunio podacima iz arhive bivšeg Državnog statističkog ureda. Tom prilikom utvrđeno je da postoji razlika u brojnom stanju nepismenih između statističke

Tabela 5

Narodna republika	Polaznici i opismenjeni	Brojno stanje po godinama				
		1945/46.	1947.	1948.	1949.	1950.
Ukupno u FNRJ	polaznika	464.341	678.962	682.724	539.015	521.603
	opismenjenih	319.203	455.077	535.321	343.707	275.659
	%	68,7	67,0	78,4	63,8	52,8
Srbija	polaznika	231.584	284.058	263.143	195.125	162.622
	opismenjenih	171.213	211.751	196.993	109.753	92.027
	%	73,9	74,5	74,9	56,2	56,6
Hrvatska	polaznika	52.000	102.049	95.069	31.686	32.672
	opismenjenih	35.350	59.861	80.240	20.362	22.281
	%	68,0	58,7	84,4	64,3	68,0
Slovenija	polaznika	-	244	124	-	838
	opismenjenih	-	226	124	-	397
	%	-	92,6	100	-	47,4
Bosna i Hercegovina	polaznika	131.450	207.157	235.709	234.999	215.511
	opismenjenih	87.024	126.742	191.055	166.246	117.736
	%	66,2	61,2	81,1	70,7	54,6
Makedonija	polaznika	32.307	60.973	62.398	67.694	107.334
	opismenjenih	13.323	37.411	45.710	43.017	41.825
	%	41,2	61,4	73,4	63,5	39,0
Crna Gora	polaznika	17.000	24.481	26.281	9.511	2.626
	opismenjenih	12.293	19.086	21.199	4.329	1.393
	%	72,3	78,0	80,7	45,5	53,1

Tabela 6

Narodna republika	Škole za opšte obrazovanje radnika						
	Broj škola po školskim godinama						
	1940/41.	1945/46.	1946/47.	1947/48.	1948/49.	1949/50.	1950/51.
FNRJ	-	-	13	76	83	101	78
Uža Srbija	-	-	-	20	20	25	19
AP Vojvodina	-	-	-	9	10	15	9
AP Kosovo i Metohija	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
Srbija (ukupno)	-	-	-	29	30	42	30
Hrvatska	-	-	-	7	7	11	8
Slovenija	-	-	13	37	26	18	16
B i H	-	-	-	-	17	27	19
Makedonija	-	-	-	1	1	1	1
Crna Gora	-	-	-	2	2	2	4

Tabela 7

Narodna republika	Škole za opšte obrazovanje namještenika						
	Broj škola po školskim godinama						
	1940/41.	1945/46.	1946/47.	1947/48.	1948/49.	1949/50.	1950/51.
FNRJ	-	-	-	-	2	14	28
Uža Srbija	-	-	-	-	2	2	1
AP Vojvodina	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AP Kosovo i Metohija	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Srbija (ukupno)	-	-	-	-	2	2	1
Hrvatska	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Slovenija	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
B i H	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Makedonija	-	-	-	-	-	12	27
Crna Gora	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

evidencije, koju su vodila bivša ministarstva prosvjete, nauke i kulture narodnih republika i između podataka popisa stanovništva od 15. III 1948. godine u iznosu od 2.038.261 nepismenih; da se brojno stanje tečajeva za opismenjavanje u 1950. u odnosu na 1948. smanjilo za 14.758 tečajeva; da je broj opismenjenih u 1950. u odnosu na 1947. opao za 225.683; da je ostalo 208.708 djece od 7 do 10 godina starosti nepismeno pošto nijesu pohađala školu, a bilo je nepismeno i 278.509 djece od 11 do 13 godina starosti iz istog razloga, što je ukupno iznosilo 487.217 nepismene djece u dobu školske obaveze; da zbog stalnog priliva nepismene djece ovih godišta neće biti akcije za opismenjavanje i problem nepismenosti neće biti riješen. Pored toga, primjećeni su nedostaci u metodologiji statističkog posmatranja akcija za opismenjavanje i utvrđivanje nepismenosti. Savezni zavod za statistiku je, stoga, odmah predložio sljedeće mjere: da se evidencija o nepismenosti odmah proširi i na školoobaveznu djecu od 7 do 14 godina starosti i rješava zajedno sa problemom potpunog ostvarenja školske obaveze; da se veća pažnja posveti produžnim i prosvjetnim domaćičkim tečajevima, koji su sastavni dio problematike suzbijanja nepismenosti, a o kojima se do tada slabo vodilo računa; i da se sazove konferencija, odnosno formira komisija, koja bi utvrdila metodološke osnove statističke službe za posmatranje i utvrđivanje stanja povodom školske obaveze, nepismenosti i opismenjavanja.

U vremenu kada je UNESCO postavio dvanaestogodišnji plan za borbu protiv nepismenosti u svijetu i dotirao 20 miliona dolara za osnivanje centara za suzbijanje nepismenosti na Srednjem Istoku, u Centralnij Africi, Južnoj Americi i dva centra na Dalekom Istoku,

da se pomogne u opismenjavanju milijardu i dvjesto miliona ljudi, Savezni zavod za statistiku napravio je kritički osvrt na nepismenost i rezultate opismenjavanja u Jugoslaviji (AJ, 317–22–42, 1951).

Prema međunarodnom indeksu, između država koje su registrovane, Jugoslavija je po nepismenosti stanovništva, prema indeksu iz 1931. godine, bila na drugom mjestu u Evropi, a prema indeksu iz 1948. Jugoslavija je (prema tadašnjim raspoloživim podacima) bila na četvrtom mjestu iza Bugarske, Grčke i Portugalije. Savezni zavod za statistiku je već prilikom odobravanja obrazaca za praćenje akcije opismenjavanja skrenuo pažnju na probleme koji se pojavljuju u vezi sa suzbijanjem nepismenosti u FNRJ i ukazao na potrebne mjere koje bi trebalo preduzeti da se stanje akcija za opismenjavanje i evidencija o nepismenosti u FNRJ poprave. Tokom analize podataka utvrđena su prilično velika odstupanja u pogledu broja nepismenog stanovništva. Početkom Peto-godišnjeg plana, odnosno 1. I 1947. godine, procjenom dobijenom sa terena od ministarstava prosvjete narodnih republika utvrđen je broj nepismenih u FNRJ - 2.072.098, a naknadnom procjenom u 1948/49. broj nepismenih je utvrđen na 1.124.158 lica. Međutim, ovi podaci su demantovani popisom stanovništva od 15. III 1948. godine kada je zvanično utvrđeno i objavljeno da je 15. III 1948. u FNRJ bilo 3.162.836 nepismenih stanovnika iznad 10 godina starosti. Razlika između podataka koje su državni organi zvanično objavili i rezultata provedenog popisa stanovništva iznosi 2.038.261, odnosno za toliko je bilo više nepismenog stanovništva. Razlozi ovako velike razlike u podacima o nepismenom stanovništvu, koji su dobijeni procjenama i popisom stanovništva, rezultat su nepouzdanosti podataka dobijenih putem procjene sa

terena. Zbog toga je i obustavljeno dalje izvještavanje putem procjene sa terena (AJ, 317–22–42, 1951).

Podaci popisa stanovništva o broju nepismenih bazirani su na starosti stanovništva od 10 do 60 godina i naviše, dok se u akcijama za opismenjavanje baziraju na starosti stanovništva od 15 do 45 godina i naviše. Praćenje nepismenosti ni u međunarodnim mjerilima nije bilo usklađeno i nepismenost se različito registruje: sa 6, 7 i 10 godina. Prema „Godišnjaku OUN-a“, Jugoslavija je registrovana sa 11 godina. Najveći broj država prati nepismenost stanovništva od 10 godina pa naviše. Starosne grupacije nepismenih kreću se od: 7-12, 13-19, 20-29, 30-39, 50-64 i od 65 godina naviše, ili 10-14, 15-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-64, i od 65 godina naviše, a Jugoslavija je registrovana u „Godišnjaku OUN-a“ sa 11-14, 15-19, 20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-64 i od 60 godina naviše. Najviše država prihvatilo je srednju grupaciju. Za FNRJ publikovani su podaci o nepismenosti u Biltenu SSU-a prema starosnim grupacijama 10-14, 15-24, 25-44, i od 45 godina naviše, dok se opismenjavanje i procjena nepismenih na terenu u akcijama za opismenjavanje pratila prema grupaciji 15-25, 26-45, i od 46 godina naviše. Zbog toga je izražena velika razlika između broja nepismenih prema popisu stanovništva od 15. III 1948. godine i terenske procjene njihovog broja u akcijama za opismenjavanje u 1948/49. godini, što potvrđuju i podaci dati u Tabeli 8.

Takođe, uočena je veoma tijesna povezanost između ostvarivanja obaveznog školovanja i nepismenosti naroda. Broj djece od 7 do 10 godina starosti koja su bila obavezna da pohađaju školu u toku 1948/49. iznosio je 1.365.813, a od toga broja učenika u školama bilo je 1.157.105, odnosno 84,7%, dok 208.708 ili 15,3% djece, koja su bila obavezna da pohađaju nastavu nije bilo obuhvaćeno školom zbog čega su ostala nepismena. Broj djece od 11 do 13 godina starosti, obavezne da pohađaju školu, 1948/49. iznosio je 1.080.073, ali je svega 677.399 djece pohađalo nastavu, odnosno, 402.674 djece obavezne da pohađaju školu nijesu bila uključena u taj proces. Pošto je broj nepismenih od 10 do 14 godina starosti u 1948. godini (prema popisu stanovništva) iznosio 278.509, to znači da je 124.165 djece od 10 do 14 godina starosti završilo osnovnu školu i prije navršene školske obaveze napustilo školu. Međutim, ni

ovaj broj nije u potpunosti tačan zbog toga što se broj djece, koja su obavezna da pohađaju nastavu, odnosi na starosnu dob od 11 do 13 godina, a za nepismenost se uzima starosna dob od 10 do 14 godina. Nepismenih od 7 do 10 godina starosti bilo je oko 208.000, a od 10 do 14 godina starosti oko 280.000, to znači da oko 500.000 djece, obavezne da pohađaju školu, ne pohađaju nastavu i samim tim predstavljaju stalan priliv u broju nepismenog stanovništva. Zbog toga je bilo nemoguće iskorijeniti u potpunosti nepismenost sve dok se nije postigla potpuna obaveznost pohađanja škole (AJ, 317–22–42, 1951). Akciju opismenjavanja trebalo je proširiti i na školoobaveznu djecu od 7 do 14 godina starosti putem forsiranja ostvarenja školske obaveze, a u slučaju da to ne da željene rezultate, onda putem otvaranja tečajeva za opismenjavanje i individualnog opismenjavanja djece koja iz objektivnih razloga ne mogu pohađati školu. Naravno, pored samih akcija trebalo je voditi evidenciju o samim akcijama, jer se do tada nije vodilo računa u akcijama za opismenjavanje o djeci od 7 do 10 i od 10 do 14 godina starosti, jer se evidentira i opismenjavanje omladina tek od 15 (i više) godina starosti. Smatralo se da su ova djeca obavezna da pohađaju školu, pa treba o njima škola da vodi računa, a školska evidencija je bila veoma slaba. U metodologiji za utvrđivanje nepismenosti takođe su predložene mjere koje bi je poboljšale, odnosno što više se pridržavale internacionalne forme, kako bi i dobijeni podaci bili što bliži međunarodnoj statistici. Ovo se, naročito, odnosilo na polaznu bazu, odnosno na godine od kojih se prati nepismenost, na dobne grupe starosti, na definicije ko se smatra pismenim, nepismenim ili opismenjenim itd.

Akcije za opismenjavanje uglavnom su se provodile na sljedeći način:

- Do kraja 1946. godine kroz ove akcije opismenjeno je 319.250 stanovnika, 1947- 501.022, 1948-535.322, 1949-343.707 i 1950. godine 275.339 stanovnika. To znači da je akcija u prve dvije godine Petogodišnjeg plana znatno pojačana, a da je od 1949. godine u stalnom opadanju tako da je broj opismenjenih u 1949. spao na 157.315, a u 1950. godini za 225.683 u odnosu na 1947. godinu;

Tabela 8

Starost stanovništva	Podaci prema popisu stanovništva od 15. III 1948.	Podaci prema procjenama u akcijama za opismenjavanje 1948/49.	Razlika u podacima
10-14 godina	278.559	nije se pratilo	278.559
15-45 godina	1.357.744	648.749	678.995
Više od 45 godina	1.526.116	445.409	1.080.077
Ukupno	3.162.415	1.124.158	2.038.261

- Broj tečajeva u 1947. godini bio je 22.235, 1948–33.845, 1949–25.127 i 1950. godine 19.087, što znači da je broj tečajeva 1950. godine u odnosu na 1949. opao za 14.758. Razlozi za opadanje broja tečajeva bili su u slaboj evidenciji o završenim i novootvorenim tečajevima i u slabljenju efikasnosti samih akcija na terenu;
- U 1951. godini ove akcije su još više oslabile, a isto tako oslabila je i evidencija i izvještajna služba o suzbijanju nepismenosti, tako da se kod saveznih organa uopšte ne raspolaže sa podacima rezultata akcija za 1951. godinu. Do ovakvog stanja došlo je djelimično i zbog reorganizacije državne uprave (spajanje Savjeta za nauku i kulturu NR i Ministarstava prosvjete NR i Savjeta za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR, promjenama u referatu kulturno masovne djelatnosti, ukidanjem resorne statističke službe i Biroa za statistiku i evidenciju u resoru prosvjete i prenosom ove službe na Zavod za statistiku i evidenciju (ZSE)). Dok je kod saveznih i republičkih organa izvršen prenos statističke službe na organe ZSE, kod terenskih organa, Sreskog narodnog odbora (SNO) i Gradskog narodnog odbora (GNO), to nije bilo realizovano. Zbog toga su izvještaje primali organi prosvjete SNO-a i GNO-a koji nijesu imali kome dalje da ih prosljede za statističko posmatranje jer je resorna statistička služba bila ukinuta (AJ, 317–22–42,1951).

Pored opšte akcije za opismenjavanje, veoma važne su bile i paralelno provedene akcije u pojedinim granama društvene djelatnosti. Provedene su akcije za opismenjavanje regruta tokom služenja vojnog roka, opismenjavanja radnika u okviru sindikalnih radničkih organizacija i opismenjavanje u radnim akcijama na gradilištima, koje je organizovala Narodna omladina. U 1948. godini u Jugoslovenskoj armiji (JA) opismenjeno je 42.796 regruta na odsluženju vojnog roka, a u kasnijem, detaljnijem izvještaju JA, za period od 1. X 1948. do 1. X 1949. godine opismenjena su 33.550 vojnika. Jedinstveni radnički sindikati pokrenuli su krajem 1949. godine akciju opismenjavanja nepismenih radnika u preduzećima. Prilikom popisa prevedenih radnika u zvanja konstatovano je da je od 836.956 (prevedenih) radnika u preduzećima 61.689 nepismenih. Ni ovaj broj nije precizan jer u njemu nijesu obuhvaćeni radnici koji rade zanatske poslove, kao što nije obuhvaćen ni priličan broj radnika koji je znao samo da čita, kao i broj nepoznatih. I na radnim akcijama provedene su akcije opismenjavanja. Međutim, dok se vodila evidencija i statistička služba u akcijama na izgradnji pruge Šamac-Sarajevo i prilikom izgradnji fabrike alatlika u Železniku, dobijali su se podaci, dok se kasnije nijesu mogli dobiti podaci o opismenjavanju na radnim akcijama NOJ-a. Pokazalo se da samo opismenjavanje putem

kurseva za suzbijanje nepismenosti ne bi imalo trajne rezultate ukoliko se ne bi produžilo putem prosvjetnih i domaćičkih tečajeva.

Da bi se popravilo stanje u sakupljanju statističkih podataka Savezni zavod za statistiku je predložio više mjera na poboljšanju evidentiranja i provođenja akcija za opismenjavanje stanovništva koje su obuhvatale prosvjetne organe, društvene masovne organizacije, radničke sindikalne organizacije, organe zadužene za suzbijanje nepismenosti u vojsci i Narodnu omladinu Jugoslavije (AJ, 317–22–42,1951). Predložene mjere dale su pozitivne rezultate već prilikom popisa škola, nastavnog osoblja i evidencije nepismenosti školske 1951/52. godine. Na konferenciji o prosvjetnoj statistici, održanoj 10–12. III 1952. u Saveznom zavodu za statistiku (kao nastavak konferencije održane u junu 1951), predstavnici svih republika su istakli da je popis dobro organizovan i da je dao dobre rezultate. Istina, jedino predstavnik Zavoda za statistiku i evidenciju NR Crne Gore Branko Uskoković nije dao mišljenje jer do konferencije nije bio upoznat sa rezultatima obavljenog popisa u Crnoj Gori (AJ, 317–22–42,1952).

U svenarodnom pokretu za opismenjavanje određena stagnacija bila je i u 1949. godini iako je kroz opšte-obrazovne tečajeve samo u toku 1949. prošlo više od 6.000 osoba, to je, ipak, bio prilično mali broj prema onome koliko se stanovništva trebalo i planiralo obuhvatiti. Pored toga, još nedovoljno razvijena školska mreža nije bila u stanju da potpuno obuhvati nove generacije djece i omladine koje su prispjevale za školu. Bilo je više razloga za to, a kao glavne Vlada NR Crne Gore navela je „slabo zalaganje učenika u učenju, nedovoljno zalaganje omladinskih rukovodstava u školama na razvijanju shvatanja kod učenika da je u periodu socijalističke izgradnje u našoj zemlji njihov osnovni zadatak da uče, nedovoljan, a vrlo često i slab rad izvjesnog dijela nastavnika i učitelja na svome stručnom i ideološko-političkom uzdizanju, na unošenju idejnosti u nastavu kroz predavanja i druge oblike rada.“ Pored toga, takode je istaknuta i nedovoljna briga partijskih i masovnih organizacija, kao i organa narodne vlasti (SNO-a i GNO-a) za pitanja školstva i prosvjete, što je uslovalo prilično slabo stanje u školama u pogledu nastave i materijalne opremljenosti. U školskoj 1948/49. godini oko 2.000 djece u školoobaveznom uzrastu nije pohađalo nastavu (Perović, Ilić, 1986, 523–524). Povećanju broja nepismenih doprinio je i otpor koji su neprosvjećeni roditelji pružali školovanju svoje, pogotovu ženske djece iz muslimanskih i albanskih porodica. (Starovlah, 1996, 161).

U 1953. godini u Jugoslaviji je od ukupnog broja stanovništva (16.936.573) bilo nepismeno 6.959.896 ili 41%, a u Crnoj Gori od 419.873³ bilo je nepismeno 197.306 ili 47% stanovništva (Popis, 1960, 2–3). U 1953. godini u Jugoslaviji je od ukupnog broja stanovni-

3 Ukupan broj stanovništva Crne Gore 1953. godine.

štva (16.936.573) bilo nepismeno 6.959.896 ili 41%, a u Crnoj Gori od 419.873 bilo je nepismeno 197.306 ili 47% stanovništva (Popis, 1960, 2-3). Ovaj problem nije u potpunosti riješen ni početkom devedesetih godina prošlog stoljeća - u Jugoslaviji je 1991. godine nepismenog stanovništva bilo 17,3%, a u Crnoj Gori 11,2% (Lakić, 2001, 25). Prema popisu stanovništva iz 2003. godine, ukupan broj stanovnika u Crnoj Gori bio je 620.154 (Prosvjetni rad, 11-12/2007; Lakić, 2008, 130). U Crnoj Gori je u 2007. godini među stanovništvom starijim od 10 godina (537.898) bilo 12.617 nepismenih stanovnika ili 2,35%. Prilikom istraživanja iz 2007. godine pismenima su smatrane osobe koje su završile više od tri razreda osnovne škole, ali i oni koji su završili jedan do tri razreda osnovne škole, kao i oni bez škole koji su bili u stanju da napišu i pročitaju kratak tekst u vezi sa svakidašnjim životom. Ovim istraživanjem nijesu bila obuhvaćena djeca predškolskog uzrasta. Popis iz 2011. godine pokazuje da je u Crnoj Gori od ukupnog broja stanovnika starih 10 i više godina (542.649) nepismenih bilo 8.149 ili 1,5% (Statistički, 2014, 39).

Stanovništvo se nije opismenjivalo samo kroz opšte-obrazovne tečajevе, kurseve i razna predavanja održavana u mjestima stanovanja, već se taj proces odvijao i na brojnim radnim akcijama i velikim radilištima koja su okupljala veliki broj radne snage. Najveće gradilište u Crnoj Gori u toku Petogodišnjeg plana bila je željeznička pruga Nikšić-Titograd (53 km i 300 m), koja se gradila od 20. IV 1947. do 13. VII 1948. godine, kada je i svečano puštena u rad (Marović, 1987, 230; Pobjeda, 4/1946). Na pruzi, koja se gradila kroz „ljuti kamen“, podvodno i močvarno zemljište, sa veoma malo stručnog osoblja i još manje prijeko potrebnih mašina i tehničkih sredstava, u radovima su učestvovala 25.352 člana omladinske organizacije iz Crne Gore, svrstanih u 115 omladinskih brigada. Iz Srbije je na izgradnji pruge učestvovalo 1.709 omladinaca, iz Bosne i Hercegovine 1.267, iz Hrvatske 989, iz Makedonije 224 i Slovenije 159. Na pruzi je ukupno radilo 18.729 pripadnika NF, svrstanih u 101 brigadu. Na izgradnji pruge ukupno je bilo angažovano 46.429 graditelja, od toga 42.091 iz Crne Gore – gotovo svaki za rad sposoban Crnogorac i Crnogorka (Omladinska, 1949, 14, 17–18). U skladu sa parolom „Mi gradimo prugu - pruga izgrađuje nas“, graditelji su, poslije završetka posla, pohađali razna predavanja i kurseve, gledali filmove, opismenjivali se na analfabetskim tečajevima i učestvovali u raznim sportskim i drugim takmičenjima (Omladinska, 1949, 19). U novembru i decembru 1947. godine održana su, između ostalih, predavanja: „Politika američkih imperijalista i stvaranje Informbiroa devet komunističkih partija“, „Osnovni zadaci i značaj Petogodišnjeg plana za razvoj narodne privrede FNRJ“, „O seljačkim radnim zadugama“ (DACG, IV, 1947/1045). Komitet gradilišta Omladinske pruge Nikšić-Titograd provodio je kulturno-prosvjetni rad preko kulturno-prosvjetnog odjeljenja Štaba brigada i Komisije za kulturno-prosvjetni rad pri

upravi podružnice. Kružoci su bili dovoljno snabdjeveni sa partijskim materijalom u vezi sa datim temama koje su se obrađivale desetodnevno u omladinskim brigadama i petnaestodnevno u frontovskim brigadama i radnim kolektivima. Sve omladinske i frontovske brigade dobijale su potrebnu štampu u dovoljnoj količini i čitali je grupno i pojedinačno. Analfabetski tečajevi radili su svakog dana u svim brigadama. Čitalačke grupe radile su u brigadama i radnim kolektivima na kojima je, pored štampe, čitana i marksističko-lenjinistička literatura. U svim brigadama i radnim kolektivima postojale su i manje biblioteke sa manjim brojem knjiga koje su pravilno korišćene. Predavanja koja su održavana često su podsticala živu diskusiju (DACG, 5, 1947/4854). Od 4.421 graditelja, koji su bili nepismeni, opismenjeno je 3.467, od toga 2.541 omladinac i omladinka. Takođe, 79 graditelja završilo je kurseve za predsjednike aktiva, za srednjoškolske fiskulturne i pionirske rukovodioce i rukovodioce analfabetskih tečajeva. Četvoromjesečni minerski kurs završilo je 360 omladinaca, dvomjesečni 150, 110 su osposobljeni za čuvanje pruge i skretničare, 112 je završilo baštovanski kurs, a oko 300 omladinaca pošlo je na građevinske kurseve. Na pruzi je održano 1.281 predavanje (150 stručnih, 731 političko-vaspitanje i 400 popularno-naučnih). Biblioteke su raspolagale sa 13.353 knjige. Na pruzi je gostovalo nekoliko pozorišnih grupa koje su izvele 278 pozorišnih predstava, a prugu su posjećivale pokretne kino-aparature, prikazavši 30 filmova. Među omladinom i nešto manje među frontovcima bila je razvijena kulturno-umjetnička samodjelatnost. Održano je 260 priredbi, a u likovnim kružocima izrađeno je 107 radova. Značku fiskulturnika osvojilo je 684 graditelja, održano je 6.578 časova jutarnje gimnastike, 3.015 dnevnih fiskulturnih časova, 116 predavanja iz oblasti fiskulture, 809 odbojkaških utakmica, 612 lakoatletskih takmičenja i 17 masovnih priredbi, dok je ekipa graditelja osvojila pet prvih mjesta na lakoatletskom prvenstvu NR Crne Gore (Omladinska, 1949, 19–20, 150–151, 154–155).

Što se tiče ostalih načina opštenarodnog prosvjećivanja u prvim poratnim godinama, čitalačke grupe bile su jedan od najmasovnijih oblika narodnog prosvjećivanja. Takođe, masovne narodne organizacije održavale su stalno u selima i gradovima razna predavanja, u kojima se, uglavnom, govorilo popularno o pojedinim naučnim i kulturnim pitanjima, održavana su i politička predavanja. U sela su često dolazili putujući bioskopi, koji su takođe doprinosili prosvjećivanju naroda, a u gradovima i u varošima održavana su predavanja na narodnim univerzitetima. Tokom 1948. godine u Crnoj Gori je radila Centralna biblioteka sa 35.000 knjiga, nabavljenih poslije rata, Muzejska biblioteka sa 20.000 knjiga, koje su korišćene u naučne svrhe, gradske biblioteke sa 144.991 knjigom, a postojale su i seoske biblioteke. Istina, seoske biblioteke nijesu bile uređene kako treba, a ni korišćenje knjiga nije bilo na zadovoljavajućem nivou (Perović, Ilić, 1986, 704–705).

ZAKLJUČAK

Prema broju nepismenog stanovništva 1921. godine Crna Gora je bila na trećem mjestu sa 67,02% nepismenog stanovništva u Kraljevini SHS. U Zetskoj banovini je naročito bio izražen odliv inteligencije iz kontinentalnog dijela (naročito iz Crne Gore i Hercegovine). U najvećoj mjeri on je bio usmjeren prema Srbiji, donekle prema Hrvatskoj (11,4%), dok je procenat odliva u druge dijelove države bio znatno manji. Poslije oslobođenja u Crnoj Gori bilo 79.741 nepismenih, a 1947. godine 50.377.

U periodu Petogodišnjeg plana pitanjima kulturne politike bavio se Agitprop. Sfera kulture bila je ideologizovana i podređena izvršenju ključnih partijskih i državnih zadataka. Sukob sa Sovjetskim Savezom i zemljama Informbiroa uslovio je da Jugoslavija u ranim pedesetim godinama prošlog stoljeća postane prva socijalistička zemlja koja je napustila političke obrasce uplitanja u umjetničku kreativnost. Pored toga, vrijeme Prvog petogodišnjeg plana karakterisalo je, sa jedne strane, ulaganje napora da se stvori materijalna, prije svega industrijska baza za društveno-ekonomski razvoj

države, a sa druge strane, da se prevaziđe kulturna nerazvijenost većeg dijela jugoslovenskog društva (prije svih Bosne i Hercegovine, Kosova i Metohije, Makedonije, Crne Gore). Oba procesa se odlikuju preduzetim dinamičnim aktivnostima kojima je rukovođila država, odnosno Partija kao transmisija svih društvenih i političkih aktivnosti. Ipak, i pored nesumnjivo postignutog velikog uspjeha u opismenjavanju stanovništva u Crnoj Gori i Jugoslaviji u razmatranom periodu, taj problem se iznova pojavljivao i narednih godina i decenija. Dio stanovništva nije ni bio evidentiran kao nepismen zbog problema u vođenju statistike, gdje je, očigledno, bilo propusta u sakupljanju i obradi statističkog materijala. Treba istaći da je tokom procesa opismenjavanja stalno bio prisutan problem nepohadjanja nastave školoobavezne djece.

Očito je da se od 1947. do 1951. učinilo dosta u pogledu opismenjavanja stanovništva i Crne Gore i ostalih bivših jugoslovenskih republika, ali ovaj problem nije u potpunosti riješen ni mnogo godina kasnije, jer je i u posljednjoj deceniji minulog stoljeća (1991) u Crnoj Gori registrovano 11,2% nepismenog stanovništva, a u Jugoslaviji 17,3%.

ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE ILLITERACY PROBLEM IN MONTENEGRO AND YUGOSLAVIA FROM 1947 TO 1951

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SUMMARY

The people's government faced the issue of literacy and education in Montenegro and Yugoslavia immediately after the end of World War II and this problem started to be addressed in the course of the two years of state's reconstruction, from 1945 to 1946. The problem could not be successfully resolved for such a short time, although positive results were visible in reducing the number of the illiterate, establishment of new schools, organization of a number of literacy and professional courses etc. This problem was particularly pronounced in Montenegro, having in mind that Montenegro was one of the least developed republics of the socialist Yugoslavia. Following the adoption of the Five-Year Development Plan for the period from 1947 to 1951 the systematic enlightenment of the population and the general cultural ascent started. The Five-Year Development Plan envisioned a 400-million-dinar investment into the culture and education in Montenegro. In this period, the mass literacy campaigns were conducted, a network of primary and secondary schools was expanded and new libraries were opened as well as numerous cultural canterers, especially in the rural areas. However, despite the efforts and the positive results achieved, the illiteracy problem could not be fully resolved and this problem persisted over the later years: according to 1953-statistics, out of the total Yugoslav population (16,936,573) 6,959,896 people were illiterate or 41% population, while out of the total Montenegrin population (419,873) 197,306 or 47% was illiterate.

Keywords: Montenegro, Yugoslavia, literacy, Five Year Development Plan, population, literacy course

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NEKATERE VRZELI V OBSTOJEČEM UČNEM NAČRTU ZA ZGODOVINO IZ VIDIKA OPTIMALNEGA RAZVOJA UČNO USPEŠNIH UČENCEV

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IZVLEČEK

Z deskriptivno in eksplikativno neeksperimentalno metodo pedagoškega raziskovanja smo želeli ugotoviti, kakšni in predvsem kolikšni so načini vključevanja učnih vsebin in ciljev dela z nadarjenimi učenci v učnem načrtu za zgodovino. Analizirali smo naslednje ključne primerjalne elemente: celovito strukturo učnega načrta za zgodovino, učno vsebino, učne cilje, standarde znanja ter odprtost učnega načrta. Ugotovitve kažejo večje vrzeli, saj v slednjih ni konkretno zapisanih in s tem formalno zagotovljenih možnosti za optimalen razvoj nadarjenih učencev (vsebinsko-ciljna diferenciranost učnega načrta, višji standardi znanja, splošni in operativni cilji pouka).

Ključne besede: učni načrt za zgodovino, analiza, učno uspešni, nadarjeni učenci

ALCUNE LACUNE DEL CURRICULUM ATTUALE DI STORIA IN TERMINI DI SVILUPPO OTTIMALE DEI STUDENTI DI TALENTO

SINTESI

Il metodo descrittivo ed esplicativo di ricerca pedagogica è stato quello di determinare quali e quante, in particolare, sono le modalità di integrazione dei contenuti di apprendimento e dei obiettivi dell'insegnamento per gli alunni dotati nel programma scolastico elementare per la storia. Abbiamo analizzato i seguenti elementi comparativi: struttura generale del programma scolastico di storia, i contenuti di apprendimento, gli obiettivi di apprendimento, gli standard di conoscenza e la trasparenza del programma. I risultati mostrano lacune notevoli e significative. Dal momento che il curriculum non è effettivamente registrato e quindi formalmente non prevede le opportunità per lo sviluppo ottimale dei alunni dotati (differenziazione contestuale-obiettiva del programma, livelli più elevati di conoscenza, obiettivi generali dell'insegnamento etc.).

Parole chiave: curriculum per la storia, l'analisi, successo scolastico, studente di talento

NAMESTO UVODA: KJE SMO, KAJ ŽELIMO?

Sodobna družba postavlja veliko različnih rešitev o tem, kako vzpostaviti inkluzivni vzgojno-izobraževalni sistem, ki zagotavlja slehernemu učencu vzgojo in izobraževanje, ki bosta skladna z načelom enotnosti, pravičnosti in enakih možnosti. Porajajo se predvsem številna vprašanja o tem, kako ustrezno sistematizirati področje dela z učno uspešnimi in nadarjenimi učenci, ki bi zadovoljeval otrokove potrebe, želje in interese ter karseda optimalno razvijal/spodbujal njegove potencialne. Glede na to, da šola namenja veliko pozornosti učencem, ki ne dosegajo pričakovanih rezultatov,¹ se pojavlja dvom, ali namenja dovolj pozornosti in strokovne pomoči pri razvoju tistim učencem, ki kažejo raznovrstne sposobnosti in dosegajo nadpovprečne rezultate (Kukanja Gabrijelčič, 2014, 2015; Kukanja Gabrijelčič, Čotar Konrad, 2015). Tudi slovensko osnovnošolsko izobraževanje je v veliki meri usmerjeno predvsem k reševanju problematike učno neuspešnih oz. manj uspešnih otrok z učnimi težavami. Če želimo prispevati k samouresničitvi otrok in mladih ter s tem k razvoju in napredku celotne družbe, moramo stremeti k implementaciji specifičnih učnih programov oz. načrtov, ki bi poleg splošnih vzgojno-izobraževalnih optimalno zadovoljevali intelektualne in osebnostne potrebe visoko sposobnih individuumov. Potemtakem specifični učni programi oz. načrti za učno uspešne, nadarjene ali talentirane učence niso in ne smejo biti kompenzacija za manj ustrezne vzgojno-izobraževalne standarde in učne programe.

UVOD ANALIZO UČNIH NAČRTOV ZA ZGODOVINO

Učni načrt je priporočilo in temeljno vodilo, na katerem učitelj gradi svoj »individualni učni program« (Učni načrt za zgodovino v Gimnaziji, 1998). Glavni cilj analize učnih načrtov s področja zgodovine je v pregledu vsebinsko-ciljne prilagojenosti le-teh za delo z učno uspešnimi oz. nadarjenimi učenci. Z analizo smo ugotavljali, kakšne in predvsem kolikšne so možnosti vključevanja prilagojenih vsebin, ciljev in višjih standardov znanja (t. i. nadstandardov) za učno uspešne učence pri zgodovini. Pri tem smo se nanašali predvsem na fleksibilno naravnost učnih načrtov, ki bi nakazovali možnost prepletanja dodatnih učnih vsebin, višjih učnih ciljev in z njimi povezanih standardov znanja.

METODOLOŠKA ZASNOVA RAZISKAVE

Osnovni raziskovalni metodi sta deskriptivna in eksplikativna neeksperimentalna metoda pedagoškega raziskovanja, ki sta dopolnjeni s tehniko analize vsebin.

Pri analizi učnih načrtov smo izpostavili naslednje elemente raziskovanja:

1. struktura učnega načrta; opredelitev predmeta, splošni in operativni cilji predmeta, predlagane dejavnosti in vsebine, specialno-didaktična priporočila, preverjanje in ocenjevanje znanja, katalog znanja, standardi znanja in medpredmetne povezave;
2. učna vsebina (s poudarkom na elementih vključenosti zahtevnejše učne vsebine, dodatne učne vsebine za uspešnejše ipd.);
3. učni cilji (s poudarkom na višjih učnih ciljih po Bloomovi oz. tristopenjski taksonomiji učnih ciljev);
4. standardi znanja (z izpostavitvijo višjih standardov znanja);
5. odprtost oz. fleksibilnost učnega načrta za nadaljnjo uporabo znanja, individualno raziskovanje in preučevanje učencev.

Pri učni vsebini smo ugotavljali primernost vsebin in ciljev za učno uspešne in nadarjene učence. Ker so operativni učni cilji podlaga za nadaljnje določanje standardov znanja, ki so lahko minimalni, temeljni ali na višjem nivoju, smo ugotavljali prisotnost in frekvenčnost le-teh v učnih načrtih. Učne cilje smo nadaljnje analizirali po Bloomu (Bloom-ovi) oz. po tristopenjski taksonomiji, ki je sestavljena iz združitve Bloomovih učnih ciljev, iz šestih stopenj v tri. Krajši opis Bloomove taksonomije in tristopenjske taksonomije učnih ciljev podajamo v nadaljevanju s primeri vprašanj za predmet zgodovina.

Bloomova taksonomija učnih ciljev za kognitivno področje

Benjamin Bloom je v petdesetih letih 20. stoletja predstavil 6 hierarhičnih stopenj kognitivnega razvoja (Heacox, 2009; Marentič Požarnik, 1991, 2002; Rutar Ilc, 2003):

Znanje: poznavanje podatkov, prepoznavanje, priklic, obnova dejstev, podatkov, terminov, simbolov, definicij, pravil, postopkov, razlag. Prva kategorija je najbolj preprosta, pogoj za njeno usvojitvev je, da si nove podatke in informacije zapomnimo. Vprašalnice, primerne za

1 Trditev, da šola namenja več pozornosti učno manj uspešnim učencem in tistim z učnimi težavami, smo izpostavili na podlagi preučitve številnih raziskav iz omenjenega področja (OECD, 1998; Poročilo strokovnega posveta UNICEF, 2002; Epidemiološke raziskave, 1994); številnega slovenskega in tujega gradiva, ki obravnava problematiko učno neuspešnih učencev (Magajna et al., 1999; 2008; Bergant, K. (ur.), Musek Lešnik, 2002; Opara 2003; 2010) itd., programov šol (Koncept dela »učne težave v osnovni šoli«, 2008), nižjih oz. minimalnih učnih standardov, ki jih narekujejo učni načrti, strokovnih posvetov ipd. O slednjem govori tudi dr. Ferbežer, ki je na podlagi več kot štirih desetletij spremljanja razvoja nadarjenosti na našem ozemlju (v primerjavi s tujim) zapisal, da je »normativno in nesorazmerno več prostora namenjenega učno, razvojno neuspešnim učencem, kakor nadpovprečno uspešnim in nadarjenim« (2002, 323).

preverjanje znanja na prvi taksonomski stopnji so; kaj, kje, kdo, kdaj, kako? in glagoli kot: opiši, opredeli, naštej, prepoznaj, podaj definicijo, obnovi (Heacox, 2009; Marentič Požarnik, 1991, 2002; Rutar Ilc, 2003). *Primer vprašanja: Kdaj in kje se je pričela francoska revolucija?*

Razumevanje: opisovanje; povzemanje; pojasnjevanje s svojimi besedami; povzemanje bistva s svojimi besedami; dajanje primerov; razbiranje iz grafov, zemljevidov, rezultatov; prevajanje iz enega v drugi simbolni zapis. Stopnja zahteva, da učenec zna obnoviti in ustrezno pojasniti osvojeno znanje. Najpogosteje uporabljene vprašalnice in glagoli so: zakaj, poveži, primerjaj, razloži, opiši s svojimi besedami, utemelji ipd. *Primer vprašanja: Pojasni vzroke za kmečke upore na Slovenskem.*

Uporaba: uporaba pridobljenega znanja, pojasnjevanje in reševanje problemske situacije s poznanim principom. Na tretji taksonomski stopnji mora učenec iz tistega, kar se je naučil, nekaj narediti. Na tej ravni razmišlja takrat, ko nazorno prikaže, sestavi, ponazori, poroča ipd. Najpogosteje uporabljeni glagoli in navodila so: razvij, uporabi, kako bi uporabil, pojasni, popravi, dramatiziraj, izvedi, organiziraj ipd. *Primer vprašanja: S pomočjo zgodovinskega zemljevida razišči in opiši, kako je potekala srednjeveška kolonizacija na našem ozemlju ter prikaži, kje so ohranjeni kulturni spomeniki.*

Analiza: določanje posameznih elementov v sporočilu; analiza odnosov med elementi (med hipotezami in dokazi; predpostavkami in argumenti, ugotavljanje zvez in vzročnih posledic); analiza organizacijskih principov. Pri analizi gre za to, da snov razstavimo na manjše elemente in odkrivamo odnose med njimi. Učenec s tem pridobi sposobnosti razlikovanja bistvenega od nebstvenega, dejstva od mnenja ipd. Primerne vprašalnice in glagoli za četrto kategorijo so: analiziraj, razčleni, primerjaj, razlikuj, poišči podobnosti ali ključne elemente, poišči razlike, prednosti in pomanjkljivosti ipd. *Primer vprašanja: Primerjaj rimsko kulturo z grško ter ugotovi, katere so podobnosti in razlike med njima.*

Sinteza: povezovanje elementov v novo celoto, gre predvsem za to, da učenci samostojno interpretirajo nepoznane situacije, argumentirajo ter izdelujejo različne strategije reševanja problemskih situacij. Pri sintezi se izpostavi opredelitev, ki pravi, da sinteza zahteva povezovanje delov v novo celoto na samosvoj, drugačen, izviren način, kjer je potrebno ustvarjalno mišljenje posameznika (Heacox, 2009, 56). Najpogosteje uporabljene glagoli so: sestavi, razvij hipotezo, izoblikuj, načrtuj, napiši povzetek, utemelji ipd. *Primer vprašanja: Sestavi svoj načrt, ki bi ga predložil kralju Ludviku XVI. ter s tem preprečil začetek francoske revolucije leta 1789.*

Vrednotenje oz. evalvacija: najvišja taksonomska stopnja, ki združuje vse prej našteje kategorije. Pome-

ni oceno, presojo primernosti, ustreznosti, izčrpnosti podatkov, zanesljivosti opazovanj, postopkov in instrumentarija; primerjavo dela z drugim delom po kriterijih; prepoznavo predsodkov in emocionalnih faktorjev ter veliko drugega. Glagoli, ki so na zadnji stopnji najpogosteje uporabljeni, so: oceni, vrednoti, presodi, dokaži, spodbij itd. *Primer vprašanja: Ovrednoti pomen reformacije za slovensko kulturo in narodni razvoj.*

V zadnjem času se v Sloveniji uporablja tristopenjska taksonomija, sestavljena iz združitve posameznih stopenj po Bloomovi taksonomiji učnih ciljev. Sprejeta je bila s strani Republiške maturitetne komisije, Državne komisije za pripravo nacionalnih preizkusov znanja v devetletni OŠ² in Zavoda RS za šolstvo, in sicer za: 1. stopnja: poznavanje (reprodukcija znanja); 2. stopnja: razumevanje in uporaba znanja; 3. stopnja: analiza, sinteza in vrednotenje (s poudarkom na novosti problemske situacije, na samostojnosti reševanja problemov in na originalnih oz. ustvarjalnih rešitvah).³

Pri pregledu učnih načrtov za zgodovino smo bili pozorni tudi na že omenjeno področje, ki predstavlja odprtost učnega načrta za nadaljnjo uporabo znanja, individualno raziskovanje in samostojno preučevanje učencev.

Menimo, da so elementi, ki so posebej prilagojeni vzgojno-izobraževalnemu delu z učno uspešnejšimi in nadarjenimi učenci predvsem:

1. Vsebinska obogatitev pouka zgodovine (primeri konkretnih vsebin, nakazana področja medpredmetnih povezav, vsebinskih obogatitev za uspešnejše učence);
2. Pospešitev (hitrejše napredovanje in osvajanje znanja);
3. Individualizacija/diferenciacija ciljev, vsebin, standardov in dejavnosti za učno uspešne učence (konkretni primeri oz. nakazani predlogi za možnost izvajanja učne diferenciacije ali individualizacije);
4. Dodatne dejavnosti, osebni razvoj (primeri obogatitvenih dejavnosti, didaktičnih strategij, izvenšolskih dejavnosti, programov za spodbujanje drugih področij učenčevega razvoja, npr. socialnega, čustvenega ipd.);
5. Cilji pouka: višje taksonomske stopnje izobraževalnih ciljev (Bloom), zastopanost vzgojnih ciljev (socialnost, čustvenost, odnos) in funkcionalnih ciljev (sposobnosti, spretnosti).

UČNI NAČRT ZA ZGODOVINO V SLOVENIJI

Analizirali smo učni načrt: PROGRAM OSNOVNOŠOLSKEGA IZOBRAŽEVANJA. ZGODOVINA Predme-

2 Državna komisija za vodenje nacionalnega preizkusa znanja je v Izhodiščih nacionalnega preverjanja znanja v osnovni šoli priporočila naslednje deleže taksonomskih ravni: poznavanje 30 %, razumevanje in uporaba 35 % in samostojno reševanje novih problemov, samostojna interpretacija, vrednotenje 35 %.

3 Redukcijo taksonomije na tri kategorije je sprejela Republiška maturitetna komisija, Državna komisija za pripravo nacionalnih preizkusov znanja v devetletni OŠ, 2005.

tna kurikularna komisija za zgodovino (2003, 2011)⁴ (Repe et al.). Ljubljana: Ministrstvo za šolstvo, znanost in šport, Zavod RS za šolstvo.⁵

*Učna načrta za zgodovino (2003, 2011)*⁶ zajemata naslednje elemente:

- *Opredelevanje predmeta* je pri obeh učnih načrtih jasna in nazorna.
- *Učna vsebina* je linearno strukturirana (učne vsebine si sledijo brez ponavljanja), učno načrtovanje je učnociljno zasnovano ter kronološko progresivno razporejeno, saj si vsebine sledijo na podlagi logične nadgradnje. Slednje je še posebej poudarjeno v UN iz leta 2011.
- *Vsebinska obogatitev* pouka zgodovine v obeh UN ni prisotna in nakazana (primeri konkretnih vsebin, vsebinskih obogatitev za uspešnejše, nadarjene učence).
- *Splošni cilji predmeta* so nanizani, v UN (2003) jih je skupaj 14, obsegajo pa različna področja, ki jih bodo učenci spoznali, ter spretnosti in veščine, ki jih bodo ob tem razvijali. V UN (2011) je splošnih ciljev predmeta 23, poleg osnovnih spretnosti in veščin pa poudarjajo tudi vzgojno, moralno, kulturno in estetsko področje.
- *Operativni cilji* so predstavljeni po razredih in vsebinskih sklopih. V UN (2003) je v 6. razredu navedenih 38 operativnih ciljev, v 7. razredu jih je 64, v 8. razredu 70 in v 9. razredu 73. Skupno je v učnem načrtu (2003) predstavljenih 245 operativnih ciljev. Cilji so enotni in ne diferencirani. V UN iz leta 2011 je pri obveznih in izbirnih temah v 6. razredu 42 operativnih ciljev, v 7. razredu jih je 82, v 8. razredu 104 in v 9. razredu 61 ter dodatnih 17, ki se nanašajo na razvijanje drugih spretnosti in veščin ter ciljev, ki se nanašajo na odnose, stališča ipd. Skupno je v UN iz 2011 navedenih 306 operativnih ciljev. Ker imajo operativni cilji naveden tudi standard znanja, je v obeh UN navedenih več operativnih ciljev in manj standardov znanja.

Učni cilji z *vidika zahtevnosti* taksonomskih stopenj v obeh učnih načrtih niso dovolj diferencirani, saj jih je v UN iz leta 2003 na 3. taksonomski stopnji (po Tristopenjski taksonomiji) samo 7,75 % iz leta 2011 pa 9,15 %. Učni cilji so v novejši različici UN veliko zahtevnejši in nekateri tudi ustvarjalno naravnani.

Z *vidika diferenciacije* glede na sposobnosti in zmožnosti učencev (učne težave, OPP, nadpovprečno sposobni, nadarjeni) pa cilji v obeh učnih načrtih niso posebej diferencirani.

Predlagane dejavnosti v obeh učnih načrtih niso posebej zabeležene, nekaj dejavnosti je sicer predlaganih

v specialnodidaktičnih priporočilih, denimo zgodovinske ekskurzije, terensko delo, obisk muzejev.

Predlagane vsebine in cilji so učno-ciljno zasnovani ter kronološko progresivno razporejeni, saj si sledijo na podlagi logične nadgradnje, kar je še posebej poudarjeno v učnem načrtu iz leta 2011.

V specialnodidaktičnih oz. didaktičnih priporočilih je zapisano, katere metodično-didaktične strategije so uporabne pri realizaciji učnega načrta.

Navodila za preverjanje in ocenjevanje znanja v učnem načrtu iz leta 2003 niso podana, zapisani so elementi preverjanja in ocenjevanja znanja, ki poleg temeljnih znanj vsebujejo tudi sporočanje, sposobnost časovnih in prostorskih zgodovinskih predstav, zgodovinsko mišljenje. V učnem načrtu (2003) je navedeno, da mora učitelj zgodovine upoštevati individualne razlike med učenci. Elementi preverjanja in ocenjevanja znanja so razporejeni glede na stopnje zahtevnosti. V sodobnejši različici učnega načrta (2011) so navodila za preverjanje in ocenjevanje znanja veliko bolj nazorno zapisana, vključujoč napotke po ocenjevanju avtentičnih idr. izdelkov ter višjih miselnih procesov pri učencu.

Katalog standardov znanja omenja samo temeljne in minimalne standarde znanja; UN iz leta 2003 navaja v 6. razredu 13 temeljnih in 11 minimalnih standardov znanja; v 7. razredu je temeljnih 48, minimalnih 26; v 8. razredu je temeljnih standardov znanja 34, minimalnih 18, v 9. razredu pa je temeljnih standardov znanja 38, minimalnih pa 18. Aktualen UN iz leta 2011 pa zajema v 6. razredu 31 temeljnih in 9 minimalnih standardov znanja; v 7. razredu je 60 temeljnih in 23 minimalnih; v 8. razredu je 76 temeljnih in 28 minimalnih standardov znanja; v 9. razredu pa 47 temeljnih in 14 minimalnih. Prav tako so v sodobnem UN dodani standardi znanja, ki se nanašajo na vse obvezne in izbirne teme, in sicer: 8 temeljnih in 7 minimalnih standardov znanja. Zapisani so standardi znanja po razredih in po sklopih. Standardi znanja ob zaključku triletja niso zapisani, temveč samo ob zaključku šolanja. UN (2011) navaja veliko več standardov znanja v primerjavi s starejšo različico, slednji so tudi zahtevnejši (na višjih taksonomskih ravneh), čeprav to ni posebej zabeleženo.

Individualizacija in učna diferenciacija v starejši različici (2003) nista nakazani, razen pri standardih znanja (ki so minimalni in temeljni) ter pri navedbah oz. opozorilih, ki so zapisana pri specialnodidaktičnih priporočilih (zaradi individualnih razlik med učenci glede na učno storilnost in interese ...; in pri elementih preverjanja in ocenjevanja znanja, kjer je potrebno upoštevati individualne razlike med učenci). V UN iz leta 2011 pa je v didaktičnih priporočilih zapisano, da mora učitelj upoštevati individualne razlike med učenci ter jih glede

4 Strokovni svet RS je 12. 5. 1994 potrdil nov učni načrt, ki tudi v predstavljenem učnem načrtu iz leta 2003 (2. natis) ohranja koncept poprej potrjenega učnega programa. Dopolnjen je z operativnimi cilji, standardizacijo in katalogom znanja.

5 Sprejeto na 25. seji Področne kurikularne komisije za osnovno šolo, dne 7. 4. 1998. Sprejeto na 25. Seji Nacionalnega kurikularnega sveta, dne 16. 10. 1998. Sprejeto na 20. seji Strokovnega sveta RS za splošno izobraževanje, dne 29. 10. 1998.

6 Avtorica je zaradi primerjalne narave znotraj slovenskega prostora analizirala obe različici učnih načrtov.

Tabela 1: Diferenciranost operativnih ciljev v učnem načrtu za zgodovino

V učnem načrtu za zgodovino 6.–9. razreda so operativni cilji:	f	f (%)
Enotni	306	100,00
Diferencirani	0	0,00
Drugo	0	0,00
Skupaj	306	100,00

na zmožnosti in druge posebnosti prilagajati pouk. Pri tem so omenjeni tudi nadarjeni učenci (2011, 41).

Medpredmetne povezave so v starejši verziji UN nakazane s predmetom slovenščina, glasbena vzgoja, geografija in pri šolski knjižnici, vendar brez konkretnih priporočil (ciljev, dejavnosti, vsebinskih sklopov), kako jih izvajati. V UN iz leta 2011 so jasno zapisani tudi vsebinski sklopi oz. cilji, kar predstavlja pomembno obogatitev UN.

Cilji samostojnega, kritičnega in ustvarjalnega mišljenja ter vrednotenja v starejši različici (2003) niso poudarjeni v operativnih ciljnih predmeta in standardih znanja; v splošnih ciljnih pa je zabeleženo, da se učenci učijo kritične presoje zgodovinskih dogajanj ..., ob zgodovinskih primerih razvijajo dojemljivost za vrednote ... (argumentiranje svojega mnenja), medtem, ko posodobljen UN (2011) slednje vsebuje, saj so zapisani tako v splošnih in operativnih učnih ciljnih, kot tudi v standardih znanja. Iz tega vidika je aktualen UN veliko bolj primeren za učno uspešne in nadarjene učence.

Hitrejša napredovanje (akceleracija) pri pouku zgodovine ni nakazano (hitrejša usvajanje znanja).

Učni načrt iz leta 2003 v osnovni zasnovi ni bil dovolj odprt in fleksibilen za nadgradnjo učenčevega znanja, saj konkretno ni nakazoval drugih poglobljenih vsebin, višjih ciljev, dejavnosti, ki bi bile posebej primerne za uspešnejše, nadarjene učence. Vendar moramo izpostaviti pomembno dejstvo, da je slednji poudarjal pomen učiteljeve avtonomije pri poučevanju v razredu, kar omogoča diferencirano delo z učno uspešnimi učenci (po učiteljevi presoji!). Pri analizi posodobljenega učnega načrta iz leta 2011 pa smo prišli do pomembnejši spoznanj, ki nakazujejo številne premike in spremembe na področju diferenciranega, obogatitve-

nega dela pri pouku zgodovine. Sodoben UN je namreč veliko bolj primeren za delo z učno uspešnimi, nadarjenimi učenci, saj vsebuje več operativnih ciljev, diferenciranih standardov znanja (čeprav slednje ni posebej zabeleženo!), izbirnih vsebin, priporočil za preverjanje in ocenjevanje znanja idr.

Primernost vsebin in ciljev za uspešnejše, nadarjene učence

V učnem načrtu za zgodovino od 6. do 9. razreda devetletne osnovne šole (2011) ni zapisanih dodatnih vsebin, ki bi bile primernejše za učno uspešnejše učence oz. tiste, ki hitreje napredujejo. Potemtakem sklepamo, da je prepuščena svobodna izbira profesorju zgodovine, da po lastni presoji ponudi učno uspešnemu ali nadarjenemu učencu obogatene, vsebinsko poglobljene vsebine. Bolje bi bilo, če bi bile vsebine oz. vsebinska izhodišča, smernice zapisane v učnem načrtu, saj bi tako preprečili možnost ponavljanja že predelanih tematskih sklopov v višjem razredu, profesorju zgodovine pa omogočili lažji, sistematiziran pregled nad učnimi vsebinami in cilji, ki so primernejši za učno uspešnejše učence.

Skupno smo v vseh učnih načrtih za zgodovino od 6. do 9. razreda (2011) zasledili 306 navedenih operativnih ciljev, ki niso diferencirani. Pri diferenciaciji učnih ciljev nismo bili usmerjeni na njihov zapis oz. izraženost določenih taksonomskih stopenj, temveč na diferenciranost glede na sposobnost učencev, torej prilagojenost učnih ciljev učencem z nižjimi kognitivnimi sposobnostmi (npr. učnimi težavami in drugimi posebnimi potrebami) in nadpovprečnim učencem. V nadaljevanju smo ocenjevali delež ciljev na posameznih

Tabela 2: Porazdelitev ciljev glede na izbrano tristopenjsko taksonomsko lestvico – 6. razred

Porazdelitev ciljev glede na taksonomske stopnje (6. razred)	F (%)	χ^2	df	p
1. taksonomska stopnja (znanje)	24 (57.14)	57.14	2	**
2. taksonomska stopnja (razumevanje in uporaba)	13 (30.95)			
3. taksonomska stopnja (analiza, sinteza, vrednotenje)	5 (11.9)			
Skupaj	42 (100)			

Legenda: ** razlika je statistično pomembna na nivoju $p < 0,01$

Tabela 3: Porazdelitev ciljev glede na izbrano tristopenjsko taksonomsko lestvico – 7. razred

Porazdelitev ciljev glede na taksonomske stopnje (7. razred)	F (%)	χ^2	df	p
1. taksonomska stopnja (znanje)	63 (67.82)	72.05	2	**
2. taksonomska stopnja (razumevanje in uporaba)	15 (18.29)			
3. taksonomska stopnja (analiza, sinteza, vrednotenje)	4 (4.87)			
Skupaj	82 (100)			

Legenda: ** razlika je statistično pomembna na nivoju $p < 0,01$

taksonomskih stopnjah glede na izbrano taksonomsko lestvico.

V učnem načrtu zgodovine (2011) v 6. razredu devetletne osnovne šole cilji niso enakomerno razporejeni po vseh taksonomskih stopnjah glede na izbrano tristopenjsko taksonomijo (združitev Bloomove taksonomije učnih ciljev), saj je večina učnih ciljev postavljenih na manj zahtevnih taksonomskih stopnjah. Slednji namreč zajemajo osvajanje in reprodukcijo znanja, tj. prepoznavo, priklic, obnovo dejstev, podatkov, terminov, simbolov, definicij, pravil, postopkov, razlag ipd. Sledijo jim cilji, ki terjajo razumevanje in uporabo znanja kot npr. opisovanje; povzemanje; pojasnjevanje s svojimi besedami; povzemanje bistva s svojimi besedami; dajanje primerov; razbiranje iz zemljevidov ipd., ter pojasnjevanje in reševanje problemske situacije; napovedovanje učinkov, posledic na osnovi danih podatkov idr. Takšnih ciljev je v učnem načrtu 30,95 %. Najmanj je ciljev, ki so postavljeni na zahtevnejših taksonomskih stopnjah in kateri so najpomembnejši za sposobnejše, učno uspešne učence. Ciljev, ki terjajo in razvijajo višje miselne pro-

cese: analiza, sinteza in vrednotenje, je v učnem načrtu za 6. razred 11,9 %.

Učni načrt za zgodovino v 7. razredu ima veliko bolj neenakomerno razporejene učne cilje po vseh taksonomskih stopnjah, saj prevladujejo cilji na 1. taksonomski stopnji, sledijo jim cilji na 2. taksonomski stopnji, tj. razumevanje in uporaba znanja (18,29 %), najmanj pa je ciljev na 3. taksonomski stopnji.

V 8. razredu devetletne osnovne šole se učni načrt za zgodovino malenkostno premakne v prid višjim taksonomskim ciljem, kar privede do bolj uravnotežene zastopanosti oz. razporejenosti slednjih na vseh treh stopnjah. Še vedno sicer prevladujejo cilji na 1. taksonomski stopnji, vendar je tistih, ki terjajo razumevanje in uporabo znanja več (25,00 %). V osmem razredu pa je tudi največ ciljev, ki so postavljeni na višjih, učno uspešnim učencem prilagojenih stopnjah in kateri terjajo analizo, sintezo in vrednotenje znanja.

Kot prikazujejo rezultati v zgornji tabeli, so tudi v učnem načrtu za zgodovino v 9. razredu cilji veliko bolj enakomerno porazdeljeni kot v 6. in 7. razredu. Ponov-

Tabela 4: Porazdelitev ciljev glede na izbrano tristopenjsko taksonomsko lestvico – 8. razred

Porazdelitev ciljev glede na taksonomske stopnje (8. razred)	F (%)	χ^2	df	p
1. taksonomska stopnja (znanje)	66 (63.46)	43.578	2	**
2. taksonomska stopnja (razumevanje in uporaba)	26 (25.00)			
3. taksonomska stopnja (analiza, sinteza, vrednotenje)	12 (11.53)			
Skupaj	104 (100)			

Legenda: ** razlika je statistično pomembna na nivoju $p < 0,01$

Tabela 5: Porazdelitev ciljev glede na izbrano tristopenjsko taksonomsko lestvico – 9. razred

Porazdelitev ciljev glede na taksonomske stopnje (9. razred)	F (%)	χ^2	df	p
1. taksonomska stopnja (znanje)	38 (62.29)	41.021	2	**
2. taksonomska stopnja (razumevanje in uporaba)	16 (26.22)			
3. taksonomska stopnja (analiza, sinteza, vrednotenje)	7 (11.47)			
Skupaj	61 (100)			

Legenda: ** razlika je statistično pomembna na nivoju $p < 0,01$

Tabela 6: Porazdelitev ciljev glede na izbrano tristopenjsko taksonomsko lestvico – 6. do 9. razred devetletne osnovne šole

Porazdelitev vseh ciljev glede na taksonomske stopnje (skupno)	F (%)	χ^2	df	p
1. taksonomska stopnja (znanje)	218 (71.42)	62.093	2	**
2. taksonomska stopnja (razumevanje in uporaba)	70 (22.87)			
3. taksonomska stopnja (analiza, sinteza, vrednotenje)	28 (9.15)			
Skupaj	306 (100)			

Legenda: ** razlika je statistično pomembna na nivoju $p < 0,01$

no prednjačijo najnižji cilji (znanje, 1. taksonomska stopnja), več je ciljev na 2. taksonomski stopnji, še vedno pa (pre)malo tistih, ki so združeni v tretjo taksonomsko stopnjo (samostojno reševanje novih problemov, samostojna interpretacija in vrednotenje), teh je 11,47 %.

Če pri skupnem pregledu zastopanosti učnih ciljev glede na izbrano taksonomsko lestvico sledimo izhodiščem ter priporočilom Državne komisije za vodenje nacionalnega preizkusa znanja, ki je v osnovni šoli priporočila naslednje deleže taksonomskih ravni za ocenjevanje: poznavanje 30 %, razumevanje in uporaba 35 % in samostojno reševanje novih problemov, samostojna interpretacija, vrednotenje 35 %, pridemo do naslednjih ugotovitev:

- glede na to, da so operativni učni cilji podlaga za nadaljnje določanje standardov znanja, kateri so objektivno preverljivi učni cilji in služijo kot podlaga za ocenjevanje, bi lahko bili v svoji zasnovi slednji tudi v učnih načrtih zastopani tako, kot predlaga Državna komisija;
- če zgoraj predstavljena priporočila primerjamo z dejanskim stanjem zastopanosti učnih ciljev v učnem načrtu za zgodovino v devetletni osnovni šoli, ugotovimo, da je na 1. stopnji 71,42 % ciljev (namesto predlaganih 30 %), na 2. taksonomski stopnji jih je 22,87 % (namesto 35 %), na 3. taksonomski stopnji pa 9,15 % (namesto 35 %);
- izhajajoč iz predpostavke, da naj učitelji preverjajo znanje učencev po priporočilih Državne komisije za vodenje nacionalnega preizkusa znanja, ugotavljamo, da morajo potemtakem tudi podajati in razvijati njihovo mišljenje v vsaj so-

razmernem deležu. To pomeni, da bi morali biti učni načrti z vsemi svojimi temeljnimi elementi; učnimi vsebinami in cilji zasnovani na višjih stopnjah oz. v primeru učnih ciljev, na višjih taksonomskih stopnjah. Cilji bi morali biti v sorazmerju 30 % - 35 % - 35 % navedeni tudi v učnih načrtih, saj bi le tako lahko učencem ponudili več kot zgolj znanje oz. reprodukcijo le-tega. Podoben problem se pojavi tudi pri standardih znanja, ki jih navajamo v nadaljevanju.

Skupno je v učnem načrtu zabeleženih 206 standardov znanja, ki so zapisani po razredih, temeljni standardi pa so poleg tega zapisani tudi ob zaključku poučevanja predmeta zgodovina. V učnem načrtu so zabeleženi zgolj minimalni in temeljni standardi (na manj zahtevnih taksonomskih stopnjah), višjih oz. zahtevnejših standardov znanja (na višjih taksonomskih stopnjah) pa učni načrt za zgodovino od 6. do 9. razreda ne vsebuje.

SKLEPNE UGOTOVITVE

Na osnovi analize učnega načrta za zgodovino od 6.–9. razreda osnovne šole ugotavljamo naslednje:

- Učna vsebina je linearno strukturirana (učne vsebine si sledijo brez ponavljanja), učno načrtovanje je učno-ciljno zasnovano ter kronološko progresivno razporejeno, saj si vsebine sledijo na podlagi logične nadgradnje;
- Vsebinska obogatitev pouka zgodovine ni prisotna in nakazana (primeri konkretnih vsebin, vsebinskih obogatitev za uspešnejše oz. nadarjene učence);

Tabela 7: Zastopanost standardov znanja v učnem načrtu za zgodovino od 6. do 9. razreda

Delež in standardi znanja v učnem načrtu (skupno)	F (%)	χ^2	df	p
Minimalni	74 (25.69)	23.632	1	0.0011*
Temeljni	214 (74.30)			
Zahtevnejši za uspešnejše, nadarjene učence	0 (0.00)			
Skupaj	288 (100)			

Legenda: * razlika je statistično pomembna na nivoju $p < 0,01$

- Učni cilji iz vidika zahtevnosti taksonomskih stopenj niso dovolj diferencirani, saj jih je na 3. taksonomski stopnji zgolj 9,15 %. Iz vidika diferenciacije glede na sposobnosti in zmožnosti učencev (učne težave, OPP, nadpovprečno sposobni) pa cilji niso diferencirani;
 - Katalog standardov znanja omenja samo temeljne in minimalne standarde znanja;
 - Individualizacija in učna diferenciacija nista nakazani, razen pri standardih znanja (ki so minimalni in temeljni) ter pri navedbah oz. opozorilih, ki so zapisana pri specialno-didaktičnih priporočilih (... zaradi individualnih razlik med učenci glede na učno storilnost in interese ...; in pri elementih preverjanja in ocenjevanja znanja, kjer je potrebno upoštevati individualne razlike med učenci);
 - Medpredmetne povezave so nakazane, podrobneje (na podlagi izbranih vsebin) zgolj pri geografiji;
 - Cilji samostojnega, kritičnega in ustvarjalnega mišljenja ter vrednotenja niso poudarjeni v operativnih ciljih predmeta in standardih znanja; v splošnih ciljih pa je zabeleženo, da se učenci učijo kritične presoje zgodovinskih dogajanj ..., ob zgodovinskih primerih razvijajo dojemljivost za vrednote ... (argumentiranje svojega mnenja);
 - Učni načrt v osnovni zasnovi ni dovolj odprt in fleksibilen za nadgradnjo učenčevega znanja, saj konkretno ne nakazuje drugih poglobljenih vsebin, višjih ciljev, dejavnosti, ki bi bile posebej primerne za uspešnejše učence. Vendar moramo izpostaviti pomembno dejstvo, da poudarja pomen učiteljeve avtonomije pri poučevanju v razredu, kar omogoča diferencirano delo z učno uspešnimi učenci (po učiteljevi presoji);
 - Hitrejša napredovanje oz. akceleracija pri pouku zgodovine ni nakazana (hitrejša osvajanje znanja).
- Ugotovitve, ki izhajajo iz analize slovenskih učnih načrtov za zgodovino v osnovni šoli s predlogi, so naslednje:
- *Vsebinska obogatitev pouka zgodovine* – poleg predpisanih vsebin ni navedenih dodatnih, tematsko poglobljenih vsebin, ki bi nakazovale možnost osvajanja poglobljenih vsebin in zahtevnejših na višjih starostnih stopnjah.;
 - *Pospešitev (akceleracija, hitrejša napredovanje)* – za učno uspešne učence oz. nadarjene ni navedena oz. niso nakazane možnosti hitrejšega napredovanja pri obdelavi snovi (npr. št. ur za učno uspešne učence, korelacije z učnim načrtom višjega razreda – morda v povezavi s srednjimi šolami);
 - *Individualizacija in diferenciacija* – učni načrt ne nakazuje možnosti individualiziranega, diferenciranega oz. učnega dela z učno uspešnejšim učencem; torej ne vsebuje smernic oz. didaktičnih priporočil, napotkov za individualizirano delo. Čeprav učna diferenciacija in individualizacija v učnem načrtu za zgodovino nista posebej zapisani, se lahko izvajata, saj sta določeni z zakonskimi izhodišči, ki nalagajo diferencirano in individualizirano poučevanje učencev (npr. za otroke s posebnimi potrebami). V specialno-didaktičnih priporočilih je navedeno, da morajo učitelji zaradi individualnih razlik med učenci glede na učno storilnost in interese pri rednem pouku uporabiti pestro kombinacijo različnih učnih metod in oblik, vendar trditve ne vsebuje podrobnejših smernic, priporočil in drugega, ki bi bilo primerno pri delu z učno uspešnimi učenci. Pri tem moramo izpostaviti poudarjen pomen avtonomije učitelja pri delu z učno uspešnimi učenci in Koncept (1999), s katerim si učitelj lahko pomaga pri izboru didaktičnih strategij idr.;
 - *Dodatne dejavnosti, osebni razvoj* – učni načrt vsebuje nekaj priporočil, medpredmetnih povezav, smernic idr. za druge obogatitvene dejavnosti, ničesar pa na področju emocionalnega in socialnega razvoja preko spoznavanja in odkrivanja zgodovine. Omenjeno je, da moramo zaradi individualnih razlik med učenci glede na učno storilnost in interese uporabljati pestro kombinacijo različnih učnih oblik in učnih metod. Opažamo, da ni zapisanih specialno-didaktičnih priporočil na področju dela z uspešnejšimi oz. nadarjenimi učenci, vendar le priporočila za delo z vsemi učenci, ki vsebujejo naslednje: samostojno učenčevo delo, raziskovanje, reševanje problemov; zgodovinske ekskurzije, obiski muzejev in terensko delo; medpredmetne povezave, ki so smiselno povezane z razvijanjem drugih učenčevih kompetenc (npr. šolska knjižnica);
 - *Cilji pouka* – v uvodnem delu so zapisani splošni cilji pouka kot; »učijo se kritične presoje zgodovinskih dogajanj, raznovrstnih sporočil in aktualnih dogodkov; spoznavajo in razvijajo razumevanje in spoštovanje različnih kultur, ver, ras in skupnosti; ... se ozaveščajo o pomenu ohranjanja slovenskih kulturnih tradicij; ... razvijajo dojemljivost za vrednote (strpnost, odprtost, miroljubnost, argumentiranje svojega mnenja) ...«, vendar operativni cilji pouka ne spodbujajo in razvijajo ustvarjalnosti, kritičnega mišljenja, višjih miselnih procesov učno uspešnih učencev. Višji miselni procesi se nanašajo predvsem na področje analize, sinteze in vrednotenja. Operativni cilji so »avtoritarno« formulirani in (pre) ozko usmerjajo učitelja ter sosledno z njim tudi učenca v učnem procesu.
- Na podlagi analize ugotavljamo, da višjih (oz. maksimalnih) *standardov znanja* v slovenskem učnem načrtu za zgodovino ni, zapisani so zgolj minimalni in temeljni. Menimo, da bi bilo nujno potrebno diferencirati



Mental Calculation. In Public School of S. A. Rachinsky by Nikolay Bogdanov-Belsky. 1895. Wikimedia Commons. File: BogdanovBelsky UstnySchet.jpg

operativne učne cilje, vsebine in standarde znanja oz. v učnem načrtu nakazati, kje in kako lahko učenci, ki hitreje napredujejo, dosegajo višje in tudi nadpovprečne standarde znanja.

PREDLOGI ZA UPOŠTEVANJE UČNO USPEŠNIH IN NADARJENIH UČENCEV V UČNEM NAČRTU ZA ZGODOVINO

Zavedamo se, da je konkretiziranje učnih ciljev in njihovo prilagajanje individualnim zahtevam (željam, potrebam) učenca, izredno zahtevno, občutljivo delo, ki naj bi imelo temeljne podlage že v učnih načrtih. Slednji naj bi vsebovali nakazane možnosti za diferenciacijo tistih elementov, ki so primernejši za učno uspešne in nadarjene učence.

V nadaljevanju podajamo predloge, ki se nanašajo na slovenski učni načrt za zgodovino:

- *Vsebinska obogatitev pouka zgodovine* – poleg predpisanih enotnih učnih vsebin iz učnega načrta naj bi uspešnejši učenci obdelali dodatne, tematsko poglobljene vsebine, ki naj bi jih obogatili z abstraktnjšimi, zahtevnejšimi elementi (ki so primernejši za učence višjih razredov oz. dijakov srednje šole). Enotnost učnih vsebin mora biti toliko fleksibilna, da jo bo možno modificirati, dopolnjevati in prilagajati potrebam ter sposobnostim nadpovprečno sposobnega učenca;
- Vsebine naj bi bile v učnem načrtu nakazane s primeri, poleg tega pa dovolj »elastične oz. prožne« in ne strogo vezane na konkretne učne cilje (poudarjeno naj bi bilo načelo kurikularne fleksibilnosti). Vsebine naj bi se potemtakem prilagajale posebnim nacionalnim ali regionalnim vzgojno-izobraževalnim razmeram in predvsem sposobnostim, željam, potrebam in zahtevam nadpovprečno sposobnega, učno uspešnega učenca. Učni načrti za osnovno šolo naj ne bi bili ozko kronološko strukturirani, temveč naj bi prevladovala predvsem kombinacija strukture »v obližih«, interdisciplinarne in tematske strukture učnih načrtov. Tematska struktura je pri tem najbolj uporabna za učno uspešne učence;
- *Strnitev učnega načrta* – določitev vsebin ali spretnosti, ki jih v učnem načrtu lahko pospešimo, izločimo, po nepotrebem ne ponavljamo, povečamo raven zahtevnosti;
- *Pospešitev* – učno uspešni in nadarjeni učenci naj bi morajo imeti možnost hitrejšega napredovanja pri obdelavi snovi; torej lahko v hitrejšem času predelajo vsebino, ki je zapisana v učnem načrtu;
- *Individualizacija in učna diferenciacija* – učni načrt sicer dopušča možnost individualiziranega in diferenciranega učnega dela z učno uspešnim

učencem, vendar bi moral vsebovati konkretne smernice oz. didaktična priporočila za individualizirano in diferencirano delo pri pouku zgodovine (učne vsebine, učni cilji, specialno-didaktična priporočila idr.);

- *Dodatne dejavnosti, osebni razvoj* – učni načrt naj bi vseboval tudi nekaj priporočil, medpredmetnih povezav, smernic idr. za druge obogatitvene dejavnosti, razvoj močnih ali šibkih področij učenca, emocionalni in socialni razvoj preko spoznavanja in odkrivanja zgodovine;
- *Cilji pouka* – splošni in operativni cilji pouka naj bi bili prilagojeni razvijanju ustvarjalnosti, kritičnega mišljenja, višjih miselnih procesov uspešnejših učencev (in tudi ostalih); cilji pouka naj bi zajemali višje taksonomske stopnje; nekateri cilji bi morali biti diferencirani oz. možnost transformacije slednjih bi morala biti nakazana; poleg minimalnih in temeljnih standardov znanja bi moral učni načrt za zgodovino vsebovati tudi višje, t. i. »maksimalne« standarde znanja in tudi t. i. oz. »nadstandarde« znanja, ki jih zmorejo doseči zgolj tisti nadpovprečno sposobni posamezniki, ki presegajo zapisane maksimalne standarde znanja; diferencirani standardi znanja ne smejo omejevati izobraževalnih možnosti ostalih (šibkejših) učencev;
- *Medpredmetno povezovanje* mora biti konkretno nakazano pri izbranih temah in drugih dejavnostih.

Polemike se nanašajo predvsem na izvedbeno raven dela z nadarjenimi učenci, saj se pri slednji razkrivajo nekatere pomanjkljivosti uresničevanja njihovih potencialov v smislu prožnosti in vsebinsko-ciljne prilagojenosti učnih načrtov za zgodovino; slabe zastopanosti in implementacije raznovrstnih učnih programov za tovrstne učence, neprilagojenosti učnega gradiva za uspešnejše učence in pomanjkljivosti na področju sistematičnega pedagoškega usposabljanja učiteljev zgodovine.

Zaključujemo z naslednjo mislijo: če učitelj izhaja iz koncepta na učenca usmerjenega učenja, pomeni, da ga zanima učenec kot oseba. Ta pristop vpeljuje posebno učno strukturo in okvir, znotraj katerega poteka učenje, učitelj pa odgovarja za izvedbo in vpliva pri učencu na razvijanje samokontrole. Sosledno s tem bi morale biti tudi vsebine, cilji in standardi standardi znanj vezani na posameznika, t.j. morali bi biti individualizirani in spodbujati zviševanje kvalitete dela za vsakega posameznika, ne pa po splošnih, družbenih pričakovanjih. Pri tem ponovno poudarjamo pomen strokovne avtonomije in odgovornosti učitelja zgodovine pri dojemljivosti za omenjeno problematiko in strokovnem, samoiniciativnem vpeljevanju težko pričakovanih in zelenih sprememb v učni proces.

SOME GAPS IN THE HISTORY CURRICULUM IN THE CONTEXT OF SUCCESSFUL STUDENTS' OPTIMAL DEVELOPMENT

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SUMMARY

The paper aims to analyse History curriculum for Slovenian elementary school, with the special focus being on the content-objectives adaptation of the curricula for working with successful students (hereinafter also gifted). The main purpose of the study was to determine how and to what extent are the History content (syllabus) and objectives adapted to work with gifted students in History, with particular interest on including higher knowledge standard, objectives and content to develop higher mental processes. In the paper, the following key comparative elements are highlighted: (i) overall structure of the History curriculum, syllabus (with an emphasis on elements including more complex learning content, more learning opportunities for successful etc.), (ii) learning objectives (with an emphasis on higher learning objectives according to Bloom i.e. Three-level taxonomy learning objectives), (iii) knowledge standards (by pointing out higher knowledge standards) and the (iv) openness of the curriculum (vertically transitions between content and learning objectives). The analyses of Slovenian History curricula show the latter are not oriented toward gifted students and do not provide opportunities for the optimal development of gifted students (contextually-objectives differentiation of the curriculum, higher knowledge standards, general and operational objectives of the school are not sufficiently adapted to the development of creativity, critical thinking, higher mental processes of learning). History school curricula should contain more operational objectives on higher level of cognitive objectives according to Bloom's taxonomy or three-stage taxonomy, and especially differentiated standards of knowledge. Besides the minimum standard and basic higher / maximum knowledge standards, the curricula should also include superior standards.

Keywords: curriculum for history, analysis, successful student, gifted student

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LIKOVNA USTVARJALNOST: MNENJA UČITELJEV LIKOVNE UMETNOSTI V SLOVENSkih NIŽJIH SREDNJIH ŠOLAH V ITALIJI IN ITALIJANSKIH OSNOVNIH ŠOLAH V SLOVENIJI

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IZVLEČEK

V prispevku predstavljamo rezultate iz raziskave o pouku pri likovni umetnosti v slovenskih nižjih srednjih šolah v Italiji in na predmetni stopnji v italijanskih osnovnih šolah v Sloveniji. Na tem področju smo raziskali izbrano temo –ustvarjalnost. Zajeli smo mnenja učiteljev, ki poučujejo likovno umetnost na omenjenih šolah. V ta namen smo uporabili metodo globinskih intervjujev. Po mnenju učiteljev je likovna ustvarjalnost sposobnost izražanja učencev na individualni način, spodbujanju ustvarjalnosti pa dajejo velik pomen. Ustvarjalnost pri pouku učitelji dosegajo predvsem z individualnim delom, jasno razlago teorije in navodili; za razvijanje ustvarjalnosti pa izpostavljajo pogoje: časovne, materialne in prostorske.

Ključne besede: pouk likovne umetnosti, ustvarjalnost, mnenja učiteljev o ustvarjalnosti pri likovni umetnosti, slovenske nižje srednje šole v Italiji, italijanske osnovne šole v Sloveniji

LA CREATIVITÀ FIGURATIVA: OPINIONI DEGLI INSEGNANTI DI ARTE FIGURATIVA NELLE SCUOLE ELEMENTARI ITALIANE IN SLOVENIA E NELLE SCUOLE SECONDARIE DI PRIMO GRADO SLOVENE IN ITALIA

SINTESI

Nell'articolo vengono presentati i risultati della ricerca svolta sull'insegnamento di «Arte e immagine» nelle scuole secondarie di primo grado slovene in Italia e nel terzo triennio delle scuole italiane in Slovenia. In tale ambito abbiamo scelto il tema della creatività. Il metodo qualitativo utilizzato è quello dell'intervista approfondita. Gli insegnanti di «Arte e immagine» delle scuole rilevano l'importanza della creatività intesa come capacità di espressione dell'individualità degli alunni e perseguono lo sviluppo della creatività attraverso il lavoro individuale, la spiegazione della teoria e istruzioni chiare. Sono determinanti, inoltre, le condizioni di lavoro: il tempo, i materiali e lo spazio adeguato.

Parole chiave: «Arte e immagine», creatività, opinioni degli insegnanti sullo sviluppo della creatività, scuole secondarie di primo grado slovene in Italia, scuole elementari italiane in Slovenia

UVOD

Manjšinsko osnovno šolstvo obeh narodnosti na področju poučevanja likovne umetnosti še ni bilo raziskano. Zavedamo se, da je pouk likovne umetnosti za učenčev celostni razvoj in razvoj ustvarjalnosti nasploh izjemnega pomena, tako je tudi del kurikuluma na nižji srednji šoli v Italiji in osnovni šoli v Sloveniji. Tema-tiko zato želimo odpreti tudi na primeru manjšinskih šol obeh narodnosti, saj gre za pomemben prispevek k spoznavanju manjšin. Raziskavo, ki je obravnavala predmet likovne umetnosti v slovenskih zamejskih šolah v Italiji in italijanskih šolah v Sloveniji, smo tako začeli ravno z zbiranjem mnenj teh učiteljev o ustvarjalnosti, saj je njihov pogled izhodišče za spodbujanje ustvarjalnosti učencev v tem okviru. Ti podatki pomagajo razumeti širši kontekst pomembnosti raziskovalnega polja. Za začetek naj pojasnimo, da se v slovenskem učnem sistemu od leta 2012 učni predmet imenuje likovna umetnost (Uradni list RS, 2011), v italijanskem sistemu pa od leta 2003 umetnost in upodabljanje (v izvirniku se predmet imenuje *Arte e immagine, Ministero dell'istruzione, dell'università e della ricerca, 2003*). V prispevku uporabljamo enotno poimenovanje obeh predmetov kot »likovna umetnost«. Če se naslonimo na avtorje, ki so se ukvarjali z raziskovanjem ustvarjalnosti v šoli (Diakidoy, Kanari, 1999; Fryer, Collings, 1991; Lastrego, Testa, 1986; Ott et al., 2010; Runco, Johnson, 2002; Sironi, 2005; Vygotsky, 2004), vidimo, da so izobraževanje, šola in učitelji pomembni dejavniki pri razvijanju in spodbujanju ustvarjalnosti.

USTVARJALNOST

Ustvarjalnost v osnovnošolskem izobraževanju je izjemno pomembna. Med prve raziskovalce ustvarjalnosti uvrščamo Guilforda (1971), ki je ustvarjalnost delno enačil z divergentnim mišljenjem, sposobnostjo reševanja problemov na različne načine in iskanjem več različnih rešitev, pri čemer morajo biti že problemi zastavljeni tako, da omogočajo divergentno mišljenje. Tudi Gardner (1994) je v svojih prispevkih pripomogel k raziskovanju omenjene tematike. Izhajal je iz predpostavke, da je vsak zdrav posameznik z vidika teorije o več inteligencah ustvarjalno sposoben, če so pogoji dovolj spodbudni za njegovo inovativno obnašanje in izražanje. Ugotovil je, da so lahko ljudje ustvarjalni na vseh življenjskih področjih. Velik pomen daje dejstvu, da o ustvarjalnosti ne moremo govoriti kot o neki splošni značilnosti enega človeka, ampak da je ustvarjalnost več vrst in da je človekova ustvarjalnost navadno »specializirana« za neko področje. Raziskovalci (Child v Pečjak, 1987; Goldberg in Getzels v Pečjak, 1987; Pečjak, 1987; Marentič - Požarnik, 2000) izpostavljajo tudi to, da je pomembno, da so mladostniki ustvarjalni, ni pomembno pa, na katerem področju – oz. da je vsak lahko ustvarjalen na svojem področju. Amadori (1993)

pripisuje velik pomen razlikovanju med običajno, navadno ustvarjalnostjo in izjemno, izredno ustvarjalnostjo. Prva naj bi bila zmožnost izboljšave vsakdanje realnosti, generacija nečesa prijetnega in učinkovitega, druga pa se, čeprav odvisna od prve, pojavi veliko redkeje, tj. z velikimi znanstvenimi ali umetniškimi dosežki, ki so spremenili človeška življenja. V nadaljevanju se bomo navezovali na tisto običajno ustvarjalnost, ki je prisotna v vseh otrocih in ki se lahko razvija v šolskem sistemu (Craft, 2005; Lastrego, Testa, 1986; Tacol, 1999).

RAZISKOVANJE PREPRIČANJ UČITELJEV O USTVARJALNOSTI

Z vprašanjem ustvarjalnosti v šoli se je v zadnjem desetletju ukvarjalo veliko avtorjev, tako domačih kot tujih (Cachia et. al., 2009; Cachia, Ferrari, 2010; Craft, 2005; Duh, Matrič, 2015; Herzog, Duh, 2011; Naji et. al., 2009; Prevodnik, 2011; Sironi, 2005; Ott et. al., 2010; Štemberger, Cencič, 2015; Tacol, 2006). V nadaljevanju bomo strnili nekaj ugotovitev raziskav, ki se vežejo na mnenja učiteljev o ustvarjalnosti v vzgoji in izobraževanju.

Raziskave Evropske komisije o ustvarjalnosti v šoli iz leta 2009 (Cachia et. al., 2009) so vključile učitelje iz sedemindvajsetih evropskih držav članic. Rezultati so pokazali, da je večina evropskih učiteljev mnenja, da je lahko vsakdo ustvarjalen in da se lahko o ustvarjalnosti govori na različnih življenjskih področjih in pri različnih šolskih predmetih. Strinjajo se tudi, da je to ena ključnih kompetenc, ki jih je smiselno in pomembno razvijati v šoli, ne le pri umetniških predmetih. Ta razmišljanja so ključna, saj sporočajo, da je razvoj kreativnega mišljenja v zavesti učiteljev spretnost, ki se razvija v celotnem kurikulumu. V podrobnejši analizi rezultatov omenjene raziskave so navedli še, kaj učitelji razumejo pod pojmom ustvarjalnost – v največji meri je to »sposobnost ustvariti nekaj izvirnega«, skoraj tako močno pa je tudi mnenje, da pomeni »najti povezave med stvarmi, ki še niso bile povezane«. Rezultati kažejo tudi, da ustvarjalnost ne igra bistvene vloge v kurikulumu ali učnih ciljih, ki naj bi jim učitelji sledili v vseh državah, ampak obstajajo velike razlike med državami. Učitelji iz Italije so npr. še posebej prepričani o pomembni vlogi ustvarjalnosti v nacionalnem kurikulumu (kar 78 %), v nasprotju s tem pa na primer manj kot polovica (36 %) učiteljev iz Slovenije meni, da igra ustvarjalnost pomembno vlogo v njihovem kurikulumu. Razlike o mnenjih pa so tudi med učitelji v posamezni državi, kar kliče po nadaljnjem razumevanju vsakega izobraževalnega sistema posebej (Cachia, Ferrari, 2010).

Manjša italijanska raziskava (Ott et al., 2010), ki je vključevala učitelje iz celotne izobraževalne vertikale, se pogloblja v posebnosti italijanskega šolstva na področju ustvarjalnosti. Tako kot v prej omenjeni raziskavi na evropski ravni so tudi v Italiji učitelji mnenja, da je mogoče ustvarjalnost učencev v šoli razvijati in večja-

ti z ustreznimi pristopi, v povprečju pa so mnenja, da ustvarjalnost ni le prirojen »naravni dar«, ampak jo je treba razvijati. Večina italijanskih učiteljev se tudi strinja, da je poslanstvo šole, da spodbuja in razvija ustvarjalnost učencev. Največ učiteljev ustvarjalnost označuje kot »sposobnost videti/najti/iskati/uporabiti ali celo izumiti nove ali različne rešitve ali načine reševanja problemov«. Glede šolskega sistema v Italiji pa so učitelji neodločni, ali kurikulum predmeta, ki ga poučujejo, vsebuje cilje, ki se neposredno sklicujejo na spodbujanje ustvarjalnosti. Vsekakor pa so si učitelji v večini enotni, da bi si morali prizadevati za ustvarjalnost pri vseh šolskih disciplinah. Učitelji navajajo tudi težave pri spodbujanju ustvarjalnosti: pomanjkanje časa in primernih učnih gradiv ter organizacijske probleme.

S. Sironi (2005) je raziskovala, kako učitelji v italijanskem šolskem sistemu razumejo pojem ustvarjalnosti. Biti ustvarjalen za učitelje pomeni »najti in zgraditi analogije med raznimi aspekti izkušnje; uspešno in na nenavaden način reševati različne probleme; imeti veliko idej; izkazovati širši pogled na situacijo«. Pogoji za razvijanje ustvarjalnosti v šoli, ki jih navajajo učitelji, so vezani na šolske pogoje dela – prostorske, materialne, didaktične pogoje, odnos med učencem in učiteljem, šolsko ozračje, specifične didaktične tehnike,¹ organizacijo prostorov, stanje prostorov in materiala, načine organizacije didaktično-vzgojnih aktivnosti. Potencialno spreminjanje razumevanja ustvarjalnosti pri učiteljih avtorica izpostavlja kot kvaliteto, na katero se velja opreti. Predvsem pa izpostavlja pomen učitelja za identifikacijo, spodbujanje in razvijanje ustvarjalnosti v šoli.

Slovenska raziskava stališč študentov, bodočih vzgojiteljev (Štemberger, 2014), je pokazala, da so večinoma mnenja, da niso vsi ljudje ustvarjalni in da je ustvarjalnost prirojena lastnost. Ustvarjalnost je po mnenju bodočih vzgojiteljev mogoče razvijati pri vseh otrocih, pretežno se pa strinjajo, da so nekateri otroci bolj ustvarjalni kakor drugi in da je posamezen otrok lahko ustvarjalen na nekem področju, na drugem pa ne. Avtorica izpostavlja, da je zaradi teh ugotovitev treba že študente, bodoče vzgojitelje, seznaniti s teorijami o ustvarjalnosti in jih pripeljati do zavedanja, da se ustvarjalnost veže na več področij, da se tako ne bi usmerjali v spodbujanje ustvarjalnosti le pri nekaterih učencih in nekaterih področjih.

Vsi že omenjeni avtorji izpostavljajo, da so učiteljeva razumevanja in poudarjanja ustvarjalnosti zelo dobra izhodiščna pozicija za vse nadaljnje izobraževalne strategije, ki imajo za cilj razviti poučevalno prakso in

vzgojo za podporo kreativnega in aktivnega učenja. Za vsak poskus analize kreativne prakse je nujno najprej spoznati razmišljanja udeleženih o ustvarjalnosti.

PREDMET LIKOVNA UMETNOST V SLOVENSКИH NIŽJIH SREDNJIH ŠOLAH V ITALIJI IN ITALIJANSКИH OSNOVNIH ŠOLAH V SLOVENIJI

V italijanskem šolskem sistemu, tudi v slovenskih manjšinskih šolah, osnovna šola traja pet let, obvezna pa je tudi triletna nižja srednja šola, ki traja tri leta. Nižja srednja šola je obvezna triletna šola, ki približno sovpada s slovensko tretjo triado (starost učencev od 11 do 13 let). V primarnem izobraževanju (osnovni šoli in nižji srednji šoli) kurikulum vsebuje tudi predmet umetnost in upodabljanje, tj. predmet, ki bi bil ustreznik naši likovni umetnosti. Šolsko leto ima 33 tednov, šole pa samostojno odločajo o številu ur nekaterih predmetov: omenjenemu predmetu je namenjenih najmanj 54 in največ 66 ur letno (največ 2 oz. najmanj 1,5 ure na teden) (*Ministero dell'istruzione, dell'università e della ricerca*, 2012).

V slovenskem šolskem sistemu, torej tudi italijanskih manjšinskih šolah, šolsko leto za celotno osnovno šolo, ki je obvezna in obsega 9 razredov, traja okrog 35 tednov (največ 38 tednov) (Uradni list RS, 2012). Po predmetniku, ki je enoten za vse šole, se od 1. do 5. razreda predmetu likovna umetnost namenja 70 ur letno, od 6. do 9. razreda pa le 35 ur letno (fiksno 1 šolsko uro na teden).

Učni načrti v Italiji se precej razlikujejo od učnih načrtov, kot jih ima slovenski šolski sistem, saj imajo značaj okvirnih smernic in so sestavljeni iz okvirnih ciljev. Na državni ravni so določene samo spretnosti in sposobnosti, ki naj bi jih učenec razvil med šolanjem, učitelji pa nato v aktivnih ali samostojno oblikujejo svoj učni načrt (individualizirani učni načrt). Določiti morajo učne vsebine, način dela in dejavnosti, s katerimi bodo dosegli zastavljene in zahtevane cilje, pri čemer morajo upoštevati možnosti, ki jih nudi šola (*Ministero dell'istruzione, dell'università e della ricerca*, 2012).

Učni načrt predmeta umetnost in upodabljanje (v izvirniku *Arte e immagine*) ima v nižji srednji šoli določene cilje za razvoj kompetenc na koncu tretjega razreda, nato pa še učne cilje ob zaključku 3. razreda nižje srednje šole, deljene na tri sklope, sledi še zapis učnih vsebin in standardov znanja. Predmeta omogoča učencu tako razumevanje umetniških del in upodobitev ter njihove umetniške vrednosti kakor tudi izražanje

1 Izraz specifične didaktične tehnike je tu uporabljen za specifične didaktične metode. Metode dela pri pouku likovne umetnosti predstavljajo sisteme načinov dela, ki potekajo pri reševanju nalog z namenom, da bi učenci prišli najhitreje do cilja (Berce - Golob, 1993). Splošne učne metode lahko učitelj uporablja v kombinaciji s specifičnimi, kar omogoča večjo fleksibilnost in dinamičnost poučevanja ali učenja. Posebne ali specifične likovne metode temeljijo na likovnih posebnostih problemskega pouka likovne umetnosti (Tacol, 2003). Tako učitelji likovne umetnosti v osnovnih šolah v Sloveniji kot tisti, ki poučujejo po italijanskem učnem načrtu za likovno umetnost v prvem ciklu izobraževanja v Italiji, samostojno izbirajo in načrtujejo metode dela za učinkovitost vzgojno-izobraževalnega procesa za uresničevanje kompetenc in ciljev. Učitelj ima pri tem popolno avtonomijo, predvsem z upoštevanjem pogojev dela (Vettese, Pinotti, 2011; Tacol, 2007).

in komunikacijo na kreativen in osebni način. Izobraževalni proces mora ovrednotiti predhodno učenčevo znanje in ga združiti v celoto s šolskim izobraževanjem in zunanjimi izkušnjami na področju izražanja in multimedialnosti. V prvem ciklu izobraževanja se učenec nauči izražanja prek umetnosti in upodabljanja, branja in kritičnega interpretiranja umetnosti, razumevanja, poznavanja in cenjenja umetniških del. S pomočjo predelave vidnih znakov razvije tudi svoje kreativne sposobnosti, zmožnost opazovanja, opisovanja in kritičnega razumevanja umetniških del (*Ministero dell'istruzione, dell'università e della ricerca*, 2012).

Na drugi strani imamo v Sloveniji učni načrt za predmet likovna umetnost (Predmetna komisija za posodabljanje učnega načrta za likovno vzgojo, 2011), ki velja tudi za italijansko manjšinsko šolo in je v primerjavi z italijanskim učnim načrtom bolj zaprt. Po prenovi iz leta 2011 je novi učni načrt »bolj ciljno zasnovan« (Herzog et al., 2009, 20). Kognitivni, psihomotorični in afektivni cilji so v učnem načrtu urejeni po likovnih sklopih, in sicer so razdeljeni na splošna in izbirna znanja. Splošna znanja (namenjena vsem učencem), ki jih učenci pridobijo, vplivajo na splošno izobrazbo ob končanju osnovne šole. Izbirna znanja² pa so specifična (za posameznike) in jih določi učitelj glede na lastno strokovno kompetenco. Učni proces likovne vzgoje poteka vsebinsko na petih področjih likovne umetnosti (risanje, slikanje, kiparstvo, grafika in arhitektura oz. prostorsko oblikovanje). Vsebine omenjenih likovnih področij temeljijo na likovnih pojmih, ki jih učenci usvajajo besedno in likovno interpretirajo pri realiziranju likovne naloge. V obstoječem učnem načrtu so vsebine oz. likovni pojmi razvrščeni skladno s starostno stopnjo učencev in na podlagi operativnih ciljev, ki so zapisani v preglednici in ločeni po vzgojno-izobraževalnih obdobjih³ posebej za posamezno likovno področje. Učitelju so v učnem načrtu za likovno vzgojo podana tudi didaktična priporočila za uresničevanje ciljev predmeta. Poudarek je na kulturni vzgoji s pomočjo usmerjanja učencev v razumevanje likovnih del domačih in tujih ustvarjalcev (Predmetna komisija za posodabljanje učnega načrta za likovno vzgojo, 2011).

Glede na ugotovitve o sestavi učnih načrtov v obeh sistemih lahko ugotovimo, da gre pri likovni umetnosti v slovenskih nižjih srednjih šolah v Italiji za t. i. odprt učni načrt, v katerem so zastavljeni le cilji in okvirne vsebine, ki jih mora učitelj doseči, metode in oblike dela ter podrobne vsebine pa si določi sam, kar je značilno za zahodnoevropske države. Vzhodnoevropske države pa imajo učni načrt zaprtega tipa z jasno določenimi vsebinami itd., in to velja tudi za učni načrt za likovno umetnost v italijanskih osnovnih šolah v Sloveniji. To je v našem primeru razlika, ki jo je vredno upoštevati

pri analizi rezultatov mnenj omenjenih učiteljev likovne umetnosti.

Izpostaviti moramo predvsem naslednje: v slovenskih nižjih srednjih šolah v Italiji je likovni umetnosti namenjenih skoraj več kot polovica ur v primerjavi s tretjo triado v italijanskih osnovnih šolah v Sloveniji. Predmeta se razlikujeta tudi po vsebinah – v tem, da ima likovni predmet v Italiji eksplicitno določeno obravnavanje vsebin iz umetnostne zgodovine. V slovenskem šolskem sistemu pa je poudarek na spoznavanju likovne teorije s praktičnim delom in so umetniška dela uporabljena navadno le kot razlaga nekega likovnega pojma, njihova sporočilnost pa je zanemarjena (*Ministero dell'istruzione, dell'università e della ricerca*, 2012; Predmetna komisija za posodabljanje učnega načrta za likovno vzgojo, 2011; Bračun Sova, Kemperl, 2011).

V učnem načrtu za slovenski osnovnošolski sistem, ki velja tudi za italijanske šole v Sloveniji, pri opredelitvi predmeta likovna umetnost (Predmetna komisija za posodabljanje učnega načrta za likovno vzgojo, 2011, 4) zasledimo, da »predmet temelji na odkrivanju in spodbujanju učenčeve ustvarjalnosti, inovativnosti, likovne občutljivosti, sposobnosti opazovanja in presojanja«, med splošnimi cilji predmeta pa je zapisan naslednji: »Učenci skladno s svojimi zmožnostmi: razvijajo ustvarjalne likovnoizrazne zmožnosti in negujejo individualni likovni izraz« (Predmetna komisija za posodabljanje učnega načrta za likovno vzgojo, 5). V programu za nižjo srednjo šolo v Italiji, ki ga izvajajo tudi slovenske šole v Italiji, cilji predmeta umetnost in upodabljanje (*Ministero dell'istruzione, dell'università e della ricerca*, 2012) med drugimi navajajo: »Učenec realizira osebne in ustvarjalne elaborate na bazi originalne zamisli in načrtovanja, z aplikacijo spoznanj in pravil vizualnega jezika, s funkcionalno izbiro različnih tehnik in materialov, tudi z integracijo več medijev in več izraznih kod.«

V obeh sistemih je vsekakor začrtano, da bi na učence prenesli cilje ustvarjalnosti s spoznavanjem likovnih del umetnikov, uporabo različnih materialov in pripomočkov in upoštevanjem likovnega razvoja učencev.

»Ustvarjalnost pri likovni vzgoji predstavlja posameznikovo usmerjenost k izvirnemu, neobičajnemu reševanju in odkrivanju likovnih problemov« (Tacol, 1999, 37). To je mogoče, če je likovni problem učencem predstavljen tako, da dopušča različne rešitve in različne načine reševanja. Različni avtorji (Gislon, 1990; Šupšakova, 2009; Tacol, 1999) poudarjajo dejstvo, da lahko ustvarjalnost razumemo le z njenim doživetjem. Ustvarjalnost se začne v notranjosti vsakega učenca kot ideja, ki ustvarja končno podobo likovnega izdelka in ima povod v globokem občutenju. Otroku pa damo to možnost šele, ko ga vodimo na način, ki je primeren

2 Izbirna znanja so opredeljena kot »dodatna in poglobljena znanja, ki jih učitelj obravnava glede na zmožnost učencev« (Predmetna komisija za posodabljanje učnega načrta za likovno vzgojo, 2011, 5).

3 V prvo, drugo in tretje vzgojno-izobraževalno obdobje.

njegovi razvojni stopnji, ko upoštevamo njegov individualni likovni razvoj in likovni izraz in ga postopoma vpeljujemo v spoznavanje likovnih tehnik in likovnih pojmov (Birs, 2011; Atkinson, Dash, 2005; Calidoni, 2007; Tacol, 2006). Če ima otrok možnost, da se izraža, in če ima za to primerne tehnične možnosti, bo sam razvil težnjo ustvarjanja, ki je človeku prirojena.

OPREDELITEV RAZISKOVALNEGA PROBLEMA IN CILJI

V prizadevanju po razumevanju pojma ustvarjalnosti pri pouku likovne umetnosti v slovenskih zamejskih šolah v Italiji in italijanskih šolah v Sloveniji smo skušali z raziskavo odkriti, kakšna so razmišljanja učiteljev omenjenih šol o ustvarjalnosti pri likovni umetnosti: kako definirajo likovno ustvarjalnost in ali so mnenja, da je lahko vsak učenec, ne glede na svoje prirojene sposobnosti, ustvarjalen. Zanimalo nas je tudi, ali menijo, da jim zakonsko predpisan učni načrt omogoča ustvarjalnost pri načrtovanju in izvajanju pouka ter ali pri pouku likovne umetnosti sami spodbujajo likovno ustvarjalnost in na kakšen način. Za spodbujanje ustvarjalnosti pri likovni umetnosti je namreč ključen učitelj, saj je tisti, ki prepozna, spodbuja ustvarjalnost ter oblikuje tako učno okolje, ki omogoča ustvarjalno ozračje (Diakidoy, Kanari, 1999; Lastrego, Testa, 1986; Tacol, 2006).

METODOLOGIJA

Podatke smo pridobili v šolskem letu 2013/14 z metodo globinskih intervjujev. V prispevku se omejujemo le na del rezultatov iz daljših polstrukturiranih intervjujev o pouku likovne umetnosti v slovenskih zamejskih šolah v Italiji in italijanskih šolah v Sloveniji.

V raziskavo so bili vključeni učitelji, ki poučujejo likovno umetnost na predmetni stopnji osnovne šole v italijanskih šolah v Sloveniji (od 6. do 9. razreda: starost učencev med 11 in 15 leti) in slovenskih nižjih srednjih šolah v Italiji (od 1. do 3. razreda: starost učencev med 11 in 14 leti). Učitelje smo izbrali glede na njihovo pripravljenost za sodelovanje v raziskavi. Sodelujočih učiteljev je bilo v celoti sedem, dva učitelja pa sta odklonila sodelovanje. V nadaljevanju uporabljamo besedo učitelj v moškem spolu, a zaobjemamo ugotovitve tako za učitelje kakor za učiteljice.

Vsak intervju je trajal od 45 do 90 minut. S privolenjem intervjuvanih smo pogovore snemali. Prepisali smo zvočne zapise, intervjuje v italijanščini smo prevedli v slovenščino, rezultate raziskave oz. dobljene odgovore intervjujev smo predstavili s podrobnimi povzetki intervjujev, ki so razčlenjeni glede na vsebine. Nekatera mnenja, ki so nam jih podali intervjuvanci in so po presoji raziskovalke pomembna za raziskavo, so dobesedno navedena v narekovajih v poševnem tisku. Pri navajanju odlomkov pogovora ne razkrivamo identitete sogovorcev, ampak uporabljamo šifro za vsakega

intervjuvanca (npr.: U1Z25: U1 = učitelj 01, Z = spol: ženski, leta poučevanja likovne umetnosti: 25). Učitelji, ki so sodelovali v intervjujih, so stari med 34 in 62 leti. Med njimi je šest žensk in en moški. Velika večina ima univerzitetno izobrazbo, le eden višjo šolo in eden doktorat znanosti. Večina je akademskih slikarjev, eden je grafični oblikovalec, eden učitelj razrednega pouka in eden doktor znanosti – arhitekturnega in urbanega projektiranja. Študirali so bodisi na beneški, tržaški, videmski ali ljubljanski univerzi. Likovno umetnost poučujejo od 4 do 41 let.

REZULTATI

Likovna ustvarjalnost

Prvi sklop pogovora z učitelji se je osredinil na učiteljevo pojmovanje likovne ustvarjalnosti. Učitelji slovenskih zamejskih šol v Italiji in italijanskih šol v Sloveniji so likovno ustvarjalnost definirali kot sposobnost izražanja posameznika, pri tem pa so dodali, da je pomembno tudi dejstvo, da otrok opazuje, misli in išče svoj način izražanja. Pri tem so izpostavili tudi, kako naj bi se učenci izražali – za ustvarjalno izražanje je tako v prvi vrsti pomembno osebno doživljanje – gre za likovno izražanje, v katerega učenec vnese lastna čustva in skozenj sporoča svoje razmišljanje. Ravno tako se učitelji zavedajo, da gre pri likovni ustvarjalnosti za izražanja po lastnih zmožnostih, sposobnostih, glede na osebni razvoj posameznika. Pri ustvarjalnosti pa gre tudi za izražanje na različne načine, samostojno, z izvirno likovno govorico, z eksperimentiranjem.

Je način izražanja posameznika – samostojno, intimno, po lastnih zmožnostih, sposobnostih (kognitivnih in motoričnih), upoštevajoč drugačnost in osebni razvoj posameznika, z uporabo materialov in tehnik izražanja, ki jih ima na voljo. (U1Z25)

Je značilnost iskanja svojega izražanja z eksperimentacijo, za poročanje svojega vidika do življenja, sveta ipd., svoja čustva izrazijo z lastnimi kompozicijami. (U4M03)

Učitelji sami dodajajo tudi predpogoje za likovno ustvarjalnost, saj menijo, da morajo učenci imeti na voljo pogoje za tako delovanje: materialne pogoje (likovni material, dostop do tekoče vode), prostorske pogoje (ustrezno velikost učilnice glede na število učencev) in časovne (večje število ur pouka). Navajajo tudi pomen spoznavanja različnih tehnik izražanja, tehničnega znanja, spoznavanja vsebin likovne umetnosti.

Ure so zelo pomembne – čas, ki ga imajo učenci na razpolago, da sploh lahko govorimo o tem, da jim želim odpreti pot do ustvarjalnosti. Težko si predstavljam spodbujanje ustvarjalnosti pri učen-

cih brez ustrezne velikosti učilnice in seveda do stopa do vode – če ne moreš priti niti do tekoče vode za slikarske tehnike in za čiščenje, potem si prikrajšan za veliko tehnik, potrebuješ pa seveda tudi material. (U6Z04)

Prostor za pouk je velikega pomena, ko hočemo spodbujati ustvarjalnost – če je učilnica za vse učence premajhna in če me zaradi del prelagajo iz učilnice v učilnico, je moje delo oteženo in potem tudi imam toliko manj možnosti za delo na ustvarjalnosti. In še dobro, da so stranišča s pipami za vodo, da lahko tam natočijo vodo. Da o primernosti časa za inkubacijo misli niti ne govorimo, potrebujejo ga veliko več. (U5Z37)

Ustvarjalen učenec

Ustvarjalni učenec je po mnenju učiteljev predvsem uspešen pri reševanju likovnega problema, je tudi motiviran in zna ustvariti svojstven likovni izdelek. Učitelji nadaljujejo z definicijo ustvarjalnega učenca kot takega, ki je samostojen in se izraža na svoj način. Ustvarjalni učenci so tudi tisti, ki usvojijo teoretična znanja in jih vnesejo v svoje likovno delo, so vztrajni in vlagajo trud v svoje delo. Nekaj učiteljev med lastnosti ustvarjalnega učenca uvršča še sproščenost in samozavest.

Sproščen, motiviran, se poglubi v razumevanje predstavljene snovi in delo, duhovit, dela z občutkom, v delo vlaga svoje občutke, spoštljiv, kreativen, vztrajen, v delo vnese svoj značaj, samosvoj, vedoželjen, konstruktiven – pomaga pri reševanju likovnega problema – dela konstruktivno, povezuje znanje, ki ga je že pridobil, izkušnje in to vnese v novo delo. (U2Z41)

Ko se učenec po razlagi sam loti dela in skuša sam ustvariti in rešiti likovno nalogo, pri tem pa uporablja lastno domišljijo in v nastajanje izdelka vlaga ves trud. V izdelku učenca lahko zaslediš dušo samega učenca; učenec je priden, vztrajen, mora biti motiviran. (U6Z04)

Je učenec, ki izvede likovno nalogo sam, samostojno, z veseljem, navdušenjem, najde nove načine izražanja, ki išče nove rešitve, ki ne ponavlja za sošolci in dokonča svoje delo. (U1Z25)

Ustvarjalni likovni izdelek

Ustvarjalni likovni izdelek učitelji definirajo v prvi vrsti kot izdelek, v katerega so učenci vnesli svoja občutenja. Na takem izdelku je razvidna tudi rešitev likovne naloge, likovna tehnika je uporabljena dovršeno in nadgrajeno, ravno tako pa tak izdelek izžareva izvirnost. Nekaj učiteljev je omenilo tudi pomen sporočilnosti likovnega izdelka, o značilnostih ustvarjalnega likovnega izdelka so menili: je spontan, svež, duhovit, dinamičen, ima neki svojstven kolorit, je barvno zanimiv.

Je izdelek, ki poleg usvojenega znanja (teorije, teme, tehnike, zgodovine) vsebuje tudi nekaj osebnega od učenca, njegove ideje, kolorit, občutke. (U1Z25)

Tak likovni izdelek je drugačen, edinstven, je nekaj posebnega, vsebuje likovne spremenljivke, tehnika je dovršeno uporabljena, tudi nadgrajena, je učinkovit v svojem sporočilu. (U3Z21)

Ustvarjalnost kot dispozicija vseh učencev in njeno razvijanje

Vsi učitelji razen enega se strinjajo, da je lahko vsak učenec, ne glede na svoje prirojene sposobnosti, ustvarjalni (od sedmih učiteljev se štirje popolnoma strinjajo, dva se strinjata, le eden je neodločen). To stališče nadgrajujejo tudi z dodatnimi razmišljanji. Izpostavljeno je bilo dejstvo, da je ustvarjalnost pri posameznikih mogoče razvijati, med učenci pa obstajajo tudi razlike v ustvarjalnosti.

Vsi imajo možnosti, da bi jo razvijali, /... /, ampak odvisno od otrok, ali /... / jih to zanima, potem jo razvijajo. Učenci se po ustvarjalnosti razlikujejo. Na splošno so nekateri bolj ustvarjalni kakor drugi in menim, da je to tudi odvisno od značaja posameznika. Tisti, ki so po karakterju bolj zaprti, se na tem področju lažje izražajo in so še posebej kreativni. (U2Z41)

Mislím, da je to dispozicija vseh, ki pa je ne razvijajo vsi. Učenci so lahko ustvarjalni na različnih področjih. Mislím, da tudi ustvarjalnosti na likovnem področju nimajo vsi enako razvite. (U3Z21)

O razlikah v ustvarjalnosti po generacijah so mnenja deljena, strinjajo pa se, da je iz generacije v generacijo različna.

Opažam, da niso vse generacije enako ustvarjalne in ne poznam točnega vzroka, morda je to odvisno od nekega predznanja in neke njihove določene izkušnje ali česa drugega ali pa je odvisno le od zanimanj, ki jih imajo. (U3Z21)

Učitelji, ki poučujejo med 15 in 25 leti, menijo, da se ustvarjalnost iz generacije v generacijo zmanjšuje, v dveh primerih učitelja to pripisujeta dejstvu, da so z uvedbo devetletke iz dveh šolskih ur likovne umetnosti na teden v italijanskih osnovnih šolah v Sloveniji zmanjšali število ur na eno na teden. Nekaj učiteljev pa na drugi strani meni, da imajo današnji učenci več možnosti za ustvarjalnost in da so tako bolj ustvarjalni – tu gre izpostaviti predvsem mnenji dveh učiteljev, ki poučujejo več kakor 35 let na slovenski nižji srednji šoli v Italiji, v kateri tedensko število ur ostaja nespremenjeno. Najmanj pa jih meni, da se generacij ne da primerjati po ustvarjalnosti.

Spodbujanje ustvarjalnosti pri pouku likovne umetnosti

Za učni načrt večina učiteljev meni, da jim omogoča ustvarjalnost pri načrtovanju in izvajanju pouka (od sedmih učiteljev se dva popolnoma strinjata, trije se strinjajo, le dva se ne strinjata – pri čemer gre za enega učitelja na slovenski nižji srednji šoli v Italiji in enega v italijanski osnovni šoli v Sloveniji). Učitelji so izrazili tudi svoje mnenje glede spodbujanja likovne ustvarjalnosti pri učencih, in sicer: vsi sodelujoči učitelji so mnenja, da pri pouku likovne vzgoje spodbujajo likovno ustvarjalnost. V nadaljevanju smo navedli nekaj spoznanj o tem, kako spodbujajo ustvarjalnost pri učencih. Izpostavili so pomen spoznavanja likovnih pojmov, tehnik in lastnega doživljanja ob motivu, ideji in občutenju.

Učencem je potrebno pri likovni umetnosti na tej stopnji izobraževanja dati temelje bistvenih struktur, da razumejo, /... / da ima svoj smisel, namen, koncept. Če se jim pravilno razložijo določene osnove (kompozicija, tehnika, ideje), so tudi bolj ustvarjalni. Ko torej razumejo, da je potrebno v likovno delo vnesti določeno strukturo, sporočilo in vložiti tudi neko svoje doživljanje, lahko tudi v kratkem času in tudi tisti, ki so mislili, da sploh ne znajo risati /... /, na tak način uspejo na novo postaviti svojo ustvarjalnost. (U2Z41)

Če delaš na tem, da spet začutijo sebe in jih pripelješ v eno tako globljo zaznavo, npr. moraš iti v take načine vizualizacije, spontane risbe, tako da to potegneš iz njih. In potem začnejo razumevati, da je v njihovi notranjosti, globini, dosti več in da morajo to samo še povleči ven. (U5Z37)

V nadaljevanju nas je zanimalo še, kako učitelji dosežejo ustvarjalno ozračje v razredu. Učitelj za ustvarjalno ozračje v razredu prvenstveno skrbi z individualnim delom, jasno razlago vse teorije in navodili. Učitelj omogoči učencem ustvarjalno ozračje v razredu tudi s skrbjo za zadosten čas za kreativni proces in s prikazi primerov likovnih del – tako reprodukcij likovnih umetnikov kot primerov iz okolja, vsakodnevnega življenja in likovnih izdelkov otrok. Po mnenju učiteljev je za ustvarjalno ozračje pomembno, da se ustvari sproščeno vzdušje v razredu – nekateri za to predlagajo glasbo ob likovnem ustvarjanju. Drugi poudarjajo tudi pozitiven odnos učitelja do učencev, skrb za to, da se učenci dobro počutijo v razredu, možnost dela z različnimi likovnimi tehnikami in njihovo samostojno izbiro.

S pripravo, primeri likovnih izdelkov in umetniških del, demonstracijo tehnike, individualnim delom – z veliko individualnimi pohvalami in spodbujanjem učencev. (U1Z25)

S sproščenostjo in tako, da postavim jasna pravila. Učencem skušam omogočati dovolj časa za delo,

razmislek – tega navadno zmanjkuje! (U3Z21)
Najprej je treba biti pozitivno naravnani do otrok, občutiti morajo, da jih imaš rad in jih spoštuješ, kot bi imel pred sabo izkušenega umetnika. Verjeti moraš v to, kar delaš. Če v razred vstopiš z nasmehom in na začetku z vsakim malo pokramljaš in ugotoviš, kakšno je njegovo počutje, se učenci sprostijo in delo lepo steče. (U5Z37)

Učitelji ob vprašanju sami omenjajo tudi težave pri vzpostavitvi ustvarjalnega ozračja, in sicer: težave z disciplino učencev, njihovo motivacijo za delo in odnosom do dela. Velika ovira, ki jo zaznavajo učitelji, je tudi ta, da je premalo ur likovne umetnosti, kar jim ne omogoča zadostnega časa za razmišljanje, poglobitev.

Učitelji, ki poučujejo likovno umetnost v italijanskih šolah v Sloveniji, izpostavljajo problem, da je predmetu namenjena po predmetniku le ena šolska ura na teden, in se zato neka likovna naloga oz. tema raztegne na več tednov, kar učence demotivira in vpliva tudi na ustvarjalnost.

Težko je govoriti o kakršnemkoli ozračju, ker se vsem tako mudi in tako so obremenjeni z vsem skupaj in preden se samo umirijo, že traja, kaj šele, ko morajo zbrano poslušati. Nato naj bi imeli še dovolj časa za ustvarjanje: za biti sproščen in ustvarjalni pa potrebuješ čas, da razmisliš, da pride do povezave med razlago, da lahko v miru premisliš o ideji. Tu moramo dati učencem možnost, da npr. občutijo motiv, ki ga delajo. Ker imamo le eno uro likovne umetnosti na teden, jih je težko pripeljati do ustvarjalnosti, saj se prekine njihov tok misli in se z določeno nalogo srečajo po enotedenskem premoru – ko gre za naloge, ki zahtevajo več časa, ur, je ta prekinitve dela zelo moteča. Učenci sami »kričijo« po tem, da bi imeli več likovne umetnosti, da bi še delali, da jih zanima, a ko se morejo spopadati s tem, ne morejo niti ene stvari narediti prav, potem nekateri obupajo, drugim pade motivacija za delo in nikakor nimajo toliko možnosti za biti ustvarjalni, kot bi sicer. (U3Z21)

Tudi učitelji slovenskih šol v Italiji, kljub temu da imajo likovno umetnost v blok urah, torej po dve šolski uri na teden, predlagajo, da bi temu predmetu namenili več ur.

V trenutnem stanju je delo težko, učenci potrebujejo in si želijo še, ni jim dovolj, da imajo likovno umetnost enkrat tedensko, potrebovali bi več ur, več poglobljanja, več časa. Učenci hočejo še delati, pa jim ne moremo dati te možnosti. In potem je tu še problem z raznimi nadomeščanji in potem jim odpade likovna ... Če jim v enem tednu odpade ta predmet, je to potem problem, ker

se morda 14 dni sploh ne vidimo. Učenci potrebujejo še kontakta z ustvarjanjem in umetniškimi primeri. (U5Z37)

Na začetku intervjujev o ustvarjalnosti pri likovni umetnosti so učitelji sami predstavili pogoje za ustvarjalnost in med njimi je tudi ustrezen čas za delo – obseg ur, ki so namenjene likovni umetnosti. V nadaljevanju in na koncu pa so ponovno izpostavili potrebo po večjem obsegu ur za likovno umetnost in se tega dotaknili kot težave – to je zanje hkrati predpogoj za ustvarjalnost, in če tega ni, se to sprevrže v težavo.

Učitelji opozarjajo, da je predpogoj za ustvarjalnost ustrežna količina ur za predmet, ta pa je po njihovem mnenju premajhna. To podkrepijo še z dejstvom, da se učenci v vsakdanjem življenju soočajo z veliko vizualnimi podobami.

Mislím, da je ustvarjalnost potrebna čedalje bolj in potrebno ji je dati več ur, ker z eno risbo lahko poveš več kot s stotimi besedami, čeprav se v tej družbi tega ne upošteva. Današnjim generacijam manjka več dela na področju likovne umetnosti, ker so bombardirani z ogromno količino vizualnih imputov, ki jih dobivajo v okolju, ki bi jih morali predelati, in potem so zelo zmedeni. Mislím, da bi bilo potrebno delati veliko več na socializaciji v šoli, kar se pri umetnosti vsekakor še toliko bolj da, saj če imajo otroci tako kopico vizualnih informacij, če se ne bo potenciral likovni pouk, bodo imeli neuravnovešene osebnosti v šoli. (U2Z41)
Učenci imajo težave, da sebe ne znajo več izraziti, ker je preveč teh zunanjih modelov. So zelo obremenjeni z računalniki in vsemi podobami, ki jih lahko vidijo vsak dan, zato potrebujejo nujno delo na likovnem področju in več ur, namenjenih temu v šoli. (U1Z25)

Analiza odgovorov je pokazala prepričanja, ki jih imajo učitelji o ustvarjalnosti pri likovni umetnosti. Ta tema je zanje zelo pomembna in se z njo veliko ukvarjajo, ne le zato, ker je za njihov predmet ustvarjalnost zapisana v ciljeh, smernicah, standardih in kompetencah v učnih načrtih, ampak ji dajejo tudi sami veliko težo in poudarjajo, da je razvijanje ustvarjalnosti ena prvenstvenih nalog umetniških predmetov. V odgovorih učiteljev je zaznati jasne predstave, zamisli, ideje o likovni ustvarjalnosti, pa tudi potrebe in predloge za izboljšanje pogojev, ki omogočajo dvig likovne ustvarjalnosti. Učitelji izražajo odprtost in željo po novih spoznanjih na tem področju.

SKLEPNE UGOTOVITVE

V začetnem pregledu raziskav, izvedenih med učitelji, ki poučujejo v slovenskem in italijanskem šolskem sistemu, smo dobili vpogled v mnenja nekaterih učiteljev in našli nekaj razlik med mnenji učiteljev v obeh

državah. V Sloveniji so učitelji mnenja, da je ustvarjalnost prirojena lastnost, v Italiji pa, da ni prirojena, na evropski ravni pa je večina učiteljev mnenja, da je lahko vsakdo ustvarjalen. V obeh državah so učitelji vsekakor mnenja, da je ustvarjalnost mogoče razvijati. Iz izsledkov raziskav je izpostavljeno tudi to, da so učitelji v Sloveniji o kurikulumu mnenja, da ustvarjalnost v njem ne zaseda pomembnega prostora, učitelji v Italiji pa so nasprotnega mnenja, da ima ustvarjalnost v njihovem kurikulumu pomembno vlogo. Seveda gre v vseh omenjenih primerih za raziskave, ki so potekale v obeh šolskih sistemih med učitelji različnih predmetnih področij na različnih stopnjah izobraževanja na šolah večine.

V šolah manjšin pri učiteljih likovne umetnosti še ni bilo izvedenih take vrste raziskav, zato smo v naši raziskavi pregledali mnenja učiteljev manjšinskih italijanskih in slovenskih šol. Ugotovitve ni mogoče posploševati, saj gre v našem primeru izključno za pregled mnenj učiteljev, ki poučujejo likovno umetnosti na predmetni stopnji osnovne šole v italijanskih šolah v Sloveniji (od 6. do 9. razreda: starost učencev med 11 in 15 leti) in slovenskih nižjih srednjih šolah v Italiji (od 1. do 3. razreda: starost učencev med 11 in 14 leti).

Prepričanja učiteljev likovne umetnosti na slovenskih in italijanskih manjšinskih šolah se v bistvenem delu ne razlikujejo, zato smo jih tudi obravnavali skupno in jih nismo posebej ločevali na rezultate za prvi in drugi sistem. Razlika med mnenji učiteljev obeh manjšinskih šolskih sistemov je razvidna nekako le pri mnenju o spremembah v ustvarjalnosti po generacijah – na italijanskih osnovnih šolah v Sloveniji so učitelji izpostavili, da je prišlo do padca v ustvarjalnosti po generacijah predvsem zaradi zmanjšanja števila ur predmeta na teden, medtem ko naj bi bilo ravno obratno na slovenskih nižjih srednjih šolah v Italiji – ker tedensko število ur predmeta ostaja nespremenjeno in ker imajo na voljo vedno več teoretične osnove in ročnih spretnosti, naj bi se ustvarjalnost iz generacije v generacijo povečevala.

Kljub izpostavljenim razlikam v izobraževalnih sistemih in učnih načrtih ter tudi glede na to, da smo zaobjeli mnenja učiteljev manjšinskih šol, so si učitelji glede razmišljanj o ustvarjalnosti pri likovni umetnosti izjemno podobni. Ne glede na to, da ima predmet likovna umetnost v italijanskih osnovnih šolah v Sloveniji polovico manj ur kakor to predmetno področje v nižjih srednjih šolah v Italiji, učitelji obeh izpostavljajo pomen spodbujanja likovne ustvarjalnosti pri likovnem izražanju in so si na splošno dokaj enotni pri razumevanju pojma ustvarjalnosti.

Med raziskovalci ustvarjalnosti v šoli so npr. Fryer in Collings (1991) ter Craft (2005), ki so ugotovili, da večina učiteljev ustvarjalnost opredeljuje kot domišljijo, izvirnost, samoizražanje. Tudi naša raziskava je pokazala povezavo s temi ugotovitvami, specifično vezanimi na to, kaj je učiteljem slovenskih zamejskih šol v Italiji in italijanskih šol v Sloveniji pomembno pri definiranju ustvarjalnosti pri likovni umetnosti. Pri opredeljevanju

likovne ustvarjalnosti so si učitelji enotni v tem, da je to sposobnost izražanja učencev, sposobnost vnašanja njihovega osebnega doživljanja po lastnih sposobnostih in na različne načine. Učitelji so temu dodali tudi pogoje za doseganje likovne ustvarjalnosti – materialne, prostorske, najbolj izpostavljajo časovne. Kot pogoj za ustvarjalnost pa so navedli tudi to, da učenci najprej pridobijo znanje o neki tematiki. Gardner (1994) in Marentič - Požarnik (2000) poudarjata, da so posamezniki lahko ustvarjalni na različnih področjih in na različne načine, če so za to izpolnjeni pogoji.

Ustvarjalen učenec po mnenju učiteljev zna rešiti likovni problem, je motiviran, ustvari svojstveno likovno delo, je samostojen, se izraža na svoj način, poleg tega pa usvoji teoretična znanja, ki jih vnese v likovni izdelek, je vztrajen in vlaga trud v svoje delo. Ustvarjalni likovni izdelek je po mnenju učiteljev izdelek, v katerega učenec vnese svoja čustva, na njem reši likovno nalogo, spretno izvede likovno tehniko, je izviren in ima sporočilnost.

Iz nadaljnjih razmišljanj učiteljev o ustvarjalnosti smo razbrali naslednje: učitelji se strinjajo, da je ustvarjalnost dispozicija vsakega učenca, ki se da razvijati, med učenci pa obstajajo razlike v ustvarjalnosti, tudi po generacijah. Tu se potrjujejo izsledki raziskav avtorjev (npr. Amadori, 1993; Craft, 2005; Gardner, 1994; Lastrego, Testa, 1986; Tacol, 1999), ki naj bi dognali, da naj bi bili vsi učenci zmožni neke običajne ustvarjalnosti.

Za zakonsko predpisan učni načrt večina učiteljev likovne umetnosti v slovenskih zamejskih šolah v Italiji in v italijanskih šolah v Sloveniji meni, da jim omogoča ustvarjalnost pri načrtovanju in izvajanju pouka; vsi učitelji so mnenja, da pri pouku likovne umetnosti spodbujajo likovno ustvarjalnost, v prvi vrsti to spodbujajo s spoznavanjem likovnih pojmov, likovnih tehnik in občutenjem likovnih motivov.

Oblika učnih načrtov predmetov in njihova vsebina, ki se razlikujeta v obeh omenjenih manjšinskih šolskih sistemih, ni pripomogla k razlikam v mnenju učiteljev o tem, ali jim učni načrt omogoča spodbujanje ustvarjalnosti. Učitelji so pri tem bolj izpostavili potrebo po

večjem številu ur predmeta. Oblika zapisa in večja zaprtost učnega načrta v italijanskih osnovnih šolah v Sloveniji je morda vplivala na to, da se učitelji počutijo bolj omejene pri možnosti izvajanju pouka – likovnih nalog v eni šolski uri tedensko, zaradi česar se delo nato nadaljuje več tednov. Gre bolj za izpostavitve problema premajhnega števila ur predmeta na teden kakor pa za zaprto začrtane vsebine.

Ustvarjalno ozračje v razredu dosegajo z individualnim delom, jasno razlago vse teorije in navodili, prikazi primerov likovnih del in sproščenim vzdušjem z glasbo, pomemben pa je tudi učiteljev odnos do učencev in možnost dela z različnimi likovnimi tehnikami.

Tako učitelji predmeta umetnost in upodabljanje v slovenskih zamejskih šolah v Italiji kot učitelji predmeta likovna umetnost v italijanskih šolah v Sloveniji pri tem opozarjajo na potrebo po večjem poudarku ustvarjalnosti z zahtevo po povečanju števila ur likovne umetnosti, saj je po njihovem mnenju tudi ustrezen, zadosten čas pogoj za ustvarjalnost. Oboji pa opozarjajo tudi na smiselnost poudarka predmeta zaradi velike količine vizualnih podob, s katerimi se srečujejo učenci v današnjih časih.

V raziskavo vključeni učitelji izpostavljajo, definirajo in se zavedajo pomena ustvarjalnosti pri likovni umetnosti. Kaže, da vsi ti učitelji prepoznavajo in določajo likovno ustvarjalnost, ustvarjalnega učenca in ustvarjalne likovne izdelke. To pa je vsekakor osnova in predpogoj za nadaljnje delo pri spodbujanju ustvarjalnosti kot kvalitete, ki jo v šoli, še posebno pri likovni umetnosti, želimo dosegati. Vsi so tudi željni novih spoznanj in boljših pogojev za spodbujanje ustvarjalnosti.

Ugotavljamo, da je ustvarjalnost pojem, ki bi mu lahko namenili še veliko razglabljanja. Poimovanje učiteljev, ki poučujejo likovno umetnost na predmetni stopnji osnovne šole v italijanskih šolah v Sloveniji in slovenskih nižjih srednjih šolah v Italiji, o ustvarjalnosti pri likovni umetnosti je vsekakor smiselno poznati, saj služijo kot iztočnica za nadgradnjo spoznanj na teoretični ravni, upoštevali pa jih bomo pri nadaljnjem raziskovanju tega področja.

VISUAL ART CREATIVITY: VIEWS OF VISUAL ART TEACHERS IN LOWER SECONDARY SLOVENE SCHOOLS IN ITALY AND IN THE UPPER LEVEL OF ELEMENTARY ITALIAN SCHOOLS IN SLOVENIA

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SUMMARY

In this paper we present the results from a research within visual art education in minority Slovene schools in Italy and in Italian schools in Slovenia. Both minority education systems have not been researched yet in the field of this school subject. Specifically we want to identify the views of art teachers on creativity within visual art education. We used the in – depth interview method. We included the views of teachers that teach visual art education on a similar level of education (pupils that are approximately the same age): in the upper level of elementary Italian schools in Slovenia and in the lower secondary Slovene schools in Italy. The results of this research have shown what are the views of those teachers of visual art education: on their opinion creativity in visual art education is the ability to express themselves in an individual way; a creative pupil is capable of solving the creative task, motivated and expresses himself in his own way; in a creative product the pupil puts his emotions and solves the art task. Teachers achieve creativity in this school subject by new art techniques, the art theory, different art motifs, with demonstration; they also highlight the importance of material, time and space conditions of work for fostering creativity.

Keywords: visual art education, creativity, views of teachers about creativity in visual art education, Slovene secondary schools of first grade in Italy, Italian primary schools in Slovenia

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KAZALO K SLIKAM NA OVITKU

SLIKA NA NASLOVNICI: Sečovlejske soline. Vir: Turistično združenje Portorož

Slika 1: A. Motika, *Pot na Mesec* (1917–1919), Zbirka umjetnina Grada Pule, Pula

Slika 2: Davide Toffolo, *Italijanska zima*, 7 (Toffolo, 2010)

Slika 3: A. Motika, *Moje karikature: „Euro Pa“* (1917.), Kabinet grafike HAZU, Zagreb

Slika 4: A. Motika, *Pot na Mesec* (1917–1919). Zbirka umjetnina Grada Pule, Pula

Slika 5: A. Motika, *„Ja na Zemlji“* (1917.). Kabinet grafike HAZU, Zagreb

Slika 6: A. Motika, *Moje karikature: Jugoslavija“* (1917), Kabinet grafike HAZU, Zagreb

INDEX TO IMAGES ON THE COVER

FRONT COVER: Sečovlje salina. Source: Tourist Board Portorož

Figure 1: A. Motika, *Journey to the Moon* (1917.-1919.), Zbirka umjetnina Grada Pule, Pula

Figure 2: Davide Toffolo, *Italian Winter*, 7 (Toffolo, 2010)

Figure 3: A. Motika, *My Caricatures: „Euro Pa“* (1917.), Kabinet grafike HAZU, Zagreb

Figure 4: A. Motika, *Journey to the Moon* (1917.-1919.). Zbirka umjetnina Grada Pule, Pula

Figure 5: Motika, *„I on Earth“* (1917.). Kabinet grafike HAZU, Zagreb

Figure 6: A. Motika, *My Caricatures: „ Jugoslavija“* (1917.), Kabinet grafike HAZU, Zagreb

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(Kalc, 2010).

Popolni podatki o tem viru v poglavju Literatura pa se glasijo:

Kalc, A. (2010): „Statistični podatki o Trstu“ ob tretji francoski zasedbi leta 1809. *Annales, Ser. hist. sociol.*, 20, 2, 423–444.

Če citiramo več del istega avtorja iz istega leta, poleg priimka in kratic imena napišemo še črke po abecednem vrstnem redu, tako da se viri med seboj razlikujejo. Primer:

(Kalc, 2010a) in (Kalc, 2010b).

Bibliografska opomba je lahko tudi del vsebinske opombe in jo zapisujemo na enak način.

Posamezna dela ali navedbe virov v isti opombi ločimo s podpičjem. Primer:

(Kalc, 2010a, 15; Verginella, 2008, 37).

9. Pri **citiranju arhivskih virov med oklepaji** navajamo kratico arhiva, kratico arhivskega fonda / signaturo, številko tehnične enote in številko arhivske enote. Primer:

(ARS-1851, 67, 1808).

V primeru, da arhivska enota ni znana, se dokument citira po naslovu v *opombi pod črto*, in sicer z navedbo kratic arhiva, kratic arhivskega fonda / signature, številke tehnične enote in naslova dokumenta. Primer:

ARS-1589, 1562, Zapisnik seje Okrajnega komiteja ZKS Koper, 19. 12. 1955.

Kratic razložimo v poglavju o virih na koncu članka, kjer arhivske vire navajamo po abecednem vrstnem redu.

Primer:

ARS-1589 – Arhiv republike Slovenije (ARS), Centralni komite Zveze komunistov Slovenije (fond 1589).

10. Pri citiranju časopisnih virov med tekstem navedemo ime časopisa, datum izdaje ter strani:

(Primorske novice, 11. 5. 2009, 26).

V primeru, da je znan tudi naslov članka, celotno bibliografsko opombo navedemo *pod črto*:

Primorske novice, 11. 5. 2009: Ali podjetja merijo učinkovitost?, 26.

V seznam virov in literature izpišemo ime časopisa / revije, kraj, založnika in periodo izhajanja.

Primer:

Primorske novice. Koper, Primorske novice, 1963–.

11. Poglavlje o virih in literaturi je obvezno. Bibliografske podatke navajamo takole:

- Opis zaključene publikacije kot celote – knjige:

Avtor (leto izida): Naslov. Kraj, Založba. Npr.:

Šelih, A., Antić Gaber, M., Puhar, A., Renner, T., Šuklje, R., Verginella, M. & L. Tavčar (2007): Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Tuma, SAZU.

V zgornjem primeru, kjer je *avtorjev več kot dva*, je korekten tudi citat:

(Šelih et al., 2007).

Če navajamo določeni del iz zaključene publikacije, zgornjemu opisu dodamo še številke strani, od koder smo navedbo prevzeli.

- Opis prispevka v **zaključeni publikaciji** – npr. prispevka v zborniku:

Avtor (leto izida): Naslov prispevka. V: Avtor knjige: Naslov knjige. Kraj, Založba, strani od-do. Primer:

Lenarčič, B. (2010): Omrežna družba, medkulturnost in prekukulturnost. V: Sedmak, M. & E. Ženko (ur.): Razprave o medkulturnosti. Koper, Založba Annales, 245–260.

- Opis članka v **reviji**:

Avtor, (leto izida): Naslov članka. Naslov revije, letnik, številka strani od-do. Primer:

Lazar, I. (2008): Celejski forum in njegov okras. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 19, 2, 349–360.

- Opis **ustnega vira**:

Informator (leto izporočila): Ime in priimek informatorja, leto rojstva, vloga, funkcija ali položaj. Način pričevanja. Oblika in kraj nahajanja zapisa. Primer:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, župnik v Vižinadi. Ustno izporočilo. Zvočni zapis pri avtorju.

- Opis **vira iz internetnih spletnih strani**:

Če je mogoče, internetni vir zabeležimo enako kot članek in dodamo spletni naslov ter v oklepaju datum zadnjega pristopa na to stran:

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf) (15. 9. 2008).

Če avtor ni znan, navedemo nosilca spletne strani, leto objave, naslov in podnaslov besedila, spletni naslov in v oklepaju datum zadnjega pristopa na to stran.

Članki so razvrščeni po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev ter po letu izdaje, v primeru da gre za več citatov istega-istih avtorjev.

12. Kratice v besedilu moramo razrešiti v oklepaju, ko se prvič pojavijo. Članku lahko dodamo tudi seznam uporabljenih kratic.

13. Pri ocenah publikacij navedemo v naslovu prispevka avtorja publikacije, naslov, kraj, založbo, leto izida in število strani (oziroma ustrezen opis iz točke 10).

14. Prvi odtis člankov uredništvo pošlje avtorjem v **korekturo**. Avtorji so dolžni popravljen gradivo vrniti v enem tednu.

Širjenje obsega besedila ob korekturah ni dovoljeno. Druge korekture opravi uredništvo.

15. Za dodatna pojasnila v zvezi z objavo člankov je uredništvo na voljo.

UREDNIŠTVO

ISTRUZIONI PER GLI AUTORI

1. La rivista ANNALES (Annali per gli studi istriani e mediterranei, Ser. hist. et soc.) pubblica **articoli scientifici originali e rassegne** dai contenuti sociologici e umanistici relativi allo studio della *storia, cultura e società* dell'Istria e del Mediterraneo. Include inoltre *studi comparativi e interculturali* nonché saggi *metodologici e teorici* pertinenti a questa area geografica.

2. La Redazione accetta articoli in lingua slovena, italiana, croata e inglese. Gli autori devono garantire l'ineccepibilità linguistica dei testi, la Redazione si riserva il diritto di una revisione linguistica.

3. Gli articoli devono essere di lunghezza non superiore alle 48.000 battute senza spazi, ovvero 2 fogli d'autore. Possono venir recapitati all'indirizzo di posta elettronica Annaleszdp@gmail.com oppure su supporto elettronico (CD) per posta ordinaria all'indirizzo della Redazione.

L'autore garantirà l'originalità dell'articolo e si impegnerà a non pubblicarlo altrove.

4. Ogni articolo deve essere corredato da: titolo, eventuale sottotitolo, nome e cognome dell'autore, denominazione ed indirizzo dell'ente di appartenenza o, in alternativa, l'indirizzo di casa, nonché l'eventuale indirizzo di posta elettronica. Tranne sigle e acronimi scrivere in minuscolo.

5. I contributi devono essere corredati da un **riassunto** e da una **sintesi**. Quest'ultima sarà più breve (max. 100 parole) del riassunto (cca 200 parole).

Nella *sintesi* si descriveranno brevemente i metodi e i risultati delle ricerche e anche i motivi che le hanno determinate. La sintesi non conterrà commenti e segnalazioni.

Il *riassunto* riporterà in maniera sintetica i metodi delle ricerche, i motivi che le hanno determinate assieme all'analisi, cioè all'interpretazione, dei risultati raggiunti. Si eviterà di riportare conclusioni omesse nel testo del contributo.

6. Gli autori sono tenuti ad indicare le **parole chiave** adeguate. Sono necessarie anche le **traduzioni in inglese (o sloveno) e italiano** della sintesi, del riassunto, delle parole chiave, delle didascalie, delle fotografie e delle tabelle.

7. L'eventuale **materiale iconografico** (originale) va preparato in formato elettronico (jpeg, tiff) e consegnato in file separati alla definizione di 300 dpi a grandezza desiderata, purché non ecceda i 17x20 cm. Prima della pubblicazione, l'autore provvederà a fornire alla Redazione tutte le autorizzazioni richieste per la riproduzione del materiale iconografico (in virtù della Legge

sui diritti d'autore). Tutte le immagini, tabelle e grafici dovranno essere accompagnati da didascalie e numerati in successione.

8. Le **note a piè di pagina** sono destinate essenzialmente a fini esplicativi e di contenuto.

I **riferimenti bibliografici** richiamano un'altra pubblicazione (articolo). La nota bibliografica, riportata nel testo, deve contenere i seguenti dati: *cognome dell'autore, anno di pubblicazione* e, se citiamo un determinato brano del testo, anche le *pagine*.

I riferimenti bibliografici completi delle fonti vanno quindi inseriti nel capitolo Fonti e bibliografia (saranno prima indicate le fonti e poi la bibliografia). L'autore indicherà esclusivamente i lavori e le edizioni citati nell'articolo.

Esempio di citazione nel testo:

(Borean, 2010, 325).

Esempio di riferimento alla fonte, senza citazione:

(Borean, 2010).

I dati completi su questa fonte nel capitolo Fonti e bibliografia verranno riportati in questa maniera:

Borean, L. (2010): Collezionisti e opere d'arte tra Venezia, Istria e Dalmazia nel Settecento. *Annales, Ser. hist. sociol.* 20, 2, 323–330.

Se si citano *più lavori dello stesso autore* pubblicati nello stesso anno accanto al cognome va aggiunta una lettera in ordine alfabetico progressivo per distinguere i vari lavori. Ad es.:

(Borean, 2010a) e (Borean, 2010b).

Il riferimento bibliografico può essere parte della nota a piè di pagina e va riportato nello stesso modo come sopra.

Singole opere o vari riferimenti bibliografici in una stessa nota vanno divisi dal punto e virgola. Per es.:

(Borean, 2010a, 37; Verginella, 2008, 37).

9. Le **fonti d'archivio** vengono citate nel testo, *tra parentesi*. Si indicherà: sigla dell'archivio – numero (oppure) sigla del fondo, numero della busta, numero del documento (non il suo titolo). Ad es.:

(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

Nel caso in cui un documento non fosse contraddistinto da un numero, ma solo da un titolo, la fonte d'archivio verrà citata *a piè di pagina*. In questo caso si indicherà: sigla dell'archivio – numero (oppure) sigla del fondo, numero della busta, titolo del documento. Ad es.:

ACS-CPC, 3285, Milanovich Natale. Richiesta della Prefettura di Trieste spedita al Ministero degli Interni del 15 giugno 1940.

Le sigle utilizzate verranno svolte per intero, in ordine alfabetico, nella sezione »Fonti« a fine testo. Ad es.:

ASMI-SLV – Archivio di Stato di Milano (ASMI), f. Senato Lombardo-Veneto (SLV).

10. Nel citare fonti di giornale nel testo andranno indicati il nome del giornale, la data di edizione e le pagine:

(Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009, 26)

Nel caso in cui è noto anche il titolo dell'articolo, l'intera indicazione bibliografica verrà indicata a piè di pagina:

Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009: Da Mestre all'Archivio segreto del Vaticano, 26.

Nell'elenco Fonti e bibliografia scriviamo il nome del giornale, il luogo di edizione, l'editore ed il periodo di pubblicazione.

Ad es.:

Il Corriere della Sera. Milano, RCS Editoriale Quotidiani, 1876-.

11. Il capitolo **Fonti e bibliografia** è obbligatorio. I dati bibliografici vanno riportati come segue:

- Descrizione di un'opera compiuta:

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo. Luogo di edizione, casa editrice. Per es.:

Darovec, D., Kamin Kajfež, V. & M. Vovk (2010): Tra i monumenti di Isola : guida storico-artistica del patrimonio artistico di Isola. Koper, Edizioni Annales.

Se *gli autori sono più di due*, la citazione è corretta anche nel modo seguente:

(Darovec et al., 2010)

Se indichiamo una parte della pubblicazione, alla citazione vanno aggiunte le pagine di riferimento.

Descrizione di un articolo che compare in un **volume miscelaneo**:

- autore/i del contributo (anno di edizione): Titolo. In: autore/curatore del libro: titolo del libro, casa editrice, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

Povolo, C. (2014): La giusta vendetta. Il furore di un giovane gentiluomo. In: Povolo, C. & A. Fornasin (eds.): Per Furio. Studi in onore di Furio Bianco. Forum, Udine, 179-195.

Descrizione di un articolo in una **pubblicazione periodica – rivista**:

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo del contributo. Titolo del periodico, annata, nro. del periodico, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

Cergna, S. (2013): Fluidità di discorso e fluidità di potere: casi d'internamento nell'ospedale psichiatrico di Pola d'Istria tra il 1938 e il 1950. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 23, 2, 475-486.

Descrizione di una **fonte orale**:

informatore (anno della testimonianza): nome e cognome dell'informatore, anno di nascita, ruolo, posizione o stato sociale. Tipo di testimonianza. Forma e luogo di trascrizione della fonte. Per es.:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, parroco a Visinada. Testimonianza orale. Appunti dattiloscritti dell'intervista presso l'archivio personale dell'autore.

Descrizione di una **fonte tratta da pagina internet**:

Se è possibile registriamo la fonte internet come un articolo e aggiungiamo l'indirizzo della pagina web e tra parentesi la data dell'ultimo accesso:

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). (15. 9. 2008). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf)

Se l'autore non è noto, si indichi il webmaster, anno della pubblicazione, titolo ed eventuale sottotitolo del testo, indirizzo web e tra parentesi la data dell'ultimo accesso.

La bibliografia va compilata in ordine alfabetico secondo i cognomi degli autori ed anno di edizione, nel caso in cui ci siano più citazioni riferibili allo stesso autore.

12. Il significato delle **abbreviazioni** va spiegato, tra parentesi, appena queste si presentano nel testo. L'elenco delle abbreviazioni sarà riportato alla fine dell'articolo.

13. Per quanto riguarda le **recensioni**, nel titolo del contributo l'autore deve riportare i dati bibliografici come al punto 10, vale a dire autore, titolo, luogo di edizione, casa editrice, anno di edizione nonché il numero complessivo delle pagine dell'opera recensita.

14. Gli autori ricevono le **prime bozze** di stampa per la revisione. Le bozze corrette vanno quindi rispedito entro una settimana alla Redazione. In questa fase, i testi corretti non possono essere più ampliati. La revisione delle bozze è svolta dalla Redazione.

15. La Redazione rimane a disposizione per eventuali chiarimenti.

LA REDAZIONE

INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

1. The journal ANNALES (*Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies*, Ser. hist et soc.) publishes **original** and **review scientific articles** dealing with social and human topics related to research on *the history, culture and society of Istria and the Mediterranean*, as well as *comparative and intercultural studies* and *methodological and theoretical discussions* related to the above-mentioned fields.

2. The articles submitted can be written in the Slovene, Italian, Croatian or English language. The authors should ensure that their contributions meet acceptable standards of language, while the editorial board has the right to have them language edited.

3. The articles should be no longer than 8,000 words. They can be submitted via e-mail (Annaleszdjp@gmail.com) or regular mail, with the electronic data carrier (CD) sent to the address of the editorial board. Submission of the article implies that it reports original unpublished work and that it will not be published elsewhere.

4. The front page should include the title and subtitle of the article, the author's name and surname, academic titles, affiliation (institutional name and address) or home address, including post code, and e-mail address. Except initials and acronyms type in lowercase.

5. The article should contain the **summary** and the **abstract**, with the former (c. 200 words) being longer than the latter (max. 100 words).

The *abstract* contains a brief description of the aim of the article, methods of work and results. It should contain no comments and recommendations.

The *summary* contains the description of the aim of the article and methods of work and a brief analysis or interpretation of results. It can contain only the information that appears in the text as well.

6. Beneath the abstract, the author should supply appropriate **keywords**, as well as the **English (or Slovene) and Italian translation** of the abstract, summary, keywords, and captions to figures and tables.

7. If possible, the author should also supply (original) **illustrative matter** submitted as separate files (in jpeg or tiff format) and saved at a minimum resolution of 300 dpi per size preferred, with the maximum possible publication size being 17x20 cm. Prior to publication, the author should obtain all necessary authorizations (as stipulated by the Copyright and Related Rights Act) for the publication of the illustrative matter and submit them to the editorial board. All figures, tables and diagrams should be captioned and numbered.

8. **Footnotes** providing additional explanation to the text should be written at *the foot of the page*. **Bibliographic notes** – i.e. references to other articles or publications – should contain the following data: *author, year of publication* and – when citing an extract from another text – *page*. Bibliographic notes appear in the text.

The entire list of sources cited and referred to should be published in the section *Sources and Bibliography* (starting with sources and ending with bibliography). The author should list only the works and editions cited or referred to in their article.

E.g.: Citation in the text:
(Blaće, 2014, 240).

E.g.: Reference in a text:
(Blaće, 2014).

In the section on *bibliography*, citations or references should be listed as follows:

Blaće, A. (2014): Eastern Adriatic Forts in Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's Isolario Mari, Golfi, Isole, Spiaggie, Porti, Citta ... *Annales, Ser hist. sociol.*, 24, 2, 239-252.

If you are listing *several works published by the same author in the same year*, they should be differentiated by adding a lower case letter after the year for each item.

E.g.:
(Blaće, 2014a) and (Blaće, 2014b).

If the bibliographic note appears in the footnote, it should be written in the same way.

If listed in the same footnote, individual works or sources should be separated by a semicolon. E.g.:
(Blaće, 2014, 241; Verginella, 2008, 37).

9. When **citing archival records** *within the parenthesis* in the text, the archive acronym should be listed first, followed by the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and number of the document. E.g.:
(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

If the number of the document can not be specified, the record should be cited *in the footnote*, listing the archive acronym and the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and document title. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4, 31, Note on Interview between Colonel Fišera and Captain Wilkinson on December 16th 1939.

The abbreviations should be explained in the section on sources in the end of the article, with the archival records arranged in an alphabetical order. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4 – The National Archives, London-Kew (TNA), fond Special Operations Executive, series Eastern Europe (HS 4).

10. If referring to **newspaper sources** in the text, you should cite the name of the newspaper, date of publication and page:

If the title of the article is also known, the whole reference should be stated *in the footnote*:

The New York Times, 16. 5. 2009: Two Studies tie Disaster Risk to Urban Growth, 3.

In the list of sources and bibliography the name of the newspaper. Place, publisher, years of publication.

E.g.:

The New York Times. New York, H.J. Raymond & Co., 1857–.

11. The list of **sources and bibliography** is a mandatory part of the article. Bibliographical data should be cited as follows:

- Description of a non-serial publication – a book:

Author (year of publication): Title. Place, Publisher.

E.g.:

Darovec, D., Kamin Kajfež, V. & M. Vovk (2010): Among the monuments of Izola : art history guide to the cultural heritage of Izola. Koper, Annales Press.

If there are *more than two authors*, you can also use et al.:

(Darovec et al., 2010)

If citing an excerpt from a non-serial publication, you should also add the number of page from which the citation is taken after the year.

- Description of an article published in a **non-serial publication** – e.g. an article from a collection of papers:

Author (year of publication): Title of article. In:

Author of publication: Title of publication. Place, Publisher, pages from-to. E.g.:

Muir, E. (2013): The Anthropology of Venice. In: Dursteler, E. (ed.): A Companion to Venetian History. Leiden - Boston, Brill, 487-511.

- Description of an article from a **serial publication**:

Author (year of publication): Title of article. Title of serial publication, yearbook, number, pages from-to. E.g.:

Faričić, J. & L. Mirošević (2014): Artificial Peninsulas and Pseudo-Islands of Croatia. Annales, Ser hist. et sociol., 24, 2, 113-128.

- Description of an **oral source**:

Informant (year of transmission): Name and surname of informant, year of birth, role, function or position. Manner of transmission. Form and place of data storage. E.g.:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, born 1930, priest in Vižinada. Oral history. Audio recording held by the author.

- Description of an **internet source**:

If possible, the internet source should be cited in the same manner as an article. What you should add is the website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis):

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf) (15. 9. 2008).

If the author is unknown, you should cite the organization that set up the website, year of publication, title and subtitle of text, website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis).

If there are more citations by the same author(s), you should list them in the alphabetical order of the authors' surnames and year of publication.

12. The **abbreviations** should *be explained* when they first appear in the *text*. You can also add a *list of their explanations at the end of the article*.

13. The title of a **review article** should contain the following data: author of the publication reviewed, title of publication, address, place, publisher, year of publication and number of pages (or the appropriate description given in Item 10).

14. The authors are sent the **first page proofs**. They should be returned to the editorial board within a week.

It is not allowed to lengthen the text during proof-reading. Second proof-reading is done by the editorial board.

15. For additional information regarding article publication contact the editorial board.

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