

jam na Kranjskem delujočih flamskih in holandskih slikarjev druge polovice XVII. stoletja, *Acta historiae artis Slovenica*, II, 1997, pp. 33–52), ki ob številnih novih arhivskih podatkih o flamskih in nizozemskih slikarjih na Kranjskem popravlja tudi edino letnico, po kateri se je časovno opredeljevalo Almanachovo bivanje v teh krajih: njegova, danes izgubljena portreta zakoncev Erberg, namreč nista nastala leta 1667, ampak gotovo šele leta 1676 (LUBEJ, op. cit., p. 44).

V zgodovino slikarstva 17. stoletja Stoparjeva knjiga tako razen nekaj zmede žal ne prinaša nič novega. Upamo pa, da bo spodbudila nove raziskave celjskega stropa, ki bi natančneje opredelile avtorstvo in datacijo, ter nadaljevanje študija grajskih poslikav poznega 17. stoletja.

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**TOMBSTONES OF CELEBRATED PERSONS
IN THE FUNCTION OF PUBLIC MONUMENT
IN 19TH CENTURY SLOVENE CEMETERIES***

The point at which the focus of the tombstone and the public monument meet is the homage paid to a celebrated person and the simultaneous preservation of his or her memory. The idea of a monument, erected in a public place and dedicated to all kinds of nationally important personalities, strengthened with the rise of the bourgeoisie after the French Revolution and even more after 1848, expanding into the bourgeois cult of monuments in the final third of the 19th century. The need to erect monuments, particularly to illustrious cultural and scientific figures, was clearly demonstrated in Germany partly before and generally after 1848 as one of the most prestigious methods of self-assertion of the educated bourgeois. Because the educated bourgeois were also the standard bearers of the national idea, such monuments were simultaneously national monuments or (to quote Thomas Nipperdey) “national-cultural” monuments. In line with the cult of the poet, the liberal bourgeoisie identified itself primarily in the poet himself. After 1848, when the nations of the Habsburg Monarchy also began to follow German models, the monument to the poet represented a symbol of national identity; it embodied the national idea, national and national-cultural consciousness, and bourgeois political self-confidence at the same time.

The prevailing cult of monuments also invaded the cemeteries. The tombstones of more or less important personalities acquired monumental proportions, and some of them were granted the formal role of monument. The tombstone became the symbol through which the bourgeoisie asserted itself, demonstrated its social and financial status, glorified itself and paid tribute to

its great representatives. I would like to emphasise here that the development of funerary art and the art of monument was parallel. With its orientation towards individualism and historicism in the Romantic period, classicist architectural tombstones were replaced by sepulchral sculpture. As with monuments, the most important role here was played by the rendering of an individual. Through the portrait itself, in the form of either a bust or a portrait medallion, tombstones acquired monumental dimensions. In short, a public monument and not a tombstone prevailed as the most important public presentation and affirmation of a famous personality, because the cemetery was only a semi-public place. According to Antoinette Le Normand-Romain, demands to set up a public monument, not just a tombstone, appeared in France even before the middle of the century. After mid-century, a tombstone as well as a public monument was set up. It then became the practice – if it was impossible to erect a monument in a public place, because the person in question was either of minor importance, or it was politically inappropriate – that the tombstone took over the character of the monument. Whereas other tombstones were primarily commissioned by families, the erection of such tombstones – as with monuments – was subject to the establishment of committees, and contributions were solicited from the public at large.

The Habsburg Monarchy of the pre-March period, as a conglomerate of nations, was already defined by “linguistic nationalism”, by nations (including the Slovenes) striving for their emancipation and by issues of their national cultural identity. Along with state (Austrian) patriotism, the Slovenes – in spite of the opposition of the regime – also slowly developed a modern national consciousness. Generally speaking, provincial patriotism prevailed, which was an important factor in the process of emancipation of the nations in the Monarchy. Around the beginning of the 1840s, a class of nationally-conscious Slovene educated bourgeois started to form, which became the bearer of the political and national movement. It played a decisive role in national emancipation, in the development of the Slovene national idea and in the strengthening of the national cultural consciousness and self-confidence in the period up to 1914. After 1848, the Slovenes also achieved political affirmation in the Monarchy, through an active Slovene national-political movement. Throughout the period before the First World War, they had to face more or less constant issues, from economic and social ones, to issues arising from linguistic inequality (in most provinces, German and Italian prevailed as official languages) and from ethnic division resulting from the administrative division of the Slovene lands into provinces, ranging from national differentiation and painful German nationalism to slow urbanisation, industrialisation and the growth of a capitalist bourgeoisie. Naturally, the Slovenes strove all this time for the affirmation of the Slovene identity and the Slovene language as the basis of the formation of a national identity – particularly in opposition to the

German language – and dedicated themselves to raising the level and status of culture and education.

Whereas the generally scarce public monuments of the pre-March period primarily conveyed provincial and country patriotism, the modern national consciousness presented itself in the erection of tombstones to personalities that reinforced the Slovene national and cultural identity. The memories of the poet Valentin Vodnik, the philologist Matija Čop, and the playwright and historian Anton T. Linhart were honoured by placing their tombstones in the municipal cemetery of Ljubljana in 1840. The nationally conscious liberal poet, France Prešeren, composed an epitaph in Slovene for Čop and Linhart, and selected verses from one of his own poems for Vodnik. Finally, the Slovene language affirmed itself, which was never to be found in inscriptions on public monuments from that period and was even rarely found on tombstones of the time. The neoclassicist tombstones of these three great Slovenes still cannot be said to function as public monuments, but they certainly show obvious monumental pretensions.

Ljubljana was the centre of the most Slovene province, Carniola. It was here after 1848 that all attention was paid to the erection of public monuments to Slovenes deserving the gratitude of their nation. Through them, the Slovenes – and consequently also liberal, educated, bourgeoisie – would be affirmed. The personalities with whom they identified were the poets Vodnik and, especially, Prešeren, who became a national poet, a national myth, towards the end of the century. As late as the late 1880s, the Slovenes, due to unfavourable political, economic and cultural conditions, were unsuccessful in realising most major monumental projects. However, in slowly developing urban cemeteries, monumental tombstones to Slovenes that had contributed to Slovene literature, culture and science started to appear in increasing numbers. At the same time, the Slovenes began to set up tombstones to figures that were important for their national cultural identity and political affirmation. These functioned as public monuments. They were compensation for the lack in the area of monuments. Among the selected personalities we find national political leaders although, as with the art of monuments, poets and writers took precedence. Such a practice can also be seen in the other nations of the Monarchy; among the Czechs, for example. Initiatives for the erection of such tombstones came from the same circles as for monuments. Committees were formed, in most cases within cultural and literary societies. The collection of donations was a broad public activity, and they were inaugurated with appropriate Slovene national celebrations. All of this was an explicit presentation of Slovene national political and national cultural consciousness and self-confidence. Through their form, as well as with the portrait of the deceased or their size, the tombstones were given a monumental imprint, and a national imprint through the inscriptions in Slovene and the declarative contents.

The first tombstone to adopt the character of a monument was that of Prešeren. The campaign to honour the poet with a prestigious tombstone lasted three years, from the poet's death to 1852, when the tombstone in the Kranj cemetery was inaugurated and unveiled with a ceremony appropriate for a public monument. Two components occurred here, unknown in practice until then: a special committee was formed for the occasion and appeals for contributions were addressed to the public at large. A column-type memorial was selected, with elements of neo-Romanesque style that, in contrast to the neo-Gothic as a German style, was considered to be a Slovene or Slavic style. The memorial related to the Slovene tradition of sacral monuments. The national emphasis thus emerged in the form of the tombstone, as well as in the Slovene dedication and selected verses of the poet. In the 1870s two more tombstones were created as public monuments. Through a collection of contributions, a special committee had a tombstone erected to the poet Simon Jenko in the Kranj cemetery. It was unveiled with a national ceremony. The tombstone is larger than Prešeren's, its quotations from Romanesque formal vocabulary are more expressive and, in addition to the obligatory lyre, it is adorned with the poet's portrait. The collection of contributions for the tombstone for Anton Tomšič, the first Slovene professional journalist and a central figure of the political and national movement in Slovene Styria, was a successful national political campaign. The tombstone in the form of an obelisk was set up in the cemetery in Maribor. Today it stands as a public monument in the town centre. In 1881 a special board, with the help of contributions, set up a tombstone in neo-Greek style, over three meters high, for the author Josip Jurčič in the municipal cemetery in Ljubljana. The solemn inauguration was reported by all the newspapers of the day. The fashioning of these tombstones was entrusted exclusively to local master stone cutters and sculptors. With Jenko and Jurčič, the inscriptions with selected quotations from their works relate to national emancipation, whereas with Tomšič the inscription "To the brave champion of freedom and progress of the Slovene nation" also has a "revolutionary" connotation. In each case, Slovene patriots or the Slovene nation are cited as the initiators of the tombstones. None of the three men received a public monument in the period in question.

The cult of monuments, as bourgeois public monuments to various worthy persons, through which – as a distinguishable sign – towns, major and minor municipalities and regions present and affirm themselves, started spreading towards the end of the 19th century and before the First World War. The most important national monuments are those to Vodnik (inaugurated in 1889) and Prešeren (inaugurated in 1905) in Ljubljana. They serve the political affirmation of the Slovene liberal bourgeoisie and simultaneously a confirmation of the city of Ljubljana as the cultural and political capital. Slovene Styria, in particular, also produced monuments that conveyed a pro-German consciousness.

In a similar way, bourgeois funerary art flourished, along with sepulchral sculpture. The richest and the most prestigious art was found for the most part in the economically developed major urban centres of Ljubljana, Maribor, Celje and Koper, and naturally also in Trieste. Considering that during this time the Slovenes could and did realise monumental projects, the character of public monument was mostly held by tombstones erected to such personalities that were considered to be nationally and politically controversial. It is understandable that only a tombstone and not a public monument could be considered upon the death of the poet Simon Gregorčič, who underlined the Slovene national idea in his patriotic poems, and especially resistance to German oppression. In Gorizia a committee for a monument started collecting donations, announced a public competition and then commissioned the monument from a fellow countryman, the sculptor Anton Bitežnik. On an obelisk-type stele, Bitežnik combined a portrait medallion and a selected presentation of Gregorčič's poems, symbolising the struggle of Slovenes for emancipation. The monument was erected in the cemetery near the poet's native village, Vrsno, and was unveiled in 1908, with great national celebration. This was a manifestation of the Slovene liberal bourgeoisie in the Gorizia area and its national cultural and national political consciousness. The erection of a tombstone to the September victims as a public monument, because of its explicit national political character, was however impossible during the monarchy. In the decade prior to the First World War, national conflict between German and Slovene urban populations, especially in Carinthia and Slovene Styria, escalated into demonstrations and clashes. Furthermore, in September 1908, there were two fatalities in Ljubljana in anti-German demonstrations. Immediately afterwards, a special national committee invited entries to a public competition for a monument to them. The sculptor selected, Svetoslav Peruzzi, completed a marble female figure and bronze relief medallion with a double portrait of the young men, which was to adorn the cover of the sepulchre, in Vienna in 1910. Only in 1933 was the sculpture placed on the tomb of the two victims in the municipal cemetery in Ljubljana. The stylised and simplified statue, reminiscent of a grooved column, enjoys monumental quality. The figure was called by contemporaries the "Genius of Slovenia". It is a personification of sadness, and an allegory of the nation: Slovenia mourning her sons.

(Prevedla Tatjana Culiberg)

* *Preliminarna verzija besedila za zbornik referatov na mednarodnem kolokviju Mémoire sculptée de l'Europe et de ses aires d'influence XVII^e – XX^e siècle, ki je bil od 3. do 4. decembra 2001 v Strasbourgu. V zborniku bo objavljeno razširjeno in z znanstvenim aparatom opremljeno besedilo v francoščini.*

V referatu obravnavam nagrobnik slavnim osebnostim v vlogi javnega spomenika na slovenskih pokopališčih v 19. stoletju. Glede na to, da je jedro stičišča nagrobnika z javn-

im spomenikom v počastitvi slavne osebnosti in obenem ohranjanju spomina nanjo, najprej predstavim spomeniško dejavnost v nemških deželah po letu 1848. Nato opozorim na sočasno prakso v Franciji, namreč, da je, v kolikor spomenika na javnem prostoru niso mogli postaviti, bodisi zato, ker je bila izbrana osebnost manj pomembna, bodisi zato, ker je bila politično neprimerna, nagrobnik prevzel značaj spomenika. Potem ko so po letu 1848 tudi narodi v habsburški monarhiji začeli slediti nemškimi vzorom, je javni spomenik zaslužni osebnosti – predvsem pesniku, veljal kot simbol nacionalne identitete, v njem se je utelešala nacionalna ideja, nacionalna in nacionalno kulturna zavest in obenem meščanska politična samozavest. Vse obvladujoči spomeniški kult, ki se je razširil zlasti v zadnji tretjini 19. stoletja, je prodril tudi na pokopališča, in nagrobniki bolj ali manj pomembnih osebnosti so imeli spomeniške pretenzije, nekaterim pa so dodelili vlogo spomenika. Na Slovenskem v predmarčni dobi sta se pri redkih javnih spomenikih izražala predvsem deželni in državni patriotizem, moderna nacionalna zavest pa se je prezentirala v postavljanju nagrobnikov za slovensko nacionalno in kulturno identiteto zaslužnim osebnostim. Nagrobniki Vodnika, Čopa in Linhartarja iz leta 1840 na mestnem pokopališču v Ljubljani imajo očitne spomeniške pretenzije, v epitafih pa se uveljavi slovenščina. Slovenci tja do poznih osemdesetih let 19. stoletja zaradi neugodnih političnih, gospodarskih in kulturnih razmer niso uspeli realizirati večino večjih spomeniških projektov. Na počasi razvijajočih se urbanih pokopališčih pa narodno zavedno izobražensko meščanstvo začne postavljati nagrobnike za nacionalno kulturno identiteto in narodno politično afirmacijo pomembnim osebnostim, ki so imeli funkcijo javnega spomenika. Bili so nadomestilo za primankljaj na spomeniškem področju. Med izbranci najdemo narodno politične voditelje, predvsem pa so tako kot pri spomeniški umetnosti prednjačili pesniki oziroma pisatelji. Za postavitev takšnih nagrobnikov so prišle pobude iz istih krogov kot za spomenike, ustanavljali so odbore, največkrat v okviru kulturnih in literarnih društev, zbiranje prispevkov je bila široka javna akcija, odkrili pa so jih z ustreznimi slovenskimi narodnimi slovesnostmi (nagrobnik pesnikoma F. Prešernu in S. Jenku v Kranju, pisatelju J. Jurčiču v Ljubljani, časnikarju in političnemu voditelju A. Tomšiču v Mariboru). V vsem tem se je izrazilo prezentirala slovenska nacionalno politična in nacionalno kulturna zavest in samozavest. Z obliko, tudi s portretom pokojnega ali z velikostjo, so nagrobnikom vtisnili spomeniški pečat, nacionalnega pa z napisi v slovenskem jeziku in deklarativno vsebino. Pri vseh so kot postavitelji navedeni slovenski patrioti oziroma slovenski narod. Jenko, Jurčič in Tomšič v obravnavanem obdobju niso dobili javnega spomenika. Glede na to, da so Slovenci proti koncu 19. stoletja in v času pred I. svetovno vojno lahko uresničili in uresničevali zastavljene spomeniške projekte, so imeli značaj javnega spomenika predvsem nagrobniki postavljeni takšnim osebnostim, ki so veljali za nacionalno politično sporne (nagrobnik pesniku S. Gregorčiča pri Sv. Lovrencu na Libušnjem iz leta 1908). Postavitev nagrobnika kot javnega spomenika dvema mladeničema, ki sta padla v protinemških demonstracijah v Ljubljani septembra 1908 pa zaradi svojega izrazito nacionalno političnega značaja v monarhiji sploh ni bila možna. Projekt so lahko realizirali šele leta 1933 in kip »Genij Slovenije« postavili na grob obeh žrtev na mestnem pokopališču v Ljubljani.