

ANNALES

Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije
Annali di Studi istriani e mediterraneei
Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies
Series Historia et Sociologia, 30, 2020, 2





ANNALES

Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije
Annali di Studi istriani e mediterranei
Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies

Series Historia et Sociologia, 30, 2020, 2

**UREDNIŠKI ODBOR/
COMITATO DI REDAZIONE/
BOARD OF EDITORS:**

Roderick Bailey (UK), Simona Bergoč, Furio Bianco (IT), Alexander Cherkasov (RUS), Lucija Čok, Lovorka Čoralčić (HR), Darko Darovec, Goran Filipi (HR), Devan Jagodic (IT), Vesna Mikolič, Luciano Monzali (IT), Aleksej Kalc, Avgust Lešnik, John Martin (USA), Robert Matijašič (HR), Darja Mihelič, Edward Muir (USA), Vojislav Pavlović (SRB), Peter Pirker (AUT), Claudio Povolò (IT), Marijan Premović (ME), Andrej Rahten, Vida Rožac Darovec, Mateja Sedmak, Lenart Škof, Marta Verginella, Špela Verovšek, Tomislav Vignjević, Paolo Wulzer (IT), Salvator Žitko

**Glavni urednik/Redattore capo/
Editor in chief:**

Darko Darovec

**Odgovorni urednik/Redattore
responsabile/Responsible Editor:**

Salvator Žitko

Urednika/Redattori/Editors:

Urška Lampe, Gorazd Bajc

**Gostujoča urednica/Editore ospite/
Guest Editor:**

Aniko Noemi Turi

Prevajalci/Traduttori/Translators:

Petra Berlot (it.)

**Oblikovalec/Progetto grafico/
Graphic design:**

Dušan Podgornik, Darko Darovec

Tisk/Stampa/Print:

Založništvo PADRE d.o.o.

Založnika/Editori/Published by:

Zgodovinsko društvo za južno Primorsko - Koper / *Società storica del Litorale - Capodistria*© / Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja / *Institute IRRIS for Research, Development and Strategies of Society, Culture and Environment / Istituto IRRIS di ricerca, sviluppo e strategie della società, cultura e ambiente*©

**Sedež uredništva/Sede della redazione/
Address of Editorial Board:**

SI-6000 Koper/Capodistria, Garibaldijeva/Via Garibaldi 18
e-mail: annaleszdjp@gmail.com, **internet:** https://zdjp.si

Redakcija te številke je bila zaključena 30. 6. 2020.

**Sofinancirajo/Supporto finanziario/
Financially supported by:**

Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS), Mestna občina Koper

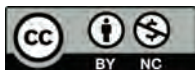
Annales - Series Historia et Sociologia izhaja štirikrat letno.

Maloprodajna cena tega zvezka je 11 EUR.

Naklada/Tiratura/Circulation: 300 izvodov/copie/copies

Revija *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia* je vključena v naslednje podatkovne baze / *La rivista Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia è inserita nei seguenti data base / Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in:* Clarivate Analytics (USA); Arts and Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI) in/and Current Contents / Arts & Humanities; IBZ, Internationale Bibliographie der Zeitschriftenliteratur (GER); Sociological Abstracts (USA); Referativnyi Zhurnal Viniti (RUS); European Reference Index for the Humanities and Social Sciences (ERIH PLUS); Elsevier B. V.: SCOPUS (NL); Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ).

To delo je objavljeno pod licenco / *Quest'opera è distribuita con Licenza / This work is licensed under a Creative Commons BY-NC 4.0.*



Navodila avtorjem in vsi članki v barvni verziji so prosto dostopni na spletni strani: <https://zdjp.si>.
Le norme redazionali e tutti gli articoli nella versione a colori sono disponibili gratuitamente sul sito: https://zdjp.si/it/.
The submission guidelines and all articles are freely available in color via website http://zdjp.si/en/.



VSEBINA / INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS

- Pavel Jamnik, Borut Toškan, Matija Križnar, Tjaša Tolar & Bruno Blažina:** Jama Globoška peč, novo paleontološko in paleolitsko najdišče na Kraškem robu – rezultati poskusnega vkopa v plasti 177
La grotta Globoška peč, un nuovo sito paleontologico e paleolitico sul Ciglionc carsico – risultati del saggio stratigrafico preliminare
The Globoška peč Cave, a New Paleonthological and Paleolithic Site on the Karst edge – Results of the Experimental Trial Excavation
- Stanko Flego & Lidija Rupel:** I siti romani di Boccadino e Braida (Duino-Aurisina, Trieste): due ricerche di Ludwig Karl Moser ignorate dagli studiosi 201
Roman Sites Boccadino and Braida (Duino-Aurisina, Trieste): Two Researches of Ludwig Karl Moser Ignored by Academics
Antični najdišči Bokadin in Brajde (Devin-Nabrežina, Trst): dve spregledani raziskavi Ludwiga Karla Moserja
- Ladislav Placer:** Kulturno in zgodovinsko sporočilo Milanje (Slovenija) 215
Messaggio culturale e storico di Milanja (Slovenia)
Cultural and Historical Significance of the Milanja (Slovenia)
- Jurij Selan:** Kako govori likovni jezik? Analiza položajev in smeri v likovnih delih iz zbirke Narodne galerije Slovenije 235
Come parla il linguaggio dell'arte? Analisi delle posizioni e direzioni nelle opere d'arte della Galleria Nazionale Slovena
How does the Language of Visual Art Speak? Analysis of Positions and Directions in Artworks of the National Gallery of Slovenia
- Zoran Vaupot:** Foreign Direct Investments, Cultural Heritage and Public-Private Partnership: A better Approach for Investors? 261
Investimenti diretti esteri, patrimonio culturale e partenariato pubblico-privato: un approccio migliore per gli investitori? Tuje neposredne naložbe, kulturna dediščina in javno-zasebno partnerstvo: boljši pristop za vlagatelje?
- Daniela Angelina Jelinčič & Sanja Tišma:** Ex-Ante Evaluation of Heritage Management Plans: Prerequisite for Achieving Sustainability 275
Valutazione ex ante dei piani di gestione del patrimonio: prerequisiti della sostenibilità
Ex-ante vrednotenje načrtov upravljanja dediščine: predpogoj za doseganje trajnosti

Jasna Fakin Bajec: An Integrated Approach to the Revitalization, Safeguarding and Management of Cultural Heritage: How to Establish a Durable and Active Local Group of Stakeholders 285	Veselin Mićanović, Nada Šakotić & Dijana Vučković: Utemeljenje i razvitak osnovnog školstva i obrazovanja učitelja u Crnoj gori od početka XIX. stoljeća do 1916. godine 313
<i>Un approccio integrato alla rivitalizzazione, alla salvaguardia e alla gestione del patrimonio culturale: come creare una comunità locale permanente e attiva?</i>	<i>Fondazione e sviluppo dell'istruzione elementare e della formazione dei maestri in Montenegro dall'inizio del XIX secolo al 1916</i>
<i>Celostni pristop k revitalizaciji, varovanju in upravljanju kulturne dediščine: kako ustvariti trajno in aktivno lokalno skupnost?</i>	<i>Začetki in razvoj osnovnega šolstva in izobraževanja osnovnošolskih učiteljev v Črni gori od začetka 19. stoletja do leta 1916</i>
Borbála Gondos & Gábor Wirth: The Role of Nádasdy Castle in Tourism of Sárvár – the Appearance of Disabled People in Cultural Tourism 301	Petr Scholz: Development of Football Fandom after 1989: Evidence from Czechia 323
<i>Il ruolo del castello di Nádasdy nel turismo di Sárvár – l'aspetto dei disabili nel turismo culturale</i>	<i>Sviluppo della tifoseria calcistica dopo il 1989: l'esempio della Cechia</i>
<i>Vloga Nadasdijskega gradu v turizmu mesta Sárvár – vidik oseb s posebnimi potrebami v kulturnem turizmu</i>	<i>Razvoj nogometnega navijaštva po letu 1989: primer Češke</i>
	Kazalo k slikam na ovitku 342
	Indice delle foto di copertina 342
	Index to images on the cover 342

JAMA GLOBOŠKA PEČ, NOVO PALEONTOLOŠKO IN PALEOLITSKO NAJDIŠČE NA KRAŠKEM ROBU – REZULTATI POSKUSNEGA VKOPA V PLASTI

Pavel JAMNIK

Kočna 5, 4273 Blejska Dobrava, Slovenija
e-mail: pavel.jamnik@telemach.net

Borut TOŠKAN

ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo, Novi trg 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: borut.toskan@zrc-sazu.si

Matija KRIŽNAR

Prirodoslovni muzej Slovenije, Prešernova 20, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: mkriznar@pms-lj.si

Tjaša TOLAR

ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za arheologijo, Novi trg 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: tjasa.tolar@zrc-sazu.si

Bruno BLAŽINA

Jenkova cesta 16, 6230 Postojna, Slovenija
E-mail: bruno.blazina@gmail.com

IZVLEČEK

Predstavljamo novo paleontološko in paleolitsko najdišče v jami Globoška peč nad Dolom pri Hrastovljah v slovenski Istri. Iz dveh manjših vkopov smo iz le 94 kg sedimenta uspeli potrditi prisotnost 21 različnih živalskih vrst, nekaj oglja in semen/plodov rastlinskih vrst ter skupaj 68 elementov kamene industrije. Opravili smo kemične analize fosfatnih konkrecij, ki jih razložimo kot ostanek fosilizirane saponifikacije ob razpadu trupel. Začetek odlaganja plasti z najdbami umeščamo v čas pred nastopom zadnjega poledenitvenega sunka pred 26.000 leti, nadaljevalo pa se je verjetno vse do poznega glaciala. Ostanke kamenodobne kulture preliminarno umeščamo v čas gravettienske oziroma epigravittenske kulture.

Ključne besede: Kraški rob, jama Globoška peč, pleistocenska favna, mlajši paleolitik, konkrecije saponifikacije

LA GROTTA GLOBOŠKA PEČ, UN NUOVO SITO PALEONTOLOGICO E PALEOLITICO SUL CIGLIONE CARSIKO – RISULTATI DEL SAGGIO STRATIGRAFICO PRELIMINARE

SINTESI

Gli autori presentano un nuovo sito paleontologico e paleolitico, precisamente la grotta Globoška peč sopra Dol presso Hrastovlje nell'Istria slovena. In soli 94 kg di sedimenti sono stati individuati ben 21 tipi diversi di fauna, frammenti di carbone, semi/frutti e 68 manufatti litici. Sono state eseguite analisi chimiche sulle concrezioni fosfatiche, interpretate come resti di saponificazione fossile, conseguenza della decomposizione dei corpi. La formazione dello strato archeologico si colloca prima dell'inizio dell'ultimo periodo glaciale, circa 26000 anni fa e continua verosimilmente sino al Tardiglaciale. I manufatti litici vengono attribuiti preliminarmente all'orizzonte culturale Gravettiano ovvero Epigravettiano.

Parole chiave: Ciglione carsico, grotta Globoška peč, fauna pleistocenica, Paleolitico superiore, concrezioni saponifiche

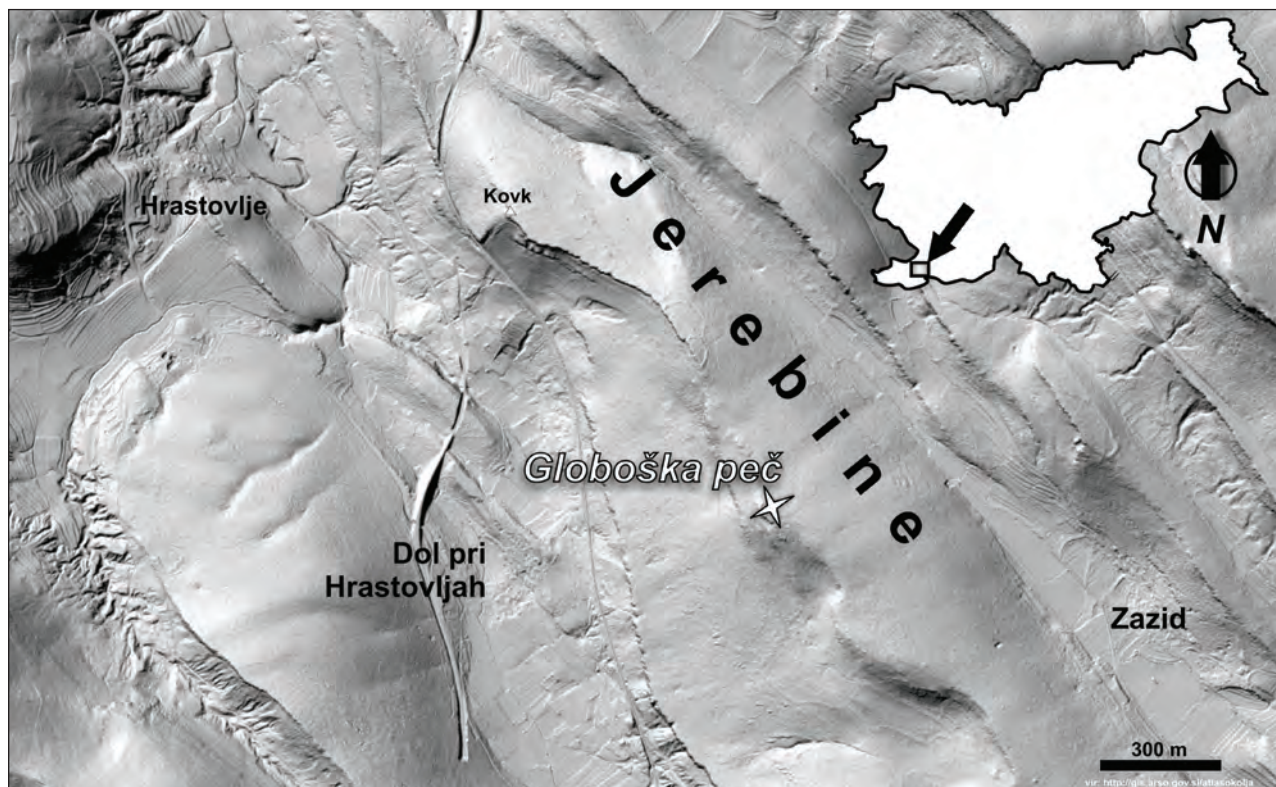
UVOD

V okviru projekta *Dokumentiranje najdišč jamskega medveda v Sloveniji*, ki ga v Prirodoslovnem muzeju Slovenije v okviru Kustodiata za geologijo izvaja kustos mag. Matija Križnar, smo P. Jamnik, B. Blažina in M. Križnar novembra 2017 poiskali do takrat v katastru jam nepoznano jamo, oziroma točneje, previs, ostanek nekdanjega večjega jamskega sistema, ki ga domačini v Zazidu poznajo pod imenom Globoška peč. Jama se nahaja pod vrhom hriba Jerebine, med Zazidom in Dolom pri Hrastovljah (slika 1). Zanj nam je že leta 2012 povedal domačin Dino Kocjančič iz Dola pri Hrastovljah. Omenil je, da naj bi se med vojno v njej skrivali partizani, še kot otroci pa so na jamskih tleh našli velik zob. Ker je podatek o najdbi zoba nakazoval možnost, da so se v jami morda ohranili tudi fosilni kostni ostanki, se nam je zdelo informacijo vredno preveriti.

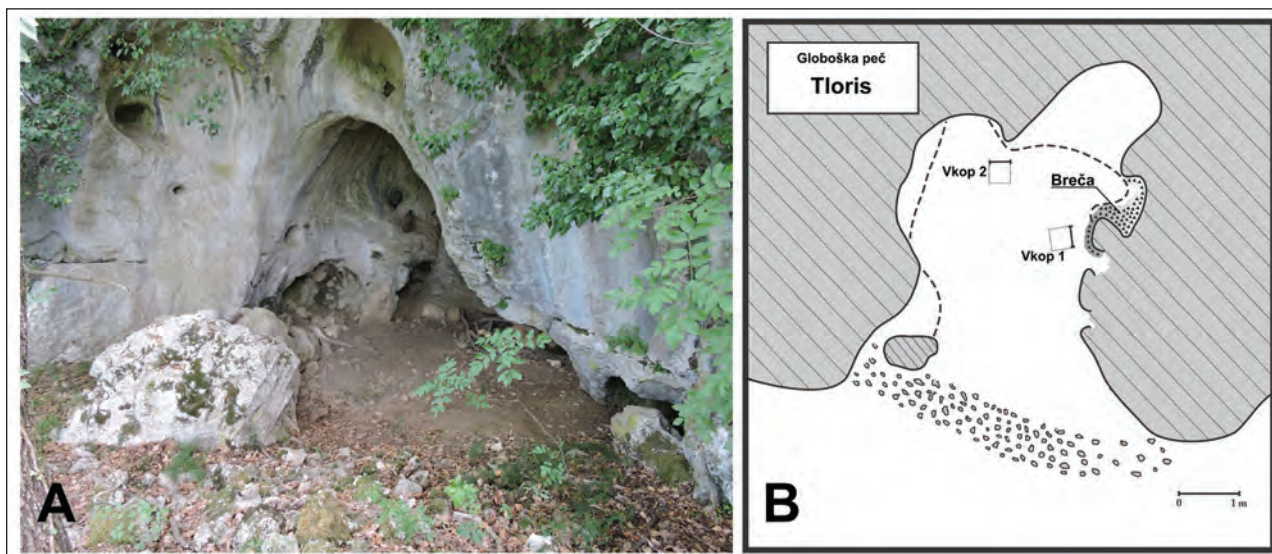
Članek, ki sledi je nastal kot paleontološka raziskava omenjenega projekta. Ker smo, kasneje ob analizi sedimentov v katerih je bilo paleontološko (fosilno) gradivo, našli tudi nekaj kosov kamnitega orodja, v predstavitev rezultatov analize vključujemo tudi arheološke najdbe. Vse gradivo je shranjeno v

Prirodoslovnem muzeju Slovenije kot celota, skladno z ravnanjem s premično naravno (muzejsko) dediščino in tam tudi dosegljivo raziskovalcem.

Na območju Kraškega roba in pod njim, od Socerba do Movraža, je znanih 14 jam z ostanki pleistocenske favne: Sveta jama pri Socerbu (Leben, 1978), Kamnolom v Črnotičah (Bosak et al., 1999; Mihevc, 2001; Jamnik et al., 2013), zasuta brezna na zgornji in srednji terasi črnokalskega kamnoloma (Pohar & Pavlovec, 1997; Pohar & Kralj, 2002; Jamnik et al., 2013; Križnar & Preisinger, 2017), s sedimenti zapolnjena jama ob vhodu v kamnolom Črni kal (Rakovec, 1958; Pohar & Pavlovec, 1997; Pohar & Kralj, 2002; Jamnik et al., 2013), ki je tudi paleolitsko najdišče (Brodar, 1958; Jamnik et al., 2013), Jama pod gradom nad Podpečjo (Župančič, 1990, 21), Jama pod Škorjašco (Turk, 1982), Ladrica (Dirjec et al., 1992; Bernardini et al., 2014), Globoka jama (Jamnik & Blažina, 2019), Jama velikih podkovnjakov ali Bobalova jama (Pavšič & Turk, 1989; Turk & Saksida, 1990; Dirjec et al., 1992), Ločka jama (Müller, 1914; Lepori 1937; Brodar, 1960–1961; Jamnik & Blažina, 2019), Jama v gradu (Župančič, 1990), jama Brežec 3 (Dirjec, 2001), Podrta jama pred Senico (neobjavljeno) in Partizanska jama (Jamnik et al., 2015).



Slika 1: Lokacija Globoške peči pod vrhom Jerebine nad Dolom pri Hrastovljah (Vir: Arso; izdelava karte: M. Križnar).
Image 1: Location of the Globoška peč cave under the peak of Jerebine and above Dol pri Hrastovljah (Source: Arso; Map design: M. Križnar).



Slika 2: Vhod v jamo Globoška peč in tloris jame z vrisanimi mesti poskusnih vkopov. Zapolnitev z brečo je v desnem stranskem rovu (Foto: P. Jamnik; risba: J. Jamnik).
Image 2: Entrance to the Globoška peč cave and the layout of the cave showing trial pits. A breccia in the right-side tunnel of the cave (Photo: P. Jamnik; Drawing: J. Jamnik).

Globoška peč, z lepo obokanim vhodom, ki je širok 7 metrov in visok do 6 metrov (slika 2A), se na nadmorski višini 435 metrov odpira tik pod vrhom jugozahodnega pobočja Jerebine. Pred vhodom je ostanek nekdanje suhozidne pregrade. Jamski prostor med kapom in zadnjo steno je dolg le dobrih 7 metrov in širok do 4 metre. Ohranjeni jamski prostor je ostanek starega vodnega odtoka, saj so na stenah še vidne stenške kotlice, ki v jamah nastajajo zaradi vrtničenja vodnih tokov (Slabe, 2014, 37).

Po prekinitvi odtoka vode so jamo začeli zapolnjevati avtohtoni in alohtoni sedimenti, ki so bili kasneje na območju današnjega vhoda vnovič denudirani, rovi v nadaljevanju jame pa so ostali zapolnjeni s sedimenti. Preostanek stare zapolnitve se je s časom sprijel v brečo, ki je ohranjena tudi na nekaterih delih sten v vhodnem delu jame (slika 3A). V breči so opazni fragmenti fosilnih kosti (sliki 3B in 3C).

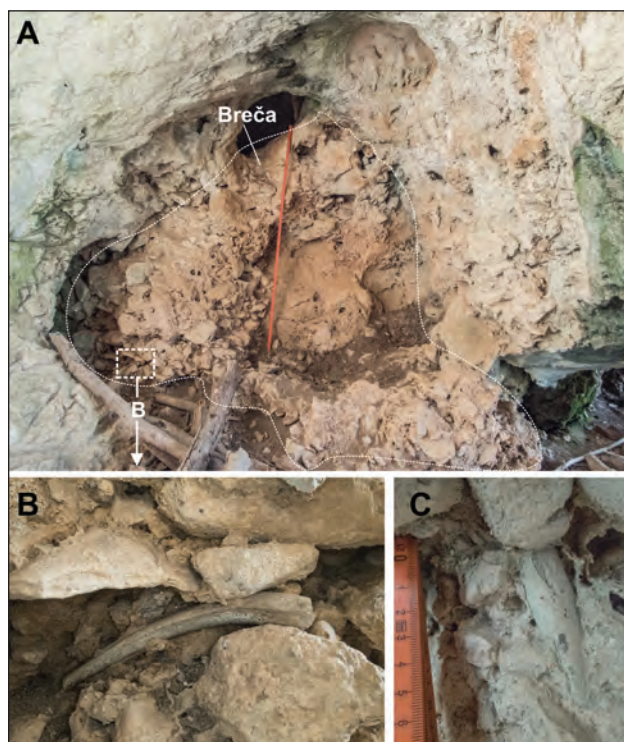
Jamska tla v vhodnem delu so popolnoma suh, ilovnato meljast sediment z nekaj kosi kamnov in skal ter koreninami, ki na nekaterih mestih rastejo v jamski prostor. Zaradi izdelave kurišč so bila tla verjetno večkrat, vsaj v vrhnjih 10–20 cm, prekopana oziroma premešana. Pri pregledu jamskega prostora smo že na površju opazili redke fragmente kosti. S kostno brečo zapolnjen rov na koncu jame in ostanki breče ob jamskih stenah so nakazovali, da je stara brečasta zapolnitev ohranjena tudi takoj pod suho, meljasto površinsko plastjo. Da bi to preverili, smo na dveh mestih naredili manjša vkopa dimenzij 40 x 50 cm (slika 2B). Pod površinsko plastjo, ki je debela do 20 cm, so v nasprotju s pričakovanji

vsaj do globine okoli 80 cm odloženi nesprijeti sedimenti s pleistocensko fosilno favno. Za poskus natančnejše časovne umestitve plasti smo iz obeh vkopov vzeli vzorce sedimenta za arheozoološke/arheobotanične analize. Z analizo iz presejkov pridobljenih podatkov se namreč možnost časovne umestitve sedimentacijskih dogajanj precej poveča (Toškan, 2015, 2016), zato smo si s to metodo pomagali tudi v Globoški peči. Vzorce smo presejali skozi sita z velikostjo odprtini 0,3 cm in 0,1 cm, iz ostanka sedimenta pa pod 130-kratno povečavo izločili, fosilne kosti in zobe malih in velikih sesalcev ter rastlinske ostanke, vključno z ogljem. Z njimi, predvsem z ostanki kosti malih sesalcev, ki so veliko boljši kazalec nekdanjih habitatov, kot to velja za velike sesalce (Toškan, 2012, 10), smo poskušali vsaj okvirno rekonstruirati klimatske pogoje, v katerih so se odlagale plasti, predvsem pa potrditi intaktnost ali premešanost plasti v poskusnih vkopih.

Pri sejanju smo našli tudi nekaj elementov kame-nodobne industrije. S tem je Globoška peč prepoznana tudi kot novo paleolitsko najdišče na območju Kraškega roba.

VZORČENJE PLASTI V VKOPIH

Vkop 1 smo do globine 60 cm izkopali ob desni jamski steni. Dva metra od prvega smo ob zadnji jamski steni naredili še vkop 2 do globine 70 cm (slika 2B). V obeh vkopih se pod suho, meljasto-gruščno vrhno plastjo jamskih tal, ki je debela do največ 20 cm in jo označujemo kot plast A, pojavijo klastični



Slika 3: A, z brečo zapolnjen rov nadaljevanja jame, B, C, fragmenti fosilnih kosti v breči (Foto: P. Jamnik, M. Križnar).

Image 3: A – Cave tunnel filled with breccia; B, C – Fossilised bone fragments in the breccia (Photo: P. Jamnik, M. Križnar).

jamski gruščnato ilovnati sedimenti svetlo rjave barve s posameznimi od stropa odpadlimi kosi skal. Sediment je suh in nesprjet. Po vizualnem vtisu gre za dve plasti, ki smo ju označili kot plast 1 in plast 2. Plast 1 je v vkopu 1 debela do 20 cm, v vkopu 2 pa do približno 25 cm. Pod njo se nadaljuje podobna plast 2, le da vsebuje nekoliko več ilovnate komponente. Ilovica je nekoliko bolj drobničasta in zlepljena, kar smo pripisali večji prepojenosti plasti s kalcijevim karbonatom. Pri obeh vkopih je debelina plasti 2 okoli 20 cm. V vkopu 2 smo na globini 60 cm naleteli na nekaj kosov skal, za katere glede na obseg vkopa ni mogoče ugotoviti, ali morda ne predstavljajo jamskega podora. Med in pod skalami se pojavi mastna ilovica skoraj brez grušča, zato smo ta del vkopa označili kot plast 3 (slika 4). Prvi fragmenti kosti se pojavijo že v vrhnji plasti A.

Za suho sejanje smo iz **vkopa 1** vzeli dva vzorca:

VZOREC 1: 27 kg sedimenta iz plasti 1 na globini od –25 do –35 cm. Po sejanju na sitih z odprtiniami velikosti 0,3 in 0,1 cm in odstranitvi kosov grušča je za pregled ostalo 7,9 kg sedimenta;

VZOREC 2: 24 kg sedimenta iz plasti 2 na globini

od –45 do –55 cm. Po sejanju na sitih z odprtiniami velikosti 0,3 in 0,1 cm in odstranitvi kosov grušča je za pregled ostalo 6,2 kg sedimenta.

Iz **vkopa 2** smo za mokro sejanje vzeli šest vzorcev: **VZOREC 1:** 12,8 kg sedimenta iz plasti 1, na globini od –15 do –30 cm. Po sejanju na sitih z odprtiniami velikosti 0,3 in 0,1 cm in odstranitvi kosov grušča je za pregled ostalo 3,4 kg sedimenta;

VZOREC 1/A: 8 kg sedimenta iz plasti 1, na globini od –25 do –35 cm. Po sejanju je za pregled ostalo 2,5 kg;

VZOREC 2: 11 kg sedimenta iz plasti 2, na globini od –35 do –45 cm. Po sejanju je za pregled ostalo 2,7 kg;

VZOREC 2/A: 4 kg sedimenta iz plasti 2 na globini od –40 do –50 cm. Za pregled je ostalo 1 kg;

VZOREC 3: 4 kg sedimenta iz plasti 3 na globini od –60 do –70 cm. Za pregled je ostalo 1 kg;

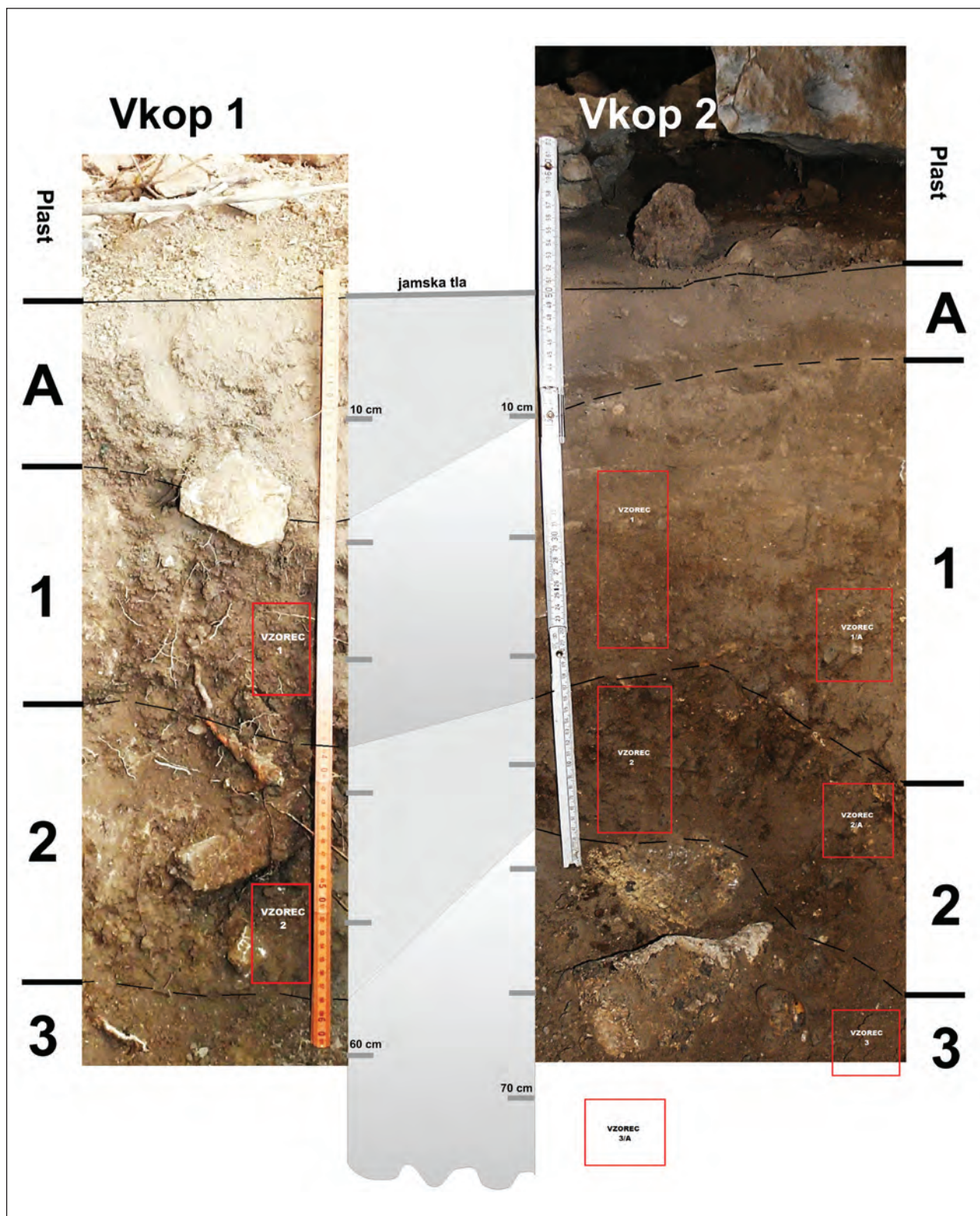
VZOREC 3/A: 2 kg sedimenta na globini od –70 do –80 cm (z dna vkopa). Za pregled je ostalo 0,3 kg.

Vzorčenje plasti je bilo minimalno, saj smo iz celotnega vkopa 1 vzeli skupno le 51 kg sedimenta in po sejanju dobili 14 kg presejka, iz vkopa 2 pa skupno 43 kg sedimenta, iz katerega smo dobili 10,9 kg presejka. Zaradi majhnih dimenzij vkopa vzorcev sedimenta nismo mogli jemati po nekaj centimetrskih reznjih, temveč smo v vkopu 1 vzorčili spodnje dele plasti 1 in 2, v vkopu 2 pa po enkrat celo plast 1 in 2 in po enkrat spodnje dele plasti 1, 2 in 3 (slika 4).

ŽIVALSKI KOSTNI OSTANKI

Iz posamezne plasti smo večje živalske ostanke izločili že med izkopom. Kasneje smo vzorce sedimenta mokro presejali skozi sito s premerom odprtin 0,3 cm, nato pa še skozi sito s premerom odprtin 0,1 cm. Ostanke z obeh sit smo pregledali pod 130-kratno povečavo in iz presejkov pobrali še vse fragmente, večje od 0,4 oziroma 0,1 cm. Čeprav skupna masa presejanih vzorcev sedimenta iz posamezne plasti ni bila enaka, se največja gostota ostankov nakazuje v plasti 1, najmanjša pa v plasti 3. To velja tako za vkop 1 kot tudi za vkop 2 (tabela 1).

Skupaj je bilo v izkopanem sedimentu odkritih 1.135 živalskih najdb, od katerih smo jih lahko taksonomsko opredelili 152 (tj. ≈ 13 %). Razmeroma skromna stopnja določljivosti je pričakovana in jo je treba pripisati izbranim načinom vzorčenja (tj. ročno pobiranje in sejanje), zaradi česar so bili lahko v analizo vpeljeni tudi številni večinoma nedoločljivi zobni in kostni drobci, manjši od 5 mm, ki bi bili sicer spregledani (prim. Toškan, 2015). Tovrstne najdbe imajo velik pomen za razumevanje tafonomske zgodovine gradiva, za taksonomsko analizo pa so praviloma nepomembne. Zgoraj omenjenih 152 opredeljenih živalskih najdb pripada najmanj 21 različnim vrstam iz 14 družin (tabeli 2 in 4).



Slika 4: Profil vkopa 1 in 2, z označenimi plastmi in mesti jemanja vzorcev za sejanje (Foto: P. Jamnik; obdelava: M. Križnar).

Image 4: Profiles of pits 1 and 2, with layer markers and locations of material collected for sifting (Photo: P. Jamnik; Photo design: M. Križnar).

Tabela 1: Število živalskih ostankov, pobranih iz posameznih plasti vkopov 1 in 2 v Globoški peči.
Table 1: Number of animal remains recovered from layers in pits 1 and 2 of the Globoška peč cave.

VKOP	PLAST/ VZOREC	TEŽA PRESEJKA	SKUPNA TEŽA PRESEJKA V PLASTI	ŠTEVILO FRAGMENTOV > 1,5 mm V VZORCU	ŠTEVILO FRAGMENTOV KOSTI IN ZOB < 1,5 mm V PLASTI IN VZORCU	SKUPAJ
1	Plast 1 Vzorec 1	7,9 kg	7,9 kg	315	71 (2 zoba)	388
	Plast 2 Vzorec 2	6,2 kg	6,2 kg	120	68 (14 zob)	202
2	Plast 1 Vzorec 1	3,4 kg	5,9 kg	89	89 (13 zob)	332
	Plast 1 Vzorec 1/A	2,5 kg		141		
	Plast 2 Vzorec 2	2,7 kg	3,7 kg	91	38 (6 zob)	195
	Plast 2 Vzorec 2/A	1 kg		54		
	Plast 3 Vzorec 3	1,2 kg	1,5 kg	6	5	18
	Plast 3 Vzorec 3/a	0,3 kg		7		

Najbolje zastopana vrsta v analiziranem gradivu je jamski medved (*Ursus spelaeus* s. l.), ki mu je bila pripisana skoraj tretjina vseh taksonomsko opredeljenih najdb oziroma dobra polovica taksonomsko opredeljenih najdb velikih sesalcev. Pri tem je treba sicer opozoriti, da vključuje zbir ostankov iz plasti 1 tudi posamezne razmeroma gracilne primerke medvedjih kosti, ki bi načeloma utegnili pripadati rjavemu medvedu (*Ursus arctos*). Nasprotno naj bi bil na podlagi razpoložljivih metričnih podatkov v plasti 2 zastopan zgolj jamski medved (slika 5).

Znatno delež medvedjih ostankov pripada mladim živalim¹ (tabela 3), kar ob ugotovitvi o zastopanosti različnih anatomskih regij nakazuje, da med najdbami verjetno prevladujejo ostanki naravno poginulih živali. Skladna s tem je ugotovitev o odsotnosti kosti s kakršnimi koli sledmi človekovega delovanja (urezi, zasekanine) in/ali odtisi živalskih zob. Primerke medvedje spodnje čeljustnice iz spodnjega dela plasti 2 v vkopu 1 je bil sicer zdrobljen na (najmanj) 28 bolj ali manj velikih odlomkov, vendar je do fragmentacije prišlo postsedimentno, torej neodvisno od dejavnosti nekdanjih obiskovalcev jame (slika 6).

V zadnjih letih je bilo z arheogenomskimi raziskavami na jamskih medvedjih mlajšepleistocenske starosti prepoznanih najmanj šest različnih morfotipov, vendar ostaja njihov taksonomski status nedorečen. Po mnenju nekaterih avtorjev bi kazalo posamezne morfotipe razumeti kot samostojne vrste, medtem ko so drugi zadržani že do uvajanja novih podvrst (glej npr. Hofreiter et al., 2004; Baryshnikov & Puzachenko, 2011, 2017). V odvisnosti od izbranega izhodišča medvedji ostanki iz Globoške peči pripadajo bodisi vrsti *Ursus spelaeus* bodisi vrsti *Ursus ingressus* (glej Rabeder et al., 2004).

Nemedvedje vrste velikih sesalcev v gradivu iz Globoške peči ($N \geq 9$) so zastopane s pičlim, vendar med seboj primerljivim številom najdb. Tako so bile volku (*Canis lupus*), jazbecu (*Meles meles*), divjemu prašiču (*Sus scrofa*), jelenu (*Cervus elaphus*) in zajcu (*Lepus* sp.) pripisane po štiri najdbe, srni (*Capreolus capreolus*) dve, svizcu (*Marmota marmota*) pa šest. S štirimi najdbami bi utegnil biti v analiziranem gradivu zastopan tudi gams (*Rupicapra rupicapra*), vendar pa je zaradi velike podobnosti gamsjih skeletnih elementov s skeletnimi elementi drobnice (prim.

1 Med ostanki mladih živali je deset mlečnih zob. Zaradi verjetne prisotnosti ostankov dveh medvedjih vrst njihova opredelitev za jamskega medveda ni zanesljiva.

2 Obrazložitev simbola: d – mlečni zob (npr. dp_4 – mlečni četrti spodnji ličnik).

3 Key: d – milk tooth (e.g. dp_4 – fourth milk lower cheek tooth).

Tabela 2: Zastopanost posameznih taksonov velikih sesalcev v gradivu iz Globoške peči po skeletnih elementih. Količina najdb je podana kot število opredeljenih ostankov (Number of Identified Specimens; NISP).
Table 2: Representation of individual taxons of large mammals in the material from the Globoška peč cave by skeletal elements. The quantity of finds is presented as the number of identified specimens (NISP).

Takson	Cranium	Maxilla	Mandibula	Dentes	Vertebrae	Costae	Ossa coxae	Humerus	Radius	Ulna	Carpalia	Metacarpalia	Tibia	Tarsalia	Metatarsalia	Ossa sesamoidea	Phalanges	SKUPAJ
<i>Ursus cf. spelaeus</i>		1		29		2						1		2	1		5	41
<i>Ursus cf. arctos</i>															1		2	3
<i>Marmota marmota</i>		1		3				1	1									6
<i>Canis lupus</i>		1										1			1	1		4
<i>Canis cf. familiaris</i>				1														1
<i>Meles meles</i>			1							1		2						4
Carnivora gen. indet.				6														6
Caprinae s. <i>Rupicapra</i>				3					1									4
<i>Cervus elaphus</i>					2						1					1		4
<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>			1												1			2
<i>Sus scrofa</i>				1						1					1		1	4
<i>Equus</i> sp.													1					1
<i>Lepus</i> sp.				1	1									1			1	4

Pucher & Engl, 1997, 38–66) zanesljiva taksonomska opredelitev navedenih štirih primerkov zgolj na podlagi njihovih morfoloških danosti vprašljiva.

Na možnost, da sicer večinoma ledenodobno favnistično gradivo iz Globoške peči dejansko vključuje tudi posamezne kozje in/ali ovčje najdbe holocenske starosti, opozarja dokumentirana kontaminacija arheobotaničnega gradiva iz plasti 1 s pečkami gojene vinske trte in primerkom žitnega zrna (glej tabelo 5). V analiziranem zbiru živalskih ostankov sicer najdbe, ki bi jih bilo mogoče z zanesljivostjo pripisati domačim živalim, niso bile odkrite. Takšna opredelitev bi pogojno utegnila veljati za odlomek konjske golenice iz plasti A vkopa 1 in za kanidni (pasji?) podočnik iz plasti 1 vkopa 2, vendar bi lahko navedena primerka načeloma pripadala tudi divjemu konju (*Equus ferus*) oziroma manjšemu volku. Vse štiri domnevne najdbe gamsa iz Globoške peči izvirajo iz plasti 1 (vkop 1: en zob, en odlomek koželjnice; vkop 2: dva zoba).

Zbir analiziranih ostankov glodavcev in rovk vključuje 206 najdb, od katerih je bilo mogoče taksonomsko opredeliti 61 primerkov⁴ (tabela 4). Pripisali smo jih najmanj enajstim vrstam iz šestih

družin. Le približno polovica jih širše območje Obale in Krasa poseljuje tudi danes, kar lahko pripišemo nastopu milejših klimatskih razmer ob koncu ledenih dob in znatnim človekovim posegom v lokalno okolje v času (predvsem) zadnjih nekaj tisoč let (Toškan, 2009, 125–128). Ostankov globalno izumrlih vrst med najdbami glodavcev in rovk iz Globoške peči nismo odkrili, med velikimi sesalci pa edini tak primer predstavlja jamski medved (Terlato et al., 2018).

RASTLINSKI MAKROOSTANKI

Iz obeh vkopov so bili iz presejkov vzorcev posamezne plasti pobirani tudi rastlinski ostanki. Pri določitvi rastlinskih vrst so bili uporabljeni: stereomikroskop Leica MZ75 z do 50-kratno povečavo in mikroskop Nikon Eclipse ME 600 z do 500-kratno povečavo, slikovni ključ (npr. Schweingruber, 1990; Cappers, et al., 2006; računalniški program INTKEY) ter lastne referenčne zbirke oglja, semen in plodov. Strokovna nomenklatura (tj. poimenovanje rastlinskih vrst) sledi Mali flori Slovenije (Martinčič et al., 1999).

⁴ Opredeljeni so bili zgolj odlomki čeljustnic in izolirani zobje.

Tabela 3: Zastopanost anatomsko opredeljenih zob jamskega medveda v gradivu iz Globoške peči. Količina najdb je podana kot število opredeljenih ostankov (Number of Identified Specimens; NISP).²

Table 3: Representation of anatomically classified cave bear teeth in the material from Globoška peč. The quantity of finds is presented as the number of identified specimens (NISP).³

dl ₂	dP ₄	dl ²	dl ³	I ₁	I ₂	C	P ₄	M ₁	M ₂	M ₃	I ¹	I ³	M ¹	M ²	SKUPAJ
1	2	1	2	1	1	5	2	3	1	2	1	2	1	1	26



Slika 5: Izbor medvedjih kosti iz Globoške peči; a – odlomek diafize četrte stopalnice (*Ursus cf. Arctos*; vkop 1: plast 1); b – tretja prstnica (*Ursus cf. Arctos*; vkop 2: plast 1); c – prva dlančnica (*Ursus spelaeus*); d – skočnica (*Ursus spelaeus*) (Foto: D. Valoh).

Image 5: Selection of bear bones from the Globoška peč cave; a – Fraction of the fourth metatarsal diaphysis (*Ursus cf. Arctos*; pit 1, layer 1); b – third phalanx (*Ursus cf. Arctos*; pit 2: layer 1); c – first metacarpal (*Ursus spelaeus*); d – talus (*Ursus spelaeus*) (Photo: D. Valoh).

Oglje

V nekaterih primerih so odlomki premajhni za analizo vrste lesa. Kot merilo, ali ostanke identificirati ali ne, smo vzeli velikost vsaj 0,5 cm. Iz vzorcev z več odlomki je bilo identificiranih po šest naključno izbranih primerkov. Med identificiranimi prevladujejo listavci, le en primerek pripada iglavcu, najverjetneje jelki. Med listavci so pogosti tako venčasto porozni, kot sta hrast in jesen, kot tudi difuzno porozni, npr. jelša/leska/gaber, javor, rožnice, jerebika/mokovec, bukev. Gre torej za zelo raznoliko izbiro lesnih vrst, kar potrjuje domnevo o kuriščih/ognjiščih. Analiza naključno izbranih fragmentov oglja iz posameznega vzorca plasti kaže, da bi bila drevesna vegetacija lahko podobna današnji.

Semena/plodovi

Poleg drobcov oglja so v petih vzorcih obeh vkopov ohranjena tudi sicer redka zoglenela in nezoglenela semena/plodovi divjerastočih rastlinskih



Slika 6: Izbor odlomkov domnevno iste spodnje čeljustnice jamskega medveda iz Globoške peči. Najdbe izvirajo iz plasti 2 vkopa 1. Svetla obarvanost površine posameznih lomov dokazuje recentno fragmentiranost najdbe (Foto: D. Valoh).

Image 6: Selection of fragments, perhaps from the same cave bear mandibular from the Globoška peč cave. These artefacts were recovered from layer 2 of pit 1. Occasional light colour along fraction lines shows recent fragmentation (Photo: D. Valoh).

vrst s sočnimi plodovi ali oreški, kot npr. češnje, trnulje (črni trn), drnulje (rumeni dren), brinove jagode, maline, jagode mokovca, gabrice (gaber) in žir (bukve). Pečke vinske trte, odkrite v treh vzorcih obeh vkopov, so zelo verjetno recentnega izvora, saj pripadajo že gojeni vinski trti. V vzorcu iz vkopa 2 je bilo ohranjeno tudi eno zoglenelo žitno zrno, ki pa ga zaradi netipične oblike nismo uspeli natančneje specificirati, najverjetneje gre za zrno ječmena (*Hordeum vulgare*) (tabela 5).

Tabela 4: Zastopanost posameznih taksonov malih sesalcev v gradivu iz Globoške peči po skeletnih elementih. Količina najdb je podana kot število opredeljenih ostankov (NISP).**Table 4: Representation of individual taxons of small mammals in the material from Globoška peč by skeletal elements. The quantity of finds is presented as the number of identified specimens (NISP).**

Takson	M ₁	M ₂	M ₃	M ¹	M ²	Dentes	Maxilla	Mandibulae	Ossa longa	SKUPAJ
<i>Apodemus</i> sp.								1		1
<i>Arvicola</i> sp.					2	3				5
<i>Chionomys nivalis</i>	4									4
<i>Dinaromys bogdanovi</i>	3	1	2		2					8
<i>Microtus agrestis/arvalis</i>	8									8
<i>Microtus liechtensteini/subterraneus</i>	1									1
<i>Microtus</i> sp.						16				16
<i>Myodes glareolus</i>				1						1
Arvicolinae gen. indet.						8				8
<i>Glis glis</i>		1								1
<i>Cricetus cricetus</i>							1	1		2
<i>Sciurus vulgaris</i>									1	1
Rodentia gen. indet.						11				11
<i>Crociodura</i> sp.								1		1

PALEOLITSKI KULTURNI INVENTAR

S sejanjem le 94 kilogramov vzetega sedimenta, iz katerega smo dobili skupno 24,9 kg presejka, smo uspeli izluščiti zavidanja vredno število elementov kamene industrije. Iz vkopa 1 imamo iz obeh plasti 53 primerkov, iz vkopa 2 pa iz obeh plasti 15 elementov (tabela 6). Iz plasti 1 vkopa 1 lahko tipološko umestimo strgalce na prvotnem odbitku (slika 7A), s krakelacijo poškodovano dvojno orodje, praskalo in vbadala (slika 7B) in tri armature. Na 1,5 cm dolgem in 0,4 cm širokem ukrivljenem odkrušku je človek strmo retuširal skoraj celoten desni rob in del levega. Desni rob v kombinaciji z osnovno obliko odkruška oblikuje koničasti vrh, zato izdelek opredeljujemo kot konico (slika 8A). Po obliki celo spominja na Châtelperronsko konico, ki »je orodje s poševno oblikovano ostro konico in neprekinjeno strmo retuširnim lateralnim robom, da ustvarja ukrivljen, bolj ali manj debel hrbet« (Pohar, 1978, 22). Klinica s hrbtom dolžine 1,2 cm in širine 0,4 cm ima desni rob strmo retuširan, na bazalnem oziroma proksimalnem delu pa je verjetno ob predhodnem odbijanju od jedra nastal odlom, ki je klinico v tem delu stanjšal, lahko

pa je to stanjšanje bazalnega dela človek naredil celo namerno ob izdelavi željene oblike. Vrhnji del klinice je odlomljen, tako da ni jasno, kako se je izdelek zaključil (slika 8B). Najlepša od vseh je mikrokonica, velika 0,9 cm in široka 0,3 cm. Polstrmo ima retuširana oba lateralna robova, tako terminalni kot bazalni del pa sta oblikovana v konico (slika 8C). V plasti 1 vkopa 1 je bila najdena še neretuširana klinica dolžine 1,1 cm in širine 0,4 cm z ostankom korteksa prodnika po skoraj celotni dorzalni strani (slika 8C) in 5 odbitkov (slike 8A–D), od katerih ima eden na levem lateralnem robu v spodnjem delu vidne uporabne retuše (slika 7C). V tej plasti smo našli še skupno 27 lusk in nekaj milimetrov velikih odkruškov kremenca.

V plasti 1 vkopa 2 so bili poleg treh lusk najdeni še štirje neretuširani odbitki (slike 9E–H) in 0,7 cm dolga in 0,2 cm široka klinica ali, zaradi debeline, bolj lamelarni odbitek, ki ima z retušo le nekoliko oblikovan vrh, drugače pa ni retuširana (slika 8E). Zaradi namenske obdelave vrha jo vsaj pogojno štejemo med mikrolite.

Plasti 2 v obeh vkopih sta z najdbami zelo skromni. V vkopu 1 imamo 10 lusk in malih odkruškov. Fragment

Tabela 5: Rezultati identifikacije naključno izbranih primerkov oglja in semen/plodov iz vkopov 1 in 2 (NC – nezoglenelo, C – zoglenelo, HC – polzoglenelo, rec. – recentno, X – prisotno, x – malo, frg. – fragment, vpl. – venčasto porozen listavec, dpl. – difuzno porozen listavec, cf. – verjetno, sp. – neznana vrsta).

Table 5: Results of identification of randomly selected items of charcoal and seeds/fruits from pits 1 and 2 (NC - non carbonised, C - carbonised, HC - half carbonised, rec. - recent, X- present, x- a few, frg. – fragment, vpl. – ring-porous deciduous trees, dpl - diffuse porous deciduous trees, cf. – probable, sp.- unknown species).

Globoška peč		vkop 1	vkop 1	vkop 2	vkop 2	vkop 2	vkop 2	vkop 2	vkop 2
		plast 1	plast 2	plast 1	plast 1	plast 2	plast 2	plast 3	plast 3
				vzorec 1	vzorec 1A	vzorec 2	vzorec 2A	vzorec 3	vzorec 3/A
SEMENA/PLODOVI									
Cerealia	žito			1 C					
<i>Vitis cf. vinifera</i>	vinska trta	5 frg. NC/HC	1 NC			1 rec.			
<i>Prunus cf. avium</i>	divja češnja	2 frg. NC	1 NC						
<i>Prunus spinosa</i>	črn trn	1 NC							
<i>Cornus mas</i>	rumeni dren						1 C		
<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	bukev	1 frg. NC							
<i>Ostrya/Carpinus</i>	gaber	6 NC	1 NC			1 NC			
<i>Juniperus communis</i>	brin	17 NC semen	3 frg. NC	8 NC		3 NC			
cf. <i>Juniperus communis</i>	? brin	2 NC/HC plod					1 HC plod		
<i>Picea abies</i>	smreka					1 NC iglica	1 NC iglica		
cf. <i>Sorbus aria</i>	? mokovec			6 NC					
<i>Rubus cf. idaeus</i>	malina	2 NC		5 NC					
Fabaceae	stročnice	2 C							
Asteraceae	nebinovke			20 NC		5 NC			
OGLJE		X	X	X	X	X	x	x	1
Rosaceae/ <i>Tilia</i>	listavec z večrednimi trakovi	1	1	1	2	1			
<i>Quercus/Fraxinus</i>	vpl	1	2	3	2			1	
<i>Alnus/Corylus/ Carpinus</i>	jelša/leska/gaber					1			
<i>Carpinus</i>	gaber								
cf. <i>Sorbus sp.</i>	dpl, ? jerebika/mokovec	1		1	1	1			
cf. <i>Ulmus sp.</i>	? brest					1			
<i>Fagus sylvatica</i>	bukev	1							
	dpl	1	2		1			1	1
<i>Fraxinus sp.</i>	jesen					2	2		
<i>Acer sp.</i>	javor	1		1					
<i>Abies alba</i>	jelka		1						
OSTALO									
vejice, popki		X (C, NC, HC)	X (NC)	X (NC)	X (NC)	X (NC)	x (NC)	x	
bodice		X (C, NC, HC)	1 NC	X (NC)		X (NC)			
koproliti koz/ovc		X (NC)	1 NC	6 NC	2 NC	1 NC	2 NC		
neznano seme					8 HC	3 NC	11 HC		

Tabela 6: Številčno stanje najdenih elementov kamene industrije po plasteh v obeh vkopih.**Table 6: Number of stone tool industry artefacts in both pits, by layers.**

VKOP	PLAST/ VZOREC	Luske in odkruški	Odbitki, odbitki z uporabno ret., klinice	Tipološko določljivi elementi	SKUPAJ
1	Plast 1 Vzorec 1	27	9	2 + (armatura 3)	41
	Plast 2 Vzorec 2	10	1	1	12
2	Plast 1 Vzorec 1	2	2	(armatura 1)	8
	Plast 1 Vzorec 1/A	1	2		
	Plast 2 Vzorec 2	2	1		7
	Plast 2 Vzorec 2/A	2	2		
	Plast 3 Vzorec 3	0	0	0	0
	Plast 3 Vzorec 3/a	0	0	0	
	SKUPAJ	44	18	6	68

kline, dolžine 2,2 cm in širine 1,1 cm, ima retuširan tako prečni zgornji rob kot tudi oba lateralna robova. Retuša je strma ali polstrma. Klina je bila narejena iz marmoriranega belo sivega kremena (slika 7D). V isti plasti je bila najdena še majhna klinica dolžine 0,6 cm in širine 0,2 cm, ki pa ni retuširana (slika 8F).

V vkopu 2 so bili najdene štiri luske in trije odbitki. Rjavo-rumeno-siv (slika 8I) in rdeče rjav z uporabno retušo (slika 7E) ter svetlo siv neretuširan odbitek, ki bi ga zaradi velikosti lahko prišteli kar med luske.

FOSFATNE KONKRECIJE

V plasti 1 smo opazili manjše fragmente skorij konkrecij, svetlo rjavo-rumeno-rdeče barve. V plasti 2 je bilo teh koščkov še več. Nekateri najdeni primerki so bili lepo zaokroženi, kot bi mineralizirala in kristalizirala neka gosta tekoča zmes. V plasti 3 je bilo nekaj teh »kapljic« pritrjenih na površino skal, ki so bile v sedimentu vrhnjega dela plasti. Pomislili smo na mineralizacijo ali kristalizacijo fosfatov, ki se lahko dogaja v primerih, ko je v plasteh prisotnih veliko organskih snovi. Prisotnost fosfatnih elementov v jamskih sedimentih so natančno preučevali raziskovalci paleolitskega najdišča Divje babe I. Analizirali

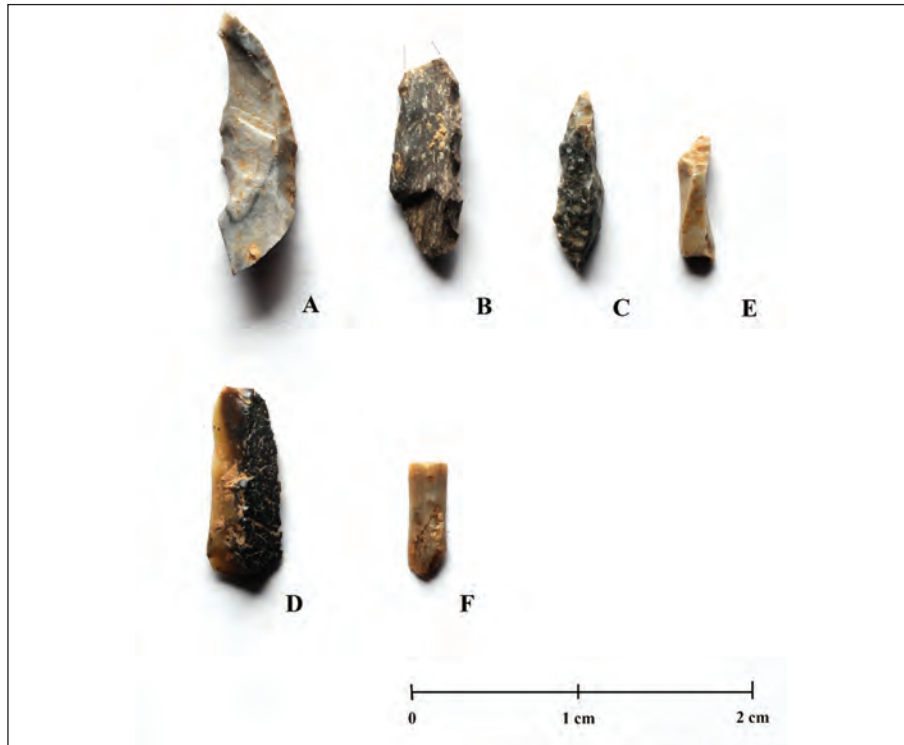
so razloge in možnosti za prisotnost fosfatnih spojin v jamskih plasteh, predvsem kalcijevega fosfata. V interpretacijah se nagibajo k razlagam, da je prisotnost fosfatnih spojin pogojena s porabo in količino tanatomase jamskih medvedov (Turk et al., 1988) oziroma, da se je fosfor izločil iz razpadlih kadavrov in morda delno iz kosti jamskega medveda (Turk et al., 1988–1989. 23). Fosfatni sprimki, v katerih so našli celo fosilizirane dlake jamskih medvedov (Turk et al., 1995), so »krhki, bolj ali manj zaobljeni in pogosto razpokani. [...] Razpoke dokazujejo, da je bila snov, iz katere so sprimki, nekoč plastična, in da je razpokala pri strjevanju.« (Turk et al., 1995, 41, sl. 3, 42), ali v »zrnih strjene fosfatne želatine, ki vsebuje tudi redka dolomitna zrnca in drobce kosti« (Turk & Kapun, 2007, 341). Obloge in »strjene kapljice«, ki smo jih našli v Globoški peči so čiste in kompaktne. Po videzu, otipu in barvi so povsem podobne kremenu oziroma njegovim različkom (slika 10).

Videz res še najbolj ustreza poimenovanju, ki ga je uporabil I. Turk, tj. strjena želatina. Kemična analiza⁵ kaže povečano vrednost fosforja in silicija (sliki 11 in 12), rezultati pa so primerljivi analizam, ki so bile opravljene pri raziskavi fosilnih dlak iz Divjih bab I (Turk & Kapun, 2007, 343). Domnevamo, da imamo

5 Vzorce so nam kemično analizirali in fotografirali v Nacionalnem forenzičnem laboratoriju MNZ, za kar se na tem mestu zahvaljujemo vodji laboratorija dr. Dorijanu Keržanu, Ester Ceket, ki je opravila kemično analizo, in Juretu Majdiču, ki je konkrecije fotografiral.



Slika 7: Tipološko opredeljivi elementi kamene industrije (Foto: F. Stele).
Image 7: Typologically classifiable artefacts of stone tool industry (Photo: F. Stele).



Slika 8: Armature in klinice (Foto: F. Stele).
Image 8: Geometric tool) and blades (Photo: F. Stele).



Slika 9: Odbitki (Foto: P. Jamnik).
Image 9: Flakes (Photo: P. Jamnik).

tudi v tem primeru opraviti z nekim fosiliziranim oziroma mineraliziranim ostankom procesa razpada kadavrov.

Pod posebnimi pogoji (prostori z visoko vlago in slabšim prezračevanjem) nekaj tednov po smrti lahko pride v fazi razpada trupla do t. i. adipocere oziroma saponifikacije. V procesu saponifikacije se s hidrolizo maščobno tkivo spremeni v glicerol oziroma milu podobno snov in nenasičene maščobne kisline, ki se kasneje pretvorijo v nasičene in iz podkožnega maščevja pronicajo v muskulaturo in notranje organe. Pri tem povzročijo neke vrste konzervacijo. V procesu sodelujejo različne aerobne in anaerobne bakterije (Takatori, 1996; Forbes et al., 2005). Mrliški vosek se v taki, milu podobni substanci, lahko ohrani desetletja. Globoško peč so po kostnih ostankih sodeč uporabljali jamski medvedi kot brlog. V tisočletjih, tako kot v vseh brlogih v dolgotrajni uporabi, v njem precej osebkov pogine. Ker jamski pogoji, z vlago in mirujočim zrakom omogočajo saponifikacijo, domnevamo, da bi bili ostanki konkrecij, ki smo jih našli v plasteh ali prilepljene na kamnih, lahko mineraliziran oziroma fosiliziran ostanek mrliškega voska. Primeri konkrecij, za katere so avtorji postavili domnevo, da jih

povzroča saponifikacija, so bili v literaturi že večkrat opisani (Berner, 1968; Criss, et al., 1988, Evershed et al., 2002). S kemičnimi analizami so dokazovali, da so prav zaradi adipocere/saponifikacije v fosilnih kosteh prisotni tudi nekateri redki kemični elementi (Lynn-Harrell & Perez-Huerta, 2015). Fosfatne konkrecije in »kapljičasti« ostanki v Globoški peči torej niso neka sedimentacijska redkost. Domnevamo, da je vsaj del fosfatnih ostankov v jamskih plasteh Globoške jame ostanek procesa adipocere oziroma saponifikacije. Ker saponizirana želatinasta snov zaliva in se razleze po razpadajočem truplu, kasneje pa mineralizira in kristalizira, so se morda v sedimentih, prav kot posledica teh procesov ohranili tudi šopi dlak jamskih medvedov, ki so jih odkrili raziskovalci v Divjih babah I (glej Turk & Kapun, 2007, Sl. 13.2, 341).

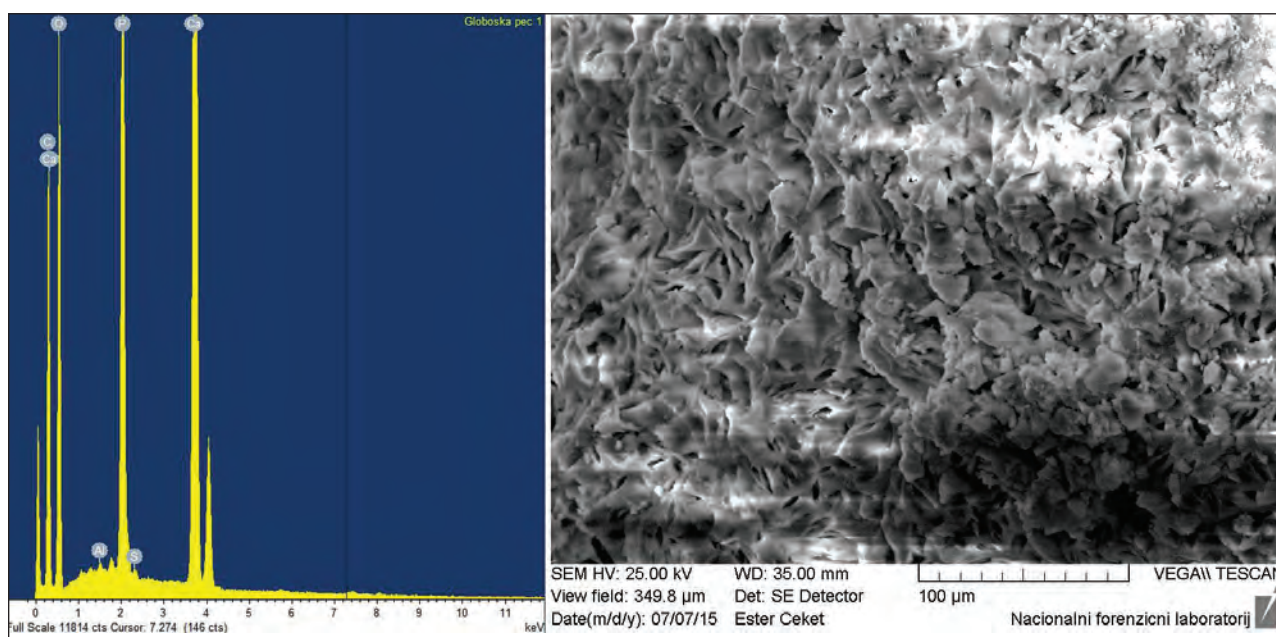
ČASOVNA UMESTITEV NOVEGA PALEONTOLOŠKEGA IN PALEOLITSKEGA NAJDIŠČA TER ZAKLJUČKI

Za bivanje primeren jamski prostor Globoške peči je izredno majhen. Suh kamnit zid pod kapom, ki je danes le še delno ohranjen, nakazuje, da je jamo v preteklosti uporabljal človek. Kdaj je bil zid



Slika 10: »Kapljičast« ostanek saponifikacije na kosih kamnine v sedimentu (Foto: J. Majdič).

Image 10: Drop-like remain of saponification on stone artefacts recovered from the sediment (Photo: J. Majdič).



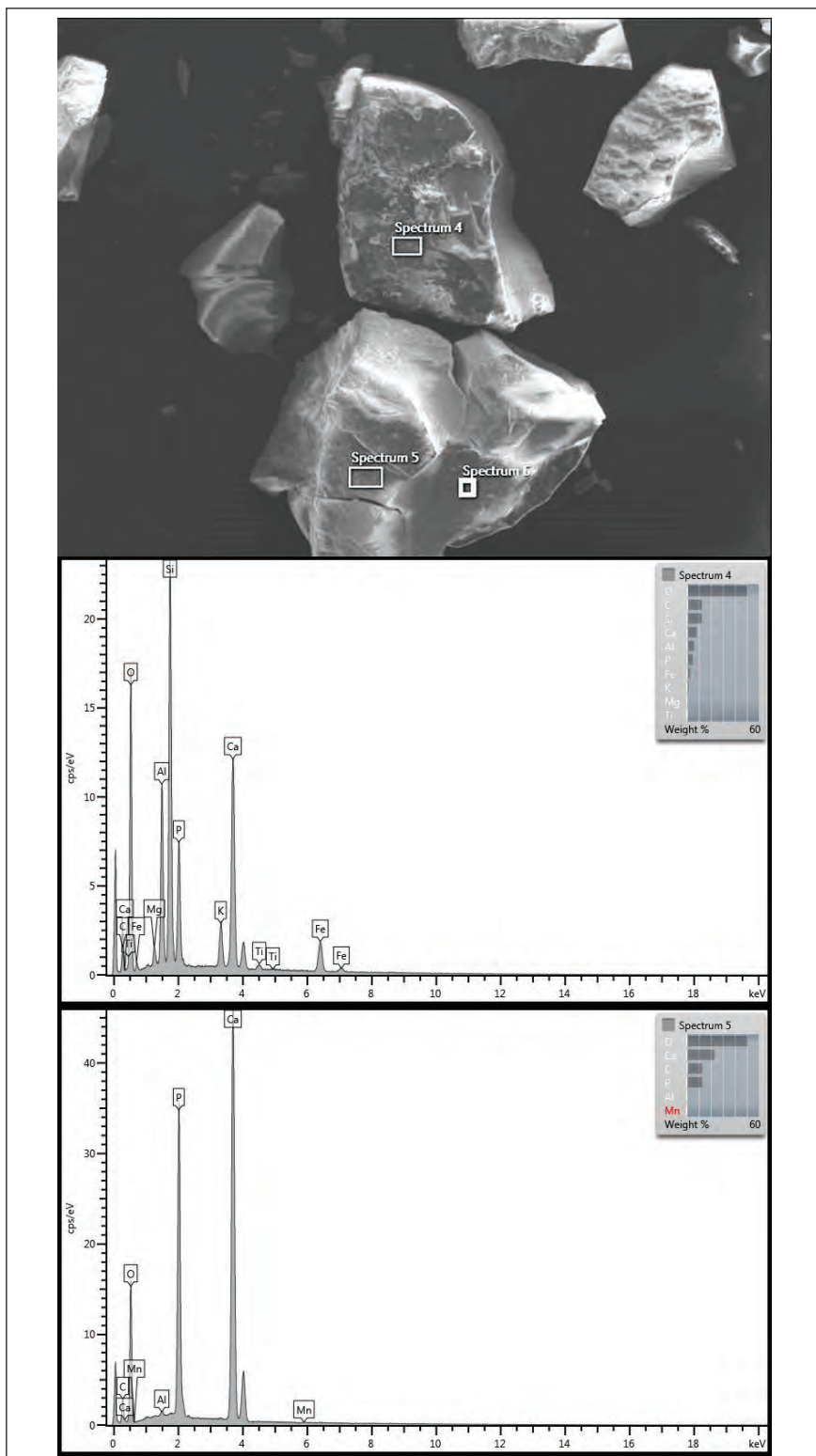
Slika 11: Rezultati kemične analize vzorca konkrecije in povečava strukture vzorca pod elektronskim mikroskopom (Foto in analiza: E. Ceket).

Image 11: Results of chemical analysis of a concretion sample and its pattern enlarged by electronic microscope (Photo and analysis: E. Ceket).

postavljen, zaenkrat ni mogoče sklepati. Glede na dejstvo, da je že skoraj povsem podrt, se zdi verjetna celo povezava z okoli 100 metrov oddaljenim prazgodovinskim gradiščem, na platoju nad jamo. Ker je bil zid precej širok, je bilo za njegovo postavitve potrebna nekaj truda, zato ocenjujemo, da je bil narejen za dolgotrajnejšo uporabo, morda kot prostor za zavetje živine, ki so jo imeli prebivalci na gradišču, ali kot zavetišče v primeru nevarnosti. Kamniti zid nam je nakazoval možnost, da so bili v jamske plasti na majhnem prostoru pod kapom kdaj v preteklosti že opravljeni človeški posegi. Današnja jamska tla so suha in prašnato meljasta. Korenine dreves pred jamo segajo daleč v jamski prostor in

obstaja verjetnost, da lahko zrastejo prav do zadnje jamske stene, saj je jama v celoti osvetljena z dnevno svetlobo. Na površju je bilo nekaj sledi kurjenja, ki je verjetno ostanek pastirjev, ki so se v zadnjih desetletjih zadrževali v jami, ali morda še ostanek iz časa vojne, ko naj bi jamo uporabljali za skrivališče tudi partizani. Na mestu, kjer je rov v nadaljevanje jame zapolnjen z brečo, je na jamskih tleh slutiti star vkop, ki se danes izraža le še v manjši kotanji na tem mestu.

Pri obeh vkopih se je takoj pokazalo, da je suha in meljasta vrhnja plast, ki predstavlja današnja jamska tla in jo označujemo kot plast A, ostro ločena od spodnje plasti, ki je značilen jamski sediment sestavljen iz gru-



Slika 12: Povečava vzorca pod elektronskim mikroskopom z na vzorcu konkretije označenim mestom analize in rezultati kemične analize (Foto in analiza: E. Ceket).
Image 12: Sample marked on the concretion and enlarged by electronic microscope. Results of chemical analysis of the marked sample (Photo and analysis: E. Ceket).

šča, ilovice in drobnih sprimkov sige in ilovice. Prehod med plastjo 1 in plastjo 2 je manj jasen. Že ob kopanju smo razmišljali, da gre morda za enotno plast, ki se je odlagala skozi daljše, klimatsko enovito obdobje. Opazna razlika v plasti je le nekoliko večja zbitost in več ilovice v spodnjem delu plasti. Ker smo pričakovali, da bi v presejanih vzorcih morda lahko zaznali razlike v prisotnosti živalskih in rastlinskih ostankov, smo plast vseeno označili kot plast 1 in 2. Plast 3 se od plasti 1 in 2 jasneje loči, saj gre tu pretežno za čisto ilovico, v kateri ležijo kosi skal. Meja med plastema 2 in 3 sicer ni tako izrazita kot med A in 1, vendar dovolj jasna, da o razliki v sedimentacijskih pogojih ni dvoma.

Živalski ostanki z arheoloških/paleontoloških najdišč lahko služijo kot učinkovito orodje za okvirno časovno opredelitev proučevanih kontekstov (glej npr. Toškan & Kryštufek, 2004, 128–133; Toškan & Kryštufek, 2007, 202–207; Toškan, 2009, 125–128; Toškan, 2012; Jamnik et al., 2015, 725–727). Pri količinsko skromnem gradivu, kakršen je tukaj predstavljeni zbir iz Globoške peči, je na starost favne mogoče sklepati posredno, tj. na podlagi ocene paleoekološkega, pridobljene s projiciranjem ekoloških toleranc današnjih populacij posameznih živalskih vrst na populacije iz preteklih obdobj (Toškan, 2016, 123 in tam navedeni viri). Seveda se je pri tem treba zavedati, da so se sesalci sposobni prilagoditi na različna okolja, zaradi česar so lahko v preteklosti naseljevali drugačne habitate od današnjih. Zanimariti ne kaže niti vloge, ki jo ima pri oblikovanju areala razširjenosti posameznega taksona njegova interakcija s človekom in z drugimi živalskimi vrstami v istem prostoru, kakor tudi ne dejstva, da lahko (predvsem) majhni sesalci načeloma naseljujejo prostorsko zamenjana območja specifičnih habitatnih tipov znotraj sicer povsem drugačne krajine. Seveda pa je za verodostojno oceno starosti proučevanega arheozoološkega/paleontološkega gradiva ključno tudi kar najbolj natančno poznavanje njegove tafonomske zgodovine (za podrobnejšo obravnavo navedenih problematik glej Jamnik et al., 2015, 725–727).

Vpogled v porazdelitev kostnih ostankov posameznih taksonov vzdolž stratigrafskega stolpca obeh vkopov iz Globoške peči pokaže, da pretežni del najdb izvira iz plasti 1 in 2 (tabela 7). Pravzaprav sta bili v plasti A odkriti le dve taksonomsko opredeljeni kosti, v plasti 3 pa nobena. Ena od obeh najdb iz plasti A – gre za odlomek diafize golenice – je bila pripisana konju, pri čemer razlikovanje med domačim (*Equus caballus*) in divjim konjem (*Equus ferus*) zgolj na podlagi morfologije ni bilo mogoče. Če najdba pripada domačemu konju, njena starost zagotovo ne presega 6.500 let (Outram et al., 2009; Anthony & Brown, 2011, 137–143; Librado et al., 2016, 423), medtem ko je bil divji konj na obrav-

navanem območju dokazano prisoten tudi v mlajšem pleistocenu (Jamnik et al., 2015, 726, in tam navedeni viri). Druga od taksonomsko opredeljenih najdb iz plasti A je bila pripisana divjemu prašiču; da ne gre za domačega je bilo mogoče ugotoviti na podlagi zbranih metričnih podatkov (tabela 8). Najdbe divjega prašiča so lokalno razmeroma številčne tako v kontekstih pleistocenske kakor tudi holocenske starosti (Pohar, 1990; Toškan & Dirjec, 2004; Jamnik et al., 2015, 725–727, in tam navedeni viri)

Pretežni del živalskih vrst, katerih ostanki so bili odkriti v plasteh 1 in 2, so območje Obale in/ali Krasa naseljevale tako v mlajšem pleistocenu, kakor tudi v holocenu, vendar ne brez pomenljivih izjem. Med velikimi sesalci je treba v tem smislu omeniti jamskega medveda, ki naj bi v Evropi izumrl pred približno 26.000 leti (Terlato et al., 2018) ter gamsa⁶ in svizca, katerih ostanki so poznani zgolj z lokalnih paleolitskih postaj, medtem ko zanesljivih poročil o holocenskih najdbah ni (Jamnik et al., 2015, 720, 725, in tam navedeni viri; za morebitno izjemo glej Toškan et al., 2014, tab. 4). Slednje velja tudi za hrčka (*Cricetus cricetus*) (Feoktissova et al., 2017, 13/19, in tam navedeni viri), medtem ko je bila dinarska voluharica (*Dinaromys bogdanovi*) lokalno prisotna tudi še v starejšem holocenu (Toškan & Kryštufek, 2004; Toškan, 2009).

Eventualna kronološka homogenost arheozoološkega/paleontološkega skupka iz plasti 1 in 2 bi pričala o tem, da plasti nista bistveno premešani oziroma kontaminirani z mlajšim/starejšim gradivom. Če to drži, bi glede na favnistične ostanke nastanek obeh plasti kazalo datirati v čas še pred nastopom zadnjega poledenitvenega sunka, pri čemer ni povsem izključeno, da se je proces odlaganja nadaljeval še v pozni glacial. Na zgodnejšo datacijo kažejo najdbe jamskega medveda, ki zadnjega poledenitvenega sunka ni preživel (Terlato et al., 2018). Tako naj bi vsaj plast 2, od koder vse medvedje najdbe domnevno pripadajo prav jamskemu medvedu, nastala že pred 26.000 leti in torej bržčas kar tekom interpleniglaciala (= OIS 3). Pravzaprav so iz istega obdobja v lokalnih paleolitskih postajah zastopane tudi vse druge v Globoški peči dokumentirane vrste z izjemo hrčka (glej npr. Rakovec, 1973, tab. 2; Toškan, 2007; Jamnik et al., 2015), vendar postanejo nekatere od njih zares pogoste šele pozneje. Najočitnejši tak primer je nedvomno alpski svizec, ki je v lokalnih kontekstih iz časa zadnjega poledenitvenega viška in poznega glaciala pogosto celo najbolje zastopana žival (glej npr. Toškan et al., 2014, tab. 4; Jamnik et al., 2015, 725, in tam navedeni viri). Podobno velja za hrčka, katerega maloštevilne najdbe v širši regiji večinoma prav tako datirajo v pozni glacial (glej npr. Bartolomei, 1996, Tab. 1; Pohar, 1997, Tab. 1; Berto,

6 Zgoraj je že bilo povedano, da bi ostanki gamsa načeloma utegnili pripadati drobnici. Najstarejši znani ostanki ovce oziroma koze s Krasa datirajo v sredino 6. tisočletja pr. n. št. (Budja et al., 2013, 102–103), medtem ko se v osrednjeslovenskem prostoru vrsti pojavita približno tisočletje pozneje (Toškan & Dirjec, 2006).

Tabela 7: Zastopanost posameznih živalskih taksonov v gradivu iz Globoške peči vzdolž stratigrafskega stolpca.
Table 7: Representation of animal taxons recovered from material from the Globoška peč cave in the stratigraphic column.

Takson	Vkop 1				Vkop 2			
	Plast A	Plast 1	Plast 2	Plast 3	Plast A	Plast 1	Plast 2	Plast 3
<i>Ursus cf. spelaeus</i>		8	13			8	12	
<i>Ursus cf. arctos</i>		1				2		
<i>Marmota marmota</i>						3	3	
<i>Canis lupus</i>						2	2	
<i>Canis cf. familiaris</i>						1		
<i>Meles meles</i>		3	1					
Carnivora gen. et spec. indet.		1				5		
Caprinae s. <i>Rupicapra rupicapra</i>		1				3		
<i>Cervus elaphus</i>		3	1					
<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>		2						
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	1	2				1		
<i>Equus sp.</i>	1							
<i>Lepus sp.</i>		2	1			1		
<i>Apodemus sp.</i>		1						
<i>Arvicola sp.</i>		3				1	1	
<i>Chionomys nivalis</i>		2				1	1	
<i>Dinaromys bogdanovi</i>		3				2	3	
<i>Microtus agrestis/arvalis</i>		8						
<i>Microtus liechtensteini/subterraneus</i>							1	
<i>Microtus sp.</i>		8	1			4	3	
<i>Myodes glareolus</i>							1	
Arvicolinae gen. et spec. indet.		1				3	4	
<i>Glis glis</i>						1		
<i>Cricetus cricetus</i>		1					1	
<i>Sciurus vulgaris</i>			1					
Rodentia gen. et spec. indet.		11						
<i>Crociodura sp.</i>		1						
Indeterminatus		541	175			353	240	19

2013, 97; Oros Sršen et al., 2014, 24). Obe navedeni vrsti se izogibata gozdovom in ju zato razumemo kot indikatorja razmeroma hladne klime (Preleuthner, 1999, 188; Weinhold, 1999, 202). Tudi sicer je delež na travnike in kamenišča vezanih glodavcev⁷ v gradivu

iz Globoške peči znatno višji od deleža tistih, ki naseljujejo gozdove (npr. polh [*Glis glis*], gozdna voluharica [*Myodes glareolus*], veverica [*Sciurus vulgaris*]).

Na podlagi razpoložljivega gradiva celostna favnišična slika Globoške peči spominja na zbirke z nekaterih

⁷ Glej npr. poljska voluharica (*Microtus arvalis*), travniška voluharica (*M. agrestis*), dinarska voluharica (*Dinaromys bogdanovi*), snežna voluharica (*Chionomys nivalis*).

Tabela 8: Metrični podatki za boljše ohranjene živalske ostanke v gradivu iz Globoške peči. Dimenzije in okrajšave so povzete po von den Driesch (1976). Vsi izmerki so podani v mm.
Table 8: Metric data of relatively well-preserved animal remains in the material from the Globoška peč cave. Dimensions and abbreviations according to von den Driesch (1976). All measurements are given in mm.

Takson	Sk. element	Dimenzija	Izmerki	
<i>Ursus cf. spelaeus</i>	Dentes	M ₁ (dolžina)	30,5	27,0
		M ₁ (širina)	14,5	12,5
		M ₃ (dolžina)	28,5	
		M ₃ (širina)	21,5	
		M ² (dolžina)	43,5	
		M ² (širina)	21,5	
	Mandibula	M ₁ (dolžina)	29,5	
		M ₁ (širina)	15,0	
		M ₂ (dolžina)	31,0	
		M ₂ (širina)	19,5	
	Metacarpus 1	GL	63,0	
	Astragalus	GL	57,5	60,0
GB		63,0		
<i>Canis lupus</i>	Metatarsus 5	Bp	13,0	
<i>Meles meles</i>	Ulna	BPC	10,5	
<i>Marmota marmota</i>	Humerus	Bp	15,5	
		SD	7,5	
		Bd	23,0	
		GL	74,0	
<i>Sciurus vulgaris</i>	Humerus	Bd	12,0	
<i>Lepus sp.</i>	Calcaneus	GL	26,0	
		GB	10,5	
<i>Sus scrofa</i>	Ulna	BPC	18,5	
	Metatarsus 3	Bp	22,0	
<i>Capreolus capreolus</i>	Metatarsus	Bd	24,0	
		Td	16,0	
Caprinae s. <i>Rupicapra</i>	Dens	M ¹ (dolžina)	27,0	
		M ¹ (širina)	19,5	

drugih kraških in istrskih najdišč, bodisi iz časa zadnjega poledenitvenega viška bodisi poznega glaciala (glej npr. Oros Sršen et al., 2014; Toškan et al., 2014, 149–152). Pri tem je treba prevladujoči delež jamskega medveda razumeti kot argument, ki potrjuje prisotnost elementov iz časa zadnjega poledenitvenega viška pred 26.000 leti. Po drugi strani bi bilo mogoče v pestrem naboru gozdnih vrst velikih sesalcev ob skoraj popolni odsotnosti izrazito hladnoljubnih vrst (npr. severni jelen, polarna lisica, dlakavi mamut, leming; prim. Pohar, 1985, 121;

Pohar, 1997) prepoznati odsev poznoglacialnega izmenjevanja toplejših in hladnejših klimatskih faz. Skladna s takšno razlago je verjetna prisotnost posameznih ostankov rjavega medveda v plasti 1, pri čemer pa bi lahko hkratno prisotnost najdb jamskega medveda prepričljivo pojasnili zgolj z eventualno (delno) premešanostjo plasti 1 in 2 (prim. Toškan et al., 2014, Tab. 4, Subassemblage 1). Slednjemu v prid bi utegnili govoriti dejstvo, da sta si plasti 1 in 2 po naboru zastopanih vrst in njihovem okvirnem deležu zastopanosti zelo podobni.

Za razliko od kostnih ostankov pa rastlinski makroostanki, vsaj na podlagi naključno izbranega vzorčenja iz presejkov izločenih ostankov oglja, ne kažejo značilne pleistocenske (hladnodobne) vegetacije. Eno samo zogleleno zrno žita iz plasti 1 vkopa 1 in pečke gojene vinske trte iz plasti 1 in 2 vkopa 1 in plasti 2 vkopa 2, verjetno kažejo na kontaminacijo plasti. Vsi ostali ostanki plodov bi lahko pričali o ali nabiralniškem gospodarstvu ali pa so jih na najdišče prinesli naravni dejavniki, vključujoč živali. Po pestrosti in ohranjenosti ostankov sodeč pa naključni izbor analiziranih rastlinskih ostankov kaže na depozite, mlajše od pleistocena, čeprav nabor ugotovljenih vrst (pretežno listavci; Tab.5) ne izključuje tudi možnosti pleistocenske vegetacije toplejših obdobj oz. medledenih dob. Časovno umestitev na podlagi iz presejkov izoliranih organskih ostankov bi vsekakor olajšala analiza C14.

Tudi paleolitski kulturni inventar časovne umestitve ne olajša. Za resnejšo tipološko-tehnološko analizo je najdb premalo. Prevladujejo predvsem manjši odkruški in luske, ki za časovno umestitev niso uporabni, prav tako si ne moremo pomagati z odbitki. Smo pa s tem tehnološkim gradivom poskušali odgovoriti na vprašanje, ali najdbe iz plasti 1 in 2 spadajo skupaj ali pa gre morda za kameno industrijo več časovno ločenih obiskov jame. Zaradi objektivnih okoliščin smo lahko v vkopu 1 vzorčili srednji del plasti 1 in spodnji del plasti 2, v vkopu 2 pa enkrat celotno plast 1 in enkrat sredino plasti 1, v plasti 2 pa enkrat celotno plast in drugič vrhni del plasti 2 (slika 4). Tak način vzorčenja nam ni dal jasne slike, kje v plasti se najdbe zgostijo, če bi bilo zgostitev v tako majhnem vkopu sploh mogoče zaznati. V vkopu 1 je najdb bistveno več v plasti 1, v vkopu 2 pa razlike v številu najdb skoraj ni (tabela 6). Razlik med številom najdb v obeh vzetih vzorcih iz plasti 1 in 2 v vkopu 2 ni zaznati. Ker število najdb v plasti 1 v vkopu 1 bistveno odstopa od števila najdb v plasti 2 zaenkrat menimo, da je območje s kulturnimi ostanki predvsem del plasti, ki smo jo pri vkopih označili s plastjo 1. Kot smo domnevali že med kopanjem, gre pri plasteh, ki jih mi označujemo z 1 in 2, morda res le za eno plast, v kateri je zaradi dolgotrajnega odlaganja mogoče zaznati manjšo razliko v količini ilovice, prisotne v spodnjem delu plasti, ki smo jo ob kopanju označili kot plast 2. To domnevo podpirajo tudi rezultati analize živalskih ostankov, saj klimatsko indikativnih razlik v prisotnosti različnih taksonov med plastema 1 in 2 ni. Bi bila v tem primeru razpršenost kulturnih najdb na celi globini plasti 1 in 2 torej res lahko rezultat mešanja plasti? Ves material, razen fragmenta retuširane kline iz belosivega marmoriranega kremenca, je nedvomno prodniški kremen različnih barvnih odtenkov. Na več primerkih je ohranjena prodniška skorja. Tako po barvi kot strukturi in kakovosti kremenca je veliko primerkov podobnih. Prevladuje črnosiv in svetlo siv kremen. Da bi ugotovili,

ali gre za kakovostno in barvno enak kremen, smo med seboj primerjali najdbe iz plasti 1 in 2. S primerjavo se je pokazalo, da štiri črnosive luske in dva odbitka iz plasti 1 vkopa 1 povsem odgovarjajo eni črnosivi luski in trem odbitkom iz plasti 1 vkopa 2, še pomembneje pa je, da je ta kremen enak tudi dvema luskama iz plasti 2 vkopa 1. Prav tako se barvno in po kakovosti ujamejo kremen konice na zakrivljenem odkrušku (slika 8A) iz plasti 1 vkopa 1 in dve luski iz vkopa 1, pri čemer je ena iz plasti 1 in druga iz plasti 2. Primerjava barve in kakovosti kremenca torej govori v prid domnevi, da se v celotni plasti, ki smo jo mi označili z 1 in 2, nahaja kamena industrija, ki je enoten kulturni inventar, razpršen v plasti na globini od –15 cm do –45 cm. Zavedamo se, da je taka primerjava materiala iz kremenovih prodnikov nevhvaležna, saj se barva v enem prodniku lahko povsem spreminja. Drugačna je na skorji, pod njo in v sredi prodnika, barve pa se velikokrat tudi prelivajo. Po drugi strani pa je tudi skoraj nemogoče, da bi se v primeru, če bi bila človekova obiska iz plasti 1 in 2 časovno oddaljena, v plasteh 1 in 2 najden kremen v več primerkih povsem ujemal tako po barvi kot kakovosti. Če gre torej v plasti za enoten kulturni inventar in ob dejstvu, da tudi analiza kostnih ostankov ne nasprotuje možnosti, da gre v resnici za enotno plast, bi se plast lahko odlagala od časa pred nastopom zadnjega poledenitvenega sunka pa vse do poznega glaciala. Menimo, da je prisotnost ostankov jamskega medveda v celotni plasti, čeprav je izumrl že pred 26.000 leti, torej vsaj 10.000 let pred zaključkom odlaganja te plasti, mogoče pojasniti predvsem z daljšim časom odlaganja plasti na relativno majhnem jamskem prostoru, v katerega so skozi tisočletja posegale tako živali, ki so se zadrževale v jami (brlog medveda, jazbeci) kot človek v kameni dobi, od prazgodovine naprej pa verjetno ljudje iz bližnjega gradišča, ki so domnevno postavili pred vhod jame suh kamnit zid, in vse do pred kratkim pastirji in partizani. Vsi ti so s svojimi, sicer lokalno omejenimi (npr. priprava prostora za kurišča), posegi v jamska tla kosti jamskega medveda premaknili iz nižjega dela plasti tudi v višji del plasti. Na enak način so s takimi posegi v globlje dele plasti prišli tudi mlajši ostanki, na primer pečke gojene vinske trte, ki so zašle v plast 2, in zrno žita, ki se je znašlo v plasti 1.

Fosilne kostne ostanke smo opazili tudi v brečastih zapolnitvah rovov nadaljevanja jame. Pri iskanju odgovora, zakaj bi bile lahko kosti jamskega medveda prisotne v celotni plasti⁸, smo pomislili tudi na možnost, da bi plast delno lahko nastala tudi z odlaganjem erozijskega ostanka razpada breče. Vendar pa se ta možnost ob količini ostankov jamskega medveda v plasti ne zdi upoštevanja verjetna. Ob razpadu in eroziji breče bi v plasti moralo biti vsaj nekaj kosov ali vsaj manjših koščkov nerazpadle breče, saj ni mogoče, da bi breča povsem razpadla. Če ne drugega,

8 Od tu naprej plasti 1 in 2, kakor smo jih določili ob vkopu in vzorčenju, opisujemo kot enotno plast.

bi moralo biti vsaj na posamezni kosti nekaj ostanka breče. Vendar ni ničesar, ne kosov breče v plasti in ne ostankov brečastega lepila na kosteh, zato menimo, da ta možnost ne pride v poštev. Brečasta zapolnitev današnjega vhodnega dela jame je morala biti odstranjena že pred odlaganjem plasti, v katero smo naredili vkopa. Erozijski ostanki breče so morda v še globljih plasteh, ni pa verjetno, da bi razpad breče vplival na prisotnost posameznih živalskih taksonov v plasti, v katero smo vkope naredili mi in torej tudi ne na prisotnost jamskega medveda v celotni plasti.

Ostane nam le še vprašanje, kateri od kamenodobnih kultur je mogoče pripisati ostanke kamenega inventarja glede na njihovo skromno število. Tipološko indikativnih orodij nimamo. Praskala, strgala, klinice/nožki s hrptom in mikrokonice so prisotne v celotnem gravettienskem obdobju pa vse do konca mezolitika. Med najdenimi primerki ni kosa, ki bi bolj prepričljivo nakazoval na eno od kultur v tem vmesnem obdobju. Ob težavi z intaktnostjo plasti, ki smo jo opisovali zgoraj, nam res ne ostane veliko možnosti. Edino, kar bi morda po tehnološki plati vsaj nekoliko nakazovalo čas obiska kamenodobnih ljudi v Globoški peči, je najdba fragmenta kline iz marmoriranega sivo belega kremenca (slika 7D).

Marmoriran sivobel kremen naj bi bil značilnost slovenskih gravettienskih postaj, saj tak material v starejših kulturah med inventarjem ni prisoten (Brodar, 1991, 33). Če to drži, bi torej ostanke kamenodobne kulture, odkrite v plasti, lahko pripisali gravettienskimi ali epigravettienskimi obiskovalcem jame. Ljudje so jamo obiskali po tem, ko se je v tisočletjih pred njihovim obiskom del plasti že odložil, v njej pa so bili tudi ostanki jamskega medveda. Ker je v majhni jami majhna količina

sedimenta, je zaradi dejavnosti ljudi prišlo do različnih posegov v plasti, s tem pa so se lahko starejše kosti jamskega medveda znašle skupaj z mlajšimi kulturnimi ostanki. Ocenjujemo, da je do obiska ljudi v jami prišlo okvirno v času od okoli 21.000 do okoli 10.000 BP. Tej preliminarni časovni umestitvi zaenkrat ne nasprotujejo v plasti odkriti rastlinski ostanki. Med identificiranimi rastlinskimi vrstami, če trto in žitno zrno razumemo kot rezultat kasnejše kontaminacije plasti, namreč ni vrste, ki v okolici jame ne bi mogla biti prisotna tudi v tem obdobju.

Na ožjem območju pravih primerjav z drugimi paleolitskimi najdišči zaenkrat nimamo. Na območju Goliča nad Rakitovcem je bila ob nekdanji vodni/močvirni kotanji najdena retuširana klinica in nekaj odbitkov (Jamnik, neobjavljeno), vendar se zdi, da najdbe nakužejo bolj v smer mlajših mezolitskih obiskov Goliča. Globoški peči najbližje epigravettiensko najdišče je plano najdišče pod Partizansko jamo (Jamnik *et al.*, 2015), kjer so najdbe prav tako skromne, zato se tipološka primerjava nekaj orodij ne zdi smiselna. Epigravettienska najdišča v Pivški kotlini (Zakajeni spodmol, Županov spodmol, Ovčja jama, Betalov spodmol) so bila v funkciji v drugačnem okolju, kot je okolje Globoške peči, in ker je najdb v Globoški peči res zelo malo, bi bili rezultati primerjave lahko povsem zavajajoči. Zaenkrat je pomembno, da smo ob novoodkritem jamskem najdišču pleistocenske favne, poleg jame v kamnolomu Črni kal, Partizanske jame in planem najdišču pod njo, na območju Kraškega roba oziroma v delu slovenske Istre, dobili tudi novo paleolitsko postajo. S skromnim materialom, ki nam je bil na voljo za analizo in interpretacijo najdišča, smo uspeli dobiti pomembne podatke, ki bodo lahko dobro izhodišče za nadalje raziskave.

THE GLOBOŠKA PEČ CAVE, A NEW PALEONTOLOGICAL AND PALEOLITHIC SITE ON THE KARST EDGE – RESULTS OF THE EXPERIMENTAL TRIAL EXCAVATION

Pavel JAMNIK

Kočna 5, 4273 Blejska Dobrava, Slovenia
e-mail: pavel.jamnik@telemach.net

Borut TOŠKAN

ZRC SAZU, Institute of Archeology, Novi trg 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: borut.toskan@zrc-sazu.si

Matija KRIŽNAR

Slovenian Museum of Natural History, Prešernova 20, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: mkriznar@pms-lj.si

Tjaša TOLAR

ZRC SAZU, Institute of Archeology, Novi trg 2, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: tjasa.tolar@zrc-sazu.si

Bruno BLAŽINA

Jenkova cesta 16, 6230 Postojna, Slovenia
e-mail: bruno.blazina@gmail.com

SUMMARY

*A preliminary examination of sediments from a recently identified Globoška peč cave located between the villages of Zazid and Dol pri Hrastovljah has been carried out as part of the project Identification of cave bear sites in Slovenia (Fig. 1). The cave (435m above sea level) is 7 meters wide and up to 6 meters high (Fig. 2). There are remains of a drywall in front of the cave's entrance and remains of old breccias (Fig. 3) with fossilised bone fragments inside the cave's tunnels (Fig. 3B, 3C). Two small pits (dimensions 40cm by 50cm) were dug in the sedimentary base (Fig. 2, 4), yielding 94 kg of sedimentary material for archaeobotanical analysis (Table 1). A total of 1,135 animal fragments were found. Of these, only 152 (less than 13%) were identified and classified according to taxonomy. The fragments belong to at least 21 species of 14 families (Fig. 2, 4, 7, 9). *Ursus ingressus* and *Ursus spelaeus* were the most abundant categories identified in the analysed material (Fig. 5). A significant amount of these fragments is related to juvenile bears (Tab. 3). In addition to a few charcoal fragments, the analyzed material revealed rare, charred and uncharred, seeds/fruits of wild plant species. Grape seeds and a wheat grain are probably of recent origin and the result of layer contamination (Tab. 5). A total of 69 stone tool elements (Tab. 6; Fig. 7, 8, 9) were found in the sifted material. We also observed concretions of light brown-yellow-reddish colour, similar to quartz by appearance, feel and colour (Fig. 10). The chemical analysis shows increased presence of phosphorus and silicon (Fig. 11, 12). The concretions are believed to be the result of the process of adipocere, i.e. the saponification of animal corpse, quite possibly, of a cave bear. The faunal remains suggest that the settling of find-bearing sediments took place before the onset of the Last Glacial Maximum, i.e. 26,000 years ago, and probably continued into the Late Glacial. A detailed cultural classification is impossible due to lack of typological indication tools. Therefore, for now, these finds can be roughly classified as belonging to Gravettian or Epigravettian cave inhabitants, dating between 21.000 and 10.000 BP.*

Keywords: Karst Edge, Globoška peč cave, upper paleolithic, pleistocene fauna, concretions of saponification

VIRI IN LITERATURA

- Anthony, D. W. & D. R. Brown (2011):** The Secondary Products Revolution, Horse-Riding, and Mounted Warfare. *Journal of World Prehistory*, 24, 131–160.
- Bartolomei, G. (1996):** Resti faunistici del Tardi-glaciale e dell'Olocene. V: Guerreschi, A. (ur.): Il sito preistorico del Riparo di Biarzo (Valle del Natisone, Friuli). Udine, Ed. del Museo Friulano di Storia Udine, 61–38.
- Baryshnikov, G. & A. Y. Puzachenko (2011):** Craniometrical Variability in the Cave Bears (Carnivora, Ursidae): Multivariate Comparative Analysis. *Quaternary International*, 245, 2, 350–368.
- Baryshnikov, G. & A. Y. Puzachenko (2017):** Morphometric Analysis of Metacarpal and Metatarsal Bones of Cave Bears (Carnivora, Ursidae). *Fossil Imprint* 73, 1–2, 7–47.
- Bernardini, F., Zanolli, C., Boschini, F., Tuniz, C., Terrasi, F., Velušček, A., Arbulla, D. & E. Montegnarri Kokelj (2014):** Protohistoric Burial Remains from Ladrica Cave (south western Slovenia): predstavitev posterja v okviru 49. mednarodnega posvetovanja IPPi „Preistoria e Protoistoria del Caput Adriae“, tematski sklop „Modalita insediative: palafitte“. Pordenone, Museo Archeologico del Friuli Occidentale.
- Bosak, P., Mihevc, A., Pruner, P., Melka, K., Venhoda, D. & A. Langrov (1999):** Cave Fill in the Črnotiče Quarry, SW Slovenia: Palaeomagnetic, Mineralogical and Geochemical Study. *Acta carsologica*, 28, 2, 15–39.
- Berner, R. A. (1968):** Calcium Carbonate Concretions Formed by the Decomposition of Organic Matter. *Science*, 159, 3811, 195–197.
- Berto, C. (2013):** Distribuzione ed evoluzione delle associazioni a piccoli mammiferi nella penisola italiana durante il Pleistocene superiore. Neobjavljeno doktorsko delo, Università degli Studi di Ferrara, Ferrara.
- Brodar, M. (1991):** Paleolitik Ciganjske jame pri Željnah. *Arheološki vestnik*, 42, 23–64.
- Brodar, S. (1958):** Črni Kal, nova paleolitska postaja v Slovenskem primorju (Črni Kal, eine neue Paläolithstation im Küstengebiet Sloweniens). *Razprave 4. razreda SAZU*, 4, 271–363.
- Brodar, S. (1960–1961):** Najdbe kostnih ostankov ledenodobnega človeka na Slovenskih tleh. *Arheološki vestnik*, 11–12, 5–14.
- Budja, M., Ogrinc, N., Žibrat Gašperič, A., Potočnik, D., Žigon, D. & D. Mlekuž (2013):** Transition to Farming – Transition to Milk Culture: a Case Study from Mala Triglavca, Slovenia. *Documenta Praehistorica*, 40, 97–117.
- Cappers, R. T. J., Bekker, R. M. & J. E. A. Jans (2006):** Digitale Zadenatlas van Nederland. Groningen, Barkhuis Publishing & Groningen University Library.
- Criss, R. E., Cooke, G. A. & S. D. Day (1988):** An Organic Origin for the Carbonate Concretions of the Ohio Shale. *U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin*, 1836, 1–21.
- Dirjec, J. (2001):** Brežec 3. <http://www.arzenal.si/sarnas/najdisce/863> (zadnji pristop: 1. 2. 2020).
- Dirjec, J., Turk, I. & A. Šercelj (1992):** Praproče. *Varstvo spomenikov*, 34, 280–281.
- Driesch, A. von den (1976):** A Guide to the Measurement of Animal Bones from Archaeological Sites. Cambridge, Mass, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University.
- Evershed, R. P., Dudd, S. N., Copley, M. S., Berstan, R., Stott, A. W., Mottram, H., Buckley, S. A. & Z. Crossman (2002):** Chemistry of Archaeological Animal Fats. *Accounts of Chemical Research* 35, 8, 660–668.
- Feoktistova, N. Y., Meschersky, I. G., Bogomolov, P. L., Sayan, A. S., Poplavskaya, N. S. & A. V. Surov (2017):** Phylogeographic Structure of the Common Hamster (*Cricetus cricetus* L.): Late Pleistocene Connections between Caucasus and Western European populations. *PLoS ONE* 12, 11: e0187527. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0187527> (zadnji pristop: 1. 2. 2020).
- Forbes, S. L., Stuart, B. H. & B. B. Dent (2005):** The Effect of Burial Environment on Adipocere Formation. *Forensic Science International*, 154, 1, 24–34.
- Hofreiter, M., Rabeder, G., Jaenicke-Després, V., Withalm, G., Nagel, D., Paunović, M., Jambrešič, G. & S. Pääbo (2004):** Evidence for Reproductive Isolation between Cave Bear Populations. *Current Biology*, 14, 1, 40–43.
- Jamnik, P., Križnar, M. & M. Turk (2013):** Novi podatki o paleolitskem in paleontološkem najdišču v kamnolomu Črni Kal in fosilna kost z vrezi iz kamnoloma Črnotiče nad Koprom. *Arheološki vestnik*, 64, 57–73.
- Jamnik, P., Velušček, A., Josipovič, D., Toškan, B. & R. Čelesnik (2015):** Partizanska jama in plano najdišče pod jamo – novi paleolitski lokaciji v slovenski Istri: ali smo v Sloveniji ob prvem fosilnem ostanku neandertalca odkrili tudi prvo sled paleolitske jamske slikarske umetnosti? *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia*, 25, 4, 705–732.
- Jamnik, P. & B. Blažina (2019):** V kateri od jam pod gradiščem Marije snežne pri Črnotičah je bila najdena človeška spodnja čeljustnica z eno najstarejših zobnih zalivk na svetu? *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia*, 29, 2, 273–292.
- Križnar, M. & D. Preisinger (2017):** Novo najdišče pleistocenske sesalske favne v kamnolomu pri Črnem Kalu (Primorska, Slovenija) ter problematika zaščite in ohranjanja najdišč v kamnolomih. *Geologija*, 60, 1, 87–97.
- Leben, F. (1978):** Osteološke in kulturne najdbe prazgodovinskega človeka iz kraških jam Slovenije in mejnega ozemlja. *Arheološki vestnik*, 29, 13–31.

- Lepori, R. (1937):** Cenni preliminari su un ritrovamento di mandibola umana fossile in una caverna dell'Istria settentrionale. *Atti del Museo Civico di Storia naturale di Trieste*, XIII, 2, 27–34.
- Librado, P., Fages, A., Gaunitz, C., Leonardi, M., Wagner, S., Khan, N., Hanghøj, K., Alquraishi, S. A., Alfarhan, A. H., Al-Rasheid, K. A., Der Sarkissian, C., Schubert, M. & L. Orlando (2016):** The Evolutionary Origin and Genetic Make-up of Domestic Horses. *Genetics*, 204, 2, 423–434.
- Lynn-Harrell, T. jr. & A. Perez-Huerta (2015):** Rare Earth Element (REE) Analysis of Vertebrate Fossils from the Upper Cretaceous Carbonate Marine Formations of Western and Central Alabama, USA. *Taphonomic and Paleoenvironmental Implications. PALAIOS*, 30, 7, 514–528.
- Martinčič, A. (1999):** Mala flora Slovenije. Ljubljana, Tehniška založba Slovenije.
- Mihevc, A. (2001):** Speleogeneza Divaškega krasa. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.
- Müller, J. (1914):** Bericht der Höhlenforschungsabteilung »Hades« für das Jahr 1913. – Jahresber. Sekt. Küstenland des D. u. Oe. A. V. 1913. Triest. P. 26–36.
- Oros Sršen, A., Brajković, D., Radović, S., Mauch Lenardić, J. & T. P. Miracle (2014):** The Avifauna of Southern Istria (Croatia) During the Late Pleistocene: Implications for the Palaeoecology and Biodiversity of the Northern Adriatic Region. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 24, 3, 289–299.
- Outram, A. K., Stear, N. A., Bendrey, R., Olsen, S., Kasparov, A., Zaibert, V., Thorpe, N. & R. P. Evershed (2009):** The Earliest Horse Harnessing and Milking. *Science* 323, 5919, 1332–1335.
- Pavšič J. & I. Turk (1989):** Prva najdba *Panthera pardus* (Linne) in nove najdbe vrste *Gulo gulo* (Linne) v Sloveniji. *Razprave SAZU*, 4, 30, 131–160.
- Pohar, V. (1978):** Tipologija in statistična obdelava mlajšepaleolitskih kamenih orodnih inventarjev. Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji, 6, 7–42.
- Pohar, V. (1985):** Kvarterni sesalci iz Babje jame pri Dobu. *Razprave IV. razreda SAZU* 26, 97–130.
- Pohar, V. (1990):** Sesalska makrofavna v starejšem holocenu. Poročilo o raziskovanju paleolita, neolita in eneolita v Sloveniji, 18, 43–49.
- Pohar, V. (1997):** Late Glacial Mammal Macrofauna in Slovenia. *Quartär*, 47–48, 149–158.
- Pohar, V. & R. Pavlovec (1997):** The Črni Kal Quarry – An Example of Destroying Geotopes. *Geologica Croatica*, 50, 2, 181–184.
- Pohar, V. & P. Kralj (2002):** Preservation of Pleistocene Natural and Cultural Heritage in Potočka Zijalka, Križna jama and Črni Kal, Slovenia / Die Erhaltung der Pleistozän Natur- und Kulturerbschaft in Potočka zijalka, Križna jama und Črni Kal, Slowenien. V: 6th International Symposium on Cultural Heritage in Geosciences, Mining and Metallurgy (Idrija), Book of abstracts, 239–242.
- Preleuthner, M. (1999):** *Marmota marmota* (Linnaeus, 1758). V: Mitchell-Jones, A. J., Amori, G., Bogdanowicz, W., Kryštufek, B., Reijnders, P. J. H., Spitzenberger, F., Stubbe, M., Thissen, J. B. M., Vohralík, V. and J. Zima (eds): *The Atlas of European Mammals*. London, Academic Press.
- Pucher, E. & K. Engl (1997):** Studien zur Pfahlbauforschung in Österreich. Materialien I. Die Pfahlbaustationen des Mondsees Tierknochenfunde. Wien, Mitteilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission, Band.
- Rabeder, G., Hofreiter, M., Nagel, D. & G. Withalm (2004):** New Taxa of Alpine Cave Bears (Ursidae, Carnivora). *Documents des Laboratoires de géologie Lyon, Hors série*, 2, 49–68.
- Rakovec, I. (1958):** Pleistocenski sesalci iz jame pri Črni Kalu (The Pleistocene Mammalia from the cave Črni Kal in Northern Istria). *Razprave 4. razreda SAZU* 4, 365–433.
- Rakovec, I. (1973):** Razvoj kvartarne sesalske favne v Sloveniji. *Arheološki vestnik*, 24, 225–270.
- Schweingruber, F. H. (1990):** Mikroskopische Holzanatomie. Birmensdorf, Eidgenössische Forschungsanstalt für Wald, Schnee und Landschaft.
- Slabe, T. (2014):** Jamske skalne oblike, sled razvoja slovenskih kraških jam. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.
- Takatori, T. (1996):** Investigations on the Mechanism of Adipocere Formation and its Relation to Other Biochemical Reactions. *Forensic Science International*, 80, 1–2, 49–61.
- Terlato, G., Bocherens, H., Romandini, M., Nannini, N., Hobson, K. A. & M. Peresani (2018):** Chronological and Isotopic Data Support a Revision for the Timing of Cave Bear Extinction in Mediterranean Europe. *Historical Biology*, 31, 4, 474–484.
- Toškan, B. (2007):** Ostanke velikih sesalcev iz Divjih bab I: stratigrafija, taksonomija in biometrija. V: Turk, I. (ur.): *Divje babe I: paleolitsko najdišče mlajšega pleistocena v Sloveniji* (1. del: Geologija in paleontologija). Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 221–278.
- Toškan, B. (2009):** Small Terrestrial Mammals (Soricomorpha, Chiroptera, Rodentia) from the Early Holocene Layers of Mala Triglavca (SW Slovenia). *Acta carsologica*, 38, 1, 117–133.
- Toškan, B. (2012):** Mali sesalci kot orodje za prepoznavanje paleooljskega zapisa – vloga tafonomije ali drobni tisk, ki ga ne gre zanemariti. V: Andrič, M. (ur.): *Dolgoročne spremembe okolja*. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 9–24.
- Toškan, B. (2015):** Sejati ali ne sejati, to je tu vprašanje. O pomenu drobnih živalskih najdb v arheo(zoo)logiji. *Arheo*, 32, 65–81.
- Toškan, B. (2016):** Arheozoologija. V: Andrič, M., Tolar, T. & B. Toškan: *Okoljska arheologija in paleoekologija: arheobotanika, palionologija, arheozoologija*. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 81–123.

Toškan, B. & J. Dirjec (2004): Ostanki velikih sesalcev v Viktorjevem spodmolu. V: Turk, I. (ur.): Viktorjev spodmol in Mala Triglavca, prispevki k poznavanju mezolitskega obdobja v Sloveniji. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 135–167.

Toškan, B. & J. Dirjec (2006): Ostanki sesalske favne na Resnikovem prekopu, Ljubljansko barje. V: Velušček, A. (ur.): Resnikov prekop: najstarejša koliščarska naselbina na Ljubljanskem barju. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 139–154.

Toškan, B. & B. Kryštufek (2004): Ostanki malih sesalcev (Insectivora, Chiroptera, Rodentia) v Viktorjevem spodmolu. V: Turk, I. (ur.): Viktorjev spodmol in Mala Triglavca. Prispevki k poznavanju mezolitskega obdobja v Sloveniji. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 114–134.

Toškan, B. & B. Kryštufek (2007): Mali terestrični sesalci (Erinaceomorpha, Soricomorpha, Chiroptera, Rodentia) iz Divjih bab I. V: Turk, I. (ur.): Divje babe I: paleolitsko najdišče mlajšega pleistocena v Sloveniji (1. del: Geologija in paleontologija). Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 193–219.

Toškan, B., Dirjec, J. & A. Bavdek (2014): Lost in Time? Repatriated Animal Remains from Anelli's Excavations at Betalov Spodmol (SW Slovenia). *RMZ – Materials and geoenvironment*, 61, 2–3, 143–158.

Turk, I. (1982): Prešnica. <http://www.arzenal.si/sarnas/najdisce/846> (zadnji pristop: 1. 2. 2020).

Turk, I., Kogovšek, J., Kranjc, A. & J. Dirjec (1988): Fosfati in tanatomasa v sedimentih iz jame Divje babe I. *Acta carsologica*, XVII, 1, 107–127.

Turk, I., Dirjec, J. & M. Culiberg (1988–1989): Divje babe I – Novo paleolitsko najdišče in skupinsko grobišče jamskega medveda. *Arheološki vestnik*, 39–40, 13–60.

Turk, I., Cimerman, F., Dirjec, J. & J. Majdič (1995): 45.000 let stare fosilne dlake jamskega medveda iz najdišča Divje babe I v Sloveniji. *Arheološki vestnik*, 46, 30–51.

Turk, I. & G. Kapun (2007): Fosilne dlake jamskega medveda v najdišču Divje babe I. V: Turk, I. (ur.): Divje babe I: paleolitsko najdišče mlajšega pleistocena v Sloveniji (1. del: Geologija in paleontologija). Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, 341–346.

Turk, I. & V. Saksida (1990): Praproče. *Varstvo spomenikov*, 32, 164.

Župančič, M. (1990): Arheološka podoba Brega s kraškimi robom. V: *Kraški rob in Brzenija*, Skupščina občine. Koper, 19–26.

Weinhold, U. (1999): *Cricetus cricetus* (Linnaeus, 1758). V: Mitchell-Jones, A. J., Amori, G., Bogdanowicz, W., Kryštufek, B., Reijnders, P. J. H., Spitzenberger, F., Stubbe, M., Thissen, J. B. M., Vohralík, V. & J. Zima (ur.): *The Atlas of European Mammals*. London, San Diego, Poyser Natural History, 202–203.

I SITI ROMANI DI BOCCADINO E BRAIDA (DUINO-AURISINA, TRIESTE): DUE RICERCHE DI LUDWIG KARL MOSER IGNORATE DAGLI STUDIOSI

Stanko FLEGO

Biblioteca Nazionale Slovena e degli Studi/Narodna in študijska knjižnica, Via S. Francesco 20, 34133 Trieste, Italia
e-mail: s_flego@virgilio.it

Lidija RUPEL

Biblioteca Nazionale Slovena e degli Studi/Narodna in študijska knjižnica, Via S. Francesco 20, 34133 Trieste, Italia
e-mail: lidiarupel22@gmail.com

SINTESI

Ludwig Karl Moser, professore di scienze naturali nel liceo classico di lingua tedesca di Trieste, scavò nei dintorni di Duino, e precisamente a Boccadino, nell'area dell'attuale Villaggio del Pescatore, e a Braida, località sita tra Duino e San Giovanni al Timavo. I risultati delle sue indagini non vennero riportati nelle successive pubblicazioni relative ai due siti. Gli autori pubblicano le traduzioni integrali degli articoli di Moser su Boccadino e Braida, analizzano i dati a loro disposizione, completandoli con nuovi elementi, e localizzano il sito di Braida.

Parole chiave: Boccadino, Braida, Ludwig Karl Moser, epoca romana, tombe tardoromane, monete romane, Kenner, Puschi

ROMAN SITES BOCCADINO AND BRAIDA (DUINO-AURISINA, TRIESTE): TWO RESEARCHES OF LUDWIG KARL MOSER IGNORED BY ACADEMICS

ABSTRACT

Ludwig Karl Moser, teacher at the German classical gymnasium of Trieste, carried out researches and explorations in the areas near Duino, more precisely in Boccadino (nowadays Villaggio del Pescatore) and in Braida, an area between Duino and San Giovanni al Timavo. The results of his researches were not mentioned in the publications about the two sites. The authors are publishing the complete translations of Moser's articles, analyzing and enriching the datas and defining the location of the site of Braida.

Keywords: Boccadino, Braida, Ludwig Karl Moser, Roman ages, late Roman burials, Roman coins, Kenner, Puschi

INTRODUZIONE

Ludwig Karl Moser (Teschen/Těšín 1845 – Bolzano 1918), dal 1876 al 1904 professore di scienze naturali presso il liceo classico di lingua tedesca di Trieste, fu uno studioso poliedrico, attivo soprattutto in campo speleologico e archeologico non soltanto sul Carso Triestino, ma anche nei territori limitrofi, oggi in Slovenia e in Croazia. La sua ricca bibliografia che comprende almeno 261 titoli (Župančič, 2012) rispecchia il ritmo instancabile ed entusiastico delle sue ricerche a cui dedicava tutto il tempo libero dagli impegni scolastici. Sicuramente stimolanti per Moser furono sia l'ambiente scolastico, polo culturale importante per la comunità di lingua tedesca, sia la stessa città di Trieste che nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento era molto attiva sul piano della ricerca scientifica: numerosi furono gli studiosi di grande caratura che diedero un notevole apporto alle discipline di appartenenza. Tra questi si può oggi annoverare anche L. K. Moser che fu molto apprezzato nei circoli triestini di lingua tedesca e filoautriaci, ma aspramente criticato dagli intellettuali italiani. Non gli fu certamente d'aiuto l'essere contemporaneo di Carlo de Marchesetti, apprezzato studioso, che dal 1876 rivestiva la carica di

direttore del Museo Civico di Storia Naturale. Questo atteggiamento negativo nei confronti di L. K. Moser e del suo operato continuò anche dopo la sua morte, avvenuta il 2 giugno del 1918, e si acuì in seguito, negli anni Venti del secolo scorso, ad opera di Raffaello Battaglia che giudicava Moser una *“persona assolutamente incompetente”* (Battaglia, 1924, 71). Questo giudizio negativo fu poi ripreso pedissequamente dagli studiosi successivi: Dante Cannarella nel 1984 lo riteneva privo di *“preparazione scientifica”* e di *“serietà”*, devastatore di tombe e latore di *“notizie a volte anche false”* (Cannarella, 1984, 444–446), opinione questa ripresa anche da Marco Durigon nell'articolo del 1999 sulle grotte carsiche di epoca romana in cui sottolineava come Moser non avesse *“la dovuta professionalità per svolgere una seria indagine paleontologica”* (Durigon, 1999, 30). Soltanto negli ultimi anni si registra un atteggiamento più obiettivo nei suoi confronti accompagnato da una revisione critica del suo operato (Flego & Rupel, 2012).

Di conseguenza molte ricerche, fatte da Moser, furono ignorate o prese in minor considerazione anche se attinenti a zone di notevole importanza archeologica e oggetto di nuove e approfondite indagini. Nel presente articolo si prendono in considerazione due



Immagine 1: Stralcio della Carta Tecnica Regionale Numerica (CTRN) 1:5000 (elemento n. 109044 San Giovanni al Timavo) con indicati i siti di Boccadino (1) e Braida (2).



Immagine 2: Mappa catastale della metà degli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso (Catasto Fondiario di Trieste). Nell'area di Boccadino Vecchio sono segnate 10 case, primo nucleo abitativo del Villaggio San Marco. Nella zona di Boccadino Nuovo sono indicate le pp. cc. nn. 103 e 104, già presenti nella Mappa del Catasto Franceschino del 1818. La sottile linea nera indica l'andamento della costa prima dell'interramento che rese possibile la costruzione dei nuovi edifici, di cui gran parte si trova proprio nella zona interrata.



Immagine 3: Vista sulle prime case costruite nell'insenatura di Boccadino Vecchio, sulla destra è visibile un tratto di mura del cosiddetto Palazzo di Attila (Foto: F. Colombo).

I SITI ARCHEOLOGICI

Boccadino

La baia di Boccadino (Valcatino, Val Catino, Boccadino, Boccadin, Bokadin, Bacadin) si trovava sulla costa tra l'abitato di Duino e la foce del fiume Timavo a San Giovanni al Timavo. Nei primi anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso questa zona fu stravolta dall'interramento della baia per rendere possibile la costruzione del Villaggio di San Marco, in seguito denominato Villaggio del Pescatore, destinato a ospitare i profughi istriani. Prima di questi interventi la piccola baia, delimitata dalle pareti strapiombanti del ciglione carsico, era divisa in due da un costone roccioso, formando così due insenature: una più grande, Boccadino Vecchio, a nord ovest, e una più piccola, Boccadino Nuovo, a sud est. Nel 1951 le prime dieci unità abitative del nuovo borgo furono costruite proprio nell'area di Boccadino Vecchio (imm. 2, 3).

interventi, effettuati da Moser nell'odierno territorio del comune di Duino-Aurisina presso Trieste, e in seguito "dimenticati": Boccadino nell'area del Villaggio del Pescatore e Braida¹, località sita tra Duino e San Giovanni al Timavo (imm.1).

Lo scavo di L. K. Moser a Boccadino fu l'unico intervento sistematico eseguito in questo sito, a cui fece seguito una relazione dettagliata comprendente anche il disegno della stratigrafia. In seguito in questo luogo non furono effettuate altre ricerche, di conseguenza, dopo l'interramento di parte della baia per la costruzione del Villaggio del Pescatore negli anni Cinquanta del secolo scorso, le indagini di Moser rimangono le uniche testimonianze, avvalorate da ricerche archeologiche, dell'esistenza di una necropoli nella Baia di Boccadino.

Anche nel caso del secondo sito, Braida, i dati riferiti da L. K. Moser e la pianta delle strutture da lui redatta sono le testimonianze più complete che si hanno di questo sito. Solo Alberto Puschi nei suoi diari fece riferimento alle ricerche di Moser, mentre in seguito il sito anche se evidenziato non fu messo in relazione con quello indagato da Moser agli inizi del Novecento.

La zona di Boccadino era l'unica area coltivabile lungo la costa tra la Baia di Sistiana e le foci del Timavo come si evince dalla mappa del Catasto Franceschino (imm. 4) degli inizi del XIX secolo (ASTS, Mappa catastale del comune di Duino 662b/1), sulla quale è segnata nell'insenatura di Boccadino Nuovo una vigna, circondata a monte da una striscia di terra non coltivata².

La località è citata nel diploma del patriarca aquileiese Vodolrico I con la locuzione "a valle de Catyno": nel documento, che si data tra il 1090 e il 1105, l'antistite dona all'Abbazia di S. Martino della

¹ I toponimi Boccadino e Braida sono riportati nella forma usata da Moser.

² In Auriemma & Karinja (2008, 185, fig. 111) la Mappa catastale del comune di Duino 662b/1 del Catasto Franceschino è stata sovrapposta alla Carta Tecnica Regionale n.109044.



Immagine 4: Mappa del Catasto Franceschino, 1818 (ASTS, Duino, 662b/1). La zona di Boccadino Vecchio, a NO, non presenta aree coltivate, mentre un vigneto è segnato a SE nella zona di Boccadino Nuovo, più elevata rispetto al livello del mare e quindi più adatta alla coltivazione.

Beligna il monastero abbandonato di S. Giovanni in Tuba (Scalon, 1983, 23). In un documento triestino del 6 dicembre 1451 è riportata invece la forma “Bacadin” (ADTS, Vicedominaria, β C 42, C. 182R)³.

Il primo a dare notizia di ritrovamenti in questa zona fu lo storico triestino Pietro Kandler che nel 1850 scrisse nella sua rivista *L'Istria* (Kandler, 1850, 261):

[...] quella valle che tutto giorno dicono Bocadino, nella quale viddi rovine amplissime di antico edificio a più corsi di muro, ed avanzi di stoviglie ed innumara quantità di tegole romane; sopra bellissimo seno di mare, che distinguono in due parti, Bocadin vecchio e Bocadin nuovo; non senza probabilità che il vecchio fosse piccolo porto, chiuso da catena, come solevansi nei porti tutti, da cui forse il nome si frequente in altre parti di Valcatena.

Kandler si occupò nuovamente di Boccadino nel 1864 (Kandler, 1864, 34) in un breve appunto pubblicato sempre sulla rivista *L'Istria*: “[...] A Val Catino o Catena, oltrechè opere artificiali per farne ridotto di navi, ho veduto ampie rovine, certamente di quel castello di Pucino, dal quale venne il nome al celebratissimo liquore [...]”

Nel 1881 Sir Richard Francis Burton, noto esploratore e studioso inglese, console britannico a Trieste dal 1871 sino alla morte avvenuta nel 1890, nel suo scritto sulle terme di Monfalcone, descrivendo un'escursione da Trieste a Monfalcone, riportò alcuni dati su Boccadino (Burton, 1992, 63):

Vicino alla cosiddetta strada romana fu trovato, dicono, un raffinato ossuario di vetro con una fascetta in argento, che si inseriva in una giara di pietra e contenente resti umani; questo fatto ricorda la Via Appia. Andando verso la costa osserviamo una doppia baia verso ovest, orlata da piante acquatiche. Secondo il canonico Adolfo Pichler, che ora esercita a Trento e che si propone di scrivere la storia di Duino, qui è situato secondo la tradizione, il palazzo di Attila. I blocchi di rovine sopra la scogliera, a circa ottanta piedi, sono costruzioni medioevali e una cavità, ora chiusa dalla spazzatura, si suppone sia la volta di una chiesa. La metà settentrionale della baia era in apparenza un luogo di sepoltura e qui furono scoperti otto scheletri dal proprietario del terreno Stefano Valentinicic, scherzosamente chiamato “l'avvocato di Duino”. Egli mostrò un'inequivocabile anfora e delle tegole scanalate insieme ad alcune monete, in particolare un Diocleziano di assai dubbia origine.

L'anno successivo, nel 1882, fu pubblicato il libro del canonico Rodolfo Pichler sul Castello di Duino, nel quale l'Autore descrisse la località di Boccadino in modo dettagliato e colorito (Pichler, 1882, 65):

Valcatino era confinato a sera da un poggio messo a cultura presso la riviera lussureggiante del Timavo e a mattina dal folto bosco di lecci, che dal suo cupo colore venne chiamato Nigriniano, e Cernizza ancor oggi appellasi dagli Sloveni. Lo scoglio che s'insinua per un tratto nell'acque e divide la baia in due, portava a cavaliere una rocca costrutta di pietra squadrata, di cui si veggono tuttodì le traccie; non molti anni fa lasciava ancora scorgere le celle e gli scompartimenti inferiori. Nella parte più bassa, vicino alla marina, il villano rompe sovente col vomere i mosaici o pavimenti dei fabbricati sottostanti il castello. Domestiche suppellettili, frammenti

³ Si ringrazia Fulvio Colombo per la gentile segnalazione.

di vasi vinarii, di urne cinerarie, monete romane si continuano a scavare tutto all'intorno; in un punto della spiaggia furono rinvenuti sepolti sette scheletri coricati uno presso l'altro, di statura assai vantaggiosa; ed erano ancora ben conservati, ma possono essere di tempi meno antichi.

Sia Burton che Pichler riportano la notizia del ritrovamento di sepolture di inumati sulla spiaggia: secondo lo studioso inglese nella parte settentrionale della baia furono rinvenuti otto scheletri, mentre secondo Pichler gli scheletri furono sette, in buono stato di conservazione e riferibili a persone di statura elevata, manca però in ambedue i casi un'indicazione più precisa del punto di rinvenimento.

Nel 1886 Boccadino con il suo ricco passato archeologico attirò l'interesse del professore L. K. Moser che dopo aver visitato il sito decise di intraprendervi delle ricerche, attingendo per lo scavo dai fondi, raccolti precedentemente tra i triestini benestanti per sostenere le sue indagini (Mader, 2012, 115).

La relazione (Moser, 1888, 30–32) sulle ricerche, svolte nella baia di Boccadino, fu stilata in breve tempo, come sua abitudine, e pubblicata nel periodico della Commissione Preistorica dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Vienna (*Mittheilungen der Prähistorischen Kommission*) nel 1888 e in seguito ristampata nel 1903 (Moser, 1903, 30–32).

Moser riportò nel suo contributo, ricco di dati significativi, anche il rilievo stratigrafico dello scavo con la descrizione dei singoli strati, un approccio scientificamente corretto che dimostra, nonostante le critiche a lui rivolte, che egli aveva fatto buon uso degli insegnamenti di Ferdinand von Hochstetter (1829–1884), direttore del Museo di Storia Naturale di Vienna dal 1876, e di Moriz Hoernes, primo docente di preistoria presso l'Università di Vienna (Mader, 2012, 114–115).

Si ripropone di seguito in traduzione il testo completo del 1888.

10. Indagini sulle tombe romane di Boccadino presso San Giovanni vicino alle bocche del Timavo.

Boccadino è costituito da due insenature, delimitate dal ripido ciglione carsico, che si trovano sopra il livello del mare e sono in parte difese da una barriera che le protegge dalla penetrazione del mare. Ci si arriva da Duino, dapprima seguendo la strada che conduce a S. Giovanni, poi un sentiero che non lontano dal Parco dei cervi gira in direzione del mare e attraversa presto la vecchia strada imperiale. Nell'insenatura più profonda di questo sito costiero piano, usato per la produzione di vino e mais, tra la ripida parete carsica e la vigna del proprietario terriero Martinčich di Duino si trova un banco di ghiaia

largo 3-6 metri il quale è coperto superficialmente da una ricca vegetazione. Nel 1883, durante il dissodamento della vigna, in questo banco di ghiaia furono rinvenuti dal succitato proprietario alcuni scheletri, poi monete e vasellame fittile. Le monete e la ceramica furono consegnate, a detta del rinventore, all'i.r. ufficio distrettuale di Monfalcone, gli scheletri invece furono gettati in mare.

Nell'agosto del 1886, in occasione di un'escursione a Duino, visitai per la prima volta il sito descritto e ricevetti dal proprietario, che per caso era presente, 11 oggetti in terracotta perforati, di rozza fattura, di colore giallo pallido o rossastro, di forma globulare, schiacciata o biconica, di 3.6-4.3 cm di larghezza e 2.2-3 cm di altezza, del tipo comunemente indicato come fusaiola o peso da rete. Pare che questi si trovassero infilati su una cordicella vicino al collo di uno degli scheletri.

Alla fine di Settembre dell'anno scorso in base ad un accordo con il proprietario diedi inizio allo scavo nel menzionato banco di ghiaia, utilizzando a tale scopo 14 operai e due carri trainati da buoi per trasportare i detriti alla suddetta diga. I lavori iniziarono nell'angolo orientale destro dell'insenatura, lì dove erano stati rinvenuti gli scheletri nel 1883. Nella vigna stessa, in cui fu fatto un ampio saggio, non vi furono ritrovamenti, inoltre delle infiltrazioni d'acqua compromisero le ricerche.

Tuttavia il banco di ghiaia mostrava in tutta la sua lunghezza uno strato archeologico coerente, il cui profilo si può vedere nella sezione stratigrafica a lato (fig. 61). In cima si trovava un sottile strato di humus con vegetazione, poi uno strato spesso mezzo metro, composto da grossi blocchi di pietra, seguito da uno strato archeologico antico dello spessore fino a un metro. In esso si trovarono per lo più ossa umane, numerosi frammenti di ceramica, grossi pezzi di laterizi, carbone e conchiglie marine. Dopo di ciò seguiva uno strato di breccia cementata di oltre due metri che non conteneva resti archeologici e che spesso alla sua base presentava sabbia marina e detriti concrezionati assieme, anche con infiltrazioni d'acqua [imm. 5].

I sopraccitati oggetti in terracotta (Thonkugeln), rinvenuti di nuovo in gran numero proprio il primo giorno di scavo, si trovavano di solito nello strato superiore di detriti. Qui, nel punto dove si trovavano sparsi disordinatamente dei frammenti di urne e dei resti di cremazione, furono rinvenuti un amo da pesca in grosso filo di bronzo ad uncino con estremità appiattita, rivolta verso l'interno, oltre

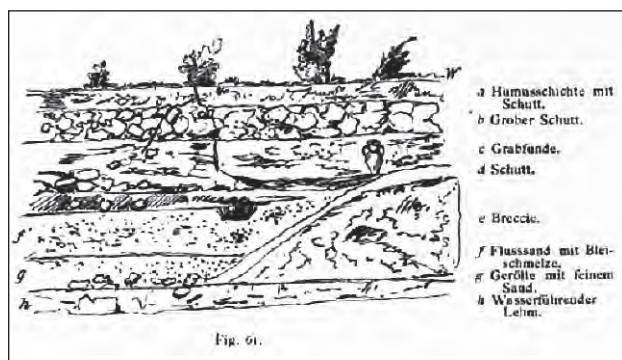


Immagine 5: Stratigrafia dello scavo di Boccadino Vecchio (Moser, 1888, 31): a strato di humus con detriti; b grossi detriti; c tombe; d detriti; e breccia; f sabbia di fiume con resti di fusione di piombo; g detriti con sabbia fine; h strato di argilla.

al frammento superiore di un ago in bronzo con capocchia emisferica e occhiello dal collo ispessito.

Nella parte inferiore del banco di ghiaia il terreno si presentava mescolato a sabbia fine, interamente permeato di ruggine, frammisto a resti carboniosi e a numerosi grumi di piombo fuso, le cui estremità ossidate avevano una colorazione tra il marrone chiaro e il bianco, il piombo si rivelò particolarmente bianco al taglio, il che lasciava supporre un'alta percentuale di argento. Subito sotto questi ritrovamenti si trovava sabbia fine su una breccia di calcare giallastro disgregata dal tempo che costituiva la base di tutto il bancone di ghiaia. Nello strato antropizzato furono trovate tra le conchiglie marine per lo più conchiglie di ostriche, cuorretti e cozze, oltre che di *Haliotis tuberculata*, *Cerithium vulgatum*, *Murex brandaris* ecc.

Quanto più si scavava a sinistra (ovest) del punto di giacitura degli scheletri, rinvenuti nel 1883, tanto più veniva a mancare lo strato archeologico e al suo posto si trovavano detriti con terra fine nera. In questi detriti si rinvennero frammenti di ceramica, tegole piatte con bordi piegati all'insù, una rozza tazza in ceramica con coperchio conico e numerosi coperchi fittili piatti con bottone. In seguito al cedimento di un ampio tratto dello strato di grossi detriti venne alla luce uno scheletro umano, con la testa rivolta a NO, e le mani, così sembra, incrociate sopra il petto, il tutto in cattivo stato di conservazione. I resti dello scheletro suggerivano un uomo forte e alto. Dai frammenti del cranio fu possibile ricostruire solo il calvario. Era molto spazioso, aveva una cucitura frontale e le cuciture non erano visibili

tranne la sutura squamosa. C'erano già tracce di atrofia senile in diversi punti del vertice. La fronte è molto ampia e le bozze frontali sono alquanto prominenti. Le arcate sopraccigliari sono rotte, ma sembra fossero molto grandi. La lunghezza è data quindi dalla Glabella. L'occipitale è abbastanza prominente. Il cranio è dolicocefalo (lunghezza: larghezza = 72,6) e camecefalo.

Proporzioni: lunghezza = 197; larghezza = 143; larghezza faccia = 102; punto di attaccatura delle orecchie = 109.

Nel corredo si trovò un coperchio piatto di ceramica con pomello centrale, un chiodo di ferro e le parti terminali, ambedue forate, di un filo di bronzo schiacciato (punto di rivettatura), inoltre conchiglie di *Spondylus gaederopus*, *Pecten glaber* e *Cardium edule*. Furono rinvenuti anche: un coperchio in ceramica con 4 impressioni a ditate sul pomello centrale, cocci, per lo più di grandi brocche romane (anfore con puntale, collo e doppie anse), due monete e singole ossa umane, ma nessun altro scheletro intero. Dopo cinque giorni di lavoro abbandonai la speranza di ritrovamenti migliori e chiusi lo scavo.

Anche nella vigna della seconda baia di Boccadino il proprietario rinvenne uno scheletro e frammenti di ceramica, come pure numerose scorie di metallo. La distruzione di queste tombe romane, conservatesi solo nell'angolo più riparato della baia occidentale, è dovuta in parte alla caduta di massi dalle ripide pareti rocciose e in parte alla penetrazione violenta dell'acqua marina durante le tempeste. Resti di strutture di un piccolo insediamento, cui pertinevano queste tombe, si trovano sotto forma di resti di sette muri in opus quadratum in cima al promontorio che sporge sul mare tra le due insenature. Inoltre proprio lì, volgendo lo sguardo verso l'interno, si scorgono ancora i resti di un lungo muro in blocchi di pietra eseguito rozza-mente (nella parte occidentale conservato sino a 2 metri di altezza). Questi resti di mura sono attribuiti dal popolo ad un castello di Attila. Alla località si collega anche la leggenda – forse in seguito ai precedenti ritrovamenti di scheletri – che presso le bocche del Timavo fosse sepolta la figlia di un re con il suo seguito, inoltre storie di una battaglia sanguinosa e simili.

Solo le due monete possono fornire un'informazione approssimativa sul periodo, a cui appartengono le tombe descritte. Una di esse è una moneta di bronzo con la scritta D. (diritto): VRBS – ROMA, testa elmata della divinità della città (il volto talvolta mostra delle somiglianze con il ritratto dell'imperatore) – R. (rovescio):

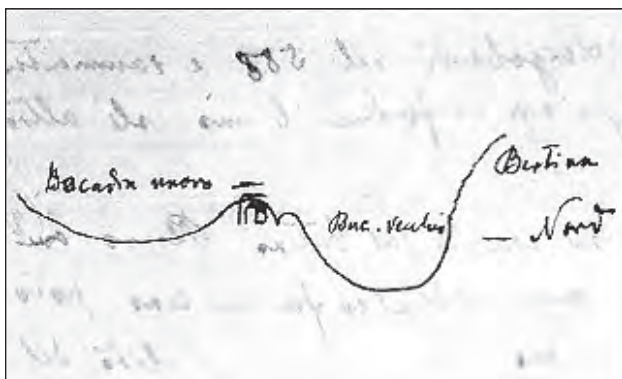


Immagine 6: Schizzo di Boccadino eseguito da Alberto Puschi (CMSA Trieste, Archivio Puschi 2/11, Lacus Timavi. Elaborato Il Strade, in Progetto Interreg Italia-Slovenia IIIA AltoAdriatico, Repertorio Iconografico online. [Http://www2.units.it/adriatic/risultati/?file=download.html](http://www2.units.it/adriatic/risultati/?file=download.html)).

Romolo e Remo allattati dalla lupa. Queste monete si datano al tempo di Costantino il Grande. Il secondo pezzo, male conservato, è un asse onciale di età repubblicana; D.: testa di Giano con segno (marca) I – R.: tracce della parte anteriore (prora) di una nave. Poiché la moneta è contrassegnata dal piede onciale e non ci sono altri dettagli, è possibile solo una datazione approssimativa tra il 200 e il 100 a. C. (la Lex Papiria dell'89 a. C. autorizzava la riduzione semionciale dell'asse; ma all'inizio vigeva ancora una specie di periodo transitorio). In base all'usanza quasi universalmente prevalente nelle tombe romane di dare ai morti come obolo monete non più in circolazione, risulta utile alla determinazione cronologica delle tombe romane di Boccadino solo la prima moneta citata, di molti secoli più recente. Le tombe pertanto si collocano, probabilmente, nella prima metà del IV secolo d. C.

Moser intraprese le indagini nell'insenatura "più profonda" di Boccadino (Boccadino Vecchio) il 30 settembre 1886, poco più di un mese dopo la conclusione degli scavi nella Grotta Teresiana (Grotta Fioravante, VG 939, Reg. 411) che si erano protratti dal 26 luglio al 20 agosto 1886 (Flego & Župančič, 2012, 167). Dai diari manoscritti di Moser, conservati nel Museo di Storia Naturale di Trieste, si evince che lo scavo durò pochi giorni: dal 30 settembre al 6 ottobre 1886 (Fondo Moser, Diario 1, 139, 143).

Lo studioso ebbe a disposizione per lo scavo ben 14 operai e due carri trainati da buoi, impegnati probabil-



Immagine 7: Schizzo di Boccadino eseguito da L. K. Moser (CMSN Trieste, Fondo Moser, Diario 1, 141).

mente nel consolidamento della barriera posta a difesa dell'insenatura di Boccadino Vecchio. La costruzione era preesistente, forse adibita inizialmente all'attracco di piccole imbarcazioni, come scrisse P. Kandler "opere artificiali per farne ridotto di navi" (Kandler, 1864, 34). Dello stesso parere era anche Alberto Puschi che all'inizio del secolo scorso scrisse

[...] dai contadini abbiamo rilevato che nel paludo vi sono gli avanzi di un grosso muro a secco che certamente è quello della diga la quale proteggeva dal lato di maestro il piccolo bacino, che, come abbiamo già osservato, stante la struttura della costa, molto ripida, non poteva servire da scalo, ma solo di rifugio a piccole barche e di approdo a quelle che provvedevano ai limitati bisogni del luogo. Appiedi della parete scoscesa della costa si rinvennero spesso rottami di anfore e di altri vasi di laterizio, antiche monete e sepolture, e si mostra il sito ove avanti alcuni decenni furono scoperti sette scheletri di uomini di alta statura, i quali giacevano coricati l'uno accanto all'altro (Auriemma & Karinja, 2008, 97).

Queste informazioni si riferiscono sicuramente alla diga di cui parla Moser all'inizio del suo articolo e che, evidentemente, già al tempo di Puschi, non era più riconoscibile come tale (imm. 6).

I lavori sulla barriera sono probabilmente da collegare con l'impianto di un nuovo vigneto nella baia di Boccadino Vecchio⁴. Proprio alla fine del secolo XIX, infatti, si registra un incremento della viticoltura nel territorio triestino. Nel diario di Moser c'è uno schizzo dell'area di Boccadino, in cui la barriera è ben visibile dinanzi all'insenatura di Boccadino Vecchio (Fondo Moser, Diario 1, 141) (imm. 7).

Egli colloca a ridosso della riva di Boccadino Vecchio un vigneto delimitato da una linea di terra incolta subito sotto il ciglione carsico. Nell'insenatura più piccola, Boccadino Nuovo, sono segnate una

⁴ Nel 1898 Moser scavò alcune tombe di epoca altomedievale a Lahovec sotto Santa Croce (Trieste) e anche allora i resti vennero alla luce durante l'impianto di un nuovo vigneto (Flego, Rupel & Župančič, 2001, 171–174).

capanna (*Hütte*) e una sorgente (*Quelle*), mentre sullo sperone roccioso un quadratino con accanto la scritta rovine (*Ruinen*) indica il cosiddetto Palazzo di Attila. Una serie di quadratini nell'area di Boccadino Nuovo segnala invece i resti, oggi riferibili al sito Casa Pahor (Auriemma & Karinja, 2008, 104–105, UT 159). La sorgente, posta in una piccola cavità naturale e adibita ad uso privato dal proprietario del terreno prima che l'area fosse edificata, è citata in un recente articolo di Dario Marini (Marini, Degrassi & Sattolo, 2014, 103–105). L'Autore riporta la notizia che negli anni Sessanta del secolo scorso un sommozzatore durante un sopralluogo rinvenne proprio in questa sorgente alcuni frammenti di "anfora romana" e "due monete" (Marini, Degrassi & Sattolo, 2014, 104).

Moser concentrò le ricerche nell'angolo orientale destro di Boccadino Vecchio nel banco di ghiaia, largo 3 – 6 m, posto tra la ripida parete carsica e la vigna del signor Martinčich, dove nel 1883, come egli scrisse, furono rinvenuti alcuni scheletri. Si tratta probabilmente degli otto scheletri già citati da R. Burton nel 1881 ovvero dei sette scheletri menzionati da R. Pichler nel 1882 nonostante le date non coincidano con quella riportata da Moser. A ovest del punto di rinvenimento degli scheletri del "1883" lo studioso rinvenne un'unica sepoltura maschile in cattivo stato di conservazione, e precisamente nello strato indicato con la lettera *c* (*Grabfunde*) che dalla descrizione non sembrerebbe integro. Lo scheletro, secondo lo studioso, apparteneva ad un uomo non più giovanissimo, ma forte e alto, il che corrisponde a quanto riferito da Pichler. Moser descrisse con perizia di dati la posizione dello scheletro (testa girata verso NO, mani incrociate sul petto) e in particolare il cranio mostrando una buona preparazione, testimonianza forse del breve periodo in cui, per volere del padre, aveva studiato medicina all'Università di Vienna. Gli oggetti che egli indica come appartenenti al corredo, sono pochi e privi di caratteristiche tali da consentirne una collocazione cronologica più precisa. Le stesse difficoltà di datazione si riscontrano per gli altri reperti rinvenuti in strato assieme a singole ossa umane: frammenti di anfore e un coperchio con decorazione a ditate sul pomello centrale. Tra i ritrovamenti figurano anche due monete: un asse romano di età repubblicana della serie della prua, coniato a Roma, in circolazione sino al 148 a. C. e un centenionale di bronzo di Costantino il Grande della serie URBS ROMA con busto elmato al diritto e al rovescio la lupa con i gemelli, la cui produzione si colloca tra il 330-337⁵. Risulta difficile senza l'indicazione dell'esatto punto di rinvenimento capire

se le monete fossero veramente pertinenti al corredo funerario della tomba in questione, soprattutto nel caso dell'asse repubblicano che lo studioso identificò con il cosiddetto "obolo di Caronte". Comunque, proprio sulla base del centenionale in bronzo di Costantino il Grande Moser collocò le sepolture nella prima metà del IV sec. d. C.

Lo strato sottostante (*f*), in cui si rinvennero tracce di carbone e numerosi resti di fusione di piombo, è forse da attribuire a una fase romana antecedente.

Nello strato superficiale di *humus* (*a*) furono rinvenute numerose "Thonkugeln", probabili pesi da rete, interpretazione suffragata dalla posizione del sito in riva al mare, dalla presenza in strato di un amo in bronzo e da ritrovamenti analoghi nella vicina Casa Pahor (Auriemma & Karinja, 2008, 105 e n.176). Inoltre, undici "Thonkugeln" di varia forma furono consegnate a Moser dal proprietario del fondo e sarebbero state rinvenute "infilate su di una cordicella vicino al collo di uno degli scheletri". La mancanza di una riproduzione grafica e di una descrizione più dettagliata rende difficile una classificazione più precisa di questi oggetti e la loro destinazione d'uso.

Sotto il piano di calpestio (*a*) si trovava il secondo strato (*b*), costituito da grossi blocchi di pietra da riferire o al costone roccioso o alle macerie delle strutture che si trovavano sullo sperone roccioso sovrastante la baia, il cosiddetto Palazzo d'Attila⁶, i cui resti furono descritti brevemente anche da Moser nella parte finale della sua relazione.

Le ultime ricerche hanno evidenziato che i resti del cosiddetto Palazzo d'Attila e della vicina Casa Pahor appartenevano allo stesso complesso abitativo, in uso tra la prima metà del I sec. a. C. e il IV sec. d. C. (Auriemma & Karinja, 2008, 100) e si ritiene possibile che il complesso avesse in origine una funzione difensiva⁷ e che in seguito fosse stato trasformato in villa rustica, ma non si esclude anche il contrario, cioè di una sua successiva trasformazione in presidio volto a controllare il territorio (Auriemma & Karinja, 2008, 88). Le leggende, riportate da Moser nel suo articolo che collocano nei pressi delle Bocche del Timavo una battaglia sanguinosa e la sepoltura di una principessa con il suo seguito, potrebbero suffragare l'ipotesi di un ruolo militare del complesso in un periodo che allo stato attuale degli studi non è possibile definire con più precisione.

Moser riporta, inoltre, la notizia del rinvenimento da parte del proprietario di uno scheletro e di frammenti di ceramica e scorie di metallo anche in una vigna dell'insenatura orientale (Boccadino Nuovo).

5 Si ringrazia Andrej Šemrov del Narodni muzej Slovenije per la classificazione delle monete.

6 Molti anni dopo, nel 1907, Moser accompagnò i membri del circolo speleologico tedesco *Höhlenforscherverein Hades* a visitare i resti del cosiddetto Castello di Attila (Triester Zeitung, 16. 5. 1907: *Höhlenforscherverein "Hades"*, 2).

7 Lo storico triestino Pietro Kandler (Kandler, 1850, 112; Kandler, 1864, 34) riteneva che il Palazzo di Attila fosse da identificare con il *Castellum Pucinum* ricordato da Plinio il Vecchio (Nat. Hist. XIV, 6, 60). Dello stesso parere furono anche Alfredo Lazzarini, uno dei fondatori della speleologia friulana (Il Giornale di Udine, 25. 1. 1896: Castel Pucino, 2), e Alberto Puschi (Auriemma et al., 2007, 509–510).

Il numero esiguo di ritrovamenti indussero lo studioso a ritenere il sito di scarso interesse archeologico e a sospendere i lavori di scavo. In seguito, nel 1902, Friedrich von Kenner pubblicò sulle *Mittheilungen der Central Commission* di Vienna una breve nota di L. Karl Moser, in cui lo studioso comunicava che il signor Mervir⁸ di Duino aveva rinvenuto 7 monete romane d'argento in un suo terreno a Boccadino (Moser, 1902, 221). Moser riuscì ad acquisire una di queste monete che il Kenner attribuì alla *gens Cupia*. Secondo il numismatico Bruno Callegher si tratta forse di un denario repubblicano della *gens Cupiennia* del tipo RRC 218/1 della metà del II sec. a. C. (Callegher, 2010, 245). Questo ritrovamento come anche l'asse unciale, rinvenuto da Moser durante lo scavo, attestano una frequentazione del sito già nel II sec. a. C.

Gli studiosi che si occuparono in seguito della baia di Boccadino ignorarono l'articolo di Moser, nonostante i numerosi dati inediti e importanti in esso contenuti, riportando solo quanto scritto da R. Burton e R. Pichler. Si tratta in genere di citazioni alquanto generiche sul ritrovamento di sepolture ad incinerazione e ad inumazione da mettere in relazione con le vie di comunicazione (Degrassi, 2001, 21). Gli scavi di Moser a Boccadino non sono menzionati neppure nell'importante volume, curato da Rita Auriemma e Snježana Karinja e pubblicato nel 2008 con il titolo *Terre di mare* (Auriemma & Karinja, 2008), che raccoglie le relazioni del Convegno Internazionale di Studi sull'archeologia dei paesaggi costieri, svoltosi a Trieste dall'8 al 10 novembre 2007 nell'ambito del Progetto Interreg Italia-Slovenia IIIA *AltoAdriatico*. Tra i risultati del progetto vi sono anche un database, pubblicato *online* dall'Università di Trieste (<http://www2.units.it/adriatic/risultati/?file=download.html>), che comprende le schede di tutti i siti presi in considerazione durante le ricerche inerenti il progetto in questione, e un repertorio iconografico collegato ad esso. Il sito di Boccadino è inserito nella scheda UT5 (necropoli) e anche in questo caso l'unica citazione riguarda Richard Burton (1881). Inoltre, il sito è riportato nella carta archeologica allegata al volume *Terre di Mare* e disponibile anche *online* nel sito dell'Università di Trieste dedicato al progetto.

Braida

Nel 1902 Friedrich Kenner pubblicò sulle *Mittheilungen der Central Commission* di Vienna la relazione di L. Karl Moser sugli scavi effettuati in località Braida, situata tra il cosiddetto Parco dei Cervi (Thiergarten, Črničje, Cernizza) di Duino e San Giovanni al Timavo (Moser, 1902, 220–221). Di seguito viene riportata la traduzione del testo in questione:

Il corrispondente Moser segnala la presenza di resti di strutture romane in località Braida tra il Parco dei Cervi di Duino e il villaggio di San Giovanni al Timavo, zona ricca di ritrovamenti romani già evidenziati dall'Autore nelle precedenti segnalazioni. Negli scavi, effettuati il 7 giugno, fu scoperto un ambiente chiuso rettangolare, circondato da uno stretto muro in cementizio, spesso circa 20 cm, con pavimento in mosaico di mattoni rettangolari piatti, posti a spina di pesce, in parte ancora ben conservato. Sotto si trovò uno strato spesso quasi 30 cm di cocciopesto con diversi pezzi di mattoni di vario colore, in uno strato più profondo si rinvennero anche detriti, pezzi di pietre e carboni, poi uno strato (legato da malta) di pietre (in parte tagliate) e sotto infine ancora molta malta sabbiosa. In mezzo alla stanza giaceva una piccola moneta di bronzo dell'imperatore Giuliano l'Apostata con vota X multa XX. Il muro di destra in opus caementicium si appoggia ad un possente muro di pietra di circa 1/2 metro di spessore, composto da pezzi di pietra con malta. Sul muro cementizio poggiano invece delle tegole (rotte a metà), in mezzo alle quali come riempitivo vi sono pezzi di pietra e malta. Nel complesso furono rinvenute sei file di tali tegole, rosse e gialle, l'ultima delle quali poggiava su uno strato di pietre, rilevato anche all'interno dell'ambiente; anche qui vi sono tracce di pezzi di carbone [Referente: Kenner].

Il testo di Kenner è più conciso della relazione manoscritta che Moser inviò alla Commissione Centrale per i Monumenti di Vienna già il giorno successivo allo scavo (8 giugno 1902) e che fu protocollata il 14 giugno⁹. Nel rapporto egli ribadisce l'aiuto fornitogli dalla principessa Marie Thurn und Taxis Hohenlohe (1855–1934) che gli diede tre operai per svolgere lo scavo. La relazione è corredata dalla planimetria della struttura scavata e dal disegno della sezione stratigrafica (imm. 8).

Si tratta sicuramente di una struttura abitativa con una parte scoperta: l'*opus spicatum* infatti era usato spesso per la pavimentazione di esterni. L'Autore si è concentrato sulla descrizione delle strutture e non fa alcun riferimento ad altri reperti oltre alla moneta. Recentemente B. Callegher ha pubblicato la moneta di bronzo dell'imperatore Giuliano l'Apostata, proponendo come possibile datazione il 361-363 (Callegher, 2010, 246).

Una breve nota su Braida, abbastanza confusa e di difficile lettura, si trova anche nel Diario di Moser (Fondo Moser, Diario 1, 4):

⁸ La forma corretta del cognome è Mervic.

⁹ Si ringrazia Matej Župančič per averci fornito questa relazione, conservata nell'Archivio di Stato di Vienna (Österreichisches Staat-sarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungssarchiv, Denkmalpflege, Funde: 968/14. 6. 1902), e per averci aiutato nella lettura di essa e dei diari.

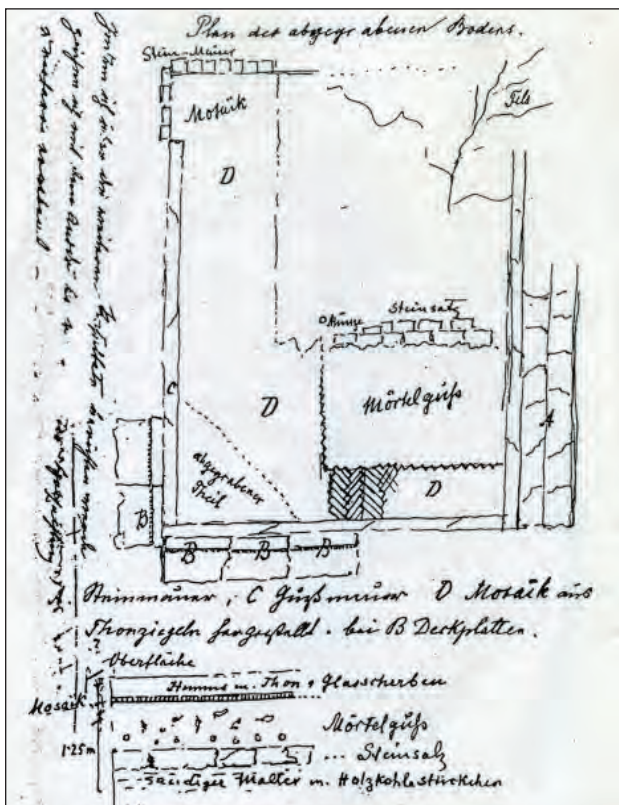


Immagine 8: Pianta del sito di Braida, schizzo eseguito da L. K. Moser e inserito nella relazione manoscritta inviata nel 1902 alla Commissione Centrale per i Monumenti di Vienna (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, Denkmalpflege, Funde: 968/14. 6. 1902).

Braida nome di pascolo presso il Parco dei Cervi di Duino, dove il proprietario fece recentemente uno scavo e trovò una rara moneta di bronzo. A circa ½ m di profondità è visibile uno strato archeologico, piccoli pezzi di mattoni quadrangolari, appartenenti a un terrazzo assieme a pezzi di tegole a incastro, come si presentano nelle tombe – frammenti di pareti di vasi di argilla fine, di buona cottura, gialla o rossa, dall'aspetto della terra sigillata – frammenti di vetro di urne cinerarie [...] La tomba si trova vicino alla strada romana chiamata stara cesta – [...] io trovai [...] di un ago di bronzo. Ero curioso, quali risultati avrebbero dato gli scavi. Il terreno, di proprietà della comunità, si trova sul sentiero per Boccadino e [...] in direzione di Monfalcone dall'altra parte dell'antico Timavo.

Escursione del 18 novembre 1900.

Il 1° giugno '902 visita alla principessa Thurn-Taxis a Duino e si decide lo scavo di Braida. Contemporaneamente presso il proprietario Merwitz

vidi una moneta romana, della quale ho scritto alla CC. Il 7 giugno 1902 a Braida è documentato anche un pavimento in cocchiopesto [...] una moneta di Giuliano l'Apostata [...] famiglia Thurn und Taxis.

Alberto Puschi proprio nello stesso periodo si dedicava allo studio delle vie di comunicazione romane e dei siti archeologici della zona di San Giovanni al Timavo e di Duino. Da una sua nota manoscritta si evince che egli era a conoscenza delle ricerche svolte da Moser a Braida e che ebbe modo di visitare il sito in questione. Scrisse infatti (Auriemma & Karinja, 2008, 496, scheda online, UT 106, Edificio di Bratina, documentazione d'archivio):

Antichità romane esplorate dal prof. Moser visitate il 21/2/1904 assaggio di scavo eseguito a levante della vecchia strada e di un ramo della romana presso il cippo terminale lamiano-Duino; sul punto più elevato ed a sud del sentiero che conduce al Timavo furono messi a nudo alcuni avanzi di muri orientati da N a S e da E a O grossi c.ca 0,60 m., racchiudenti un terrazzo in calcestruzzo quale letto di un pavimento musivo non più riconoscibile che dai tasselli sparsi nel terreno. Vi si trovarono copiosi rottami di embrici, tegole ed anfore di laterizio.

Puschi fece uno schizzo del sito (imm. 9), collocandolo presso la vecchia strada per San Giovanni al Timavo e la strada romana ad essa parallela (CMSA Trieste, Archivio Puschi 2/11, Lacus Timavi. Elaborato Il Strade, 14).

Questa zona tra Duino e San Giovanni al Timavo è denominata Brajde anche nella carta dei toponimi del territorio di Trieste (Tržaško ozemlje, 1977), il che conferma l'attendibilità dei toponimi sloveni usati da Moser.

Quasi settant'anni dopo le ricerche di L. K. Moser e A. Puschi i ricercatori Abramo Schmid ed Egizio Faraone (Schmid & Faraone, 1971, 9) annotarono nello studio topografico sulla rete stradale nell'area del Timavo il rinvenimento di: "Pezzi di cocchiopesto, frammenti di intonaco e resti ceramici [...] sui versanti Sud e Ovest di quota 24, nei pressi del cimitero", ma non collegarono i ritrovamenti con il sito scavato da Moser. L'indicazione nell'annessa carta di distribuzione dei siti (Schmid & Faraone, 1971, 19, Tav. 2, punto f) dimostra che si tratta proprio del sito di Braida. Oggi, quasi cinquant'anni dopo quest'ultima segnalazione, si possono ancora notare sul terreno, anche se con difficoltà a causa della vegetazione, pezzi di cocchiopesto, e precisamente alla destra della strada, nota come "Vecchia via postale" (Schmid, 2001, 131).

Di recente il sito è stato riportato nella scheda UT 106 (Edificio di Bratina), inserita nel database, pubblicato online, del Progetto Interreg Italia-Slovenia IIIA

AltoAdriatico, nella quale però viene menzionato solo quanto scritto da A. Puschi. Il sito è segnato anche in due cartine, riprodotte nel già citato volume *Terre di Mare* curato da R. Auriemma e S. Karinja (2008, fig. 2, pag. 77, fig. 4, pag. 79).

CONCLUSIONI

I due siti scavati da Moser rimarcano l'importanza archeologica della zona a ridosso delle Bocche del Timavo, tra gli abitati di Duino e San Giovanni al Timavo. Di particolare interesse archeologico risulta il sito di Boccadino, sede di una necropoli di probabile epoca tardo antica. Sulla base dei dati raccolti si può supporre che l'area occupata dalla necropoli fosse ben più vasta e si estendesse in ambedue le baie (Boccadino Vecchio e Boccadino Nuovo) con un congruo numero di sepolture, sicuramente superiore a quelle rinvenute. La presenza di resti di urne cinerarie nello strato di *humus* suggerirebbe l'ipotesi che la zona fosse stata usata come area cimiteriale già in periodi antecedenti. Inoltre, i ritrovamenti dell'asse in bronzo e del denario della *gens Cupiennia* alzano ulteriormente la data di frequentazione dell'area. Purtroppo non è possibile un inquadramento cronologico più preciso essendo l'articolo di Moser privo di disegni e di una descrizione più dettagliata del materiale rinvenuto. In questo caso l'interesse dell'Autore era rivolto più alla stratigrafia, disegnata con attenzione, che ai reperti, anche se poi nella descrizione degli strati il testo risulta in alcuni punti confuso e di difficile interpretazione, bisogna però ricordare che nel 1886 Moser non aveva ancora molta esperienza in campo archeologico. Ciononostante il suo lavoro è ancora oggi di fondamentale importanza per la mancanza di ulteriori ricerche in questo sito andato distrutto quando fu costruito il Villaggio del Pescatore.

Per quanto riguarda il sito di Braida (Brajde) non vi è dubbio che si tratti di un complesso abitativo di una certa importanza che presenta una frequentazione anche in epoca tardoantica, attestata dal rinvenimento della moneta dell'imperatore Giuliano l'Apostata del IV sec. d. C. Uno scavo in questo sito porterebbe probabilmente in luce anche fasi abitative antecedenti come in altri siti dell'area. Da un'attenta analisi della documentazione è stato possibile identificare la Braida di Moser con il sito segnalato da E. Faraone e A. Schmid alla fine degli anni Sessanta del secolo scorso. Nel volume *Terre di mare* di R. Auriemma e S. Karinja il sito è indicato come Edificio Bratina (UT 106). Una recente ricognizione *in loco* ha confermato l'esistenza del sito archeologico nonostante la vegetazione renda difficile la lettura dei resti affioranti.



Immagine 9: Schizzo di A. Puschi dell'area del sito di Braida con l'indicazione "Rovine romane" (CMSA Trieste, Archivio Puschi 2/11, in Progetto Interreg Italia-Slovenia IIIA *AltoAdriatico*, Repertorio Iconografico online. <http://www2.units.it/adriatic/risultati/?file=download.html>).

Nelle sue relazioni Moser non fornisce alcuna indicazione su dove venne depositato il materiale archeologico rinvenuto negli scavi, da lui effettuati a Boccadino e Braida. Le ricerche, svolte a Trieste nel Museo di Antichità "J. J. Winckelmann" (CMSA) e nel Museo di Storia Naturale nonché a Vienna nel Naturhistorisches Museum, non hanno dato esito positivo.

RINGRAZIAMENTI

Si ringraziano per la collaborazione l'Archivio di Stato di Trieste, il Catasto Fondiario di Trieste, il Museo di Storia Naturale di Trieste, il Museo di Antichità "J. J. Winckelmann" di Trieste (CMSA), il Naturhistorisches Museum di Vienna, l'Österreichisches Staatsarchiv, Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv di Vienna. Si ringraziano inoltre Fulvio Colombo, Andrej Šemrov e Matej Župančič.

ANTIČNI NAJDIŠČI BOKADIN IN BRAJDE (DEVIN-NABREŽINA, TRST): DVE SPREGLEDANI RAZISKAVI LUDWIGA KARLA MOSERJA

Stanko FLEGO

Narodna in študijska knjižnica, Ul. S. Francesco 20, 34133 Trst, Italija
e-mail: s_flego@virgilio.it

Lidija RUPEL

Narodna in študijska knjižnica, Ul. S. Francesco 20, 34133 Trst, Italija
e-mail: lidiarupel22@gmail.com

POVZETEK

Italijanski raziskovalci so kritično in večkrat neobjektivno ocenjevali raziskovalno delo svojega sodobnika, nemškega profesorja L. Karla Moserja. Odklonilni odnos se je po letu 1918, ko sta Trst in okolica prišla pod italijansko oblast, še stopnjeval. Zato ni čudno, da so večkrat „spregledali“ rezultate njegovih raziskav, kar se je zgodilo tudi v primerih Bokadina in Brajde. Bokadin (Boccadino) je ležal med Devinom in izlivom reke Timave pri Štivanu. Pred gradnjo naselja za istrske priseljence v petdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja je bil tu manjši zaliv, ki ga je naravni skalni pomol delil na dva dela: Stari Bokadin na severozahodu in Novi Bokadin na jugovzhodu. Najdba več skeletov v severnem delu zaliva je spodbudila Moserja, da je jeseni leta 1886 začel izkopavati v Starem Bokadinu, kjer je našel skelet, več keramičnih predmetov, republikanski as in centenional Konstantina Velikega. Moser je opredelil grobove v 4. stol. po Kr., novčne najdbe iz republikanske dobe pa pričajo o frekventaciji tega kraja že v 2. st. pr. Kr. Leta 1902 je Moser evidentiral na najdišču Brajde med Črničjem in Štivanom večjo naselbinsko strukturo. Med sondiranjem je izkopal pravokotni prostor, obdan z zidovi in delno tlakovan v tehniki ribje kosti. Sredi prostora je bil najden poznorimski novc cesarja Julijana Odpadnika. Avtorji istovetijo najdišče s koto 24 na zbirni karti A. Schmida in E. Faraoneja iz leta 1971. V svojih spisih Moser ne poroča o usodi izkopanega arheološkega gradiva. Avtorji so preverili, da najdbe niso shranjene niti v tržaškem Naravoslovnem muzeju niti v tržaškem Mestnem muzeju J. J. Winckelmanna in prav tako ne v dunajskem Naravoslovnem muzeju. Moserjeve raziskave so še danes edini vir za natančnejše poznavanje obeh najdišč. Bokadin je umeščen na zbirni karti arheoloških najdišč, ki je nastala v sklopu projekta Interreg Italija- Slovenija IIIA AltoAdriatico-Severni Jadran, kot nekropola UT5, medtem ko Brajde niso označene na tej karti, so pa označene kot UT106 na zemljevidih v zborniku Obmorske dežele/Terre di mare, ki je bil objavljen v sklopu zgoraj omenjenega projekta (Auriemma & Karinja, 2008, 77, sl. 2, 79, sl. 4).

Ključne besede: Bokadin, Brajde, Ludwig Karl Moser, rimska doba, poznoantični grobovi, rimski novci, Puschi, Kenner

FONTI E BIBLIOGRAFIA

ADTS – Archivio Diplomatico di Trieste, Serie dei Vicedomini.

ASTS – Archivio di Stato di Trieste, Mappe del Catasto franceschino.

CMSA Trieste – Civico Museo di Storia ed Arte J. J. Winckelmann di Trieste, Archivio Puschi.

CMSN Trieste – Civico Museo di Storia Naturale di Trieste, Fondo Moser.

Diario 1 – Über Grotten Höhlen. Praehistorische Ansiedlungen in Istrien und dem Küstenland Krain und den Angrenzenden Ländern, manoscritto inedito di L. K. Moser conservato nel Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Trieste, Fondo Moser.

Il Giornale di Udine. Udine, Tipografia Editrice G. B. Doratti, 1866–1931.

Triester Zeitung. Trieste. Österreichischer Lloyd, 1851–1918.

Auriemma, R. & S. Karinja (eds.) (2008): Terre di mare. Archeologia dei paesaggi costieri e le variazioni climatiche. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi, Trieste, 8-10 novembre 2007, Udine, Arti Grafiche Friulane/Imoco spa.

Auriemma, R., Degrassi, V., Gaddi, D., Mauro, S., Oriolo, F. & D. Riccobono (2007): Strutture portuali minori in area altoadriatica. Il Progetto Interreg Italia-Slovenija "AltoAdriatico". In Cuscito, G. & C. Zaccaria (eds.): Aquileia dalle origini alla costituzione del Ducato longobardo. Territorio – economia – società. Atti del Convegno (Aquileia maggio 2006). Antichità Altoadriatiche, LXV, Trieste, 497–537.

Battaglia, R. (1924): Le caverne ossifere pleistoceniche della Venezia Giulia. *Alpi Giulie*, 25, 3, 63–76.

Burton, R. F. (1992, 1881): Le terme di Monfalcone. Mariano del Friuli, Edizioni della Laguna.

Callegher, B. (2010): Provincia IV: Trieste. In: Gorini, G. (ed.): Ritrovamenti monetali di età romana nel Friuli Venezia Giulia. Trieste, Edizioni Università di Trieste, 187–350.

Cannarella, D. (1984): Gli altri pionieri. In: Le ricerche paleontologiche e paleontologiche. Enciclopedia Monografica del Friuli-Venezia Giulia, 1, Aggiornamenti, La ricerca scientifica. Udine, Istituto per l'Enciclopedia del Friuli Venezia Giulia, 444–446.

Degrassi, V. (2001): I binari di pietra. In: Degrassi V. & A. Giovannini (eds.): *Tempus edax rerum*. Roma ed il Timavo – Appunti di ricerca. Duino-Aurisina, 17–22.

Durigon, M. (1999): Le grotte del Carso in età romana. *Archeografo Triestino*, IV S 59, 29–157.

Flego, S. & L. Rupel (eds.) (2012): Ludwig Karl Moser med Dunajem in Trstom / tra Vienna e Trieste [1845–1918]. Atti della Giornata Internazionale di Studio, Trieste, 21 novembre 2008. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU.

Flego, S. & M. Župančič (2012): K arheološki dejavnosti L. K. Moserja v jamah Tržaškega krasa. In: Flego S. & L. Rupel (eds.): *Ludwig Karl Moser med Dunajem in Trstom / tra Vienna e Trieste [1845–1918]*. Atti della Giornata Internazionale di Studio, Trieste, 21 novembre 2008. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 127–190.

Flego, S., Rupel, L. & M. Župančič (2001): Contributo alla conoscenza dei siti archeologici sul declivio tra Sistiana e Grignano. *Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia*, 11, 1, 157–180.

Kandler, P. (1850): Di un antico comune romano collocato fra il Timavo ed Aquileia. *L'Istria*, V, 112–114.

Kandler, P. (1864): Discorso sul Timavo. Trieste, Lloyd Austriaco.

Mader, B. (2012): "Moser ist schon da" Ludwig Karl Moser und die Prähistorische Kommission der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien (1883–1906). In: Flego, S. & L. Rupel (eds.): *Ludwig Karl Moser med Duna jem in Trstom / tra Vienna e Trieste [1845–1918]*. Atti della Giornata Internazionale di Studio, Trieste, 21 novembre 2008. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 111–125.

Marini, D., Degrassi, V. & A. Sattolo (2014): Il Carso del Villaggio San Marco di Duino. Duino-Aurisina, Gruppo Speleologico Flondar.

Moser, K. (1888): Untersuchungen prähistorischer und römischer Fundstätten in Küstenlande und in Krain. 10. Untersuchung römischer Gräber im Boccadino bei San Giovanni nächst der Timavo-Mündung, 30-32. *Mittheilungen der Prähistorischen Commission der k. Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1, 1887, Wien 1888, 30–32.

Moser, K. (1902): Moser berichtet ... Duino-Braida (Ref. Kenner), *Mittheilungen der Central Commission*. 3F 1, 220–221.

Moser, K. (1903): Untersuchungen prähistorischer und römischer Fundstätten in Krain, 8. Bericht. *Mittheilungen der Prähistorischen Commission*, 30-32.

Pichler, R. (1882): Il Castello di Duino. Memorie. Trento, Stabilimento Tipografico di Giovanni Seiser.

Scalon, C. (1983): Diplomi patriarcali. I documenti dei patriarchi Aquileiesi anteriori alla metà del XIII secolo nell'Archivio Capitolare di Udine. Udine, Istituto di Storia dell'Università degli Studi di Udine.

Schmid, A. & E. Faraone (1971): L'antica rete stradale del Timavo. *Alpi Giulie*, 66, 3–25.

Schmid, A. (2001): La vecchia strada posta-commerciale austriaca. Il tronco decaduto quando era detta Strada d'Italia. In: Guida storico-naturalistica al Promontorio Bratina (Foci del Timavo). Trieste, Club Alpinistico Triestino – Sezione Ricerche e Studi su Cavità Artificiali, 131–142.

Tržaško ozemlje (1977): Tržaško ozemlje: zemljevid s krajevnimi in ledinskimi imeni. Ljubljana, Trst, Slovenska matica, Založništvo tržaškega tiska.

Župančič, M. (2012): Bibliografija: Ludwig Karl Moser. In: Flego, S. & L. Rupel (eds.): Ludwig Karl Moser med Dunajem in Trstom / tra Vienna e Trieste [1845–1918]. Atti della Giornata Internazionale di Studio, Trieste, 21 novembre 2008. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 289–300.

KULTURNO IN ZGODOVINSKO SPOROČILO MILANJE (SLOVENIJA)

Ladislav PLACER
Pod akacijami 13, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: ladislav.placer@telemach.net

IZVLEČEK

V članku je obravnavana povezava med geomorfološko podobo fosilnega rotacijskega plazu nad Ilirsko Bistrico in dojemanjem mitične pokrajine kot so jo občutili Slovani. Ti so polkrožno obliko slemena, ki je nastala iz odlo-mnega roba plazu, simbolno vzporejali s polmesecem. Tu ležijo vrhovi, ki imajo mitična imena in mitični prizvok: Milanka, Mala Milanja, Velika Milanja, Devin in hrbet Volovja reber. Osrednje mesto pripada Veliki Milanji, ki simbolizira boginjo Mokoš. Njenemu čaščenju je posvečen obredni poligon. V bližini sta naselji Knežak in Zemon (Gornji in Spodnji), kar pomeni, da je bil obredni poligon sestavni del središča slovanske zgodnj srednjeveške kneževine. Morda spadajo sem tudi Koseze.

Ključne besede: geomorfologija, slovanska mitična pokrajina, čaščenje Mokoši, slovanska plemenska skupnost, versko in upravno središče kneževine, zaledje Istre, Ilirska Bistrica

MESSAGGIO CULTURALE E STORICO DI MILANJA (SLOVENIA)

SINTESI

L'articolo tratta la correlazione tra il carattere geomorfologico della frana fossile rotazionale sopra Ilirska Bistrica, larga 5 chilometri, e la percezione del paesaggio mitologico vissuta dagli Slavi. Questi, infatti, usavano collegare simbolicamente la forma semicircolare del costone, formatasi dal coronamento della frana, con la mezzaluna. Qui si trovano cime dai nomi e dalle connotazioni mitiche: Milanka, Mala Milanja, Velika Milanja, Devin ed anche il costone Volovja reber. Velika Milanja occupa un ruolo centrale, simboleggiando la dea Mokoš. Il poligono dei rituali è dedicato proprio al suo culto. Nelle vicinanze vi sono gli abitati di Knežak e Zemon (Gornji e Spodnji), il che significa che il poligono dei rituali era parte integrante del centro del principato slavo nell'Alto medioevo.

Parole chiave: geomorfologia, paesaggio mitologico slavo, culto della dea Mokoš, comunità tribale degli Slavi, centro religioso e amministrativo del principato, entroterra dell'Istria, Ilirska Bistrica

PLAZ

Leta 2010 je bil odkrit ilirskobistriški fosilni plaz (Placer & Jamšek, 2011), ki spada v svetovnem merilu med večje rotacijske plazove, širok je 5 km, dolg 5,5 do 6 km, njegova površina znaša okoli 20 km². Geomorfološka podoba plazu je izjemna, saj je kljub domnevni starosti dveh milijonov let ohranjen skoraj v celoti; vidni so polkrožni odlomni rob, polkrožna strmina, polkrožni robni jarek, povratno pobočje in značilna noga plazu z razširjenim čelom, na kateri stojita Ilirska Bistrica in vaško naselje Jasen. Večjo spremembo sta zaradi gravitacijskega rušenja po odlomnih razpokah in zaradi periglacialnih procesov doživela le odlomni rob in odlomna strmina, njen

strmi vpadni kot se je zmanjšal in nastalo je sleme polkrožne oblike s pripadajočim polkrožnim pobočjem. Tega na sredini prekinja manjši plaz, ki je nastal pozneje. Grafična podoba pravičnega rotacijskega plazu je prikazana na sl. 1, širše območje ilirskobistriškega plazu pa na sl. 2 in sl. 3. Na sl. 2 so v okvirčkih tisti vrhovi, ki so obravnavani v članku.

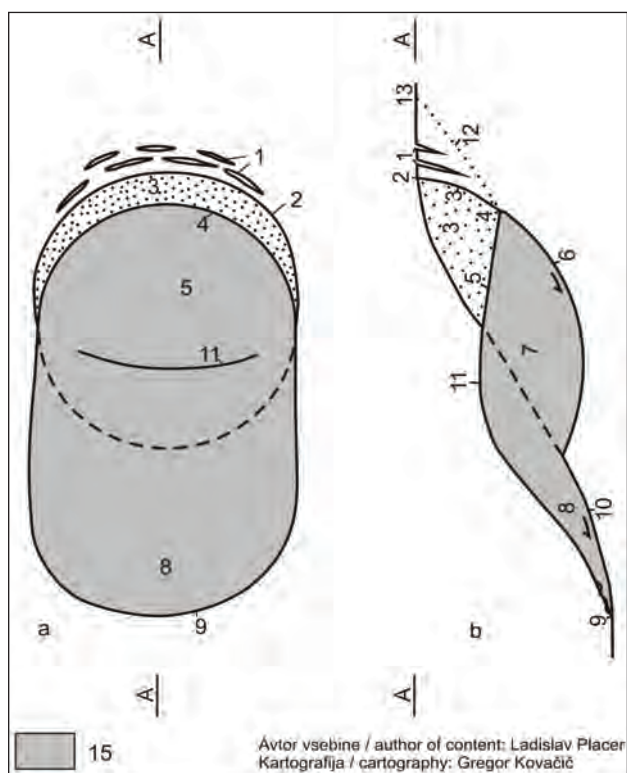
Plaz je nastal na izpostavljenem naravnem robu med Snežniškim hribovjem in dvema reliefno nižjima stopnjama; kraškim svetom presihajočih jezer Zgornje Pivke in erozijsko dolino Reke. V nogi plazu je kraški izvir Bistrica in še nekaj manjših, ki so nastali po sprožitvi plazu, prej so te vode večinoma odtekale v porečje Pivke.

TOPONIMI

Po Atlasu Slovenije (sl. 2) se nahajata na območju plazu in v njegovem širšem zaledju dva vrhova po imenu Devin, Devin nad Koritnicami (1028 m) in Devin nad Škriljem (1088 m) ter dva vrhova s slovanskima ženskima imenoma, Milanka (948 m) in Velika Milanja (1099 m). Devin je brez dvoma del slovanske mitične pokrajine, enako domnevamo za Milanjo in Milanko, čeprav sta novost v slovanski mitični toponomastiki.

Ker gre za vsebino tega članka pomembno vprašanje, si oglejmo katastrski zemljevid Habsburške monarhije za k. o. Koritnice (Koritenze), Ilirska Bistrica (Feistritz) in Vrbovo (Werbou) iz let 1823, 1824 (Habsburg Empire – Cadastral Maps (XIX. century)), ki je temeljni kartografski in topografski dokument. Tu je mitična toponomastika nekoliko drugačna. Zaradi preglednosti so podatki preneseni na topografsko osnovo Atlasa Slovenije (sl. 4). Vrh »Milonza« (Milanka) je lociran na koti 92 m nad Naričami pri Šembijah, vrh »mali Milonia« (Mala Milanja) na koti 983 m, sledi ledina »olouje Rebar« (Volovja reber) in nato ledina »velki Millone« (Velika Milanja) na območju vrha Velika Milanja (1099 m). Devini so trije, vrh »Devin« nad Koritnicami (Devin, 1028 m), vrh »Divin« pod Lunjevico (Devin, 957 m) in ledina »Na divin« nad Škriljem (Na Devinu) na mestu Devina (1088 m). Nad naseljem Vrbovo se na zgornjem robu strmega pobočja imenovanega Reber, nahaja piramidasta stena »Baba«. Njen vrh je na višini okoli 790 m.

Do razpada Habsburške monarhije so bile opravljene tri kartografske izmere (Mapire – Historical Maps), prva v letih 1763 – 1787, Notranja Avstrija 1784 – 1785 (Habsburg Empire – First Military Survey (1763 – 1787)), druga v letih 1806 – 1869, Ilirija 1829 – 1835 (Habsburg Empire – Second Military Survey (1829 – 1835)) in tretja v letih 1869 – 1887 (Habsburg Empire – Third Military Survey (1868 – 1887)), ko sta bili izdelani dve različici, v merilu 1:25.000 in 1:75.000. Slednja je bila bistveno dopolnjena.



Slika 1: Skica pravičnega rotacijskega plazu: a – Tloris; b – Prerez (Legenda: 1. odlomne razpoke, 2. odlomni rob, 3. polkrožna strmina, 4. robni jarek (robna kotanja), 5. povratno pobočje, 6. odlomna ploskev, 7. telo plazu, 8. noga plazu, 9. čelo plazu, 10. ločilna ploskev, 11. pregib, 12. sedanje pobočje, 13. sedanje sleme, 14. mlajši plaz, 15. zdrsula kamninska masa).
Image 1: Sketch of the proper rotated landslide: a – Plan, b – Section (Legend: 1. crown cracks, 2. crown, 3. semicircular scarp, 4. margin trough, 5. reverse surface, 6. surface of rupture, 7. main body, 8. foot, 9. toe, 10. surface of separation, 11. bend, 12. current slope, 13. current ridge 14. younger landslide, 15. slipped rock mass).

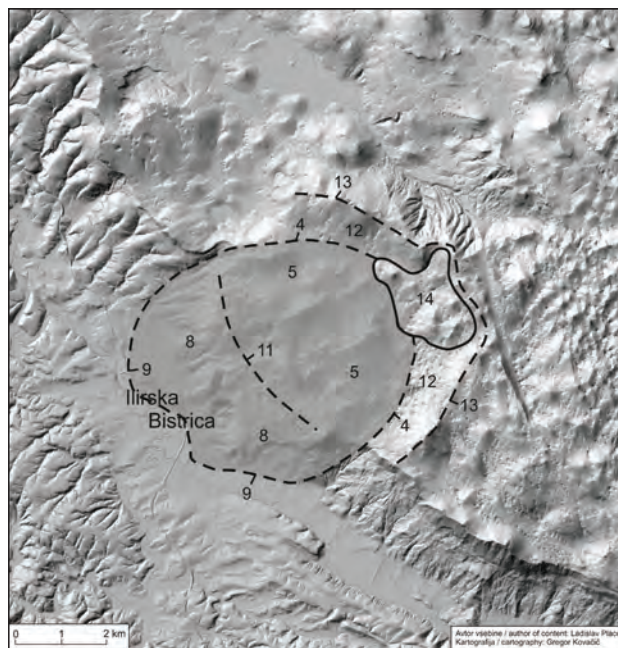


Slika 2: Zemljevid območja ilirskobistriškega fosilnega plazju (Topografska osnova Geopedia, Slovenija).
Image 2: Geographical map of the Ilirska Bistrica fossil landslide area (Topographic basis Geopedia, Slovenija).

Na zemljevidu prve izmere sta zabeležena »B. Divin« in »Veliki Kamen«. Vrhovi so označeni z okrajšavo B. (Berg), torej Berg Divin, Veliki Kamen te oznake nima, zato ne predstavlja vrha temveč skalni monolit na pobočju Velike Milanje, kateremu danes mlajši domačini pravijo Zob, starejši pa preprosto Kamen ali Milanjska skala. Prva izmera nima višinskih kot. Lokacija »B. Divin« je identična z lokacijo »Na divin« v katastru.

Na zemljevidu druge izmere so zabeleženi vrh »Milanza« (Milanka), »Milonia« kot območje (Milanja) in vrh »Milonia« (Milanja). Vsi vrhovi so brez nadmorskih višin. »Milanza« je locirana severno od vrha »Teschiak« (Tuščak, 802 m) in je identična z vrhom »Milonza« v katastru. »Grabrutz« (Gabrovec) je lociran napačno.

Na zemljevidu tretje izmere so vrhovi označeni z znakom za koto, tu so »Milanza« (Milanka) na koti 983, »Milonia« (Milanja) na koti 1098, »Ml. Dewin« (Mali Devin) na koti 1032 in »Vk. Dewin« (Veliki Devin) na koti 1104. Na mestu Velikega Devina je v katastru in v Atlasu Slovenije Štanga (1101 m). Tam kjer je v katastru »Milonza« je tu kota 791, kjer je lokacija »Na divin« stoji kota 1094. Delitev na Mali in Veliki Devin je posebnost tretje izmere, posebnost je tudi enačenje Štange z Velikim Devinom. Ker gre za izstopajočo izjemo je podatek nezanesljiv. Za potrditve verodostojnosti tega podatka bi potrebovali še eden, s karto tretje izmere nepovezan vir.



Slika 3: Digitalni model reliefa območja plazju (Digitalna osnova Geopedia, Slovenija) (legenda na sliki 1).
Image 3: DMR of the landslide area (Digital background Geopedia, Slovenija) (Legend on Image 1).

Lega Milanke na koti 948 v Atlasu Slovenije, ni zabeležena ne v katastru ne v historičnih zemljevidih. Očitno gre za napako.

Omemba Velike Milanje in Male Milanje v katastru, daje odgovor na vprašanje, zakaj domačini območju Male Milanje in Velike Milanje med katerima je Volovja reber, pravijo Milanja. Milanka leži v katastru in v drugi izmeri izven Milanje.

V nadaljnjem besedilu članka so uporabljani toponimi kot so zabeleženi v katastru (sl. 4): **Milanka** (792 m) (kataster, druga izmeta); **Mala Milanja** (983 m) (kataster, tretja izmera kot Milanka); **Velika Milanja** (1099 m) (kataster, druga izmera kot Milanja, tretja izmera kot Milanja); **Devin nad Koritnicami** (1028 m) (kataster, tretja izmera kot Mali Devin); **Devin nad Škriljem** (1088 m) (prva izmera, kataster); **Devin pod Lunjevico** (957 m) (kataster); **Volovja reber** (kataster, druga izmera kot Milanja); piramidasta stena **Baba** (kataster). Skalni monolit **Zob** ali **Kamen** je bil zabeležen le v prvi izmeri, ker ni znakov, da bi imel status mitičnega objekta, v nadaljnji razpravi ni več omenjen.

Milanka, Mala Milanja, Volovja reber, Velika Milanja, Devin nad Škriljem in Baba ležijo neposredno na polkrožnem slemenu velikega fosilnega plazju. Devin pod Lunjevico leži sredi polkrožnega pobočja, zato je v širšem smislu tudi del polkrožne kulise. Izven plazju leži le Devin nad Koritnicami.

Polkrožno sleme je bilo kartografsko primerno prikazano že na zemljevidu druge izmere.



Slika 4: Toponimi po Habsburg Empire – Cadastral Maps (XIX. century) 1823, 1824. Topografska osnova Geopedia, Slovenija (Milonza = Milanka (792 m), mali Milonia = Mala Milanja (983 m), olouje Rebar = ledina Volovja reber, velki Millone = ledina Velika Milanja, Devin = Devin (1028 m), Na divin = Devin (1088 m), Divin = Devin (957 m), Baba = piramidalna stena).
Image 4: Habsburg Empire – Cadastral Maps (XIX. century) 1823, 1824. Topographic basis Geopedia, Slovenija (Milonza = Milanka (792 m), mali Milonia = Mala Milanja (983 m), olouje Rebar = area Volovja reber, velki Millone = area Velika Milanja, Devin = Devin (1028 m), Na divin = Devin (1088 m), Divin = Devin (957 m), Baba = pyramid rock wall).

Izgleda, da so se kartografi vojaških zemljevidov Habsburške monarhije druge in tretje izmere, pri toponimih bolj naslanjali na priložnostne krajevne informatorje kot na kataster. Če jemljemo kataster kot najbolj zanesljivi vir, je brez napake le karta prve izmere, ki je edina nastala pred katastrom. V Atlasu Slovenije je napačno locirana Milanka, ni Male Milanje, ni Devina pod Lunjevico in ni Babe. Slednje še danes poznajo prebivalci v naseljih pod Rebrjo.

DEVIN

Nekateri vrhovi, ki imajo z ene strani položen dostop, na drugi strani pa prepadno steno ali strmo pobočje, nosijo ponekod v slovanskem svetu geografsko ime Devin. Pogled z njihovega vrha je v smeri prepadnega ali strmega pobočja odprt v širino in globino. Vrhov s tem imenom in omenjenimi značilnostmi je v Sloveniji več,



Slika 5: Vrh Devin z ekstremno geomorfologijo, na katerem je stari grad Devin in prepadna stena. Poleg je naselje Devin pri Trstu (Wikimedia Commons).

Image 5: Devin and its extreme geomorphology, with Devin Castle (Castello di Duino) standing on top and a precipitous slope facing the sea. Below the peak is Duino (Devin), a small town near Trieste (Trst) (Wikimedia Commons).

poleg obravnavanih treh sta v Atlasu Slovenije še Devin z dvema vrhovoma (792 m in 787 m) nad Starim trgom, ki ima na eni strani bolj strmo pobočje in Devinski hrib (853 m) nad Vipavo s prepadno steno. Poleg teh omenja Šmitek (2004) še Devin nad Knežo v Baški grapi. Če bi pregledali vse liste treh izmer in franciscejski kataster bi morda našli še kakšnega. V kraju Devin pri Trstu je mogočna prepadna stena nad morjem na kateri so ruševine starega gradu (sl. 5), ki je zelo podobna steni nad sotočjem Morave in Donave pri Bratislavi. Na tej so tudi ruševine starega gradu, pod gradom pa naselje Devin (sl. 6). Mogočna podoba teh dveh Devinov je izstopajoča. Na Slovenskem ni legend, ki bi vključevale vzpetine z imenom Devin. Podobno geomorfologijo imajo toponimi z imenom Devin skok, razlika pa je v tem, da se je o Devinih skokih ohranilo precej legend, ki vpletajo časovno bližje motive o devinem skoku v pomenu skoka dekleta. Enotne razlage o pomenu Devina in Devinega

skoka ni. O tem piše Šmitek (2004), medtem ko Ovsec (1991) Devina in Devinega skoka ne omenja.

Tako značilna vrhova kot sta Devina pri Trstu in Bratislavi, nista ostala neopažena pri vseh čistilnih naravnih kultov, ki so tu živeli pred Slovani. Ostaja pa dejstvo, da je ime Devin prišlo k nam s Slovani in da so Slovani podedovana in nova kulturna mesta poimenovali Devin. Zato legende s tržaškega in bratslavskega Devina ne morejo biti vodilo za reševanje pomena Devinov, toda vsi kažejo na veliko verjetnost domneve, ki jo je podal Václav Tille (Šmitek, 2004), »da je bil Devin kraj čaščenja naravnih kultov«.

Od treh Devinov na območju ilirskobistriškega plazu in okolice (sl. 4), po prepadni steni in položnem pobočju, ustreza le Devin nad Koritnicami – Devin 1 (sl. 7, sl. 8), medtem ko sta Devin nad Škriljem – Devin 2 (sl. 9) in Devin pod Lunjevico – Devin 3 (sl. 10) manj izrazita. Vsi trije pa kraljujejo nad nižjim svetom, ki leži pod prepa-



Slika 6: Vrh Devín z ekstremno geomorfologijo, na katerem je stari grad Devín in prepadna stena ob sotočju Morave in Donave pri Bratislavi. Poleg je naselje Devín (Foto: Vladimír Ješko, Pixabay).

Image 6: Devín and its extreme geomorphology, with Devín Castle (Devínsky hrad) standing on top and a precipitous slope facing the confluence of the Rivers Morava and Danube. Below the peak is Devín, a small town near Bratislava (Photo: Vladimír Ješko, Pixabay).

dno steno ali bolj strmim pobočjem; Devín 1 okoli 200 do 300 m nad hudourniško dolino Jamce, Devín 2 okoli 300 m nad polkrožnim robnim jarkom velikega plazu, Devín 3 pa okoli 200 m nad istim jarkom. Skupina treh Devínov ali treh obrednih mest, tako blizu skupaj kot se nahaja na širšem območju Milanje, je po doslej znanih podatkih osamljen primer v slovanskem svetu.

Izgleda, da se duhovni pomen Devínov razkriva na daljinskem posnetku Devína 1 nad Koritnicami (sl. 8), kot ga je videti s ceste od Knežaka proti Koritnicam. Njegovo skrivnostno moč izžareva igra svetlobe in senc, ki jo je mogoče doživeti le v določenih trenutkih dneva in leta.

MITIČNA POKRAJINA

V tem poglavju so podani geometrijski in astronomski vidiki slovanske mitične pokrajine na širšem območju Milanje, medtem ko sta njena religijska ideja in zgodovinski pomen le grobo nakazana.

Iz vsega kar sledi v naslednjih odstavkih je očitno, da je pozornost slovanskih častilcev naravnih kultov pritegnilo polkrožno sleme s polkrožnim pobočjem. Na

to je moč sklepati zato, ker so tu poiskali in poimenovali vrhove Milanka, Mala in Velika Milanja ter Devín 2 in Devín 3. Če se osredotočimo le na tiste vrhove, ki jih je mogoče povezati z obrednimi koti, izstopijo Mala in Velika Milanja ter Devín 2, ki tvorijo povezani z daljicami skoraj enakokrak trikotnik. Skoraj enak enakokrak trikotnik dobimo tudi, če povežemo Devín 2, Veliko Milanjo in Devín 1 izven polkrožnega slemena. Oba trikotnika se stikata v daljici Devín 2 – Velika Milanja (sl. 11). Natančna izmera kotov bi bila mogoča le na terenu, za naš namen je bil uporabljen Državni temeljni geodetski načrt (1:5.000 in 1:10.000). Meritev je bila opravljena s šolskim kotomerom; velikosti obeh priležnih simetričnih kotov v prvem trikotniku znašata 25° in 25° , v drugem trikotniku 23° in $22,5^\circ$. Nobeden ne presega meje tolerance obrednega kota $23,5^\circ \pm 1,5^\circ$ ($22^\circ - 25^\circ$). Vsi koti so preverjeni na terenu s kompasom. Velika Milanja leži v vrhu obeh skoraj enakih enakokrakih trikotnikov.

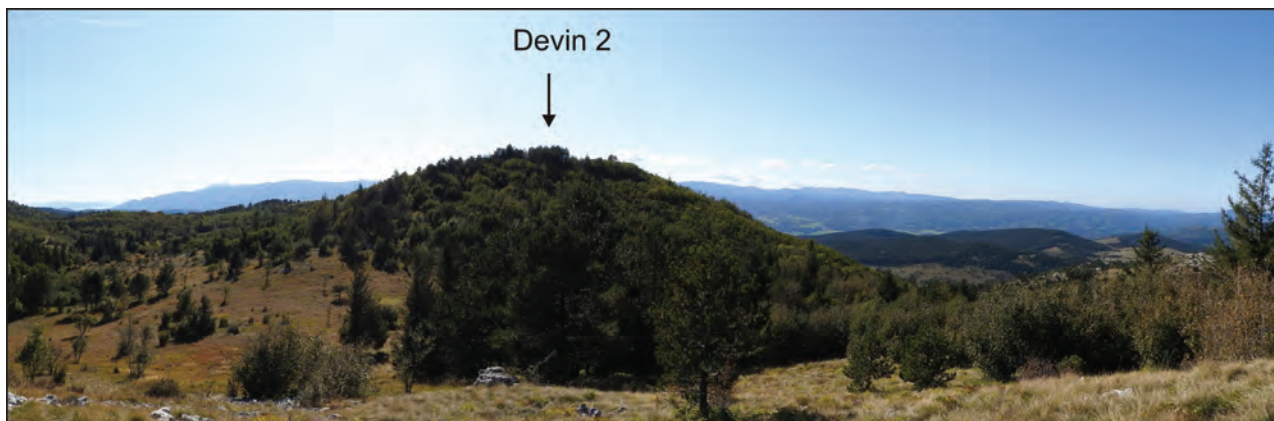
V nadaljnjem besedilu sta besedni zvezi »skoraj enakokrak« in »skoraj enak« izpuščeni in nadomeščeni z enakokrak in enak. Za obrednike je bil pomen natančnosti relativen, na njihov občutek za resničnost kaže ugotovljena toleranca obrednega kota.



*Slika 7: Devin 1. Vrh ima značilno obliko, položno in nasproti ležeče prepadno pobočje (Foto: Ladislav Placer).
Image 7: Devin 1. The peak has a form characteristic of a »Devin«, with a gentle slope on one side and a precipice on the other (Photo: Ladislav Placer).*



*Slika 8: Skrivnostni mizasti plato z vrhom Devin 1. Pogled s ceste Knežak – Koritnice. Približan posnetek (Foto: Ladislav Placer).
Image 8: Mysterious plateau with Devin 1. View from the road Knežak – Koritnice. Close-up view (Photo: Ladislav Placer).*



Slika 9: Devin 2. Vrh ima neizrazito obliko. Pogled s sosednjega vrha na severovzhodu (Foto: Gregor Kovačič).
Image 9: Devin 2. The peak has a form uncharacteristic of a »Devin«. View from the neighbouring to the northeast (Photo: Gregor Kovačič).



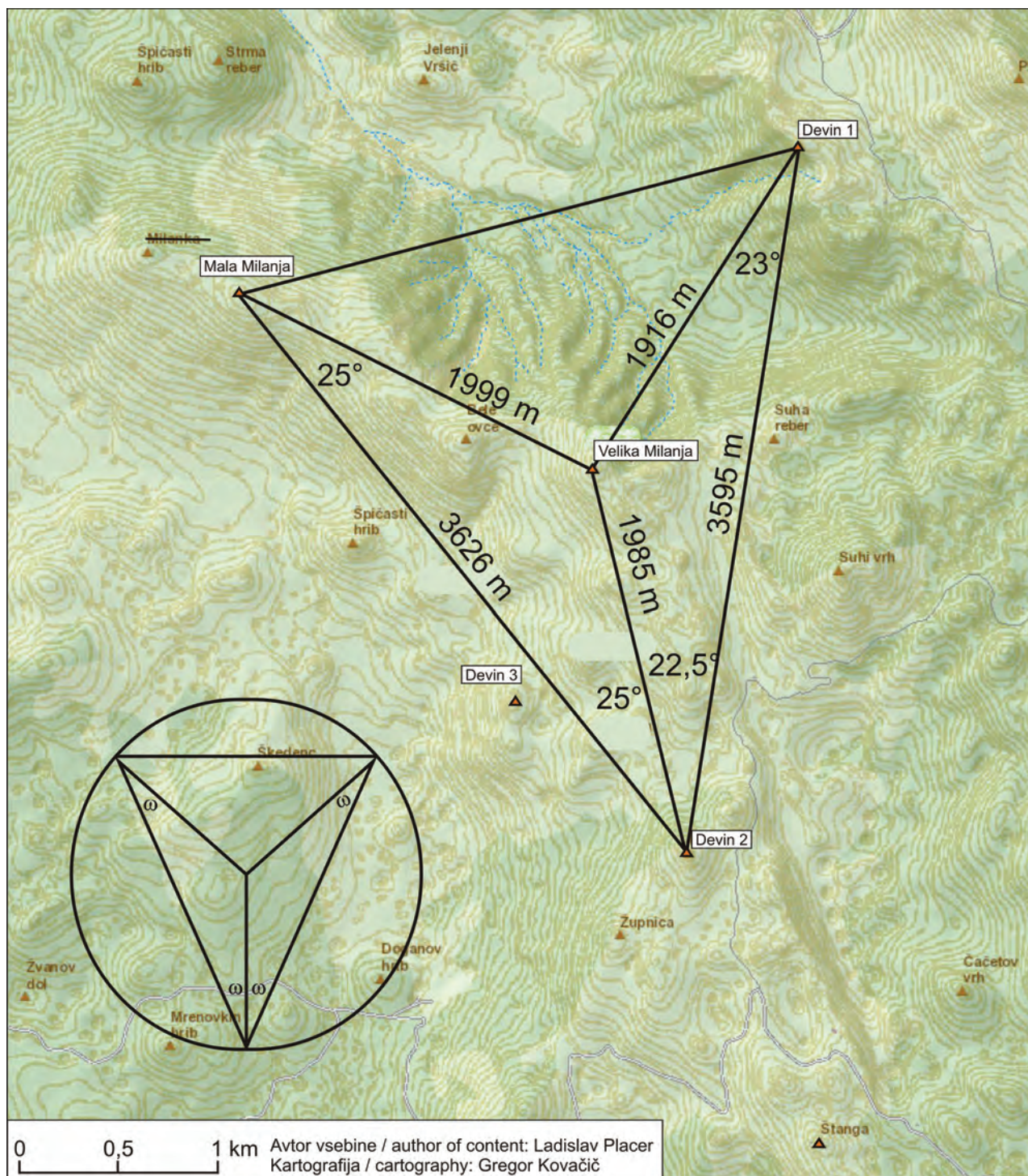
Slika 10: Devin 3. Vrh ima neizrazito obliko. Pogled z juga (Foto: Ladislav Placer).
Image 10: Devin 3. The peak has a form uncharacteristic of a »Devin«. View from the south (Photo: Ladislav Placer).

Obredni kot je »navidezna razlika med višino opoldanskega sonca v času enakonočja in obeh sončnih obratov. Ta razlika nastane, ker zemeljska os ni pravokotna na ravnino svoje krožnice okoli Sonca, ampak je za omenjeni kot nagnjena« (Pleterski, 2002). Predhodno o tem Pleterski (1996). Izmerjeni nagib Zemljine osi nasproti ekliptiki znaša danes $23^{\circ} 26' 21,44''$, na sl. 11 je ta kot označen z ω .

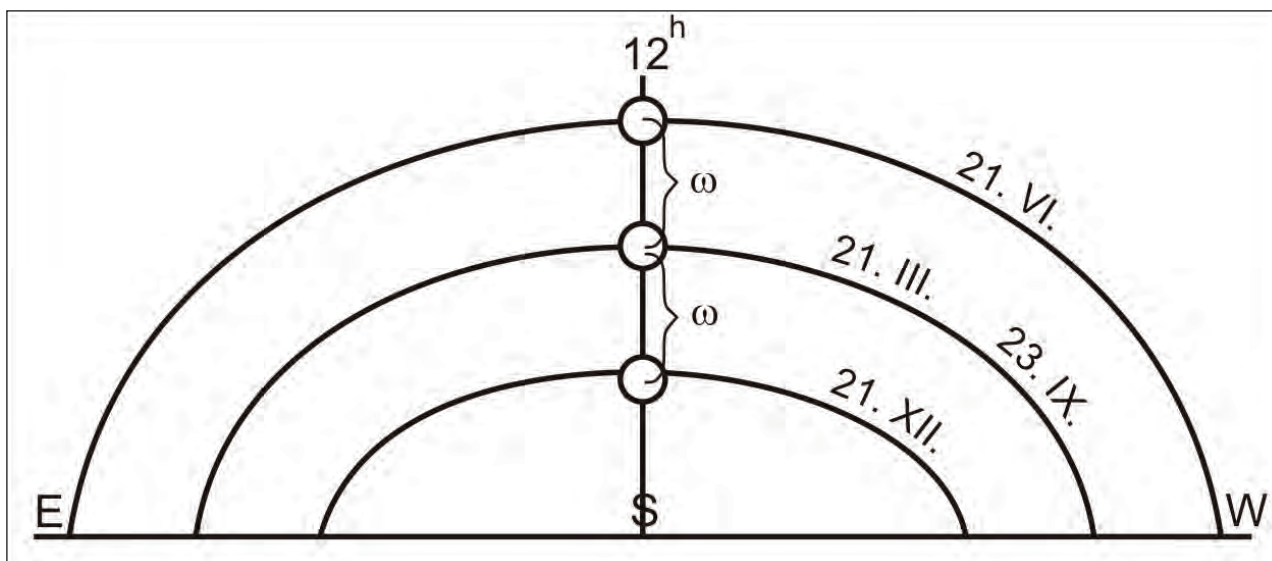
Devin 2 leži v vrhu velikega enakokrakega trikotnika Devin 2 – Mala Milanja – Devin 1, katerega kraka sta hkrati tudi osnovni stranici obeh manjših zrcalno simetričnih enakokrakih trikotnikov. Velikost kota v vrhu velikega enakokrakega trikotnika je vsota dveh obrednih kotov $25^{\circ} + 22,5^{\circ}$, njegova simetrala pa poteka preko Velike Milanje. Ker so stranice obeh zrcalnih enakokrakih trikotnikov enake, imajo kraki dolžino polmera očrtanega kroga v katerega središču

je Velika Milanja. Veliki enakokraki trikotnik je torej v matematičnem smislu včrtani obodni trikotnik, oba manjša zrcalno simetrična trikotnika pa včrtana središčna trikotnika. Dejanske dolžine krakov od Velike Milanje navzven znašajo po aplikaciji za merjenje dolžin (Atlas okolja, povprečje treh meritev), okoli 1916 m (Devin 1), 1999 m (Mala Milanja) in 1985 m (Devin 2). Razlika med najdaljšim in najkrajšim znaša okoli 4%. Dolžina obeh krakov obodnega enakokrakega trikotnika ali osnovnic obeh enakokrakih središčnih trikotnikov, znaša okoli 3.595 m in 3.626 m. Razlikujeta se torej za okoli 0,8 %.

Vsota dveh obrednih kotov je razlika navideznih kotov višine opoldanskega Sonca med obema sončevima obratoma (sl. 12). V primeru obrednih kotov $25^{\circ} + 22,5^{\circ}$ na Devinu 2, ima Velika Milanja simbolno lego spomladanskega in jesenskega enakonočja.



Slika 11: Obredni poligon Milanje: včrtani obodni enakokrak trikotnik Devin 2 – Mala Milanja – Devin 1, dva enaka središčna enakokraka trikotnika Devin 2 – Devin 1 – Velika Milanja in Devin 2 – Mala Milanja – Velika Milanja (Topografska osnova Atlas okolja, Slovenija) (Legenda: ω – nagib Zemljine osi nasproti ekliptiki $23^{\circ} 26' 21,44''$ (zaokroženo $23,5^{\circ}$); 25° , 25° , 23° in $22,5^{\circ}$ – obredni koti v mejah tolerance $23,5^{\circ} \pm 1,5^{\circ}$).
Image 11: The Milanja ritual polygon: inscribed outer isosceles triangle of Devin 2 – Mala Milanja – Devin 1, two equal inner isosceles triangles of Devin 2 – Devin 1 – Velika Milanja and Devin 2 – Mala Milanja – Velika Milanja (Topographic basis Atlas okolja, Slovenija) (Legend: ω – Earth's axial tilt opposite the ecliptic of $23^{\circ} 26' 21,44''$ (rounded $23,5^{\circ}$); 25° , 25° , 23° and $22,5^{\circ}$ – ritual angles within tolerance limits $23,5^{\circ} \pm 1,5^{\circ}$).



Slika 12: Skica navideznega potovanja sonca. Poletni in zimski obrat 21. VI. in 21. XII., pomladno in jesensko enakonočje 21. III. in 23. IX. (Legenda: $\omega = 23^\circ 26' 21,44''$ (zaokroženo $23,5^\circ$)).

Image 12: Sketch of virtual sun travel. Summer and winter plant 21. VI. and 21. XII., spring and autumn equinox 21. III. and 23. IX. (Legend: $\omega = 23^\circ 26' 21,44''$ (rounded $23,5^\circ$)).

Pogled z Devina 1, ki leži izven polkrožnega slemena, na Devin 2 je »skrivnost«, saj je viden samo njegov vrh nad sedlom med Suhim vrhom in Veliko Milanjo (sl. 13a, sl. 13b). Božansko moč simetrije geometrijskih likov povečuje dejstvo, da je Devin 2 edini vrh polkrožnega slemena jugozahodno od mlajšega plazu, ki ga je mogoče videti z Devina 1. Vrhovi Bele ovce, Velika Milanja, kota 1060 in kota 1055 ležijo severozahodno od mlajšega plazu. Pogled iz Devina 2 na Devin 1 danes preprečujejo krošnje dreves na Devinu 2.

Pred seboj imamo torej prostorski ideogram iz enakokrakih trikotnikov, ki ga delovno imenujemo *obredni poligon Milanje* (sl. 11). V njem so štirje enakokraki trikotniki, štirje obredni koti in dva Devina.

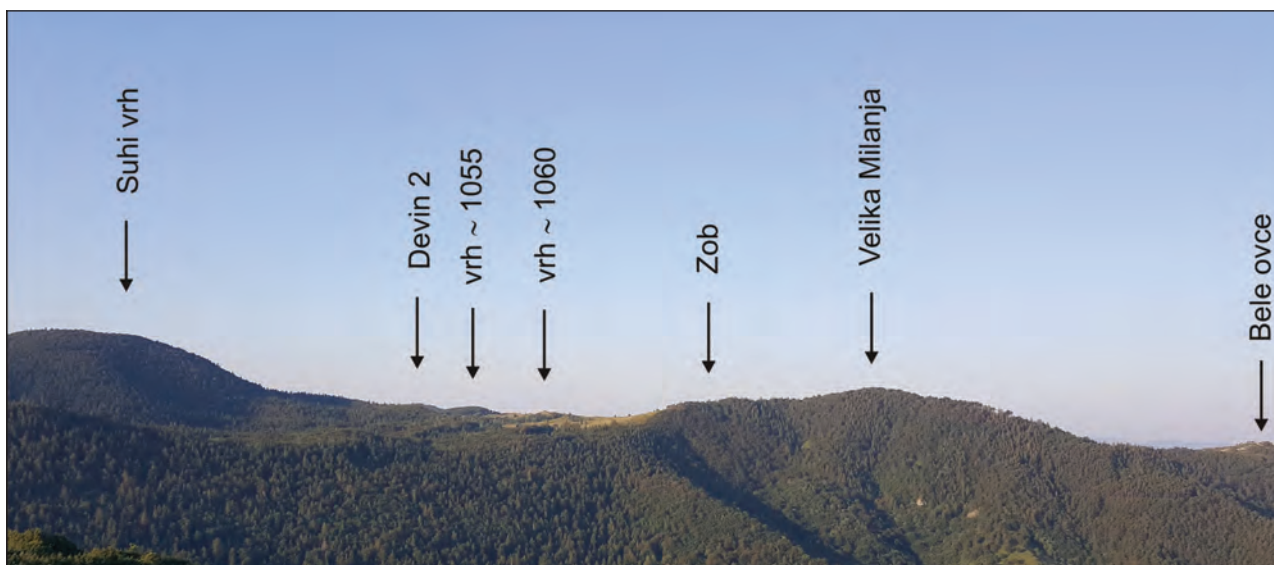
Vse kaže, da je obredni poligon Milanje nastal iz enakokrakega trikotnika Mala Milanja – Devin 2 – Velika Milanja na polkrožnem slemenu, ki predstavlja v mitični pokrajini neobičajno geomorfološko obliko. V primerjavi z objekti iz razprave *Kulturni genom* (Pleterski, 2014), ki prinaša vpogled v slovanske arheološke in mitološke strukture, gre v tem primeru za izjemno geomorfološko strukturo. Ta je v podobi običajnih geomorfoloških oblik, kot so npr. vrhovi, sotočja in drugo, prisotna povsod, v podobi polkrožnega slemena s polkrožnim pobočjem pa je gotovo izjema.

Milanka leži izven obrednega poligona Milanje, enako Devin 3, vendar sta brez dvoma del te skupine mitičnih objektov. Drugače je z Babo, ki je nasledek predrimskih kultov (Hrobat Virloget, 2012, 2014), vendar so jo očitno vključili v mitično pokrajino Mila-

nje, ker leži v podaljšku polkrožnega slemena. Njeno odstopanje od ostalih mitičnih objektov močno poudarja okoli dvajset metrov visoka piramidasta stena v simbolni podobi žene, ki dominira nad dolino Reke (sl. 14a). Njen vrh ali »glava«, je dostopen z gornje strani, kjer je viden kot pol tretji meter visok monolit (sl. 14b). Železni križ na vrhu Babe je verjetno urok proti njeni zli naravi. Milanka in Baba ležita na nasprotnih koncih polkrožnega slemena, kar jima daje podoben geomorfološki status.

Milanka je slovansko žensko osebno ime, ki pri Slovencih danes ni pogosto, najdemo pa ga pri vseh slovanskih narodih. Milanja se kot žensko ime uporablja zelo redko, v redkih primerih tudi kot priimek. Razen v obravnavanem primeru nisem v literaturi nikjer našel vrhov s tema imenoma. V doslej objavljenem slovenskem ljudskem izročilu ni sledu o Milanki ali Milanji (Kelemina, 1997), o tem ne vedo ničesar prebivalci vasi okoli Milanje. Nisem raziskal ali ta dvojica nastopa v ljudskem izročilu drugih slovanskih narodov.

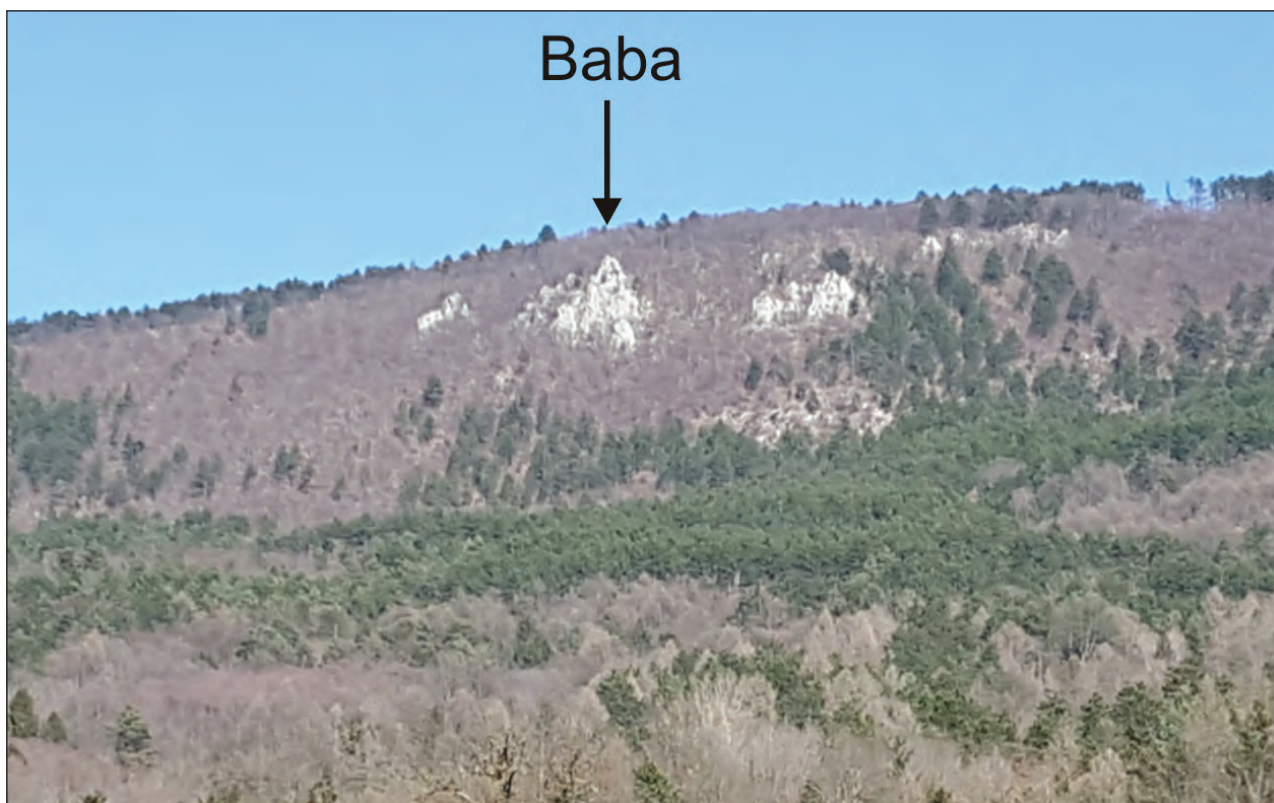
Veličastje polkrožnega slemena in teatra pod njim, ki je očaralo obrednike, je mogoče občutiti z mnogih mest, najlepše z Belih ovc (1008 m). Za ilustracijo je tu prikazan pogled z Male Milanje na polkrožno strmino in robni jarek (sl. 15). Celotni teater je mogoče zajeti s Škedenca (847 m) na povratnem pobočju plazu, nenaodna perspektiva pa se ponuja z Devina 3. Za razliko od prednikov si danes lahko privoščimo tudi pogled iz zraka (sl. 16). Na letalskem posnetku je viden celotni plaz s kuliso Velikega Snežnika v ozadju in Ilirsko Bistrico na nogi plazu v ospredju. Na sliki so označeni



Slika 13a: Pogled z Devina 1 na vrh Devina 2 preko sedla med Suhim vrhom in Veliko Milanjo (Foto: Ladislav Placer).
Image 13a: View from Devin 1 to the summit of Devin 2 across the saddle separating Suhi vrh and Velika Milanja (Photo: Ladislav Placer).



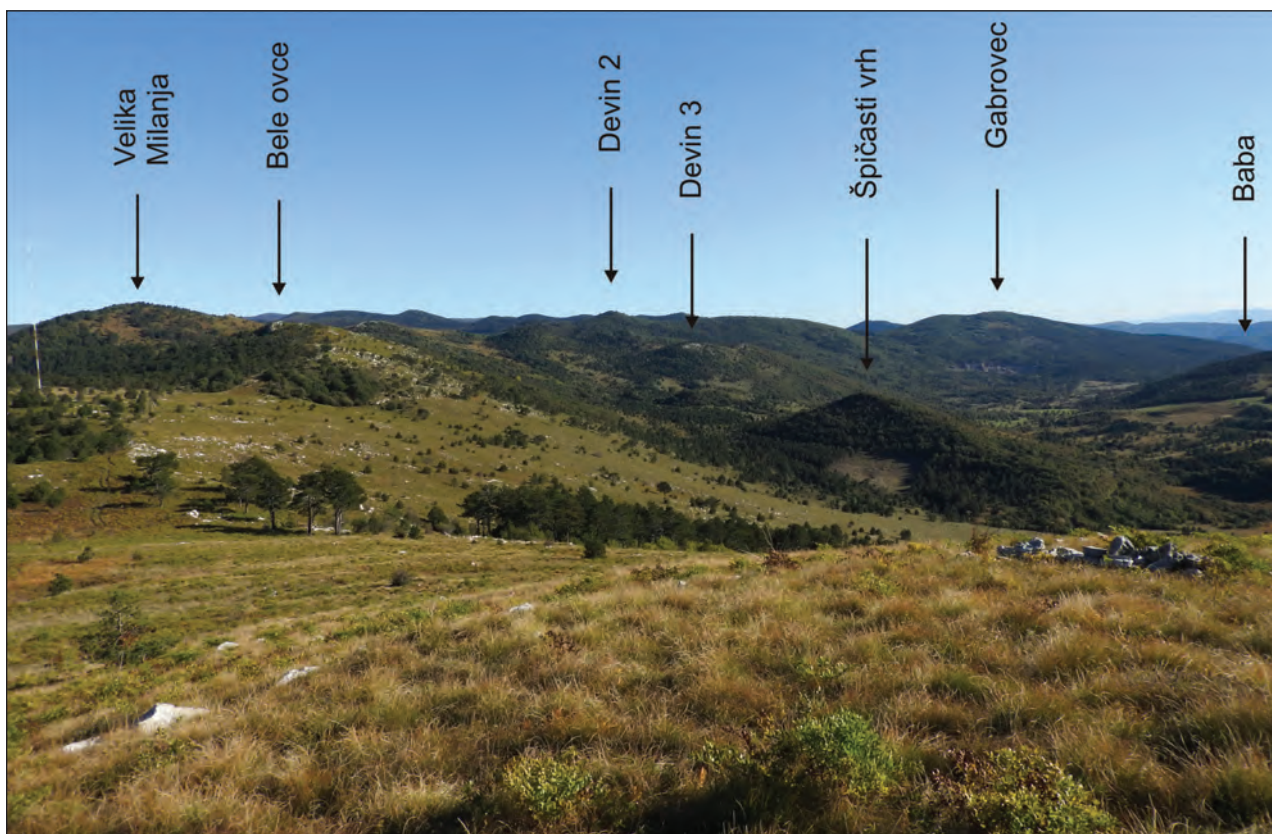
Slika 13b: Približani vrh Devina 2 (Foto: Ladislav Placer).
Image 13b: The summit of Devin 2, close-up view (Photo: Ladislav Placer).



Slika 14a: Baba, piramidasta stena nad naseljem Vrbovo. Približan posnetek (Foto: Ladislav Placer).
Image 14a: Baba, pyramid rock wall above the settlement of Vrbovo. Close-up view (Photo: Ladislav Placer).



Slika 14b: Vrh Babe z druge strani. Križ je urok zoper Babino moč (Foto: Ladislav Placer).
Image 14b: The top of Baba on the other hand. The cross a spell against Baba's power (Photo: Ladislav Placer).



Slika 15: Pogled z Male Milanje na polkrožno sleme. V ospredju je pobočje Volovje rebri in Belih ovc, nato vrhovi Velika Milanja, Devin 2, Devin 3, Gabrovec in Baba. Pod slemenom sta robni jarek in povratno pobočje (Foto: Gregor Kovačič).

Image 15: View of the semicircular ridge from Mala Milanja. The slopes of Volovja reber and Bele ovce are in the foreground, the peaks of Velika Milanja, Devin 2, Devin 3, Gabrovec and Baba behind them, the margin trough and reverse surface are below the crown (Photo: Gregor Kovačič).

vrhovi z mitičnimi imeni. Pogledu iz letala je podoben pogled s Karlovice (772 m) tik nad Pregarjami, le da je vertikalni zorni kot tu ožji. Tega so si obredniki lahko privoščili.

POIZKUS INTERPRETACIJE

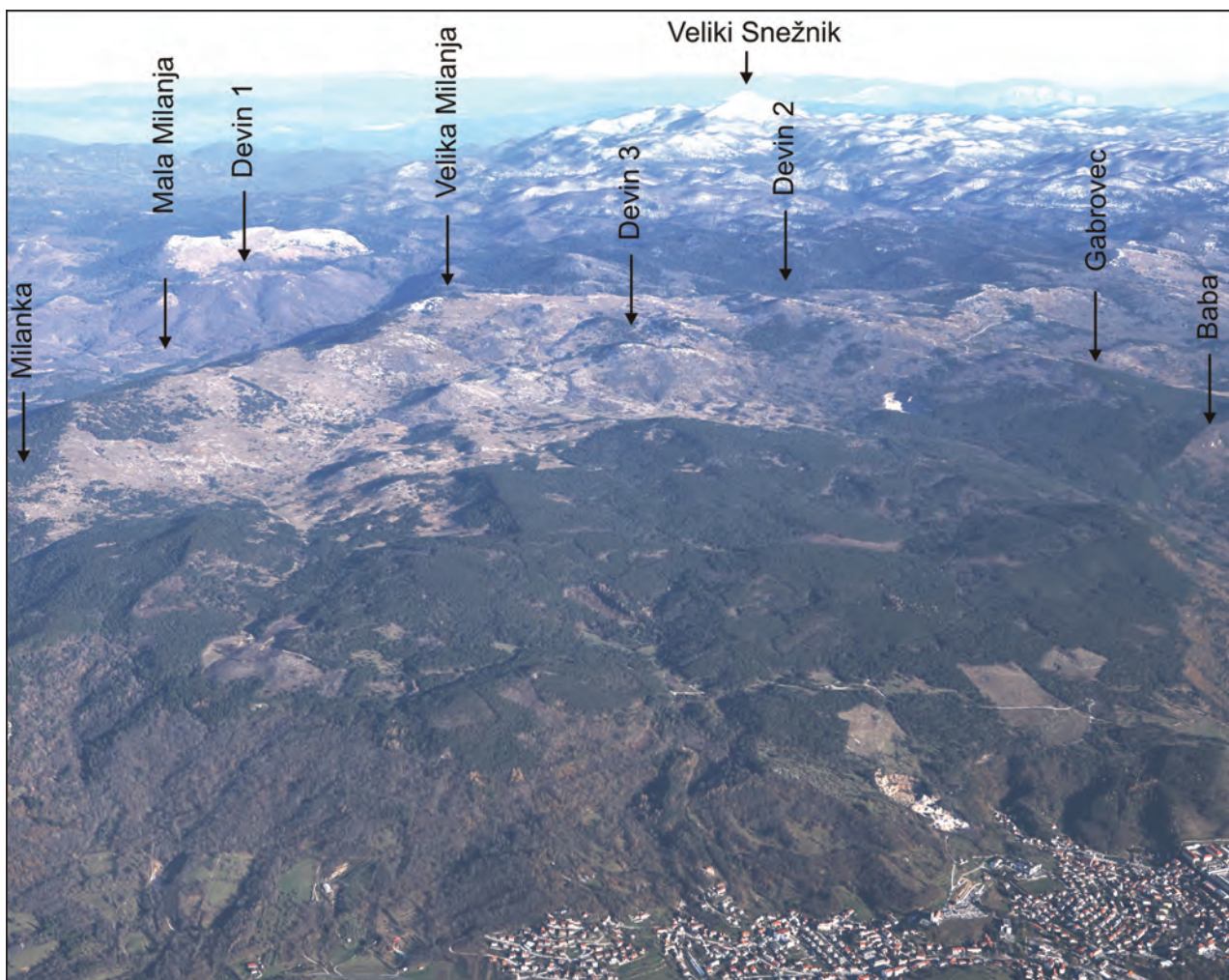
Mihajlov (2002) in Šmitek (2004) ugotavljata, da je slovanska mitična pokrajina vezana predvsem na tri božanstva: Peruna, Velesa in Mokoš, zato si je pri iskanju rešitve za vprašanje pomena Milanje v slovanski mitologiji, potrebno postaviti tri vprašanja: **A.** ali so na tem prostoru toponimi, ki bi nakazovali čaščenje Peruna, Velesa in Mokoši, **B.** koga predstavlja Milanja in **C.** ali je imelo polkrožno sleme velikega fosilnega plazule vlogo nenavadne naravne kulise ali tudi simbolni pomen.

A. Današnji toponimi in tisti v franciscejskem katastru ne povedo ničesar o navzočnosti Velesa, morda Peruna v podobi Suhega vrha (1171 m) (Hrobat Virloget, 2014), vse pa kaže, da so bili Devini obre-

dna mesta namenjena čaščenju božanstva v podobi Milanje (Velike Milanje). To posredno pritrjuje mnenju Pleterskega (2014), da skupno nastopanje Mokoši, Velesa in Peruna nima splošne veljave. V tem primeru gre najverjetneje za Mokoš.

B. Da se v Milanji (Veliki Milanji) skriva Mokoš kažejo tri značilnosti; žensko ime Milanja, bližina vode in toponim Volovja reber. Mokoš je med drugim povezana z vodo, pastirji in živino. Severno pobočje Velike Milanje je prepredeno z erozijskimi grapami, zaradi česar pravijo domačini temu predelu Žlebovi. Tu so tudi izviri, med katerimi je pomembnejši Podluknja. Ob večjih deževjih se vse vode iz doline med Devinom 1 in Veliko Milanjo zberejo v močan hudournik Jamce, ki teče mimo Koritnic in poplavi kraško polje med Koritnicami, Bačem in Knežakom. Takrat se napolnijo tudi tamkajšnja presihajoča jezera (Kovačič & Habič, 2005; Kovačič, 2017; Stepišnik, 2017).

Na pomembnejši izvir med Veliko Milanjo in Devinom 1 kažejo tudi imena ledin iz franciscejskega katastra »pod Bolum« (Pod Bolunom), »Konc pod



Slika 16: Letalski posnetek ilirskobistriškega fosilnega plazju. V osredju je na nogi plazju mesto Ilirska Bistrica (Foto: Matevž Lenarčič).

Image 16: Aerial view of the Ilirska Bistrica fossil landslide. The town of Ilirska Bistrica lies at the foot of the landslide (Photo: Matevž Lenarčič).

Bolunam« (Konec pod Bolunom) in »nad Ballun« (Nad Bolunom). Domneva temelji na mnenju Skoka, ki izvaja ime naselja Boljunec/Bolunc iz latinskega glagola *bullire* v pomenu vreti (Merku, 2006). Gre torej za ledine nad in pod izviro (vrelom, vrelcem). Po prostorski legi naštetih ledin izgleda, da je šlo za izvir v dnu doline, ki pa je ležal više od današnjega, ki je viden na sl. 2 in sl. 4.

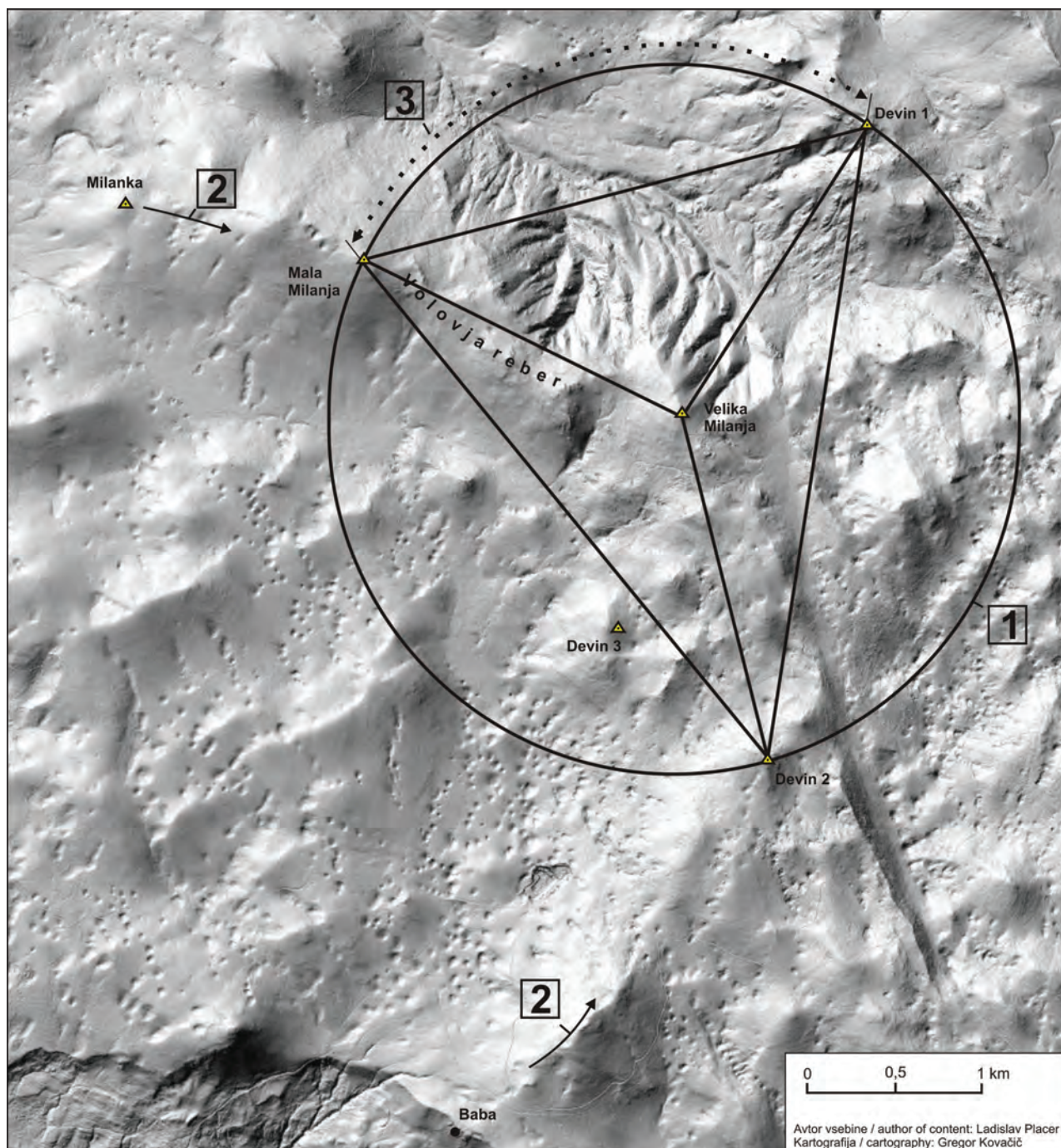
K ideji, da Velika Milanja simbolizira Mokoš, pripomore tudi mnenje o povezanosti Babe in Mokoši (Hrobat Virloget, 2014), kar Babo na polkrožnem slemenu tudi vsebinsko povezuje s čaščenjem Mokoši.

C. Na polkrožnem slemenu ležijo tri od štirih točk (vrhov) obrednega poligona Milanje ter Milanka in Baba izven poligona. V širšem pasu je tu še Devin 3. Polkrožno sleme s polkrožnim pobočjem potemtakem ni moglo imeti le vloge neobičajne naravne kulise v

obliki naravnega teatra, temveč je najverjetneje simboliziralo polmesec.

Ime Milanja izhaja iz besede »mil« v današnjem pomenu *drag*, *ljub*, v prvotnem *usmiljen* (Keber, 1988). Milanja torej pomeni **usmiljena boginja Mokoš**. Zelo verjetno so toponim izbrali v času pokristjanjevanja in tako prikrili pogansko religiozno prakso. Obredni poligon Milanje je torej posvečen Mokoši, zato ga je smiselno imenovati **obredni poligon Mokoši**. Tudi ime Milanka izvajamo iz besede »mil«, zato je tudi v vsebinskem smislu povezana z Milanjo.

Geometrijska konstrukcija na sl. 17 ponuja poizkus razlage simbolnega pomena obrednega poligona Mokoši. Velika Milanja (Mokoš) leži v središču kroga in na simetrali včrtanega enakokrakega obodnega trikotnika Mala Milanja – Devin 1 – Devin 2. Vrh tega trikotnika oklepa kot, ki je vsota dveh obrednih

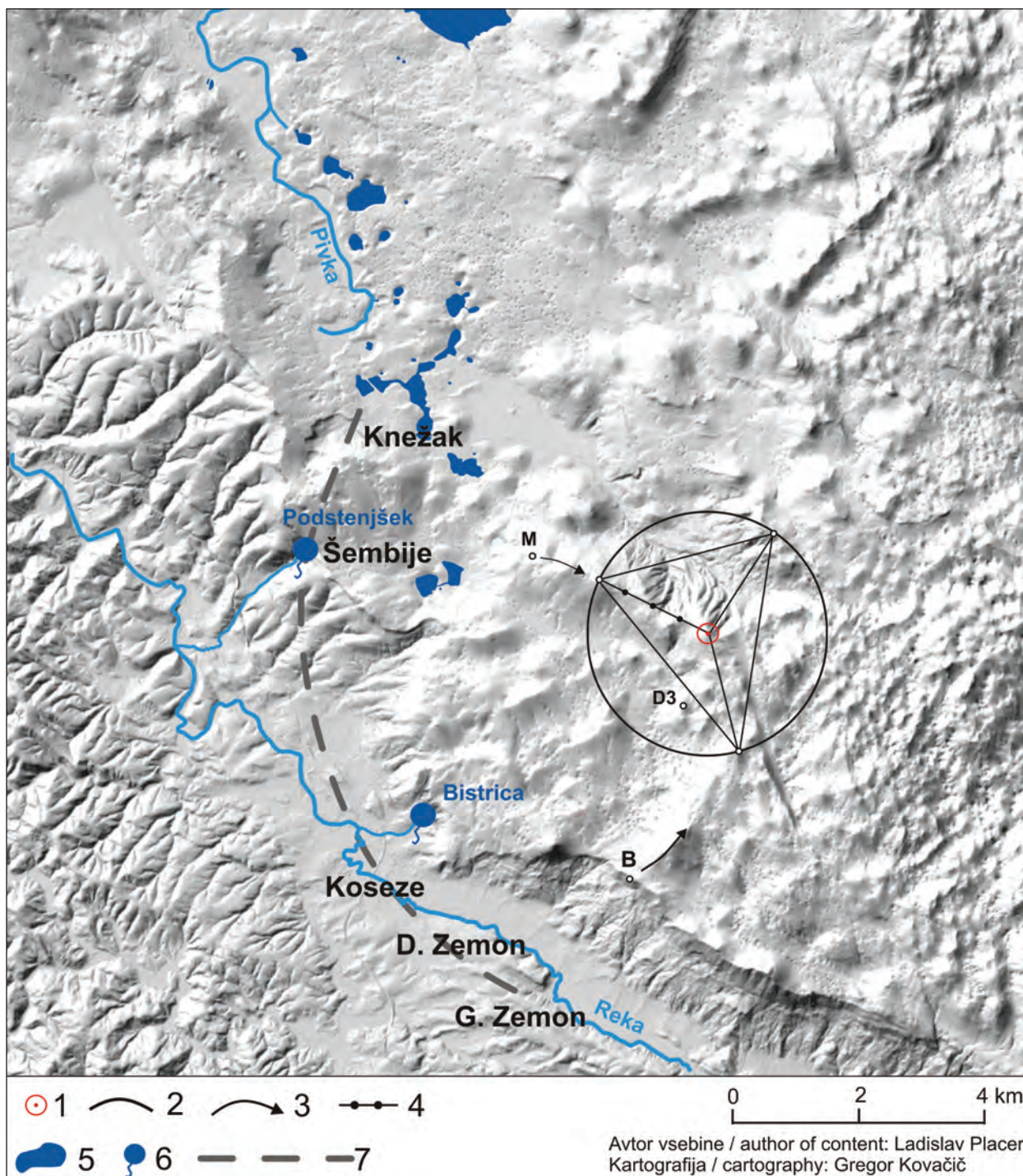


Slika 17: »Sončev krog« in »Mesečev polkrog« (polmesec) (Digitalna osnova Atlas okolja, Slovenija) (Legenda: 1. »Sončev krog«, 2. »Mesečev polkrog«, 3. navidezno nihanje sonca).

Image 17: »Sun Circle« and »Moon Semicircle« (Moon crescent) (Digital background Atlas okolja, Slovenija) (Legend: 1. »Sun Circle«, 2. »Moon Semicircle«, 3. apparent oscillation of the sun).

kotov $25^\circ + 22,5^\circ$, Mokoš torej simbolno leži v legi enakonočja in nadzira navidezno pot sonca. Ta je simbolično nakazana s segmentom kroga med Malo Milanjo in Devinom 1 (sl. 17, 3). Ne glede na to ali so krog okoli Velike Milanje (Mokoši) tako ime-

novali obredniki ali ne, ga iz praktičnih razlogov imenujemo »Sončev krog« (sl. 17, 1). Koledarsko časovno razsežnost dajeta obrednemu poligonu Mokoši dolžini obeh krakov včrtanega obodnega trikotnika, ki sta dolgi približno 3600 m (3626 m,



*Slika 18: Usmiljena boginja Mokoš, ki skrbi za vodo, živino in verjetno tudi sonce. Morda bdi tudi nad osrednjimi naselji knežje oblasti. Presihajoča jezera povzeta po Kovačič & Habič (2005, sl. 1), izviri po Atlasu Slovenije (Digitalna osnova Atlas okolja, Slovenija) (Legenda: 1. Mokoš (Velika Milanja), 2. »Sončev krog«, 3. »Mesečev polkrog«, 4. Volovja reber, 5. presihajoče jezero, 6. kraški izvir, 7. polkrožni pas naselij, M – Milanka, D3 – Devin 3, B – Baba).
Image 18: Mokosh, Goddess of Compassion that cared for water, cattle and probably also the Sun. She may also have watched over the central settlement of princely authority. The intermittent lakes are taken from Kovačič & Habič (2005, Fig. 1), the springs from Atlas Slovenije (Digital background Atlas okolja, Slovenija) (Legend: 1. Mokosh (Velika Milanja), 2. "Sun circle", 3. "Moon Semicircle", 4. Volovja reber, 5. intermittent karst lake, 6. karst spring, 7. semicircular belt of settlement, M – Milanka, D3 – Devin 3, B – Baba).*

3595 m) in predstavljata desetkratni mnogokratnik zaokroženega števila dni v letu ($360 \times 10 = 3600$). Pleterski (2020) opozarja na dolžino 180 dni, ki naj bi pomenila zaokroženo polovico leta.

Mala Milanja, Velika Milanja in Devin 2 ležijo na polkrožnem slemenu, ki ponazarja polmesec. Med Malo in Veliko Milanjo leži Volovja reber, vol pa je lunarna žival, ki označuje vso živino in je simbol življenjske moči in dobrote. Zaradi tega je smiselno imenovati celotno polkrožno sleme, od Milanke do Babe, »Mesečev polkrog« (sl. 17, 2). Ta je tako kot »Sončev krog« le delovni termin. K temu spada tudi polkrožno pobočje na katerem stoji Devin 3.

Mokoš je ambivalentna (Ovsec, 1991; Šmitek, 2004), povezana je s solarnim in lunarnim svetom. To simbolno potrjuje lega Mokoši (Velike Milanje) v središču »Sončevega kroga« in na »Mesečevem polkrogu«.

Milanka in Baba spadata v krog čaščenja Mokoši, ležita na »Mesečevem polkrogu« vendar izven njenega obrednega poligona. Njena vloga ni jasna. Povsem jasna ni tudi vloga dvojice Velika in Mala Milanja; v tem trenutku je še najbolj verjetna domneva, da je s tem simbolno poudarjena njena ambivalentnost. Na to kaže tudi skupni termin Milanja za Malo in Veliko Milanjo ter Volovjo reber. Po Pleterskem (2020) bi tudi lahko sklepali, da sta Milanka in Baba poletni in zimski vidik istega ženskega božanstva, torej Mokoši, ter da »Mesečev polkrog« prikazuje mitične spremembe v letu. Nekoliko bolj otipljiva je vloga Devinov, ki kaže na veliko verjetnost Tillejeve interpretacije, saj je iz njihove razporeditve v prostoru mogoče sklepati, da so na Devinu 1 in Devinu 2 izvajali obrede čaščenja in darovanja v čast Mokoši, predvsem njeni solarni naravi, medtem ko so na Devinu 3 verjetno častili njeno lunarno nrav. Devin 3 leži namreč v jedru »Mesečevega polkroga«, z njegovega vrha je prečudovit pogled na obe krili polkrožnega pobočja. Na žalost zahodno stran danes delno zastirajo krošnje dreves. V zvezi z darovanjem bi bilo smiselno izvesti nekaj orientacijskih arheoloških sondiranj v sedimentih pod prepadnimi stenami ali strmimi pobočji Devinov, če so bili med darovi tudi votivni predmeti, npr. iz žgane gline ali kovine, bi bili njihovi deli lahko še ohranjeni.

Na sl. 18 je obredni poligon Mokoši s »Sončevim krogom« in »Mesečevim polkrogom« postavljen v širši prostor. Tu se Mokoš kaže v povsem določni vlogi, od voda varuje izvire v Žlebovih in Pivška presihajoča jezera ter izvire Podstenjška in Bistrice. Mokoš skrbi za živino, ki je vir preživetja in jo simbolizira Volovja reber. Sonce daje smisel vsemu, Mokoš simbolno skrbi, da se vrača kot nihalo v ravnotežno lego enakonočja. Ambivalentna Mokoš skrbi za nastajanje in ohranjanje življenja. Mokoš je znamenje pomena ženskega načela v slovanskem duhovnem in družbenem življenju.

Povezava Mokoši z gibanjem Sonca je neobičajna, vendar je neobičajno tudi polkrožno sleme in dvojni obredni kot $25^\circ + 22,5^\circ$ z Veliko Milanjo na simetrali. O tem bo potrebna še temeljita razprava. Vloga Mokoši je v tem primeru širša, kot jo je mogoče razbrati iz ostankov njenega čaščenja, ki sta jih zbrala Radenković & Fičor (2013) in iz razprav o njeni vlogi na območju vzhodnih Alp (npr. Češarek et al., 2016). Vse kaže, da so v Milanji pod njenim okriljem skrite tudi vsebine, ki so nasledek nekega starejšega kulta in so ga Slovani priključili kultu Mokoši. Na to kaže tudi vključitev Babe.

ZGODOVINSKI OKVIR

Le nekaj kilometrov od obrednega poligona Mokoši ležijo vasi Knežak, Šembije in Zemon (Gornji in Dolnji) (sl. 2, sl. 18). Ime naselja Knežak izhaja po Snoju (2009) iz osnove knez v pomenu kralj, vodja plemena, po Skoku (1972) glavlar plemena, posvetni ali svečeniški glavlar. Na knezovo prisotnost kažeta tudi ledinski imeni Kneški dol pri Koritnicah in Knežji dol pri Podgrajah. Kneški dol posredno preko Knežaka (Knežak, kneški), Knežji dol pa verjetno neposredno. Šembije se po Snoju (2009) izvaja iz Šentvid, ta pa lahko iz slovanskega Svetovid. Sedlo na slemenu med dolinama Pivke in Reke je imelo vedno strateški pomen, zaradi česar je moral na njem stati izvidnik božanskih sposobnosti. Zemon izhaja iz izraza za slovansko utrdbo iz zemlje (Bezljaj et al., 2005), podobni toponimi se pojavljajo tudi drugod pri južnih Slovanih. K primarnim slovanskim naseljem bi lahko prišeli tudi Koseze, če bi bilo nedvoumno dokazano, da ne gre tu za poznejšo naselitev, kosezi so med vzhodnoalpskimi Slovani pripadali privilegiraneemu sloju in v zgodnjem fevdalnem obdobju obdržali status med svobodnjaki in plemiči. Etimologija besede kosez ni jasna (Bezljaj, 1982). Pred seboj imamo torej vzorec organizacije središča zgodnesrednjeveške slovanske kneževine, če bi bila prisotnost kosezov na Bistriškem primarna, bi lahko trdili, da je bila del vzhodnoalpskega kroga (Štih, 2001). O sledovih slovanskih kneževin v Vzhodnih Alpah je pisal Pleterski (2002).

Z obrambnega vidika je pomembna lega Knežaka kot sedeža knežje oblasti na višje ležeči geomorfološki polici, medtem ko je bila obramba nameščena v dolini Reke. Šembije na robu so imele verjetno izvidniško vlogo. Nevarnost je prihajala s strani Istre. K obrambnemu sistemu središča kneževine gresta po vsej verjetnosti tudi naselji Obrov in Ostrožno Brdo, katerih etimologija izhaja po Snoju (2009) iz slovanske vojaške obrambne terminologije, Ostrožno Brdo iz besede ostrog v pomenu okop, nasip, utrdba, Obrov iz besede obrov v pomenu okop.

Obredni poligon tako blizu upravnega središča knežje oblasti, govori o dveh vidikih Mokošine priso-

tnosti, prvi je povezan z njenim kultom, drugi pa se dotika vloge njenega kulta pri upravnih zadevah kneževine in političnih odločitvah. Knežak, Šembije, oba Zemoni in pogojno Koseze ležijo na krožnem loku, ki ima središče na Veliki Milanji in polmer dolg okoli 6,5 km (sl. 18). Naselja sledijo stvarni geomorfologiji, zato ne gre za načrtovano razporeditev, vendar obstaja velika verjetnost, da je ravno to dejstvo vzbujalo pri častilcih naravnih kultov vero v božansko prisotnost in vodilo načrtovalce pri izbiri upravnega središča kne-

ževine. Častilci naravnih kultov niso prirejali naravnih danosti, temveč so jim le sledili in skušali razumeti njihovo sporočilo ter vplivati na odločitve božanstva.

ZAHVALA

Za tehnično pomoč in strokovne korekcije se zahvaljujem Bistričanu, geografu in izr. prof. dr. Gregorju Kovačiču, ki je pripomogel, da je članek pridobil na pričevalnosti.

CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MILANJA (SLOVENIA)

Ladislav PLACER

Pod akacijami 13, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: ladislav.placer@telemach.net

SUMMARY

At the town of Ilirska Bistrica in Slovenia, in the hinterland of Istria, a large rotational landslide occurred at the end of the Pliocene (Img. 1, Img. 2, Img. 3) (Placer & Jamšek, 2012). It has a semicircular crown with a semicircular body below it measuring some 5 km in diameter. In the Early Middle Ages, the Slavs established a mythical landscape dedicated to the goddess Mokosh around the semicircular crown. This landscape involves the peaks of Velika Milanja, Mala Milanja, Milanka and two hills named Devin (Devin 2, Devin 3), while another Devin 1 lies outside the landslide area. The semicircular ridge also includes a rocky pyramid named Baba, the special significance of which is a continuation of the pre-Slavic cult that the Slavs incorporated into their own mythical world (Img. 4) (Hrobat Virloget, 2012, 2014). In Slavic lands, Devin is the geographic names for numerous elevations, which have one geomorphological feature in common: they share one gentle and one steep or precipitous slope (Img. 5, Img. 6, Img. 7, Img. 8, Img. 9, Img. 11). According to Tille, Devin is a place of worshipping cults of nature (Šmitek, 2006). As for Baba, Hrobat Virloget (2014) notes that the Slavs ascribed certain traits to her similar to those of Mokosh and hence included Baba into the goddess' circle of mythical objects (Img. 14a, Img. 14b). The mythical landscape of Mokosh is composed of two elements. One is the ritual polygon of Mokosh consisting of three peaks on the semicircular ridge and Devin 1 outside it (Img. 11). The other is the semicircular ridge itself with the semicircular body below it (Img. 17). The ritual polygon of Mokosh is determined so that a circle may be drawn around Velika Milanja that crosses all other three points of the polygon. These three points form an isosceles triangle, the sides of which make up an angle that is the sum of two ritual angles ($23.5^\circ \pm 1.5^\circ \times 2$). The two angles together symbolize the annual movement of the Sun (Img. 12). Velika Milanja (Mokosh) lies on the axis of symmetry and balances the oscillation of the Sun between the summer and the winter solstice (Img. 17, 3). The circle with Mokosh in the centre is called the "Solar Circle". The semicircular crown with the semicircular slope below it symbolises a crescent, hence it is called the "Moon Crescent" (Img. 15, Img. 16, Img. 17). Mokosh is, among others, the protectress of water, cattle and shepherds; she is ambivalent and belongs to both the lunar and the solar sphere. Her ambivalence is reflected in the geometry of the mythical landscape, with Mokosh (Velika Milanja) lying in the centre of the "Solar Circle" and on the "Moon Crescent" (Img. 17). Mokosh's lunar character is underscored by a slope on the semicircular ridge called Volovja reber ('ox rib' in translation); ox is an important lunar animal. Milanka and Baba also lie on the "Moon Crescent", though their role in the mythical landscape dedicated to Mokosh remains unexplained. The broader significance of the mythical landscape of Mokosh is illustrated in Img. 18. She cared for the sources of life (water and cattle, apparently also the Sun), but also watched over the settlements that formed the centre of administration: Knežak as the seat of the prince, and Zemono as evidence of fortified posts. All this reveals an example of how the centre of an early medieval Slavic principality.

Keywords: geomorphology, Slavic mythical landscape, worship of the Slavic goddess Mokosh, Slavic tribal community, religious and administrative centre of the principality, hinterland of Istria (peninsula), Ilirska Bistrica city

VIRI IN LITERATURA

- Bezljaj, F. (1982):** Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika, K – O. Ljubljana, SAZU.
- Bezljaj, F., Snoj, M. & M. Furlan (2005):** Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika, Š – Ž. Ljubljana, SAZU.
- Češarek, D., Dular, A., Petrovič, M. & P. Jamnik (2016):** Mala gora pri Ribnici – mitološko izročilo v prostoru. *STUDIA MYTHOLOGICA SLAVICA*, XIX, 125–168.
- Mapire – Historical Maps.** Dostopno na: <http://mapire.eu/en/> (zadnji pristop: 30. 6. 2020).
- Habsburg Empire – First Military Survey (1763–1787).** Dostopno na: <http://mapire.eu/en/> (zadnji pristop: 30. 6. 2020).
- Habsburg Empire – Second Military Survey (1829–1835).** <http://mapire.eu/en/> (zadnji pristop: 30. 6. 2020).
- Habsburg Empire – Third Military Survey (1869–1887).** 1:75.000, <http://mapire.eu/en/> (zadnji pristop: 30. 6. 2020).
- Habsburg Empire – Cadastral Maps (XIX. century).** <http://mapire.eu/en/> (zadnji pristop: 30. 6. 2020).
- Hrobat Virloget, K. (2012):** »Poljubiti Babo«. O slovanskem in predslovanskem mitskem liku. *Keria: Studia Latina et Graeca*, 14, 1, 67–81.
- Hrobat Virloget, K. (2014):** Deva, Baba in Triglav v mitskem izročilu in pokrajini. *Sodobnost*, 78, 1-2, 98–117.
- Keber, J. (1988):** Leksikon imen. Izvor imen na Slovenskem. Celje, Mohorjeva družba.
- Kelemina, J. (1997):** Bajke in pripovedke slovenskega ljudstva z mitološkim uvodom. Ljubljana, Založništvo Humar.
- Kovačič, G. & Š. Habič (2005):** Kraška presihajoča jezera Pivke (JZ Slovenija) ob visokih vodah novembra 2000 = Intermittent karst lakes of Pivka basin (SW Slovenia) during high waters in November 2000. *Acta Carsologica*, 34/3, 5, 619–649.
- Kovačič, G. (2017):** Poplavi v Zgornji Pivki v letu 2014. V: ZORN, M. et al. (ur.): Trajnostni razvoj mest in naravne nesreče. Ljubljana, 165–175.
- Merku, P. (2006):** Krajevno imenoslovje na slovenskem zahodu. Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU.
- Mihajlov, N. (2002):** *Mythologia Slovenica*. Poskus rekonstrukcije slovenskega poganskega izročila. Trst, Mladika.
- Ovsec, D. J. (1991):** Slovanska mitologija in verovanja. Ljubljana, Domus.
- Placer, L. & P. Jamšek (2011):** Ilirskobistriški fosilni plaz – mesto na plazu = The Ilirska Bistrica fossil landslide – The town on the landslide. *Geologija* 54, 2, 223–228.
- Pleterski, A. (1996):** Strukture tridelne ideologije v prostoru pri Slovanih. *Zgodovinski časopis* 50, 2, 163–185.
- Pleterski, A. (2002):** Sledovi slovanskih kneževin v Vzhodnih Alpah. Arheološke in mitološke strukture. Ljubljana, Inštitut za arheologijo ZRC SAZU.
- Pleterski, A. (2014):** Kulturni genom. Ljubljana, *Studia Mythologica Slavica – Suplementa*, Suplementum 10.
- Pleterski, A. (2020):** Mitična pokrajina. Preizkus njenega obstoja z napovedanim modelom na primeru Bleda = A mythical landscape. Test of its existence with predictive models for the Bled case. V: Štular, B. (ur.): Srednjeveški blejski otok v arheoloških virih = In Medieval archeology of Bled island. Ljubljana, ZRC SAZU, *Opera Instituti archeologici Sloveniae* 42, 235–277.
- Radenković, L. & V. Fičor (2013):** Slovanska boginja Mokoš. *Sodobnost*, 77, 11, 1590–1602.
- Skok, P. (1972):** Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika, knjiga druga K – poni. Zagreb, JAZU.
- Snoj, M. (2009):** Etimološki slovar slovenskih zemljepisnih imen. Ljubljana, Inštitut za slovenski jezik Frana Ramovša ZRC SAZU.
- Stepišnik, U. (2017):** Dinarski kras: plitvi kras Zgoranje Pivke. Ljubljana, Filozofska fakulteta.
- Šmitek, Z. (2004):** Mitološko izročilo Slovencev. Svetinje preteklosti. Ljubljana, Študentska založba.
- Štih, P. (2001):** Ozemlje Slovenije v zgodnjem srednjem veku: osnovne poteze zgodovinskega razvoja od začetka 6. do konca 9. stoletja. Ljubljana, Filozofska fakulteta.

KAKO GOVORI LIKOVNI JEZIK? ANALIZA POLOŽAJEV IN SMERI V LIKOVNIH DELIH IZ ZBIRKE NARODNE GALERIJE

Jurij SELAN

Univerza v Ljubljani, Pedagoška fakulteta, Kardeljeva pl. 16., 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: jurij.selan@pef.uni-lj.si

IZVLEČEK

Kot je v besednem jeziku najkompleksnejša raven skladnja, je v likovnem jeziku najpomembnejša raven sporočanja likovna kompozicija. V likovni kompoziciji se vsebina likovnega dela izraža predvsem z uporabo položajev in smeri oblik. Ker položaje in smeri doživljamo na različne načine, lahko z njimi vplivamo na različen izraz vsebine likovnega dela. Avtor je na izbranih delih iz zbirke Narodne galerije najprej kvalitativno analiziral vlogo položajev in smeri, nato pa naredil tudi kvantitativno analizo pojavljanja posameznih smeri v zbirki glede na sakralno in posvetno ikonografijo. Analiza je pomembna z dveh zornih kotov: ugotovitve razkrivajo in potrjujejo univerzalne likovne jezikovne zakonitosti položajev in smeri v likovni kompoziciji; analiza daje nov vpogled v naravo del slovenske kulturne dediščine in narodne identitete ter s tem prispeva k refleksiji zbirke Narodne galerije.

Ključne besede: likovni jezik, likovna kompozicija, likovne spremenljivke, položaj, smer, zbirka Narodne galerije

COME PARLA IL LINGUAGGIO DELL'ARTE? ANALISI DELLE POSIZIONI E DIREZIONI NELLE OPERE D'ARTE DELLA GALLERIA NAZIONALE SLOVENA

SINTESI

Come nel linguaggio delle parole il livello più complesso è la sintassi, così nel linguaggio artistico il livello più importante della comunicazione è la composizione artistica. Nella composizione artistica il contenuto dell'opera d'arte si esprime soprattutto con l'uso delle posizioni e delle direzioni delle forme. Siccome percepiamo le posizioni e direzioni in modo differente, con esse possiamo influire sulla diversa espressione del contenuto dell'opera d'arte. L'articolo propone dapprima un'analisi qualitativa del ruolo delle posizioni e direzioni nelle selezionate opere dalla collezione della Galleria Nazionale Slovena. In seguito presenta un'analisi quantitativa della comparsa di singole direzioni nella collezione riguardo l'iconografia sacrale e profana. L'analisi è importante da due punti di vista. Le osservazioni rivelano e attestano i principi universali del linguaggio artistico circa le posizioni e direzioni nella composizione artistica. L'analisi inoltre offre una nuova intuizione sulla natura dell'eredità culturale e dell'identità nazionale slovena, così contribuisce alla valutazione della collezione della Galleria Nazionale Slovena.

Parole chiave: linguaggio artistico, composizione artistica, variabili artistiche, posizione, direzione, collezione della Galleria Nazionale Slovena

O PARADOKSNI NARAVI LIKOVNEGA JEZIKA

Likovna umetniška dela sporočajo in z nami komunicirajo.¹ Torej nam nekaj »govorijo«. Pri tem pa ni pomembno le to, kaj govorijo (katere vsebine sporočajo), pač pa predvsem, kako govorijo oz. kako z likovnimi sredstvi izražajo določeno vsebino. Lingvistični pogled na likovno izražanje pravi, da likovna dela »govorijo« v likovnem jeziku, ki ima svoje izrazne zakonitosti (Butina, 1997).

Paradokсно naravo jezika, ki dobro opiše tudi značilnosti likovnega jezika, izrazi filozof Paul Ricoeur, ko pravi: »Je skrivnost jezika, toda ni skrivnosti v jeziku« (Ricoeur, 2004, 75). Kaj nam ta paradoks razkriva? To, da je skrivnost jezika, pomeni, da ima jezik v svojem bistvu ustvarjalno oz. poetično (gr. *poiesis* – ustvarjati) naravo (Mukarovsky, 2000; Jones, 2012). V jeziku lahko izražamo najbolj kompleksne misli in spoznanja, njegova izrazna ustvarjalnost pa se nikoli ne izčrpa, kar predstavlja za nas nedoumljivo skrivnost. Podobno tudi *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* poudarja, da ima jezik izrazne možnosti tako razvite, da se v njem lahko izrazijo tudi najbolj zapletena doživetja, zaznave, spoznanja.² Kar jezik razlikuje od drugih ne-jezikovnih oblik komunikacije je torej ravno artikulacijska kompleksnost, s katero lahko izraža najbolj zapletena doživetja in spoznanja (Golden, 2001). Vendar, in ravno v tem je paradoks, na katerega kaže Ricoeur, jezik dosega ta neskončen poetični potencial z izrazito omejenimi izraznimi sredstvi, ki so jezikoslovcem jasna in razvidna. Če je torej na ravni izrazne kompleksnosti jezik skrivnost, ki je ne moremo doumeti, pa na ravni izraznih sredstev v jeziku ni skrivnosti, saj lahko vsak jezikovni izraz jasno razložimo na ravni izraznih sredstev.

Ključno vprašanje jezika je tako, kako pride do prehoda med tem, da v jeziku ni skrivnosti (končno-stvo jezikovnih sredstev) in tem, da je skrivnost jezika (neskončnost jezikovnega izraza)? To je povezano s t. i. členitvijo jezikovne kompetence na jezikovne ravni, ki je bistveni del jezika (De Saussure, 1997, 150). Prav ta členitev jezik tudi razlikuje od ne-jezikovnih oblik komunikacije. Jezikovna kompetenca je sposobnost, da lahko človek razvije za kateri koli jezik gramatiko, ki mu omogoča jezik »znati«, se v njem izražati in ga razumeti (Chomsky, 1972). Tisto, kar daje jezikovni gramatiki zmožnost za ustvarjanje

in izražanje najkompleksnejših spoznanj in doživetij je členitev v jezikovne ravnine, pri čemer je najpomembnejša t. i. dvojna členitev na prvine fonološke in sintaktične ravnine.³ Z jezikovnimi ravninami (Tabela 1) tako razložimo dvoje: prvič, kako se uspejo verige glasov (fonemov, na primer: m, z, a, i) povezati tako, da pridobijo pomen in nastanejo pomenske enote (morfemi, na primer: m+i+z+a = miza); in drugič, kako se te pomenske enote naprej povezujemo med seboj in tvorijo skladenjske zveze (na primer: miza + so = mize so), ki pridobivajo nove in nove kompleksne pomene (na primer: mize so – miza je, lepa miza – stara miza ...). Prav ta dvojni preskok iz enot brez pomena na fonološki ravni v kompleksne pomenske celote na sintaktični pa je tisti, ki daje jeziku neizmerno izrazno ustvarjalnost.

Za jezik je torej značilno, da tvori pomen iz materialnih razlik, ki same po sebi nimajo pomena, imajo pa nekakšne semantične potenciale, da v medsebojnih povezavah tvorijo pomene. Tako zvoki oz. zvočne razlike po sebi nimajo pomena, imajo pa potencial, da v povezovanju v besede in nato v stavke vzpostavljajo zelo kompleksne pomene.

Izraz »jezik« se v povezavi z likovno umetnostjo javlja od začetka 19. stoletja, ko so ga začeli uporabljati umetniki, da bi opisali svoje delovanje kot delovanje v »jeziku umetnosti«. V tem smislu so likovni umetniki izraz »jezik« razumeli kot metaforo za samo-izražanje (Woodward, 1987). V 20. stoletju je nato prišlo v razumevanju »jezika umetnosti« do pomembnega preloma. S pojavom strukturalizma in postrukturalizma v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja se je namreč lingvistični oz. semiotični pogled razširil s področja besednega jezika tudi na druga področja človekovega izražanja. Posledično so se tudi na področju likovne umetnosti začele razvijati teorije o tem, ali in kako je mogoče razumeti »jezik umetnosti« ne samo kot metafore za izražanje, pač pa kot »pravi« jezik v smislu lingvistične strukture in gramatike (Miller & Shaw, 1968; Paris, 1975). To je vodilo do trenja med zagovorniki lingvističnega pristopa, ki so dokazovali, da je mogoče likovni jezik razumeti na lingvističen način tako po funkciji kot po strukturi (Richardson, 1982; Eubanks, 1997) in tistimi, ki so temu nasprotovali in vztrajali, da likovnost ni jezik v lingvističnem smislu, saj naj ne bi imela gramatikalne strukture in pravil (Perkins, 1980; Forrest,

1 Raziskava je nastala v okviru projekta *Uporaba očesnih sledilcev pri analizi likovnih zakonitosti umetniških del (ET-ART)*, ki je potekal v okviru razpisa Projektno delo z gospodarstvom in negospodarstvom v lokalnem in regionalnem okolju – Po kreativni poti do znanja 2017-2020, ki ga sofinancirata Republika Slovenija in Evropska unija iz Evropskega socialnega sklada. V projektu so sodelovale Pedagoška fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani, Fakulteta za računalništvo in informatiko Univerze v Ljubljani, podjetje Oculus in Narodna galerija. Več o projektu na: <https://www.pef.uni-lj.si/1340.html>.

2 Prim. geslo »jezik«, v: eSSKJ – *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika*, <https://fran.si/iskanje?View=1&Query=jezik&All=jezik&FilteredDictonaryIds=133>.

3 Izraz dvojna členitev je vpeljal francoski jezikoslovec André Martinet, in sicer govori o tem, da se vsak jezik členi v dve artikulaciji: v tako, kjer materialnim enotam (fonemom) ne pripišemo pomena, in tako, kjer enote s pomenom (morfeme) artikuliramo in kombiniramo v različne kompleksnejše pomenske celote (na primer: J'ai mal à la tête (Boli me glava) in Il fait le mal (Dela se zlobnega)) (Martinet, 1982, 5–6).

Tabela 1: Chomskyjeva klasifikacija jezikovnih ravnin: glasoslovna (fonetična), oblikoslovna (morfološka), skladenjska (sintaktična) in pomenska (semantična) ravnina (Chomsky, 1986).

Glasoslovna ravnina	Oblikoslovna ravnina	Skladenjska ravnina	Pomenska ravnina
proučuje glasove (foneme)	proučuje pomenske enote (besede (lekseme)) in njihovo zgradbo (morfeme)	proučuje razmerja in pravila pri povezovanju pomenskih enot v stavke in stavčne zveze	proučuje dobesedni besedni pomen in stavčni pomen oziroma pomen povedi
i, t, z, g, l, a, v s, k, o, z, d	iti z glav-o skozi zid-ø	Katja gre z glavo skozi zid.	1. pomen: pogledati na drugo stran zidu 2. pomen: biti trmast

1984). V zadnjih letih se skuša pomiriti obe stališči z redefiniranjem likovnega jezika kot »*jezika v nastajanju*« (Jamieson, 2007, 111). Pri odnosu med besednim in likovnim jezikom moramo zato razlikovati med analogijo in podobnostjo. Podobnost se namreč nanaša na bližino po izgledu oz. po dejanskih lastnostih (atributih). Analogija pa je funkcijski odnos ujemanja dveh situacij, ljudi, objektov, pojavov ipd., na osnovi česar lahko razlago enega razširimo (ekstrapoliramo) na drugega. Besedni in likovni jezik si torej nista zares podobna, saj imata povsem drugačne lastnosti, sta si pa funkcijsko, strukturo oz. sistemsko analogna, zato lahko na tej osnovi razlago enega razširimo na drugega.

Implikacije t. i. »lingvističnega obrata« (Rorty, 1967) so bile za področje razumevanja likovne umetnosti in vizualnosti nasploh daljnosežne in so vodile v razvoj skupnega področja t. i. vizualne semiotike (Saint-Martin, 1990). Vizualna semiotika ima zasluge, da se vlogi vizualnosti in likovnosti danes izpostavlja na različnih področjih človekovega delovanja, ne samo v likovni umetnosti. Raziskave od osemdesetih let 20. stoletja naprej so se osredotočale na problem t. i. vizualnih gramatik (slovníc) in sintaks (Stebbing, 2004), ki so vodile do sodobnega računalniškega programiranja vizualnosti in implikacij tega v grafičnem oblikovanju (Davis & Hevner, 2015). Na področju poučevanja pa sta se začela po analogiji z »lingvistično kompetenco« in »pismenostjo« vse bolj uveljavljati pojma vizualne oz. likovne kompetence in vizualne pismenosti (Feldman, 1976), pri katerih se danes poudarja tudi njeno relevantnost zunaj področja umetnosti, na področju znanosti in učenja v znanosti (Britsch, 2013).

Burno dogajanje na področju vizualne semiotike v osemdesetih letih je imelo močan odmev tudi v slovenskem prostoru, kjer je lingvistično in semiotično razumevanje likovnega jezika začel sistematično razvijati Milan Butina (1997), njegovo delo na tem področju pa danes nadaljujemo tudi drugi slovenski likovni teoretiki (Muhovič, 1995; Muhovič, 1997; Selan, 2012; Selan, 2013; Selan, 2014).

Butinov koncept likovnega jezika je unikaten v svetovnem merilu, saj tako sistematične – hkrati celovite in enostavne razlage – pri drugih avtorjih s področja vizualne semiotike ne najdemo.

Butina izhaja iz Chomskyjeve razlage jezikovne sposobnosti na osnovi členitve v jezikovne ravnine, ki odpira možnost nebesednih jezikov, torej tudi likovnega jezika. Butina se je na osnovi tega vprašal, če tudi likovna komunikacija ustreza zahtevnemu lingvističnemu kriteriju jezikovnih ravnin. Torej, ali se tudi likovna zmožnost členi v jezikovne ravnine?

V analogiji z besednim jezikom je Butina odkril, da strukturo likovnega izražanja prav tako opredeljuje dvojna členitev ter posledično delitev v jezikovne ravnine. Razmišljal je na naslednji način. Vsako sliko je – podobno kot stavek – moč sistematično razčleniti na posamične oblike, ki nosijo nek pomen. To so likovne besede, ki so v celoto likovnega stavka (likovne kompozicije in likovnega prostora) funkcionalno povezane prek načel likovne kompozicije in likovnega prostora. To pa pomeni, da imamo pravzaprav opraviti s sintaktično ravno likovnega fenomena. Prav tako pa je vsako sliko mogoče razčleniti tudi na materialne kontrastne enote brez pomena. Če so to v primeru verbalnosti zvočne razlike ali fonemi (gr. *fon* – zvok), pa so to v primeru likovnosti svetlobne razlike (svetlostne in barvne) ali fotemi (gr. *fos* – svetloba) (Selan, 2014, 377). Butina je s tem pokazal, da so temeljne likovne prvine ter njihovi oblikotvorni potenciali in povezave osnova za generativno likovno jezikovno sposobnost ter s tem tudi osnova za generativno gramatiko likovnega jezika.

Po zgledu jezikovnih ravnin besednega jezika tako tudi v likovnem jeziku dobimo štiri ravnine (Tabela 2): to so fotološka, morfološka, sintaktična in semantična ravnina (Butina, 1997).

Med besednim in likovnim jezikom velja torej naslednja analogija. Tako kot imamo v besednem jeziku določeno omejeno število osnovnih enot, ki jih nato kombiniramo na neomejene načine v besede in nato stavke, imamo tudi v likovnosti opraviti z analogno jezikovno potjo. Prvič, tudi v likovnem izražanju imamo

Tabela 2: Ravnine likovnega jezika.

Fotološka raven		Morfološka raven		Sintaktična raven		Semantična raven
temeljne likovne prvine (orisne)	temeljne likovne prvine (orisane)	likovne spremenljivke		sintaksa likovnega prostora	sintaksa likovne kompozicije	likovna semantika, hermenevtika, semiotika
svetlo-temno barva točka linija	oblika ploskev prostor	velikost položaj smer število gostota tekstura teža		prostorski ključi na temelju prekrivanja, zvrčanja in stopnjevanja; svetlostne in barvne gramatike	principi likovnega komponiranja	formalna likovna analiza



Slika 1: Dvojna členitev likovnega jezika.

temeljne enote, ki jim v likovni teoriji pravimo temeljne likovne prvine, ki same po sebi nimajo pomena, imajo pa značilne semantične potenciale, da lahko artikulirajo neskončno izrazov v medsebojnih povezavah. Temeljne likovne prvine tako artikulirajo oblike in likovne spremenljivke (tako kot iz fonemov tvorimo morfeme ter iz teh besede (lekseme)); in drugač, pomenske enote se nato nadalje artikulirajo v izrazne strukture kompleksnega pomena: iz oblik in likovnih spremenljivk artikuliramo likovno sintakso, to je likovni prostor in likovno kompozicijo (tako kot iz besed tvorimo skladnjske zveze, stavke in zveze stavkov (S-sestava)) (Slika 1).

Torej, analogno kot velja za besedni jezik, v katerem iz končnega nabora glasovnih oz. črkovnih znakov nastaja neskončna ustvarjalnost besednega izraza, velja tudi za likovni jezik. V likovnem jeziku se s pomočjo vselej enakih likovnih izraznih sredstev (*ni skrivnosti v jeziku*) vsebine lahko izrazijo na neskončno različnih načinov (*je skrivnost jezika*). In ravno tako kot je sintaktična raven v besednem jeziku tista, ki daje jeziku neizmerno izrazno ustvarjalnost, je tudi likovna sintaksa tista, ki daje neskočni izrazni potencial likovnim delom.

Jezičkovno naravo likovnih del lahko na primer nazorno predstavim s pomočjo risbe Zorana Mušiča *Kataster trupel*⁴ iz zbirke Narodne galerije (Slika 2).

Likovni izhodišči Mušičeve risbe sta temeljni likovni prvini svetlo-temno in linija (Slika 3, prvi korak). Ti dve prvini se nato artikulirata v oblike (Slika 3, drugi korak), to je podobe mrtvecev, ki so predstavljene na pretresljiv način: shirane, z razbito in skrivenčeno linijo, ki izraža njihovo trpljenje, ki so ga prestale pred smrtjo. Nato pa so na ravni sintakse (Slika 3, tretji korak), torej kompozicije, te figure postavljene v medsebojne odnose in v odnos do formata.

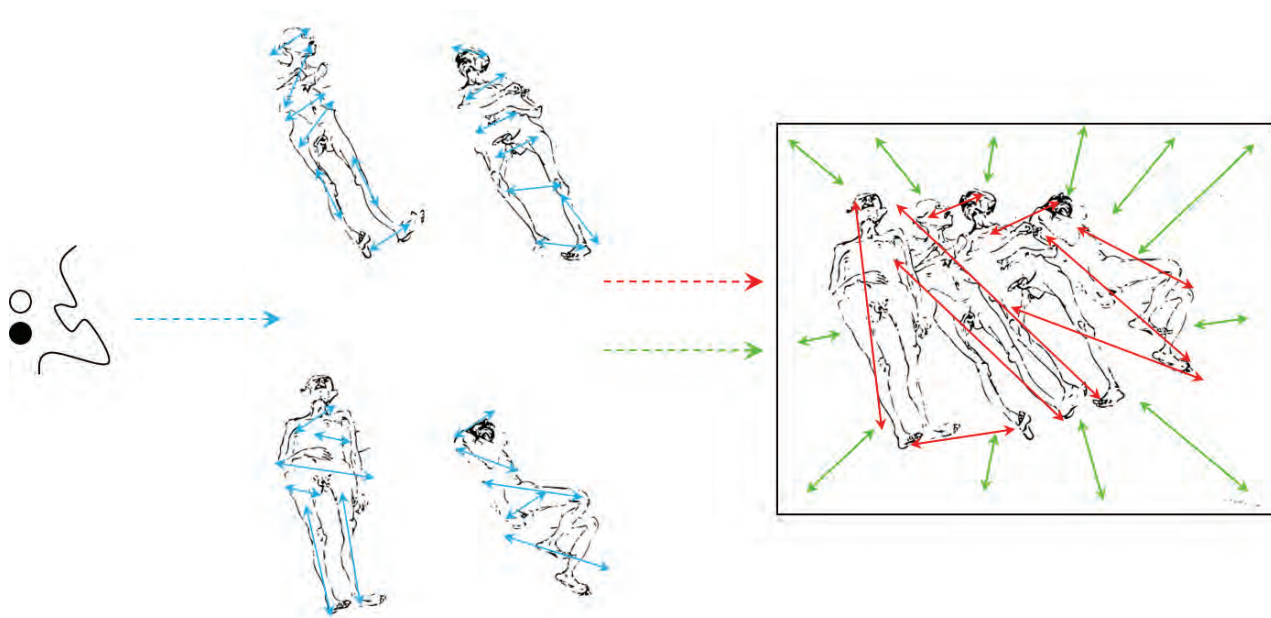
Način, kako je to narejeno, je za nadaljevanje prispevka posebej zanimiv in nazoren, saj igrajo pri tem ključno vlogo predvsem položaji in smeri oblik. O likovnosintaktični vlogi položajev in smeri bo več govora v nadaljevanju, vendar pa lahko pri Mušičevi risbi izpostavim nekatere bistvene značilnosti: Mušič mrtvece usmeri v formatu na levo-navzgor. Kasneje bomo videli, da je to smer, ki zelo pogosto izraža duhovna prizadevanja, upanje in metafizično naravnost. Prav tako je zanimivo, da sta osrednji figuri usmerjeni druga proti drugi, kot da bi se pogovarjali. Zato mrliča na nek nenavaden način delujeta, kot da sta živa. Med ravno oblik in ravno kompozicije tako nastaja zanimiv odnos, ki ima pomembno semantično vlogo. Na ravni oblik imamo opraviti s pretresljivimi podobami mrličev, na ravni kompozicije pa ti mrlič ponovno oživijo, kar lahko izraža upanje v breznu brezupa.

Mušičev primer me tako vodi do bistva pričujoče razprave. Namreč, tako kot je v besednem jeziku najkompleksnejša raven sporočanja skladnja, je tudi v likovnem jeziku najkompleksnejša raven sporočanja likovna skladnja (Gella, 1978; Engelhardt, 2002), t. j. likovna kompozicija. Tako kot daje skladnja besednemu jeziku neskončen izrazni potencial, ga daje

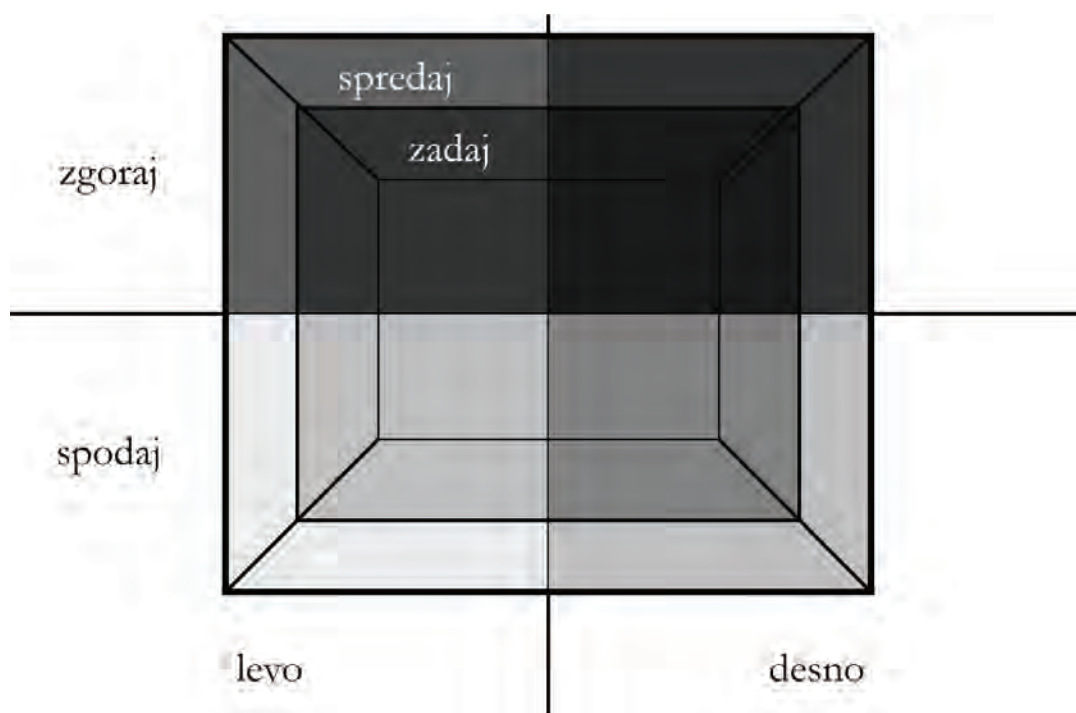
4 Vse slike, ki jih bom v nadaljevanju navajal iz zbirke Narodne galerije, imajo pod naslovi aktivne spletne povezave na spletno stran Narodne galerije.



Slika 2: Zoran Mušič, *Kataster trupel (Cadastre de Cadavres)*, 1973, litografija, papir, 25,5 x 36,5 cm Donacija Ljubana, Milade in Vande Mušič Narodni galeriji (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGG8290>).



Slika 3: Likovno-jezikovna razčlenitev Mušičeve risbe.



Slika 4: Položaji v likovnem prostoru.

tudi likovnemu jeziku. Tisto, kar dela likovno delo na izrazni ravni kompleksno, torej niso toliko posamične oblike (likovna morfologija), pač pa predvsem odnosi med njimi v likovni kompoziciji (likovna sintaksa).

POLOŽAJ IN SMER KOT NOSILCA IZRAZA V LIKOVNI KOMPOZICIJI

Na ravni likovne kompozicije se odnosi vzpostavljajo med različnimi lastnostmi oblik (t. i. likovnimi spremenljivkami).⁵ Izmed teh imata posebno kompozicijsko vlogo dve, to sta položaj in smer oblik. Ker položaje in smeri v prostoru doživljamo na različne načine, lahko z njimi pomembno vplivamo na kompozicijski izraz vsebine likovnega dela.⁶ Ena in ista vsebina (npr. križanje) se s pomočjo položajev in smeri lahko povsem različno izrazi – in s tem postane drugačna *likovna vsebina*.

V zgodovini umetnosti so se oblikovali nekateri značilni načini izražanja s pomočjo položajev in smeri oblik. Te načine je mogoče analizirati v muzejskih in galerijskih zbirkah likovnih del različnih zgodovinskih obdobj. Narodna galerija v svoji zbirki hrani bogato zapuščino likovnih del slovenske kulturne dediščine, ki lahko služi kot dragocen vir za analizo različnih likovno jezikovnih zakonitosti, med drugim tudi likovnih zakonitosti uporabe položajev in smeri.

Položaj

Izrazni potenciali položajev in smeri v likovni kompoziciji izhajajo iz narave doživljanja položajev in smeri v vidni realnosti, v naravnem in družbenem prostoru. Evolucija, družbeni ter kulturni razvoj doživljanja vidnega prostora (Fischer, 1965) so pripeljali do tega, da različne položaje v prostoru različno vredno-

⁵ Pojem vizualnih oz. likovnih spremenljivk je prvi vpeljal Jacques Bertin (1967), francoski kartograf, na področju kartografije, kjer se likovne spremenljivke uporabljajo za kodiranje informacij v zemljevidih. Dve izmed teh sta tudi položaj in smer (Roth, 2017).

⁶ V nadaljevanju bom omenjal različne likovno-teoretske zakonitosti doživljanja likovnih spremenljivk položaj in smer, ki mi bodo služili kot osnova za analizo likovnih del iz zbirke Narodne galerije. Za podrobnejšo razlago in utemeljitev teh likovno-teoretskih zakonitosti primerjaj gesli »položaj« in »smer« v Muhovič (2015, 582–587 in 726–731). Primerjaj tudi temeljna likovno-teoretska dela s področja likovne kompozicije, ki obravnavajo položaj in smer, kot npr. Poore (1903), Jacobs (1926), Bouleau (1963). Likovno-teoretske zakonitosti likovnih spremenljivk sicer temeljijo v zakonitostih vizualne zaznave. V preteklih desetletjih je bilo narejenih mnogo raziskav na temo asimetričnega doživljanja položajev in smeri v vidnem prostoru. Za strnjen pregled glej Karim in Kojima (2010).



Slika 5: Franc Kavčič, *Semiramido hranijo golobi*, (pred 1810), olje, platno, 103 x 164 cm (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS3356>).

timo. Doživljajsko gledano vizualni prostor ni simetričen (Dondis, 1973; Feng, Jiang & He, 2007), pač pa asimetrično dinamičen in se deli na osem kvadrantov, izmed katerih ima vsak specifičen ekspresivni potencial, ki ga lahko izkoriščamo tudi likovno (Slika 4).

Osem doživljajsko karakterističnih položajev se oblikuje glede na delitve vidnega prostora na spredaj – zadaj, levo – desno in zgoraj – spodaj. Pri tem je značilno, da se doživljajska dinamika teh položajev stopnjuje od položaja levo-spodaj-spredaj do položaja desno-zgoraj-zadaj. Stopnjevanje te dinamike lahko opredelimo kot stopnjevanje od bolj stabilnega k manj stabilnemu, od manj ekspresivnega k bolj ekspresivnemu, od bolj domačega k manj domačemu, od predvidljivega k presenetljivemu ipd. Te doživljajske značilnosti položajev zato lahko služijo v likovnem jeziku kot osnova za izražanje vsebin. Pri tem seveda ne gre zato, da bi nek položaj ustrezal točno določeni vsebini, pač pa predvsem za to, da lahko nek položaj določeni vsebini da poseben likovni izraz.

V zbirki Narodne galerije je dinamiko položajev zanimivo opazovati v slikah Franca Kavčiča, ki se je posvečal predvsem upodabljanju antičnih vsebin. Kot je pogosta značilnost klasicizma, ima tudi Kavčič morfologijo šablonizirano, predvidljivo, neizrazno

in zato likovno dokaj nezanimivo. Kljub temu pa v svojem likovnem izrazu dosega izjemno visoko stopnjo kompleksnosti, vendar ne na ravni morfologije, pač pa na ravni sintakse oz. kompozicije. To lahko opazujemo na ravni dinamike med različnimi položaji v njegovih slikah, pri čemer se najbolj pomenljiva razlika kaže med njegovim pristopom k upodabljanju antičnih in svtopisemskih vsebin.

Kavčič v slikah z antično vsebino aktivira predvsem dinamiko položajev levo – desno. Pri tem načeloma sledi temu, da odnos med levim in desnim položajem v formatu harmonično uravnoteži in doseže dinamično ravnovesje, s čemer ustvari klasično, umirjeno in svečano vzdušje, ki poudarja enakopraven filozofski diskurz in pogovor. Tako običajno postavi na levo, bolj stabilno in predvidljivo stran v formatu, dve figuri, na desno pa eno (slike *Fokion z ženo in bogato Jonko*, *Mikonov grob*, *Sokrat z učencem in Diotimo*). Pri svtopisemskih temah kot je *Salomonova sodba* pa tej dinamiki doda tudi odnos položajev zgoraj – spodaj, ki vnese v kompozicijo hierarhično razlikovanje med božjim in človeškim. Tako diferenciacijo med vlogo položajev glede na posvetno in sakralno ikonografijo pa bomo lahko kasneje spremljali tudi pri likovni spremenljivki smer, kjer bomo med deli v zbirki



Slika 6: Jožef Petkovšek, *Doma*, 1889, olje, platno, 121,5 x 134 cm (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS0305>).

Narodne galerije videli prevlado navpičnih in diagonalnih smeri v sakralnih delih in horizontalnih smeri v posvetnih delih.

Z vidika uporabe položajev je še posebej zanimiva Kavčičeva slika *Semiramido hranijo golobi* (Slika 5).

Ker zahteva vsebina te slike prikaz presenečenja in dramatičnosti,⁷ Kavčič dinamiko med levo in desno

stranjo formata v primerjavi z ostalimi svojimi slikami na teme antičnih vsebin obrne. V tej sliki tako postavi dve figuri, pastirja, na desno stran formata, eno figuro, otroka, pa na levo stran. S tem v sliki doseže precej bolj dramatičen in ekspresiven učinek, kar je z vidika vsebine te slike tudi zelo primerno, saj poudari vsebino, v kateri pastirja presenečena odkrijeta otroka.

⁷ »Nedaleč od sirskega Askalona je veliko in globoko jezero, polno rib. Na obali jezera je bil sveti kraj sirske boginje Derketo, ki je imela človeško glavo in ribje telo. Zamerila se je boginji Afroditi in ta se ji je maščevala tako, da se je Derketo zaljubila v lepega svečenika svojega templja. Iz njune zveze se je rodila hčer, ki se je je Derketo sramovala. Svečenika je ubila, otroka izpostavila, sama pa se je od sramu in žalosti vrgla v jezero in se spremenila v ribo. Tam, kjer je bil otrok izpostavljen, so gnezdili golobi in ti so deklco hranili. Eni so jo grelji s perutmi, drugi so ji v kljunu prinašali mleko. Ko je bil otrok star leto dni in je rabil več hrane, so golobi pastirjem jemali koščke sira. Pastirji so hoteli vedeti, kaj to pomeni, in kmalu so odkrili vzrok. Našli so nenavadno lepega otroka, ga vzeli s seboj in ga dali upravitelju kraljevih čred, ki je bil brez otroka. Ta ji je dal ime Semiramis, kar v sirščini pomeni ‚golobi‘.« Opis vsebine slike na spletni strani Narodne galerije, < <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS3356>>.



Slika 7: Ivana Kobilca, Poletje, 1889–1890, olje, platno, 180 x 140 cm ©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS0165>).



Slika 8: Zrcaljena različica slike Doma.

Poleg tega pa Kavčič v tej sliki uporabi tudi dinamiko položajev spredaj – zadaj, pri čemer tudi to naredi tako, da poudari učinek presenečenja. Glavno figuro, namreč otroka, postavi v ozadje. S tem poudari, da so ga zavrgli, hkrati pa ga osvetli s soncem, s čimer poudari, da je preživel in so ga naposled odkrili in našli. Učinek presenečenja v zgodbi je torej poudarjen na dva načina: prvič, s tem, da sta pastirja postavljena na desno stran v formatu, ki je bolj ekspresivna in presenetljiva; ter drugič, da je otrok postavljen v ozadje, skrit, vendar pa tudi osvetljen, svetloba pa je simbol odkritja, razsvetljenja, da nekaj vidimo in najdemo.

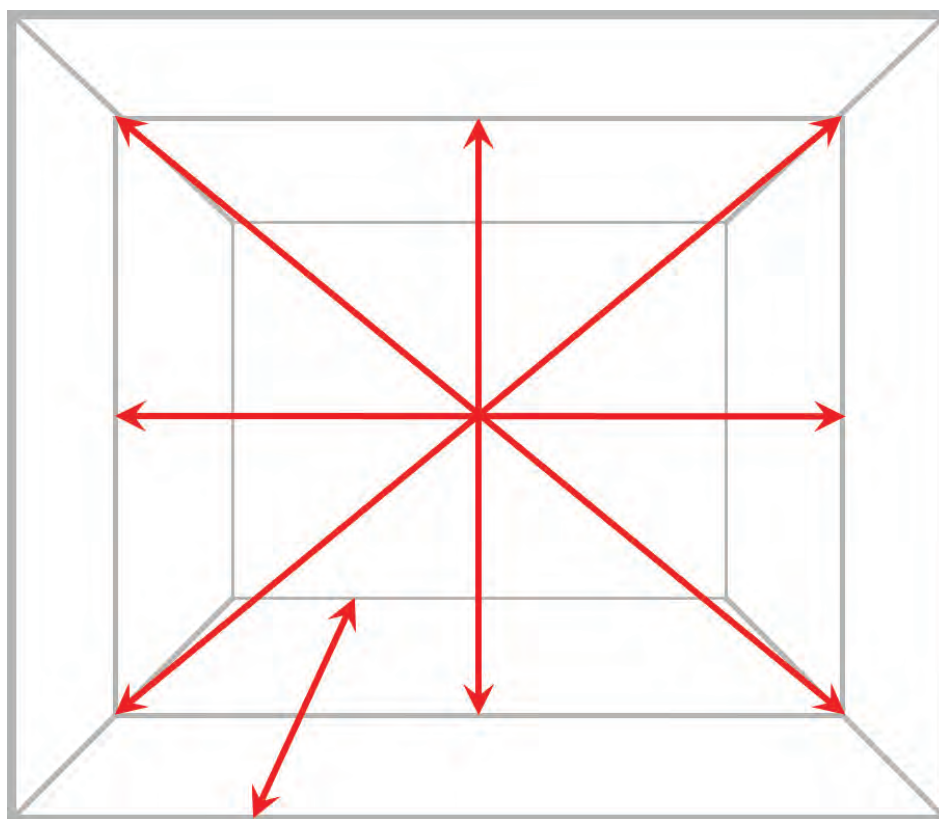
Kavčičevo slikarstvo razkriva, da je mogoče izrazne potenciale položajev v odnosu do izraženih vsebin upo-

rabljati na dva temeljna likovna načina. Prvič, tako da z dinamiko položajev poudarimo stabilnost in harmoničnost v odnosu do vsebine; in drugič tako, da na ravni vsebine ekspresivno poudarimo dramatičnost in presenečenje.

Prav to pa je tisto, kar je z vidika dinamike položajev v likovnem smislu najbolj zanimivo. Skozi zgodovino so se uveljavile nekatere standardne strategije za uporabo položajev, ki so ravno zaradi njihove standardizacije pogosto likovno (preveč) predvidljive. Tako je na primer značilno, da se vsebinsko najpomembnejše elemente in figure običajno postavi v ospredje. Prav zato lahko s tem, ko neko vsebino postavimo na manj običajen položaj kot je običajno, spremenimo ekspresivno vrednost tej vsebini in dvignemo likovno kompleksnost izraza.



Slika 9: Zrcaljena različica slike Poletje.



Slika 10: Deset glavnih smeri v formatu.

Tako naredi Kavčič v sliki *Semiramido hranijo golobi*, ko glavni lik, otroka postavi v ozadje, in s tem ustvari presenečenje s postavitvijo figur, ki je ne pričakujemo.⁸

Podobne prijeme lahko spremljamo tudi v drugih delih v zbirki Narodne galerije. Na primer v vsakdanjih, žanrskih prizorih, kot je Šubicova slika *Pred lovom*. Šubic postavi lovca pri vsakdanjem opravilu priprave puške na desno stran formata, mu s tem dvigne kompozicijsko težo, kar da vsakdanji vsebini bolj dramatičen, svečan in resnoben karakter. Nenavaden odnos med levim in desnim položajem lahko vidimo tudi v freski *Jezusovega rojstva* iz Crngroba, v kateri je Marija postavljena na desno stran formata in obrnjena stran od Jožefa v smeri na desno, kar poudarja njeno vsebinsko težo, Jožef pa je postavljen na levo stran, pri čemer se s telesom usmerja v vsakdanja opravila (tudi kuha!), z glavo pa se ozira proti Mariji, kar poudarja njegovo vlogo varuha doma.

V zbirki Narodne galerije sta z vidika rabe položaja zanimivi tudi sliki Jožefa Petkovška *Doma* (slika 6) in Ivane Kobilce *Poletje* (Slika 7), ki sta si glede uporabe položaja in likovnega izraza, ki ga s tem dosejata, ravno nasprotni.

Uporabna strategija za presojanje doživljajskih značilnosti položajev levo – desno je zrcaljenje.⁹ Torej, kaj ugotovimo, če zrcalimo eno in drugo sliko?

Vprašajmo se, v kateri različici deluje Petkovškova slika bolj domača, prijetna, in bolje izraža občutek iz naslova, torej »doma«? Zdi se, da v zrcaljeni različici (Slika 8). Vzdušje v izvorni sliki je namreč težko, neprijetno, odtujeno, zato se nam zdi pravzaprav ironično, da je tako naslovljena, saj se figure v sliki ne počutijo »doma«. Pri ustvarjanju tesnobe, samotnega občutja, po katerem je ta sli-

⁸ V svetovni umetnosti je morda najlepši primer tega *Bičanje Kristusa* od Piera della Francesce, ki glavni dogodek v sliki, torej bičanje, postavi v ozadje in ne v ospredje; prav to naredi to sliko, ki morda brez tega eksresivnega obrata ne bi bila nič posebnega, izjemno likovno zanimivo.

⁹ Vpliv zrcaljenja na doživljanje likovnih del je ena izmed najpogostejših empiričnih raziskav na področju t. i. experimentalne estetike (Gordon & Gardner, 1974; Mather, 2012; Ross, 1966; Swartz & Hewitt, 1970). Relevantnost tovrstnih raziskav za likovno teorijo je sicer omejena, saj se te raziskave osredotočajo zgolj na obravnavo tega, kaj gledalci zaznajo kot prijetno ali neprijetno.



Slika 11: Anton Štefci, Job, ok. 1910, bron, 51 x 23,5 x 26 cm (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGP0394>).

ka poznana (Mesesnel, 1940), ima torej pomembno vlogo tudi položaj oblik. Družinska miza je postavljena na desno stran formata, ki poveča ekspresivno vrednost, poudarja občutek, kot da bodo figure ušle iz formata in kot da jih bo preplavila tema, ki prihaja z leve strani formata. Vse to daje sliki občutek teže, tesnobe, samote in odtujenosti.

Ravno nasprotno se pri zrcaljenju zgodi v Kobilčini sliki *Poletje* (Slika 9).

Slika prikazuje sproščeno in brezskrbno poletno vzdušje uživanja prostega časa Kobilčine sestre Fani z bratranci in sestričnami. To poudarja tudi stabilna postavitev figur in dogajanja na položaju levo-spodaj-spredaj. Celotno dogajanje v izvorni sliki je torej vezano na položaj v formatu, ki poudarja domačnost in stabilnost in s tem vzdušje prijetnega poletnega dneva. Če sliko prezrcalimo, se vzdušje precej spremeni, glavna figura postane nekako bolj toga, prevrača se naprej, ograja za njo pa ne deluje več kot vizualna opora, na katero se naslanja, pač pa

ravno nasprotno, kot breme nad njenim hrbtom, ki jo pritiska proti levi in navzdol.

Smer

Izrazne značilnosti položajev postanejo še bolj značilne, izrazite in kompleksne, ko se med njimi vzpostavijo smeri, ki položaje povezujejo. S tem dobimo likovno spremenljivko smer. Smeri, ki položaje povezujejo, imajo še bolj kot položaji sami značilne izrazne značilnosti, ki lahko vsebinam dajo poseben karakter (Jacobs, 1926; Fischer, 1965).

Če si zamislimo vse možne povezave med osmimi položaji v formatu, dobimo izjemno veliko različnih smeri v likovnem prostoru. Vseh kombinacij med 8 kvadranti je namreč 28, pri čemer pa moramo upoštevati še 2 usmerjenosti, torej skupaj kar 56 smeri. Za namen likovnoteoretskega razumevanja to množico smeri posplošimo na semantične potenciale 10 osnovnih smeri (Slika 10).

Izrazna narava smeri izhaja iz potencialov, ki so značilni za položaje, med katerimi posredujejo (Slika 13).¹⁰ Glede na to lahko smeri razdelimo v tri izrazne skupine:

1. *Prehod iz stabilnega v nestabilni oz. ekspresivni položaj* (navzgor, na desno, na desno-navzgor) izraža napredovanje, rast, osvoboditev, kar se v vsebinskem smislu sklada z vsebinami, ki izražajo hrepenenje, upanje, prehod iz fizičnega v metafizični svet, klic k odrešitvi, tudi čaščenje ipd.
2. *Prehod iz nestabilnega v stabilni položaj* (navzdol, na levo, na levo-navzdol) izraža pritisk, zato se pogosto povezuje z vsebinami, ki vsebujejo napad, agresijo, pa tudi napor, zamišljenost, nagovor in strast.
3. *Prehod med dvema sorodno nestabilnima oz. stabilnima položajema* (na desno-navzdol, na levo-navzgor) pa je manj fizičen in lahko, kot bomo videli, sugerira duhovne napore in prizadevanja, zato se povezuje z vsebinami naklonjenosti, kontemplacije, bojem med dobrim in zlim, odnosom med božjim in človeškim ipd.

V zbirki Narodne galerije najdemo mnoge zanimive likovne primere uporabe teh smeri:

1. *Prehod iz stabilnega v ekspresivni položaj* (↑ → ↗):

Navzgor se pojavlja kot smer stremjenja k višku, upanju, odrešitvi, pa tudi kot smer, ki poudarja strast.

¹⁰ Za namen pričujoče analize bom smeri naprej in nazaj izpustil iz obravnave ter se osredotočil na naslednjih 8 smeri: navzgor, navzdol, na desno, na levo, na desno-navzgor, na levo-navzdol, na levo-navzgor, na desno-navzdol.

Med prve na primer sodijo: *Job* Antona Štefica (Slika 11), ki po vsem trpljenju, ki ga je doživel, še vedno kliče k Bogu; Mušičevi mrtveci (Zoran Mušič, *Nismo poslednji*), ki se podobno kot Job ozirajo k Bogu; podobe svetnikov, ki zrejo Boga (Anton Cebej, *Sv. Urh*) oz. izražajo pripadnost Bogu (Jurij Šubic, *Sv. Kozma in Damijan*); *Andromeda* (Vlaho Bukovac), ki so jo golo priklenili na skalo na obali v namen žrtvovanja pošasti, ona pa hrepenela upa na rešitev; med dela, v katerih smer navzgor poudarja strast, pa spadajo akti z dvignjenimi rokami, ki zapeljujejo gledalca (Filip Andrejevič Maljavin, *Ženski akt*; Matej Sternin, *Ženski akt z dvignjenima rokama*), ali akti v službi metafore (Janez Andrej Herrlein, *Venerino rojstvo*).

Na desno se kaže kot naravna smer potovanja pogleda in vstopa v format. V delih kot je *Mrtvaški ples* ta smer poudarja, da se pot slehernika, ne glede na njegov stan, konča v istem cilju; Mušičevi *Konjički* pa na ta način sledijo naravnemu ritmu gibanja.¹¹

Smer na desno-navzgor združuje značilnosti smeri navzgor in na desno, zato lahko poudarjeno izraža rast, tudi v erotičnem smislu naslade, in naklonjenost ter sledenje zgledu, prav tako pa občudovanje in čaščenje. S to smerjo je v Šubičevih slikah (Janez Šubic, *Poklon Sv. Treh kraljev* (Slika 12); Jurij Šubic, *Sv. Trije kralji*) poudarjena ponižnost, s katero so se prišli kralji pokloniti nekomu, ki je pomembnejši od njih; podobnemu namenu služi ta smer tudi v sliki Maksima Gasparija *Češčenje*, ki prikazuje prizor molitve angelovega čaščenja;¹² v sliki *Sv. Helena gre z Judom iskat Kristusov križ* pa ta smer izraža pripravljenost nekoga, da vodi sočloveka in njegovo pripravljenost, da mu sledi.¹³ Erotičnost in strast pa je z uporabo smeri desno-navzgor značilno izražena v sliki *V haremu* (Anton Ažbe), v več aktih Mateja Sternena (*Akt, Ležeč ženski akt, Ležeč ženski akt*), pa tudi v slikah z mitološko tematiko, ki imajo erotično naravo (na primer sliki Martina Johanna Schmidta, *Diana in Akteon* in *Kazen Danaid*).

2. Prehod iz ekspresivnega v stabilni položaj (↓↖↗):

Navzdol je pogosto smer fizičnega ali psihičnega pritiska, napora in trpljenja. V Groharjevih *Snopih*

(Slika 13) je na ta način poudarjeno naporno kmečno delo; v Mušičevih avtoportretih iz leta 1998 (v zbirki je pet verzij, ki imajo podobno postavitev: *Avtoportret, Avtoportret, Avtoportret, Avtoportret, Avtoportret*) zamišljenost in obrnjenost vase; *Žrtve* Franca Bernekerja na ta način poudarjajo trpljenje, prav tako Bernekerjeva skulptura *Drama*.

Na levo je smer, ki ima lahko dva zelo različna pomena, saj lahko gledalca ali nagovarja ali napada. Zato lahko v prikazih bojnih bitk izraža smer napada, v portretih pa usmerjenost in nagovor gledalcu. Primer takega portretnega nagovora je Kobilčina *Kofetarica*, ki se na levo obrača proti gledalcu kot da mu nazdravlja; zelo izrazit primer, v katerem smer na levo poudari moč in silovitost bojnega napada, pa je prizor v katerem *Jozue v boju porazi Amalečane* (Alexander Casteels) (Slika 14).

Smer na levo-navzdol združuje značilnosti smeri navzdol in na levo, zato lahko predstavlja smer, ki je izrazito fizično agresivna, vendar pa tudi smer intenzivnega mentalnega napora in osredotočenosti, kot na primer v podobah branja in pisanja. Zanimivo je, da skoraj vse slike iz zbirke Narodne galerije, ki prikazujejo branje ali pisanje, vključujejo to smer (Giuseppe Antonio Petrini, *Filozof pri branju*; Janez Šubic, *Pismo*; Jožef Petkovšek, *Pismo*; Ferdo Vesel, *Prijateljici*).

3. Prehod med sorodno stabilnima položajema (↘↗):

Na desno-navzdol je smer, ki združuje navzdol in na desno. Smer na desno je naravna smer pogleda, smer navzdol pa smer gravitacije, zato lahko smer na desno-navzdol izraža padanje, kar nosi različne pomenske konotacije, ki so s tem povezane. Na dobesedni ravni lahko predstavlja fizični pritisk, kot na primer v Bernekerjevih *Rokoborcih*, na bolj metaforični pa pripekanje žgočega sonca v Jakopičevih *Kopalkah* (verziji 1905, 1910). Po drugi strani pa lahko ta smer izraža tudi naklonjenost človeka do sočloveka. Za razliko od smeri na levo-navzdol, ki je lahko zelo agresivna, smer na desno-navzdol bolj naravno sledi smeri pogleda, zato lahko izraža dobronamernost in naklonjenost, kar se pogosto izkorišča v sakralnih vsebinah kot naklonjenost Boga, ki blagoslavlja ali rešuje človeka. To je značilno v primerih prikazov reševanja sv. Petra iz ječe (Federik Benković *Osvoboditev sv.*

11 Mušičeva serija *Konjičkov* v zbirki Narodne galerije je z vidika smeri posebej zanimiva, saj so konjički v različnih verzijah različno usmerjeni, od tega, da sledijo ritmu na desno, da gredo proti levi, da so obrnjeni stran od gledalca in proti zadnjemu planu, do tega, da se v določenih delih te smeri prepletajo, kar je posebej značilno takrat, ko Mušič poudari njihovo igro (*Konjički med igro*).

12 Zanimivo je, da so prizori, ki poudarjajo čaščenje Boga prikazani v tej smeri, medtem ko so prizori, kjer ni poudarek na čaščenju, pač pa na zamaknjenju in kontemplaciji, prikazani v smeri na levo-navzgor (primerjaj smer na levo-navzgor v nadaljevanju).

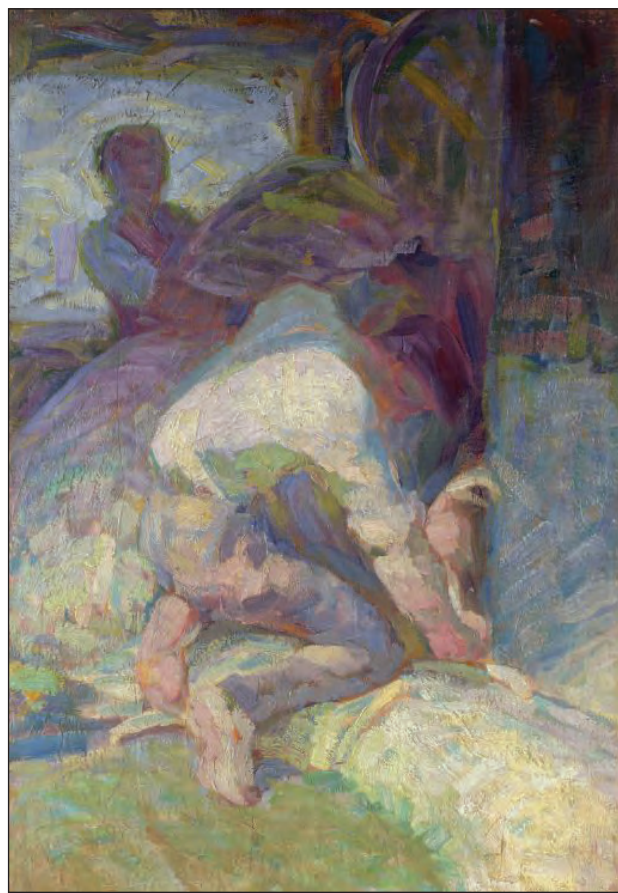
13 Negativen primer tega dobimo, če smer navzgor zamenja smer navzdol. Namesto, da nekdo nekoga vodi na pravo pot, smer na desno-navzdol lahko pomeni, da nekdo drugega vodi v pogubo. Značilen primer tega je slavna slika *Slepi vodijo slepe* Pietra Bruegla starejšega.



Slika 12: Janez Šubic, *Poklon Sv. treh kraljev*, 1877, olje, platno, 81 x 60 cm, Muzej in galerije mesta Ljubljane (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS3354>).

Petra iz ječe, Henrika Langus, *Reševanje sv. Petra iz ječe*) in v prizorih, ki razkrivajo božjo skrb za svet in naravo, ki jo je ustvaril (Mihael Stroj, *Božja Skrb*). V delih s posvetno vsebino pa lahko ta smer prikazuje prijateljskost, dobrohotnost, kot na primer v Kobilčinem *Poletju*, kjer ta smer poudarja naklonjenost in prijaznost Kobilčine sestre Fani do otrok.

Morda najbolj značilen izrazni potencial ima smer *na levo-navzgor*. Če je smer *na desno-navzgor* smer naravne rasti in je pogosto povezana s fizično aktivnostjo, strastjo in vodenjem oz. sledenjem, pa je smer *na levo-navzgor* izrazito kontemplativna smer, ki se zelo pogosto povezuje z vsebinami, ki izražajo duhovno rast in metafizično zamaknjenost. Ta smer se zato zelo izrazito javlja v sakralnih delih. Tako so na ta način v zbirki Narodne galerije praviloma prikazane podobe Kristusovega trpljenja, v katerih je Kristus usmerjen s telesom ali glavo, v smeri *na levo-navzgor*, kar izraža, da je njegovo trpljenje osmišljeno v božjem (Mojster velenjskih tabel, *Bičanje Jezusa*; Alvise (Luigi) Benfatto, *Ecce homo*);



Slika 13: Ivan Grohar, *Snopi*, 1909, olje, platno, 71,5 x 50 cm (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/ZDS1935004>).

prav tako je značilno, da so skorajda vsi prizori pietá v zbirki Narodne galerije prikazani s postavitvijo Kristusovega trupla v tej smeri (Neznani avtor, *Lepa Sočutna*; Neznani avtor, *Pietá*; Antonio Bellucci, *Pietá* (Slika 15); Neznani avtor, lombardska šola, *Pietá*). Tudi tukaj gre za izraz tega, da Kristusova smrt ni dokončna, pač pa vodi v odrešenje sveta. Tudi prikazi Marije z detetom Jezusom značilno prikazujejo odnos med Marijo in Jezusom v tej smeri (na primer: Mojster Solčavske Marije, *Marija z Jezusom*, "Solčavska Marija"; Mojster Trbojske Marije, *Stoječa Marija z Detetom*, Neznani avtor, štajersko delo, *Jezusovo rojstvo*; Neznani avtor, *Marija z detetom*; Valentin Metzinger, *Marija z Jezusom in Janezom Krstnikom*; Giovanni Francesco da Rimini, *Marija z blagoslavljačim detetom (Hoška Marija)*; Mojster Solčavske Marije, *Marija na Salomonovem prestolu (Krakovska Marija)*; Janez Akvila, *Marija z detetom*). Prikazujejo namreč Marijo na položaju *levo-zgoraj*, ki je s pogledom usmerjena proti Jezusu na položaju *desno-spodaj*, ki jo gleda *na levo-navzgor*. Tudi to, podobno kot v prizorih pietá, izraža Kristusovo



Slika 14: Alexander Casteels, *Jozue v boju z Amalečani*, olje, platno, 121 x 174,5 cm, Akademija za likovno umetnost in oblikovanje, Ljubljana (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/ZDS1993004>).

odrešenjsko vlogo. Prav tako so v tej smeri značilno prikazani prizori Marijinega vnebovzjetja (Nicola Grassi, *Marijino vnebovzetje*).

Zaradi svojega duhovnega in metafizičnega naboja, ki smer na levo-navzgor močno povezuje s sakralno ikonografijo, se smer na levo-navzgor zato tudi v slikah s posvetno tematiko pojavlja takrat, ko se želi ta vsebina izraziti na poudarjeno poduhovljen, kontemplativen način. Že zgoraj sem ugotavljal, da so Mušičevi *mrtveci* usmerjeni v tej smeri, kar izrazi njihovo metafizično usmerjenost.¹⁴ Prav tako srečamo to smer v Jakopičevih *Spominih*, kjer je na ta način izražena zamaknjenost v duhovni svet preteklih doživetij. Najbolj eminenten

primer uporabe te smeri v zbirki Narodne galerije pa je morda prav Groharjev *Sejalec*, ki je poleg tega usmerjen tudi stran od gledalca in hodi v globino slike. Njegova usmerjenost na levo-navzgor in v globino zato izrazito poudarja njegovo duhovno vlogo in s tem vlogo te slike kot simbola slovenskega naroda.¹⁵ Prav zaradi uporabe smeri na levo-navzgor in v globino tudi Sternanova *Rdečelaska* ni klasičen akt, ki poudarja čutnost, pač pa gre za prikaz osebe, ki je zasanjana in odsotna.

Posamezne smeri so redko samostojne, večinoma se med seboj soočijo in stopijo v komplementarne odnose, s čimer pridobijo najkompleksnejše izrazne značilnosti. Tudi v zgoraj navedenih primerih, ki sem

¹⁴ Mušičev cikel sedmih litografij *Kataster trupel* je z vidika izravnanih potencialov smeri zelo zanimiv, saj so v prav vseh sedmih litografijah telesa prikazana v smeri navzgor ali na levo-navzgor. Poleg tega so v treh litografijah, ki prikazujejo zgolj enega posamičnega mrliča, ti prizori postavljeni na bolj ekspresivno desno stran v formatu.

¹⁵ Motivika sejalca je bila takrat v svetovnem merilu pogosta. Jean-François Millet je *Sejalca* predstavil kot simbol francoske revolucije, znanilca družbenih sprememb, v katerih se je vloga družbenih razredov spremenila. Tako Milletov *Sejalec* tudi s svojo usmerjenostjo na desno-navzdol in proti gledalcu (v več različicah je vselej enako usmerjen), v kateri strumno koraka, simbolizira nekakšnega revolucionarja, malega, kmečkega človeka, ki je prevzel oblast. Groharjev *Sejalec* ima povsem drugačno simboliko, tudi zaradi svoje smeri. Usmerjen je stran od gledalca in na levo-navzgor, kar poudarja njegovo duhovno in kulturno vlogo in ga predstavlja kot sejalca slovenskega duha ter kulturne zavesti.



Slika 15: Antonio Bellucci, Pietá, 1692–1694, olje, platno, 145 x 177 cm (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS1114>).

jih vezal na posamezne smeri, bi v resnici v večini primerov lahko govorili o komplementarni dinamiki smeri.

Soočenje smeri na levo in na desno je pogosto značilno za krajinsko slikarstvo, in to na dva načina. Tako, da se plani izmenično nizajo z leve in desne, kar v povezavi s prikazom globine izraža prostranost pokrajine (na primer Pavel Künl, *Žetev v Mestnem logu*; Ladislav Benesch, *Zasavska Sveta gora*; najbolj značilen primer so vsekakor *Pernhartove panorame s Šmarne gore* (Slika 16)), ali pa tako, da se to sklada z dinamiko postavitve bežišč v perspektivi, kar je pogosto vezano na stavbno motiviko (Matija Jama, *Vas v zimi*). Pogosto je soočenje smeri na levo in na desno povezano tudi s kontrapostom oz. zamikom delov telesa v portretih, pri čemer je telo usmerjeno v eno smer, glava pa v drugo (Jožef Tominc, *Cecilija grofica Auersperg*; Ivan Vavpotič, *Dvojna lastna podoba*). Z vidika portretnega slikarstva in dinamike smeri v njem je še posebej zanimiv Tominčev portret treh dam iz družine Moscon (Jožef Tominc, *Tri dame iz družine Moscon*), v katerem dve izmed dam pogledujeta v levo in ena v desno, njihovi pogledi

pa »rastejo« po pozitivni diagonali, čemur sledi tudi dinamika skodelic na mizi ter zrcaljenje položaja glave dame, ki nataka, v položaj akvarija z zlatimi ribicami. Dinamika med smerema na levo in na desno se posebej značilno pojavlja tudi v prikazih bojev, še posebej v povezavi s poudarjenim horizontalnim formatom (Gojmir Anton Kos, *Kmečki punt*). Prav tako pa je značilna tudi, kot nakazano že zgoraj pri analizi položajev, za izraz pogovora in filozofske razprave v slikah z antično tematiko (Franc Kavčič, *Sokrat z učencem in Diotimo*) in v prikazih dinamičnega družabnega dogajanja (na primer Almanach, *Kvartopirci I* in *Kvartopirci II*).

Najbolj izrazita dinamika med smermi pa nastaja po diagonalah. Največja napetost nastaja med stabilnim in nestabilnim položajem po diagonali od desno-zgoraj na levo-spodaj, zato lahko *kontrapunkt smeri na desno-navzgor in na levo-navzdol* izraža največje konflikte, napore in boje, tako fizične kot duhovne. Na ta način je v sliki *Boj medvedov in lovskih psov* (Carl Ruthart) prikazano divje soočenje živali pri lovu, psov, ki so jih spustili lovci, in medvedov, ki jih lovijo. V sliki *Nevihta na morju* (Pieter



Slika 16: Marko Pernhart, *Panorama s Šmarne gore IV (pogled proti Kamniškim planinam)*, 1860–1870, olje, platno, 84 x 143 cm (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS0291>).

Mulier; Slika 17) pa je s konfliktom teh dveh smeri prikazana uničujoča moč narave, ki prihaja v smeri levo-navzdol, komaj kljubuje pa ji ladja v smeri desno-navzgor. Napor pri fizičnih kmečkih opravilih je z dinamiko teh dve smeri odlično prikazan v Groharjevem *Krompirju*, kjer kmet v smeri levo-navzdol trosi krompir v vrečo, ki jo drži kmetica v smeri desno-navzgor.

Kontrast med smerema na levo-navzgor in na desno-navzdol duhovno semantično vrednost teh dveh smeri, ki smo jih zgoraj spremljali posamično, še okrepi, in zato lahko v sakralni umetnosti poudarjeno izraža odnos med Bogom in človekom, zelo značilno pa tudi boj med dobrim in zlim. Primeri prvega so različne podobe religioznih zamaknjenj oz. svetniških zrenj, v katerih posamezen svetnik v smeri na levo-navzgor zre v Boga, ki se nato v nasprotni smeri, na desno-navzdol ozira k njemu in se mu razodeva. Take so splošne podobe svetnikov, ko se Bog razodeva svetniku v zrenju (na primer Valentin Metzinger, *Sv. Avguštin*, Valentin Metzinger, *Sv. Katarina*, Nicola Grassi, *Rožnovenska Mati Božja s sv. Dominikom in sv. Frančiškem Asiškim*)¹⁶ in prizori poveličanj svetnikov (Hubert Maurer, *Po-*

veličanje sv. Janeza Nepomuka, Valentin Metzinger, *Poveličanje sv. Frančiška Saleškega*). Prav tako pa tudi prizori na temo različnih svetopisemskih vsebin, v katerih se izraža poseben odnos med Bogom in človekom. Kot na primer prizori: Jezusa, ki prosi svojega očeta na Oljski gori (Neznani avtor, *Jezus na Oljski gori*), Marije in Jožefa z Jezusom, ki ju Bog varuje na begu v Egipt (Martino Altomonte, *Počitek na begu v Egipt*). Značilen primer so tudi prikazi, ko se Bog postavi v položaj človeka in pokaže svojo ponižnost, s čimer da zgled človeku, kako naj se obnaša do sočloveka, kot na primer v prikazu Jezusovega umivanja nog apostolom (Giovanni Stefano Danedi, *Jezus umiva noge apostolom*). Prav tako so v tej dinamiki pogosto prikazani prizori dobrote svetnikov, kar izraža, da so po svoji dobroti in svetosti podobni Bogu, kot na primer prikaz sv. Martina, kako razdeli svoj plašč z revežem (Leopold Lazer, *Sv. Martin deli plašč z revežem* (Slika 18)). Značilen primer ponazoritve boja med dobrim in zlim pa so prizori svetnikov, ki premagajo simbol zla. V zbirki Narodne galerije so najbolj tipičen primer tega prikazi sv. Jurija, ki premaga zmaja, ki so skorajda vsi po vrsti prikazani v dinamiki smeri na levo-

¹⁶ Kiparske podobe svetnikov in njihovo usmeritev je potrebno pri tem razumeti tudi v kontekstu prostora, za katerega so bile namenjene. Pogosto so bile namreč namenjene za strani oltarjev, kar je tudi narekovalo usmerjenost in rotacijo svetnikovega telesa.



Slika 17: Pieter Mulier, Nevihta na morju, olje, platno, 158 x 288 cm, Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/ZDS2001088>).

-navzgor in na desno-navzdol (Hans Georg Geiger von Geigerfeld, *Sv. Jurij v boju z zmajem* (Slika 19); Neznani avtor, *Sv. Jurij*, Neznani avtor, Slikarska delavnica z Brega pri Preddvoru, *Sv. Jurij v boju z zmajem*). Ti prikazi so zelo podobno kompozicijsko načrtovani kot prikazi svetnikove dobrote (sv. Martin), s to razliko, da v tem primeru svetnik premaga zlo in se s tem bojuje za dobro, v prikazih dobrote pa svetnik dobroto izkazuje sočloveku. Z dinamiko teh dveh smeri pa je izražena tudi modrost kralja Salomona v sliki Franca Kavčiča *Salomonova sodba* (Slika 20), ki s tem simbolizira božjo modrost. Prav slika *Salomonova sodba* je z vidika kompozicijske rabe položajev in smeri v zbirki Narodne galerije eden izmed vrhuncev izrazne kompleksnosti.¹⁷

POGOSTOST SMERI MED SAKRALNO IN POSVETNO IKONOGRFIJO V DELIH V NARODNI GALERIJI

Kvalitativen pregled položajev in smeri v posamičnih delih iz zbirke Narodne galerije razkriva, da se določeni položaji in smeri bolj značilno pojavljajo v odnosu do posameznih ikonografskih vsebin. Razmerja pojavljanja različnih smeri znotraj zbirke Narodne galerije je zato mogoče tudi kvantitativno opredeliti. Pri tem sem se osredotočil na razliko med sakralno in posvetno ikonografijo, saj je ta razlika tudi najbolj značilna. V analizo je bilo vključenih 708 del, ki so dostopna na spletni strani Narodne galerije, od tega 572 slikarskih in 136 kiparskih oz.

¹⁷ Kavčič kralja Salomona postavi na božji položaj levo-zgoraj, s katerega s svojo modrostjo odloča v smeri na desno-navzdol, ki je običajno smer božjega posredovanja. To njegovo simbolno pozicijo utrjuje rdeča barva ogrinjala. Žena, ki se je zlagala in otrok ni njen, je s telesom sicer usmerjena k Salomonu, vendar se hinavsko ozira nazaj, kar sugerira, da je njena usmerjenost k božjemu zgolj navidezna, hinavska. To njeno simboliko potrjuje rumena barva ogrinjala, ki je v tem primeru izraz izdajstva, hinavščine, podobno kot v slavnem Giottovem *Judeževem poljubu*. Prava mati pa je s telesom sicer usmerjena stran od Salomona, saj se oprime vojščaka, da bi rešila življenje otroka, ki ga vojak v smeri na desno nese ven iz formata, da bi ga razsekala na pol, hkrati pa se upajoče z glavo ozira k Salomonu. To izraža, da so njeni nameni iskreni in da je njena razklana usmerjenost stran od kralja po eni strani in upajoče se oziranje k njemu posledica resnične skrbi za sočloveka, kar se sklada s krščanskim pojmovanjem, da je ljubezen do bližnjega enaka ljubezni do Boga. Njeno čistost izraža tudi modra barva ogrinjala, ki je simbolna barva Marije, Jezusove matere. Otrok, ki ga rešuje, je s tem pravzaprav simbol za božjega sina, Jezusa samega, medtem ko je Salomon simbol Boga Očeta. Med tremi glavnimi protagonisti v zgodbi o Salomonovi modrosti se na ta način oblikuje kompleksna in izredno pomenljiva dinamika smeri, ki jo dodatno poudarja simbolika barv in tudi odrska simbolika svetlo-temnega, saj je dogajanje med trojico teh likov osvetljeno, ostali del prizora pa je v temi.



Slika 18: Leopold Layer, *Sv. Martin deli plašč z revežem*, olje, platno, 27 x 18 cm (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/ZDS2013716>).



Slika 19: Hans Georg Geiger von Geigerfeld, *Sv. Jurij v boju z zmajem*, ok. 1641, olje, platno, 273 x 150 cm (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS1946>).

drugih, ki imajo prostorsko naravo. Glede na ikonografijo, je razmerje znotraj zbirke okvirno 1 proti 3 v prid posvetne ikonografije (Tabela 3).

Kaj torej pokaže preprosta deskriptivna statistika (Tabele 4–6)? Najbolj opazno pade v oči naslednja razlika: v umetninah s posvetno ikonografijo v veliki meri prevladujejo horizontalne smeri na desno in na levo, medtem ko v umetninah s sakralno ikonografijo prevladujejo diagonalne smeri, še posebej izstopa velik delež smeri po negativni diagonali (na levo-navzgor in na desno-navzdol). Relativno majhen delež smeri navzgor in navzdol v primerih obeh ikonografij je posledica tega, da sta ti dve smeri v čisti obliki redki, saj sta večinoma povezani s smerjo na levo in na desno, kar pomeni v sakralni ikonografiji večji

delež diagonalnih smeri na levo-navzgor, na levo-navzdol, na desno-navzgor in na desno-navzdol. V kolikor diagonalnih smeri v analizi ne bi upošteval in bi smeri poenostavil na vertikalne in horizontalne, bi se pokazala očitna razlika med vertikalnimi smermi, ki prevladujejo v sakralni ikonografiji, in horizontalnimi smermi, ki prevladujejo v posvetni ikonografiji. Ta ugotovitev potrjuje spoznanje, ki se je nakazalo že pri položajih. Tako kot v posvetnih delih večina dinamike poteka na ravni položajev levo – desno in v sakralni ikonografiji prevladuje dinamika položajev zgoraj – spodaj, tako se kot izrazito prevladujoča in dominantna smer v posvetni ikonografiji kaže smer na levo – na desno, v sakralni ikonografiji pa prevladajo vertikalne smeri.



Slika 20: Franc Kavčič, *Salomonova sodba*, 1817–1820, olje, platno, 243 x 340 cm (©Narodna galerija, Ljubljana <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS1486>).

Ob tej statistični analizi sicer opozarjam na naslednje.

Prvič, večinoma je eno dominantno smer težko določiti, saj gre, kot je bilo razvidno že zgoraj, v večini primerov za kontrapunkt smeri, ki so si komplementarne (npr. prikazi sv. Jurija kontrapunktirajo smer na levo-navzgor in smer na desno-navzdol; prav tako se pri pokrajinah smeri na levo in na desno večinoma uravnovežita). Zato sem v posameznem delu pogosto označil več smeri, pri čemer sem sledil temu, da se smeri niso podvajale, na primer, da se smer na levo ni ponovila tudi kot na levo-navzgor. V takem primeru sem označil zgolj tisto smer, ki se mi je zdela bolj izrazita in bolj pomenljiva. Najbolj verodostojen podatek zato daje tabela 6, v kateri so komplementarne smeri predstavljene skupaj.

Drugič, smer ni izrazita v vseh delih. Manj izrazita je na primer v statičnih in simetričnih portretih, tihožitjih, nekaterih pokrajinah ipd. V takih primerih bi se lahko včasih opredelila tudi smer naprej ali nazaj, ki pa je v analizi nisem upošteval. Zato sem v teh primerih označil »ni relevantno«. Ob tem

je pomenljiv podatek, da je delež kategorije »ni relevantno« pri delih s posvetno ikonografijo višji kot pri delih s sakralno ikonografijo. Ta razlika je posledica dvojega. Del gre na račun tega, da bi se ob upoštevanju smeri naprej in nazaj pri delih s posvetno ikonografijo delež kategorije »ni relevantno« znižal in prenesel na ti dve smeri. Po drugi strani pa se s tem izkazuje dejstvo, da je interakcija smeri bolj semantično relevantna z vidika vsebin, ki so značilne za sakralno ikonografijo in so »globlje«, metafizične narave, kar na nek način potrjuje izrazno vlogo in pomenljivost likovne spremenljivke smer na splošno.

Tretjič, čeprav številke na videz morda delujejo objektivno, pa je v ozadju narejene statistike moja subjektivna presoja. Dopuščam možnost, da bi v obravnavanih delih nekdo drug kot dominantne izpostavil druge smeri. Kljub temu pa smatram, da številke, ki bi jih na osnovi svoje presoje dobil nekdo drug, na najbolj generalni in zaokroženi ravni (Tabela 6) ne bi bistveno odstopale od mojih.

Tabela 3: Delež umetnin na temo sakralne in posvetne ikonografije v zbirki Narodne galerije.

	Število	Odstotek
Sakralna	160	22,6 %
Posvetna	548	77,4 %
Skupaj	708	100 %

Tabela 4: Število smeri pri umetninah na temo sakralne in posvetne ikonografije v zbirki Narodne galerije.

Število	↑	↓	←	→	↗	↖	↘	↙	Ni relevantno	Ni slike
Sakralna	5	2	25	24	24	13	35	62	26	6
Posvetna	13	9	163	172	33	19	13	25	197	6

Tabela 5: Odstotek smeri pri umetninah na temo sakralne in posvetne ikonografije v zbirki Narodne galerije.

Odstotek	↑	↓	←	→	↗	↖	↘	↙	Ni relevantno	Ni slike
Sakralna	3,1 %	1,2 %	15,6 %	15 %	15 %	8,1 %	22,9 %	39,7 %	16,2 %	3,7 %
Posvetna	2,4 %	1,6 %	29,7 %	31,4 %	3,5 %	3,5 %	2,4 %	4,6 %	36 %	1,1 %

Tabela 6: Odstotek komplementarnih skupin smeri pri umetninah na temo sakralne in posvetne ikonografije v zbirki Narodne galerije.

Število	↑	↓	←	→	↗	↖	↘	↙	Ni relevantno	Ni slike
Sakralna	4,3 %		30,6 %		23,1 %		62,6 %		16,2 %	3,7 %
Posvetna	4 %		61,1 %		7 %		7 %		36 %	1,1 %

ZAKLJUČEK

Položaji in smeri imajo izrazne potenciale. To ne pomeni, da jim lahko pripišemo točno določene vsebine, pač pa, da imajo potencial, da lahko na poseben način izrazijo in poudarijo značaj določenih tipov vsebin. Zato so se v zgodovini tudi oblikovali določeni značilni načini izražanja določenih vsebin s pomočjo nekaterih smeri. Na najbolj generalni ravni se ta razlika kaže med sakralno in posvetno ikonografijo. Ob tem je potrebno opozoriti, da na uporabo smeri ne vpliva zgolj vsebina, pač pa tudi kontekst posameznega umetniškega dela, ki ni neposredno povezan z vsebino, kot na primer prostorska namembnost umetniškega dela. Na primer, postavitve svetnikov ali angelov na strani oltarjev narekuje tudi usmeritev in rotacijo njihovih teles. Prav tako lahko postavitve slike v

prostor, na primer kot stranske slike v oltarju ali kot slike na levem ali desnem stranskem oltarju v cerkvi, narekuje usmeritev figur znotraj slike.

Rezultati predstavljene raziskave so pomembni z dveh vidikov. Prvič, rezultati obravnave likovnih del iz zbirke Narodne galerije potrjujejo likovno-teoretske zakonitosti izraznih potencialov položajev in smeri, ki jih odkrivamo v likovni teoriji. Horizontalne smeri na levo in na desno se tako logično povezujejo z vsebinami iz posvetne ikonografije, pri katerih je poudarek na interakciji znotraj fizičnega sveta (v pokrajini, med ljudmi (portreti, bitke, filozofski diskurz ipd.), med tem ko se vertikalne smeri poudarjeno javljajo v povezavi z vsebinami iz sakralne ikonografije, pri katerih je poudarek na odnosu med metafizičnim in fizičnim (božjim in človeškim, dobrim in zlim ipd.).

Kot drugič, pa rezultati dajejo nov pogled v naravo del, ki so pomemben del slovenske kulturne dediščine in narodne identitete ter s tem prispevajo k njihovi refleksiji. Najbolj zanimiva ugotovitev v povezavi z deli v Narodni galeriji je prevlada smeri na levo-navzgor oz. njena interakcija s smerjo na desno-navzdol v sakralnih delih ter v tistih posvetnih delih v zbirki Narodne galerije, v katerih vsebina pridobi duhovni, metafizični poudarek. Tako je zanimivo opazovati, kako določeni sakralna dela značilno sledijo uporabi te smeri, na primer boj dobrega proti zlemu v podobah sv. Jurija, Kristusovega trpljenja, pietá, Marije z Jezusom, vnebovzvetja,

vstajenja, krsta, povelčanj in zamaknjenj svetnikov ipd. Dinamika smeri na levo-navzgor in na desno-navzdol pogosto simbolizira tudi poseg ali skrb Boga, kot na primer v prikazih osvoboditve sv. Petra iz ječe, prikazih božje modrosti v Salomonovi sodbi, prikazih božje dobrote v podobah sv. Martina ipd. Prav zaradi zelo izrazite značilnosti, da dinamika teh dveh smeri lahko izraža duhovna prizadevanja, se tudi v posvetnih kontekstih uporablja takrat, ko je povezana z izrazom duhovnega zrenja, zamaknjenosti, upanja, naklonjenosti, kot na primer pri Groharjevem *Sejalcu*, Mušičevih mrtvecih, Jakopičevih *Spominih*, Kobilčinem *Poletju* ipd.

HOW DOES THE LANGUAGE OF VISUAL ART SPEAK? ANALYSIS OF POSITIONS AND DIRECTIONS IN ARTWORKS OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF SLOVENIA

*Jurij SELAN*University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Education, Kardeljeva pl. 16., 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: jurij.selan@pef.uni-lj.si

SUMMARY

Like in the verbal language, where the most complex level of communication is syntax, the most complex level in the visual art language is visual art composition. In the visual art composition, the subject of an artwork can be expressed using positions and direction of the shapes. Positions and directions are experienced according to their stability or instability/expressiveness, which can influence how the subject matter is expressed and perceived. There are six basic positions of which some are more stable (in-front, down, left), others are more expressive (behind, up, right). These positions are interrelated with eight basic directions, characterised as three types of transitions: a transition from stable to expressive position (upward, to the right, diagonally to the right and up), a transition from expressive to stable positions (downward, to the left, diagonally to the left and down) and transition between similarly stable or expressive positions (diagonally to the right and down, diagonally to the left and up). The author analysed the role of positions and directions in the artworks from the National Gallery of Slovenia in qualitative and quantitative way. First, he analysed the semantic role of six positions and eight directions in selected artworks. Secondly, he made a descriptive statistics of the occurrence of different directions in the collection, according to sacral and profane iconography. The statistical analysis showed that in relation to the sacral iconography, other positions and directions prevail than with regards to profane iconography, suggesting that different positions and directions contribute differently to the sacral and profane subject matter. Religious subject is commonly expressed with diagonal directions, and profane subject matter (like landscape) is prevalently expressed using horizontal directions. The presented research is important from two perspectives: first, findings reveal and confirm visual art laws regarding the expressive values of position and directions in visual art composition; and secondly, the research gives a new insight into the nature of the works of Slovenian cultural heritage, and thus contributes to the knowledge about the collection of the National Gallery of Slovenia.

Keywords: Visual art language, visual art composition, visual art variables, position, direction, collection of the National Gallery of Slovenia

VIRI IN LITERATURA

- Bertin, J. (1967):** *Semiology of Graphics: Diagrams, Networks, Maps*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.
- Bouleau, C. (1963):** *The Painter's Secret Geometry: a Study of Composition in Art*. Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc.
- Britsch, S. (2013):** Visual Language and Science Understanding: a brief Tutorial for Teachers. *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy*, 36, 1, 17–27.
- Butina, M. (1997):** K problematiki definicije likovnega jezika. V: Butina, M. (ur.): *O slikarstvu*. Ljubljana, Debora, 61–77.
- Chomsky, N. (1972):** Studies on Semantics in Generative Grammar. *Foundations of Language*, 12, 3, 367–382.
- Chomsky, N. (1986):** *Knowledge of Language*. London, Praeger.
- Davis, C. J. & A. R. Hevner (2015):** Neurophysiological Analysis of Visual Syntax in Design. V: Davis, F. D., Riedl, R., vom Brocke, J., Léger, P.-M. & A. Randolph (ur.): *Information Systems and Neuroscience*. Cham, Springer International Publishing, 99–105.
- De Saussure, F. (1997):** Predavanja iz splošnega jezikoslovja. Ljubljana, Studia Humanitatis.
- Dondis, D. A. (1973):** *A Primer of Visual Literacy*. Cambridge, London, MIT Press.
- Engelhardt, Y. (2002):** *The Language of Graphics: a Framework for the Analysis of Syntax and Meaning in Maps, Charts and Diagrams*. Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, Institute for Logic, Language and Computation.
- Eubanks, P. K. (1997):** Art is a Visual Language. *Visual Arts Research*, 23, 1, 31–35.
- Feldman, E. B. (1976):** Visual Literacy. *Journal of Aesthetic Education*, 10, 3/4, 195–200.
- Feng, C. & S. He (2007):** Horizontal and Vertical Asymmetry in Visual Spatial Crowding Effects. *Journal of Vision*, 7, 2, 1–10.
- Fischer, F. (1965):** *Der Wohnraum*. Zürich, Artemis Verlag.
- Forrest, E. (1984):** Art Education and the Language of Art. *Studies in Art Education*, 26, 1, 27–33.
- Gella, T. (1978):** The Intrinsic Dynamics of the Syntax of the Visual Sign (in reference to representative and abstract art). *Semiotica*, 23, 3/4, 303–306.
- Golden, M. (2001):** *O jeziku in jezikoslovju*. Ljubljana, Filozofska fakulteta.
- Gordon, I. E. & C. Gardner (1974):** Responses to Altered Pictures. *British Journal of Psychology*, 65, 243–251.
- Jacobs, M. (1926):** *The Art of Composition. A Simple Application of Dynamic Symmetry*. New York, Doubleday, Page and Company.
- Jamieson, H. (2007):** *Visual Communication: More Than Meets the Eye*. Bristol, Intellect.
- Jones, T. (2012):** *Poetic Language: Theory and Practice from the Renaissance to the Present*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- Karim, A. K. & H. Kojima (2010):** The What and Why of Perceptual Asymmetries in the Visual Domain. *Advances in Cognitive Psychology*, 6, 103–115.
- Martinet, A. (1982):** *Osnove opće lingvistike*. Zagreb, Grafički zavod Hrvatske.
- Mather, G. (2012):** Aesthetic Judgement of Orientation in Modern Art. *i-Perception*, 3, 1, 18–24.
- Mesesnel, F. (1940):** Jožef Petkovšek – slovenski slikar. Ljubljana, Akademsko založba.
- Miller, W. F. & A. C. Shaw (1968):** *Linguistic Methods in Picture Processing. A survey*. Stanford, Stanford Linear Accelerator Center (Publication 429).
- Muhovič, J. (1995):** Likovna umetnost kot področje semiotične artikulacije. *Anthropos*, 27, 5–6, 131–154.
- Muhovič, J. (1997):** Linguistic, Pictorial, and Metapictorial Competence. *Leonardo*, 30, 3, 221–227.
- Muhovič, J. (2015):** *Leksikon likovne teorije*. Ljubljana, Celjska Mohorjeva Družba.
- Mukarovsky, J. (2000):** *Standard Language and Poetic Language*. V: Burke, L., Crowley, T. & A. Girvin (ur.): *The Routledge Language and Cultural Theory Reader*. London, Routledge, 225–230.
- Paris, J. (1975):** *Painting and Linguistics*. Pittsburgh, Carnegie–Mellon University.
- Perkins, D. N. (1980):** Learning the Languages of Art. *Art Education*, 33, 6, 16–19.
- Poore, H. R. (1903):** *Pictorial Composition and the Critical Judgment of Pictures. A Handbook for Students and Lovers of Art*. New York in London, G. P. Putnam's Sons.
- Richardson, A. S. (1982):** Art Means Language. *Art Education*, 35, 5, 10–12.
- Ricoeur, P. (2004):** *The Conflict of Interpretations. Essays in Hermeneutics*. London/New York, Continuum Press.
- Rorty, R. (ur.) (1967):** *The Linguistic Turn: Recent Essays in Philosophical Method*. Chicago in London, The University of Chicago Press.
- Ross, B. M. (1966):** Minimal Familiarity and left-right Judgment of Paintings. *Percept Mot Skills*, 22, 1, 105–106.
- Roth, R. E. (2017):** *Visual Variables*. V: Richardson, D., Castree, N., Goodchild, M. F., Kobayashi, A., Liu, W. & R. A. Marston (ur.): *The International Encyclopedia of Geography*. Hoboken, Wiley, 1–11.
- Saint-Martin, F. (1990):** *Semiotics of Visual Language*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press.
- Selan, J. (2012):** Likovna umetnost in slovenščina. *Slovenščina v šoli*, 15, 1, 55–66.

Selan, J. (2013): Likovni jezik kot temelj likovne vzgoje in izobraževanja. Vzgoja in izobraževanje, 44, 4–5, 41–47.

Selan, J. (2014): Temelj in namen likovnega izobraževanja. Likovni jezik in likovna kompetenca. V: Devjak, T. (ur.): Sodobni pedagoški odzivi v teoriji in praksi. Ljubljana, Pedagoška fakulteta Univerza v Ljubljani, 371–388.

Stebbing, P. D. (2004): A Universal Grammar for Visual Composition? *Leonardo*, 37, 1, 63–70.

Swartz, P. & D. Hewitt (1970): Lateral Organization in Pictures and Aesthetic Preference. *Percept Mot Skills*, 30, 3, 991–1007.

Woodward, C. (1987): Art as Visual Language for Awareness of Self. *Leonardo*, 20, 3, 225–229.

FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENTS, CULTURAL HERITAGE AND PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIP: A BETTER APPROACH FOR INVESTORS?

Zoran VAUPOT

Catholic Institute, Faculty of Law and Business Studies, Krekov trg 1, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
e-mail: zoran.vaupot@kat-inst.si

ABSTRACT

The aim of this research is to analyze the influence and propose arguments for using the PPP framework for FDI projects, directly or indirectly connected to cultural heritage. In the literature overview we analyze topics of determinants and barriers to FDI, relations between FDI, cultural heritage, PPP, project and country risk management. Then, four business cases of FDI in connection to cultural heritage are presented and evaluated through the lens of the previous theoretical findings. The main conclusion is that the use of the PPP framework can add value to FDI projects in connection to cultural heritage.

Keywords: foreign direct investments (FDI), cultural heritage, risk management, public-private partnership (PPP)

INVESTIMENTI DIRETTI ESTERI, PATRIMONIO CULTURALE E PARTENARIATO PUBBLICO-PRIVATO: UN APPROCCIO MIGLIORE PER GLI INVESTITORI?

SINTESI

L'obiettivo della ricerca è quello di analizzare l'influenza e proporre argomenti per l'utilizzo del quadro PPP per i progetti IDE, direttamente o indirettamente collegati al patrimonio culturale. Nella panoramica della letteratura analizziamo i fattori determinanti e gli ostacoli agli IDE, le relazioni tra IDE, il patrimonio culturale, il PPP, la gestione dei progetti e del rischio per il paese. Successivamente, vengono presentati quattro casi commerciali di IDE in relazione al patrimonio culturale e valutati attraverso la lente dei precedenti risultati teorici. La conclusione principale è che l'uso del quadro PPP può presentare un valore aggiunto ai progetti IDE in relazione al patrimonio culturale.

Parole chiave: investimenti diretti esteri (IDE), patrimonio culturale, gestione del rischio, partenariato pubblico-privato (PPP)

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, foreign direct investments (FDI) have continuously registered cumulative worldwide growth. This is in-line with the worldwide trade liberalization trend in the last decades which directly resulted in the lowering of risks and costs for international investors. It is nowadays widely accepted that FDI's positive impacts are far more important than the negative consequences. At the country level worldwide, specialized institutions (IPA-investment promotion agencies) are established and financed by the governments in order to promote the whole country, selected regions and/or cities as attractive destinations for foreign investors.

However, not in all cases are foreign investors welcome. Even in the situations when there should be no real doubt about the existence of the real national interest¹, the opposing partial interests of economically powerful local individuals and interest groups, publicly presented as the constitutive part of the national interest, can prevail and negatively influence the foreign investor's decisions. The negative experiences from disabling, or at least obstructing the investor's efforts, can also lead to their decision to abandon or postpone the planned projects because of the additional risks and costs occurred as the consequence of additional formal and informal barriers to investment.

Cultural heritage itself is generally considered as being a constitutive part of the national, cultural identity. By consequence, any attempt to jeopardize cultural heritage can quickly be evaluated as a threat and thus it would be in the national interest to stop this kind of danger. It is easy to imagine that in the case of (potential) foreign investments into projects linked directly or indirectly to cultural heritage, public opinion² can be effectively manipulated toward an outcome desired by the most influential participant in mass communication.

In our research we try to verify whether and when the public-private partnership (PPP) approach could represent the right choice for the foreign investor in order to realize their project linked to the cultural heritage of the country meant to accept an inward investment? Is it realistic to expect that the risk management dimension of the project organized in accordance to the selected PPP scheme would better be managed in order to avoid possible obstacles in the form of formal (e.g. local legislation) and/or informal institutions (e.g. negative public opinion)?

METHOD AND LITERATURE OVERVIEW

We start our literature overview with the presentation of the main research concerning FDI determinants and barriers. We link these results with a listing of research focused on FDI in connection with cultural heritage where we point out the role of informal institutions influencing FDI projects. Next, the possible relations between cultural heritage and projects using the PPP approach are presented with special attention paid to the project risk management. The latter topic is then covered more extensively and connected first with the FDI related risk management which is treated under the country risk topic and later also in relation to the concept of PPP.

In the second part, four selected cases of FDI in direct or indirect connection to cultural heritage are presented. Special attention is paid to their outcomes, positive and negative.

In the third part we combine findings from the literature overview, and we use them to evaluate the presented business cases. At the end, we propose an overall conclusion concerning the use of the PPP concept for foreign investments in direct or indirect connection to cultural heritage.

Determinants and Barriers for FDI

The research on FDI determinants was, in its early phase, generally focused on the location aspect of the so-called OLI (ownership, localization and internalization advantages) model or 'eclectic paradigm' (Dunning, 1979). With a growing importance of the institutional theory another group of FDI determinants has appeared significantly in research since 1990s. In the first period authors mostly focused on reliability and safety of institutions (North, 1991, 2005; Coase, 2002). Later, institutional quality has been analyzed also as an inward FDI determinant, with special attention paid to the CEEC economies (Bevan & Estrin, 2000; Pournakakis & Varsakelis, 2004). The academics were first focused on the quality and effectiveness of a country's mostly formal institutions such as property rights, rule of law, civil liberties, and political stability. This is in line with the 'new institutional economics' (Williamson, 1975) which considers both efficiency and distribution issues, in contrast to 'traditional' institutional economics, and extends economics with social and legal norms that influence market function in the neoclassical framework.

1 See, for example Robinson (1961) who classified national interest into six categories: primary interests (preservation of physical, political, and cultural identity of the state), secondary interests (less important but still vital for the existence of the state), permanent interests (relatively constant and long-term interest of the state which changes slowly), variable interests (considered vital for the state in certain circumstances), general interests (refer to those positive conditions which apply to a large number of nations or in several specified fields such as economics, trade, etc.) and specific interests (in connection to the general interest, specific interests are defined in terms of time or space).

2 Defined by Key (1961, 14) as „opinions held by private persons which governments find it prudent to heed.”

In the last two decades, a narrower concept of 'informal institutions' started to attract the attention of researchers in the area of FDI determinants. However, it remains a very much underexploited theme in comparison to the more general topic of 'institutions'. There are numerous definitions of 'institutions' which seem to result in a common understanding, for example: *"Humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic, and social interaction. They consist of both informal constraints (sanctions, taboos, customs, traditions, and codes of conduct), and formal rules (constitutions, laws, property rights)"* (North, 1991, 1) or *"Rules and procedures (both formal and informal) that structure social interaction by constraining and enabling actors' behaviour"* (Helmke & Levitsky, 2004, 727).

However, when trying to define a narrower concept of 'informal institutions' definitions differ more, for example: *"Traditions, customs, moral values, religious beliefs, and all other norms of behaviour that have passed the test of time. Thus, informal institutions are the part of a community's heritage that we call culture"* (Pejovich, 1999, 166), *"Socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated, and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels"* (Helmke & Levitsky, 2004, 727) or *"Informal rules (that) are unwritten norms of repeated human interactions. They embody moral codes and norms, which can be very diverse across cultures"* (North, 2005, 50).

The FDI determinants are logically connected to the FDI barriers. When an important FDI determinant for a specific country is objectively (e.g. market size, geographical position, etc.) or subjectively (e.g. lack of clearly defined legislation, bureaucracy, corruption, etc.) worse in comparison to the other, especially in relation to the neighbouring countries, it represents a FDI barrier for this country. An interesting literature overview of barriers for FDI has been presented by Bitzenis (2006) and Bitzenis and Žugič (2016). The authors propose that *"empirical investigations on the determinants of FDI barriers can be broadly categorized in groups according to their observations: economic and political risk, transition progress and privatization, national culture and the general country risk factor"* (Bitzenis & Žugič, 2016, 230).

While the first two groups and at least partially also the fourth can be identified as mostly including determinants linked to formal institutions, the third and partially the fourth one include determinants in connection with informal institutions.

However, we point out that not all authors make clear distinction between the broader concept of cul-

ture and informal institutions, e.g. before mentioned Pejovich (1999). On the contrary, Helmke and Levitsky (2004) propose that culture is defined by shared values and not by shared expectations as informal institutions.

The presented overviews concerning barriers for FDI show clearly that the topic of informal institutions and its broader concept of culture still deserve attention from academics. However, there are already several interesting studies that explain the role of informal institutions in the decision-making process of foreign investors. Seyoum (2011) argues that informal institutions influence FDI in two ways: directly and indirectly through formal institutions by influencing formal rules. Mondolo (2019) highlights three types of informal institutions influencing FDI: trust, social networks and corruption. Trust is not only important in connection with FDI but also as an informal institution for the national economy in general; as stated by Seyoum (2011) more trust results in more growth because of its positive influence on lowering transaction costs and facilitating cooperation.

FDI and Cultural Heritage

As 'cultural heritage' UNESCO defines³ tangible (movable (paintings, sculptures, coins, manuscripts), immovable (monuments, archaeological sites, etc.) and underwater cultural heritage (shipwrecks, underwater ruins and cities)) and intangible (oral traditions, performing arts, rituals) cultural heritage. Cultural heritage is closely linked to its historical background, but also to the geography or the physical environment in which it resides (Vaupot, 2018). It constitutes an important component part of cultural rights which include both the duty to respect cultural freedoms and the duty to protect cultural heritage (Vadi, 2008). According to the World Heritage Convention (WHC) which uses the criticized listing approach, protecting cultural heritage becomes a duty owned by the international community. This shift from the national sovereignty is, however, mostly theoretical (with exception of blame and shame mechanisms which may be efficient to some extent) since there are no compliance mechanisms if a state does not respect the WHC obligations.

International investment law is presently regulated by almost 3.300 international investment agreements. The overwhelming majority (more than 88%) of these agreements are bilateral investment treaties and the remaining are so-called treaties with investment provisions.⁴ Obviously, international investment law did not yet succeed in establishing a veritable multilateral

3 Source: <http://www.unesco.org/new/en/culture/themes/illicit-trafficking-of-cultural-property/unesco-database-of-national-cultural-heritage-laws/frequently-asked-questions/definition-of-the-cultural-heritage/> (last access: 26.6.2020)

4 Source: <https://investmentpolicy.unctad.org/international-investment-agreements> (last access: 26.6.2020)

investment agreement and this absence of multilateralism is considered as a factor causing fragmentation and inconsistencies in the cases of arbitral interpretation (Titi, 2017).

As claimed by Sauvant and Mann (2017) cultural heritage protection is part of the social dimension of sustainable FDI. From the foreign investor's perspective social, civil and cultural rights should be considered already in the early project planning phase. The same as for potential local investors, both should accept formally (in the investment agreements) all the connected costs linked to the specific situation of the investment project influencing local cultural heritage. Moreover, De Germiny (2013) proposes to foreign investors considering investing near a (existing or possible in the future) WHC site to pay special attention. Even more attention should be paid when an investment area is close to the site which is on the List of World Heritage in Danger. This list includes sites whose protection according to the WHC requires "major operations [] and for which assistance has been requested" (WHC, art. 11).

Cultural heritage is (also) huge international business. Not only in connection to the tourism industry (Richards, 2001; McKercher & Du Cros, 2002; Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009) but also from the wider perspective (Bishoff & Allen, 2004; Gražulevičiūtė, 2006; Labadi & Long, 2010; Starr, 2010; Masele, 2012). However, a legal point of view (formal institution) is not the only one that needs to be taken into account by foreign investors. The communicated 'threat' of foreign investors' project to cultural heritage, with a goal to negatively influence public opinion (informal institution), may also serve as the justification for protecting publicly hidden local interests. In some cases, foreign investors are just not welcome because the domestic players were meant to win the project, or the new project would establish unwanted competition in the local market. Vaupot and Fornazarič (2019) present the role of local print media in creating generally unbalanced and negative public opinion toward foreign investors/investments in general. In Slovenia in 1992, this resulted in the adoption of hostile foreign investor privatization legislation but also sent a clear non-welcome message to other possible foreign investors in this country with a long-lasting effect. Almost three decades later, the inward FDI stock-to-GDP share in Slovenia is still only just above 50% of the average of the four Visegrad countries, which are perfect for comparison from a geographical, historical, and perspective of economic development.

5 Source: https://resources.riches-project.eu/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/rch_thinkpapers_07.pdf (last access: 26. 6. 2020).

6 Ministry of Culture: https://www.culture.si/en/Heritage_preservation_and_restoration_in_Slovenia (last access: 26. 6. 2020).

7 Source: <https://www.interreg-central.eu/Content.Node/RESTAURA.html> (last access: 26. 6. 2020).

8 Source: <https://financial-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Economic+risk> (last access: 26. 6. 2020).

Cultural Heritage and Public-Private Partnership

The public-private partnership (PPP) is broadly defined as a long-term partnership between the public and the private sector in different business activities in the areas which are traditionally considered as part of the public sector (Webb & Pulle, 2002). In avoiding an all-embracing definition, Jelinčić et al. (2017) list the main characteristics of PPP: collaborative effort of at least two public and private autonomous organizations; projects linked to public service or goods for public consumption; long-lasting project; mutual products and/or services; all parties share risk, costs, and benefits; regulatory responsibility of the public sector; private sector is paid for the services delivered and mutual added value.

Traditionally, protection of cultural heritage is considered as one of the very basic tasks of a country's government. According to Macdonald (2011, 893) "PPPs began to be used for heritage conservation in the late 1960s within the context of urban regeneration schemes. Their use has slowly expanded to the conservation and management of archaeological sites, buildings, landscapes, urban areas, collections and natural areas of heritage significance."

As stated by RICHES,⁵ PPP is better understood and accepted by the general public, in comparison to the concept of 'privatisation'. The latter implies a durable loss of ownership over public goods. PPP seems instead to be a 'safer' engagement for the public sector since it is normally limited to a specific project. In the area of cultural heritage, PPP is mostly used for: digital services, management of cultural services and conservation of immovable heritage. Some types of immovable cultural heritage are especially expensive to manage or conserve. The example of Slovenia is certainly not isolated:

One of the major problems for the monument protection service relates to castles and manors... Since these are large architectural complexes, their renovation require enormous funds, as well as a clear concept of future function and a vision of development (e.g. marketing). Many castles in Slovenia are still waiting to be restored. At present they can only be maintained, since only 20 per cent of the entire fund is available for this purpose.⁶

However, in the literature we can find significative examples of successful PPP in cultural heritage: Ireland (Cooke, 2006), Australia (Macdonald & Cheong, 2014), Tatarstan (Absalyamov, 2015), Herculaneum (Ferri & Zan, 2017), Uncastillo (Khorassani et al., 2019), Buzet (Croatia),⁷ Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki (Poland),⁸ Rihemberk (Slovenia),⁸ etc.

Risk Management and Country Risk

The academic research which deals with international project management and risk assessment is extensive. For example, Williams (1995) proposes a bibliography of research relating to project risk management, Raz and Michael (2001) present a study concerning identification of the most widely used tools in project management and risk management in particular, Raz et al. (2002) focus on the relationship between the project types and the application of risk management practices, Soederlund (2004) discusses the emerging perspectives within the project field, Kwak and Anbari (2009) examine project management research from the perspective of its relationship to allied disciplines in the management field, Fang et al. (2012) present an approach based on network theory, as a complement to classical project risk analysis, to deal with risk in large engineering projects, Rodney et al. (2015) demonstrate the need to develop an integrated approach to project risk management, Carvalho and Rabechini Junior (2015) focus on the relationship between risk management and project success, considering the contingent effect of project complexity, Cagliano et al. (2015) discuss approaches for choosing project risk management techniques and Aven (2016) presents the advances in general principles and methods about how to conceptualise, assess and manage risk.

The general conclusion based on the research presented is that risk management should be understood and used as a constitutive part of project management and not as a separate discipline. The use of an appropriate method or tool is crucial and depends mostly on the type of information available (qualitative or quantitative), but also on the nature, complexity, level of innovation, size and phases of the life cycle of a project. According to Chapman and Ward (2003) risk management is crucial in the planning stage, then its scope and depth increase towards the execution phase and decrease in the project finalisation phase.

From the perspective of (potential) foreign investors, a specific area of risk management exists: evaluation of country risk. According to McGowan and Moeller (2009) the country risk analysis to be conducted by foreign investors consists of two main components: political risk and economic risk. The political risk can be defined "as the risk that a sovereign host government will unexpectedly change the 'rules of the game' under which businesses operate" (Butler & Joaquin, 1998, 599) and economic risk as "*the possibility that an economic downturn will negatively impact an investment.*"

Two types of economic factors must be considered by foreign investors: macroeconomic (inflation, taxes, interest, and exchange rates) and micro-economic fac-

tors (local demand, wages, educational levels...). One of the first widely used tools for measuring country risk has been proposed by Bhalla (1983) who created a two-dimensional matrix with four variables for each dimension of political risk and economic risk called FIRM (foreign investment risk matrix). This approach has later been further developed by several authors (Madura, 2000; McGowan & Moeller, 2009) but the basic importance of political and economic dimensions of country risk remained in use to differentiate countries according to their level of acceptability for FDI.

Risk Management and Public-Private Partnership

We continue our research with a review of research concerning risk management in PPP. As presented, this topic attracted the important attention of academics, especially in the last decade.

Chan et al. (2014) analyze Critical Risk Factors (CRF) for PPP projects in China in connection to water. They conclude that out of 37 factors initially taken into consideration, the completion risk, inflation, and price change risk have a higher impact on Chinese water PPP projects.

Next, Osei-Kyei and Chan (2015) propose a review of worldwide studies from some selected academic journals concerning the Critical Success Factors (CSF)⁹ for PPP projects in the period 1990–2013. Their main conclusion is that the five most reported CSFs in the mentioned period were: risk allocation and sharing, strong private consortium, political support, community/public support, and transparent procurement.

Also in 2015, Wang (2015) argues that PPP models evolve when some of the critical success CSFs for PPP are changed/improved over time based on the project sponsors' risk management in the American toll road development. The results confirm the theoretical framework and find that public institutions' risk management can effectively explain the PPP evolution.

The same year, Chou and Pramudawardhani (2015) publish research where they compare the categories of key drivers, CSFs, and preferred risk allocation in PPPs established in Taiwan, Singapore, China, the UK, and Indonesia. The results revealed that Indonesia and Taiwan share certain similar key drivers, Indonesian CSFs were very similar to those of China, and Indonesia and Singapore present the highest similarity of risk allocation preferences.

In 2016, Liu et al. (2016) conducted a comparative analysis of CSFs affecting the effectiveness and efficiency of PPP tendering in Australia and China. The research identified 14 CSFs underpinning the implementation of PPP tendering, under 7 dimensions. The analysis suggested that there were statisti-

⁹ The CSFs are defined by Rockart (1982, 4) as the "*few key areas of activity where favorable results are absolutely necessary for a manager to reach his/her goals*". The CSFs "*facilitate achievement of organizational goals and objectives including risk management*" (Kikwasi, 2018, 7).

Table 1: Selected cases of foreign investments with implications on cultural heritage.¹⁰

Location	Description	Cultural heritage issues	Outcome
Noto Valley (Italy)	Local authorities granted a Texan investor a concession to drill gas in the Noto Valley.	The site is considered in permanent danger of earthquakes and Etna's eruptions, if investor made use of this authorization the area would risk an environmental collapse.	The government has declared its willingness to override Sicily's autonomy and to stop the project, investor has thus decided to cut the number of wells planned in the region and to avoid the Val di Noto.
Heuersdorf (Germany)	An American investor acquired a concession over a coal mine close to the village.	The conservation of the 750-year-old Emmaus Church was in danger.	The investor agreed to relocate the church to a nearby town and then had a chance to exploit the investment.
Imperial County (USA)	A Canadian corporation engaging in the extraction of gold acquired full ownership of federal mining sites in California to create a large open-pit gold mine.	Open-pit cyanide mining is hazardous to health and has a negative environmental effect, the project was connected to the area which includes sacred and ancestral sites of the American natives.	In 2001, the Interior Department denied the project but in 2002 the denial was revoked, however, the Californian authorities adopted a regulation requiring the backfilling of all future open-pit mines in the state to achieve the approximate contours of the land prior to mining and to reserve funding to ensure the coverage of clean-up costs, the investor applied for an arbitration proceeding, in 2009, the Tribunal released the Award, dismissing the investor's claim.
Vilnius (Lithuania)	The city of Vilnius signed an agreement with Egapris Consortium to design, build and operate an integrated parking system in the City.	The project extended significantly into the Old Town, defined as cultural heritage, the historical and archaeological preservation and environmental protection were justification for the refusal of the project.	Due to various key activities contemplated by the Agreement, the parties attempted to renegotiate the deal, after more than a year of negotiations, the City decided to terminate the Agreement, the investor has initiated request for arbitration, but his claims have been rejected.

cally significant differences in 8 CSF between the two countries.

When we focus on the use of PPP in cultural heritage, it relates to several types of risks. According to Rypkema and Cheong (2016) the risks connected to cultural heritage projects can be categorized into six categories: design/development risk (design defects, failure to meet heritage conservation standards...); revenue and operating risk (cost overruns; failure or delay in obtaining permission, consents, approval...); financial risk (unpredicted changes in exchange and interest rates); unexpected event risk (riots, strikes...); unexpected political events (breach or cancellation of contract expropriation, failure to obtain or renew approval...) and environmental risk (destructive environmental events).

SELECTED CASES OF FDI IN CONNECTION WITH CULTURAL HERITAGE

In Table 1 we present four cases of foreign investments with influences on different types of cultural heritage, as presented in the literature or accessed in other publicly available sources. For every business case we propose a short description of the investment project, connected problems concerning the cultural heritage, and the project's outcome.

The four cases presented in Table 1 include several characteristics that can be observed. First, the cultural heritage implications described were not of the same type. We can list tangible (Noto Valley, Heuersdorf and Vilnius) and intangible type of cultural heritage implications (Imperial County). Three investment

¹⁰ Source: Vadi (2008); <https://2009-2017.state.gov/s/l/c10986.htm> (last access: 26. 6. 2020); Bernasconi-Osterwalder & Johnson (2011).



Image 1: Cathedral in Noto, Sicily (Photo: Sabrina Mazzeo, Unsplash).

projects were in the domain of mining (Noto Valley, Heuersdorf and Imperial County) and one in construction (Vilnius). For two cases the problems have been resolved by additional agreements made between the local authorities and foreign investors (Noto Valley and Heuersdorf). Both agreements resulted in the successful continuation of the projects. The other two cases (Imperial County and Vilnius) have not been resolved locally and the claims of the investors have been considered in the process of international arbitration. The alleged treaty violations of the latter projects were:

Imperial County:¹¹ (1) certain federal government actions and California measures with respect to open-pit mining operations resulted in the expropriation of its investments and (2) denied its investments the minimum standard of treatment under international law,

Vilnius:¹² (1) equitable and reasonable treatment/fair and equitable treatment, (2) expropriation, (3) most favoured nation treatment and (4) protection/full protection and security.

In both cases all foreign investors' claims have been rejected by the arbitration court.

11 Source: <https://2009-2017.state.gov/s/l/c10986.htm> (last access: 26. 6. 2020).

12 Source: <https://www.iisd.org/itn/2018/10/18/parkerings-v-lithuania/> (last access: 26. 6. 2020).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the literature review and case analysis we propose several conclusions concerning the relationship between the topics of FDI, cultural heritage, risk management and PPP.

Foreign direct investments are not welcome in every country or at least not in every sector, although in the last decades there is a clear worldwide trend in trade and investment liberalization. This phenomenon is formally enabled by the growing number of international agreements (formal institutions). However, these general agreements cannot define how to resolve all possible obstacles which may occur in connection to specific projects. Besides that, the numerous obstacles to international investments also remain in the form of informal institutions which cannot be addressed either easily, quickly or directly by changes in the legislation. In such cases especially, the importance of a strategic management approach from the investor's side, which includes efficient project risk management, is crucial for the success of the FDI project.



Image 2: Emmaus church in Heuersdorf, Germany (Wikimedia Commons).



Image 3: Example of the open-pit gold mine (Photo: Curioso Photography, Unsplash).

The analysis of the four presented cases from the risk management perspective reveals that the claims of both investors in front of arbitration court have been rejected. The logical question linked to the project risk management issue and which rises from all four cases presented is: what could have been done differently in connection to the cultural heritage issues of the projects? In other words, were the cultural heritage issues unpredictable for the foreign investors so they were incapable to evaluate the connected project risk? Or they have just been badly managed and their (potentially) negative influence underestimated in the risk assessment phase?

On the basis of publicly available information

we claim the answer concerning unpredictability is mostly negative. The Noto Valley's natural characteristic (prone to earthquakes and volcanoes eruptions) was known environmental fact. The Emmaus Church was there already for 750 years. The sites of American natives were ancestral cultural heritage. Finally, the Vilnius Historic Centre has been included on the World Heritage List since 1994.

It seems that the effort invested in risk management was insufficient during the projects' preparation phases. However, investors' reactions to the problems that occurred in the Noto Valley and Emmaus project could be evaluated as appropriate. This was not the case for the last two presented projects where the ar-



Image 4: Old town of Vilnius, Lithuania (Photo: Courtesy of Vilnius Tourist Information Centre).

bitration procedure has been followed by the investors with equally negative results for the claimants.

As we have already argued, most of the information about the four projects' potential problems concerning cultural heritage issues had been publicly available. There are basically two most probable reasons they weren't considered appropriately: insufficient risk assessment in the project preparation phase and absence of general cross-cultural sensitivity from the investor's side; the latter should already have been included since the first project phase. For the purpose of evaluating investors' behaviour in all presented cases we may also use the information flow about decision-making on risks as proposed by Hanson and Aven (2014, 1178). Using this model, it seems that investors either did not consult the appropriate 'knowledge base' or the 'broad risk evaluation' phase was not conducted properly.

As also proposed by the analysis of the four case studies, the FDI projects in direct or indirect connection to cultural heritage may be strongly influenced by both types of obstacles based on formal and informal institutions. When the obstacle appears, the appropriate reaction of investors can save the project's outcome although it may suffer from lower efficiency. In the case of wrong, delayed or even absent reaction of investors, the project itself may be endangered and

the outcome strongly differentiated from what was initially desired.

Still, the real question is not about how to resolve the problems when they appear but rather what approach and risk-management connected activities in the crucial, project planning phase, should be used in order to first avoid the predictable obstacles but also to more effectively and efficiently manage the non-expected events in the project execution and finalization phase.

In verifying the risk management topic for PPP projects, we conclude that it is under the attention of academics especially in the last decade. However, based on the literature reviewed we may observe that the project management risks in connection to cultural heritage issues are not listed explicitly. Certainly, they may be included within other listed types of CRF or CSF, such as: government intervention, political/public opposition, legislation changes, etc. But, also in these cases, the appropriate management of risks within the PPP indirectly suggests having a positive impact on the risks connected to the cultural heritage issues.

This overview of literature and case analysis brings us back to the basic research question of our contribution: can the use of PPP in FDI projects connected

to cultural heritage positively influence the expected project's outcome? We argue there are several arguments that support a positive answer. Using the well-known CAGE framework (Ghemawat, 2001) the main differences in shifting from domestic to international business can be classified within four types of distance between domestic and foreign country: cultural; administrative and political; geographic and economic distance.

Using PPP in FDI projects can have a positive impact on diminishing the importance of the before-mentioned distances since the local (public) partner would serve as the perfect source of information for the foreign investor.

This can be especially true for FDI projects in cultural heritage since the public sector is normally considered a protector of the country's culture and heritage (Macdonald, 2011) and, by consequence, public opinion (informal institution) can be quickly negatively manipulated when foreign investors alone might negatively impact any kind of national cultural heritage. The role of domestic (public) partner is thus also to be the partner who guarantees that the cultural heritage remains unharmed.

Besides that, the investment projects in cultural heritage are generally considered as relatively low profitable, so the partnership can be seen by both parties also as a cost-sharing approach.

When cultural heritage is only indirectly connected with the main FDI project, the situation is not so obvious for any of the potential PPP partners. The issues about protection of cultural heritage may only appear in the advanced project phase (e.g. in the area of mining) when the legal base of the project has already been well defined. The renegotiation or potential change of the legal framework of the PPP would require serious effort without a necessarily fruitful result for both the contractual parties. We argue that it is thus crucial that the potential cultural heritage issues are resolved previously, maybe as a separate (smaller) project in the scope of PPP with

the local partner which may create a healthy foundation for the 'normal' (bigger) investment project in the second phase. This kind of first, separate project, not necessarily cost-intensive, could also serve as an 'entry ticket' to the foreign market and a toll to effectively manage potential issues with local authorities and public opinion but also as an appropriate strategic approach to international expansion where country risk is well managed.

CONCLUSION

FDI projects often lack a cultural sensitivity dimension even in cases without any connection to cultural heritage. When cultural heritage is directly or indirectly connected to the investment project, then additional CRF/CSF may appear. Certainly, the investment should ensure its information sources on the country are the most informative and up to date, so they can be managed well and early enough to avoid any unexpected barriers to the project.

By its very basic reason for existence, local authorities play a double role from the foreign investor's perspective. First, they define the 'rules of the game', the legal framework which must be considered by the investor. And secondly, the local authorities are also interested in successful projects. However, the PPP approach may not only be proposed by the local authorities but also by the potential foreign investor whose project is directly or indirectly connected to local heritage. In creating a partnership with local partners, the project risk management gains are obvious since both project parties will take all necessary steps to avoid possible problems which might endanger the project in its execution phase.

We hope that we proposed a comprehensive qualitative explanation of the potentially positive role of a PPP framework in FDI projects connected to cultural heritage. The next step in our research could represent an empirical evaluation of a real FDI project realised within the proposed framework.

TUJE NEPOSREDNE NALOŽBE, KULTURNA DEDIŠČINA IN JAVNO-ZASEBNO PARTNERSTVO: BOLJŠI PRISTOP ZA VLAGATELJE?

Zoran VAUPOT

Katoliški inštitut, Fakulteta za pravo in poslovne vede, Krekov trg 1, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenija
e-mail: zoran.vaupot@kat-inst.si

POVZETEK

Vse od osemdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja dalje beležimo rast obsega tujih neposrednih naložb (TNN) v svetovnem merilu. Velika večina znanstvenih raziskav jasno potrjuje pozitiven neto vpliv TNN za države prejemnice. Toda vsaj v nekaterih državah so v preteklosti že obstajale formalne ali neformalne ovire za tuje vlagatelje in to velja tudi v današnjih časih. Kulturna dediščina je še posebej občutljivo območje za tovrstne naložbe. Zato tuji vlagatelji zlahka najdejo svoje projekte, neposredno ali posredno povezane s kulturno dediščino, pod negativnimi vplivi strogih lokalnih oblasti in nasprotujočega javnega mnenja. Oboji lahko ogrozijo želeni rezultat projekta. V naši raziskavi poskušamo odgovoriti, ali bi uporaba pristopa javno-zasebnega partnerstva (JZP) za projekte TNN, ki so neposredno ali posredno povezani s kulturno dediščino, lahko zagotovila boljše obvladovanje projektne tveganja in posledično želeni rezultat projekta. Ugotovitve pregleda literature, povezane z dejavniki in ovirami za TNN, odnosi med TNN, kulturno dediščino, JZP, projektom in državnim tveganjem so uporabljene pri analizi štirih poslovnih primerov TNN v povezavi s kulturno dediščino. Splošna ugotovitev je, da lahko uporaba JZP v projektih TNN, povezanih s kulturno dediščino, vpliva pozitivno.

Ključne besede: tuje neposredne naložbe (TNN), kulturna dediščina, obvladovanje tveganj, javno-zasebno partnerstvo (JZP)

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Absalyamov, T. (2015):** Tatarstan Model of Public-Private Partnership in the Field of Cultural Heritage Preservation. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 188, 214–217.
- Aven, T. (2016):** Risk Assessment and Risk Management: Review of Recent Advances on their Foundation. *European Journal of Operational Research*, 253, 1, 1–13.
- Bernasconi-Osterwalder, N. & L. Johnson (2011):** International Investment Law and Sustainable Development: Key Cases from 2000–2010. International Institute for Sustainable Development.
- Bevan, A. A. & S. Estrin (2000):** The Determinants of Foreign Direct Investment in Transition Economies. *William Davidson Institute*, 342, 1–57.
- Bhalla, B. (1983):** How Corporations Should Weigh Up Country Risk. *Euromoney*, 66–72.
- Bishoff, L. & N. Allen (2004):** Business Planning for Cultural Heritage Institutions. A Framework and Resource Guide to Assist Cultural Heritage Institutions with Business Planning for Sustainability of Digital Asset Management Programs. Council on Library and Information Resources.
- Bitzenis, A. (2006):** Decisive FDI Barriers that Affect Multinationals' Business in a Transition Country. *Global Business and Economics Review*, 8, 1-2, 87–118.
- Bitzenis, A. P. & V. P. Žugić (2016):** Barriers for FDI in Serbia: Evidence from the Manufacturing Sector. *Global Business and Economics Review*, 18, 2, 227–246.
- Butler, K. & D. Joaquin (1998):** A Note on Political Risk and the Required Return on Foreign Direct Investment. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 3, 3, 599–607.
- Cagliano, A. C., Grimaldi, S. & C. Rafele (2015):** Choosing Project Risk Management Techniques. A Theoretical Framework. *Journal of Risk Research*, 18, 2, 232–248.
- McKercher, B. & H. Du Cros, (2002):** Cultural Tourism: The Partnership between Tourism and Cultural Heritage Management. *Tourism Analysis*. Routledge, Abingdon.
- Carvalho, M. M. D. & R. Rabechini Junior (2015):** Impact of Risk Management on Project Performance: The Importance of Soft Skills. *International Journal of Production Research*, 53, 2, 321–340.
- Chan, A. P. C. et al. (2014):** Cross-sectional Analysis of Critical Risk Factors for PPP Water Projects in China. *Journal of Infrastructure Systems*, 21, 04014031.
- Chapman, C. & S. Ward (2003):** Project Risk Management: Processes, Techniques and Insights. Chichester, John Wiley & Sons Ltd.
- Chou, J. S. & D. Pramudawardhani (2015):** Cross-country Comparisons of Key Drivers, Critical Success Factors and Risk Allocation for Public-private Partnership Projects. *International Journal of Project Management*, 33, 5, 1136–1150.
- Coase, R. (2002):** The New Institutional Economics. In: Brousseau, E. & J.-M. Glachant (eds): *The Economics of Contracts: Theories and Applications*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 45–48.
- Cooke, P. (2006):** Building a Partnership Model to Manage Irish Heritage: A Policy Tools Analysis. *Irish Journal of Management*, 27, 2, 75–97.
- De Germiny, L. I. (2013):** Considerations Before Investing Near a UNESCO World Heritage Site. *Transnational Dispute Management (TDM)*, 10, 5, 1–11.
- Dunning, J. (1979):** Toward an Eclectic Theory of International Production: Some Empirical Tests. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 11, 1, 9–31.
- Fang, C. et al. (2012):** Network Theory-based Analysis of Risk Interactions in Large Engineering Projects. *Reliability Engineering & System Safety*, 106, 1–10.
- Ferri, P. & L. Zan (2017):** Partnerships for Heritage Conservation: Evidence from the Archaeological Site of Herculaneum. *Journal of Management and Governance*, 21, 1, 1–25.
- Ghemawat, P. (2001):** Distance Still Matters. *Harvard Business Review*, 79, 137–147.
- Gražulevičlūtė, I. (2006):** Cultural Heritage in the Context of Sustainable Development. *Environmental Research, Engineering & Management*, 37, 3, 74–79.
- Hansson, S. O. & T. Aven (2014):** Is Risk Analysis Scientific? *Risk Analysis*, 34, 7, 1173–1183.
- Helmke, G. & S. Levitsky (2004):** Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda. *Perspectives on Politics*, 2, 4, 725–740.
- Jelinčić, D. A. et al. (2017):** Public-private Partnership in Cultural Heritage Sector. *Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences*, 74–89.
- Key, V. O. (1961):** *Public Opinion and American Democracy*. New York, Knopf.
- Khorassani, M. S. et al. (2019):** Environmental and Social Impact Assessment of Cultural Heritage Restoration and its Application to the Uncastillo Fortress. *The International Journal of Life Cycle Assessment*, 24, 7, 1297–1318.
- Kikwasi, G. (2018):** Critical Success Factors for Effective Risk Management. *Risk Management Treatise for Engineering Practitioners*. IntechOpen.
- Kwak, Y. H. & F. T. Anbari (2009):** Analyzing Project Management Research: Perspectives from Top Management Journals. *International Journal of Project Management*, 27, 5, 435–446.
- Labadi, S. & C. Long (2010):** *Heritage and Globalisation*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, Routledge.

- Liu, T., Wang, Y. & S. Wilkinson (2016):** Identifying Critical Factors Affecting the Effectiveness and Efficiency of Tendering Processes in Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs): A Comparative Analysis of Australia and China. *International Journal of Project Management*, 34, 4, 701–716.
- Macdonald, S. (2011):** Leveraging Heritage: Public-private and Third Sector Partnerships for the Conservation of the Historic Urban Environment. *Icomos*, 1, 1, 893–904.
- Macdonald, S. & C. Cheong (2014):** The Role of Public-private Partnerships and the Third Sector in Conserving Heritage Buildings, Sites, and Historic Urban Areas. Los Angeles, Getty Conservation Institute.
- Madura, J. (2000):** International Financial Management. St. Paul, South Western College Publishing.
- Masele, F. (2012):** Private Business Investments in Heritage Sites in Tanzania: Recent Developments and Challenges for Heritage Management. *African Archaeological Review*, 29, 1, 51–65.
- McGowan, Jr. C. B. & S. E. Moeller (2009):** A Model for Making Foreign Direct Investment Decisions Using Real Variables for Political and Economic Risk Analysis. *Managing Global Transitions*, 7, 1, 27–44.
- Mondolo, J. (2019):** How do Informal Institutions Influence Inward FDI? A Systematic Review. *Economia Politica*, 36, 1, 167–204.
- Richards, G. (2001):** Cultural Attractions and European Tourism. Cabi.
- North, D. C. (1991):** Institutions. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 5, 1, 97–112.
- North, D. C. (2005):** Understanding the Process of Economic Change. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Osei-Kyei, R. & A. P. C. Chan (2015):** Review of Studies on the Critical Success Factors for Public-private Partnership (PPP) Projects from 1990 to 2013. *International Journal of Project Management*, 33, 6, 1335–1346.
- Pejovich, S. (1999):** The Effects of the Interaction of Formal and Informal Institutions on Social Stability and Economic Development. *Journal of Markets & Morality*, 2, 2, 164–181.
- Pournakakis, M. & N. Varsakelis (2004):** Institutions, Internationalization and FDI: the Case of Economies in Transition. *Transnational Corporations*, 13, 2, 77–94.
- Raz, T. & E. Michael (2001):** Use and Benefits of Tools for Project Risk Management. *International Journal of Project Management*, 19, 1, 9–17.
- Raz, T., Shenhar, A. J. & D. Dvir (2002):** Risk Management, Project Success, and Technological Uncertainty. *R&D Management*, 32, 2, 101–109.
- Robinson, T. W. (1961):** National Interest. In: Rosenau, J. N. (ed.): *International Politics and Foreign Policy: A Reader in Research and Theory*. New York, Free Press, 184–185.
- Rockart, J. F. (1982):** The Changing Role of the Information Systems Executive: a Critical Success Factors Perspective. Sloan School of Management, Proceedings of the International Conference on Information Systems. MIT.
- Rodney, E. et al. (2015):** An Integrated Management Approach of the Project and Project Risks. *IFAC-PapersOnLine*, 28, 3, 535–540.
- Rypkema, D. & C. Cheong (2016):** Cultural Heritage and Public-private Partnership. In: Rypkema, D. & H. Mikic (ed.): *Cultural Heritage and Creative Industries*. Creative Economy Group Foundation, Belgrade, 25–35.
- Sauvant, K. P. & H. Mann (2017):** Towards an Indicative List of FDI Sustainability Characteristics. Geneva, ICTSD and WEF.
- Seyoum, B. (2011):** Informal Institutions and Foreign Direct Investment. *Journal of economic issues*, 45, 4, 917–940.
- Soederlund, J. (2004):** Building Theories of Project Management: Past Research, Questions for the Future. *International Journal of Project Management*, 22, 3, 183–191.
- Starr, F. (2010):** The Business of Heritage and the Private Sector. In: Labadi, S. and C. Long (ed.): *Heritage and Globalisation*. London, Routledge, 147–169.
- Timothy, D. J. & G. P. Nyaupane (2009):** Cultural Heritage and Tourism in the Developing World: A Regional Perspective. London, Routledge.
- Titi, C. (2017):** International Dispute Settlement in Cultural Heritage Law and in the Protection of Foreign Investment: Is Cross-Fertilization Possible? *Journal of International Dispute Settlement*, 8, 3, 535–556.
- Vadi, V. S. (2008):** Cultural Heritage and International Investment Law: A Stormy Relationship. *International Journal of Cultural Property*, 15, 1, 1–24.
- Vaupot, S. (2018):** Cultural Evolution, Memes, and Proper Names. In: Seel, O. (ed.): *Redefining Translation and Interpretation in Cultural Evolution*. Hershey, IGI Global, 84–103.
- Vaupot, Z. & M. Fornazarič (2019):** Print Media and Foreign Direct Investments: Creating Public Opinion in Slovenia. *The USV Annals of Economics and Public Administration*, 19, 1 (29), 29–36.
- Wang, Y. (2015):** Evolution of Public-private Partnership Models in American Toll Road Development: Learning Based on Public Institutions' Risk Management. *International Journal of Project Management*, 33, 3, 684–696.

Webb, R. & B. Pulle (2002): Public Private Partnerships: An Introduction. Research paper no. 1 2002-03. Information and Research Services. Canberra, Department of the Parliamentary Library.

Williams, T. (1995): A Classified Bibliography of Recent Research Relating to Project Risk Management. *European Journal of Operational Research*, 85, 1, 18–38.

Williamson, O. E. (1975): Markets and Hierarchies: Analysis and Antitrust Implications: A Study in the Economics of Internal Organization. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign's Academy for Entrepreneurial Leadership Historical Research Reference in Entrepreneurship.

World Heritage Convention (WHC). Available at: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/convention/> (last access: 26. 6. 2020).

EX-ANTE EVALUATION OF HERITAGE MANAGEMENT PLANS: PREREQUISITE FOR ACHIEVING SUSTAINABILITY

Daniela Angelina JELINČIĆ

Institute for Development and International Relations, Lj. Farkaša Vukotinovića 2, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia
e-mail: daniela@irmo.hr

Sanja TIŠMA

Institute for Development and International Relations, Lj. Farkaša Vukotinovića 2, 10000 Zagreb, Croatia
e-mail: sanja.tisma@irmo.hr

ABSTRACT

The article explains the meaning and the role of cultural heritage management plans. It points out to the importance of heritage management plans evaluation and different types of evaluation methods. The usual types of evaluation of plans/programmes involves ex-ante, mid-term and ex-post evaluation. The article examines the appropriateness of ex-ante evaluation on the case study of Integrated Built Heritage Revitalization Plan (IBHRP) of the old urban core of the City of Buzet, Croatia. Based on a theoretical approach to ex-ante evaluation, a set of conceptual evaluation questions has been designed which was then tested against challenges detected by the Plan. Ex-ante evaluation and all of the designed questions responding to the criteria (relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, coherence, sustainability, usefulness, consistency, complementarity, harmonization, acceptability and equal opportunities) have been found appropriate in the heritage management plans evaluation.

Keywords: cultural heritage, heritage management plans, ex-ante evaluation of a management plan, Buzet

VALUTAZIONE EX ANTE DEI PIANI DI GESTIONE DEL PATRIMONIO: PREREQUISITI DELLA SOSTENIBILITÀ

SINTESI

Questo articolo spiega il significato il ruolo dei piani di gestione del patrimonio culturale. Sottolinea l'importanza della valutazione dei piani di gestione del patrimonio e dei diversi tipi di metodi di valutazione. I soliti tipi di valutazione di piani / programmi prevedono una valutazione ex ante, intermedia ed ex post. Il documento esamina l'adeguatezza della valutazione ex ante sul caso di studio del Piano di rivitalizzazione del patrimonio integrato (IBHRP) del vecchio nucleo urbano della città di Buzet, Croazia. Sulla base di un approccio teorico alla valutazione ex ante, sono state progettate una serie di domande di valutazione concettuale che sono state poi testate rispetto alle sfide individuate dal Piano. La valutazione ex ante e tutte le domande progettate che rispondono ai criteri (pertinenza, efficacia, efficienza, coerenza, sostenibilità, utilità, coerenza, complementarità, armonizzazione, accettabilità e pari opportunità) sono state ritenute appropriate nella valutazione dei piani di gestione del patrimonio.

Parole chiave: patrimonio culturale, piani di gestione del patrimonio, valutazione ex-ante di piani di gestione, Pingente

INTRODUCTION

Cultural heritage is expression of the identity of the inheritors, document of history, but also significant developmental resource. Contemporary way of life as well as high maintenance costs are often the cause of its decay. Therefore, careful planning and management of cultural heritage is of crucial importance in order to prevent its irretrievable disappearance but also to draw investments such as public-private partnership. Clear and concise cultural heritage management plans are fundamental for this purpose. They are also a prerequisite for preservation, protection and use of cultural heritage by the community, i.e. external visitors, thus contributing to the development in terms of employment, tourism, education and research. This implies clear vision, goals and activities. However, plans are rarely submitted to the procedure of external evaluation that could strengthen and additionally direct the planned activities. External evaluation is usually conducted in the phase of the plan preparation, at the halfway of implementation period and at the end. Every evaluation contributes to the quality of the plan and its practical feasibility.

CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT PLANS

Cultural heritage management plans imply appropriate analysis, goals, activities and implementation structures that manage and develop cultural heritage in an efficient and sustainable way. The purpose of such plans is to balance and coordinate cultural heritage needs with the needs of its users and responsible management bodies (UNESCO, 2013). Heritage management plan can be defined as a “*document that sets out what is significant in a site or monument as a basis for understanding its important qualities, in order to determine the action necessary to protect and manage it*” (Edinburgh World Heritage Site, 2005, 10).

UNESCO stipulates mandatory management plans for cultural heritage sites while cultural heritage categorized in a different way usually does not possess planning documents in practice. This is also due to the diversity of cultural heritage types, which makes it difficult to find one model as the example for all cultural heritage assets so the owners/

managers reluctantly decide to make plans. The existing plans differ noticeably in their structure, volume, and approach because they depend on the context, on the nature of the management plan, i.e. cultural heritage type. Thus, for instance, an urban management plan will considerably differ from the individual cultural heritage asset management plan. The difference between plans also depends on the character of the primary management system. However, to manage a site without planning can be detrimental, risking to lose authenticity, values, significance and integrity (Castellanos, cited in Abdel-Moneim, 2010).

Usually, management plans provide a description of the cultural heritage with the information on its conservation state; management system description (legislative, regulatory and policy frames; management structure and implementation practice); horizontal themes (state of the plan comparing to other development plans); management strategy (vision and goals of the cultural heritage management with the action plan, which implies finances as well); description of the protection mechanisms and risk management strategy; reference to the preservation of the values of the cultural heritage, education and public awareness raising; vision of sustainable exploitation and plans for future (implementation plan and monitoring).

Elaboration of cultural heritage management plans in Croatia has recently been aggravated by a range of difficulties. *Strategy of Preservation, Protection and Sustainable Economic Use of Cultural Heritage for the Period 2011–2015* stresses the need for improvement and elaboration of plans and programs of the exploitation and management of cultural heritage (Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske, 2011). However, among the greatest problems in elaboration of plans are unresolved ownership rights and disorderly managed land registers,¹ aggravated identification of borders of cultural landscapes,² inexistence of clearly defined contact zones for cultural goods entered into UNESCO List of Cultural Heritage,³ along with a range of lesser procedural and other difficulties. Therefore, the number of management plans for Croatian sites is extraordinary low. Although UNESCO stipulates obligation to elaborate management plans for world heritage sites, not all of cultural goods thus categorized in Croatia possesses such documentation.⁴ There are sporadic

1 Particularly in case of archaeological sites where there is so called double registry merging both that what is above and what is below the soil surface so the ownership of the cadastral parcels expands to the underground ones making an integrative management of site impossible. It has been solved only recently with the new *Act on changes and amendments to the Act on the protection and preservation of cultural goods* (NN 90/2018) adopted in September 2018.

2 Which made impossible the entrance into the Cultural Goods Registry due to the need to make the inventory of an enormous number of cadastral parcels. However, this was also solved with the new Act from the previous note (NN 90/2018).

3 Which, before the changes by the mentioned new Act (NN 90/2018), practically meant that the conservator's agreement had to be issued for every intervention thus prolonging the process and actually aggravating the job.

4 6 sites possess such plan, 2 of them being natural heritage sites. At the establishment of the World cultural heritage list, the management plan was not a part of the obligatory documentation, while actual candidacy procedure envisages its elaboration and submission together with the candidacy. Thus, most recently entered heritage – Stari Grad plain, Stećci (Medieval Tombstone Graveyards), Beech forests and Venetian defence system (Zadar, Šibenik) possess management plans elaborated within the candidacy procedure. For serial transnational heritage, besides the elaborated joint management plan, individual plans should be elaborated for each particular heritage site and currently the elaboration of the management plan for the Fortress of St. Nicholas in Šibenik is under way. Also, the first management plan for the Old Town Dubrovnik is being elaborated. Subsequently, the management plan for Plitvice Lakes was elaborated, and is in force. The Split Diocletian Palace management plan although elaborated has not been adopted (Tomislav Petrinec and Mirna Sabljak, Ministry of Culture, personal communication, December 2018 and January 2019).

plans for other cultural goods, but there is no integrated system of their registering so no precise number can be quoted.⁵ Conservation studies are a prerequisite for elaboration of management plans, but most of Croatian cultural goods do not have that type of documentation.⁶ Correspondingly, scarce existing management plans have passed the external assessment procedure in their preparation phase while their implementation is not being either monitored or evaluated.

MANAGEMENT PLAN EVALUATION

Management plan evaluation is periodical assessment of its relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, impact and sustainability in the context of achieving previously defined long-term goals. The goal of evaluation is to increase the effectiveness of management plan, which can subsequently also impact community development. It is conducted as an independent analysis of its preparation and implementation with the aim to reach conclusions and recommendations that are a signpost of change and foundation for future decisions. Also, the purpose of every evaluation is learning and acquiring experiences of all stakeholders involved in the process.

The plan/programme evaluation procedure is widely spread within the European Union and it ensures credibility and topicality of developmental breakthroughs (Maleković & Tišma, 2011). There are individual examples of heritage management plans and they have been scientifically researched (e.g. De Medici, De Toro & Nocca, 2019; Benali Aoudia & Chennaoui, 2019). Also, evaluation methods in this field have been developed and researched (e.g. Throsby, 2016; Mrak, 2014; Nared & Razpotnik Visković, 2014). However, evaluation of plans and programmes dealing with the development of heritage is not so common. Scarcity of cultural heritage evaluations should also be sought in the fact that cultural topics often make up only part of a widely set development documents dealing with local or regional development. There are also projects dealing with the development of cities, spatial planning, environmental protection whose dependable part is cultural heritage. Moreover, justification for performing evaluation even in such complex cases relies on the need to achieve consensus between different (public and private) interests while aiming at a holistic sustainable development and enabling easier decision-making (Lombardi, 1999).

There are three fundamental types of plans evaluation: ex-ante evaluation, mid-term evaluation and ex-post evaluation (Samset & Christensen, 2017). Ex-ante evaluation is a process that supports and monitors elaboration of plans and verifies if the quality goals are determined and realistic activities selected in the sense of available resources for their implementation. Mid-term evaluation of the plans' implementation enables measuring of progress and level

of success in the implementation of the planned activities and it is usually conducted at the mid-term of the envisaged implementation deadline. It provides opportunity to check if the set goals are still topical and if the plan implementation develops in the right direction. Ex-post evaluation is conducted at the end of the planned period and includes collective findings on the achievement of goals and sets the framework for future activities and planning (Samset & Christensen, 2017).

Majority of evaluation studies "assess the quality of plans – including their scope, the clarity and practicality of their aims, and their relevance to on-ground management" (Hockings et al., 2006, 20). Results of evaluations are further matched with management decisions and serve to increase quality, provide timely adjustments of the plan to the changes in the environment, transparency and trust of the public, political support, more efficient financial management, learning of all the participants in the elaboration process and plan implementation, innovations, motivation of employees expected to implement the plan or justification of their change and termination (Maleković & Tišma, 2011).

Regardless the evaluation type conducted, basic principles of the entire procedure are transparency, clear evaluation methodology, impartiality and independence, while key criteria are as follows (Samset & Christensen, 2017) and are presented in Table 1:

- Relevance, i.e. assessment of the consistency of the plan regarding the problem currently being solved as well as the context and environment in which the change is unfolded,
- Effectiveness as the level of achievement of the expected effects i.e. objectives set,
- Efficiency through ensuring ratio of cost and benefits, i.e. achieved results concerning reasonable implementation costs,
- Impact by which contribution to the general goal of the plan (intervention) is evaluated and its cumulative positive or negative contribution, and
- Sustainability as potential for long-term positive impact of the development planning document and capacities of various groups interested in further continuation of the proposed activities.

Depending on the object of evaluation, it is possible to include some other criteria as well. In case of cultural heritage management plans, it is recommendable to evaluate also coherence, usefulness and consistence, but some other criteria as well, i.e. complementarity, coordination, equality and acceptability.

Coherence or compatibility as evaluation criterion includes internal and external harmonization of the plan. External harmonization considers harmonization with goals and

⁵ For instance, the Euphrasian Basilica in Poreč management plan was elaborated within the framework of EX.PO AUS, IPA Adriatic Cross-border Cooperation Programme 2007–2013.

⁶ Mirna Sabljak, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, personal communication, December 2018.

Table 1: Evaluation criteria with corresponding questions.

Evaluation criteria	Evaluation questions
Relevance	To what extent are the programme goals justified as compared to the needs? Do they match local, national and European priorities?
Effectiveness	To what extent the goals have been achieved? Have the used interventions and instruments produced the expected results? Would more results have been achieved if different instruments had been used?
Efficiency	Are the goals achieved with the lowest costs? Is the obtained value proportional to the invested money? Are the changes in planning necessary in order to simplify and increase efficiency? If the answer is yes, what changes are needed?
Impact	What is the contribution to the general goals of the plan? What are the defined monitoring identifiers? What is the achieved planned/not planned or positive/negative contribution to the plan?
Sustainability	Will the results and impacts, including institutional changes last? Will the impact last even if the public financing ceases? What long-term (development) impacts are envisaged?

priorities of superimposed programmes, e.g. other public programmes connected with the planning document while internal harmonization implies existence of the hierarchy of goals where hierarchically lower goals logically contribute to the realization of those on the top. Usefulness in ex-ante evaluation observes the plan within a wider framework of relevant public policies in the context of the need for realization and provision of public good or service to the local community. It also observes to what extent the expected effects meet the needs of the direct and indirect users. Consistence as evaluation criterion explores clarity and observance of goals and priorities with regard to the vision set in the plan. Complementarity evaluates the degree in which the intervention supports other public policies. Coordination evaluates to what extent the measures of the intervention are organized in such a way that amplifies common effects. Equality as an ex-ante evaluation criterion measures to what extent the effects are equally distributed regarding stakeholders, regions, gender identity and acceptability. It evaluates positive or negative perception of the intervention from the point of view of stakeholders and general public

Generally, there is a number of evaluation models relating to different fields (e.g. environment, business) that can be adapted to heritage evaluation. However, numerous facets of heritage management make it an extremely complex and all-encompassing process, which in practice often prevents any evaluation to be made. Thus, heritage management may be evaluated from the environmental point of view where Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) (Eccleston, 2011), Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) (Fischer, 2007) or matrix model (Leopold et al., 1971) may be appropriate; from the point of view of its impact on the local community, Community Impact Evaluation (CIE) will be used (Bottero,

2020). Further on, there are evaluation models adapted to specific type of heritage, e.g. for assessing archaeological impact (Campeol & Pizzinato, 2007) or landscape evaluations (National Park Service, s.a.). On the other hand, there are more generic evaluation models such as SWOT analysis, Spider model (Rienstra, 1998), Flag model (Vreeker & Nijkamp, 2006), Economic-business model (Ovans, 2015), etc. In order to make a comprehensive assessment, a multi-criterial evaluation model would be most appropriate drawing evaluations from different disciplines (Mrak, 2014). This, however may be a rather complex task. Specifically related to heritage evaluation, Kalman method (Kalman, 1979) is known. However, it is not necessarily appropriate for evaluating heritage management plans. In order to attract a private partner for heritage site management, management plans need to solve existing problems and respond to detected needs. Before the decision on public-private partnership is made, both public and private partners would benefit from heritage management plan evaluation in order to assess challenges and benefits of such a partnership. Nared and Razpotnik Visković claim that (2014, 107) *“managing cultural sites should include ex-ante evaluation in order to examine whether the management plan prepared suitably responds to the challenges of the area or site”*. This is why the research performed is based on the ex-ante evaluation method.

EX-ANTE EVALUATION OF THE HERITAGE MANAGEMENT PLANS: CASE STUDY OF BUZET

Research and methodology

The research aimed to test the evaluation criteria prepared by the authors by performing the ex-ante evaluation



Image 1: Old urban core of Buzet (Integrated Built Heritage Revitalisation Plan (Buzet)).

of the Integrated Built Heritage Revitalization Plan (IBHRP) of the City of Buzet, Croatia. The research questions were the following: Is ex-ante evaluation appropriate method for integrated heritage management plan evaluation? Can all of the usual and additional (coherence, usefulness and consistency) criteria be successfully applied in ex-ante evaluation of integrated heritage management plans?

Methodology applied included desk research, focus group analysis, case study method and testing. Desk research served to set the context; focus groups determined the challenges of the area in question, which were then tested against the set evaluation criteria and corresponding questions on the case study of IBHRP of the City of Buzet. The testing has been done by using the basic criteria for the ex-ante evaluation. These were divided into two groups: the first group contains five basic criteria, while the second contains six additional criteria, which were assumed to have relevance in the field of cultural heritage. The criteria were set by the authors, based on Samset and Christensen's work (2017) as well as on the authors' conceptual questions designed on their experience in the field. The usual criterion of impact was not used in the evaluation testing since it was not defined as monitoring indicator during the IBHRP preparation. Thus, beside standard ex-ante evaluation criteria and questions posed in the evaluation of public policies, programmes and development plans, evaluation was expanded with additional evaluation criteria including assessment of interventions' adjustment concerning the need for preservation and sustainable use of cultural heritage. The research was performed during 2017–2018 period.

Such an approach to the evaluation of plans and projects is in many ways unique, which made its implementation quite difficult. First, it was the elaboration of an IBHRP for an area where local residents live and which is not adjusted to the contemporary way of life, which contains protected cultural heritage that demands urgent renewal and a new purpose. Therefore, during the elaboration of the plan as well as afterwards, during the ex-ante evaluation, a range of different needs and stakeholders' points of view about the development of the area were confronted. Second, ex-ante evaluation in this case was a powerful tool for testing justification and consistence of the proposed interventions in the Plan through the process of involvement of a number of actors in its elaboration. The sensitiveness of the topic, significant capital investments the Plan implies, public sources of funding and benefits the community will have and, especially, the possibility to involve private partners in the consideration of sustainability of the area covered by the Plan is one of the key reasons for defining additional evaluation criteria and questions of evolution adjusted to the subtle assessment of interventions in cultural heritage.

Context

Old urban core of Buzet has the status of the protected cultural heritage of the Republic of Croatia. The goal of the revitalization of the old urban core is functionality of some buildings, boosting of social life and economic development (entrepreneurship and tourism), and is based on preserved heritage (Ivandić et al., 2017). In order to exploit

Table 2: Key challenges and expected benefits detected by the IBHRP of the City of Buzet (Source: focus groups and Ivandić et al., 2017).

Key challenges	Expected benefits
lack of parking space both for residents and visitors of the old urban core	solved traffic and parking problems
old municipal infrastructure is not suitable for new development ideas, growth of the number of residents or tourists in the area	municipal infrastructure enhancement
flats are not suitable for contemporary living conditions of the residents (they do not have appropriate toilet facilities, old and worn out electrical installation and plumbing, damp on walls)	functionality of flats
old and poorly managed facades	enhancement of the external appearance of the buildings
lack of urban facilities such as consumer stores, kiosks, etc.; difficult supply of residents	quality of life of the residents
small number of tourist and catering facilities	enrichment of the tourist-catering supply
unsatisfactory cultural-entertainment offer	enhancement of cultural-entertainment offer
insufficient commercial and other services	enhancement of commercial and other services
insufficient success in ensuring economic self-sustainability of the revitalized building blocks	economic self-sustainability of the revitalized building blocks

that development potential, in 2017 the Integrated Built Heritage Revitalization Plan (IBHRP) of the old urban core of the town of Buzet was elaborated. Its goals were as follows:

- Detect possibilities of the old urban core as attractive living, working and visiting space,
- Revitalize historic core socially and economically,
- Decorate the space and restore buildings in the old urban core in public and private ownership,
- Increase interest of tourists and consumption, and
- Contribute to the competitiveness of the town of Buzet as a whole.

Results

In order to detect challenges against which ex-ante evaluation of the IBHRP has been performed, focus group workshops have been organized with relevant stakeholders. The detected priorities were: solving traffic and parking problems, municipal infrastructure enhancement, functionality of flats, enhancement of the external appearance of the buildings, quality of life of the residents, enrichment of the tourist-catering supply, cultural-entertainment offer, commercial and other services, and economic self-sustainability of the revitalized building blocks. Based on these key challenges (summarized in Table 2), the IBHRP of the City of Buzet was made.

The challenges were then tested against the set evaluation criteria and corresponding questions. Findings of the evaluation are presented in Table 3.

Discussion

Strategic context of urban development within the IBHRP was prepared and vision, goals and priorities defined within the framework of the Plan were assessed by the ex-ante evaluators as fully relevant. The key benefits of the IBHRP are clearly formulated in relationship with the priority activities, which contributes to the positive assessment of the effectiveness of the document. The proposed activities and resources planned for their realization are assessed according to the real needs in accordance with good governance postulates. The document itself is coherent, follows the internal planning logic and is in harmony with higher rank documents. It meets environmental, social and economic standards of sustainability.

All goals fulfil the criteria of relevance, consistence, coherence and additional criteria of harmonization and sustainability. Priority activities of the IBHRP are relevant and coherent. The additional criterion of harmonization with groups of activities defined by the Action plan is also fulfilled.

The Plan in general was assessed as sustainable because it fulfils the wishes and endeavours of all stakeholders thus making strong prerequisites and devotion for its efficient implementation. It mainly meets both mandatory as well as additional assessment criteria. Mandatory (standard) ex-ante evaluation criteria have proved to be adequate for heritage plans evaluation since they provide indispensable information for further

Table 3: Findings of the evaluation.

Evaluation criteria	Evaluation questions	Findings
Relevance	To what extent are the IBHRP goals justified as compared to the needs? Do they match local, national and European priorities?	The goals set in the Plan are harmonized with the identified needs and are connected with the Development Strategy of the town of Buzet.
Effectiveness	To what extent are the goals to be achieved? Can the used interventions and instruments produce the expected results? Would more results have been achieved if different instruments had been used?	The key benefits of the IBHRP are clearly formulated in the relationship with the priority activities.
Efficiency	Are the goals to be achieved with the lowest costs? Is the obtained value proportional to the invested money? Are the changes in planning necessary in order to simplify and increase efficiency? If the answer is yes, what changes are needed?	Costs quoted in the Action Plan are based on the preliminary studies, tested and approved as efficient and realistic in a wide consultative process with all relevant stakeholders.
Coherence	Is internal and external coherence of the IBHRP achieved? Do the defined measures contribute to the achievement of the set goals and priorities? Does the plan implementation contribute to the achievement of the goals of the higher ranked documents?	IBHRP is a coherent document, internal harmonization is achieved. The strategic municipal development goals are underlying the scope of the IBHRP of Buzet Historic Town Centre, thus ensuring external coherence.
Sustainability	Will the results and impacts last? Will the impact last even if the public financing ceases? What long-term (development) impacts are envisaged?	The implementation of the IBHRP will largely improve local welfare with quality of innovative and authentic content and services, equally provided by private as well as public sector partners.
Additional criteria		
Usefulness	Do the expected effects meet the needs of the direct and indirect users and to what extent?	The Plan is clearly formulated in the way that it is visible what benefits are planned for the local population. The very plan elaboration process enabled consultations, discussions and consensus on key development issues of that area.
Consistence	Are the goals in the IBHRP clearly set? Do the goals overlap or supplement each other? Do the goals contribute to realization of the vision?	The main goals of the Historic Town Centre revitalization are derived from the defined vision and are harmonized with the IBHRP of the Buzet Historic Town Centre key goals thereby satisfying the consistency evaluation criteria
Complementarity	What is the ratio in which the proposed interventions support relevant local strategic documents or other higher rank public policies?	The interventions proposed in the IBHRP are in harmony with the Development Strategy of the town of Buzet (three goals) and contribute to the achievement of the goals concerning the preservation of cultural heritage and Istrian identity within the framework of the County development strategy of the Istrian County (one goal)
Harmonization	To what extent are the measures of the IBHRP organized in such a way that amplifies common effects? Do the consolidated measures contribute to the realization of the set vision?	All measures envisaged by the plan mutually supplement each other into a coherent whole thus contributing to the achievement of the set goals.
Acceptability	Were all relevant stakeholders involved during the planning process? Did the proposed goals, priorities and measures achieve positive or negative perception from the point of view of the relevant stakeholders?	All stakeholders were involved during the planning process both through focus groups as well as through individual interviews and conversations.
Equal opportunities	Do the measures proposed within the IBHRP ensure equal opportunities for all stakeholders regardless their age, region, religion and gender identity?	The realization of the plan will bring significant improvements in the local environment regarding the accessibility of the facilities and better quality of life for all.

management of the town. This also provides a solid basis for potential (private) investments. Additional ex-ante evaluation criteria proved to be important since they point to what extent the expected effects meet the needs of the direct and indirect users. Also, they contribute to the verification of consistence and clarity of goals and priorities concerning the vision as well as harmonization with other strategic documents important for the development of the town. One of the key recommendations of the ex-ante evaluation testing on this case study is to introduce the criterion of impact, which is a standard evaluation criterion. It may provide additional information on the contribution of the plan to the general development goals and ensure regular monitoring of the planned activities.

CONCLUSION

Evaluation of the investment in renewal and sustainable use of cultural heritage is the challenge for future generations. Extraordinary high costs of restoration, maintenance and use point to the necessity to elaborate management plans as key sustainability tools. Elaboration of those documents is a rare practice in Croatia while the practice of evaluation of their elaboration and implementation monitoring is practically non-existent. The evaluation implies collection, analysis and use of information on the progress in elaboration i.e. implementation of the plan and results achieved thus contributing to taking over responsibility for exploitation of resources and achievement of results. Evaluations, ex-ante in particular, are a precious tool for testing if strategic management decisions have been correct and are especially significant for the assessment of public investments that demand meeting different economic, social, environmental and cultural needs from always limited sources of funding. Involvement of private partners in the implementation of such plans are rare, which makes these evaluations even more important as a proof of their justification.

Due to a range of methods and tools for the assessment of justification of both development goals as well as implementation of concrete measures, it is difficult to unambiguously assess their usability and applicability for evaluation of the complex, integrated plans such as IBHRP. Therefore, the very ex-ante evaluation method seems as wide enough to encompass all relevant aspects of the plan even through key evaluation criteria (relevance, effectiveness, efficiency, coherence and sustainability). Additional criteria suggested by the authors following the UNESCO methodologies for assessment of the heritage management plans contributed to a tailor

made approach relevant for deliberation and planning of the areas that are rich in cultural heritage. As previously assessed, ex-ante evaluation as a tool has several key advantages due to which its application is proposed. The experience of the town of Buzet has shown that it is a relatively undemanding method with respect to limited time planned for the implementation, it is based on the knowledge on the evaluation area, on the analysis of the available documentation and insistence on participatory planning method by involving all relevant stakeholders in the process. Also, ex-ante evaluation provides additional value to the IBHRP because it monitors the planners of the plan during the whole planning process and enables changes in case of need.

Since ex-ante evaluation is one of the rapid assessment tools, it monitors more the process of the elaboration of development plan, relevance of the topic and the ways of mitigating the identified challenges. As differentiated from ex-post evaluation, it usually does not go into depth and does not collect and assess all relevant impacts of the proposed measures. Therefore, although the researchers sometimes recommend it, the coherence of the expected effects of the IBHRP was not evaluated. So far, process although relevant for development policies is not fully defined in the ex-ante evaluations for heritage management plans. Definition of clear indicators as a basis for future coherence evaluation process as a part of a holistic impact assessment model remains a research challenge for the future.

Finally, ex-ante evaluation method is an appropriate method for integrated heritage management plan evaluation since it provides a fast insight into justification of interventions while through additional criteria introduced into analysis assesses justification of planning breakthroughs regarding the sustainable use of cultural heritage, which is in the focus of interest of integrated management plans. Accordingly, the case study of the ex-ante evaluation of the IBHRP of the town of Buzet, presented in this article fully confirms the theory of Samset and Christensen (2017) and the theory of Nared and Razpotnik Visković (2014), which claim that management of cultural goods can use ex-ante evaluation aiming at harmonization of the plan with the challenges of the locality/area. Thus, evaluation has proved to be a valuable tool in the hands of the owner of cultural heritage, which ensures positive changes and foundation for future planning. Introducing the mandatory elaboration of heritage management plans and their evaluation into public policies (cultural policy in particular) would ensure a strong foundation for the development of the entire community inheriting those cultural goods.

EX-ANTE VREDNOTENJE NAČRTOV UPRAVLJANJA DEDIŠČINE: PREDPOGOJ ZA DOSEGANJE TRAJNOSTI

*Daniela Angelina JELINČIĆ*Inštitut za razvoj in mednarodne odnose, Lj. Farkaša Vukotinovića 2, 10000 Zagreb, Hrvaška
e-mail: daniela@irmo.hr*Sanja TIŠMA*Inštitut za razvoj in mednarodne odnose, Lj. Farkaša Vukotinovića 2, 10000 Zagreb, Hrvaška
e-mail: sanja.tisma@irmo.hr

POVZETEK

Članek razloži pomen in vlogo načrtov za upravljanje kulturne dediščine. Opozarja na pomembnost vrednotenja načrtov upravljanja dediščine, ki ni vedno pogost. Različne metode ocenjevanja ustrezajo različnim potrebam po vrednotenju. Običajne vrste vrednotenja načrtov / programov vključujejo predhodno, vmesno in naknadno vrednotenje. V prispevku je preučena ustreznost predhodnega vrednotenja študije primera načrta oživitve integrirane grajene dediščine (IBHRP) starega mestnega jedra mesta Buzet na Hrvaškem. Na podlagi teoretičnega pristopa k predhodnemu vrednotenju je bil zasnovan sklop idejnih ocenjevalnih vprašanj, ki so bila nato preizkušena glede na izzive, odkrite v načrtu. V vrednotenju načrtov upravljanja dediščine je bilo za predhodno vrednotenje in vsa zasnovana vprašanja, ki ustrezajo merilom (ustreznost, uspešnost, uspešnost, skladnost, trajnost, uporabnost, doslednost, komplementarnost, usklajenost, sprejemljivost in enake možnosti) primerno. Zato se je vrednotenje izkazalo kot dragoceno orodje v rokah lastnikov kulturne dediščine, saj zagotavlja pozitivne spremembe in podlago za prihodnje načrtovanje. Uvedba obveznega razvoja načrtov za upravljanje dediščine in njihovo vrednotenje v javnih politikah (zlasti kulturni politiki) bi postala trdna podlaga za razvoj celotne skupnosti, ki bi podedovala ta kulturna bogastva.

Ključne besede: kulturna dediščina, integrirani načrti za upravljanje dediščine, predhodna ocena načrta upravljanja, Buzet

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abdel-Moneim, N. M. (2010):** Management Plan and Culture Heritage Local Development. *Pakistan Heritage*, 2, 69–78.
- Benali Aoudia, L. & Y. Chennaoui (2019):** The Archaeological Site of Tipasa, Algeria: What Kind of Management Plan? *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites*, 19, 3, 173–196.
- Bottero, M., Bragaglia, F., Caruso, N., Datola, G. & F. Dell'Anna (2020):** Experimenting Community Impact Evaluation (CIE) for Assessing Urban Regeneration Programmes: The Case Study of the Area 22@ Barcelona. *Cities*, 99, 102464.
- Campeol, G. & C. Pizzinato (2007):** Metodologia per la valutazione dell'impatto archeologico. *Archeologia e Calcolatori*, 18, 273–292.
- De Medici, S., De Toro, P. & F. Nocca (2019):** Cultural Heritage and Sustainable Development: Impact Assessment of Two Adaptive Reuse Projects in Siracusa, Sicily. *Sustainability*, 12, 1, 311.
- Eccleston, C. H. (2011):** Environmental Impact Assessment: A Guide to Best Professional Practices. Abingdon, Routledge.
- Edinburgh World Heritage (2005):** The Old and New Towns of Edinburgh World Heritage Site, Management Plan. Edinburgh, UNESCO.
- Fischer, T. B. (2007):** Theory and Practice of Strategic Environmental Assessment. London, Earthscan.
- Hockings, M., Stolton, S., Leverington, F., Dudley, N. & J. Courrau (2006):** Evaluating Effectiveness A Framework for Assessing Management Effectiveness Of Protected Areas. Gland, IUCN.
- Integrated Built Heritage Revitalisation Plan (Buzet).** Available at: [https://www.interreg-central.eu/Content.Node/IBHRP-in-Buzet-Summary-\(EN.ver.\).pdf](https://www.interreg-central.eu/Content.Node/IBHRP-in-Buzet-Summary-(EN.ver.).pdf) (last access: 3. 6. 2020).
- Ivandić, N., Kos, G., Kunst, I. & N. Telišman-Košuta (2017):** Integrirani plan revitalizacije starogradske jezgre grada Buzeta. Zagreb, Institut za turizam.
- Kalman, H. (1979):** The Evaluation of Historic Buildings. Ottawa, Parks Canada.
- Leopold, L. B., Clarke, F. E., Hanshaw, B. B., & J. R. Balsley (1971):** A Procedure for Evaluating Environmental Impact. Washington, United States Department of the Interior. Geological Survey 1971, Circular n. 645. Available at: <http://eps.berkeley.edu/people/lunaleopold/%28118%29%20A%20Procedure%20for%20Evaluating%20Environmental%20Impact.pdf> (last access: 3. 6. 2020).
- Lombardi, P. L. (1999):** Understanding Sustainability in the Built Environment. A Framework for Evaluation in Urban Planning And Design. Doctoral thesis. Manchester, University of Salford.
- Maleković, S. & S. Tišma (2011):** Evaluating Pre Accession Assistance – Rethinking its Effectiveness in Promoting Developmental Change. In: Faculty of Economics in Split (ed.): *Challenges of Europe: Growth and Competitiveness – Reversing the Trends*. Split, Faculty of Economics, 90–100.
- Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske (2011):** Strategija zaštite, očuvanja i gospodarskog korištenja kulturne baštine Republike Hrvatske za razdoblje 2011.–2015. Available at: https://www.min-kulture.hr/userdocsimages/bastina/STRATEGIJA_BASTINE_VRH.pdf (last access: 10. 10. 2018).
- Mrak, I. (2014):** Evaluation Model for Cultural Heritage in Spatial Planning. *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues*, 13, 2-4, 206–234.
- Nared, J. & N. Razpotnik Visković (2014):** Managing Cultural Heritage Sites in Southeastern Europe. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.
- National Park Service:** Park Planning. U.S. Department of the Interior. Available at: <https://www.nps.gov/grko/getinvolved/planning.htm> (last access: 3. 6. 2020).
- NN 90/2018:** Zakon o izmjenama i dopunama Zakona o zaštiti i očuvanju kulturnih dobara. Available at: https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2018_10_90_1756.html (last access: 30. 6. 2020).
- Ovans, A. (2015):** What is a Business Model? *Harvard Business Review*. Available at: <https://hbr.org/2015/01/what-is-a-business-model/> (last access: 3. 6. 2020).
- Rienstra, S. A. (1998):** Options and Barriers to Sustainable Transport Policies. Doctoral Thesis. Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit.
- Samset, K. & T. Christensen (2017):** Ex-ante Project Evaluation and Complexity of Early Decision Making. *Public Organisation Review*, 17, 1, 1–17.
- Throsby, D. (2016):** Investment in Urban Heritage Conservation in Developing Countries: Concepts, Methods and Data. *City, Culture and Society*, 7, 81–86.
- UNESCO (2013):** Managing Cultural World Heritage: World Heritage Resource Manual. Available at: <https://whc.unesco.org/en/activities/827/> (last access: 10. 10. 2018).
- Vreeker, R. & P. Nijkamp (2006):** Methods for Evaluating Development Scenarios: An Application to Thailand. In: Alexander, E. R. (ed.): *Evaluation in Planning: Evolution and Prospects*. Oxon, Routledge, 174–203.

AN INTEGRATED APPROACH TO THE REVITALIZATION, SAFEGUARDING AND MANAGEMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE: HOW TO ESTABLISH A DURABLE AND ACTIVE LOCAL GROUP OF STAKEHOLDERS

Jasna FAKIN BAJEC

ZRC SAZU, Institute of Culture and Memory Studies, Research Station of Nova Gorica, Delpinova 12, 5000 Nova Gorica, Slovenia
e-mail: jasna.fakin@zrc-sazu.si

ABSTRACT

Many conventions relating to the revitalization, safeguarding and management of cultural heritage require the inclusion of different actors in heritage projects, from the idea and planning stage of a project through its implementation and finally to evaluation of the results achieved. Based on recent studies, local residents (along with experts and decision-makers) have become one of the most important stakeholders in heritage management. However, the so-called integrated approach raises many questions as to how to implement theory in practice, how to coordinate the different interests and views of the actors involved, and how to achieve mutual partnerships, among others. This paper describes some of the informal occasions to build multi-level community networks which were practiced and analysed through different heritage projects.

Keywords: heritage management, integrated and participatory approaches, sustainable development, multi-level community networks

UN APPROCCIO INTEGRATO ALLA RIVITALIZZAZIONE, ALLA SALVAGUARDIA E ALLA GESTIONE DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE: COME CREARE UNA COMUNITÀ LOCALE PERMANENTE E ATTIVA?

SINTESI

Molte convenzioni che si riferiscono alla rivitalizzazione, allo salvaguardare e alla gestione del patrimonio culturale richiedono l'inclusione nei progetti di diversi attori, dall'idea e dalla fase di pianificazione di un progetto attraverso la sua implementazione e infine dalla valutazione dei risultati raggiunti. Sulla base di studi recenti, i residenti locali (insieme ai esperti e ai decision-makers) sono diventati una delle parti interessate più importanti nella gestione del patrimonio. Tuttavia, il cosiddetto approccio integrato solleva molte questioni su come implementare nella pratica la teoria, come coordinare i diversi interessi e le opinioni degli attori coinvolti e, tra l'altro, come realizzare i partenariati reciproci. Il saggio presenta alcune delle occasioni informali per la creazione di reti comunitarie e di quelle a più livelli che sono state messe in pratica e analizzate attraverso diversi progetti sul patrimonio.

Parole chiave: gestione del patrimonio, approcci integrati e partecipativi, sviluppo sostenibile, reti comunitarie e multilivello

INTRODUCTION¹

Cultural heritage can exist only in its enactment by local residents (living in historic towns or heritage sites) who together with experts from heritage institutions and local decision-making bodies give to the selected remnants from the past different kinds of values and significance (Blake, 2009; Clark, 2008; Low, 2008; Byrne 2008). According to the many contemporary international conventions dedicated to the protection and management of cultural heritage² and scholars' studies (Chitty, 2017; Bold & Pickard, 2018; Onciul, Stefano & Hawke, 2017; Labrador & Silberman, 2018),³ communities (groups and in some cases also individuals) have become the key actors in the processes of restoring, reviving, inventorying, safeguarding, maintaining, promoting and sustainably utilizing past achievements. According to their attitude towards the cultural tangible and intangible heritage, and the meanings, values and importance they give to them, they also preserve, maintain and utilize their past's remnants for different purposes (social, cultural, educational, developmental, economic, etc.) and occasions.

Until the early 2000s the involvement of local communities did not attract much attention in heritage processes (in the field of conservation of built heritage as well as in safeguarding and maintaining local rituals). The heritage field was relatively isolated, composed of small groups of specialists and experts. These groups designed different measures and criteria to determine what has significance and value from the past and consequently what should be renovated, protected and sustainably developed in the community. As professor in arts management and museology Marta de la Torre and professor in historic preservation Randall Mason observed, *"the right to decide of these specialists was validated by the authorities between the groups with the power to act"* (De la Torre & Mason, 2002, 3). In this context, anthropologist Laurajane Smith pointed out *"heritage can be unproblematically identified as old, grand, monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites, buildings, places, and artefacts"* (Smith, 2006, 11). However, deeper investigation of the process of the construction of its values, inscription into national registers and UNESCO's world lists evidently shows that there is *"a hegemonic discourse about heritage, which acts to constitute the way we think, talk, and*

write about the heritage. The heritage discourse therefore naturalizes the practice of rounding up the usual suspects to conserve and pass on to future generations, and in so doing promotes a certain set of Western values as being universally applicable" (Smith, 2006, 11).

Nevertheless, the consequences of ongoing global socio-political, economic and communication-technological influences as well as the development of critical heritage studies (Smith, 2006; Winter & Waterton, 2013) brought about the modification of the concept of heritage, including a new understanding of heritage as a social action, and involvement of new groups who have joined the specialists in its identification (De la Torre & Mason, 2002, 3; Byrne, 2008; Smith, 2006 etc.). These groups are citizens who live in heritage sites or perform heritage practice, professionals from other fields, and representatives of special interests (e.g. entrepreneurs). Newly involved actors pointed out new criteria and opinions – their own values – which often differed from those of heritage specialists (De la Torre & Mason, 2002, 3). Among many new approaches, the finding that *"what 'ordinary' people value might be different from what experts value, or they might value the same things but for quite different reasons, such as for reasons of association, memory, or locality"* (Fairclough, 2009, 299) has become one of the most important guidelines in many heritage projects.

Notwithstanding the reflection of people-centred approaches (e.g. public participation and local community involvement) to heritage conservation and management that have been taking place from the beginning of the 21st century, many experts from different heritage institutions (like the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property) or recent studies (Court & Wijesuriya, 2015, 2; Chitty, 2017; Onciul, Stefano & Hawke, 2017) continue to emphasize that there is still a big challenge as to how to involve community members in conservation or social practices in many heritage places. Moreover, Chitty argued that in many documents (like the UK White Paper on Culture) the focus is firmly on what *"culture"* can do for society and the economy, rather than on recognition and nurturing what communities do to enrich and creatively shape their own culture and heritage (Chitty, 2017, 1). Therefore, in the field of conservation, the shift of conservators should

1 The presented research was done in the framework of the research programme *Historical interpretations of the 20th century* (P6-0347), financed by the Slovenian Research Agency and international Interreg project *NewPilgrimAge: 21st century reinterpretation of the St. Martin related shared values and cultural heritage as a new driver for community-sourced hospitality* (<https://www.interreg-central.eu/Content.Node/NewPilgrimAge.html>), financed by the Central Europe programme and the Slovenian Research Agency.

2 E.g. the Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, the European Convention on the Protection of the Archaeological Heritage (Valletta), the Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe (Granada), the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro), the recommendations and monitoring strategies of the European Cultural Heritage Strategy for the 21st century, European Convention on Offences relating to Cultural Property, etc.

3 Some internationally known scholars presented their findings on community involvement in the conservation of built heritage in a recently published book *Heritage, Conservation and Communities: Engagement, participation and capacity building* (Chitty, 2017). The Council of Europe also published a book *An integrated approach to cultural heritage; The Council of Europe's Technical Co-operation and Consultancy Programme*, where the presented projects highlighted many challenges in involving local inhabitants in inclusive heritage maintenance and sustainable management (Bold & Pickard, 2018).

be from “*conserving historic buildings’ to ‘helping to save the places people value and provide communities with much-needed facilities”* (Chitty, 2017, 3).

As heritage has been created by people and for people and heritage places should be considered as a living part of a community, the engagement of its members often brings advantages to both heritage and community alike. Local inhabitants contain capacities and assets that outlast political or professional impact and complement specialist knowledge and skills (Court & Wijesuriya, 2015, 2). The insufficient involvement of them in development led to unbalanced social and economic local growth, poor identification of relevant actors and the exclusion of various marginal groups (young people, migrants, people with special needs, etc.).

The main purpose of this paper is therefore to outline possible ways and conditions to empower different stakeholders and raise awareness among them that their active and mutual participation has an important value and significance in integrated heritage processes. Local people should build an inclusive, respectful and strong community that will, consequently, take the initiative in future activities (Chitty, 2017, 1). Moreover, the case studies described and analysed also present how to successfully form a multi-level community network through heritage activities such as researching local history, organizing village and local celebrations, reviving old customs, restoring local architectural objects or researching and using old skills and knowledge for creating new products. The starting point of the reflection is the recognition that the process of researching, evaluating, presenting, and interpreting the remnants of the past is a social activity. In many local communities heritage practices are carried out by local associations (NGOs), schools, study circles, etc. Members who voluntarily spend their free time in the heritage field have a positive attitude towards the local past as well as different types of knowledge and experience. Perhaps they also work professionally in different sectors and as such share their knowledge in voluntary activities. In this way voluntary work in heritage fields can together with the public and private sectors provide opportunities for establishing formal networks and partnerships that can foster an inclusive community and achieve an integrated approach (Bold & Pickard, 2018, 7; Fakin Bajec, 2016). Moreover, sharing knowledge and experience among sectors enables new or modified content of the restored castle, villas or other built monuments. Scholars highlight that in the era of new technology, new ways of life and trends, a balance in renovating or safeguarding old buildings and intangible cultural heritage and at the

same time exploring new ways for its modifications and sustainable re-uses have to be found. “*For the survival of the heritage buildings in future and at the same time to raise the awareness level of youths on the importance, the buildings will need to be upgraded to cater current users’ interests”* (Wan Ismal & Nadarajah, 2016, 476).

In order to assure the existence of cultural heritage and use its development potential, local people need possibilities, opportunities and skills to be actively involved in integrated heritage processes, to interpret and sustainably use heritage and transmit it to younger generations. Heritage institutions and/or government officials (state parties) are thus required to strive for new participatory approaches, which could ensure that local people and other relevant non-governmental organizations gather the necessary courage to effectively participate in various aspects of cultural heritage. It still happens, unfortunately, that although the project team organizes different workshops and lectures for local residents, just a few of participants come and actively participate in project activities. How to involve the community through innovative initiatives is still a big question (Onciul, Stefano & Hawke, 2017). Another important challenge is to ensure mutual cooperation and inclusive collaboration of all heritage actors (especially political decision-makers, experts, local residents) and to construct multi-level community networks.

This paper first reflects on theoretical issues of understanding culture and its heritage as an important resource in fostering sustainable development, especially social sustainability, a coherent society and empowered community (Clark, 2008; Low, 2008). Next, some stakeholders’ barriers that prevent the formation of integrated heritage processes are presented and analysed. The last section presents some of the informal occasions, methods and tools that show “soft” ways to foster participatory activities and can help project teams to achieve inclusive management of cultural heritage and multi-level sectoral interactions. The case studies and findings presented were reflected and analysed in different heritage projects where the author of the paper helped partners from different municipalities, regional development agencies, NGOs, and local villages to understand the role and mission of local cultural heritage in contemporary society, where development is designed together with people and not for people.⁴ The paper thus builds upon the wealth of literature on community engagement and practical resources in order to help project teams who carried out heritage projects ensure an integrative approach and durable project results that will also benefit local inhabitants after the end of the project.

4 In the last European project period (2014–2020) the author worked in the following Interreg projects: *NewPilgrimAge: 21st century reinterpretation of the St. Martin related shared values and cultural heritage as a new driver for community-sourced hospitality* (2017–2020); *Alpfoodway: a cross-disciplinary, transnational and participative approach to Alpine food cultural heritage* (2016–2019); *RES-TAURA: Revitalising Historic Buildings through Public-Private Partnership Schemes* (2016–2019); *UGB - Urban Green Belts – Smart integrated models for sustainable management of urban green spaces for creating more healthy and liveable urban environments* (2016–2019) and *MEDFEST: Mediterranean culinary heritage experiences: how to create sustainable tourist destinations* (2016–2019).



Image 1: A scene from making a documentary film in Volčji Grad (Photo: Boštjan Štolfa, the local association Debela Griža, Volčji Grad, July 2005).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Nowadays the concept of cultural heritage takes on a variety of meanings, roles and expressions. Its new understanding is underpinned by the constructive paradigm (Bourdieu, 2002), the growth of critical heritage studies (Smith, 2006; Byrne, 2008; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998, etc.) as well as the contemporary social, cultural, economic and technological development in the world. A newly developed concept is based on findings that cultural heritage is a social action (Smith, 2006; Byrne, 2008) that can foster emotional affect in a community (Winter & Waterton, 2013; Hofman, 2015). This means the main point of doing research on heritage lies less in investigating the materiality or immateriality of heritage elements, but more in understanding the social process of the construction of meanings, values, and significance that particular tangible and intangible cultural elements embody (Byrne, 2008; Fakin Bajec, 2011). The focus of the researcher is therefore on reflections,

attitudes, memories, emotions and other stories the heritage elements trigger among individuals or within the community, and how visiting or researching heritage sites, towns, celebrations, etc. can affect knowledge, behaviour and attitudes among people toward the past, present and future (Smith, 2006). In this context, understanding the role of local communities, groups and in some cases individuals who live with and potentially change and use heritage elements is significant. Moreover, influenced by the policy of Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development (Labadi & Gould, 2015), heritage practices are no longer understood as being just the protection and restoration of heritage items but also include the reflection how to modify and sustainably use them for a variety of contemporary needs and purposes. In this context heritage has been recognized as an enabler for multi-vector challenges, such as cultural and environmental sustainability, economic inequalities, conflict resolution, social cohesion, future of cities, human rights, democracy, future of the state and other communities,



Image 2: *Ethnographic workshop of making bread and other bakery products in Planina pri Ajdovščini. The workshop was organised by the Municipality of Ajdovščina and the Housewife association from Planina in order to raise awareness about the bakery tradition in Vipava valley (Photo: Jasna Fakin Bajec, Planina pri Ajdovščini, October 2019).*

etc. (Winter & Waterton, 2013, 533, 542). The newly launched Strategy 21, prepared by the Council of Europe, states that “*cultural heritage, in all its components, is a key factor for the refocusing of our societies on the basis of dialogue between cultures, respect for identities and diversity, and a feeling of belonging to a community of values*” (Bold & Pickard, 2018, 21). Basically, heritage is still associated with the historical, art historical, ethnological, folklore and other goods (such as knowledge, skills, memories, experiences, etc.) of our forebears, but it no longer refers just to the past but rather draws power from the past for the development of the present and the planning of the future (Harrison et al., 2008).

In order to protect and inclusively manage local cultural heritage as a resource for many types of development potential, experts, politicians and local people have to overcome different obstacles that prevent the community-based conservation and liveable performance of cultural traditions.

COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Many declarations note that the interpretation, safeguarding, and management of cultural heritage have to be in keeping with the views and needs of the local people who live or work in the communities where the heritage is located. However, in some communities citizens are passive in their interactions and collaboration with local decision-makers, experts and other involved actors (e.g. entrepreneurs), although the village, neighbourhood or city has a historical, cultural, architectural or aesthetic castle, villa or other built heritage or traditional customs (Fakin Bajec, 2016). Active participation of the community means that members of communities are involved in heritage activities from the very beginning of the project or heritage activity (Fisher, 2001; Müller & Stotten, 2011). This includes different phases: planning the activity, implementation of the tasks, management of the heritage item, maintaining

the heritage as well as sustainable utilization of the item for different purposes, e.g. interactive educational programmes, inter-generational social programmes, cultural tourism, the creative industries, etc. (Participatory Techniques and Tools, 2001). The main definition of community engagement includes *“the process of working collaboratively with and through groups of people affiliated by geographic proximity, special interest, or similar situations to address issues affecting the well-being of those people”* (McCloskey et al., 2011, 3). However, as recent studies also show, *“while the word “engaging” can be used positively; it can also describe more limiting and restricting forms of relationships”* (Onciul, Stefano & Hawke, 2017, 1). These findings also demand reconceptualization and challenge traditional thinking around co-production and participation (Onciul, Stefano & Hawke, 2017, 1).

Many experts who work with people or try to involve them in different project activities confess that community engagement is a long, strategic and difficult process (McCloskey et al., 2011, 3), which demands that project teams obtain appropriate skills, knowledge and the ability to work with people. In general, the goals of community engagement are to build trust, enlist new resources and allies, create better communication, and improve overall health outcomes as successful projects evolve into lasting collaboration (McCloskey et al., 2011, 3). However, who is in a community, why a community would want to be engaged in heritage, and how communities and heritage professionals perceive one another are still unanswered questions. According to anthropologists Emma Waterton and Laurajane Smith and many other scholars (Adell et al., 2015) *“community”* is a nebulous term with multiple meanings and understandings. Therefore, it is very difficult to explain it (Waterton & Smith, 2010, 4). It has been involved in the heritage sector because of policy directives, professional practice initiatives and grassroots projects. It has easily become an explanation or solution for heritage challenges rather than something to be explained (Waterton & Smith, 2010, 4). In practice, the community engages with social relationships in all their messiness, taking into account action, process, power and change (Waterton & Smith, 2010, 4). Understanding that the community is not static and unchanging but rather a fluid entity is an important starting point in many projects. It is not always clear what the relationships between communities and among its members who practice certain rituals or hold certain types of knowledge are (Blake, 2009, 62; Waterton & Smith, 2010, 9). Moreover, as Cohen stressed, *“community exists in the minds of its members, and should not be confused with geographic or sociographic assertions of facts. By extension, the distinctiveness of communities and, thus, the reality of their boundaries, similarly lies in the mind, in the meanings which people attach to them, not in the structural forms”* (Cohen, 1985, 98). Moreover, people may have various

roles and powers in a community (e.g. act as residents of the village, members of association, experts, women, politicians, etc.) as well as give different meanings or importance to the same elements of a cultural heritage, because of different experiences, knowledge, historical background, needs, interests, etc. For this reason the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, adopted in 2003, refers to communities and groups of tradition-bearers in a non-specific way. Although the Convention focuses on viability of cultural heritage, meaning that heritage is constantly recreated by local communities in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, the community is seen as having an open character, not necessarily linked to specific territories (The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2003). Their diversity can also be recognized in terms of gender, occupation, age, faith, and other forms of affiliation. The general characteristic of a community is that it encompasses groups of people who have shared history, experience, practice, knowledge, values, and aesthetics (Baird N'Diaye, 2019).

Another concept, proposed by scholars in the book collection of research papers titled *Between Imagined Communities and Communities of Practice: Participation, Territory and the Making of Heritage* (Adell et al., 2015), is *“community in practice”* introduced in learning theory (Wenger, 2010). Through this concept, Etienne Wenger sought to express that individuals from diverse backgrounds and interests could, nonetheless, work together productively on joint goals. In the heritage field it encompasses the meaning that

actors interested in garnering a heritage title may cooperate with experts and politicians to generate a nomination dossier; decision making bodies from the regional to the national and international level bring together individuals of diverse persuasion, yet they form a community of practice in their administrative and negotiation work. On the ground, individuals devoted to maintaining, restoring or reviving a cultural tradition may form a community of practice, not necessarily sharing ethnic identities, but cooperating for the sake of shared political or economic interests (Adell et al., 2015, 7–8).

Based on experience from fieldwork, we can conclude that the community can be composed of village residents who come together and renovate old physical remnants or practice traditions for social and individual benefits, or of members of local associations who gather together to implement a certain cultural activity or task. One of the ways to involve local residents in heritage projects could be that the project team works with local heritage associations, where members already have a positive attitude towards the



Image 3: Food competition “Zrij Rejpo” prepared for the primary schools in Primorska region, Slovenia, organised by the Housewife association in Planina pri Ajdovščini (Photo: Jasna Fakin Bajec, Planina pri Ajdovščini, November 2017).

local past and their environment. For this reason they will be more receptive to new activities and to the acquisition of additional knowledge. A presentation of their activities and products to the wider public can then gain the attention of others, who for various reasons (age, education, health reasons, passivity, etc.) had not been interested in the topics. Perhaps they will be influenced by other ongoing discourse (Fakin Bajec, 2016). Moreover, the FARO convention established the term “heritage community” and defined it as “people who value specific aspects of cultural heritage which they wish, within the framework of public action, to sustain and transmit to future generations” (Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society – Faro Convention, 2005). In this scenario, communities are not only considered the “bearers” of heritage, but they are also supposed to be actively involved in its transmission (Adell et al., 2015, 8). The heritage community could also be a group of members (e.g. women, young people, artists, migrants, etc.) from different regions or even states who work

on specific heritage preservation, safeguarding or utilization of traditional elements, e.g. weaving, cooking a specific dish, etc. (Delak Koželj, 2013, 42).

Hence, the UNESCO convention also refers to responsibility of the international community to contribute, together with the States Parties, to safeguarding and sustainable performing intangible cultural heritage in a spirit of cooperation and mutual assistance (Baird N’Diaye, 2019). However, to achieve an active international community network, local networks in the nation states and regions should be set up, fortified and empowered. A transnational network is easier to build and strengthen if we work with robust, active and empowered local networks.

Another obstacle that can arise in the heritage process is the question of who the owner of cultural heritage is and who “owns” the heritage management process. This is crucial especially when experts try to help and empower local residents in their safeguarding or management practices. If the “owners” are not the same entity, the relationship between the parties involved needs to

be carefully defined at the start of negotiating the identification and management of a cultural heritage element (Blake, 2009, 62). To overcome this challenge, the use of participatory approaches is recommended by experts, where the involvement of a multiplicity of stakeholders from the very beginning of the activities can be achieved (Blake, 2009, 62). In this way partnerships can connect the bottom-up and top-down approaches, which means to take into account the needs of those in power and those affected by the decisions of authorities (Pogačar et al., 2019). This is also the main feature of an integrated approach, which incorporates components from the top-down and bottom-up approaches (Sesana et al., 2020, 212). According to the document *An Integrated Approach to Cultural Heritage: The Council of Europe's Technical Co-operation and Consultancy Programme* (Bold & Pickard, 2018), an integrated approach combines the promotion and protection of cultural diversity, democratic governance and democratic innovation. It is essential that decision-making involve those most directly affected – the owners, inhabitants, local communities and local authorities – who recognize the specific value of heritage for society. Indeed, national level cultural heritage protection policies and practices must not be removed from these stakeholders (Johnson, 2018, 7). The main achievement is an interaction between the administrative bodies at different levels and civil society agents and avoiding a hierarchical approach.

In European INTERREG projects, in which programmes are based on the Europa 2020 strategy and follow the mission of smart, sustainable and inclusive growth of communities, special attention is placed on the inclusion of diverse stakeholders (especially local politicians, experts, and civil society as well as entrepreneurs) in local groups. This should be implemented by constructing a “multi-level community network”. The term originates from market and governance theory. In governance, the term “multi-level” refers to an inclusive decision-making process. It was also adopted by the European Commission, which aims to build “Europe in partnership” through a more cross-cutting holistic and inclusive approach, resulting in more targeted strategies and the introduction of coordinated and integrated common policies (European Committee of the Regions, 2009). The main idea is cooperation among different governing levels in a unique formulation, e.g. in the framework of the European Union. The clearly vertical cooperation (from supranational to local level) was soon enlarged with a horizontal approach, first tackling the cooperation among bodies at the same governance level, e.g. municipalities or sectoral policies (ibid). Similarly, structural changes in the economy allowed and forced people to make wider, multi-level networks

with co-workers, as they were not limited to performing a specific task, but have had to engage in various activities and to cooperate with people working in different sectors, from managers to assistant workers. In the field of cultural heritage, a multi-level community network in one region can incorporate actors from diverse sectors (education, environment, culture, welfare), on different levels of decision-making (municipality, regions, provinces, state and transnational bodies), and with different statuses (public institutions, NGOs, private companies, etc.). Cooperation in all these dimensions is important (even obligatory) for the inclusive management of cultural heritage.

Due to the difficulty of constructing and carrying out an integrative approach and multilevel community networks in practice, as they involve complex and often difficult negotiations as well as power relations, a cultural mediator (cultural driver, facilitator, etc.) should be involved as well. These could be community representatives, cultural custodians, technical and administrative personnel of government institutions, independent experts and political activists involved in the institutional practices, or entrepreneurs seeking to develop business opportunities related to cultural resources (Blake, 2009, 64). The mediator's function is to enter into dialogue with involved stakeholders, especially decision-makers, experts or other officials, and to motivate the community sufficiently to ensure continued engagement. The facilitator should also have the administrative skills required to lead the organization of events or to run different meetings; the community development skills to involve people; negotiating and mediation skills; planning and preparation skills; project development skills; research skills; monitoring and evaluation skills; and the ability to think strategically (MindSpace, 2017, 5). It is not easy to find this kind of person; however, based on experience from the European heritage project dedicated to the innovative promotion of the European cultural route of St. Martin, based on community-sourced values (see NewPilgrimAge project),⁵ a carefully selected change driver in Maribor greatly helped the public decision institution – the Municipality of Maribor – in linking the project activities with other work and demands of the national association in charge of the cultural route of St. Martin in Slovenia (Cultural Centre of St. Martin in Slovenia), and local people from Maribor and surrounding villages who are attached to the famous European saint and frequently use its path for different sacral and leisure activities. The facilitator also encouraged local people to actively participate in the project's workshops, where different decisions about the ICT promotion of heritage were negotiated and finally accepted.

5 Partner cities of the Interreg NewPilgrimAge project are located along the Central European part of the Via Sancti Martini European Cultural Route. In the project the partners have joined forces to revive the cultural heritage and promote the common values of solidarity, hospitality and sharing linked to St Martin. Cities and cultural organizations from five countries have mobilized their citizens, most of all young people and small businesses, to propose and jointly develop new creative initiatives valorizing the untapped heritage potential.

Although the project team found a very good facilitator or cultural driver to help in implementation of the project's activities and achieve the expected results, the members of the community should be open to and prepared for new roles and responsibilities in integrated heritage processes. Thus, the question that arises is still how to make people proud of their past's achievements and how to build trust, cooperation and good relationships among inhabitants that live in historical towns or heritage sites as well as among other involved actors. The answers can be sought by using different methods and tools of participatory approach and community building that enhance interaction and dialogue among actors who influence the management of heritage and its environment, by understanding the meanings that cultural heritage holds for people and how they perceive, use and interpret it (Feretti & Comuino, 2015, 696).

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION APPROACHES IN INCLUSIVE HERITAGE PROCESSES

The need for participatory approaches emerged in the 1960s in response to the political realm being too formalistic and detached from citizens. As a result, participatory democracy developed giving people the right, or at least the possibility, to take a more active part in decision-making processes by using different participatory paths. Therefore, normative participation concepts extend the definition of participation as "*taking part in the process of formulation, passage and implementation of public policies*" (Parry, Moyser & Day, 1992, 16; Müller & Stotten, 2011, 5). One of the main objectives of the implementation of participatory approaches is to encourage "good governance", which generally comprises decision-making processes that are transparent and accountable, responsive, equitable and inclusive, effective and respect the rule of law (Müller & Stotten, 2011, 7). In general, policy processes can be seen as a three-step cycle of *planning, implementation and evaluation*, in which a participatory approach may be used in one or more of the steps (Müller & Stotten, 2011, 6).

The common starting point in practicing a participatory approach is to recognize the role and function as well as the necessity and added value of involving different groups of stakeholders in the processes of identifying problems, creating and implementing solutions, and ensuring the sustainability of citizen involvement and management. Since citizens live in their environments, they can provide valuable observations and knowledge otherwise inaccessible to experts and authorities alike. Listening and being open to different inputs is key to mutual understanding.

In recent years the idea of participatory democracy has entered numerous areas of social life, including the economy as well as neighbourhoods and race relations. It has been increasingly promoted in different commu-

nity programmes and governments. Two types of participation are prevalent: *formal participation* encompasses legal forms, usually regulated by law. In a representative democracy it is linked to voting rights, effectively excluding some groups (children, teenagers and migrants) from formal participation. *Informal participation* allows an inclusion of groups who cannot formally take part in decision-making processes. It is used only for certain issues in the creation and management of environments, for example in planning, management, maintenance of different public spaces and objects (Parry, Moyser & Day, 1992, 16; Müller & Stotten, 2011, 5).

The main challenge in using a participatory approach is the involvement of different stakeholders in a project's activities, providing them with a place and an opportunity not just to listen and observe, but also to actively interact in the process. There are different types of participatory approaches: passive, information-giving, consultative, functional, interactive and self-mobilized (Participatory Techniques and Tools, 2001). To achieve the goal of active participation, interactive and self-mobilized participation should be applied. Interactive participation means that partners and communities participate in joint analysis leading to action, formation of new local groups or strengthening existing ones; local stakeholders take control over local decisions, giving them an incentive to maintain structures and/or practices. Self-mobilized participation includes paths where communities or local partners participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions. They take on a more important role within the project, such as creating events, sending newsletters and other jobs (Fisher, 2001, 5).

It is up to the local authorities or project team to find appropriate ways to hear the needs, expectations, and ideas of local residents. One such possibility is organizing informal events to build a strong and empowered community (more on that below) and afterwards organizing interactive workshops, where the facilitator uses various interactive methods and tools to involve all participants in the discussion. The most often used methods in workshops were presentation of the project, lectures and afterwards holding a discussion led by a good facilitator. Project teams have a variety of new interactive methods and tools at their disposal, such as problem tree, word café, Delphi Technique, net mapping, OPERA, the Nominal Group Technique, consultation, back-casting, and storytelling, which have generated results and positive feedback from participants who felt inspired by them (Nanasi et al., 2019, 62). A participatory approach tends to create links among groups of stakeholders that ordinarily do not communicate with one another, giving them the possibility to familiarize themselves with different perspectives and in this way to open up a space for discovering new ways of detecting and solving problems (Bole & Bigaran, 2013). However, in considering the use of the participatory approach,



Image 4: *One of the ways to encourage the young generation to participate in heritage activities is to organize ethnographic workshops where young people have the opportunity to practice traditional knowledge. Ethnographic workshop on dry stone walling in the Karst region (Photo: Jasna Fakin Bajec, Branik, May 2011).*

the process is more important than the end product. As Fisher has expressed very well:

Participation is more a set of principles than an ideology, an ethic more than a model... deep down, participation is about learning to respect and listen to the opinions, feelings, and knowledge of those we have in the past "targeted"; being transparent regarding our intentions to intervene in their lives ... being careful to decentralize and delegate, allowing the less powerful to manage greater resources and assume more responsibility; sharing our knowledge and expertise ... in short, it is about opening up, taking risks and showing trust. Such changes do not come easy to those weighted down with the baggage of long years of formal education and hieratical cultures (Fisher, 2001, 9).

A participatory approach is important as a process for contribution and accumulation of a community's

social capital, where social capital can be described as "features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Fisher, 2001, 20). The most important principles are: diversity, equity, openness, accountability, and transparency, which also contribute to civic trust.

Notwithstanding a well-developed participative theory, which is used in heritage studies as well, the first step that should be done is to enhance awareness among local inhabitants to be proud of their past's achievements and to reach consensus among them on what they want to do with their heritage elements. Furthermore, as the participatory approach gives particular special attention to inclusion of diverse stakeholders (local politicians, experts, entrepreneurs and civil society, marginalized groups), the project partners should strive to form some kind of local development group or multi-level community networks, formed at local or national levels, to ensure continued engagement of all heritage

actors involved. Working on the development potential of culture and its heritage requires long-term activities. As already mentioned, working with people is not an easy or short process, but involves step by step actions that only after five or more years bear fruit and bring results.

SOME "SOFT" WAYS, METHODS AND TOOLS TO ACHIEVE AN INTEGRATED HERITAGE PROCESS

Many research findings and community actions have already shown that heritage activities as social practices can contribute to the well-being of society, better interpersonal relations, intergenerational connections, stronger social cohesion, social identity and a healthier life for the population. Furthermore, traditional knowledge can enrich informal forms of learning, improve ideas for new commercial products (e.g. in cuisine), and represent sustainable use of natural materials, etc.

There are many informal ways to make people proud of the achievements of their ancestors. One important tool to show people that they are the main bearers and practitioners of cultural heritage is preparing a documentary film featuring locals as the main actors. Based on the experience in making a documentary film in the Slovenian village of Volčji Grad in the Karst region, at the beginning of the activity local actors may be opposed to activities and they will have a funk when performing in front of the camera, but after a few days of filming they become more relaxed and take pride in their work as well as the way of life, traditions and knowledge they represent. Moreover, they start to describe the life of their grandparents with particular attention and they want to show the audience everything that was typical for their village or region. Local history can thus be presented in an innovative way, including for the generation of the digital age, and local identity can be strengthened, new social relations and friendships can develop, and local people become more self-confident and informed. Based on our experience making a documentary film in the village of Volčji Grad, we can confirm that although the film was made a long time ago (2004), local residents are still very proud of their work and they are happy to show the film to their grandchildren (Fakin Bajec, 2012, 24).

Moreover, because in the contemporary world people grow apart because of economic impacts, racism, class divisions, precariousness, etc., the need for different social actions has increased. Among other events, those fostering intergenerational ties become more and more important, as they involve generations with different backgrounds, experiences and visions, empower the participants and encourage people of different age to socialize. They aim to form ties between older and younger generations, as each generation relies on the support of the others to overcome life obstacles. A possible method to form new intergenerational ties through

heritage activities is an interview, where children ask older people about their life in the past, old customs, recipes, products, experiences and philosophy. An interview provides an opportunity to establish a personal connection and gather information, opinions and ideas about the specific issue. Both generations can gain new knowledge and search for a common solution of how to properly safeguard, utilize, or modify heritage. Moreover, participants can understand particular fears of each generation and better understand what members of different generation would like to do with their cultural achievements. Children can better understand problems faced by aging people, and develop respect towards older people. At the same time, socializing can help the elderly in overcoming isolation and depression due to loneliness. Through intergenerational interviews we can also learn family stories, which can in the long run improve the content of the cultural products as well as their promotion and marketing.

Another method to link different generations through heritage activities is collaboration between kindergartens or primary schools and certain associations (e.g. housewives, farmers, hunters, mushroom-pickers), where older members show children how to make special local dishes or dishes from local products. Children like this kind of practical education, though which they gain new knowledge, and can express their creativity through active participation. Older people get an opportunity to share their knowledge, gain new experience, and acquire more self-confidence and satisfaction.

Ethnographic workshops are well-attended heritage activities in many historical sites. They are attended by different generations, especially children, their parents and grandparents. Workshops can be an educational, social and cultural event, when participants – together with a mentor (who can be an expert or member of the community with special skills) – research, perform, present, or further develop cultural tangible or intangible elements. The purpose of the event is not only to gather new knowledge and do something for the preservation and utilization of local cultural heritage, but can also allow practitioners to familiarize themselves. Not least, it can be a way to find common solutions to personal and community challenges. If participants come from different social and professional backgrounds, or if they work in different public or private organizations, collaboration among different sectors can develop, potentially leading to expanded professional networks. It can also promote local heritage or past experience, help people acquire traditional skills, and stimulate creative solutions for adapting traditional knowledge to contemporary needs, technologies and approaches (Pogačar et al., 2019, 36).

Heritage activities can provide a tool for introducing multi-level community networks and construction of so-called local development clusters/groups as



Image 5: The methodology of the Interreg European heritage projects offers many opportunities to develop participatory methods and tools to actively involve the local population in a constructive debate about cultural items. Meeting of the project partners within the NewPilgrimAge project (Photo: Archive of the NPA project, Albenga (Italy), November 2018).

well. Due to the difficulty of involving all groups of stakeholders around one table in practice, some informal ways or opportunities to make friends among stakeholders should be organized. An informal way to link different local associations, companies, heritage institutions and local inhabitants could be different kind of competitions, such as a culinary competition where participants present their culinary knowledge as well as typical local ingredients. Participants can range from primary school children to young professionals and the elderly. Nowadays, cooking competitions are well known and popular all around Slovenia and abroad, often supported by food companies, which provide ingredients or awards. The competitions gain additional value if the judges are nationally or internationally known cooks or chefs, who not only evaluate the dishes prepared but also provide moral support and encouragement to participants and useful suggestions by sharing their knowledge. Furthermore, participating companies enhance their reputation,

social value and public recognition. One such competition was organized by the heritage association in Planina pri Ajdovščini in Slovenia, which empowered not only children and their parents, but especially the world famous Slovenian chef Tomaž Kavčič, who was one of the three judges. In the competition children from primary school had to prepare dishes from turnips in traditional or innovative ways, using domestic ingredients. The competition was called “Zrij Rejpo” (Dig Up Turnips) and was led by the local association of housewives, which hosted visits from five school groups. Their theoretical and practical knowledge was reflected in very innovative recipes, judged by three nationally recognized experts. Besides Tomaž Kavčič, food technologist Marija Merljak and agronomist Davor Špehar participated as well. Turnip has been a typical crop in the Vipava Valley and an indispensable ingredient in the daily menu of people in Planina pri Ajdovščini. Children presented some traditional as well as some innovative dishes.

An important tool to foster collaboration is also organization of celebrations (e.g., a community picnic, cultural events), which can be a core part of the community building process. Celebration has always played an important role in communities and it can create an opportunity for bonding and building trust. Moreover, community actions might be a very important step to rethink not only heritage, but also the maintenance and improvement of other public resources. Furthermore, celebrations can link various people from diverse public and private organizations (e.g. museums, libraries, NGOs, research institutions, tourist organizations and businesses). Members not only display and sell their products at these events, but they also have opportunities for conversation, making friends, and furthering formal cooperation and networks. There are many such events in Slovenia, one of them the culinary festival JESTIVAL, a mix of Great Cuisine and Art in Kobarid in the Upper Soča Valley in Slovenia. This is a culinary event organized at the beginning of October, where local chefs and artists together to create, exhibit and exchange inspirations. Among performances, creative workshops, film projections, discussions and exhibitions, visitors can also taste and sample original local dishes ranging from cheeses from the Soča Valley to marble trout and other freshwater fish together with selected Slovenian wines. The main star of the event is still a special sweet – the “štrukelj” (dumpling) from Kobarid. In the past it was made by every housewife from Kobarid, who each prepared it in a slightly different way and signed it with their fingerprint in the middle of the “strukelj”.

CONCLUSION

Cultural heritage in the modern, global world, which is facing drastic environmental, economic, social and cultural changes, is understood in the context of new development paradigms and content. Although the social, economic, and development roles of heritage practices are intertwined and operate in the direction of ensuring the well-being of local residents, their role in local communities is still not sufficiently developed. The key to overcoming the challenge of community engagement and thus form a multi-level community network can be seen in better cooperation among the main stakeholders of development, especially among experts, local decision-makers and residents from particular local areas. The combination of the principles of bottom-up and top-down approaches can bring fruitful results, but all involved parties should be proud of their past’s

achievements and motivated to take common steps in order to transmit heritage to the younger generation in innovative ways. Although the local population are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of the knowledge of their ancestors and realize that the past is not something technologically backward, but rather something of value which can in conjunction with modern innovative approaches be enriched for a better tomorrow, often they do not have appropriate stimulation or a clear vision of how to implement past practices. Project teams can contribute greatly to this effort, but they must not take on the role of all-knowing actors, but more the role of consultant, facilitator, and proposer of different ideas and thoughts that the local population are willing to accept, supplement and enhance with respect to their own expectations and needs.

There are many methods and techniques for including the public in the development of local communities. Among other things they can also be seen through the practices of creating local heritage in societies, where heritage elements can become a component for ensuring sustainable development and the formation of sustainable communities. The engagement process is not easy in practice and can represent a big challenge. It takes considerable time and depends on the selection of the right approaches. Important tools to engage people, which has not been particularly highlighted in this text, are also communication channels such as social media, websites, personal and telephone communication, TV broadcasting, newspapers and radio. The wide variety of channels used – traditional and digital – help to ensure that people of all ages and socioeconomic groups can be reached.

The activities described here can be prepared in any village, town or other heritage centres. This can enhance awareness among all heritage actors as to how to achieve an inclusive heritage process, to build community capacities and bring personal benefits. They could also enrich the content of museums, villas, castles and other heritage monuments or sites. A heritage project without taking into consideration people, the characteristics of their natural and built environment, and their culture is like writing a book using an unfamiliar alphabet: the book may lie on a bookshelf, but it will remain untouched, unread, unused, and uninterpreted. Heritage is not here for its own sake, but it can encourage us all to think about the achievements of our predecessors, to unite all relevant heritage actors and to take common steps in order to sustainably preserve, renovate, interpret and improve and modify heritage.

CELOSTNI PRISTOP K REVITALIZACIJI, VAROVANJU IN UPRAVLJANJU KULTURNE DEDIŠČINE: KAKO USTVARITI TRAJNO IN AKTIVNO LOKALNO SKUPNOST

Jasna FAKIN BAJEC

ZRC SAZU, Inštitut za kulturne in spominske študije, Raziskovalna postaja Nova Gorica, Delpinova 12, 5000 Nova Gorica, Slovenia
e-mail: jasna.fakin@zrc-sazu.si

POVZETEK

Številne konvencije o revitalizaciji, varovanju in upravljanju kulturne dediščine (prim. Konvencija o varovanju nesnovne kulturne dediščine, Konvencija o vrednosti kulturne dediščine za družbo, Evropska strategija kulturne dediščine za 21. stoletje, idr.) poudarjajo pomen aktivnega vključevanja različnih akterjev v dediščinske projekte; tako od načrtovanja projektne ideje, njegove izvedbe, kot pri ocenjevanju doseženih rezultatov. Zadnje dediščinske raziskave izrecno poudarjajo, da so lokalni prebivalci (poleg strokovnjakov in politikov) postali najpomembnejši deležniki pri celostnem (integriranem) upravljanju kulturni spomenikov in nesnovnih elementov. Še več, novi participativni pristopi upravljanja s kulturno dediščino zahtevajo povezovanje tako pristopa od »spodaj navzgor«, kot pristopa »od zgoraj navzdol«, kar pa v praksi odpira več izzivov. Članek poskuša odgovoriti na vprašanja, kdo v dediščinskih projektih, ki se nanašajo na vrednotenje in trajnostno rabo lokalnih kulturnih stvaritev, konstruirati skupnost; kako v skupnosti doseči medsebojno zaupanje in prevzemanje odgovornosti; s katerimi ovirami se projektna skupina lahko sooči, ko želi vključiti skupnost v dediščinske procese; kako doseči več-nivojsko skupnostno mrežo ter kako uskladiti različne interese, stališča vključenih akterjev in posledično medsebojno in odgovorno partnerstvo itd. Poleg predstavitve in analize teoretskega aparata, ki se razvija v okviru dediščinskih in kulturnih študij in se nanaša na participativne pristope in povezovanja javno, zasebnega in volonterskega sektorja, so v prispevku predstavljene tudi možne neformalne poti, metode in orodja, kako člane skupnosti ozaveščati o sodobnem pomenu kulturne dediščine, aktivni participaciji in pomenu več-nivojskih mrež in lokalnih skupin, ki bodo dovolj močne za nadaljevanje dediščinskih praks po uradnem zaključku financiranja projekta. Podrobneje so predstavljene prakse, kako se lahko odnos lokalnega prebivalstva do kulturne dediščine spremeni s pomočjo snemanja dokumentarnega filma o zgodovini načina življenja v določeni vasi. Pomembno metodo za participativno raziskovanje in upravljanje lokalne dediščine predstavljajo intervjuji med otroci in starejšimi, ki opolnomočijo in ozaveščajo mlade raziskovalce in starejše generacije. Priložnosti za mreženje znanj, medsebojno opogumljanje in sodelovanje predstavljajo tudi etnografske delavnice, ki lahko združijo različne generacije. Med pomembne priložnosti za graditev in krepitev skupnosti uvrščamo tudi festivale in vaške prireditve. Priložnost za večjo angažiranost mladih v dediščinske prakse pa predstavljajo osnovnošolska tekmovanja (prim. kuharska tekmovanja), kjer se priložnost za sodelovanje ponuja tudi gospodarstvu (prim. prehrabnim podjetjem in turističnim ponudnikom). Predstavljeni primeri praks so bili izvedeni in analizirani v številnih lokalnih in mednarodnih projektih, kjer je avtorica članka aktivno sodelovala.

Ključne besede: upravljanje dediščine, celostni in participativni pristopi, trajnostni razvoj, več-sektorske in nivojske mreže v skupnosti

VIRI IN LITERATURA

- European Committee of the Regions (2009).** The Committee of the Regions' White Paper on multilevel governance. Official journal of the European union. <https://op.europa.eu/en/publication-detail/-/publication/3cba79fd-2fcd-4fc4-94b9-677bbc53916b/language-en> (last access: 23. 3. 2020).
- The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003).** UNESCO. <https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention> (last access: 20. 8. 2019).
- The Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (Faro Convention) (2005).** Council of Europe. <https://www.coe.int/en/web/culture-and-heritage/faro-convention> (last access: 23. 3. 2020).
- Adell, N., Bendix, R. F., Bortolotto, C. & M. Tauschek (2015):** Introduction. In: Adell, N. et al. (eds.): *Between Imagined Communities and Communities of Practice: Participation, Territory and the Making of Heritage*. Göttingen, University Press, 7–21.
- Baird N'Diaye, D. (2019):** Community in the Context of UNESCO's Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage. https://www.accu.or.jp/ich/en/pdf/c2006Expert_NDIAYE.pdf (last access: 20. 8. 2019).
- Blake, J. (2009):** UNESCO's 2003: Convention on Intangible Cultural Heritage: the implication of community involvement in »safeguarding«. In: Smith, L. & N. Akagawa (eds.): *Intangible heritage*. London, New York, Routledge, 45–73.
- Bold, J. & R. Pickard (eds.) (2018):** *An Integrated Approach to Cultural Heritage. The Council of Europe's Technical Co-operation and Consultancy Programme*. Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing.
- Bole, D. & F. Bigaran (2013):** Introduction. In: Bole, D., Šmid Hribar, M. & J. Kozina (eds.): *The Synergy of Culture and Tourism for the Development of Rural Areas*. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.
- Byrne, D. (2008):** Heritage as Social Action. In: Fairclough, G. et al. (eds.): *The Heritage Reader*. London, New York, Routledge, 149–173.
- Chitty, G. (ed.) (2017):** Introduction: Engaging Conservation – Practising Heritage Conservation and Communities. In: Chitty, G. (ed.): *Heritage, Conservation and Communities. Engagement, Participation and Capacity Building*. London, New York, Routledge, 1–14.
- Clark, K. (2008):** Only Connect – Sustainable Development and Cultural Heritage. In: Fairclough, G. et al. (eds.): *The Heritage Reader*. London, New York, Routledge, 82–98.
- Cohen, P. A. (1985):** *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. London, New York, Routledge.
- Court, S. & G. Wijesuriya (2015):** People-centred approaches to the Conservation of Cultural Heritage. *Living heritage*. Rome, ICCROM.
- De la Torre, M. & R. Mason (2002):** Introduction. In: De la Torre, M. (ed.): *Assessing the Values of Cultural Heritage. Research Report*. Los Angeles, The Getty Conservation Institute, 3–4.
- Delak Koželj, Z. (2013):** Dediščinske skupnosti in ohranjanje kulturne dediščine. *Glasnik Slovenskega etnološkega društva*, 53/3, 4, 41–50.
- Fairclough, G. (2009):** *New Heritage Frontiers*. In: *Heritage and Beyond*. Strasburg, Council of Europe Publishing, 29–41.
- Fakin Bajec, J. (2011):** Procesi ustvarjanja kulturne dediščine: Kraševci med tradicijo inizzivi sodobne družbe. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.
- Fakin Bajec, J. (2012):** Volčjegrajci nekoč in danes. In: Guštin, M. (ed.): *Volčji Grad*. Komen, Občina Komen, 15–28.
- Fakin Bajec, J. (2016):** Cultural Heritage and the Role of Voluntary Associations in the Process of Achieving Sustainable Development in Rural Communities. *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, 28, 21–45.
- Feretti, V. & E. Comino (2015):** An Integrated Framework to Assess Complex Cultural and Natiral Heritage Systems with Multi-Attribute Value Thory. *Journal of Cultural heritage*, 16, 688–697.
- Fisher, F. (2001):** Building Bridges between Citizens and Local Governments to Work more Effectively together through Participatory Planning. Part 1: Concepts and Strategies. UN Habitat document.
- Harrison, R. et al. (2008):** Heritage, Memory and Modernity. In: Fairclough, G. et. al. (eds.): *The Heritage Reader*. London, New York, Routledge, 1–12.
- Hofman, A. (2015):** Glasba, politika, afekt: novo življenje partizanskih pesmi v Sloveniji (Zbirka Kulturni spomin). Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.
- Johnson, M. (2018):** Foreword. In: Bold J. & R. Pickard (eds.), *An Integrated Approach to Cultural Heritage. The Council of Europe's Technical Co-operation and Consultancy Programme*. Strasbourg, Council of Europe Publishing, 7.
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998):** *Destination Culture. Tourism, Museums and Heritage*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, University of California Press.
- Labadi, S. & P. G. Gould (2015):** Sustainable Development. Heritage, Comunity, Economics. In: Meskell, L. (ed.): *Global Heritage: a reader*. Chichester, Wiley Blackwell, 196–216.
- Labrador, A. M. & N. A. Silberman (2018):** Introduction: Public Heritage as Social Practice. In: Labrador, A. M. et al. (eds.): *Oxford Handbook of Public Heritage: Theory and practice*. New York, Oxford University Press, 1–17.
- Low, M. S. (2008):** Social Sustainability: People, History and Values. In: Fairclough, G. et al. (eds.): *The Heritage Reader*. London, New York, Routledge, 392–404.

McCloskey, J. D. et al. (2011): Principles of Community Engagement. Clinical and Translational Science Awards Consortium, Community Engagement Key Function Committee Task, Force on the Principles of Community Engagement. http://www.atsdr.cdc.gov/communityengagement/pdf/PCE_Report_508_FINAL.pdf (last access: 23. 3. 2020).

Mindspace (2017): Methodology for Appointing Change Drivers, Establishment and Operation of Local Stakeholder Platforms. NewPilgrimAge project. Budapest. <https://www.interreg-central.eu/Content.Node/DT111-Methodology-ChangeDrivers-final.pdf> (last access: 23. 3. 2020).

Müller, E. & R. Stotten (2011): Public Participation Manual. Lucerne University of Applied Sciences and Arts.

Nanasi, E., Fakin Bajec, J., Gyorffy, A. & M. Vecchia (2019): Community Sourced Cultural Heritage Valorisation Model: Community Engagement Schemes for Smart Cultural Heritage Valorization. NewPilgrimAge project. Budapest. <https://www.interreg-central.eu/Content.Node/Downloads1.html> (last access: 23. 3. 2020).

Onciul, B., Stefano, M. L. & S. Hawke (2017): Engaging Heritage, Engaging Communities. Woodbridge, the Boydell press.

Parry, G., Moyser, G. & N. Day (1992): Political Participation and Democracy in Britain. Cambridge, Cambridge University press.

Participatory Techniques and Tools (2001): A WFP Guide, Booklet 1: Concepts of Participation and Partnership. Strategy and policy division world food programme, Rome.

Pogačar, M. et al. (2019): Green is Good: Planning Urban Green Spaces with People, not for People. Ljubljana, Založba ZRC.

Sesana, E. et al. (2020): In Integrated Approach for Assessing the Vulnerability of World Heritage Sites to Climate Change Impacts. *Journal of cultural heritage*, 41, 211–224.

Smith, L. (2006): Uses of heritage. London in New York, Routledge.

Wan Ismail, W. H. & J. R Nadarajah (2016): Young Visitors in the City: Their Perceptions of Heritage Buildings, *Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 234, 470–477.

Waterton, E. & L. Smith (2010): The Recognition and Misrecognition of Community Heritage. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 16, 1, 2, 4–15.

Wenger, E. (2010): A Social Theory of Learning. In: Knud Illeris (eds.): *Contemporary Theories of Learning*. London in New York, Routledge, 209–219.

Winter, T. & E. Waterton (2013): Critical Heritage Studies. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 19, 6, 529–531.

THE ROLE OF NÁDASDY CASTLE IN TOURISM OF SÁRVÁR – THE APPEARANCE OF DISABLED PEOPLE IN CULTURAL TOURISM

Borbála GONDOS

Edutus University, Tourism Department, 11-13 Villányi road, 1114 Budapest, Hungary
e-mail: gondos.borbala@edutus.hu

Gábor WIRTH

Edutus University, Tourism Department, 11-13 Villányi road, 1114 Budapest, Hungary
e-mail: wirth.gabor@edutus.hu

ABSTRACT

In our study we are examining the sustainable tourism utilization of Nádasdy Castle and its role in the tourism of the spa town of Sárvár, which is becoming more and more well-known in Western Hungary because of its outstanding historical-cultural value, as a sustainable development of one of Hungary's most important sights. In order to explore the future development possibilities of the castle, known as the symbol of the city, it is essential to analyze the development tendencies determining the tourism of Sárvár and the tourist area of the settlement. The fundamental goal of our research is to answer the question of what priorities can be developed in tourism of Sárvár in the future. Among the segments forming the tourist destination of the city, we are particularly concerned about those ones, which are in connection with history or culture, and which are interested in the increasing number of people with disabilities in the tourism market. Accessible tourism is an added value of sustainable development of cultural heritage. In our research we used both quantitative data analysis and qualitative methods, the existing secondary data were complemented with the primary data collection with the city's tourism space, attractions, local economy, and with the city's tourist target groups, including disabled people.

Keywords: sustainability, development, cultural tourism, accessibility, people with disabilities

IL RUOLO DEL CASTELLO DI NÁDASDY NEL TURISMO DI SÁRVÁR – L'ASPETTO DEI DISABILI NEL TURISMO CULTURALE

SINTESI

Nel saggio esaminiamo la stazione balneare dell'Ungheria occidentale nello Sárvár che sta diventando sempre più conosciuta a livello internazionale, soprattutto grazie al notevole valore storico culturale del castello dei Nádasdy, sia per la sua utilizzazione turistica sostenibile che per il ruolo che esso gioca nel turismo della città. Nella ricerca delle possibilità di sviluppo del castello, conosciuto come simbolo della città nell'immediato futuro, risulta indispensabile l'analisi delle tendenze rilevanti dello sviluppo turistico di Sárvár e dell'area turistica della città. Lo scopo principale della nostra ricerca è di trovare le risposte alla seguente domanda: quali sono le possibili priorità per il futuro sviluppo del turismo di Sárvár? Tra i gruppi destinatari del turismo cittadino ci occupiamo in particolare delle persone che si interessano alla storia e alla cultura e, inoltre, delle persone disabili che sono sempre più frequenti nel turismo. Nella nostra ricerca abbiamo adoperato sia l'analisi quantitativa dei dati che i metodi qualitativi. In tal modo abbiamo completato i dati secondari con la raccolta di dati primari riguardo l'area turistica, le attrazioni, l'economia locale, i gruppi destinatari turistici della città, soprattutto le persone disabili.

Parole chiave: sostenibilità, sviluppo, turismo culturale, accessibilità, persone con disabilità

INTRODUCTION

In our study we are examining the role of Nádasdy Castle in Sárvár in tourism, because this building is still a symbol of the city and tells a lot about the busy history of Western Hungary.

This paper about the role of the Nádasdy Castle is going to fill in a gap in the field of interdisciplinary examination not having been discussed in any monograph or publication yet. The tourism functions and the role of the settlement network in this region have already been discussed in comprehensive analyses (Beluszky, 1999; Darabos & Gyuricza, 2011). The settlement Sárvár has been analyzed in different monographs (Molnár et al., 2000; Csapó, 2010) and we can learn about the touristic role of the bath and the wellness-hotels from Köbli (2017). The research of Palkovits (2010) shows the development of the local economy in Sárvár.

The aim of our research is to answer the question of how the castle can be used for sustainable tourism. *“Sustainability principles refer to the environmental, economic, and socio-cultural aspects of tourism development, and a suitable balance must be established between these three dimensions to guarantee its long-term sustainability.”*¹ In order to explore the role and potential of Nádasdy Castle in tourism, we need to examine the direction of development of Sárvár considering the town as a tourist destination. It is important to emphasize and also examine the visitors (within the people with reduced mobility), their motivation and attractions. People with disabilities have recently come to the center of attention of certain developments in Hungary, including tourism. Accessibility is considered a basic requirement in case of each development and investment, so people with disabilities can access all the institutions of the resorts. In our study we are also examining the accessibility of the Nádasdy Castle as a cultural attraction for people with disabilities.

INTRODUCTION OF SÁRVÁR AND NÁDASDY CASTLE

Sárvár is located in Vas County near Szombathely, in the Region of Western Hungary, and it is one of the most popular spa towns in Hungary. The population of the city is close to 15,000, which has recently been decreasing. Sárvár is today famous for its spa and wellness spa, which makes it an ideal location for wellness hotels. The city was named after the clay castle which was fortified in the early middle ages with a plank and earthen wall. The castle was rebuilt in the XVI. century and expanded with five Italian bastions (Csorba et al., 2014). The castle is primarily known for the landlords of the area, the Nádasdy family, whose members belong to the Hungarian heroes of the anti-Turkish wars. The

Nádasdy Historical Festival commemorates the victory over Turkish troops besieging the castle in 1532 which is held every year. Another important curiosity is the surviving love letters of Tamás Nádasdy and Orsolya Kanizsai, and the fact that Countess Elizabeth Báthory, who is known from vampire history, spent part of her life in the castle as wife of Ferenc Nádasdy (Bessenyei, 2005). In the XX. century many industrial plants were established in the city (Beluszky, 1999). The year 1961 marked an important milestone in the history of Sárvár: when drilling oil, thermal water broke into the surface, thus the exploration of the thermal water contributed greatly to the development of tourism in Sárvár. In the 1980s thermal water played an increasingly important role in the economy of the city and a socialist brand was created, the Sárvár Thermal Crystal which was sold first to the older generation. The opening of the spa and wellness spa in 2002 marked a turning point in the tourism of the city, and since then the demand for quality services has increased. To examine the role of the Nádasdy Castle in tourism in Sárvár we need to analyze the city's tourism space and offer. First in our research we examined the characteristics of tourism in Sárvár, after which we asked what role the Nádasdy Castle can play in building the tourist brand and in the life of people with disabilities as a cultural tourist attraction. Finally, based on the results of the research, we highlighted the possibility of using the existing potentials of tourism more efficiently. The Nádasdy Castle and its affiliated Ferenc Nádasdy Museum have long been owned by the municipality, which also influences development opportunities and directions.

Financing revitalisation and management of cultural heritage buildings are of crucial importance. The lack of business approach in culture often leads to misunderstanding of culture as an art and not as a generator to produce new creative products. Consequently, the cultural heritage buildings lack financing from the private sector (Turi, 2019, 174).

ACCESSIBILITY AND ACCESSIBLE TOURISM

In most cases, the argument against accessibility is that it affects only a few people, so it is not worth dealing with. Not only people with different disabilities need to be considered, but also the elderly and families with little children using stroller, or people with temporary problems (for example accident) (Gondos & Nárai, 2019). The increase of the average life expectancy of the population on the earth and the motorization (accidents) also contribute to the increasing number of people in this segment, so developing and operating accessible tourism is becoming

1 UNWTO Sustainable tourism: <https://www.unwto.org/sustainable-development> (last access: 18. 06. 2018).

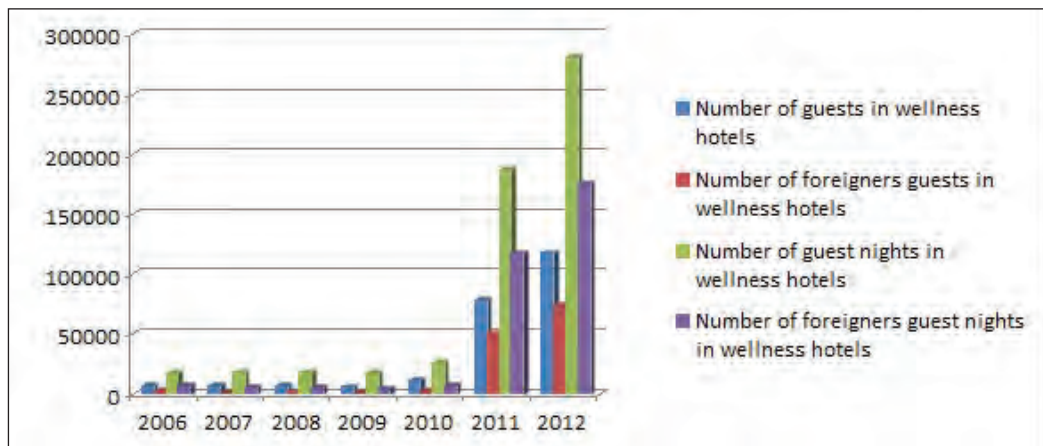


Figure 1: Number of guests and guest nights in Sárvár in wellness hotels between 2006-2012 (data based on HCSO, based on own editing).

essential. Nowadays, more than one billion people live with some kind of disabilities and their number tends to increase in the forthcoming years due to the growing average age of the citizens.²

The concepts of physical accessibility and accessibility are interrelated with each other and they have priorities in building the environment. In Hungary, the requirement of accessibility is defined in the „1997 LXXVIII. law, which defines the shaping and protection of the built environment”, and based on this rule „Accessible: it means building an environment, which provides convenient, secure, and self-contained access for all the people, including those who have health problems or groups of people who need special tools or technical solutions to do so”.³ The most important of all these criteria is that people with disabilities can use the built environment comfortably, safely and independently. As the technical possibilities for accessibility have evolved, the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities uses the term accessibility (Gondos & Nárai, 2019).

While making something accessible, the basic requirement is that not only the aspects of people with physical disabilities have to be paid attention to, but also the needs of people with other disabilities, too. For example, a blind and visually impaired person needs to have signs on the sidewalk (e.g. a guide bar), and signal light sounds, but they also need reading facilities with the help of Braille writing e.g. a menu or tactile map or attraction. Deaf people and those who are hard of hearing require differently processed information with strong visual information transmission such as flashing lights, or transmitting the necessary information with the help of an induction loop/amplifier (Gondos & Nárai, 2019). Based on the

above mentioned research, was also examined the Nádasdy Castle in terms of accessibility, the results of which are presented below.

GOALS AND METHODS

The analysis of statistical data was an important starting point of our research. Considering that a significant part of the revenues from tourism is realized in the tourism supra-structure (Michalkó, 2012), it was also necessary to examine the enterprises belonging to tourism supra-structure. Similarly to the national trends, the local economic structure of Sárvár is also dominated by small enterprises, so our survey also focuses on small enterprises operating here.

The aim of the research was to examine the processes, the problems of the local economy and its relation to tourism, including the exploration of the possibilities of the Nádasdy Castle in Sárvár. The survey was conducted within the tourism space of Sárvár, based on the experience of the manager of Sárvár TDM and the company managers operating in the city, with special regard to the experience and location of the managers of gastronomic enterprises.

The questionnaire was conducted from 06. 06. 2018 to 09. 06. 2018 and was conducted with the management and owners of 47 small enterprises operating in the tourism zone of Sárvár. The questionnaire consisted of 12 questions concerning the local economy, spatial relationship of enterprises, and the situation and impact of tourism. Despite taking few samples, the research has, nevertheless, led to a representative result, with 47 responses well above 10 percent of businesses within the tourist zone of the settlement and belonging to the tourist supra-structure.

² UNWTO Accessible tourism: <http://ethics.unwto.org/en/content/accessible-tourism> (last access: 18. 06. 2018).

³ <https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=99700078.TV.10-11.oldal> (last access: 30. 06. 2019).

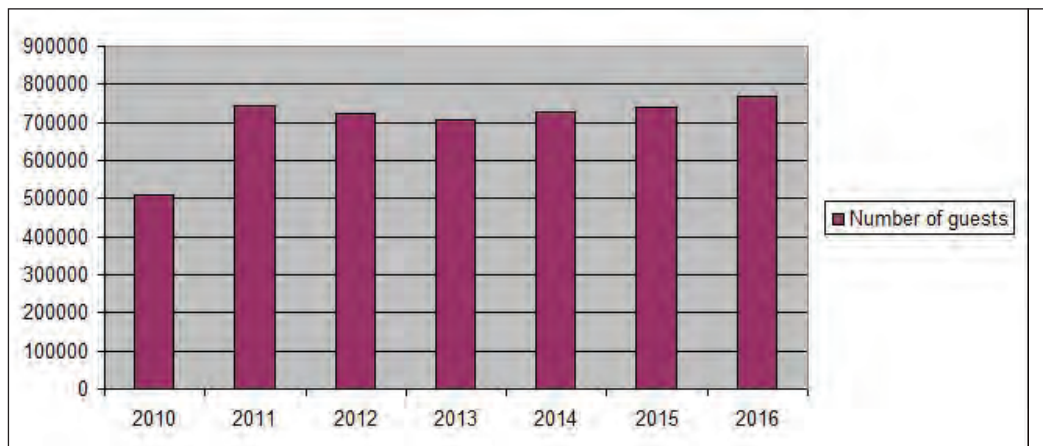


Figure 2: Number of guests in Sárvár between 2010-2016 (data based on HCSO, based on own editing).

The quantitative research was complemented by a qualitative research: in the summer of 2018 we conducted a structured interview with Ferenc Haller, TDM Manager of Sárvár and Zoltán Takács, Director of the Nádasdy Museum. The questions asked by both professionals concerned the effects of seasonality, the development plans of the castle and the city, and the operation, structure and image of the local economy. We compared our results with the local development ideas.

RESULTS

According to the number of guest nights, Sárvár ranked as the 8th most popular settlement in Hungary in 2017, with 483,782 guest nights, and 290.975 guest nights according to the number of nights spent by foreigners (KSH, 2018). The popularity of Sárvár's tourism today is determined by the popularity of the spa and wellness spa hotels, which rely on this resource.

Until 2009, there was only one wellness hotel in Sárvár, but since 2010, recognizing the needs of the market, more and more have been established, and in 2012 there were already six wellness hotels. Of course, the increase in hotel numbers also meant a significant increase in capacity. The negative impact of the 2009 economic crisis had a negative effect on the number of guests and the number of guest nights spent in Figure 1, but Sárvár's tourism showed an increase again from the following year. In 2012, the six wellness hotels registered 118,056 guests, including 74,193 foreigners, representing almost 63 percent of the total. These data show that Sárvár was already known abroad as a destination in 2012.

The average length of stay was 2.6 in 2006, only 2.37 nights in 2010, and two years later 2.4 nights (according to the 2013 data of the HCSO). Based on these, it can be assumed that weekend and long weekend stays are decisive based on the time distribution of wellness hotel guests. Ferenc Haller, TDM Manager of Sárvár, confirmed our proposal in an interview with him, adding that the organization and stakeholders are already addressing the question of how the city can attract more tourists on weekdays in the future. It is also important to note that Sárvár's success can be explained, among other things, by European tourism trends: demand for health and wellness tourism services across Europe has increased, one of the reasons being the demographic structure of Europe (Aubert, 2011). According to local TDM data, the average length of stay of foreign guests in 2018 is 3.4 nights, which is above the Hungarian average (2.6 nights).⁴

The years 2011, 2012 and 2013 were especially successful for tourism in Sárvár: according to the number of guest nights, the city of West Hungary was ranked 7th among the settlements of Hungary. Despite the decline in 2011-2013, the number of visitors to the spa and wellness spa is always above 700,000 from 2011. In 2016 has the most visitors in the spa so far (Figure 2).

The geographic position of Sárvár is very important for the success of Sárvár's tourism: the city is within a few hours from several European cities and capitals: 132 km from Vienna, 134 kilometers from Bratislava, 208 kilometers from Budapest and 261 from Brno.

Today the historic city has gained international attention due to its thermal and spa baths. Although, spa and wellness tourism are also considered fashionable touristic products, Sárvár offers many more facilities for its visitors. In order to determine the role of the

⁴ Magyar Turisztikai Ügynökség (2019): https://mtu.gov.hu/documents/prod/Kereskedelmi_szallashelyek_adatai_2018.pdf (last access: 28. 07. 2019).



Figure 3: Touristic space of Sárvár (map of Sárvár Tourist & TDM Nonprofit Ltd., based on own editing).

Nádasdy Castle, we first defined the touristic area of Sárvár. The available literature on settlement and tourism development defines the tourist areas according to the following criteria: „In practice, tourist areas are delimited by taking particular account of the landscape, the accommodation, the cultural offer and the tourism demand for the accommodation” (LEP, 2005, 8).

In case of Sárvár, besides the primary tourist facilities, the gastronomic and commercial units, which belong to the tourist supra-structure, also provided an important point of reference. Ferenc Haller, the TDM manager of the city also helped with the delineation of the city’s tourism space as the manager and owner of the 24 small businesses in hospitality and commercial facilities. The tourist area of Sárvár is marked with red color on the following map.

Figure 3 shows that within the tourist area of Sárvár, the Nádasdy Castle (1 blue) in the city center and the spa facilities (1, 4, 6 green) are quite far apart. The most visited tourist attractions in Sárvár are the spa and wellness spa and its wellness hotels and the Boating Lake, which are located further away from the city center, in the southeastern part of the town’s tourist

area. Comparing the number of visitors to the spa and wellness spa and the Nádasdy Museum, we can note the following: In 2016, the spa and wellness spa registered 768,868 visitors and the castle museum 27,294 visitors. In the same year, the Czechs spent the largest number of foreign guest nights – 135,961 – in Sárvár, Austria ranked second place with 82,720 guest nights, and Germany in third place with 25,674 guest nights. Tourists from Slovakia spent 17,402 nights in the settlement (information from TDM Sárvár). According to the TDM Manager and the Castle Museum Director, very few bath guests visit the castle (Haller, 2018; Takács, 2018).

In addition to tourism infrastructure, tourism supra-structure also generates very significant local revenues. „The tourism supra-structure is made up of complementary facilities that are based on general infrastructure and serve visitor-oriented needs” (Fischer, 2009, 75).

The surveyed business executives and owners of the companies provided information on the current situation of local tourism and also its main problems and opportunities of development. According to the re-

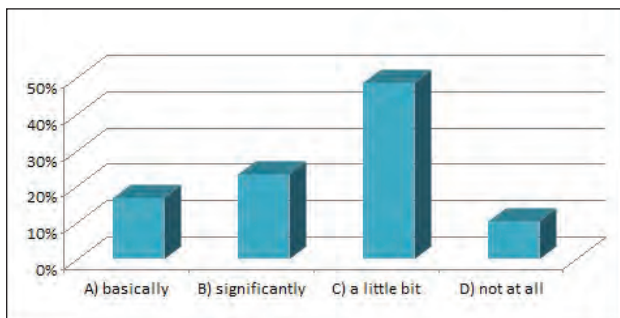


Figure 4: The impact of seasonality on small enterprises in the tourist supra-structure (N=47).

sults of a survey carried out in the tourism space of the city, the seasonality only marginally affected the small enterprises. However, we should note that seasonality in tourism causes difficulties for more than 30% of the surveyed small enterprises. Comparing Gábor Wirth's previous research on settlements of Lake Velence, we can conclude that seasonality in Sárvár determines the local economy to a lesser extent than in the settlements at Lake Velence (Wirth, 2016). This is probably due to the popularity of the spa and spa facilities in Sárvár, which is not so much associated with the high season in summer. not like beaches, cycle paths and other tourist facilities at Lake Velence.

Based on the results of the research which were presented above, the question still arises to what extent seasonality determines the operation of Nádasdy Castle and its role in the tourism. Zoltán Takács, the Director of Nádasdy Castle, confirmed in an interview that only a very small number of wellness hotels and spa visitors choose to visit the castle and the castle museum, which can be explained by the relatively long distance between the castle and the spa facilities. The director also said that the castle and the spa facilities attract quite different segments, so the management of the castle has not been able to take advantage of the increasing number of tourists so far (Takács, 2018).

The management of the castle would like to work more closely with other tourist servicers in the future, in particular with the spa and wellness spa and wellness hotels. Furthermore, it is also essential to continue successful cooperation with the local TDM organization (Takács, 2018).

The high level of awareness of the local TDM organization indicates that tourism organizations of the city are active in marketing: 72% of the small enterprises knows about the organization and 33% works with it or has a good relationship with it. 45% of small enterprises in hospitality works with the local TDM organization.

The long-term goal of the museum director is to make Nádasdy Castle a major player in Sárvár's tourism in the future. The Integrated Urban Development

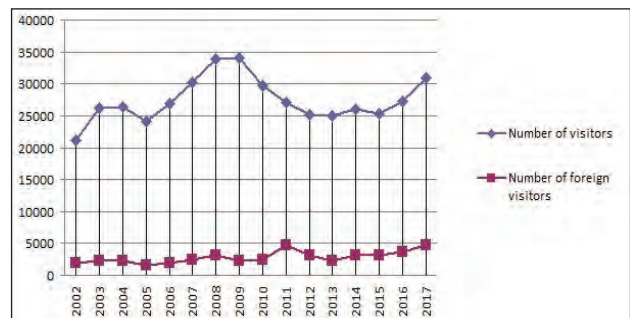


Figure 5: Number of visitors and foreign visitors of Ferenc Nádasdy Museum (data based on Ferenc Nádasdy Museum, based on own edition).

Strategy between 2014-2020 also states that the cultural and built relics of the city should not be neglected (Fülöp et al, 2015)

Renovation of Nádasdy Castle's as well as its heating and other energy supply system, is one of the most important projects which is realized in the center of the city. The city also plans to create a large meeting room in the castle (Haller, 2018)

For the castle's management the events could mean an important breakthrough: 12,7 percent of the small enterprises imagine developing tourism in the city by organizing additional events, expecting the number of customers/visitor to expand. In addition to the economic stimulus of the events, do not forget about the positive social effects. Each of these events will motivate the local population by stimulating community life.

We can realize when analyzing the number of visitors of the castle museum, that this historical attraction is mainly attractive for domestic visitors. The number of foreign visitors was the highest in 2011 and 2017, about 5,000, which is quite small compared with the number of domestic visitors (Figure 5). If we look at the monthly visitor numbers over the years, we can see that the seasonality determines the attendance of Ferenc Nádasdy Museum very strongly. The highest visitor numbers are clearly concentrated in the high season (July, August), which is probably due to the events - Castle Meetings, Nádasdy Historical Festival, International Folklore Days – which take place in and around the castle courtyard. The number of visitors of the Museum has been increasing since 2015 (Table 1).

The management keeps two goals in their mind for the future: the castle museum must be operated economically in the future, which requires innovative attractions, visitor management and marketing. The analysis of the statistical data also indicates that foreign tourists and guests of the spa and wellness spa should be more intensively addressed to. The entrance fees of the museums in Hungary are not too high, which was confirmed by the director of the museum. He said that the management did not dare to raise the price, although the visitors

Table 1: The number of visitors of Ferenc Nádasdy Museum by year and month (2014–2017) (data based on Ferenc Nádasdy Museum, based on own editing).

	Jan.	Febr.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sept.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	All
2014	824	940	1224	1693	3054	2344	4038	5853	1798	2467	1091	768	26094
2015	710	788	1258	1886	3539	2021	4056	4909	1970	2251	988	1000	25376
2016	920	1189	2343	1397	3724	2330	4008	4877	1905	1861	1667	1073	27294
2017	797	1977	2158	2750	3986	2619	4302	5022	1871	2213	1747	1437	30879

would pay higher entrance fees, but the events and the exhibition are not widely known yet (Takács, 2018).

In the growing market of tourism, competition between destinations will also become more intense, that is why settlement branding is becoming more and more important and it is an essential part of marketing. Potential visitors of the town – if not always pronounced – are looking for a USP specification for

the destination offering an experience or service only available at that certain location (Kreutzer, 2012). For selling a tourist destination an effective presence on the Internet is unavoidable: „*The Internet makes it easier to meet demand and supply. Here where the information is found and displayed makes it easier for searchers and suppliers to find a niche market and niche products*” (Kreutzer, 2012, 40).



Image 1: Entrance of Nádasdy Castle (Photo: calendula, Pixabay).



Image 2: Entrance of Ferenc Nádasdy Museum (Photo: authors).

During our research we also examined the online tourism product marketing of Sárvár. For a few years, the city's slogan is „Experience and tradition was, the spa town is now a crystal clear experience“. In the current urban image film (Kriskó, 2015), the castle and popular spa and wellness facilities are linked together, emotionally and logically linked to each other, to display and „sell“: they are trying to reach families with children, young couples and older generations with wellness and spa experiences, events and nature themes.

In the future, it would be advisable to use new themes to sell the castle. The historical events of 1532, or the love of Tamás Nádasdy and Orsolya Kanizsai could



Image 3: Nádasdy Castle (Source: www.vasmegye.hu).

perhaps lay the foundations for an innovative attraction management. The literature also confirms that cultural and related tourist attractions can be most efficiently sold by stories requiring the use of the most modern interpretation techniques and methods (Rátz, 2011). With the help of historical themes and events, as well as good transport links, Hungarians in Upper Hungary (present-day Slovakia) who are interested in the history of Hungary and who are related to the motherland could also be addressed to.

Therefore, planning to invest in the meaningful use of the cultural heritage by the PPP necessarily requires not only the knowledge of the social and historical reality, which is reflected in, among other things, heritage elements and practices for revitalising and managing heritage assets for different purposes, but also the legal and financial framework of the existing PPP policy (Turi, 2019, 174).

The future tourism development of Sárvár should be based on the principle of advertising the spa facilities together with the Nádasdy Castle, complementing and even expanding the holiday packages with other attractions of the city can become a marketable tourism product in long term.

We have also examined the accessibility of the castle for people with reduced mobility and the possibilities for disabled people to visit the exhibition. Image 1 and 2 show that while it is possible to approach the attraction (including attending events held within the walls of the castle) the presence of the stairs makes it difficult for them to view the exhibition so people with disabilities are not advised to visit this cultural attraction. If we think about the future development of the city, it is obvious that the management and development of the spa facilities and the Nádasdy Castle could become a marketable tourist product long term, so it would be worth



Image 4: Nadasdy Castle from above (Source: www.varak.hu).

considering the accessibility of the castle and the solutions of mobility within it.

We contacted the TDM organization in Sárvár to ask for visitors' data of the Nadasdy Castle to show the percentage of visitors people with disabilities, but unfortunately we had negative response. We also contacted the head of the Ferenc Nadasdy Museum again about the issue, but they could not provide us with relevant usable data so we can only rely on our

assumption that a negligible proportion of the visitors to the castle are people with disabilities.

CONCLUSION

Nowadays, we can say that the Nadasdy Castle is an important component, but it is not a basic element of Sárvár as a tourist brand. The castle also plays an important role in local development plans, but in order to

increase the castle's tourist role, this historic attraction must be turned into an attraction. The location of the Nádasdy Castle within the tourist area of Sárvár seems to be much more important for planning its future than its location within the city.

The economic operation of the castle is a major challenge for the future to increase the number of visitors. This is possible if the visitor and attraction management becomes much more careful, organized and the new market segments can be addressed to. Although they are totally different segments, visitors of the spa complexes should be more intensively targeted at and the number of one daily visitors interested in history, culture and events need to be attracted into the museum. The management of the castle should cooperate more actively with many touristic companies and organizations creating a well-functioning network. The results of the research also confirm that the most important task of the castle management is to build a strong brand, which can be helped by the organization of even more attractive tourist events.

In our study, concerning accessible tourism, we wanted to show how important accessibility is.

Although the implementation of accessibility in the segments of transport or tourism is an indispensable necessity for the involvement of disabled people, we have shown that it is a much larger segment simultaneously providing opportunities and comfort. Visiting the castle is difficult for disabled people, but because of the spa town of Sárvár, it would be worth focusing on the disabled segment as well, as retirees, or even those undergoing periodic rehabilitation treatments would like to visit the castle, museum and exhibition.

Tourism of Sárvár only through the continuation of the tourism infra- and supra-structure development, the cooperation of the enterprises of the infra- and supra-infrastructure of tourism and the other tourism stakeholders, the baths, healing, events and nature, not least the professional management of the local TDM organization be able to develop a complex tourist product while maintaining or strengthening its existing market position. In vision of Sárvár is to turn the city into an international health resort that will become a residential and high-quality service for the citizens and visitors of Sárvár, conscious development of the city for high quality services, good environmental conditions and they are based on the local characteristics (Fülöp et al, 2015). Tourism can only be effectively developed with other sectors of the economy.

This requires efficient use of EU funds for investment, addressing the missing infrastructures, encouraging cooperation between economic operators and generally favoring the knowledge economy. An inclusive and supportive attitude of city residents and decision-makers is a prerequisite for creating a competitive economy (Fülöp et al, 2015, 9).

Reading the current integrated settlement development strategy of the city, we did not find any reference to the accessibility of the settlement or the individual attractions, including the Nádasdy Castle, which would be necessary considering the above described conditions.

VLOGA NADASDIJSKEGA GRADU V TURIZMU MESTA SÁRVÁR – VIDIK OSEB S POSEBNIMI POTREBAMI V KULTURNEM TURIZMU

Borbála GONDOS

Univerza Edutus, Oddelek za turizem, 11-13 Villányi road, 1114 Budimpešta, Madžarska
e-mail: gondos.borbala@edutus.hu

Gábor WIRTH

Univerza Edutus, Oddelek za turizem, 11-13 Villányi road, 1114 Budimpešta, Madžarska
e-mail: wirth.gabor@edutus.hu

POVZETEK

V naši raziskavi preučujemo trajnostno turistično rabo gradu Nádasdy in njegovo vlogo v turizmu zdraviliškega mesta Sárvár, ki je na zahodnem Madžarskem zaradi svoje izjemne zgodovinsko-kulturne vrednosti vse bolj znan kot primer trajnostnega razvoja ene najpomembnejših znamenitosti Madžarske. Za preučitev prihodnjih razvojnih možnosti gradu, znanega kot simbol mesta, je treba analizirati razvojne tendence, ki določajo turizem Sárvárja in turistično območje naselja. Temeljni cilj naše raziskave je odgovoriti na vprašanje, katere prednostne naloge je mogoče razviti v turizmu Sárvárja v prihodnosti. Med segmenti, ki tvorijo turistično destinacijo mesta, je naša pozornost še posebej namenjena tistim, ki so povezani z zgodovino ali kulturo in ki se odzivajo na vse večje število oseb s posebnimi potrebami na turističnem trgu. Dostopni turizem je dodana vrednost trajnostnega razvoja kulturne dediščine. V raziskavi smo uporabili kvantitativno analizo podatkov in kvalitativne metode, obstoječe sekundarne podatke pa smo dopolnili z zbiranjem primarnih podatkov z mestnim turističnim prostorom, zanimivostmi, lokalnim gospodarstvom in z mestnimi turističnimi ciljnimi skupinami, vključno z osebami s posebnimi potrebami.

Ključne besede: trajnost, razvoj, kulturni turizem, dostopnost, osebe s posebnimi potrebami

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aubert, A. (2011): Turizmus trendek és térszerkezet Magyarországon. IDResearch Kft. Pécs, Publikon.

Beluszky, P. (1999): Magyarország településföldrajza. Általános rész. Budapest – Pécs, Dialóg Campus Kiadó.

Bessenyei, J. (2005): A Nádasdyak. Budapest, General Press Kiadó.

Csapó, T. (2010): Sárvár város története. In: Csapó, T. (ed.): Sárvár fejlődése a rendszerváltozástól napjainkig. Sárvár, Sárvár Város Önkormányzata, 10–23.

Csorba, C. et al. (2014): A Kárpát-medence örökségturisztikai atlasza. I. Kötet, Épített örökség. Pécs, Talma Kiadó.

Drabos, F. & L. Gyuricza (2011): Nyugat-Dunántúl. In: Dávid, L. (ed.): Magyarország idegenforgalmi régiói. Pécs, Pécsi Tudományegyetem, 102–118.

Fischer, E. (2009): Das kompetenzorientierte Management der touristischen Destination. Identifikation und Entwicklung kooperativer Kernkompetenzen. Gabler, Wiesbaden.

Fülöp, P. et al. (2015): Sárvár Integrált Településfejlesztési Stratégia 2014–2020. Sárvár, Fülöp Építésziroda BT.

Gondos, B. & M. Nári (2019): The Opportunities in Accessible Tourism. The USV Annals of Economics and Public Administration, 19, 1 (29), 48–57.

Haller, F. (2018): Ferenc Haller. Interview with TDM-manager of Sárvár. Sárvár, 04. 07. 2018. Audio recording held by the author.

Köbli, Á (2017): A legjelentősebb hazai fürdővárosok gazdasági jellemzői és fejlesztési lehetőségei. Acta Periodica 12, 4, 57–67.

Kreutzer, R. T. (2012): Praxisorientiertes Online-Marketing. Konzepte-Instrumente-Checklisten. Wiesbaden, Gabler Verlag.

Kriskó, L. (ed.) (2015): Sárvár – Hungary imázsfilm. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uu_PI-i7ywE (last access: 30. 10. 2018).

KSH (2018): Központi Statisztikai Hivatal honlapja. Available at: www.ksh.hu (last access: 30. 10. 2018).

LEP (2005): Landesraumentwicklungsprogramm (LEP) Mecklenburg – Vorpommern 2005. Informationsreihe der Obersten Landesplanungsbehörde Nr.9 08/2005. Wichtige Inhalte des neuen Landesraumentwicklungsprogramms Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Available at: regierung-mv.de/serviceassistent/download?id=3089 (last access: 30. 10. 2018).

Michalkó, G. (2012): Turizmológia. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó Zrt.

Molnár, Z. et al. (2000): Sárvár története. Sárvár, Sárvár Város Önkormányzata.

Palkovits, I. (2010): Sárvár gazdasága In: Csapó, T. (ed.): Sárvár fejlődése a rendszerváltozástól napjainkig. Sárvár, Sárvár Város Önkormányzata, 41–54.

Rácz, T. (2011): Attrakció – és látogatómenedzsment. In: Antal, A. (ed.): Turizmus-menedzsment. Pécs, PTE, 76–88.

Takács, Z. (2018): Zoltán Takács. Interview with director of Ferenc Nádasdy Museum. Sárvár, 23. 06. 2018. Audio recording held by the author.

Turi, A. N. (2019): Transfer of Knowledge to Improve Cultural Heritage Revitalization. The USV Annals of Economics and Public Administration, 19, 1 (29), 173–178.

Wirth, G. (2016): A Velencei-tó fejlesztésének lehetőségei. Valóság, 59, 6, 36–52.

UTEMELJENJE I RAZVITAK OSNOVNOG ŠKOLSTVA I OBRAZOVANJA UČITELJA U CRNOJ GORI OD POČETKA XIX. STOLJEĆA DO 1916. GODINE

Veselin MIĆANOVIĆ

Univerzitet Crne Gore, Filozofski fakultet, Danila Bojovića bb, 81400 Nikšić, Crna Gora
e-mail: veselinm@ucg.ac.me

Nada ŠAKOTIĆ

Univerzitet Crne Gore, Filozofski fakultet, Danila Bojovića bb, 81400 Nikšić, Crna Gora
e-mail: nadas@ucg.ac.me

Dijana VUČKOVIĆ

Univerzitet Crne Gore, Filozofski fakultet, Danila Bojovića bb, 81400 Nikšić, Crna Gora
e-mail: dijanav@ucg.ac.me

ABSTRACT

This paper provides a historical and pedagogical insight into the establishment and development of the education system in Montenegro and the progress of class teacher education. This article is based upon the research of education during the historical period of 1834–1915. Our focus was placed on 1834, when the first Primary school in Montenegro began operating. Later, in 1916, due to the occupation of Montenegro by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in the First World War, there was a new inconsistency in the operation of schools. This paper is dominated by theoretical, historical and pedagogical analysis, with the use of sources and relevant literature as objective indicators of the development of primary education and the teaching profession in Montenegro.

Keywords: education system, Girls' Institute, Petrović-Njegoš Dynasty, primary school, secular education, Seminary, teacher

FONDAZIONE E SVILUPPO DELL'ISTRUZIONE ELEMENTARE E DELLA FORMAZIONE DEI MAESTRI IN MONTENEGRO DALL'INIZIO DEL XIX SECOLO AL 1916

SINTESI

Con il saggio ci siamo posti come obiettivo di fornire una visione storica e pedagogica riguardo alla fondazione e allo sviluppo dell'istruzione primaria in Montenegro, come pure la formazione degli insegnanti. L'articolo prende in esame il periodo storico tra il 1834 e il 1915. Ci siamo focalizzati sull'anno 1834, quando venne fondata la prima scuola elementare montenegrina. Successivamente, nel 1916, durante la Prima guerra mondiale, a causa dell'occupazione del Montenegro da parte dell'Austro-Ungheria ci fu una discontinuità nel funzionamento delle scuole. Nella ricerca viene posto l'accento sull'analisi teorica e storico-pedagogica, utilizzando materiale d'archivio e le bibliografia pertinente come indicatori oggettivi dello sviluppo dell'istruzione primaria e della professione d'insegnamento in Montenegro.

Parole chiave: sistema d'istruzione, Istituto femminile, dinastia dei Petrović-Njegoš, scuola elementare, istruzione secolare, Seminario, insegnante

UVOD

Crna Gora je prva južnoslavenska država koja je imala tiskarnu koncem XV. stoljeća. U njoj su tiskane knjige koje su odigrale veliku ulogu u širenju pismenosti na Balkanu (Nemirovski, 1987), ali to nije bilo dovoljno za postavljanje temelja osnovnog školstva. Tako Crna Gora u dugom vremenskom razdoblju nije značajnije napredovala po pitanju narodne svjetovne pismenosti. U europskoj srednjovjekovnoj povijesti obrazovanje je skoro isključivo vezano za manastire i crkve, što je karakteristično i za Crnu Goru. Svećenici i kaluđeri podučavali su za tadašnje crkvene poslove manji broj dječaka iz imućnijih obitelji. U to vrijeme i u takvim okolnostima, pismenost je bila elitističkog tipa.

Crnogorsko osnovno školstvo razvijalo se sporo i diskontinuirano, i to počevši relativno kasno, odnosno 30-ih godina XIX. stoljeća. Pokušaji otvaranja škola zabilježeni su i ranije, ali su društveno-povijesne okolnosti bile takve da je bilo nemoguće ostvariti progresivne ideje i omogućiti masovnije obrazovanje. Nakon otvaranja prvih škola, bilo je vrlo teško obezbijediti kontinuitet u njihovom radu. Često su te škole radile kratko, najčešće su njihov rad prekidali ustanci, ratovi i/ili promjene stranih utjecaja koji su snažno pritiskali Crnu Goru. Svaka naredna školska godina bila je neizvjesna, obrazovanih učitelja nije bilo, kao ni adekvatnih udžbenika, pa često ni odgovarajućeg školskog prostora (Delibašić, 2009).

Cilj nam je da u ovom radu prikazemo utemeljenje osnovnoškolskog sustava i začetke obrazovanja učitelja u Crnoj Gori. Kao što će se pokazati u narednom tekstu, i jedno i drugo odvijalo se sporo i nekontinuirano, zavisilo je od raznih spoljašnjih utjecaja i okolnosti, ali i od teških materijalnih i drugih prilika koje su bile evidentne u samoj Crnoj Gori. Ipak, upornost i posvećenost obrazovanju, te jasna vizija o važnosti škole, dovele su do toga da su crnogorski vladari iz dinastije Petrović-Njegoš uspjeli uspostaviti temelje osnovnog školstva i začeti obrazovanje učitelja u Crnoj Gori, i to tijekom burnog XIX. stoljeća.

POKUŠAJI OTVARANJA OSNOVNIH ŠKOLA U CRNOJ GORI

Dolaskom dinastije Petrović na vlast 1697. godine u Crnoj Gori počela su razmišljanja o otvaranju narodnih škola. Vladarskoj obitelji Petrović bilo je jasno da ono što se uči u crkvama i manastirima nije ni izbliza dovoljno za razvitak obrazovanja u zemlji. Za ondašnje prilike Petrovići su dosta putovali, pa su jasno sagledali da je utemeljenje osnovnog školstva neophodno za crnogorski narod, njegov opstanak i razvitak (Gazivoda, 2003). Iako su vladika Vasilije Petrović Njegoš (1744.–1766.) i vladika Petar I Petrović Njegoš (1782.–1830.) slali mladiće na školovanje

u inozemstvo, pokazivali su izuzetnu zainteresiranost za otvaranje škola u zemlji.

Vladika Vasilije Petrović nadao se u podršku Rusije, pa je prvo od njih tražio pomoć za školovanje crnogorskih mladića u Rusiji, a potom i za otvaranje narodnih škola u Crnoj Gori. O tome svjedoči njegovo obraćanje pismom koje je upućeno 22. travnja 1753. godine Bestjuzevu – Rjuminu, ruskom poslaniku u Carigradu, u kome, između ostalog, kaže da bi od boga „*bilo grehota da i dalje ovaj narod ostane bez škole i bez obrazovanja*“ (Dragović, 1888, 18). Pošto nije dobio odgovor, vladika Vasilije se sličnim zahtjevom, u jesen, 22. listopada 1753. godine, obraća ruskoj carici Jelisaveti I. Petrovnoj (1741.–1762.) obrazlažući nevolje crnogorskog naroda zbog neprosvijećenosti (Marković, 1969, 334). Međutim, nije naišao na razumijevanje i potporu. Svjestan značaja masovnijeg narodnog obrazovanja, vladika Vasilije ne odustaje i ponovno upućuje molbu ruskom dvoru 1755. godine, sa preciznim potrebama za otvaranje tri osnovne škole u Crnoj Gori, i to: na Cetinju, na Primorju u Majinama i u Brdima u Medunu (Marković, 1969, 335). Kako nije dobio novčanu pomoć za otvaranje škola u Crnoj Gori, vladika Vasilije se utješno zadovoljavao time što je uspijevao da sposobnije crnogorske mladiće šalje na školovanje u Rusiju. Tijekom 1758. godine poslao je dvadesetak mladića na školovanje (Marković, 1969, 336).

Ideju vladike Vasilija o otvaranju škola u Crnoj Gori nastavio je Petar I. Petrović Njegoš (1784.–1830.). Petar I. (poznat u historiografiji kao Sveti Petar Cetinjski) bio je uman i učen vladar. Govorio je više stranih jezika i postavio je temelj društvenoj svijesti u Crnoj Gori (Milić, 2016; Vukčević, 2000). Za vrijeme vladavine ojačao je Crnu Goru teritorijalno je proširivši, ujedinivši zavađena plemena i podigavši njen ugled u susjedstvu i šire. Težio je prosvjećivanju naroda, jer je jasno uvidio da mnoge loše pojave dolaze od neobrazovanosti. On se za pomoć u otvaranju škola, pored ruskog, obraća i austrijskom dvoru (Marković, 1969). To je jasan znak da je dobro proučio iskustvo vladike Vasilija i da je uvidio da će morati da zamoli istočne i zapadne sile, između kojih je mala Crna Gora morala balansirati. Od njih traži učitelje, novac i opremu za otvaranje prvih škola u Crnoj Gori. Postoje zapisi kako su se crnogorski glavari 1779. godine obratili austrijskom dvoru za dobijanje godišnje pomoći u iznosu od 2.000 forinti za troškove rada škola u Crnoj Gori (Marković, 1969, 368). Odgovor je izostao, ali se Petar I. uporno, u više navrata obraćao ruskom i austrijskom dvoru za pomoć po pitanju otvaranja škola. To je uradio i prilikom svoje arhijerejske hirotonije u Sremskim Karlovcima 1784. godine kada se obratio ruskom Sinodu (Kondić, 2002, 89). Pošto nije naišao na razumijevanje, 1791. godine u zajednici sa grupom glavara daje punomoćje Nikoli Dvorjaninu da kod austrijskog cara Leopolda traži pomoć za prosvjećivanje mladeži u Crnoj Gori (Marković, 1969, 369). Međutim, ni ovaj pokušaj nije urodio plodom.

Najizvjesniji ishod podrške u otvaranju prvih škola u Crnoj Gori trebao je stići od Dositeja Obradovića. Obradović je prilično dobro poznao prilike u Crnoj Gori u kojoj je još 1764. godine boravio u manastiru Podmaine kad je od strane mitropolita Vasilija rukopoložen u čin jereja (Marković, 1969, 370–371). Dositej se 9. ožujka 1805. godine obratio pismom vladici Petru I. i tražio od njega odobrenje da dođe u Crnu Goru radi otvaranja škola i obrazovanja mladeži (Delibašić, 2009, 94). Obradović je planirao da otvori tiskarnu i da se pored prosvjetiteljske misije bavi tiskanjem knjiga, pa je očekivao potporu crnogorskog vladara i poslao mu nekoliko primjeraka svojih knjiga. Ipak, povijesna dešavanja, rat u Srbiji i iskrcavanje francuske vojske u Boki kotorskoj, onemogućili su realiziranje planiranih aktivnosti (Marković, 1969, 371–372).

Duboko posvećen ideji obrazovanja crnogorske omladine, a nemoćan da tu ideju realizira u državi, Petar I. se sam posvećuje prosvjećivanju mladića u manastirskim školama. Tako učestvuje u učenju nekoliko mladića u manastirima u Stanjevićima i na Cetinju, prati njihovo čitanje i nadzire njihovo spremanje za crkvene poslove (Kostić, 1997). Ideja o prosvjećivanju Crnogoraca ne napušta ga do kraja života. Odlučuje da se obrati Kongresu u Veroni 1822. godine gdje od „uzvišenih veličanstava saveznih vladara na kongresu“ traži da pomognu njegovom siromašnom narodu da se izbavi od bijede, kako bi i u „ovim gorama sa urednim praviteljstvom vozijalo evropsko prosvještenije“ (Marković, 1969, 373–374). Na žalost, i ova molba ostaje neuslišena i nerealizirana.

Petar I. je svoju želju i potrebu za obrazovanjem naroda pretočio na svog nasljednika Rada Tomovog, za koga nije imao sredstava za školovanje u Rusiji, pa ga je osobno poučavao italijanskom, ruskom, njemačkom i djelimično engleskom i francuskom jeziku, a potom mu dodijelio knjige iz svoje bogate biblioteke (Milić, 2016). Zbog daljeg obrazovanja budućeg nasljednika, Petar I. produžava angažman državnom sekretaru Simu Milutinoviću Sarajliji i povjerava mu taj zadatak. Rade (Radivoj) Tomov Petrović, iako maloljetan, stupa na crnogorski presto poslije smrti strica Petra I. Petrovića Njegoša, koji je preminuo 18. listopada 1830. godine. Tog dana, po testamentom zavještanom stričevoj želji, Rade Tomov Petrović ogrnut je mantijom preminulog strica i proglašen za „namjesnika mitropolita crnogorskog“. Dva dana poslije sahrane Petra I., Rade se zakaluđerio u manastiru Vranjina, čime je postao zvanični vjerski i nezvanični svjetovni crnogorski vladar.¹

Po dolasku na presto, Petar II. se – uz pomoć bliskih suradnika i povjerenika crnogorskih u Rusiji – uspio izboriti sa svojim protivnicima i obezbijediti

čvršću vlast uspostavljanjem organa vlasti (Pavićević, 2004). U međuvremenu, 31. siječnja 1831. godine u manastiru Vranjina, na Skadarskom jezeru, Rada je pečki vladika Ananije proizveo u čin arhimandrita (Pavićević, 2004). Tada je Rade dobio i ime Petar (Pavićević, 2004, 173). Već u ljeto 1833. godine Petar II. odlazi u Rusiju da bi se tamo zavladičio² u prisustvu imperatora Nikolaja I. (1825.–1855.), nekoliko ministara, oberprokurora Svetog Sinoda i nekoliko mitropolita (Pavićević, 2004, 183–184). U Crnu Goru se vratio 30. studenog 1833. godine kao prvi crnogorski vladika zavladičen u Rusiji (Pavićević, 2004, 186). Sa ruskog dvora dobio je oko 400 knjiga za potrebe crkve i škole koju je namjeravao otvoriti. Tom prilikom je za 3.000 rubalja kupio tiskarnu koja je dopremljena na Cetinje u siječnju 1834. godine (Pejović, 1963, 85).

Među prvim važnim Njegoševim upraviteljskim potezima bila je ideja otvaranja škola, jer je smatrao školu jednim od najvažnijih elemenata zemaljske vlasti i uređenja (Pavićević, 1957). Ta ideja datira po povijesnim vrelima od 1831. godine (Pavićević, 1957). Njegoš je razvijao ideju otvaranja prve škole kao „klice“ budućeg školskog sustava u državi. Prvu osnovnu školu planirao je otvoriti na Cetinju, ali u toj zamisli ozbiljan problem mu je predstavljao nedostatak učitelja. Pregovori su se vodili sa Petrom Ćirkovićem, učiteljem iz Herceg Novog, ali austrijske vlasti u početku nisu dozvoljavale njegovo preseljenje na Cetinje. U pregovorima su učestvovali Ivan Vukotić, bivši prezident Praviteljstvujušćeg senata, i njegov viceprezident i sestrić Matej Vučićević. Tek po odobrenju austrijskih vlasti za preseljenje bokeljskog učitelja Petra Ćirkovića, na Cetinju su stvoreni uvjeti za otvaranje prve svjetovne škole pod pokroviteljstvom države. Tako je 1834. godine otpočela sa radom prva škola u tadašnjoj Crnoj Gori, a njen prvi učitelj bio je Petar Ćirković (Pavićević, 2004, 193).

Iako je riječ o svjetovnoj školi, njen rad organiziran je u Cetinjskom manastiru sa tridesetak učenika. Svi su bili smješteni u manastiru i imali obezbijedenu hranu. Učenici prve osnovne škole bili su pretežno sinovi istaknutih crnogorskih glavara i skoro stasali za vojsku, a neki od njih su nosili i oružje. U početku je vladala oskudica u udžbeničkoj literaturi. Biblioteka je raspolagala skromnim brojem knjiga iz riznice Petra I., zatim knjigama koje je Njegoš donio iz Rusije 1833. godine (oko 400 knjiga, među kojima je bilo i udžbenika), a pretpostavlja se da je i učitelj Petar Ćirković za potrebe škole nabavio jedan broj srpsko-slavenskih bukvara. Te godine po prvi put u Crnu Goru dolazi i Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787.–1864.), koji je više puta posjećuje (1835., 1841., 1852., 1860. i 1862.), a u Njegoševoj

1 Petar II. jedan je od najvećih pjesnika i filozofa južnoslavenskog područja, a njegovo djelo „Gorski vijenac“ u samom je vrhu djela južnoslavenske književnosti. Utemeljivač je obrazovnog sustava u Crnoj Gori. O tome vidi u: Pavićević, 2004.

2 Petar II. Petrović biva rukopoložen za arhijereja 6. kolovoza 1833. godine u Petrogradu u crkvi Kazanski sabor.

tiskarni 1836. godine tiska „Srpske narodne poslovice“ (Nemirovski, 1996, 38). Iste godine kad i Karadžićeva zbirka poslovice, tiskan je na Cetinju i *Bukvar* Dimitrija Milakovića (Šuković, 2008).

Prvi školovani kadar u državi bio je nosilac državne vlasti i administracije, što je u velikoj mjeri afirmiralo ulogu učitelja u državi i želju većeg broja obitelji da školuje svoju djecu, sinove prije svega (Šuković, 2008, 44).

ŠIRENJE ŠKOLSKE MREŽE I FORMIRANJE OSNOVNOŠKOLSKOG SUSTAVA U CRNOJ GORI

Ubrzo nakon otvaranja prve škole, pokazalo se više nego opravdanim njeno osnivanje, jer su njeni učenici postali jak oslonac državne vlasti i angažirani kao administracija, senatori, perjanici, glavari i učitelji. Ova škola je nastavila sa radom na Cetinju mijenjajući prostorije u kojima je izvođena nastava. Pošto se dugi niz godina nisu stvorili uvjeti da se sagradi zgrada za školske potrebe, rad škole se često izmiještao od Cetinjskog manastira do Biljarde, a bilo je i razdoblje kada je škola radila u privatnim kućama. Po vladici Petru II., škola je kasnije i dobila ime „Njgoš“. Na stogodišnjicu osnivanja, Osnovna škola „Njgoš“ je 1934. godine dobila zgradu u kojoj radi i danas.

Potrebu opismenjavanja mladića³ u Crnoj Gori nije mogla zadovoljiti jedna škola, zato se brzo pokazalo neophodnim otvaranje i drugih škola. Tako je već 1842. godine otvorena druga osnovna škola u Dobrskom selu kod Cetinja, koja je radila pri manastiru Ćelija Dobrska (Kapisoda, 2014). Za Njgoševog života otvoreno je devet škola (Backović, 2001, 99). Škole su rad započinjale pri manastirima, iako su učitelji bili neckrvena lica, da bi se tek kasnije fizički odvajale od crkve. Tako je 1854. godine, na molbu vojvode Novice Cerovića, koji je uživao poštovanje državnika dinastije Petrović, rad započela i osnovna škola u manastiru Morača (Kapisoda, 2014). Iste godine kad je otvorio prvu osnovnu školu (1834.), Njgoš je započeo i aktivnosti koje su se ticale uspostavljanja poreza, od koga bi jedan dio bio odvajanje za državne činovnike i druga pitanja od javnog interesa, pa time i za potrebe škola (Pavićević, 2004, 193). Međutim, ti su Njgoševi potezi nailazili na otpor, te se može reći da do 1860. godine „sve aktivnosti u vezi sa planovima i radom škola bile su vezane za individualnu aktivnost mjesnih učitelja i viđenijih ljudi“ (Backović, 2001, 99).

U drugoj polovici XIX. stoljeća širila se mreža osnovnih škola u Crnoj Gori u kojima su učitelji opismenjivali mladež različitog uzrasta. Ove škole su u perspektivi predstavljale okosnicu budućeg kulturnog

i obrazovnog razvitka Crne Gore. Počele su se otvarati škole i u pasivnijim predjelima.

U Crnoj Gori dugo nije bilo posebnog organa koji se bavio obrazovanjem i kulturom, već je Senat, pored drugih bitnih poslova, rješavao i školska pitanja (Pavićević, 2004, 194). Senat je na predlog knjaza donosio odluke o otvaranju drugih škola i angažiranju učitelja u njima. Učitelji su dugi niz godina angažirani sa strane, iz drugih država. Kako su obaveze Senata narastale, a obrazovanje se širilo i zahtijevalo veću posvećenost države, to se razvila potreba formiranja organa vlasti nadležnog za poslove prosvjete i kulture u državi.

Tako je u srpnju 1860. godine u Knjaževini Crnoj Gori ustanovljeno Načelništvo narodne prosvjete,⁴ a upravljanje njime povjereno je Todoru Iliću, učitelju iz Trsta (Pejović, 1971, 17). Dvije godine kasnije biva ustanovljeno zvanje školskog nadzornika, što predstavlja početak utvrđivanja posebnih organa vlasti za pitanje prosvjete. Po završetku rata, 1862. godine knjaz Nikola radi na uzdizanju kulturno-prosvjetnog života svog naroda. Intenzivno se radi na reformi cetinjske osnovne škole i odobrava se otvaranje novih deset osnovnih škola.⁵ Otvorene su po dvije osnovne škole u Katunskoj, Riječkoj i Crmničkoj nahiji i Bjelopavličima, dok je u Lješanskoj nahiji i Vasojevićima otvorena po jedna osnovna škola (Pejović, 1971, 99).

Unapređenje prosvjetnog sustava u državi vezuje se za Milana Kostića, svršenog đaka Kijevske bogoslovije, koji 1869. godine biva biran za školskog nadzornika. On je uradio prave reformatorske poteze na uzdizanju škola u crnogorskom društvu (Kostić, 1997). Naime, u razdoblju 1869.–1871. godine otvaraju se čak 24 nove škole (Šuković, 2008). Za otvaranje tih škola upotrijebljen je prihod crnogorskih manastira (Backović, 2001, 18). Tih godina počinje i ozbiljan rad na izradi udžbenika, tako da je već 1870. godine za potrebe crnogorskih škola pripremljeno posebno izdanje udžbenika za početno opismenjavanje reformisanom ćirilicom Vuka Karadžića. Autor udžbenika bio je Đorđe Natošević (Šuković, 2008).

Poslije Kostića na mjestu glavnog školskog nadzornika bili su: Špiro Kovačević (1873.–1877.), Stevo Čaturilo (1878.–1882.), Simo Matavulj (1882.–1883.) i Đuro Popović (1884.–1905.) (Kapisoda, 2014). Nadzornici su u to doba imali mnoge obaveze, a jedan od njihovih važnijih poslova bio je pripremati uvjete za realizaciju nastave, pa su Stevo Čaturilo i Đuro Popović napisali niz udžbenika za početnu nastavu. Ti udžbenici nisu nastali prilagođavanjem za crnogorske potrebe, nego su originalno pisani u Crnoj Gori i uglavnom tiskani na Cetinju. Važnost ovih udžbenika

3 Od otvaranja prve škole 1834. godine do otvaranja Djevojačkog instituta 1869. godine u Crnoj Gori se poklanjala pozornost gotovo isključivo opismenjavanju muške populacije (Novović, 2018).

4 To je početna godina vladavine knjaza/kralja Nikole I. Petrovića (1860.–1918.), koji već prve godine od stupanja na vlast veliku pozornost posvećuje obnovi i otvaranju škola (Backović, 2001).

5 Pod pojmom osnovne škole u to vrijeme se podrazumijevaju škole u kojima su radili učitelji na opismenjavanju omladine različitog uzrasta. U početku su bile trorzredne, pa su postepeno dodavani četvrti i naredni razredi.

Tablica 1: Pregled broja škola u Crnoj Gori u razdoblju 1870.–1915. godine (Backović, 2001, 100).

Školska godina	Broj škola		Razred				Učitelji/učiteljice	
	Muških	Ženskih	I.	II.	III.	IV.	m	ž
1870./1871.	31	/	16	7	7	1	33	/
1873./1874.	42	/	/	6	14	9	52	/
1875./1876.	51	1	/	4	14	13	62	1
1879./1880.	15	1	/	1	7	3	17	1
1882./1883.	n.p.	2	/	3	4	12	/	2
1886./1887.	44	3	1	7	18	17	74	3
1900./1901.	75	3	1	5	62	31	128	5
1902./1903.	77	5	/	30	50	24	129	6
1914./1915.	211	n.p.	375 odjeljenja				228	121

je velika, jer su, između ostalog, zahvaljujući njima iz nastave potisnute teške i djeci nerazumljive crkvene knjige. Čitanke su, doduše, preuzele dio vjerskih sadržaja (Šuković, 2008). Upravljanje prosvjetom je reformom Senata 1874. godine bilo povjereno senatoru Stanku Radonjiću u nadležnosti Knjaževe kancelarije, a potom su naredne, 1875. godine formirana četiri administrativna upravna odjeljenja od kojih je jednom (Uprava knjaževe kancelarije za spoljne poslove) data nadležnost upravljanja prosvjetom (Cvijović & Kovačević, 1996).

Uporo sa širenjem osnovnog obrazovanja za mušku populaciju u Crnoj Gori, došlo je do razvitka ideje uključivanja djevojčica u školu, pa i do otvaranja osnovne škole za žensku populaciju (Novović & Maslovarić, 2018; Novović, 2018). Školske 1870/71. godine 23 djevojčice su išle u osnovnu školu. Besplatno ih je opismenjavala i učila ručnom radu Jelena Vicković, učiteljica iz Kotora (Novović & Maslovarić, 2018, 387). Godine 1872. na Cetinju je otvorena prva ženska osnovna škola u kojoj je radila upravo Jelena Vicković. Ova škola je poslije dvije godine (1874.) od strane države pretvorena u javnu žensku osnovnu školu, čije su polaznice u početku bile učenice iz siromašnih obitelji, a kasnije se uključuju kćerke iz činovničkih obitelji (Popović, 1934, 118). Školske 1874/75. godine u tu je školu upisano 97 učenica, a pomoć je dobijana od strane petrogradske humanitarne organizacije „Blagotvorno opštstvo“ (Novović & Maslovarić, 2018, 387). Zakon o opštoj školskoj dužnosti u Knjaževini Crnoj Gori (Školski zakonik) iz 1879. godine predvidio je obavezu pohađanja nastave, i to za djecu uzrasta

7–12 godina (Novović & Maslovarić, 2018, 387). Nastava je bila besplatna za sve učenike.

Ratna dešavanja u razdoblju 1876.–1878. godine dovode do privremenog zatvaranja svih osnovnih škola u Crnoj Gori. Međutim, okončanje rata i međunarodno priznanje Crne Gore za suverenu državu na Berlinskom kongresu 1878. godine doprinosi otvaranju novih škola, ali i razvitku učiteljske profesije. Isticala se važnost učiteljske profesije i poistovjećivala sa učiteljskom misijom knjaza Danila, koji je bez „skamije“ pod vedrim nebom u prirodi, radio na obrazovanju crnogorske mladeži.⁶ Ugledu profesije doprinosi i održavanje učiteljskih sastanaka na Cetinju.⁷

U Knjaževini Crnoj Gori usvaja se Zakon o opštoj školskoj dužnosti⁸ koji utemeljuje sustav osnovnog obrazovanja u državi. Već naredne, 1879. godine, s reformom organa vlasti,⁹ ukidanjem Senata i formiranjem novih organa državne uprave, poslovi prosvjete dati su u nadležnost Upravi prosvjetnih poslova. To je tako funkcioniralo do prosinca 1882. godine kada je formirano Ministarstvo prosvjete i crkvenih djela. Za prvog ministra imenovan je mitropolit Visarion Ljubiša koji je te poslove obavljao do 1885. godine, kada je knjaz Nikola za novog ministra imenovao Jovana Pavlovića (Kapisoda, 2014). Od samog formiranja Ministarstvu su prepustene nadležnosti za: unapređenje školstva u državi, otvaranje novih škola i širenje školske mreže, donošenje i primjenu zakona iz oblasti prosvjete, angažiranje nastavnog osoblja i njegovo usavršavanje, školske zgrade, organizaciju nastave, izradu i usvajanje nastavnih planova i programa, organiziranje roditeljskih skupova, nadzor nad završnim ispitima (Kapisoda,

6 O tome više u: Glas Crnogorca, 2. 8. 1881: 1. kolovoza, 1.

7 Glas Crnogorca, 20. 9. 1881: Izvještaj o ovogod. učiteljskom sastanku, 2.

8 Zakon o opštoj školskoj dužnosti u Knjaževini Crnoj Gori od 20. srpnja 1878. godine regulira sustav osnovnog školstva u državi prema kojem je nastava slobodna, besplatna i obavezna za svakog državljanina izuzimajući „duševno bolesne i sakate“ (Kapisoda, 2014).

9 Reformom organa vlasti ukinut je Senat, a formirani su: Državni savjet, šest ministarskih odjeljenja i Veliki sud (Kapisoda, 2014).

2014). U cilju unapređenja rada učitelja na godišnjoj Skupštini crnogorskih učitelja održanoj 1886. godine raspravljalo se o uočenim nepravilnostima u radu pojedinih prosvetnih radnika. Tijekom prethodne godine nadzorništvo je izdalo naredbu: „Svaki učitelj (učiteljica) dužan je do 1. februara iduće godine napisati i nadzorništvu poslati predavanja iz svih predmeta u razredima koji mu povjereni budu“.¹⁰ U tom razdoblju prosvjetni radnici u Cetinjskoj gimnaziji, Cetinjskoj bogosloviji, Djevojačkom institutu i osnovnim školama rukovodili su cjelokupnim prosvjetno-kulturnim životom Crne Gore (Martinović, 1962).

Po okončanju balkanskih ratova (1912.–1913.) Crna Gora je teritorijalno proširena, pa je uslijedila potreba otvaranja novih škola. Značajno se povećao broj osnovnih škola u novooslobođenim krajevima na sjeveru Crne Gore i u Metohiji. Podaci govore da je školske 1914./1915. godine u Kraljevini Crnoj Gori bilo 211 škola sa 375 odjeljenja i 18.185 učenika (Cvijović & Kovačević, 1996, 38). Dominirajuću populaciju u školi činili su dječaci, dok je obuhvat djevojčica bio izuzetno nizak. Od 18.185 učenika svega 2.389 su bile učenice ili oko 13%. Prvi svjetski rat i okupacija Crne Gore 1916. godine od strane Austro-Ugarske doveli su do stagnacije prosvjetno-kulturnog preporoda u državi. Austrijske vlasti uvele su nova pravila. Tada je u školski sustav uvedena latinica, umjesto dotadašnjeg ćirilčkog pisma (Šuković, 2008). Pregled broja škola i učenika za razdoblje 1870.–1915. dat je u tablici 1 (Backović, 2001, 100).

OTVARANJE I RAD ŠKOLA ZA OBRAZOVANJE UČITELJA

Knjaz Nikola nastoji unaprijediti i duhovnu sferu u državi. Stoga je 1862. godine na Cetinju, na inicijativu Ničifora Dučića, knjaz Nikola podržao otvaranje Bogoslovije u namjeri da ima obrazovane svećenike (Kapisoda, 2014). Cetinjska Bogoslovija počinje sa radom 1863. godine upisom svršenih učenika cetinjske osnovne škole koji su iskazali želju da se bave svećeničkim životom. Već opismenjene dake svećeničkom poslu obučavali su arhimandrit Ničifor Dučić, upravnik bogoslovske škole, i Filip Popović Jabučanin, učitelj cetinjske osnovne škole (Kondić, 2002, 90). Bogoslovija je zbog teških materijalnih prilika vrlo brzo prestala sa radom, ali je već 1869. godine, zahvaljujući donaciji ruske carske vlasti, nastavila sa radom pod nazivom Cetinjska bogoslovija. Prvi rektor Cetinjske bogoslovije bio je Milan Kostić, čije su zasluge za širenje školske mreže bile velike. Od školske 1872./1873. godine za novog rektora imenovan je cetinjski arhimandrit Visarion Ljubiša (Kondić, 2002). Prostorije za rad Cetinjske bogoslovije bile su u Biljardi, a povremeno je rad organiziran u Cetinjskom manastiru i manastiru Ostrog. Sa povremenim kraćim prekidima, Bogoslovija

je radila sve do završetka Drugog svjetskog rata kada je odlukom nove vlasti iseljena iz prostorija Biljarde, a nastavno osoblje rastjerano i inventar zaplijenjen. Obnovljena je tek 1992. godine pod nazivom Bogoslovija „Svetog Petra Cetinjskog“ (Kondić, 2002).

Širenje školske mreže i otvaranje novih škola stvorilo je potrebu i za obrazovanjem vlastitog učiteljskog kadra, pa su u okviru „privremene“ Bogoslovije uz svećenike školovani i učitelji. Tako učiteljska profesija u Crnoj Gori dobija još jednu, ključnu dimenziju, što je za to vrijeme čini potpunom. Dakle, u drugoj polovici XIX. stoljeća, točnije 1863. godine, nalazimo klice utemeljenja obrazovanja učitelja u djelatnostima „privremene“ Bogoslovije na Cetinju (Backović, 2001, 179). Trebalo je da „privremena“ Bogoslovija bude trogodišnja srednja stručna škola, ali je radila kraće od godinu dana.

Planirani rad „privremene“ Bogoslovije nastavlja se u okviru rada Bogoslovije (1869.–1876.), takođe na Cetinju. U Bogosloviji su od 1869. do 1876. godine učitelji pripremani uz ozbiljan rad na njihovom stručnom osposobljavanju, u granicama u kojima je to bilo moguće postići s obzirom na činjenicu da su u školi pripremani i svećenici i učitelji (Delibašić, 2009). Bogoslovija je u tom razdoblju radila kao trogodišnja škola. Prema dragocjenim zapisima Milana Kostića izučavani su predmeti: Katehetizam, Crkvena povijest *Starog zavjeta*, Maternji jezik, Ruski jezik, Crkvenoslavenski jezik, Opća povijest, Antropologija sa fiziologijom, Dijalektika, Fizika, Crkveno pjevanje, Moralna teologija, Homiletika, Crkvena povijest *Novog zavjeta*, Sveti spisi, Ekonomija, Pastoralna teologija, Liturgika, Crkveno pravo, Povijest crkve, Nastavne metode, Matematika, Pedagogija, Opći zemljopis, Kratka povijest književnosti i Vojna vježbanja (Zorić, 2013, 109).

Nastavni plan Bogoslovije bio je znatno više prilagođen svećeničkom, nego učiteljskom zanimanju, što su uvidjeli i tadašnji prosvjetni djelatnici, pa je to utjecalo na promjene i na formiranje tzv. Bogoslovsko-učiteljske škole, koja je radila od 1887. do 1916. godine (Kondić, 2002). U ovoj školi učilo se tri godine, a predmeti koji su izučavani prilično govore o tome da je učiteljsko obrazovanje i dalje bilo zapostavljeno nauštrb svećeničkog. Nastavni plan pominje predmete: Opći uvod u teologiju, Biblija: Stari i Novi zavjet, Dogmatska i polemička teologija, Moralna teologija, Pastoralna teologija, Opća povijest pravoslavne crkve (s posebnim akcentom na narodnu crkvu, crkveno (kanonsko) pravo, liturgiju, homiletiku sa usmenom i pisanom praksom), Crkvenoslavenski jezik, Ruski jezik, Principi crkvenog pjevanja, Antropologija i dijetetika sa kućnim liječenjem, Pedagogija (teorijska i historijska), Metodika sa praktičnim vježbanjima i Poljoprivreda (Zorić, 2013, 110–111). Ovaj spisak predmeta mijenjan je tijekom rada škole, tako da je u

¹⁰ Glas Crnogorca, 16. 9. 1886: Skupština knjaž. priogor. učitelja, 2.

nekim školskim godinama izučavan primjerice: grčki jezik, higijena, notno pjevanje, crtanje i zemljopis. Zanimljivo je da nije bilo predmeta poput matematike, te da je bila vrlo slaba zastupljenost prirodnih znanosti. To je dijelom uvjetovano nedostatkom nastavnog kadra koji bi predavao takve discipline, a dijelom i orijentiranošću škole na crkvena pitanja.

Prosvjetni djelatnici dokazali su da je za obrazovanje učitelja potrebno učiti i neke druge predmete, što je rezultiralo transformiranjem Bogoslovsko-učiteljske škole u četvorogodišnju školu, tijekom školske 1908./1909. godine, pa su učenici, osim već pomenu-tih predmeta, izučavali i sljedeće: Didaktika, metodike nastave svih predmeta koji postoje u osnovnoj školi, Maternji jezik, Nacionalna i opća povijest, Zemljopis susjednih zemalja i Zemljopis Crne Gore, Matematika, Prirodne znanosti, Zanatstvo. U sadržaje predmeta Crtanje dodata je kaligrafija, a predmet Vojna vježbanja dobio je dodatak u vidu gimnastike. Škola je imala teorijsku i praktičnu nastavu, što je za to doba izuzetno progresivan pristup. Od te školske godine razdvajaju se konačno dva usmjerenja, pa su učenici birali jedno od zanimanja: svećeničko ili učiteljsko, i nisu učili da obavljaju oba posla (Ivanović, 1981). U tom smislu, godinu 1908. možemo označiti kao prvu u kojoj je obrazovanje učitelja odvojeno, barem djelomično, od obrazovanja svećenika.

Osim navedenog, na Cetinju je 1869. godine, pod pokroviteljstvom ruske carice Marije Aleksandrovne, otvoren i Djevojački institut koji je u potpunosti materijalno izdržavala ruska carska vlada. Upraviteljice su bile četiri Ruskinje: Nadežda Petrovna Pacević, Natalija Ljovovna Mesaroš, Julija Andrijanova Lopuhina i Sofija Petrovna Mertvago (Rovinski, 2000). Djevojački institut carice Marije radio je na Cetinju u razdoblju 1869.–1913. godine i u njemu su školovane učiteljice. Funkcionirao je u duhu pravoslavlja i okrenutosti Rusiji. Bio je to prvi institut za djevojke u Crnoj Gori i na cijelom Balkanu, specifična školska ustanova po mnogo čemu. Rad ustanove bio je kvalitetan, pa je Institut uživao veliki ugled i izvan granica Crne Gore (u Boki, Dalmaciji, Hercegovini itd.). Od 1873. godine školovanje u Institutu traje 6 godina (umjesto dotadašnje četiri), što je obezbjeđivalo potpuno kvalitetno obrazovanje djevoja-ka u tom razdoblju. Lično je crnogorski gospodar Nikola I. Petrović bio zaštitnik Djevojačkog instituta i vodio je računa o kvaliteti njegovog rada. Elitni rad Instituta trajao je sve do njegovog zatvaranja 1913. godine. Bilo je planirano da Institut upisuju djevojčice iz uglednijih i utjecajnijih obitelji, 9–12 godina starosti, koje već posjeduju elementarnu pismenost. To na samom početku nije bilo moguće ostvariti, pa je Institut imao i ulogu da djevojke opismeni, tj. bavio se i zadacima osnovne škole (Novović & Maslovarić, 2018).

Od predmeta koji su izučavani, posebna pozornost poklanjana je učenju stranih jezika, ruskog i francuskog, ali isto tako i učenju muziciranja, ručnog rada

i uopće kućanskih poslova. Naime, važan zadatak u radu Instituta bio je da djevojke iz viših društvenih slojeva pripremi da budu dobre domaćice. Plan nastave mijenjan je nekoliko puta, pa je za petogodišnju školu iz 1879. godine sadržao sljedeće predmete za prve četiri godine: Religija, Maternji jezik, Ruski jezik, Francuski jezik, Matematika (račun i geometrija), Zemljopis, Povijest, Zoologija, Mineralogija, Botanika, Kemija, Fizika, Ručni rad, Vođenje domaćinstva, Kaligrafija, Crtanje, Pjevanje, Glazba, Gimnastika, dok su na petoj godini buduće učiteljice učile i: Pedagogiju, Psihologiju, Logiku, Znanost o obrazovanju i Metodiku (Zorić, 2013, 116). Plan je mijenjan i kasnije, uporedo sa produženjem trajanja škole. Naime, od početnih četiri godine, škola je 1907. godine došla do ukupno osam godina trajanja, kako je radila sve do zatvaranja (Novović & Maslovarić, 2018).

Usporedimo li ovaj Plan s onim po kome je od 1908/1909. godine radila Bogoslovsko-učiteljska škola, uočićemo nekoliko većih razlika: više su učeni jezici, ali i prirodne znanosti na Institutu, a postojali su i predmeti (poput Psihologije ili Logike) koji ukazuju na to da je sastavljač Plana itekako bio upoznat sa potrebama nastave. Na rad Instituta, međutim, javljale su se primjedbe vođene vjerojatno naj snažnijom – previše je pozornosti poklanjano učenju jezika, osobito stranih, a malo nekim drugim oblastima. Naravno, takvo je viđenje dijelom bilo i posljedica povijesno-političkog trenutka (koncem prve decenije XX. stoljeća). Crnogorske vlasti nisu bile oduševljene širenjem ruskog utjecaja putem Instituta, pa je 1913. godine škola prestala s radom. Interesantno je da nije veliki broj učenica radio u službi učiteljica. Polaznicama je ova škola više služila kao priprema za udaju i za vođenje domaćinstva, nego za zaposlenje, tako da je svega 20–25 svršenih institutki radilo kao učiteljice (Delibašić, 2009).

Teritorijalnim proširenjem Crne Gore po okončanju balkanskih ratova ukazala se potreba za novim školama za obrazovanje učiteljskog kadra, pa je početkom 1914. godine otvorena trogodišnja učiteljska škola u Peći. U razdoblju od 1863. do 1916. veliki broj učitelja i dalje je školovan u inozemstvu, najčešće u: Srbiji, Rusiji, Austro-Ugarskoj, Osmanskom carstvu, Italiji, Francuskoj, Grčkoj itd. (Pejović, 2000).

UDRUGE I OSTALE AKTIVNOSTI UČITELJA – USPOSTAVLJANJE PROFESIJE

Učitelji su profesionalna znanja upotpunjavali i na skupovima van granica Crne Gore. Tako je Gavro Pešić, učitelj iz Crne Gore, 1871. godine predvodio delegaciju crnogorskih učitelja na učiteljskoj skupštini u Zagrebu, a Đuro Popović je dva puta predstavljao prosvjetne radnike na učiteljskim skupštinama u Beogradu i Zagrebu (Marković, 1995, 11).

Za širenje prosvjetne djelatnosti značajno je i po-

kreiranje lista „Prosvjeta“ 1889. godine, putem koga su učitelji širili teorijske i praktične pedagoške ideje, a tiskana su i izvješća učitelja, revizora, uputstva za škole i učitelje, važniji raspisi i naredbe (Vukić, 2003). Tako koncem XIX. stoljeća dolazi do formiranja i djelovanja prvih učiteljskih udruga u Crnoj Gori. Te udruge svoj rad usmjeravaju na unapređivanje prosvjetno-kulturnog razvitka u zemlji. Na skupštini učiteljskih udruga držana su predavanja o temama koje su predložene na prethodnoj skupštini i raspravljalo se o nastavnom planu za tekuću školsku godinu.¹¹ Aktivnost učiteljskih udruga u Crnoj Gori je pozitivno ocijenjena, a u tom razdoblju bila je prisutna ideja da se svi učitelji sa ovih prostora udruže u „Učiteljski savez Južnih Slavena“ (Marković, 1995, 65).

Međutim, mali broj učiteljskih udruga je bio aktivan, pa se isticala potreba organiziranja nahij-skih i oblasnih učiteljskih udruga.¹² Udruge su bile neophodne za razvitak učiteljske misije i kvalitetne nastave, ali su zbog teških materijalnih prilika i razuđenosti terena, mjesne i nahijske udruge često zapadale u krizu.¹³ Predstavnici udruga učitelja iz Crne Gore prisustvovali su 1908. godine Kongresu čeških učitelja, a 1910. godine i Kongresu francuskih učitelja u Parizu (Marković, 1995, 11). Problemi postojanja učiteljskih udruga prepoznatljivi su i u čestim apelima i proglašima predstavnika ovih udruga, a koje ističu da se učitelji moraju udruživati ukoliko žele opstati i pokazati da „učiteljstvo živi i postoji“¹⁴ u Crnoj Gori. Po okončanju balkanskih ratova zakonski se utemeljuje Oblasni učiteljski zbor kojim rukovodi oblasni nadzornik i koji se mora minimalno jednom sastajati tijekom godine.¹⁵

ZAKLJUČAK

Otvaranju prve osnovne škole u Crnoj Gori prethodilo je decenijsko zalaganje crnogorskih vladara iz dinastije Petrović. Dva prethodnika Petra II. Petrovića uložila su mnogo napora u ostvarenje ideja o neophodnosti osnovnog obrazovanja. S obzirom na teške materijalne i druge prilike koje su u njihovo doba karakterisale Crnu Goru, morali su se obraćati stranim silama za pomoć – najčešće Rusiji, ali potom i Austro-Ugarskoj. Međutim, ni jedan ni drugi nisu uspjeli realizirati zamisli, ali su ideju prenijeli Petru II. Nedugo nakon stupanja na vlast, Petar II. Petrović Njegoš uspio je otvoriti prvu osnovnu školu u tadašnjoj Crnoj Gori. Škola je počela sa radom 1834. godine na Cetinju. Nakon tog prvog i najvažnijeg koraka, počelo je osnivanje

i drugih školskih jedinica. Cio proces širenja školske mreže tekao je sporo i diskontinuirano. Razloge za to nalazimo u burnim historijskim dešavanjima na području Crne Gore. U vrijeme vladavine knjaza (potom kralja) Nikole situacija je značajno unaprijeđena kako u pogledu broja i teritorijalnog rasporeda osnovnih škola, tako i u pogledu njihove organizacije. U vrijeme knjaza Nikole uspostavljeni su i organi vlasti u prosvjeti, formirano je Ministarstvo prosvjete i crkvenih djela, uvedena je funkcija školskog nadzornika, počela je izrada udžbenika u Crnoj Gori. Time je uspostavljen osnovnoškolski sustav.

Otvaranje prvih škola značajno je prethodilo obrazovanju učitelja u Crnoj Gori. Skoro 30 godina postojale su osnovne škole prije otvaranja učiteljskih škola. To znači da su za potrebe osnovnog školstva učitelji školovani van Crne Gore. „Privremena“ Bogoslovija, a potom Bogoslovija na Cetinju bile su prve škole u kojima su uz svećenike školovani i učitelji. Školovanje u ovim ustanovama dominantno je odgovaralo profilu svećeničkog obrazovanja. Najviše predmeta bilo je u vezi sa pravoslavnom crkvom i vjeronaukom, uz tek poneki predmet pedagoške ili metodičke profilacije. Početkom XX. stoljeća začinje se ideja odvajanja učiteljskog od svećeničkog obrazovanja, što se eksplicitno uočava iz novog naziva prethodno pomenute škole – Bogoslovsko-učiteljska škola. Ta će škola raditi sve do siječnja 1916. godine (Kondić, 2002). Istovremeno sa školovanjem muške omladine za zanimanje svećenika i/ili učitelja, na Cetinju je obrazovana i ženska populacija u okviru Djevojačkog instituta. Institut je bio znamenita školska ustanova na Balkanu i šire. Nastavni plan Instituta bio je nešto više prilagođen učiteljskom zanimanju, nego što su to bili planovi bogoslovskih škola. Ipak, društveno-političke prilike i odnosi sa Rusijom prije Prvog svjetskog rata utjecali su na zatvaranje Instituta.

Kako rad osnovnih škola, tako ni rad učiteljskih škola nije bio kontinuiran, što je posljedica burnih historijskih događaja. Uprkos velikom broju poteškoća, ipak je tijekom druge polovice XIX. stoljeća došlo do uspostave osnovnoškolskog sustava, a rad učitelja bio je organiziran i nadziran od strane državnih organa. Posebnu vrijednost za tadašnju profilaciju učiteljske profesije imale su učiteljske udruge, te strukovni sastanci i učešće na međunarodnim kongresima. Sve su te aktivnosti bile otežane, nedostajao im je kontinuitet i iskustvo, ali su one realizirane uprkos svemu, te ih iz današnje perspektive uočavamo kao utemeljenje cjelokupnog crnogorskog školskog sustava.

11 Glas Crnogorca, 20. 7. 1902: Domaće vijesti - Crnogorsko Učiteljsko Udruženje, 2–3.

12 Glas Crnogorca, 29. 7. 1906: Književnost, umjetnost i prosvjeta, 2.

13 Glas Crnogorca, 10. 5. 1908: Udružimo se! – Posvećeno Crnogorskom Učiteljstvu, 3.

14 Cetinjski vjesnik, 5. 8. 1909: Udružimo se! – Apel na učitelje, 3–4.

15 Glas Crnogorca, 12. 4. 1914: Oblasni učiteljski zbor, 1.

ZAČETKI IN RAZVOJ OSNOVNEGA ŠOLSTVA IN IZOBRAŽEVANJA OSNOVNOŠOLSKIH UČITELJEV V ČRNI GORI OD ZAČETKA 19. STOLETJA DO LETA 1916

Veselin MIČANOVIĆ

Univerza v Črni gori, Filozofska fakulteta, Danila Bojovića bb, 81400 Nikšić, Črna gora
e-mail: veselinm@ucg.ac.me

Nada ŠAKOTIĆ

Univerza v Črni gori, Filozofska fakulteta, Danila Bojovića bb, 81400 Nikšić, Črna gora
e-mail: nadas@ucg.ac.me

Dijana VUČKOVIĆ

Univerza v Črni gori, Filozofska fakulteta, Danila Bojovića bb, 81400 Nikšić, Črna gora
e-mail: dijanav@ucg.ac.me

POVZETEK

Članek obravnava zgodovinsko-pedagoški vpogled v nastajanje in razvoj osnovnošolskega sistema v Črni gori in, kot posledica njegovih potreb, izobraževanja osnovnošolskih učiteljev. V skladu s temi nameni je v članku določen tudi historični interval (1834–1916). Prva osnovna šola v Črni gori je namreč začela delovati leta 1834, medtem ko je bilo delovanje prekinjeno leta 1916 med avstro-ogrsko okupacijo Črne gore v času prve svetovne vojne. V prispevku prevladujejo teoretične in zgodovinsko-pedagoške analize z uporabo virov kot objektivnih kazalcev razvoja osnovnošolskega sistema in učiteljskega poklica v Črni gori. Razvoj izobraževanja v Črni gori kot temeljni dejavnik družbenega in državnega napredka se začne z odprtjem šol v prvi polovici 19. stoletja. Na karakter in delo teh šol je večinoma vplivalo burno in izredno spremenljivo družbenozgodovinsko ozadje. Šole so delovale brez kontinuitete, v razmerah pomanjkanja in brez večje gotovosti. V drugi polovici 19. stoletja se je šolska mreža še razvijala in vzpostavile so se oblasti, prek katerih je država upravljala s šolskim sistemom. V drugi polovici 19. stoletja se v Črni gori začne izobraževanje osnovnošolskih učiteljev. Prva oblika takšnega izobraževanja, namenjena mladim moškim, je bila uresničena v okviru semenišča na Cetinju, v katerem so se skupaj šolali duhovniki in osnovnošolski učitelji. Druga oblika se nanaša na izobraževanje ženskih učiteljic in je potekala na Inštitutu za dekleta, prav tako na Cetinju. Ti dve obliki izobraževanja sta bili precej različni, saj so bili moški učitelji prevladujoče usmerjeni v poučevanje cerkvenih predmetov, medtem ko je bilo izobraževanje na Inštitutu za dekleta veliko bolj raznoliko in bolje prilagojeno potrebam učiteljskega poklica. Delovanje obeh, osnovnih šol in semenišč za učitelje, ni bilo kontinuirano, kar je bilo posledica burnih zgodovinskih dogodkov. Kljub številnim težavam je v drugi polovici 19. stoletja prišlo do vzpostavitve osnovnošolskega sistema, delo učiteljev pa so organizirali in nadzirali državni organi. Učiteljska združenja, strokovna srečanja in udeležba na mednarodnih kongresih so bila za učiteljski poklic še posebej pomembna. Kljub temu, da je pomanjkanje kontinuitete in izkušenj potek teh aktivnosti še otežilo, so se kljub temu uspešno izvajale in danes nanje gledamo kot na temelj črnogorskega šolskega sistema.

Ključne besede: semenišče, dinastija Petrović-Njegoš, Inštitut za dekleta, osnovna šola, šolski sistem, posvetna vzgoja, osnovnošolski učitelji

IZVORI I LITERATURA

Cetinjski vjesnik. Cetinje, Zbirka Montenegrina NBCG „Đurđe Crnojević“, 1908–1915.

Glas Crnogorca – Nedjeljni list za politiku i književnost. Cetinje, Zbirka Montenegrina NBCG „Đurđe Crnojević“, 1881–1914.

Backović, S. (ur.) (2001): Knjiga promjena. Podgorica, Ministarstvo prosvjete i nauke.

Cvijović, V. & B. Kovačević (1996): Upravljanje prosvjetom u Crnoj Gori. Podgorica, Kulturno-prosvjetna zajednica.

Delibašić, R. (2009): Istorija pedagoške misli u Crnoj Gori. Podgorica, CID.

Dragović, M. (1888): Škole u Crnoj Gori. Zagreb, Obzor.

Gazivoda, P. (2003): Školski sistem u Crnoj Gori (ko-riveni, razvitak, perspektive). Pedagogija, XII, 2, 60–78.

Ivanović, B. (1981): Škola i obrazovanje u Crnoj Gori juče i danas. Cetinje, Obod.

Kapisoda, M. (ur.) (2014): Povodom 180 godina od otvaranja prve osnovne škole. Izložba dokumenata. Cetinje, Državni arhiv Crne Gore.

Kondić, P. (ur.) (2002): Cetinjska bogoslovija 1992–2002. Cetinje, Cetinjska bogoslovija.

Kostić, M. (1997): Škole u Crnoj Gori. Fototipsko izdanje iz 1876. Podgorica, Unireks.

Marković, M. (1995): Učiteljska udruženja u Crnoj Gori 1897–1914. Podgorica, Zavod za školstvo.

Marković, T. (1969): Istorija školstva i prosvjete u Crnoj Gori. Beograd, Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika Socijalističke Republike Srbije.

Martinović, N. (1962): Naučni i književni rad u Cetinjskoj gimnaziji 1881–1941. Cetinje, Centralna narodna biblioteka NR Crne Gore.

Milić, S. (2016): Ličnost i prosvjetiteljski rad Svetog Petra Cetinjskog. Acta Histriae, 24, 3, 491–510.

Nemirovski, E. L. (1987): Oktoih prvoglasnik Đurđa Crnojevića. Cetinje, Centralna narodna biblioteka SR Crne Gore.

Nemirovski, E. L. (1996): Počeci štamparstva u Crnoj Gori. Cetinje, Centralna narodna biblioteka „Đurđe Crnojević“.

Novović, T. & B. Maslovarić (2018): Počeci obrazovanja žena u Crnoj Gori. Djevojački institut na Cetinju. Annales, Series Historia et Sociologia, 28, 2, 385–399.

Novović, T. (2018): Pedagoški učticaj S. P. Mertvogo na razvoj predškola u Crnoj Gori. Acta Histriae, 26, 2, 557–574.

Pavićević, B. (1957): O misiji Ivana Ivanovića-Vukotića i Mateja Petrovića-Vučičevića u Crnoj Gori 1831–1834. Cetinje, Istorijski zapisi.

Pavićević, B. (2004): Sazdanje crnogorske nacionalne države 1796–1878. U: Borozan, Đ. (ur.): Istorija Crne Gore, knjiga četvrta, tom prvi. Podgorica, Istorijski institut Crne Gore i NJP „Pobjeda“.

Pejović, Đ. (1963): Sto pedeset godina razvoja prosvjete i kulture u Crnoj Gori. Titograd, Redakcija časopisa „Prosvjetni rad“.

Pejović, Đ. (1971): Razvitak prosvjete i kulture u Crnoj Gori (1852–1916). Cetinje, Centralna narodna biblioteka SR Crne Gore „Đurđe Crnojević“.

Pejović, M. D. (2000): Školovanje Crnogoraca u inostranstvu: 1848–1918. Podgorica, Istorijski institut Crne Gore i Službeni list Crne Gore.

Popović, P. (1934): Postanak i razvitak prve škole u Crnoj Gori. Cetinjska škola 1834–1934. Beograd, Štamparija Drag. Gregorića.

Rovinski, P. A. (2000): Djevojački institut Carice Marije na Cetinju. Marina Martinović. Cetinje, Obod.

Šuković, R. (2008): Čitanke za osnovnu školu u Crnoj Gori. Podgorica, Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna sredstva.

Vukčević, M. (2000): Poimanje časti u Crnoj Gori i Boki kotorskoj u 19. vijeku. Acta Histriae, 8, 1, 225–242.

Vukić, P. (ur.) (2003): Ljetopisi osnovnih škola u knjaževini Crnoj Gori 1885–1908. Cetinje, Državni arhiv Crne Gore.

Zorić, V. (2013): The Development of Primary School Teacher Education in Montenegro. HECL: History of Education & Children's Literature, 8, 1, 107–127.

DEVELOPMENT OF FOOTBALL FANDOM AFTER 1989: EVIDENCE FROM CZECHIA

Petr SCHOLZ

College of Polytechnics Jihlava, Tolstého 16, 586 01 Jihlava, Czechia
e-mail: petr.scholz@vspj.cz

ABSTRACT

The goal of this article is to analyze football fandom and violence in Czechia following the dissolution of the socialist state, focusing on the example of Slavia Prague, one of the most significant clubs in the country. We focused on the issue of football spectatorship in the 1990s, over the following twenty years until now. Primary data were collected by a questionnaire survey mainly in Prague, secondary data were used as well. We found that expressions of damaging the stadium and other disturbances are considered the most serious expression of violent behavior. On the other hand, booing is the least serious problem for our respondents.

Keywords: football behavior, spectatorship, Velvet Revolution, violence, visitors

SVILUPPO DELLA TIFOSERIA CALCISTICA DOPO IL 1989: L'ESEMPIO DELLA CECCHIA

SINTESI

L'obiettivo di questo articolo è analizzare la violenza delle tifoserie calcistiche nella Repubblica Ceca, in conseguenza della dissoluzione dello stato socialista, mettendo in rilievo l'esempio dello Slavia Praga, una delle squadre più rilevanti del paese. Ci siamo focalizzati sui problemi relativi al pubblico calcistico negli anni '90, nei seguenti venti anni fino ai giorni nostri. I dati principali sono stati raccolti tramite un'indagine statistica condotta principalmente a Praga; vengono poi usati anche i dati secondari. Abbiamo scoperto che i danneggiamenti degli stadi e altri disordini sono considerati la più seria espressione di comportamento violento. D'altro canto, abbiamo altresì rilevato che il "booing" risulta il problema meno serio.

Parole chiave: comportamento calcistico, spettatori, Rivoluzione di velluto, violenza, visitatori

INTRODUCTION

The sports environment has always been influenced by the political as well as economic and cultural development of society (Strachová, 2013). We can state that sport is a vital part of the “Visegrád countries” (so-called V4 as a cultural and political alliance of four Central European countries – Poland, Hungary, Czechia, and Slovakia), the Balkan and Baltic states’ culture. The development of sport in the Visegrád countries is observed in mutual interaction with ideologically homogenous and totalitarian systems (Waic, 2014). Post-war Polish history – its location on the orbit of USSR influence – had a significant impact on sport in this country. The collapse of communism and the rapprochement with Western Europe after 1989 caused the situation of sport in Poland to increasingly resemble the position of sport in Western Europe (Kobiela, 2011; Szymanowski, 2015). The history of the development of modern sport since its inception in Poland and Hungary has similar features (Jakubcová, 2013). Since the fall of the Communist government in 1989, Hungary has undergone significant changes (Foote et al., 2010). Elite-driven negotiations and non-violence can characterize the revolutionary changes of 1989 in this country. The Hungarian transition to democracy was characterized by non-violence and round table talks between the communist powerholders and the organizations of the emerging opposition (Bozóki & Simon, 2010). Especially after the onset of communism, the V4 countries went, and not only in sport, through similar developments. This area was “united” and its management has pursued state organization, which claimed to control all branches of sport. It had to replace state funding with alternative sources, at least partially, build its structures, set up relationships between subjects of sports scenes, etc. (Jakubcová, 2013). The situation in the Baltic states was very similar to that in the Czech Republic.

After the fall of the communist régime, new challenges awaited sport (e.g., Ice Hockey World Championships organized in Czechoslovakia in 1992, Czechia 2004, 2015, Latvia 2006, Slovakia 2011, 2019, and Belarus 2014; FIFA World Cup in Poland & Ukraine, 2012, FIBA Eurobasket in Serbia & Montenegro 2005, Lithuania 2011, Croatia & Latvia 2015). In the long perspective of the establishment and development of a democratic culture in the Baltic States, the signs of increased individualism and participation are very positive. After sixty years of forced integration with the Soviet Union, Estonia reasserted its independence in 1991. The independence phenomenon was not new to Estonia. However, the challenges facing civil society today are more significant than those of the inter-war period (Mačiukaitė-Žvinienė, 2008). We note that while the communist breakdown coincided chronologically in all the Balkan states, the communist regimes did

not collapse uniformly. They were instead affected by their prior national communist experience, including the degree of communist ideological orthodoxy, the extent of the party control over society, the intensity of dissident politics, or the control of the Soviet Union over internal matters (Anastasakis, 2013). This applies to both the popularity of individual sports, as well as organizational, economic, and ideological issues. The freeing of sport from the ideological burden of communist times is the most characteristic feature.

The fall of socialism in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1989 (known as the Velvet Revolution) was a fundamental social change that transformed the whole society. Societal changes began immediately after November 1989 and were projected onto the sports environment (Svobodová et al., 2013). Sport was considerably politicized before the Velvet Revolution, and most sports organizations and unions were in the hands of the state (Kössl et al., 2008). Long-term involuntary subordination to socialist central management tended to negate the organization of society and the principles on which society functioned in all spheres of life (Svobodová et al., 2013).

Release from the Communist grasp prompted an intensive search for new ways of development. Most institutions began to swiftly and spontaneously democratize. The sports environment was one of the first to look for ways to rearrange itself (Svobodová et al., 2013).

After the Velvet Revolution, the Executive Committee and the Central Committee of the Czech Sports Association met and resolved several crucial issues. It was decided that the Czech Sports Association would become a voluntary and politically independent organization. On November 26, 1989, the Citizens’ Forum for Athletes was established, and within a short time the Council of Mutual Understanding for Body Culture was formed and incorporated into the Civic Forum (Grexa & Strachová, 2011). The sports environment had to adapt to new social and political conditions (democratization, plurality, etc.), a market environment, entrepreneurship and the open professionalization of top-level sport. Furthermore, the Committee of the Czech Sports Association decided to rehabilitate former officials and athletes who had been persecuted for their political views after 1968 (Strachová, 2013). In January 1990, Věra Čáslavská (seven gold medals and four silver medals from the Olympic Games) became an advisor to the Minister for Sport and Social Affairs. In April 1990, the name Czech and Slovak Federal Republic started to be used. The country began to work slowly with the member countries of the Council of Europe, which it joined in 1991. This integration allowed the country to accede to the European Charter on Sport, which it joined in 1992 (Grexa & Strachová, 2011).

After 1990, top-level sport was commercialized. Sports organizations and unions also had to cope with the drying up of funds from the state budget and were

forced to find alternative financial sources. Following the model of Western European countries, federations and organizations began to search for these resources in the private sector (the phenomenon of sponsorship). Another aspect was the outflow and transfers of the best Czech players (football, hockey) worth millions of Czech koruna (CZK) to foreign competing leagues.

Changes were also made in the area of state administration. Formally, the development of Czechoslovak physical education and sport was the responsibility of the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. In practice, however, the situation was more complicated, especially in relations with foreign countries. But even in this challenging period, some successes were achieved in the international sports forum.

For Czech representatives, formerly generously supported by the socialist system, a descending trend of sporting results was observed in the first years after 1989 compared to those from Western Europe and the rest of the world. The increasing self-sufficiency of the athlete, the new quality of relationships (sponsors' entry into the sport, the search for financial resources, etc.) sometimes led to neglect of training needs, unwillingness to subordinate the interests of the whole, etc. It also failed to build on the former well-developed and efficient system of preparation of talented athletes, students and pupils in selected classes with extended teaching of physical education (Svobodová et al., 2013).

The 1989–1992 phase ended with the peaceful division of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republics into two independent states, the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, which came into force on January 1, 1993 (Strachová, 2013). The emergence of the Czech Republic brought about further changes in developments in all areas of life, (including sport), but it is necessary to say that these changes were not as fundamental as those happening before 1993. It was the era of right-wing politics and the period when the state began to devote more attention to sport. The efforts of the state to pay more attention to sport subsided very quickly. The changes were mainly related to sports organizations, Sazka (Lottery), the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports, sports financing, etc. (Kössl et al., 2008).

One positive fact is the re-creation of a pluralistic sports environment and that the sports environment has high autonomy and a strong position, which is based on the traditions of voluntary sport in the Czech Republic. The creation of a clearly defined property structure in the sports environment during the transformation years can be seen as a success. Despite the failure to completely prevent the speculative expulsion of property and other excesses, the ownership of sports grounds, gymnasiums, and sports facilities remained mostly reserved for subjects operating in the sports

environment. It is not to be expected that the financial flow to the sports environment by the state will increase significantly in the future. Instead, it will be the opposite. Already in the 1990s, the sports environment had begun to face this trend with the concept of multi-source financing, which has been increasingly emphasized. Without the principle of funding from different sources, some sports clubs would no longer exist today (Strachová, 2013).

Regarding top-level and recreational sport, the new millennium and the large number of fitness centers and emphasis on a healthy lifestyle is favorably inclined. In addition to soccer and hockey, the two most watched sports; there is a lot of enthusiasm for floorball. It came to the Czech Republic in 1993, and its base is continuously growing. At present, sports such as cycling, volleyball, jogging, as well as golf, which was not considered a sport in the pre-November 1989 era, are also prevalent.

The most significant regular international sports events in Czechia include the Motorcycle Grand Prix in Brno, the Ostrava Golden Spike, the Prague International Marathon, the Great Pardubice horserace, WTA Prague Open, the Jizerská 50, the Barum Czech Rally Zlín, and the Golden Helmet in Pardubice. In the past, the Czech Hockey Games and the Peace Race were also significant events. The World Cup and Championship in water slalom and biathlon are regularly held in Czechia.

The Czech Football League (formerly the Czechoslovak Football League), the Czech Football Cup, the Czech Football Super Cup, the Czech Ice Hockey League (formerly the Czechoslovak Ice Hockey League) and the Czech Basketball League (formerly the Czechoslovak Basketball League) are the most popular regular competitions.

Sport — as a media spectacle — is sometimes seen as a possible means of compensating for human aggression. Events attractive to audiences are always easier to sell. We can state "*if it bleeds, it leads*". A sporting spectacle can create the situation where people give up their free time, weekends or vacation to witness rampage, violence, and hysteria. Sometimes it seems that a passive consumer-oriented modern society is bored with the wide range of information and entertainment. In this sense, we can find boredom as a source of desire for the extraordinary, dramatic and risky nature of the sporting experience (Sekot, 2007).

The motive for elaborating this article was the author's interest and the fact that there is not enough current information on this issue. In Czechia, no publication has been devoted to a more significant number of people (spectators, fans, supporters, and hooligans) in a "football end" and visitors' conduct in one club. It needs to be said that when football spectatorship in Czechoslovakia and the Czech Republic was studied in the past, there was no distinction made between differ-

ent categories of visitors, and the results applied to the stadium crowd as a whole. Apart from the aforementioned surveys (Slepička, 1990; Slepička et al., 2010), there are also other studies available, though most of them lack validity. They usually included only a handful of respondents and there is no unifying methodology. These surveys were mostly conducted as part of students' seminar papers or Bachelor's theses. We see a pioneering innovation in conducting research (Scholz, 2018) in which visitors were divided into various categories. The overall final results were comparable to those of the two aforementioned surveys. The values were similar, though when we looked at the individual categories, there were significant differences between the various groups.

The paper aims to describe the general development of sport, especially football after 1989 in Czechia, and then to analyze the relationship between visitors' verbal and other expressions and their violent behavior at football stadiums in Czechia.

SPORTS SPECTATORSHIP IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA/CZECHIA

The issue of football spectatorship has become the subject of intense media, political, and academic interest in recent years. Although we can state that the danger of socially pathological phenomena is considerably lower in Czechia than in some other countries, it cannot be underestimated. In our paper, we focused mainly on negative phenomena that occur during football matches in Czechia. We chose football because it is the most watched sport in the world. In 2018, a record audience of more than 3.5 billion viewers – more than half of the global population aged four and over – watched the World Cup in Russia (fifa.com). In Czechia, football has a considerable base; more than 330,000 members are registered with the Football Association of the Czech Republic (facr.fotbal.cz). There is a large number of people attending the stadiums, with an average of 5,000 visitors per match (season 2018/2019), while the most attractive teams see even higher numbers (Slavia Prague 13,500 visitors, Sparta Prague 11,000 visitors, Baník Ostrava 10,500 visitors, and Viktoria Pilsen 8,900 visitors).

We must state that the problem of disorder in sport was already occurring in the former Czechoslovakia. Disruptions associated with sports events, especially with football, were common in our country at the beginning of the 20th century. But it was a completely different kind of violence than what is seen today. Football fans participated in shouting vulgar expressions at the referee, the opposing players, the organizing service, and other football visitors. At the turn of the 20th century, we can also register the first interplay between visitors to football matches. A different situation occurred in the international field.

Spectators who could not attend a match abroad because they were not allowed to travel (especially to the West) were relatively moderate, and signs of “popular hostility” towards the USSR were vented mainly in ice hockey.

An important milestone for football hooligans was the appointment of Gustav Husák as President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic in 1975 and the rise in repressive measures during the so-called normalization period. Despite the considerable in-depth security measures and increased efforts by the state apparatus to suppress violence at football stadiums, the police failed to prevent the growing trend of spectator riots, and the number of violent incidents at the end of the 1980s increased. We can state that it was mainly street fights after derbies, mostly involving Sparta Prague fans (Supporters, 2012). This team dominated this period in Czechoslovakia, which caused euphoria among its fans. On the other hand, with the rise in fan numbers, there was a proliferation of violent behavior. The youth, especially those recruited from the ranks of the working class who were not satisfied with their social status, began to vent their frustration during football matches. Incidents occurred inside stadiums and included attacks on players of the opposing team.

In the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, football hooliganism occurred spontaneously in the 1980s, but since the 1990s, Czechia has become one of many countries that has seen activation of hooligan groups. From the original informal groups emerged the first hooligan gangs and supporter groups in the 2nd half of the 1990s, issuing fanzines (fan + magazines). Even in Czechia, the violence associated with football and negative phenomena (including racism) has become a social problem over time (Smolík, 2008).

A significant moment for the development of hooliganism in totalitarian Czechoslovakia was an incident in June 1985. Coincidentally, it happened only a few weeks after the tragedy at the Heysel Stadium in Brussels, Belgium. Sparta Prague fans traveled to Banská Bystrica, Slovakia. In their drunkenness, they demolished several train carriages, harassed and beat other travelers, and even tried to push a lone conductress off the train. After this event, thirty fans were arrested, and the first action against football violence at Czech stadiums got underway. All stadiums of the top league created separate sectors for fans of the visiting team. The organizers of the football matches were given the power to control fans when they entered the auditorium — other measures were related to the consumption of alcoholic beverages. Only beer a lower alcohol content was allowed to be sold at stadiums (Duke, 1990).

After 1989, changes were made in the organizational structures in Czechoslovakian and Czech football. These, together with political developments, led to the behavior of football supporters being transformed.

Some trends of their radicalization and the rise of aggression towards referees, supporters (players) of their opponents emerged (Strachová, 2013).

The inrush of freedom and self-confidence facilitated the emergence of new hooligan groups that are starting to create clear rules and are well organized. Temporary interruption of the continuity of the work of security forces or their difficult orientation in new circumstances have negatively reflected in the ability to suppress some negative manifestations associated with football hooligans. Another problem is also the attendance at football stadiums of members of the skinhead subculture, which is experiencing a significant upturn after the loosening of conditions in society in general. This group is notorious for committing violent crimes not only during Czech football matches. As a result, racist or neo-Nazi elements are emerging in football. These are manifested in the chanting of catchwords, abuses, heiling, etc.

In spite of these problems, in the early nineties the organizing of people in so-called “ends” (stands for the most faithful and noisiest fans) increased, more fans are seen at away matches, and the style of supporting has become visually and acoustically more impressive. On the other hand, there is a large percentage of shouting consisting of racist and xenophobic catchwords. There is also a growing number of fan clashes outside football stadiums (Scholz, 2016).

From the 2nd half of the 1990s up till now, the general Czech public has been confronted by several cases of football hooliganism that have been highly publicized in the media. One of the most serious incidents happened in August 1999, when a 32-year-old woman was traveling by train to the town of Ostrava together with fans of Sigma Olomouc football club. Baník Ostrava hooligans attacked the moving train by throwing stones. The woman suffered very severe head and brain injuries with lasting consequences (Smolík, 2008). On the other hand, there is a lot of prejudice and confusion about hooligans that is often strengthened by the media. In particular, tabloid journals focus on incidents, complemented by sensational headlines (Scholz & Vespalec, 2017). Smolík (2012) notes that if the media do not change their approach when describing tense games and continue to present this issue in a non-objective way, they can in their own way be participating in these violent clashes and other riots.

Further, the second half of the nineties saw a new stage emerge in the development of the Czech hooligan scene. In several clubs in the highest football competition, well-organized hooligan groups have formed (defining themselves as a part of the hooligan scene) and regularly participate in football matches and fights. These gangs are far removed from direct “fan club” ties to that club.

We must state that what is allowed at football stadiums is unacceptable in a smaller auditorium environment, e.g., during a tennis match. Particular types of sport develop their very own level of tolerance of the behavior of spectators. Sports practice confirms that outbursts of uncontrolled spectator rage are not common occurrences in athletics, golf, sport diving, and similar sports. In these types of sport, there is no direct physical contact between athletes that would lead to the use of aggression or violence. The level of performance is measured, and the achieved results are then compared. This almost always eliminates the possibility of the results being affected by problematic decision-making, for instance, by referees. Spectators thus have no opportunity to see mutual skirmishes with interventions that transcend the boundaries of the rules and stimulate spectators to similar reactions in the auditorium. In contrast, football offers a show full of physical clashes between opponents with distinctive features of aggression primarily attacking the audience’s emotions (Slepička, 1990). The research carried out in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic/Czechia in the 1990s and at the beginning of the new millennium did not distinguish the audience in various sports, let alone individual visitors to football matches. The term spectator was incorrectly used to cover all visitors. Alternatively, they were classified merely as fans, spectators, and problematic spectators. We must say that such a division is insufficient. It is crucial to distinguish, e.g., hooligans from other people who are interested only in football and watching football matches. At the beginning of the new millennium, the academic community began to distinguish individual visitors. In this context, it is possible to use the most common division and identify four major groups: inactive spectators, football fans, supporters, and hooligans (Sekot & Smolík, 2009). Each group is characteristic and has its own specifics. For a better understanding of the negative phenomena, it is desirable to know which persons are seen at football stadiums and how they behave.

Inactive (objective) spectators. In this group there are four subgroups: (1) irregular visitors to football matches, frequently this concerns a particular type of fashion and snobbery, (2) fans of other clubs, not teams that are currently playing a football match (3) observers, coaches or other football players from other clubs, and (4), women (especially older), who attend the match accompanying their partners, or children accompanying their parents. Mareš et al. (2004) state that spectators are passive observers of the game, they are not affected by the rivalry between the two teams, and thus, the game looks entirely neutral. They are not interested only in football matches, but visit other sports fixtures and other sports. Often they do not identify with a particular club and do not wear their symbols such as scarves, caps, etc (image 1).



Image 1: Inactive spectators (author's archive).



Image 2: Traditional football fans (author's archive).

Traditional football fans (“normal”). These individuals attend football games and regularly have a relationship with their club, often due to the stadium being located relatively close to their residence. A fan has certain expectations for the development of the match, identifies with the team and therefore takes its success, or lack of it, personally (Greenwood et al., 2006; Slepíčka, 1990). Fans usually invest most of their free time, energy, and money in their favorite football club (Wann & Branscombe, 1993; Yusoff, 2016). In sport, especially football, visitors can become loyal fans of the club they visit. Often, they become fanatic fans who rarely miss home matches (Thorne & Bruner, 2006). A high level of identification with the club is linked to the aspects as mentioned above, also with higher attendance (Fisher & Wakefield, 1998). As Brandes et al. state (2013), in England, every fan purchases a season ticket, as tickets to individual matches are not available (image 2).

c) *Supporters (ultras).* These persons create a highly homogeneous group of fans who strive for the most spectacular development of the match while avoiding direct conflict, violence, and vandalism. They direct choreography in the game, often using fireworks, banners, and singing or cheering (Sekot, 2013). They greatly enjoy every game and are interested in club life. During the match, we can find them in the stands behind the goals (ends), which are designed mostly for standing. Almost every supporter is dressed in the club jersey, t-shirt, or at least a scarf of their favorite team (Scholz, 2016). Edensor (2014) says that the atmosphere is an essential component and should be experienced on the day of the match. Some supporters say they are not so disappointed by a loss, but the atmosphere must be unique (image 3).

d) *Hooligans (rowdies).* They come to football stadiums and their surroundings with the primary objective to cause conflict or fight with other similar groups from the opposing team. These groups (gangs) have their own names, which are defined against unorganized groups and other groups. Some of these parts are very well organized and unite not only club rivalry and hatred of enemy groups, but also political, racial, religious, national, regional, or social motives (image 4). Hooligans, unlike fans, often do not identify with a football club, only with their group (Mareš et al., 2004). Hooligan girl clashes, mostly in Russia, are also no exception (Scholz, 2018).

METHODOLOGY

This case study deals with the issue of sports spectatorship in selected top league football clubs in Czechoslovakia/Czechia. We will focus on the issue of football spectatorship in the 1990s (Slepíčka, 1990), over the following twenty years (Slepíčka et al., 2010), to today (Scholz, 2018). In the 1990s, there

were 1,500 respondents, in the next period there were 1,400 respondents, and last year the number was 720 respondents. We realize that the number of respondents is twice as small but previous studies (Slepíčka, 1990; Slepíčka et al., 2010) were conducted by several researchers in several clubs, whilst the last research (Scholz, 2018) was conducted by one researcher in one club only. It mainly concerns the social composition of the sports audience, and we will also try to show possible changes that have occurred in the structure of the audience over the past 30 years, as the socio-economic environment has changed significantly.

Then the more detailed focus will be on individual speeches, opinions and experiences of individual respondents in the 2015/2016 and 2016/2017 seasons. Primary data were collected by a questionnaire survey mainly at the Eden stadium in Prague, Czechia. Given the nature of the surveyed phenomenon, a quantitative approach seems to be the most appropriate. Therefore, the questionnaire was used as a base (Slepíčka, 1990), which was updated and also focused on the demographic structure of sports visitors, behavior at the stadium, etc. The questionnaire had to be expanded with questions related to pyrotechnics, racism, vulgar expressions, booing, and pitch incursions. A total of 720 persons aged 25.46 ± 10.19 years participated in this research. These were 592 men (25.62 ± 10.20 years), 120 women (25.01 ± 10.20 years), and 8 persons who did not wish to specify their gender. The research sample consisted of fans (462), supporters (158), sports spectators (68), and hooligans (32). This disproportion in the selection structure corresponds approximately to the percentage structure of visitors, and for some less numerous groups it is practically impossible to get higher numbers (especially if we want to follow the selection principles). All the respondents were attending in a stand of home team supporters. It is understandable that most of the respondents were fans and supporters, as these two groups watch and support players directly from the stand behind the goal. That is where the supporters can be found in most cases. The same applies to hooligans, who usually occupy the first couple of rows behind the goal. In addition to the above-mentioned groups, the stand behind the goal was also visited by 68 sports spectators. We know it is a significantly lower number than for fans or supporters, but we have to note that sports spectators usually do not get tickets for this part of the stadium. These persons like to watch a football match from the central or opposite stand, which offers the best view and where they can enjoy the game. Among the reasons that made sports spectators watch a match from the end is the considerably cheaper tickets than for the main stand, trying out something new (the experience of chanting, singing



Image 3: Supporters (author's archive).



Image 4: Hooligans (author's archive).

chorals, performing card stunts, etc.) and boasting to friends via social networks. Nowadays, when Slavia is playing a lot of appealing football, the end has more “fans of success” who attend the football matches because it is “in” and the club is doing well. In 2010–2015, when Slavia was not playing well, and especially in the 2013/2014 season, playing to merely exist, only devoted fans supported Slavia.

The selection of respondents was based on carefully pre-defined factors; e.g., seats 1, 3, 5, 7 in the first row; seats 2, 4, 6, 8 in the second row, etc., in all the rows. It was a random selection. The respondents were informed about the research and the anonymity of the questionnaire. Once they had answered the questionnaires, each of them received a small Slavia club badge. They also had the opportunity to contact the interviewer via the email stated on the questionnaire and inform themselves about the research results. The respondents were willing to participate in the research and were even entertained by filling out the questionnaires before the match started. The questionnaire consisted of twenty-nine questions; some of them were scalable, where respondents rated on a Likert scale (1-5) individual verbal and other expressions and also their violent behavior speeches. The least serious activity was rated 1; the most significant activity received the highest grade, i.e., 5. This paper uses methods of scientific work; i.e., the analysis method (also Correspondence analysis – CA), a method of generalization, mathematical, and statistical methods. Using the graphic tools of this CA, it is possible to describe an association of nominal or ordinal variables and obtain a graphic representation of a relationship in multidimensional space – for readers it is easier to understand. The analysis provides further evidence that dependencies exist between variables.

CA is a multivariate statistical technique. It is conceptually similar to principal component analysis but applies to categorical rather than continuous data. In a manner similar to principal component analysis, it provides a means of displaying or summarizing a set of data in a two-dimensional graphical form (Zámková & Prokop, 2014). All data should be non-negative and on the same scale for CA to be applicable, and the method treats rows and columns equivalently. It is traditionally applied to contingency tables - CA decomposes the chi-squared statistic associated with this table into orthogonal factors. The distance between single points is defined as the chi-squared distance. The distance between the i -th and i' -th row is given by the formula

$$D(i, i') = \sqrt{\sum_{j=1}^c \frac{(r_{ij} - r_{i'j})^2}{c_j}}$$

where r_{ij} are the elements of row profiles matrix R and weights c_j correspond to the elements of column loadings vector c^T , which is equal to the mean column profile (centroid) of the column profiles in multidimensional space. The distance between columns j and j' is defined similarly, weights correspond to the elements of the row loadings vector r and sum over all rows. In correspondence analysis, we observe the relation between single categories of two categorical variables. The result of this analysis is a correspondence map introducing the axes of the reduced coordinates system, where single categories of both variables are displayed in graphic form. The aim of this analysis is to reduce the multidimensional space of the row and column profiles and to maximally save original data information. Each row and column of the correspondence table can be displayed in c -dimensional (r -dimensional respectively) space with coordinates equal to the values of the corresponding profiles. The row and column coordinates on each axis are scaled to have inertias equal to the principal inertia along that axis: these are the principal row and column coordinates (Hebák, 2007).

RESULTS

In Czechia, football matches are mainly attended by men, but we note that the number of women is gradually increasing – 9.00% were women in the 1990s (Slepička, 1990), 19.00% were women ten years later (Slepička et al., 2010), and 20.00% are women today (Scholz, 2018). The higher representation of women in younger age categories corresponds with their concept of spectatorship as a leisure activity and accompanying their partners to football matches.

The composition of the football audience in the 1990s was mainly made up of young people – 60.00% of respondents were under 30 years of age and the 15-18 years of age category had the most significant representation (20.00%). Twenty years later, the group of visitors under 30 years of age made up 61.00% of visitors. At present, the majority of visitors to football matches are aged 25.62 ± 10.20 years. The age of individual visitors is therefore still decreasing at football matches, especially in the ends. It is undisputed that young visitors are more likely to be emotional, more radical, and more spontaneous in their reactions than older visitors. It concerns a polarization of a group of spectators with possible impacts on their behavior. We note that football is focusing its promotion in addition to youth groups also on families with children.

As far as individual groups of football visitors are concerned, we can say that the age structure was approximately the same, in the group of supporters and hooligans, the average age was three years lower.

spectators	fans	supporters	hooligans
26.41 ± 10.23 y.o.	26.29 ± 10.19 y.o.	23.01 ± 10.11 y.o.	23.06 ± 10.22 y.o.

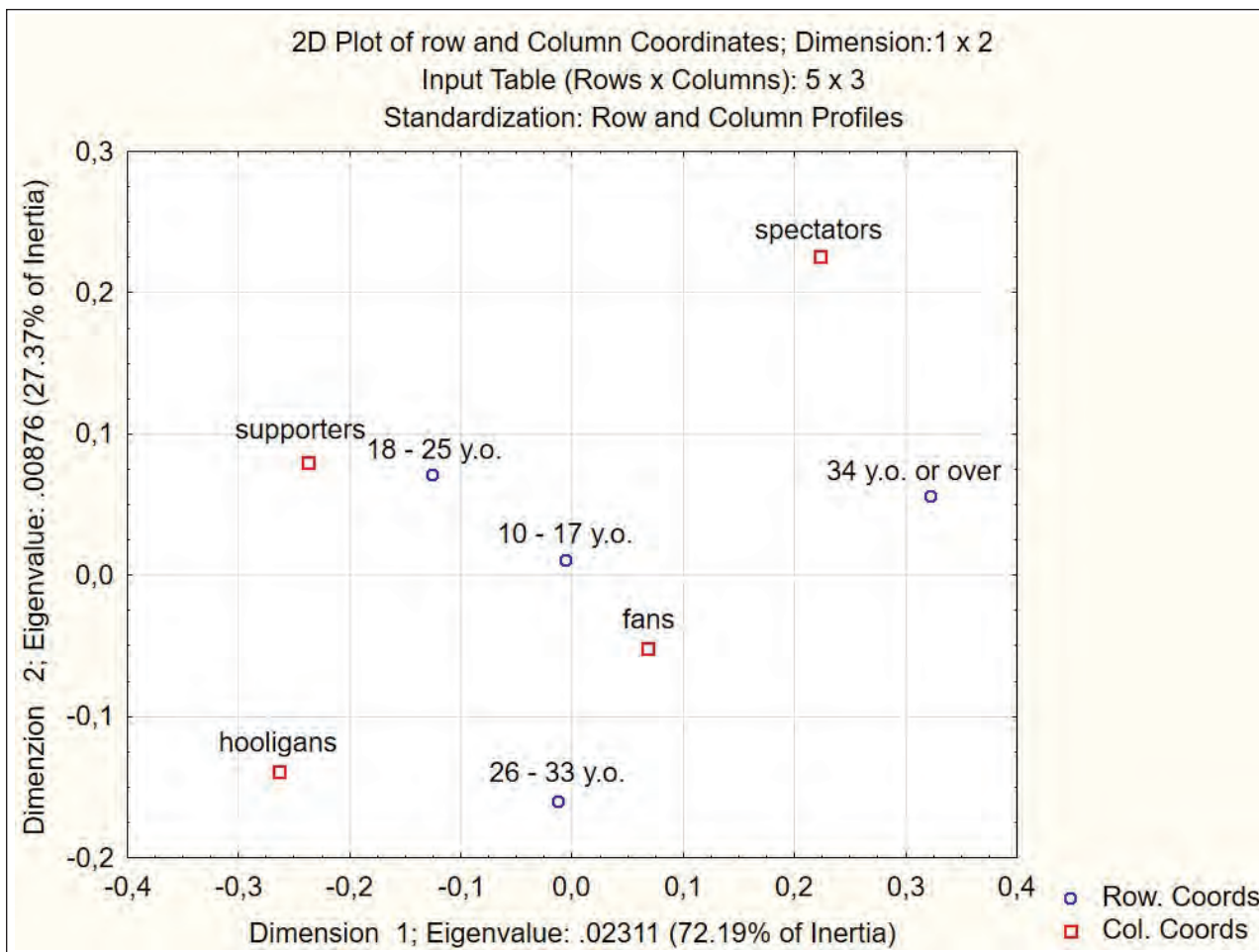


Figure 1: Age composition of visitors.

It is evident from CA that the spectators in the Slavia end were most often aged 34 years or over, the fans were 10-17 years old, supporters were most often 18-25 years old, and the hooligans 26-33 years old (figure 1).

From the visitors' family status point of view, singles are represented the most. In the 1990s they made up 50.00%, in the following twenty years already 62.00%, and now it is 75.00%.

An equally important fact, which is often mentioned in connection with the atmosphere at football stadiums, is the composition of the education attained by the visitors. In the 1990s, 43.40% of visitors had completed primary education and this declined to 26.50% of visitors in the next twenty years, and there was a

decline in the third period (24.84%), too. Compared to the data from Slepíčka (1990), when secondary and tertiary education was not subdivided, there was a significant percentage increase in respondents, especially in the middle education levels, which also corresponds to the general society-wide trend of the average education of the population increasing. Contrariwise, the claimed trend of a significant increase in education in the population did not manifest itself in the group of university-educated visitors (Slepíčka et al., 2010). If we focus on the four selected groups (spectators, fans, supporters and hooligans), we can see more accurate findings. It gives readers a better understanding of the individual groups, not just as total values in the third column (Scholz, 2018). It is desirable to mention that

Table 1: Time changes in the educational structure of the surveyed respondents (%).

Completed education	Slepička (1990)	Slepička et al. (2010)	Scholz (2018)	Scholz (2018)			
				Spectators	Fans	Supporters	Hooligans
	All respondents in one group						
Primary school	43.40	26.50	24.84	17.65	16.45	21.52	43.75
Secondary school (general certificate)	36.80	18.20	18.42	11.76	21.65	21.52	18.75
Vocational school (certificate of apprenticeship)		37.10	34.71	50.00	34.63	35.44	18.75
Higher Vocational School	17.20	3.30	0.75	0.00	1.73	1.27	0.00
University		12.70	16.67	20.59	13.42	13.92	18.75
Not specified	2.60	2.20	4.61	0.00	12.12	6.33	0.00
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

a few answers were not specified. On the other hand, 12.12% of the fans did not wish to give an answer, thus indicating their educational attainment. However, almost all the fans who chose this answer were between 10-14 years old. This means that they had not yet completed primary school. Therefore, these educational characteristics need to be interpreted concerning the fact that at the time of the research, some respondents were students of primary or secondary schools (table 1). In these cases, it was not completed education level (Scholz, 2018).

As regards the assessment of life and socio-economic conditions, among the respondents surveyed life satisfaction was clearly high (57.60% of respondents were satisfied and 35.70% of respondents rather satisfied), even though the groups of rich and poor (according to their assessment) were relatively balanced (rather richer 48.00% and rather poorer 37.60% of respondents). An interesting fact, however, is that even respondents who explicitly said they felt poor were satisfied or rather satisfied in their lives (in total 72.10% of respondents). A comparison with the previous study cannot be made as these data were not monitored (Slepička et al., 2010).

Almost ten years later, Scholz (2018) notes that due totally to the assessment of life, the results were similar, with a decreasing trend in satisfaction among hooligans. Half of the spectators was rather satisfied, and the other were satisfied. Over half of the fans (57.58%) were satisfied with their lives, while more than one-third of fans (35.93%) were rather satisfied. In addition to satisfaction with life, the respondents also subjectively assessed their financial situation. We can conclude that again, we saw approximately the same

results for the investigated groups except for hooligans. Almost two-thirds of spectators (61.76%) were satisfied with their financial situation. Supporters were even satisfied in 70.89% of cases. We must point out that the results are greatly influenced by the fact that more than 1/3rd of all the surveyed respondents lived with their parents. This means they often did not have to be interested in finances because they often received money from their parents. For hooligans, adequate amounts of satisfaction were found (56.25%), but 18.75% of hooligans were not satisfied with their financial situation due to their poorly paid workers' professions or unemployment.

The most common reason for visiting a match was to support the team by cheering. This is an essential motive for sports attendance. It was 18.00% in the 1990s, and 33.00% in the next twenty years. This increase was due to respondents being able to mark up to 3 responses. Currently, 59.16% of visitors attend a football match to support their club by cheering. There was also a strong effort to create an atmosphere in the auditorium. It was only 7.00% in the 1990s, 31.00% in the following twenty years, and currently over one-half of respondents (57.32%).

Based on the observations and questionnaire surveys, it can be stated that in the 1990s and at the beginning of the new millennium, the atmosphere at the beginning of the match between individual visitors was positive and the speech was respectable and non-vulgar. In the case of both ends, there are signs of mutual rivalry, which were still mostly fair and both ends expressed full support for their team by chanting various slogans and shouts. At present, if it is a nerve-

racking match or a match for 1st place, whistling is heard from both ends, other stands also join in, and verbal racist insults can sometimes be heard.

Vulgarisms and the use of pyrotechnics are nowadays common phenomena. In the 1990s, if there was contact between different hooligan groups, some mutual attacks (mainly verbal) happened.

There were only a few incidents involving injuries, damage, or arrests. Currently, hooligan groups do not get in direct contact with each other outside the stadium or nearby thanks to organizational measures and the police. During this time of information-communication technologies (smartphones, social networks ...), it is more difficult (in comparison to 30 years ago) to arrange a fight between different hooligan groups and avoid being tracked by the police. The original hooligan clashes, as known from England (two groups spontaneously meet and fight), are now being replaced by clashes between two groups in meadows, parks, forests, or abandoned railway stations. Contemporary hooligans are well-trained individuals who mostly engage in martial arts, which they then use in their appointed fights. These fights then have predefined, though unwritten, rules. The numbers of fighters on each side, age limits, etc., are determined (Slepička, 1990; Slepička et al., 2010).

In the following lines, you will find out how it looks with negative phenomena in recent years at football stadiums. There is no comparison with previous periods, as individual visitors to football matches were not divided into groups (spectators, fans, supporters and hooligans), and some speeches and attitudes were not examined at all.

Pitch incursion. We find that the achieved figures are adequate; spectators showed the lowest experience (5.88%) and hooligans the highest (75.00%).

Throwing objects onto the pitch. Hooligans proved to be the most experienced with the issue (62.50%) and spectators the least (2.94%). Most often this happened in the case of misconduct of the referee, or during the opponent players' goal celebrations near the home end. The pitch was often filled with empty or full beer cups, plastic soft drinks bottles, small coins, strobe lights, smoke grenades, and lighters. We can also state that in some cases the referee's performance may have sparked the beginning of violent clashes.

Bringing objects to the stand with the intention of using them as a weapon. We have to note that only a minimum of visitors would bring any objects to the stand. Only for hooligans were the figures slightly higher (12.20%). More than 1/3rd of the hooligans (37.50%) sometimes carried an object to the stand that could be used as a weapon. If we focus on objects, those were mainly knuckledusters, pyrotechnics, folding umbrellas, or empty plastic bottles. After filling them with water and closing the lid, they could cause an injury if somebody is hit.

Pyrotechnics. Pyrotechnics were mostly used by hooligans (68.75%) and supporters (49.37%). They also said that pyrotechnics belonged to football and made the atmosphere, even though they knew that firing off pyrotechnics was forbidden. The personal checks at the turnstiles before entering the stadium were not so thorough. Many pyrotechnics were smuggled into the stadium by women, or in clothing, through the VIP entrance where checks did not take place. Surprisingly, it was found that fans were less willing to fire the pyrotechnics than spectators.

Vulgarisms. Vulgar expressions were especially characteristic for supporters and hooligans, although the most vulgar expressions were chanted by fans (sometimes, 68.40%). These were addressed mainly at the chairman of the Czech Football Association (FAČR) and his deputy chairman, ex-chairmen of the FAČR referees committee, referees, and players of the rival team.

Stadium damaging. As expected, we noticed that all surveyed spectators (100%) never participated in the "activity" of damaging a stadium. To a lesser extent, it concerned fans (2.60%) and supporters (15.19%), who occasionally participated in stadium damaging. Nearly half of the hooligans (43.75%) never participated in it, and the rest of the hooligans were more or less directly involved in demolition of seats, lavatories, urinals, etc. Such conduct happened almost exclusively during so-called away days when the property of other clubs would be damaged. According to our respondents such behavior was caused mostly due to the unprofessional work of the organizing service or the police, in fewer cases a serious fault by the referee would give a pretext for destroying property.

Racist display. The level of involvement in racism showed the lowest figures among the spectators, and the highest figures among the hooligans. A quarter of the hooligans (25.00%) used racism frequently, including several supporters (10.13%). We state that the situation is definitely better than in the early 1990s, when dark-skinned players began to appear in the top Czech league. In the last few years, however, even at Czech football stadiums, dark-skinned players have become more popular and have become top-level players of "their clubs" as well as fan favorites. For this reason, these racist crises are sporadic.

Booing the referee. During a football match, nearly half of the spectators (47.06%) never booed the referees. Other groups recorded insignificant figures. Most boos were made at the referee and then the assistant referees when they mistakenly assessed offsides. The referee heard boos especially when a player was fouled and play was not stopped. These situations often happen when the stadium is sold out, a roaring atmosphere ensues and the referee makes a mistake under the pressure of supporting fans.

Booing the rival players and club. Compared to the previous booing, we noted a rapid increase in frequent



Image 5: Firing off pyrotechnics at the Eden stadium (Tribuna Sever, n. d.).

boos (supporters 63.29%, hooligans 37.50%, fans 34.63%, and spectators 14.71%). The most common causes included players “diving” and delaying play in standard situations. We can state that almost 1/2 of the spectators (41.18%) did not show their emotions and never booed their opponents.

Drinking alcohol. We can state that we saw the expected results for each group. Nearly half of the hooligans (43.75%) did not consume any alcohol before or during the match because of the possibility of a fight and being able to better concentrate on it. Also, some surveyed hooligans did contact sports (boxing 33.33%, MMA 11.11%) and were disciplined as far as diet and alcohol. At present, alcoholic beverages are not sold at stadiums except in exceptional cases. Most supporters consume alcohol before the match, or they smuggle alcohol directly into the stadium. Outside the stadium, they drink more alcohol than they would drink if alcohol was sold inside the stadium. A significant number was also seen among spectators (41.18%) and fans (37.23%) who never consumed alcohol before or during the match. Supporters who drank alcohol before entering the stadium stood near the stadium, where several refreshment stands were available. We can state that in most cases there was agreement on the most serious speech between individual groups of visitors (more detailed information in table 2), but this is a declining trend (spectators – fans – supporters – hooligans).

It needs to be said that in the past there were hardly any measures related to visitor safety at stadiums (Mareš et al., 2004; Slepíčka, 1990; Slepíčka et al., 2010;

Smolík, 2008). At present, also thanks to information and communication technologies, the level of public safety at stadiums is very high.

Upon entry to the stadiums of the first league clubs, visitors undergo a security check aimed primarily at preventing people from smuggling potentially dangerous objects and pyrotechnics inside the stadium. The audience at the stadium is then monitored by a sophisticated surveillance camera system as well as the security personnel (Scholz, 2018). However, the clubs do not have a very good idea about the movement of people banned from football matches. Such a ban can be imposed on a fan by the court or the club itself as a result of the fan breaking the law or the club’s rules. The offenders are watched by the Probation Service as well as the club itself. However, such security measures are very problematic for clubs. The Ministry of the Interior is working on a bill which should make it easier for sports clubs to check if anyone banned from football matches attempts to enter a stadium. This bill includes the use of surveillance cameras and their facial recognition capability. This way, any troublemakers would be identified at the stadium entrance. The bill also proposes creating a register of problematic, rowdy fans (so-called addressed ticketing). Security checks with respect to the entry of persons banned from football matches should be assisted by cameras equipped with facial recognition. The Ministry of the Interior wants to allow clubs to use them, provided stringent conditions are met. These cannot be used for any other purpose except for monitoring any attempts

Table 2: The participation of individual visitor groups in specific violations (%).

Pitch incursion	spectators	fans	supporters	hooligans
yes	5.88	16.45	44.30	75.00
no	94.12	83.55	55.70	25.00
Throwing objects onto the pitch	spectators	fans	supporters	hooligans
yes	2.94	12.99	36.71	62.50
no	97.06	87.01	63.29	37.50
Bringing objects to the stand with the intention of using them as a weapon	spectators	fans	supporters	hooligans
always	0.00	0.87	3.80	12.50
sometimes	0.00	6.06	20.25	37.50
never	100.00	93.07	75.95	50.00
Firing off pyrotechnics	spectators	fans	supporters	hooligans
always	2.94	0.87	1.27	18.75
sometimes	8.82	9.09	49.37	68.75
never	88.24	90.04	49.37	12.50
Vulgar chants in the stand	spectators	fans	supporters	hooligans
always	8.82	20.35	44.30	43.75
sometimes	47.06	68.40	54.43	50.00
never	44.12	11.26	1.27	6.25
Damaging the stadium	spectators	fans	supporters	hooligans
often	0.00	0.00	0.00	18.75
sometimes	0.00	2.60	15.19	37.50
never	100.00	97.40	84.81	43.75
Racist display	spectators	fans	supporters	hooligans
often	0.00	2.60	10.13	25.00
sometimes	5.88	17.32	31.65	31.25
never	94.12	80.09	58.23	43.75
Booing the referee	spectators	fans	supporters	hooligans
often	14.71	21.65	44.30	37.50
sometimes	38.24	55.41	50.63	56.25
never	47.06	22.94	5.07	6.25
Booing the rival players and club	spectators	fans	supporters	hooligans
often	14.71	34.63	63.29	37.50
sometimes	44.12	43.72	27.85	37.50
never	41.18	21.65	8.86	25.00
Drinking alcohol	spectators	fans	supporters	hooligans
always	14.71	19.48	32.91	25.00
sometimes	44.12	43.29	40.51	31.25
never	41.18	37.23	26.58	43.75

to access the stadium by people banned from football matches, and with their knowledge. Facial recognition technology has been implemented, for example, at stadiums in Great Britain and Denmark. In Belgium, the data can be accessed only by authorized personnel and the video footage taken at the entrance to the stadium is not stored.

CONCLUSION

The article brings a unique insight into the issue of sports spectatorship (mainly football) during the last thirty years in Czechoslovakia/Czechia. This article demonstrated the development of football spectatorship since 1989. The comparison was based on a total of three surveys (Slepička, 1990; Slepička et al., 2010; Scholz, 2018) with sufficient numbers of respondents (over 500 people).

The most significant benefit of this article compared to previous research (Slepička, 1990; Slepička et al., 2010) is that visitors were divided into four groups (spectators, fans, supporters, and hooligans). Furthermore, the comparison mentioned surveys bring findings that the composition of the education attained by the visitors and the assessment of life and socio-economic conditions were similar. However, when we looked at the individual categories, there were significant differences between the various groups.

After the Velvet Revolution, finally, individual sectors have been created for home and away fans. Fur-

thermore, the incidents took place mainly directly in the stadiums or their immediate vicinity. Dozens of incidents were reflected in the statistics, and fines were high for sports clubs. Police presence at sporting events, especially football, was widespread. It was a media and politically important ad hoc topic. At present, there are agreed clashes between hooligans, and large-scale riots in stadiums are not very common. These are about 5-6 more severe incidents per year. Clubs are not penalized too often. Police presence at sporting events is minimal. There are several far more essential themes of social discourse compared to football spectatorship.

The article deals with the socio-demographic characteristics of visitors and their motivation to attend football matches, too. It also describes the experiences of individual groups of visitors during matches and their reactions to different selected situations. The article also provides an insight into the views of individual groups of visitors, such as on firing pyrotechnics, throwing objects onto the playing field, manifestations of racism, vulgarism, booing, etc. Getting information and interviews from supporters or hooligans is also exciting, but sometimes dangerous, especially when it comes to away matches. On the other hand, there has been a reduction in negative phenomena (letting off pyrotechnics, damaging the stadium), which has led to a greater sense of security at stadiums, with more families with children and women coming to matches and the overall climate becoming as cultivated as in developed countries.

RAZVOJ NOGOMETNEGA NAVIJAŠTVA PO LETU 1989: PRIMER ČEŠKE

*Petr SCHOLZ*Visoka šola za politehniko Jihlava, Tolstého 16, 586 01 Jihlava, Češka
e-mail: petr.scholz@vspj.cz

POVZETEK

Članek obravnava razvoj športnega okolja na Češkem v zadnjih treh desetletjih z vidika napredka tega družbenega pojava v njegovem zgodovinskem okviru. Osredotoča se na najbolj kritične procese, ki so športno okolje preoblikovali od začetka devetdesetih let do danes. Na razvoj športnega okolja je močno vplival politični, pa tudi gospodarski in kulturni razvoj celotne družbe. Po letu 1989 so v češki družbi spremembe vplivale na način ukvarjanja z nogometom, na dogajanje okoli nogometa in so s tem pomembno vplivale na odnos in vedenje nogometnih ljubiteljev, navijačev in huliganov. Splošna sprostitvev odnosov v javnosti je pripeljala do degradacije koncepta svobode. Dojemali so ga kot drugačno vedenje, pri katerem ni potrebno spoštovati družbenih standardov iz prejšnjega obdobja. Odnos novoustanovljenih gospodarskih subjektov, ki je temeljil na zlorabi slabo določenih in medsebojno povezanih pravnih norm, do neupoštevanja osnovnih moralnih standardov, je privedel do splošnega občutka, da je dovoljeno skoraj vse. Študija primera kaže, da vse anketirane skupine največjo težavo vidijo v uničevanju imovine na stadionih, po drugi strani pa menijo, da izvižgavanje ni tako resna kršitev. Nogometni klubi in organizatorji na obiskovalce gledajo predvsem kot na ekonomski dejavnik. Kljub temu pa je pomembno poudariti, da so tudi odgovorni za njihovo upravljanje. Poleg tega tudi ugotavljamo, da mediji igrajo zelo pomembno vlogo pri tem, kako javnost gleda na nogometno huliganstvo.

Ključne besede: nogometno vedenje, gledalci, žametna revolucija, nasilje, obiskovalci

SOURCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anastasakis, O. (2013):** Post-1989 Political Change in the Balkan States: The Legacy of the Early Illiberal Transition Years. *Perceptions* 18, 2, 91–112.
- Bozóki, A. & E. Simon (2010):** Hungary since 1989. In: Ramet, S. P. (ed.): *Central and Southeast European Politics since 1989*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 204–232.
- Brandes, L., Franck, E. & P. Theiler (2013):** The Group Size and Loyalty of Football Fans: a Two-stage Estimation Procedure to Compare Customer Potentials across Teams. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 176, 2, 347–369.
- Duke, V. (1990):** Perestroika in Progress? The Case of Spectator Sports in Czechoslovakia. *British Journal of Sociology*, 41, 2, 145–156.
- Edensor, T. (2014):** Producing Atmospheres at the Match: Fan Cultures, Commercialisation and Mood Management in English Football. *Emotion, Space and Society*, 15, 82–89.
- Fisher, R. J. & K. Wakenfield (1998):** Factors Leading to Group Identification: a Field Study of Winners and Losers. *Psychology & Marketing*, 15, 1, 23–40.
- Footo, K. E., Tóth, A. & A. Árvay (2010):** Hungary after 1989: Inscribing a New Past on Place. *Geographical Review*, 90, 3, 301–334.
- Greenwood, P. B., Kanters, M. A. & J. M. Casper (2006):** Sport Fan Team Identification Formation in Mid-Level Professional Sport. *European Sport Management Quarterly*, 6, 3, 253–265.
- Grexa, & M. Strachová (2011):** Dějiny sportu. Přehled světových a českých dějin tělesné výchovy a sportu. Brno, Masaryk University.
- Hebák, P. (2007):** Vícerozměrné statistické metody 3. Prague, Informatorium.
- Jakubcová, K. (2013):** Sport a olympijské hnutí v zemích Visegrádu: Jejich vývoj a transformace v postkomunistické éře. Prague, Karolinum.
- Kobiela, F. (2011):** From State Socialism to Free Society: Sport in Poland from 1945 until Present Day. In: Tóth, M. (ed.): *Proceedings of the conference "The Interaction of Sport and Society in the V4 Countries"*. Budapest, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 85–93.
- Kössl, J., Štumbauer, J. & M. Waic (2008):** Vybrané kapitoly z dějin tělesné kultury. Prague, Karolinum.
- Mačiukaitė-Žvinienė, S. (2008):** Challenges for Civil Society: Participation in the Baltic States Region Building. *Viešoji Politika ir Administravimas*, 26, 113–121.
- Mareš, M., Smolík, J. & M. Suchánek (2004):** Fotbalové chuligáni: evropská dimenze subkultury. Brno, Centrum strategických studií a Barrister & Principal.
- Scholz, P. (2016):** Czech Football Hooligans' Behavior. *Journal of Physical Education and Sport*, 16, 2, 1089–1094.
- Scholz, P. (2018):** Problematika fotbalového diváctví v České republice aneb quo vaditis, fotbaloví příznivci? Brno, Paido.
- Scholz, P. & T. Vespalec (2017):** Comparación de hinchas y hooligans en República Checa. El ejemplo del club de fútbol Slavia Praga. *SPORT TK-Revista EuroAmericana de Ciencias del Deporte*, 6, 1, 125–130.
- Sekot, A. (2007):** Násilí ve sportu. *Universitas – revue Masarykovy univerzity*, 2, 7–16.
- Sekot, A. (2013):** Sociologie sportu: aktuální problémy. Brno, Masaryk university.
- Sekot, A. & J. Smolík (2009):** Sportovní fanoušek ve fotbalovém kotli. *Studia Sportiva*, 3, 1, 77–94.
- Slepička, P. (1990):** Sportovní diváctví. Prague, Olympia.
- Slepička, P., Slepičková, I., Kotlík, K. & P. Landa (2010):** Divácká reflexe sportu. Prague, Charles University in Prague, Karolinum.
- Smolík, J. (2008):** Fotbalové chuligánství – historie, teorie, a politizace fenoménu. Karlovy Vary, Zdeněk Plachý.
- Smolík, J. (2012):** Football Hooligans in the Czech Republic: Selected Topics. *Kultura – Społeczenstwo – Edukacja*, 1, 2, 75–95.
- Strachová, M. (2013):** Sport a Český svaz tělesné výchovy po roce 1989. Brno, Masaryk University.
- Supporters (2012):** Britská nemoc – Československo před rokem 1989. Retrieved from: <http://www.supporters.cz> (last access: 16. 7. 2019).
- Svobodová, Z., Juříková, J., Strachová, M., Štřeštková, R. & O. Štaud (2013):** Výzkum v sociologii sportu II. Brno, Masaryk University.
- Szymanowski, M. (2015):** Na východ od Západu, na západ od Východu: Středoevropské reflexe 1989–2015. Prague, Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury.
- The Football Association of the Czech Republic.** Retrieved from: <http://facr.fotbal.cz> (last access: 31. 8. 2019).
- The International Federation of Football Associations.** Retrieved from: <http://fifa.com> (last access: 2. 9. 2019).
- Thorne, S. & G. C. Bruner (2006):** An Exploratory Investigation of the Characteristics of Consumer Fanaticism. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*, 9, 1, 51–72.
- Tribuna Sever (n. d.):** Fotogalerie. Retrieved from: <http://tribunasever.cz/> (last access: 2. 7. 2020).
- Waic, M. (2014):** In the Shadow of Totalitarianism: Sport and the Olympic Movement in the "Visegrád Countries". Prague, Karolinum.

Wann, D. L. & N. R. Branscombe (1993): Sports Fans: Measuring Degree of Identification with their Team. *International Journal of Sport Psychology*, 24, 1, 1–17.

Yusoff, N. H. (2016): Types of Deviant Behavior among Football Fans in Malaysia. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 7, 1, 59–62.

Zámková, M. & M. Prokop (2014): Comparison of Consumer Behavior of Slovaks and Czechs in the Market of Organic Products by Using Correspondence Analysis. *Acta Universitatis Agriculturae et Silviculturae Mendelianae Brunensis*, 62, 4, 783–795.

KAZALO K SLIKAM NA OVITKU

SLIKA NA NASLOVNICI: *Alexander Casteels, Jozue v boju z Amalečani* (izrez), olje, platno, 121 x 174,5 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/ZDS1993004>).

Slika 1: *Hans Georg Geiger von Geigerfeld, Sv. Jurij v boju z zmajem*, ok. 1641, olje, platno, 273 x 150 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS1946>).

Slika 2: *Franc Kavčič, Salomonova sodba*, 1817–1820, olje, platno, 243 x 340 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS1486>).

Slika 3: *Franc Kavčič, Semiramido hranijo golobi* (pred 1810), olje, platno, 103 x 164 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS3356>).

Slika 4: *Staro mestno jedro Buzeta* (Vir: Integrated Built Heritage Revitalisation Plan Buzet).

Slika 5: *Vrh Devin z ekstremno geomorfologijo, na katerem je stari grad Devin in prepadna stena. Poleg je naselje Devin pri Trstu* (Wikimedia Commons).

Slika 6: *Leopold Layer, Sv. Martin deli plašč z revežem*, olje, platno, 27 x 18 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/ZDS2013716>).

Slika 7: *Jožef Petkovšek, Doma*, 1889, olje, platno, 121,5 x 134 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS0305>).

Slika 8: *Pieter Mulier, Nevihta na morju*, olje, platno, 158 x 288 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/ZDS2001088>).

Slika 9: *Grad Nádasdy od zgoraj, Sárvár* (Vir: www.varak.hu).

Slika 10: *Vrh Devin z ekstremno geomorfologijo, na katerem je stari grad Devin in prepadna stena ob sotočju Morave in Donave. Pod vrhom je Devin, manjše naselje blizu Bratislave* (Foto: Vladimír Ješko, Pixabay).

INDEX TO IMAGES ON THE COVER

FRONT COVER: *Alexander Casteels, Joshua in battle with the Amalekites* (cutout), oil on canvas, 121 x 174,5 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/ZDS1993004>).

Figure 1: *Hans Georg Geiger von Geigerfeld, Saint George and the Dragon*, circa 1641, oil on canvas, 273 x 150 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS1946>).

Figure 2: *Franc Kavčič, Solomon's judgment*, 1817–1820, oil on canvas, 243 x 340 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS1486>).

Figure 3: *Franc Kavčič, Semiramis is fed by pigeons* (before 1810), oil on canvas, 103 x 164 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS3356>).

Figure 4: *Old urban core of Buzet* (Source: Integrated Built Heritage Revitalisation Plan Buzet).

Figure 5: *Devin and its extreme geomorphology, with Devin Castle (Castello di Duino) standing on top and a precipitous slope facing the sea. Below the peak is Duino (Devin), a small town near Trieste* (Wikimedia Commons).

Figure 6: *Leopold Layer, St. Martin shares his coat with the poor man*, oil on canvas, 27 x 18 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/ZDS2013716>).

Figure 7: *Jožef Petkovšek, Home*, 1889, oil on canvas, 121,5 x 134 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/NGS0305>).

Figure 8: *Pieter Mulier, Sea storm*, oil on canvas, 158 x 288 cm (Narodna galerija, Ljubljana^o, <https://www.ng-slo.si/sz-slo/ZDS2001088>).

Figure 9: *Nádasdy Castle from above, Sárvár* (Source: www.varak.hu).

Figure 10: *Devin and its extreme geomorphology, with Devin Castle (Devinsky hrad) standing on top and a precipitous slope facing the confluence of the Rivers Morava and Danubee. Below the peak is Devin, a small town near Bratislava* (Photo: Vladimír Ješko, Pixabay).

