

Javni spomeniki: od znamenja do kipa in prostorske ureditve

Drugačnost Slovenije v drugi polovici 20. stoletja /

Public Monuments: From a Marking to a Statue and a Spatial Layout

Slovenia in the 2nd half of the 20th century: a path less travelled

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Povzetek

Temelj vseh obravnav javnih spomenikov v Sloveniji, posebej njihovega razvoja v prvi polovici 20. stoletja, je doktorska disertacija Špelce Čopič, ki je bila pripravljena leta 1974 in obranjena leta 1977. Malenkostno popravljena je bila objavljena v knjigi, ki jo je ob koncu stoletja izdala Moderna galerija v Ljubljani. V knjigi so navedeni pisci, ki so se ukvarjali z raziskavami in pisanjem o spomenikih, od Viktorja Steske, Ksenije Rozman, Franca Šijanča, Naceta Šumija, Aleksandra Bassina do Sonje Žitko in drugih, ki aktivno pišejo danes. Profesor Šumi je spodbudil tudi nastanek več diplomskih nalog, ki so se ukvarjale s topografijami in analizami javnih spomenikov v posameznih regijah.

Po daljšem premoru so javni spomeniki, posebej NOB, v zadnjem desetletju znova predmet raziskav v Sloveniji in drugih krajih nekdanje Jugoslavije. Prva, delno prezrta konferenca, ki je bila posvečena zlasti obravnavi njihovega podiranja, je bila v Berlinu leta 1993. Na njej je bil očiten prepad med problemi političnih ali vojnih podiranj spomenikov v večini republik in Slovenijo, kjer spomenikov mednarodnim ikonam socialističnega obdobja (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin) ni bilo. Intenzivne mednarodne raziskave (pretežno omejene na balkanske države), ki jih spodbujajo Umetnostna galerija v Mariboru, Filozofska fakulteta v Ljubljani in Moderna galerija, so usmerjene v nove načine gledanja. Ti so prodorni, čeprav premalo povezani z izostrenimi analizami razmer v obdobju 1945–1991. Selekcija vrhunskih stvaritev in odnos do najbolj monumentalnih spomenikov sta pozitivno odmevala vse do razstave v Muzeju moderne umetnosti v New Yorku, vendar se včasih preveč zanašata na eseje in fotografije. Manj je nujnih terenskih topografij in analiz gradiva v arhivih, kakršne je s študenti nakazala Beti Žerovc z razstavo *Življenje spomenikov* v Muzeju sodobne umetnosti Metelkova.

Javni spomeniki so politično spodbujeni likovni izdelki, namenjeni spominjanju in krašenju javnega prostora. Termin (kulturni) spomenik sega tudi na področje ohranjanja kulturne dediščine, vse do seznamov UNESCO, kamor so uvrstili spominski območji Auschwitz in Hirošima. Značilen javni spomenik s seznama UNESCO je Kip svobode v New Yorku.

Običajno ostanejo javni spomeniki na nivoju politične, redkeje likovne sporočilnosti. Javnost nekatere spomenike »posvoji«, ne glede na njihove primarno politične in celo šibke likovne elemente, kar velja za Prešernov spomenik v Ljubljani. Če avtorji dosežejo sintezo prostorske umestitve in nadgradnje spominjanja z nadčasovno, izjemno likovno sporočilnostjo ali posebno funkcionalno obliko, postane spomenik umetnina. Kadar likovnost prevlada, se izraža večplastno in pogosto celo preglasi začetno namembnost spominjanja. Podobno velja za spomenike, ki daljši čas krasijo prostor in jih ljudje vključijo v svoj vsakdan, v svoje sobivanje. Značilne tovrstne umetnine so npr. Donatellova Gattamelata v Padovi, Zadkinovo Uničeno mesto v Rotterdamu, Pingussonov spomenik deportirancem v Parizu ali posamezni Plečnikov spomeniki v Sloveniji, Tihčev in Kocmutov spomenik na Pohorju, v še večji meri pa ljubljanska Pot spominov in tovarištva. Ohranjanje javnih spomenikov preteklih obdobj in držav kaže stopnjo politične zrelosti posamezne države.

Likovno izstopajoči slovenski spomeniki druge polovice preteklega stoletja so, v primerjavi s kolosi po svetu, miniaturni in jih ne moremo šablonsko uvrščati v obdobje socialističnega realizma. Edini kip v državi, ki ima večje dimenzije, je Augustinčičev Tito v Velenju iz leta 1977, ki sega šest metrov visoko. Monumentalnost spomenikom v Sloveniji običajno doda vključenost v krajino, kar velja za Pohorje, Ljubelj, Ilirsko Bistrico in druge kraje.





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Abstract

The basis for all the treatments of public monuments in Slovenia, especially regarding their development in the 1st half of the 20th century, is the PhD dissertation by Špelca Čopič, prepared in 1974 and successfully defended in 1977. With minor corrections, it was published in a book issued at the end of the century by the Museum of Modern Art in Ljubljana. The book lists the authors who researched and wrote about monuments, from Viktor Steska, Ksenija Rozman, Franc Šijanc, Nace Šumi and Aleksander Bassin to Sonja Žitko, and other contributors active in the field today. Prof. Šumi also instigated several BA theses which dealt with topographies and analyses of public monuments in regions. After a long break, public monuments, especially those commemorating the People's Liberation Struggle, have again become the subject of research in Slovenia and elsewhere in ex-Yugoslavia. The first, somewhat overlooked conference, dedicated chiefly to their demolition, was held in Berlin in 1993. There was a distinct split regarding the problems of the demolitions - either politically motivated or caused by wars - between most of the ex-Yugoslav republics and Slovenia, where there were no monuments to the international icons of the socialist period (Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin). Intense international research (limited mostly to Balkan states) promoted by Maribor Art Gallery, the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana, and the Museum of Modern Art in Ljubljana, are concerned with developing new frames of reference, which are compelling but insufficiently connected with the accomplished analyses of the state of affairs in the period between 1945 and 1991. The selection of exceptional creations and attitude to the most monumental monuments has enjoyed positive reactions up to and including the exhibition in the Museum of Modern Art in New York, though it is occasionally over-reliant on essays and photographs. Far less common are the much-needed topographies and analyses of archive materials, such as those presented by Beti Žerovc and her students with exhibition *The Lives of Monuments in the Museum of Contemporary Art Metelkova*.

Public monuments are politically motivated art products intended for remembrance and the decoration of public space. The term "(cultural) monument" is also operative in the realm of cultural heritage preservation, including the UNESCO World Heritage List containing the areas of Auschwitz in Hiroshima. A typical public monument on the UNESCO World Heritage List is the Statue of Liberty in New York.

Most often, public monuments remain on the level of a political, rarely artistic message. The public may "adopt" certain monuments regardless of their primarily political and possibly substandard artistic elements, which is true of France Prešeren's statue in Ljubljana. If the authors achieve a synthesis of the spatial siting and the remembrance enhanced with a timeless, exceptional artistic message or special functional form, the monument becomes a work of art. When the artistic aspect is dominant, its expression is multi-layered and often even eclipses the initial purpose of remembrance. Something similar occurs with monuments which decorate the space for a longer time and which people include in their everyday experience, in their cohabitation. Typical such works of art include Donatello's *Gattamelata* in Padua, Zadkine's *The Destroyed City* in Rotterdam, Pingusson's monument to the deportees in Paris, or various Plečnik's monuments in Slovenia, Tihec and Kocmut's monument at Potorje, and to an even greater degree the *Trail of Remembrance and Comradeship* in Ljubljana. The preservation of public monuments from previous historical periods and state forms is indicative of the degree of political maturity in a state.

Compared to colossi found all over the world, artistically exceptional Slovene monuments of the 2nd half of the previous century are miniature, and they must not be mindlessly bundled in the period of socialist realism. The only statue of greater dimensions in the entire country is Antun Augustinčič's *Tito in Velenje* from 1977, which measures six metres in height. The monumentality of monuments in Slovenia often comes from their placement in the landscape, which is the case with Pohorje, Ljubelj, Ilirska Bistrica, and other places.



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Sl. 1: Spomenik zmage, Murska Sobota, avgust 1945.

Inženir Arončik, kiparja Boris in Zdenko Kalin.

Sl. 2: Spomenik branilcem slovenske samostojnosti leta 1991, Murska Sobota, 2013. Piramidalna oblika protitankovskih ovir.

Sl. 3: Spomenik Josipu Brozu, Kumrovec, 1948.

Kipar Antun Augustinčič.

Sl. 4: Spomenik Josipu Brozu, Brdo, 1948. Kipar Antun Augustinčič.

Kip je stal v osi glavnega vhoda v Muzej revolucije (zdaj Muzej novejšje zgodovine Slovenije), Celovška 23, Ljubljana. Danes stoji v parku posestva Brdo pri Kranju.

Sl. 5: Spomenik padlim v NOB, Pevma, Italija, 1948.

Stožci kot simbolični Triglav.

Fig. 1: Spomenik Zmage (Monument to the Victory), Murska Sobota, 1945, Engineer Yuri Aronchik, Boris and Zdenko Kalin.

Fig. 2: Spomenik branilcem slovenske samostojnosti leta 1991 (Monument to the defenders of Slovene independence in 1991), Murska Sobota, 2013.

Fig. 3: Monument to Josip Broz, Kumrovec, 1948.

Sculptor: Antun Augustinčič.

Fig. 4: Monument to Josip Broz, Brdo, 1948. Sculptor: Antun Augustinčič. The statue stood above the staircase in the axis of the main entrance to the Museum of the Revolution (present-day National Museum of Contemporary History), Celovška Road 23, Ljubljana. It is currently installed in the park of estate Brdo pri Kranju.

Fig. 5: Monument to the casualties in the People's Liberation Struggle, Piuma, Italy, 1948.



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Sl. 6: Spomenik Josipu Brozu, Velenje, 1977.

Avtorja: Antun Augustinčič in Vladimir Herljević.

Sl. 7, 8: Grobnica narodnih herojev, Ljubljana, 1949.

Avtorja: arhitekt Edvard Mihevc in kipar Boris Kalin.

Verzi: Oton Župančič.

Sl. 9: Spomenik padlim partizanom gornikom, dolina Vrata, 1953

Sl. 10: Spomenik svobode, Kočevje, 1953.

Avtorji: slikar Zoran Didek ter kiparji Božidar Pengov, Lojze Lavrič, Marjan Keršič in Stane Keržič.

Sl. 11, 12: Grobišče talcev, Draga pri Begunjah, 1953.

Avtorja: arhitekt Edvard Ravnikar in kipar Boris Kalin.

Sl. 13: Spominski kompleks Kampor, Rab, 1955. Avtor:

arhitekt Edvard Ravnikar. Spominski relief: slikar Marij Pregelj.

Sl. 14: Taborišče Ljubelj, Podljubelj, 1954. Avtorja:

arhitekt Boris Kobe in kovač Joža Bertonec (železni skelet).

Kaj vse so javni spomeniki?

Spomenik, ali natančneje, javni spomenik je materializiran tridimenzionalni objekt, ki so ga zgradili ali oblikovali ter postavili na javno dostopno mesto predvsem zaradi njegove spominske ali druge simbolične funkcije. Javni spomeniki so navadno posvečeni umrlim osebam ali zgodovinskim dogodkom, redkeje državam, živalim, predmetom. Praviloma jih postavljajo vladajoči sloji ali druge najvplivnejše družbene skupine. Častijo pretežno osebe in dogodke, ki neposredno ali posredno povzdignejo pomen postavljalcev, njihovih prepričanj, idej, želja. Javne spomenike pogosto postavljajo z vsaj dvema dodatnima namenoma: za potrebe komemoracij, verskih obredov, spominskih srečanj. Pogosto so spomeniki ali čašчени urejeni grobovi prerasli začetno funkcijo in so, z nadgrajeno sakralno simboliko, urejeni kot stavbe (egiptovske piramide, templji in cerkve ter mavzoleji). Zaradi spreminjenega pomena jih običajno ne obravnavamo med javnimi spomeniki. Razvoj javnih spomenikov in javnega prostora nenehno dodaja nove oblike in pomen; zato ne obstaja ena sama, popolna definicija, ki bi zaobjela vse pomene in podpomene spomenika.

Kot javni prostor praviloma razumemo vedno dostopne prostore, ki so vsaj vizualno, običajno pa tudi fizično, dostopni vsakemu posamezniku – vseh 24 ur dneva in vse leto (izjema so ponekod zime, ko so nekateri spomeniki prekriti). Tu zato ne obravnavamo nagrobnikov, ki so del pokopališč. Drugače velja za posebne ureditve, kjer so grobnice ali objekti samostojni in niso znotraj pokopaliških ograj ali v stavbah. V javnem prostoru stojijo tudi drugi okras, vrtno (parkovne) in dekorativne skulpture, fontane. Včasih so samostojni objekti, drugič del stavb ali ureditev. Izjemoma so nekateri javni spomeniki arhitekturni objekti, denimo Slavolok zmage v Parizu, Lincolnov spomenik v Washingtonu ali Vittoriano – Oltar domovine v Rimu. Kot spomenik je bil zasnovan tudi Eifflov stolp, v spomin ob stoletnici francoske revolucije.

Javni spomeniki so lahko pomembni zaradi estetske kakovosti, ki prispeva k drugačnemu videzu ali funkcioniranju objekta, njegovega ožjega in širšega prostora ter v idealnem primeru naselja kot celote. Vsaj od renesančnega obdobja naprej je med pomembnimi elementi javnih spomenikov znano avtorstvo. Slava posameznega avtorja lahko vpliva na prepoznavnost spomenika (Donatello, Michelangelo, Bernini). Pogosto je pomembna tudi prepoznavnost naročnika postavitve. Posebnost javnih spomenikov so spremljanje njihovega nastajanja, postavitev s slovesnim

odprtjem in nadaljnje bivanje v prostoru, vključno z odzivi ljudi in oblasti na spomenike in njihov prostor.¹ V toku časa in političnih sprememb se njihov pomen pogosto spreminja.

Že nastajanje je včasih povezano z daljšim časovnim obdobjem, ki vključuje javne natečaje ali neposredna naročila. V Sloveniji je ljubljanski Spomenik revolucije (Drago Tršar, 1964–1975) po natečaju čakal na postavitev deset let, Slomškov spomenik v Celju še bistveno dlje. Kiparka Karla Bulovec Mrak ga je oblikovala leta 1936, postavili pa so ga 13. aprila 1996.

Spomeniki naj bi javni prostor krasili »večno«. Navidezna večnost pa lahko traja le leto dni ali še manj. Spomenik kralja Aleksandra I. v Ljubljani ni stal niti 11 mesecev. Konj in jezdec sta bila žrtev fašističnega čiščenja. Med spomeniki, ki javni prostor krasijo najdlje, pa je denimo Marijin steber ob cerkvi sv. Jakoba v Ljubljani. Tega je J. V. Valvasor sooblikoval že leta 1681. Nekoliko preurejenega in na drugi lokaciji ga je leta 1938 oživil arhitekt Plečnik. Značilnost tega in številnih drugih spomenikov je, da je pri njih prevladal sakralni pomen; počastitev zmage nad Turki (Monoster, 1664) je skoraj pozabljena.

Ljudje so že v predzgodovinskih obdobjih označevali izbrane simbolne prostore. Ti so bili povezani s spominjanjem in/ali verovanjem, s posebnimi pomeni določenih prostorov, njihovimi označbami in simboliko. Lahko gre za naravne elemente, od dreves, skal do izvirov, ali za s posegi človeka označene, oblikovane in urejene elemente. Pogost spomenik je drevo. Simbolna »slovenska« lipa je označevalec posestva, jedra naselja, razgledne lege ali pa osamosvojitve države, stare manj kot 30 let. V krščanski tradiciji, ki že 1700 let prevladuje v Sloveniji, ima izjemen pomen mitsko drevo, ki je baje raslo na grobu praočeta Adama. Iz lesa tega drevesa naj bi stesali križ, na katerem so križali Kristusa. Simbolični, skoraj serijski nasledniki tega križa so razpela, najpogostejša znamenja v slovenskem prostoru. Ne glede na obliko in poudarjeni sakralni pomen označujejo kraje dogodkov, dogajanj ali prostor sam. Zaradi njihove množičnosti in uveljavljene verske simbolike jih pogosto ne razpoznamo kot spominska znamenja. Večji spomeniki segajo do piramid, templjev in cerkva, kar, kot omenjeno, presega obseg tega članka.

1 Vsak spomenik ima vsaj tri prostore: mikroprostor, t. i. »osebnik« prostor spomenika, kjer obiskovalec tik ob spomeniku ali v njem vzpostavlja osebni stik; širši urbani ali krajinski prostor, kjer učinkuje celota, in simbolni prostor, v katerem se prepletajo likovne, socialne, zgodovinske in druge vrline.



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What is considered to be a public monument?

A monument or, more precisely, a public monument is a materialised three-dimensional object which was built or shaped and installed in a publicly accessible site chiefly on account of its remembrance function or other symbolic function. Public monuments are typically dedicated to deceased persons or historical events, and rarely to states, animals, or objects. As a rule, they are installed by the ruling class or other social groups with the most influence. The monuments mostly celebrate persons or events which directly or indirectly elevate the significance of the erectors, their beliefs, ideas, or desires. Public monuments are often erected with at least two additional purposes: for the needs of commemorations, religious ceremonies or remembrance gatherings. Often, monuments, or venerated grave layouts, outgrew their initial function and were - featuring enhanced ceremonial symbolism - established as buildings (Egyptian pyramids, temples and churches, mausolea). Due to their modified signification, they are typically not counted among public monuments. In the development of public monuments and public space, new forms and meanings are continually added; consequently, there is no single and ultimate definition to encompass all meanings and sub-meanings of a monument.

As a rule, public space is understood as continually accessible spaces which are at least visually, and typically also physically accessible to each individual all 24 hours of the day all year long (with the exception of winters in certain localities as some monuments are covered in that period). This treatment consequently does not discuss gravestones as they are a subordinate element of cemeteries. A different rule applies to special layouts with individual tombs or buildings outside buildings or the cemetery perimeter. Further decorations are present in the public space, such as garden (park) and decorative sculptures and fountains. Sometimes, these are individual objects or they are parts of buildings or layouts. As an exception, some public monuments are architectures, such as the Arc de Triomphe in Paris, the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., or the Vittoriano - Altare della Patria in Rome. The Eiffel Tower, a memorial to the centennial of the French Revolution, was designed as a monument.

Public monuments may be significant due to their aesthetic quality contributing to a different appearance or function of a building, its immediate and

wider space, and, ideally, the locality as a whole. At least from the Renaissance period onward, recognised authorship counts among the important elements of public monuments. The glory of a particular author can affect the profile of the monument (Donatello, Michelangelo, G. L. Bernini). Often, the profile of the edifice's investor is also important. The particularity of public monuments is in the attention paid to the process of their creation, their erection with a grand opening, and their further existence in space, including the reactions of people and the authorities to the monuments and their space.¹ With the passage of time and in the course of political changes, their meaning often changes.

Their creation sometimes involves a longer period of time, which includes public competitions or direct commissions. In Slovenia, it took ten years from the competition for Spomenik revolucije (Monument to the Revolution, Drago Tršar, 1964–1975) to be erected in Ljubljana; the monument to Bishop Anton Martin Slomšek in Celje took significantly longer: sculptor Karla Bulovec Mrak designed it in 1936, and it was erected on 13th April 1996.

Monuments are intended to decorate the public space "indefinitely". But what is seemingly indefinite can last only a year or less. The monument to King Alexander I in Ljubljana stood for less than 11 months: the horse and the rider were the victims of fascist cleansing. Monuments which have decorated the public space for the longest period, on the other hand, include the Marian column by St James's Parish Church in Ljubljana; it was co-designed by J. V. Valvasor as early as 1681. Slightly altered and in a different location, it was revived in 1938 by architect Jože Plečnik. It is characteristic of this and numerous other monuments that its religious significance has become dominant - the celebration of the victory over the Ottomans (Battle of Saint Gotthard, 1664) is all but forgotten.

Already in prehistoric periods, people would mark chosen symbolic spaces. These were connected with remembrance and/or a certain belief, with special significance of certain spaces, their markings, and the symbolism. These may be natural elements, from trees and rocks to water springs, or elements marked, designed, and laid out by human interventions. A tree is a common monument. The symbolic "Slovene" linden tree marks estates, settlement cores, or sites with a commanding view - or the independence of a state less than 30 years old. In the Christian tradition, which

Fig. 6: Monument to Josip Broz, Velenje, 1977. Authors: Antun Augustinčič and Vladimir Herljevič.

Figs. 7, 8: Tomb of National Heroes, Ljubljana, 1949.

Authors: Edvard Mihevc (architect) and Boris Kalin (sculptor).

Fig. 9: Spomenik padlim partizanom gornikom (Monument to partisans from mountain units killed in action), Vrata, 1953.

Fig. 10: Spomenik svobode (Monument to Freedom), Kočevje, 1953. Authors: Zoran Didek (architect) and Božidar Pengov, Lojze Lavrič, Marjan Keršič, and Stane Keržič (sculptors).

Figs. 11, 12: Grobišče talcev (Burial site of civilian casualties), 1953, Draga pri Begunjah. Authors: Edvard Ravnikar (architect) and Boris Kalin (sculptor).

Fig. 13: Spominski kompleks Kampor (Memorial complex Kampor), Rab, 1955. Author: Edvard Ravnikar.

Fig. 14: Camp Ljubelj, Podljubelj, 1954. Architecture by Boris Kobe, sculpture by Joža Bertoncelj.

1 Each monument has at least three spaces: the micro-space, so-called "personal" space of the monument, where the visitor establishes personal contact in the monument or immediately next to it; the wider urban or landscape space where the effect of the whole is exercised; and the symbolic space in which the artistic, social, historical and other elements are intertwined.



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Sl. 15: Kraj poslednjega boja Pohorskega bataljona, Osankarica, 1959. Avtor ureditve: arhitekt Branko Kocmut, avtor kipa umirajočih: Slavko Tihec.

Sl. 16: Spomenik NOB na Gričku, Črnomelj, 1954–1961. Avtorja: arhitekt Marko Župančič; reliefi z vojnimi prizori: kipar Jakob Savinšek.

Sl. 17: Lipa samostojnosti, Velenje, 1991

Sl. 18: Spominski park Teharje, Bukovžlak, 2004.

Avtor: arhitekt Marko Mušič s sodelavci.

Sl. 19: Spomenik žrtvam vseh vojn, Ljubljana, 2017.

Avtorji: Medprostor.

Sl. 20, 21, 22: Spominski kompleks Jasenovac, Jasenovac, 1966.

Avtor: arhitekt Bogdan Bogdanović.

Kaj je kulturni spomenik?

Pogosto se (pre)široka uporaba besede spomenik² povezuje s pojmom kulturni spomenik. V slovenščini tako poimenujemo vse pomembne ostaline človekovega dela, njegove ustvarjalnosti, od funkcionalnih zgradb do arheoloških ostalin, zaradi njihove starosti, likovne, tehnične ali drugačne izjemnosti, velikosti ali zgodovinske pomembnosti; status jim dodelijo občine ali država. Status kulturnega spomenika ima še izbrana premična dediščina, to so evidentirani in ovrednoteni predmeti, ki jih hranijo državni in pooblaščen muzeji. Med kulturne spomenike strokovnjaki uvrščajo tudi izbrane javne spomenike, vendar ne kar vsega, kar se spominskega ali dekorativnega postavlja v prostor. Posebej je vrednotena izbrana nematerialna ali živa dediščina (npr. pesmi, običaji, šege in navade, načini priprave jedi in podobno). V register nesnovne dediščine so uvrščeni tudi pohodi ob Poti spominov in tovarištva.³

Status kulturnega spomenika svetovnega pomena poenostavljeno enačimo z nepremičnimi spomeniki, ki so uvrščeni na UNESCOV seznam svetovne dediščine. Leta 2019 je bilo na njem 1121 enot, med njimi 869 kulturnih, 213 naravnih in 39 mešanih, v 167 državah. Med njimi je nekaj zgodovinskih spominskih območij, kot sta taborišče Auschwitz in jedro Hirošime. Med izjemnimi spomeniki je Kip svobode v New Yorku. V Sloveniji imamo štiri območja, ki so na tem seznamu svetovne naravne in kulturne dediščine: Škocjanske jame, prvobitne bukove gozdove, kolišča na Ljubljanskem barju in tehniško dediščino Idrije. Dva memorialna spomenika Slovenije, posebna tipa spominskih krajev, pa nosita znak evropske kulturne dediščine: partizanska bolnišnica Franja in spominska cerkva v Javorci.

Javni spomeniki: od znamenj do prostorskih ureditev

Urbanizirani javni prostori v Sloveniji, po Evropi in drugje so pogosto okrašeni z unikatnim mestnim pohištvom, kamor sodijo javni spomeniki, vodnjaki, vrtni in dekorativne plastike, redkeje tudi spominska drevesa in ureditve. V 19. in prvi polovici 20. stoletja so med avtorji spominskih objektov prevladovali kiparji, ob njih arhitekti, včasih brez navajanja avtorstva, ne glede na pomen njihovega preoblikovanja prostora. Proti koncu 20. stoletja so se začele v večji meri uveljavljati drugačne, pogosto abstraktne oblike in krajinske ureditve, kjer so kiparske rešitve podrejene ali pa jih ni. Ozkih oblikovalskih, stilnih in drugače narekovanih pravil ni več. Mogoče so kakršnekoli vizualne zasnove. Prostor »dopolnjujejo«⁴ še lokalni politiki in drugi vplivni posamezniki s svojimi idejami. Spomeniki so izjemoma celo izhodišča urbanističnih zasnov. Nekatera načrtno zgrajena mesta (Washington, Brasilia) ali večja naselja po svetu so bila zasnovana okoli spomenikov. V preročišču Delfi je bil »poppek sveta«. Urbs, Rim, je izhajal iz lokacije Romulovega groba⁴ ali izhodiščnega miljnika. Lokacijo washingtonskega spomenika so si zamislili tako, da bi jim pomagala organizirati deljenje mestne zemlje, še preden so ga povezali z Georgeem Washingtonom.

V starejših mestih so javni spomeniki postavljeni na točkah, ki so bile pomembne že pred postavitvijo ali pa so to postale z njo: na trgih, pred javnimi stavbami. Eden od namenov spomenikov je narediti vtis na opazovalca in vzbujati občutke moči (naroda, države, politike). Takšen je bil osnovni koncept ljubljanskega Trga revolucije, kjer pa so spomenike kasneje odrinili z jedra trga ob rob ploščadi in trg preimenovali.

Širša obravnava spomenikov in njihovega konteksta bi verjetno morala ob vizualni formi in postavitvi zajeti tudi takšna in drugačna simbolna poimenovanja: šol, univerz, letališč ali ulic. Posamezni primeri spomeniške simbolike se v javnem prostoru prenašajo na obstoječe prostore in stavbe. Podobno spregledano je součinkovanje javnega prostora, kjer imajo spomeniki povezave z drugimi javno oglaševanimi simboli ali promocijo. Ta sega od plakatov, zastav do stenskih poslikav; z okolico se lahko staplja ali pa je z njo v konfliktu.

Ogrožanje spomenikov

Spomeniki po odprtju živijo različno življenje. Najbolj izpostavljeni so redna tarča političnih režimov in verskih nestrpnostev vseh religij, včasih tudi posameznikov. To ni posebnost 20. stoletja. Edini ohranjeni antični konjeniški spomenik, posvečen cesarju Marku

2 Razlaga je zaradi pogostih zamenjav pomena izrazov javni in kulturni spomenik nujna.

3 Nesnovna dediščina ima poseben seznam, na katerem je trenutno 508 enot iz 122 držav, tudi Škofjeloški pasijon, obhodi kurentov, izdelovanje klekljanih čipk in znanje suhozidne gradnje.

4 Zlati miljnik: Milliarium Aureum. Lapis Niger je po legendi grob prvega rimskega vladarja, kralja Romula.



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has been prevalent in Slovenia for 1700 years, the mythical tree believed to have grown on the grave of Adam, father of the human race, carries exceptional significance. The wood from this tree is believed to have been used to make the cross upon which Christ was crucified. The symbolic, almost serial descendants of this cross are crucifix wayside shrines, the most common markers in the Slovene space. Regardless of their form and the emphasised religious significance, they mark the sites of events, happenings, or the space itself. Due to their ubiquity and the established religious symbolism, we often don't recognise them as memorial markers. Larger monuments include pyramids, temples, and churches, which are, as already mentioned, beyond the scope of this article.

What is a cultural monument?

Often, a connection is made between the (overly) loose use of the term "monument"² and the idea of a cultural monument. In Slovene, the term denotes all important remains of human labour and creativity, from functional buildings to archaeological remains, on account of their age, their artistic or technical or other distinction, size, or historical significance, with such status being conferred on them by the municipality or the state. Select movable heritage, i.e. recorded and evaluated objects preserved by state- and state-sanctioned museums, also possesses the status of a cultural monument. Experts also include select public monuments among cultural monuments - "select" meaning that not just any memorial or decorative object in space is considered. Select intangible or living heritage, e.g. songs, traditions, customs and habits, food preparation etc., is evaluated separately. The intangible heritage registry also includes the memorial march along the Trail of Remembrance and Comradeship.³

The status of a cultural monument of global significance is essentially equal to immovable monuments included in the UNESCO world heritage list. In 2019, there were 1121 entries on the list, including 869 units of cultural heritage, 213 units of natural heritage and 39 mixed units in 167 states. Also included are a few memorial historical areas such as Auschwitz and Hiroshima town core. Outstanding memorials include the Statue of Liberty in New York. There are four areas in Slovenia included in the list of world natural and cultural heritage: Škocjan caves, primeval beech forests, pile dwellings at Ljubljana



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Moors, and the technical heritage of Idrija. European Heritage Label was bestowed on two special memorial monuments of Slovenia: Partisan hospital Franja and memorial church Javorca.

Public monuments: from markings to spatial layouts

Urbanised public spaces in Slovenia, in Europe, and elsewhere are often decorated with unique street furniture such as public monuments, fountains, garden- and decorative statues, and more uncommonly also memorial trees and layouts. In the 19th and the 1st half of the 20th century, the authors of memorial buildings were mostly sculptors along with architects, whose authorship sometimes remained undeclared regardless of the significance of their reshaping of space. From the end of the 20th century, different, often abstract forms and landscape layouts in which sculpture solutions play an ancillary role or are not present have begun to gain ground. Constraining rules of design and style, as well as other restrictions, no longer apply. Any visual design is a possibility. The space is further "augmented" by local politicians and other influential individuals with their ideas.

In rare cases, monuments even serve as underpinnings for urban designs. Some planned cities of the world or larger communities were designed around monuments. In the Delphi oracle, there was the Navel of the World. The only Urbs, Rome, emerged from Romulus's gravesite⁴ or the original milestone. The site of the Washington Monument was envisioned in order to help organise the partition of the city land even before it began to be associated with George Washington.

In older cities, public monuments are erected in spots which were important before the erection, or they become important on account of it: in squares,



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Fig. 15: Site of Pohorski battalion's last stand, Osankarica, 1959. Layout by Branko Kocmut, statues of the dying by Slavko Tihec.

Fig. 16: Monument to People's Liberation Struggle in Griček, Črnomelj, 1954–1961. Designed by Marko Župančič, war-themed reliefs by Jakob Savinšek.

Fig. 17: Lipa samostojnosti (Linden Tree of Independence), Velenje, 1991.

Fig. 18: Memorial Park Teharje, Bukovžlak, 2004. Author: Marko Mušič.

Fig. 19: Spomenik žrtvam vseh vojn (Monument to the victims of all wars), Ljubljana, 2017. Authors: Medprostor.

Figs. 20, 21, 22: Memorial complex Jasenovac, Jasenovac, 1966. Author: Bogdan Bogdanović.

2 The explanation is required due to frequent confusion of the meanings of terms "public monument" and "cultural monument".

3 A special list exists for intangible heritage, currently containing 508 units from 122 states, including the Škofja Loka passion play, the door-to-door rounds of Kurenti, bobbin lacemaking, and the art of dry stone walling.

4 Milliarium Aureum, or the Golden Milestone. According to the legend, the Lapis Niger is the grave of the first ruler of Rome, Romulus.



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Sl. 23, 24: Spomenik žrtvam vojne, Kozara, Bosna in Hercegovina, 1972. Avtor: kipar Dušan Džamonja.

Sl. 25: Devastacija Partizanskega pokopališča v Mostarju, 1965, avtorja Bogdana Bogdanovića. Fotografirano leta 2015.

Sl. 26: Spominska soba kiparja Györgya Zale v Galeriji - Muzeju Lendava



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Avreliju, je preživel, ker so ga imeli za krščanskega vladarja Konstantina Velikega. Podobno uničevalne so bile revolucije. Slikar Gustave Courbet je leta 1871 predlagal predstavitev Napoleonovega spominskega stebra na trgu Vendôme. Spomenik so podrli. Fašisti so podirali spomenike, celo nagrobnike s slovenskimi napisi, enako nacisti in za njimi socialistični režimi. T. i. Bildersturm je bil intenziven ob propadu Sovjetske zveze in osamosvojitvi držav vzhodne Evrope. Podrli so desetine Leninov in večino spomenikov domačim komunističnim idolom. Ponekod so uredili nekakšne rezerve z odstranjenimi kipi. Ti so bili pomensko degradirani v nekakšne vrtno skulpture brez prostorskih razsežnosti. Slovenija ima takšen park na Brdu pri Kranju. Ponavlja se tok zgodovine, ko avtoritarni režimi najprej rušijo spomenike, zažigajo knjige in zatem pobijajo ljudi.

Slovenija je bila verjetno edina socialistična država, ki ni imela niti enega javnega spomenika Marxu ali Leninu. Večina spomenikov je bila posvečena domačim herojem in predvsem žrtvam; pri njih je pieteta prevladala nad političnimi izzivalci. Razpad Jugoslavije je drugje, zlasti na Hrvaškem, vplival na uničevanje tisočev spomenikov. V Bosni pa so strahote nove vojne preglasile pomen predhodne in spomine nanjo. Negativen odnos do spomenikov razpadle Jugoslavije so spodbujali tudi mediji in pomanjkanje strokovnih vrednotenj, vse do napihnjenih sestavljanj lestvic »grdi« spomenikov za računalniške lestvice priljubljenosti.⁵ Le nekaj let kasneje so na razstavi v Muzeju moderne umetnosti (MoMA) v New Yorku ugotavljali, da so jugoslovanski spomeniki Bogdanovića, Džamonje, Ravnikarja, Tihca, Živkovića ali Bakića izjemne umetnine. Celo ime so kot »spomeniks« prevzeli v strokovno literaturo. Nič novega, če bi poznali izbor Zorana Kržišnika za beneški bienale leta 1980.⁶

Spomeniki v odprtem prostoru, zlasti bronasti, so v zadnjih desetletjih pogosta žrtev preprodajalcev kovin – kar v vsej Evropi, ne glede na politične režime. Znamenita je bila kraja Moorove skulpture Reclining Nude leta 2005 v Angliji. Umetnina, vredna vsaj tri milijone funtov, je bila prodana kot odpadni material za 1500 funtov. Slovenska značilnost je še politično podpihovan vandalizem. Odmevna je bila kraja Kidričevega spomenika v Kidričevem in nadomestitev portreta z živalsko glavo. V medije so šli različni primeri barvanja kipov ali sten ob njih, vendar le, kadar je bil prepoznaven njihov politični pomen. Krajo in vandaliziranje spomenika zdravniku E. Šlajmerju (delo Z. Kalina in J. Plečnika) so prezrli mediji, politiki in celo stanovski kolegi.

Socialistični realizem?

Umetniško ustvarjanje Sovjetske zveze in velikega dela vzhodne Evrope v desetletjih po drugi svetovni vojni običajno posplošeno imenujemo socialistični realizem.⁷ Pri javnih spomenikih večine socialistične Jugoslavije je vsaj za čas do sredine petdesetih let, ponekod do gospodarske krize okoli leta 1965, izraz ustrezen. Večinoma pa so nove politične usmeritve že v sredini petdesetih let dovoljevale, celo podpirale postopen razvoj novih iskanj. Modernistične oblike so korak za korakom prerasle v likovno izjemne postavke iz sredine šestdesetih in sedemdesetih let v Podgariću, Jasenovcu, Kamenski, Kragujevcu, na Tjentištu in Kozari. Ti »spomeniks« so do osemdesetih let postali zgled premišljene inventivnosti, monumentalnosti in velikih krajinskih posegov. Po razpadu Jugoslavije nobena od nastalih samostojnih držav še ni dosegla niti podobne likovne kakovosti. Spomeniki, kot so tisti Franju Tuđmanu v Zagrebu, Draži Mihailoviću v Bileći ali Aleksandru Velikemu v Skopju, so bolj karikatura stanja kot pa kakovosten prihodnji spomin na nove čase.

Za Slovenijo je poimenovanje socialistični realizem za javne spomenike manj primerno, razen za nekaj izjem, postavljenih v prvi ali drugi povojni petletki. Posamezne trende in iz konteksta iztrgane postavke z esejističnimi razlagami ter usmerjenimi fotografijami sestavljati v stilno obdobje socialističnega realizma ni utemeljeno, posebej če primerjamo javne spomenike, nastale v desetletju pred vojno in po njej, s spomeniki vzhodnega in zahodnega dela Evrope ter celo ZDA. Kam sodita Meštrovićeva Indijanca v Chicagu (1926–1927) ali Augustinčićev Mir, postavljen leta 1954 v New Yorku? Kipi grobišč v Normandiji so večji in bolj patetični kot karkoli, kar stoji v Sloveniji. Monumentalnih spomenikov, če ne upoštevamo izjemnih krajinskih elementov, v Sloveniji vse do Dražgoš ni bilo. Celo pri spomeniku, ki je neposreden odvod sovjetskih zasnov, Arončikovem spomeniku osvoboditeljem v Murski Soboti (1945), je jedro spomenika prilagojeno grajskemu drevoredu in dopolnjeno z dvema sorazmerno majhnima kipoma statičnih vojakov brez izrazitih čustev (avtorja Boris in Zdenko Kalin). Večina drugih spomenikov, od plošč do arhitekture, je bila bolj ali manj uspešno posnemanje Plečnikovih del, njegove arhitekturne šole z iz antike izvirajočimi stebri, vazami, triglavimi zaključki, fontanami (spomenik OF, Ljubljana, 1951; spomenik

5 <https://www.cnn.com/2014/01/24/.../worlds-ugliest-monuments/index.html>

6 Zoran KRŽIŠNIK et alii, XXXIX BIENNALE DI VENEZIA – YUGOSLAVIA – BOGDANOVIĆ – DŽAMONJA – TIHEC – ŽIVKOVIĆ, Ljubljana, 1980.

7 V Sovjetski zvezi značilnosti socialističnega realizma zasledimo že sredi tridesetih let 20. stoletja. Podobna patetična izhodišča z nekoliko drugačno ikonografijo so razvijali v Nemčiji, Franciji in Italiji.

or in front of public buildings. One of the purposes of monuments is making an impression on the observer and evoking a sensation of power (of the nation, the state, or politics). This was the fundamental concept of Ljubljana's Trg revolucije Square, where the monuments were later ousted from the square's core to the edge of the platform, while the square itself was renamed.

Beside the visual form and siting, a broader treatment of monuments and their context probably ought to consider various instances of symbolic naming: the dedications of schools, universities, airports, or streets. Individual symbolisms of monuments in the public space are transferred to existing spaces and buildings. The combined effect of the public space, where monuments connect with other publicly advertised symbols or promotion, is similarly overlooked. The range encompasses posters, flags, as well as murals; it can either blend with them or be in conflict.

Threats to monuments

After they had their opening, monuments live different lives. Those most exposed are frequent targets of political regimes and fundamentalists of all religions, and occasionally also individuals. This is not particular to the 20th century. The only preserved equestrian monument from the antiquity, dedicated to emperor Marcus Aurelius, survived because it was believed to depict Christian ruler Constantine the Great. Revolutions were similarly destructive. In 1871, painter Gustave Courbet proposed the relocation of Napoleon's memorial column at Place Vendôme; the monument was torn down. Fascists tore down monuments, even gravestones with Slovene surnames, as did the Nazis, and socialist regimes after them. There was vigorous so-called Bildersturm during the collapse of the Soviet Union and the independence of Eastern European states. Dozens of Lenins were taken down, as well as most monuments to domestic communist idols. In places, reserves of sorts with removed statues were established. In terms of their meaning, these statues were demoted as some sort of garden sculptures without spatial dimensions. In Slovenia, such a park is located in Brdo pri Kranju. The course of history where authoritarian regimes begin by demolishing monuments, go on to burn books, and then kill people, is repeating itself.

Slovenia was probably the only socialist state which didn't have a single public monument to Marx or Lenin. Most monuments were dedicated to domestic heroes and chiefly to victims as reverence prevailed over political challengers. Elsewhere, principally in Croatia, the unravelling of Yugoslavia brought about the destruction of thousands of monuments while in Bosnia, the horrors of the new war drowned out the significance of the previous one and the memories of it. Negative attitudes to the monuments of the dissolved Yugoslavia were fostered also by the media and the lack of expert assessment, which culminated in overblown "ugly" monument lists made for computer



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popularity charts.⁵ Only a few years later, there was all-round agreement in the Museum of Modern Art in New York that Yugoslav monuments by Bogdanović, Džamonja, Ravnika, Tihec, Živković, or Bakić are exceptional works of art. Even the term, "spomeniks" (from Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Slovene, "spomenik" = "monument"), was adopted in specialised literature. Hardly groundbreaking, had they been familiar with Zoran Kržišnik's selection for the 1980 Venice Biennale.⁶

Open-air monuments, especially bronze ones, have fallen victim to scrap metal dealers in recent decades - all over Europe, regardless of the political regime. The 2005 theft of Moore's sculpture *Reclining Nude* in England was notorious: the artwork worth at least £3 million was sold as scrap for £1,500. Characteristic for Slovenia are political incitements to vandalism. When the monument of Boris Kidrič in Kidričevo was stolen with an animal head left in its place, public attention was excited. The media has covered various incidents of paint having been thrown over unsuspecting monuments or walls next to them, but only in cases where political significance was detectable. The stolen and vandalised monument to physician Edvard Šlajmer (a work by Zdenko Kalin and Jože Plečnik) was ignored by the media, politicians, and even by professional peers.

Socialist realism?

The artistic output of the Soviet Union and a large portion of Eastern Europe in the decades after World War 2 tends to be bundled into the generalised term "socialist realism".⁷ For public monuments of the majority of socialist Yugoslavia, the expression fits at least until the mid-1950, and in places until the economic crisis around 1965. But for the most part, new political directions have allowed, even supported the gradual development of new explorations from the mid-1950s onward. Step by step, modernist forms eclipsed the artistically exceptional installations of the



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mid-1960s and 1970s in Podgarić, Jasenovac, Kamen-sko, Kragujevac, Tjentište, and Kozara. By the 1980s, these "spomeniks" have become a model of considered inventiveness, monumentality, and major landscape interventions. After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, no independent state has reached anywhere near the artistic quality. Monuments such as those to Franjo Tuđman in Zagreb, Draža Mihailović in Bileća, or Alexander the Great in Skopje are more akin to caricatures than to first-rate mementos of a new era.

For public monuments in Slovenia, the term "socialist realism" is less appropriate, save for a few exceptions erected during the first and second post-war five-year plans. Assigning individual trends and installations removed from their contexts to the stylistic period of socialist realism by means of essay elaborations and tendentious photographs is not justified, especially when comparing public monuments created in the decade before the war and after the war with monuments of eastern and western parts of Europe and even the United States. Where to place Chicago's *The Bowman and the Spearman* (1926–27) by Ivan Meštrović, or Augustinčić's *Peace*, erected in New York in 1954? The monuments of Normandy burial sites are larger and more pathetic than anything standing in Slovenia. Until Dražgoše, there were no monumental monuments in Slovenia, not including the exceptional landscape elements. Even with the monument which is a direct derivation of Soviet designs, namely Yuri Aronchik's monument to the liberators in Murska Sobota (1945), the monument's core is adapted to the castle tree lane and complemented with two relatively small statues of static soldiers exhibiting no intense emotion (by Boris and Zdenko Kalin). Most other monuments, from plaques to architectures, were more or less successful imitations of Plečnik's works and his school of architecture with antiquity-derived columns, urns, three-pointed terminations, and fountains (*Monument to the Liberation Front*, Ljubljana, 1951; *Monument to the casualties of both World Wars*, Črna,

5 <https://www.cnn.com/2014/01/24/.../worlds-ugliest-monuments/index.html>

6 Zoran KRŽIŠNIK et alii, XXXIX BIENNALE DI VENEZIA - YUGOSLAVIA - BOGDANOVIĆ - DŽAMONJA - TIHEC - ŽIVKOVIĆ, Ljubljana, 1980.

7 In the Soviet Union, the characteristics of socialist realism may be traced as far back as the 1930. Similar pathetic standpoints with slightly different iconography were being developed in Germany, France, and Italy.

Figs. 23, 24: *Spomenik revolucije* (Monument to the Revolution), Kozara, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 1972. Author: Dušan Džamonja.

Fig. 25: The defacing of Partisan Cemetery in Mostar, 1965; author: Bogdan Bogdanović.

Fig. 26: György Zala memorial room in Gallery-Museum Lendava.



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Sl. 27, 28: Spomenik Imreju Nagyu v Budimpešti.

Spomenik so leta 2019 prestavili na novo lokacijo.

Sl. 29: Razstava Naši heroji, socialistični realizem revidiran,

primer: ex-Jugoslavija. Umetnostna galerija Maribor, 2015.

Sl. 30: Intervju z likovnim kritikom Miškom Šuvakovičem ob razstavi Naši heroji. UGM Maribor, 2015.

Sl. 31: Model za kip *Mir* (Spomenik miru) Antuna Augustinčiča na razstavi Naši heroji v UGM Maribor, 2015. Kip iz leta 1954 stoji pred stavbo Organizacije združenih narodov v New Yorku.



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padlim obeh svetovnih vojn, Črna, 1952). Nadaljevalci Plečnikove občutljivosti so se uveljavili s krajinskimi ureditvami (Edvard Ravnikar, Boris Kobe, Vinko Glanz in Marko Župančič). Nadaljevanje akademskega, ponekod patetičnega realizma figuralike Meštrovičeve šole in Augustinčiča je v Sloveniji opazno krajši čas, desetletje in pol. Najbližji patetičnemu realizmu je bil Lojze Dolinar z okrasitvijo trga v Kranju. Vendar je bil Dolinar enako patetičen pri oblikovanju nagrobnika Janezu Evangelistu Kreku na Žalah (1920), pri spomeniku kralju Petru I. pred Magistratom (1931) in pri konjeniku v bronu, Aleksandru I., na Kongresnem trgu v Ljubljani (1940). »Socialistični« so bili pet ali deset let kasneje po Sloveniji bolj simbolni dodatki: zvezde, oblačila, orodje ali orožje, napisi. Nekaj deset bombašev, borcev s puškami (npr. Kočevje, Senožče, Cerknica) in podobnih kipov so hitro presegle pretehtane postavitev v prostor in zazelenitve ter bolj nežne, pogosto gole, intimistične figure. Prvi svobodni prvi maj je leta 1946 v Sloveniji in Tivoliju označil goli Pastirček Zdenka Kalina. Kipar je na podoben način nadaljeval s Spomenikom pionirjem (1962) in Fontano življenja na grobišču talcev na Žalah (1965). Nedaleč je Gramozna jama, kjer najdemo znano simboliko: temno jamo in svetel obelisk (ureditev Vinko Glanz, 1957) ter antikizirajočega umirajočega talca (Boris Kalin, 1955). Ikonografije socialističnega realizma tam ni. Niti na nekaj korakov oddaljenih Žalah je ne najdemo (arhitekt Fedja Košir, kipar Janez Boljka, 1965). Celo pri političnih veljakh, kakor je stoječa postava Borisa Kidriča, je oblika ostala na evropsko primerljivi kakovostni ravni (1960), če ga postavimo ob bok dve desetletji mlajšemu spomeniku Georgesu Pompidouju (kipar Louis Derbré, 1984).

Osrednji slovenski spomenik, postavljen v zgodnjem povojnem času, je Grobnica narodnih herojev. To je na podstavek dvignjena replika antičnega sarkofaga, okrašena z dvema 60 cm visokima reliefoma (Boris Kalin) in prefinjenimi verzi Otona Župančiča. Prvotna postavitev je skušala celo omiliti os dostopne poti z okroglimi kamni tlaka. Arhitekt je sarkofag herojev poudaril s postavitvijo v senco drevesa. Takšna zasnova Eda Mihevca bi bila zunaj Slovenije razumljena kot preskromna, pri nas pa je bila nadgradnja znamenj s triglavimi zaključki ter posnemanjem predvojnih zgledov arhitektov, kiparjev in kamnosekov. Vprašljive so razprave, kjer opisovalci trendov najprej postavijo tezo in zatem brez terenskih preverjanj na osnovi enega ali dveh izbranih primerov podkrepijo izhodišča berljevih esejev. Generaliziranje izjem na

splošno pojavnost postavljanja spominskih znamenj žrtvam vojn bo v bodoče treba premisliti in korigirati. Simbolno in konceptualno nadgradnjo izhodišča, kjer se naravno okolje staplja s kamnom in bronom spomenika, sta odlično izvedla Branko Kocmut in Slavko Tihec na Pohorju leta 1959. Njuna granitna plošča žrtvenika, na katerem ležita bronasti žrtvi, stoji med označevalnimi kamni in vitkimi smrekami. Tihec je svoj razvoj več kot desetletje zatem nadgradil s spomenikom žrtvam vojne v Mariboru (1975) in s spomenikom Ivanu Cankarju v Ljubljani (1982). V tem času pa so se v Sloveniji likovni eksperimenti in nova iskanja že preselili v odprte prostore forme vive (Kostanjevica in Seča 1961, zatem Ravne in Maribor), kjer političnih diktatov ni bilo več. Kiparje je manj zanimalo politično okvirjanje spomenikov. Na njihovo mesto so stopili arhitekti. Nekatere postavitve so z razvojem in funkcijo prerasle osnovno označevanje in z dodanimi ureditvami postale izjemen krajinski spomenik. Pot ob žici s pili arhitekta Vlasta Kopača je arhitekt Mitja Omersa s peščeno sprehajalno potjo in drevoredi dopolnil v Pot spominov in tovarištva. Oblikovanje kačipotov je z neokonstruktivističnimi oblikami dodal Janez Koželj. Primat oblikovanja novih spomenikov, zlasti največjih, so arhitekti nadaljevali ob osamosvojitvi države. Spomenik žrtvam vojne za Slovenijo je načrtoval arhitekt Marko Mušič (1991). Na natečaju je isti arhitekt dobil izvedbo za spomenik žrtvam povojnih pobojev na Teharjah (izvedba 2004). Spomenik žrtvam vseh vojn v Ljubljani je načrtovala skupina arhitektov (Rok Žnidaršič, Mojca Gabrič, Samo Mlakar in Žiga Ravnikar s sodelavci, 2016). Večina drugih spominskih označb, zlasti piramidastih znamenj in spominskih dreves, ostaja v državi Sloveniji daleč od novih avtorskih likovnih rešitev.

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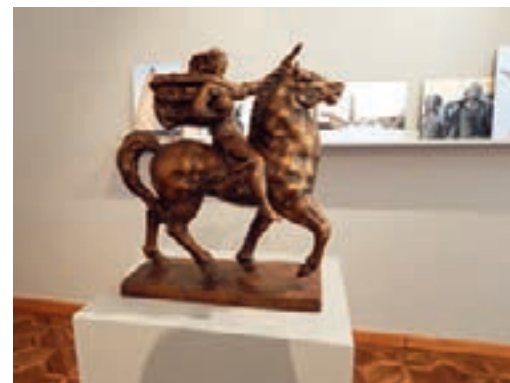
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1952). The continuators of Plečnik's sensibility all made their mark with landscape layouts (Edvard Ravnikar, Boris Kobe, Vinko Glanz, and Marko Župančič). The continuation of academic, in places also pathetic figural realism of Meštrovič's school and Augustinčič was noticeable in Slovenia for a shorter period, about a decade and a half. The closest thing to pathetic realism was the decoration of a square in Kranj by Lojze Dolinar. Yet Dolinar was equally pathetic in designing the tombstone of Janez Evangelist Krek at Žale cemetery (1920), in the monument to King Peter I in front of Ljubljana town hall (1931) and with the bronze, equestrian King Alexander I in Kongresni Square in Ljubljana (1940). What was "socialist" in Slovenia were the symbolic additions five or ten years later: pentacles, clothes, tools or weapons, inscriptions. A few dozens of grenade-lobbers, fighters with rifles (e.g. in Kočevje, Senožeče, and Cerknica), and similar statues were quickly surpassed by considered sittings in space, greenery planting, and more gentle, often naked, intimate figures. In 1946, the first celebration of 1st May in Slovenia and in park Tivoli in Ljubljana after the liberation was marked by Zdenko Kalin's naked Pastirček (Shepherd Boy). The sculptor continued in a similar vein with Spomenik pionirjem (Monument to Pioneers; 1962) and Fontan življenja (Fountain of Life) at the burial site of executed civilians at Žale (1965). In the nearby Gramozna jama (Gravel Pit), we find the familiar symbolism: a dark pit and a light obelisk (layout by Vinko Glanz, 1957), and an antiquity-inspired dying civilian (Boris Kalin, 1955). There is no socialist realism iconography there, and there is none to be found a short distance away, at Žale (architect Fedja Košir, sculptor Janez Boljka, 1965). Even with political dignitaries, such as the standing figure of Boris Kidrič, the form matched the European level of quality (1960) if placed, for instance, next to the monument to Georges Pompidou (sculptor Louis Derbré, 1984) two decades its junior.

The central Slovene monument erected in the early post-war era is the Tomb of National Heroes. It is a replica of an antique sarcophagus raised on a plinth and decorated with two 60-cm tall reliefs (by Boris Kalin) and sublime poetry by Oton Župančič. The initial installation even attempted to tone down the access path axis by using round paving stones. The architect emphasised the heroes' sarcophagus by placing it in a tree's shadow. Outside Slovenia, such design by Edo Mihevc would have been seen as too modest, but here, it represented an upgrade to

markings with three-pointed terminations and emulations of pre-war models by architects, sculptors, and stonecutters. Any treatise in which a trend-chronicler first states a thesis and then goes on to support the premise of a readable essay on the basis of one or two examples without verification on the ground is questionable. In the future, generalisations of exceptions presented as universal manifestations of erecting memorial markings to war victims will need to be reconsidered and corrected.

The symbolic and conceptual upgrade of the basis where the natural environment blends with the stone and bronze belonging to the monument was brilliantly executed by Branko Kocmut and Slavko Tihec at Pohorje in 1959. Their sacrificial stone granite slab with two supine victims is placed among the marking stones and slender spruces. Tihec enhanced his own artistic development more than a decade later with the monument to war victims in Maribor (1975) and with the monument to Ivan Cankar in Ljubljana (1982). However, in this period, artistic experiments and new explorations in Slovenia had already shifted to open-air spaces of in-situ sculpture (in Kostanjevica and Seča in 1961, later in Ravne and Maribor) where there was no longer any political coercion. Sculptors were less interested in the political framing of monuments. Their place was instead taken by architects. In their development and function, some installations transcended the role of basic marking and became exceptional landscape monuments on the strength of their additional layouts. By means of the gravel footpath and tree lanes, the trail along the barbed wire with architect Vlasto Kopač's stone piles was turned into the Trail of Remembrance by architect Mitja Omersa. A further augmentation was Janez Koželj's design of the signposts employing neoconstructivist shapes. Architects continued to serve as the primary designers of new monuments, especially those greatest in size, also after Slovenia's independence. The monument to the victims of the War for Slovenia was designed by architect Marko Mušič (1991). The same architect won the competition for the design of the monument to the victims of post-WW2 killings in Težarje (realised 2004). The monument to the victims of all wars in Ljubljana was designed by a team of architects (Rok Žnidaršič, Mojca Gabrič, Samo Mlakar, Žiga Ravnikar with collaborators, 2016). Most other memorial markings in Slovenia, especially pyramid markings and memorial trees, remain a far cry from new individually creative visual solutions.



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Figs. 27, 28: Memorial to Imre Nagy in Budapest.

Last year, the monument was relocated to a new site.

Fig. 29: Exhibition HEROES WE LOVE - Socialist realism revised, example: ex-Yugoslavia in Maribor Art Gallery, 2015.

Fig. 30: Interview with Miško Šuvaković as part of exhibition Heroes We Love.

Fig. 31: Model for The Peace Monument (A Monument to Peace) by Antun Augustinčič in exhibition Heroes We Love in Maribor Art Gallery. Regularly, the 1954 statue is mounted in front of the United Nations headquarters in New York.

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