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CONTEXTUALISATION OF A CREATIVE PRACTICE. A DIALOGUE

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ABSTRACT

This dialogue aims to demonstrate the relational knowledge creation in creative practice research. The practice identity is investigated through the lenses of the Mediterranean context. The starting point is the EU 7th FP ITN ADAPT-r project 'Architecture, Design and Art Practice Training-research'. The two dialogue voices are from this network: a nomadic sculptorer/visual artist as a PhD fellow, and an architect/academic as his supervisor. The article contextualises both practices, bridging the gap between creative practice and academia, artistic and scientific research. The relational knowledge model is enhanced to explicate the tacit knowledge and challenge a wide variety of new knowledge creations.

Keywords: creative practice research, research relevance, visual arts, architecture

CONTESTUALIZZAZIONE DELLA PRATICA CREATIVA. UN DIALOGO

SINTESI

Il presente dialogo tende a dimostrare la conoscenza relazionale nella ricerca sulla pratica creativa mediante l'investigazione sull'identità della predetta prassi. L'identità di tale prassi viene investigata attraverso le lenti del contesto mediterraneo. Il punto di partenza è il Progetto EU 7th FP ITN ADAPT-r Architettura, Design e ricerca sulla didattica della prassi artistica. Le due voci di questo network sono uno scultore nomade/artista visivo, candidato ad un PhD, ed un architetto/accademico, suo supervisore. L'articolo contestualizza entrambe le pratiche, colmando il divario che esiste tra la prassi creativa ed il mondo accademico, tra la ricerca artistica e quella scientifica. Il modello di conoscenza relazionale viene rafforzato allo scopo di spiegare la conoscenza tacita e di mettere in discussione un'ampia gamma di nuove creazioni conoscitive.

Parole chiave: ricerca sulla pratica creativa, pertinenza di ricerca, arti visive, architettura

INTRODUCTION

This article emerges from the following positions:

- The creative practice research in the ADAPT-r project: 'Architecture, Design and Art Practice Training-research' (ADAPT-r, 2016); this initial training network emphasizes a creative practice as the primary source of new knowledge creation and new methodological developments;
- The doctoral programme in architecture at the University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Architecture (Doktorski študijski program arhitektura, 2016);
- The view through the ANNALES call on the identity of the urban environment and cultural landscapes – Mediterranean;
- The artistic practice of Federico del Vecchio – ADAPT-r fellow/doctoral researcher/sculptor and visual artist;
- The supervisory practice of Tadeja Zupančič – ADAPT-r project leader at the University of Ljubljana partner/doctoral programme leader/architect.

The first part of this article explains the approach to the knowledge creation in creative practice research through the lenses of the ADAPT-r project, the doctoral programme and the magazine call. The second one demonstrates the way new knowledge is explicated from creative practices through a dialogue between the two voices from ADAPT-r. The third and final part discusses some knowledge explication from the dialogue presented.

The ADAPT-r project 'aims to significantly increase European research capacity through a unique and ground-breaking research model.' It develops 'a robust and sustainable initial training network in an emergent Supra-Disciplinary field of research across a range of design and arts disciplines – *creative practice research*' (Blythe & Van Schaik, 2013; Verbeke & Zupančič, 2014). The ADAPT-r network links seven schools of architecture: KU Leuven, RMIT Europe, University of Westminster, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; Estonian Academy of Arts, Aarhus School of Architecture, and Glasgow School of Art. It builds on recent discussions about research through practice (Polanyi, 1966; Schön, 1983; Österle & Otto, 2010; Koskinen et. al., 2011; Dunin-Woyseth, 2005; Stamm, 2009; Kocatürk and Mejjdoub, 2011; Van Schaik & Johnson, 2011; Zupančič, 2009, 2012, 2013, 2014; Fraser, 2013; Verbeke, 2013; Blythe & Van Schaik, 2013; Verbeke & Zupančič, 2014). It relates to other networks (ARENA, 2016). It develops a training model, and is also training new researchers themselves. At the PhD, the postdoc as well as the supervisory levels. The authors of this article represent two voices from this network: the former, Federico, is the PhD fellow, and the latter, Tadeja, is his supervisor.

The project investigates a wide variety of knowledge types: the selection of the fellows is based on their 'venturousness'/competence/input knowledge. The output knowledge/innovation, as the outcome of the creative process, is investigated through the lenses, described below. The third type of knowledge, developed rationally in-between competence and innovation, is relational, aimed to be demonstrated in the 'dialogue' below. It exists in action and is developed through communication (Hatleskog, 2016, 25; Amin and Roberts, 2008).

RESEARCH APPROACH, STRATEGY, METHODS

Creative practice and creative practice research

Not all creative practice is research. The venturesome practitioners are identified as the ones investigating beyond the commercial success. The ones with essential input and output knowledge, capable to develop relational knowledge. Their conscious decision to explicate some of the implicit/experiential knowledge from their creative practice through the relational knowledge development makes the difference. And the decision to develop a discipline of research training contributes to that difference. The new tacit/explicit knowledge is a consequence, recognizable through the relational knowledge creation. This is embedded within the communities of creative practice research and (potentially) recognized by the communities of research relevance (wider research community which finds this research relevant).

Creative practice research framing

The ADAPT-r project builds on a wide variety of doctoral training and creative practice research experiences. Its methodology focuses on six reference points/lenses: case study (of creative practice), community of practice, transformative triggers, public behaviours, explication of tacit knowledge and explication of methods for the tacit knowledge explication.

These lenses can be used non-linearly, as a reflective wall. On the other hand they are grouped into three investigation stages (which are explained in more detail in the following paragraphs), each digging deeper into the creative practice and its community.

The first stage is similar to the 'state of the art'/materials/problems/questions/themes definition. The creative practice and its community are identified and staged. What drives/motivates the creative practices? Who are the people, related to the practice – researchers, practitioners, clients, public, teachers...?

Then the practice transforms into a field-based research laboratory. Creative thinking and its research relevance are investigated through the lens of transformative triggers, the critical moments/situations that change the thinking/working modes... The lens of

'public behaviours' shows the ways the practitioner is searching for contextualization/recognition/relevance...

The last stage explicates the contribution to the knowledge-body and methodological developments ('results and discussion'). The new knowledge is related both to design thinking (drivers/triggers) and public behaviours (community of practice/behavior rituals). The methodological contributions develop (individual) methods for explication of the tacit knowledge.

Why do we focus on the tacit knowledge in ADAPT-r? Because this core of the knowledge-base needs to be at least partially explicated to be shared within the research community. And because it triggers new explicit/tacit knowledge creation.

And why, in this article, the focus is on the relational knowledge? Because at this ADAPT-r stage (Hatleskog, 2016; Hatleskog and Holder, 2015a, 2015b; Holder, 2015) it is clear that the relational knowledge helps to explicate the tacit dimensions of the creative practices to make it shareable and thus relevant for wider research communities.

Investigation of community of practice and community of practice research to identify community of research relevance

Federico is enrolled in the PhD at the University of Ljubljana. He is in the early stage, when the relational knowledge plays a critical role in his orientation. He needs to identify the contexts of his research relevance earlier in the process than some other PhD researchers in the ADAPT-r network. Because our institutional research community is aware that the focus on practice research, when too intense, can lead to the ignorance of theoretical contextualisation – and the opposite. This awareness derives from adapting to the ADAPT-r (Verbeke & Zupančič, 2014), while we identified the resonance with the network and emphasized the roots of the practice research at the doctoral level from the last five decades.

This article contextualises Federico's practice through the following questions: What/who/how drives and/or triggers the practice? What are the relations to others – practitioners, researchers?

The presentation method in the main part of the text is a dialogue between both authors' voices: to demonstrate the relational knowledge development in the creative practice research; and to build on both professional obsessions of the participants. This dialogue shows how the explication of the implicit knowledge 'works' through the relational knowledge development. It demonstrates rather than answers how it works explicitly. The next explication step is in the conclusions.

The article contextualises also Tadeja's supervisory practice. When and how to trigger the artistic practice of contextualisation? How to identify the community of research relevance in these cases? How to identify the

contribution of creative practice research to the wider research communities?

The 'dialogue' develops the idea of the interview, common in the artistic dissemination world; to indicate the nature of the respectful partnership in the relational knowledge creation. However, the dialogue is contextualized through the introduction and the less personal conclusion, in a more contemporarily usual manner, to trigger some further research community relevance. The dialogue is not seen as a method in a mechanical sense, but rather as a mode of understanding (Gadamer, interpreted by Brinkman, 2007; a 'Mediterranean' example: Plato, 380 BC). Doxastic and epistemic interviews are combined into a hybrid conversation, to trigger the shifts from tacit/experiential/story based to explicit/describable in general terms and back again.

The ANNALES call – from a potential community of research relevance – is used as a trigger to communicate the notion of diverse knowledge types from the creative practice research to the wider research communities. And this is why the joint voice of the authors splits to demonstrate the method of the relational knowledge investigation. Though knowledge is developed/created together, the identities of single voices need to demonstrate how they trigger each other's thinking in the creative practice research. The conclusions integrate Federico's thoughts of the artistic/curatorial practice and Tadeja's view as a writer/editor/supervisor; from the generalistic notion of architectural research (EAAE, 2012).

A DIALOGUE

Places as inspirations of creativity

Tadeja. As an architect I'm convinced I think spatially and I understand the difference between places and spaces; as sometimes authentic and non-problematic, and at other times dynamic / multiple but unique, recognizable socio-spatial entities (Norberg-Schulz, 1984; Madanipour, 1996; Abel, 1997). Spatial identity is thus a characteristic of a singular, specific location/area/region... as an experiential totality of interrelations at different scales. They possess their own 'identity of' as a potential to be sensed and 'identified with' (Zupančič and Mullins, 2002) by individuals and communities. Feeling/knowing places is the essential inspiration for any spatial intervention. The ANNALES call starts from these notions of identity. Federico, you are a sculptor/visual artist and I expect you to focus more on objects rather than places. Moreover you are from Naples and you are a nomadic artist. It can be assumed that your creative practice relates somehow with the Mediterranean identity, which seems obvious from some of your works, I wonder how it 'works' for you.

Federico. Am I aware that the Mediterranean cultural identity and its symbols are appropriated in my work? How important is it for me to choose these icons rather

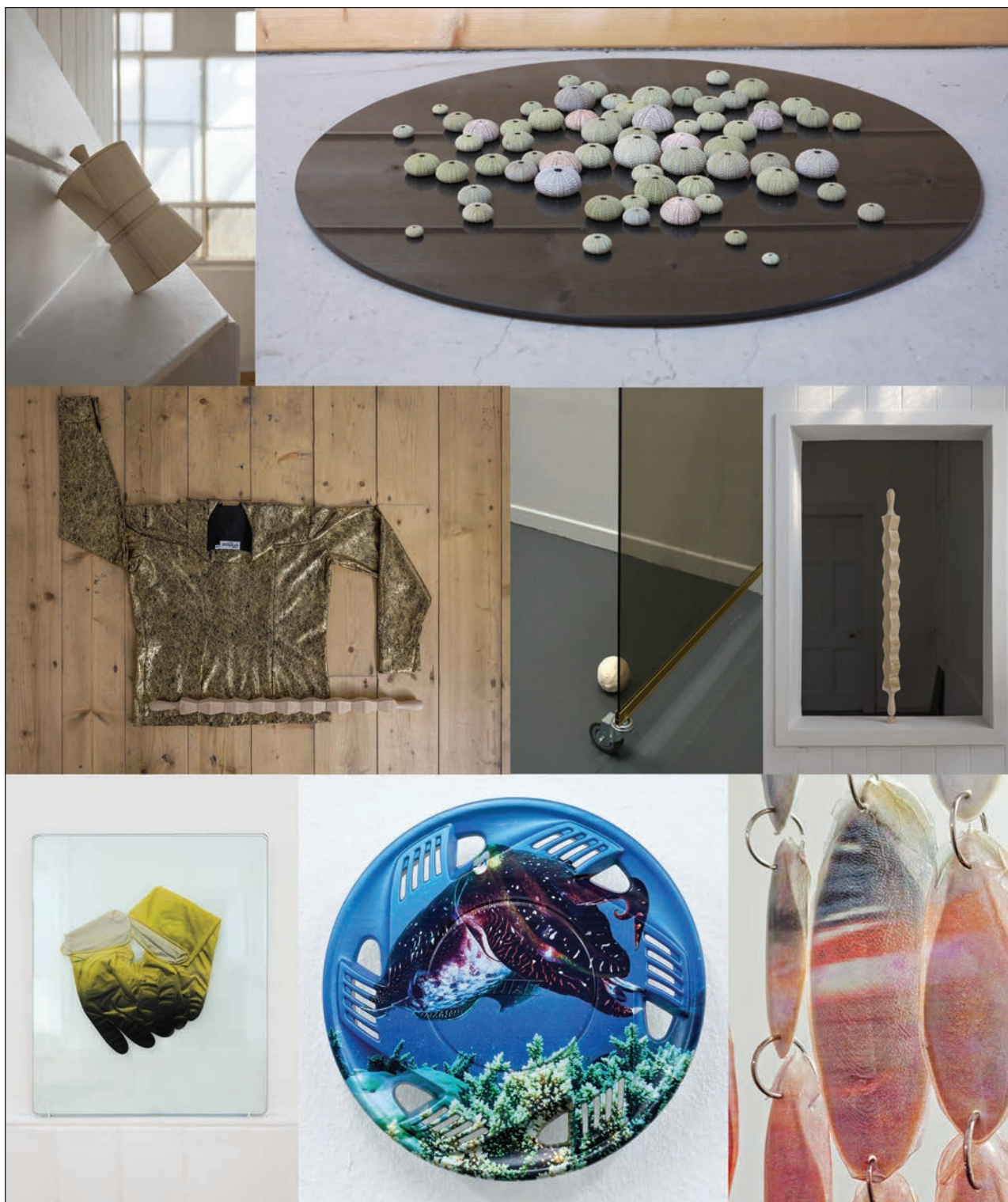


Figure 1: Federico Del Vecchio (F.D.V.): selected works from 2013 to 2014, most obviously relating to the Mediterranean context: Untitled (Bialetti; photo credit: Queens Park Railway Club), Discobolo di Nettuno (photo credit: Museo Apparente), Patricia, Italy, M (photo credit: Queens Park Railway Club), Lemon Tree (photo credit: The Telfer Gallery), Brancusiello (photo credit: Queens Park Railway Club), Untitled (photo credit: Queens Park Railway Club), Untitled (photo credit: Jenifer Nails), Alfa Romeo Spider ‘Osso di Seppia 1966–69’ (detail; Photo credit: Jenifer Nails)

than others? Meanwhile, I also use the icons/objects collected from various cultural environments, sometimes far from my belonging (Figure 1).

Objects as inspiration for creativity, obsession with collecting objects

An unexpected conversation makes me think about my internal obsession; the impulse to collect things and the difficulty of ridding oneself of them. This carries on from place to place. Perhaps this relates to the idea of identity, and the notion of a place, a person or individuals. Each object has a personal and subjective meaning which connects individuals to their environment. One which is itself fragmented into objects and integrated through their meaning, mirroring ourselves in our surroundings. A recurrent phenomenon that is confronted with the obsessive accumulation of excessive amount of junk turns into a mass phenomenon that drives our behavior and defines our identities.

Tadeja. Is this obsession the evidence that we are afraid of losing memories?

The act of selection

Federico. If the collecting and the assembly of our own meaning is derived through the objects that form our 'place', then understating the process of what we select is critical in this discussion. The very act of selection and what motivates a selectivity of what is chosen and kept. As a mechanism. For each individual with their own criteria for the choices. If we relate it to an artistic-cultural context, it becomes a matter of common interest; for example, a large number of artists select the same typology of objects even if they work in a different way. A collective desire for certain objects through a shared set of criteria and established set of standards.

Tadeja. You have already brought a fresh view to the act of the selection of information, relevant for 'scientific' research (Del Vecchio, 2015). You arranged an art exhibition from the list of conventional research references of the Aarhus conference participants. Not in the alphabetical order but grouped according to the choice of people. Using the 'search dogs', the movable trolleys in front of the wall with the references exhibited, you demonstrated the chance, intuition, instability and play involved in carving of the artist/curator through the information and materialisation flows. The act of selection is based on the people's responsiveness, contextualized within the specific research community. You transformed the ordinary into extraordinary, as usually. But you thought about how to start your research at that time... And about how the research process usually starts... How to select relevant information? The information is transformed into a set of personalized objects, which form a specific place of the research background.

Object and place, artificial belonging

Federico. The obsession with collecting objects is also pragmatic in a sense. In our present reality, which lacks the future certainty, the things bring a consistency to the everyday moments. It also reflects a nomadic and flexible lifestyle as the main structure for certain individuals, and a large portion of this generation. So it is a kind of movement where the found, collectable things of a place are assembled and then shattered again to be reassembled at some other place. The collected matter forms a certain aura to a current place and dissolves again as we move, and new spatial realities and new things are collected.

This perhaps brings us to the necessity for 'lightness', or the practicality of not solidifying the structures of our object environments. Lightness in terms of flexibility, a model of life that points to the profession and its relationships. This mobility creates a lack of emotional relationships, or a regular family participation. Through a series of tangible objects collected at each place a sort of artificial belonging is shaped. Each object becomes part of a new life meaning. Extending the life of that object and projecting it through to allow for placemaking that may be part of the environment of that specific location in the space-time.

Everydayness shifting into the art realm

My works explore the concept of form, representation and the divide between everyday objects and artworks. Using the everyday as a source, I'm interested in the moment when objects are shifted into artworks and detach themselves from their intended context. Through the moment of critical transformation the assumed use value evaporates and the artworks form new/unusual interrelations within the exhibition space. These ties are not mechanical or defined through one specific meaning. The object's meaning, its socio-political role, its commodity value and functionality shifts; and its place within a hierarchy is altered.

My practice reflects on the notion of objecthood in contemporary practice. The conditions and circumstances in which objects are modified, positioned, assembled and displayed are central to this process. I am intrigued by how such transformations in the context express the tensions between polar qualities: monumental and mundane; stable and unstable; permanent and ephemeral; the value and lack thereof.

'Objects', specifically as they occupy our daily environments, express less of their objecthood and become an entity of utility. And yet there is their transformative process from the "everyday" and their placement in the realm of art practice.

Conditions for artistic transformation

Tadeja. While we discussed this displacement I asked you about the basic conditions for an everyday object to

become an art object. Is it about the cultural community recognition? What else?

We both observed the cases of dementia where a strange juxtaposition of objects is a 'natural' reaction to the situation. Is the artistic deliberate use of the same principle a potential sign of a found memory? Jo Van Den Berghe built his whole research story from his found memories of his already destroyed grandmother's house (Van Den Berghe, 2012, Book 2). Dimitri Vangrunderbeek's transformation of ordinary to sculpture is obsessed with limits/borders (Vangrunderbeek, 2015).

Thoughts as inspirations of creativity: everydayness, objecthood, home

Federico. I'm questioning the 'everyday', particularly through the writings of Blanchot and Lefebvre. Blanchot (Johnstone, 2008) suggests that the everyday should exhibit an 'absence of qualities', cannot be approached cognitively, and 'that it should display an energizing capacity to subvert intellectual and institutional authority'. It is 'inexhaustible, unimpeachable, always open-ended and always eluding forms or structures'. Moreover, the everyday is the site of fundamental ambiguity: where we become either alienated or where we can demonstrate our creativity. Here Blanchot closely follows Lefebvre: the everyday is the place 'where repetition and creativity confront each other', it is 'simultaneously the time and the place where the human either fulfills itself or fails' (edited by: Johnstone, 2008, 15).

Plato's reflection of particular relevance is the fundamental difference between form and object. Form as the universal entity is always constant. "Forms are transcendent. This means that they do not exist in space and time" (Plato's Theory of Forms). On the other hand he argues that objects are a complex formation of conditions that are very specifically organized in relation to space and time. This very understanding creates a more critical awareness of objects, including the everyday objects around us.

The 'object' implies materiality that differs from the realm of 'form', which in contrast only exists in an immaterial realm. The very materiality of the object is the reason that the object ceases to be purely form, regardless of the extent it aspires to be purely 'form'. Plato goes on to elaborate that all objects embody the qualities of form and are the copies of form; 'form' is the pure essence of the object: "Particular objects are the copies or likeness of them: and the participation of such objects in the form consists in being made like it" (Plato, 1867, 272). The object is understood as a subjective interpretation of those associated combinations and visual/tactile complexities that take from the 'form' to exist in our world.

Their ability to exist in the space and time and thus be transient in nature, empowers the objects to "be"

with a specific condition and perform in a specific way related to the particularities of the space and time they are positioned within. This positioning and existence will never become universal; but will be in a constant state of flux. Creating each moment is a unique opportunity of its existence, with the potential to reflect the moment or the context.

This understanding of the source of object and the possibility of its source of existence, takes us to observing the role of objects in our world and our attitude towards them. Heidegger argues that the very functionality of objects has made them in ways invisible: we no longer reflect on their essence – their very objecthood – but only see them performing the roles they are assigned to:

/.../ objects tend to vanish from conscious awareness and to perform their functions invisibly. Objects are tools, not in the sense that all objects are "useful" for something but in the sense that objects tend to vanish from view in favour of some larger context or ulterior purpose by which they are dominated (Harman, 2005, 268).

This implies that our human interaction with non-human objects have been mostly reduced to the functional features that the object beholds. The result disregards the essence of that object – which links it back to its metaphysical 'form' and the properties that allow it to be very specific to time and space. This observation occurs when the object is acknowledged as a unified entity.

However, Heidegger addresses the way in which this lack of awareness of the intricacies and complexities of the object can be resolved: "By deliberately tearing the objects from their invisible actions and putting them openly on display" (Harman, 2005, 268). Taking the discussion back to reflect on the artistic practice in the appropriation of objects.

Especially during the last few decades, artists have been working primarily either on appropriating objects that are part of the visual cultural landscape, transforming them, juxtaposing them or on using them as ready-mades. Boris Groys states:

Art today is defined by an identity between creation and selection. At least since Duchamp it has been the case that selecting an artwork is the same as creating an artwork. That /.../ does not mean that all art since then has become ready-made art. It does, however, mean that the creative act has become the act of selection: /.../ producing an object is no longer sufficient for its producer to be considered an artist. One must also select the object one has made oneself and declare it an artwork. Accordingly, since Duchamp there has no longer been any difference between an object one produces oneself and one produced by someone else (Groys, 2008, 93).

The 'the system of objects' (Baudrillard, 2005) refers to the house as a well-organized structure, where the arrangement of the furniture reflects a function related to the hierarchical structure and functionality of a family. These objects with or without a family contain the meaning of it and the system of meaning it associates. Individuals with no 'permanent home', how do they face such situations? It can be drawn to a desire for the staging of an overcrowded space where the excessive accumulation of objects attempts a simulation of such a 'home'.

It is a drive for wanting 'home' even without a reality of 'home' being there. The meaning is poured into these objects as the lost objects of 'home', in an almost morbose relationship with these objects. They are scattered around in different places, unobtainable, lost, just like the Lacanian objects of desire. And it turns into a cycle of accumulation and constant connecting of all these objects to form a unified entity, side by side. Away from its reality where they would have never been in such juxtaposition. But for an 'individual' this might become a 'home'. Providing the hope that all these objects together make a sense of a 'place'. An 'entity' that does not need a link to a single location but reflects this nomadism and a lack of impermanence. These found and collected objects never really belonged to that individual. Freed from the need to belong they form a reality of its own. A reality without attachment to physicality of a place. Perhaps becoming the mirror of a rationality that we want to achieve but at the same time refuse. Causing an internal loop in and out of this desire.

Creative practices as references: transpositions

Referring to the well-known example of the Duchamp's ready-made – the Fountain (1917) – Rosalind Krauss describes:

But for Duchamp, the work was no longer a common object, because it had been transposed. It had been "flipped" or inverted to rest on a pedestal, /.../ it had been repositioned, and this physical repositioning stood for a transformation that must then be read on a metaphysical level. Folded into that act of inversion is a moment in which the viewer has to realize that an act of transfer has occurred (Krauss, 1981, 77).

Objects interact with each other in a specific way: "some works are composed of different/independent units and come together in the moment of the exhibition..." (Buskirk, 2003). The interplay in the way artists engage with assembling, archiving, accumulating, manipulating and combining these objects is of particular intrigue. Objects are non-inert entities capable of interaction and producing relations between them. They "/.../" have a fourfold structure that is drawn from Heidegger; I treat casual relations between non-human

objects no differently from human perception of them" (Harman, 2011, 5). Furthermore, the deliberate juxtaposition of object brings forth the following:

An object is defined by its relationship to another object(s). The meaning is generated through the play of objects; in how they are placed, acting on one another. The viewer is engaged to complete the story, to solve the riddle (Steinbach, 2008).

Some of these relations are established in the Isa Genzken's works (Genzken, 2013). One begins to plunge into a narrative state, reflecting on those objects but unable to find a logical thread. Those objects, however, may say a lot, result in a shiny surface bound by the plastic and industrial materials. It is clear that these objects belong to our every day life, but in their particular state of assemblage they could hardly return to that situation. Even after the slight manipulation that have undergone, they are now in a new dimension; even if it appears precarious, it maintains a balance between them:

/.../ plentiful piles of disparate objects, and vividly artificial colors, they, too, address the dialectic of growth and ruin, creation and destruction, past and future. Genzken creates astoundingly original works that adopt specific primary concerns of earlier sculptural practice-arrangement, scale, presentation-while discarding (or re-positioning) others-precision, stability, permanence (Ellegood et. al., 2007, 51).

The performative, dynamic quality of an object is present in the case of Felix Gonzales Torres (1991a, 1991b, 1994). Even though it is often an assembly of the same object which is able to totally change the perception of space. In spite of the objects being in multiples, they become a single work, such as the stack of posters, or an installation with candies. It is interesting to see how the nature of an object has different attributes when it forms an accumulated object composed from the same parts.

Tadeja. What about the composition of an architectural object from bricks, for instance? What makes the difference here, actually?

Federico. The posters become like a single sculpture block and candies become a shiny cloak. At the same time, the same object begins to take on different formal presentation through the subtraction by the viewer. Through the deconstruction the singular objects take an intimate role and become part of the visitor's world. This is further emphasized because these objects are simple and familiar. There is a continuous changeability in these works that places the object in constant motion by changing its formal and perceptual role. And each object then takes on a life of its own and transfers into other contexts while carrying along part of the narrative from an accumulated composition.



Figure 2: F. D. V.: *We End Up Always Using the Same Things*. The Telfer Gallery, Glasgow, 2013 (Photo credit: The Telfer Gallery)



Figure 3: F.D.V.: *A Can in the Hand*, 2013 – print on silk (scanned smashed cans collected in Glasgow). *We End Up Always Using the Same Things* – detail. The Telfer Gallery, Glasgow, 2013 (Photo credit: The Telfer Gallery)

In this instance of accumulation these mundane objects begin to transform into another realm. They express their singularity and their formal quality, which is made more powerful in their mass presence. And the hesitation of the viewer to ‘take’ indicates that they are placed in a way that they are made ‘untouchable’. Then the permission is given back to the viewer, to take away the object that assumes another value because it has been transformed into an art object. Often these candies or posters return home with the audience, become cherished as art, and worthless candies are seen as a sculptural object. This is the power of that transformation.

Constantly moving and living other contexts, means that you experience new spaces, flavors, fragrances, and different visions in a more detailed manner. This has always led me to observe specific objects, their context and their interrelations.

Unnoticed everydayness as inspiration

Lawrence Weiner says:

/.../ Art is not about telling, is about showing. /.../ so it is posing a question /.../ if you take these



Figure 4: F.D.V.: *Untitled – direct UV print on plastic wheel rim. I wish I were a Futurist, Jenifer Nails, Frankfurt am Main, 2014* (Photo credit: Jenifer Nails)

materials and put them together, what would the product, what would the result look like? When you see a sculpture, when you see a Brancusi /.../, what do you do? You tell yourself what you are seeing.../.../ Art is one of those things that has no essential definition.../.../ it has no qualifications necessary. It has no need for a reference point to anything else. Art is one of those things that appears in the world because somebody decides they are going to pose the question and that makes it art. That's the whole purpose of art, it doesn't answer anybody's question... /.../ I wish they would just stop being so cruel to each other for no reason /.../ my art is not going to change that but is going to take away any rationalization for that. When you do the wrong thing, you are doing the wrong thing, there is no way to rationalize it. /.../ The artist is about simultaneous realities and those realities are not a reflection of each others. Reflections of things have tendency to become hierarchy. /.../ Art is about things you don't know, not about things somebody invented or created, but something that nobody noticed. And that's what my life is about, is about finding those things and having the time to be able to present those things that people might not have noticed (Weiner, 2015).

In Glasgow, where I lived at that time, I exhibited the 'A Can in the Hand' (Figures 2, 3).



Figure 5: F.D.V.: *Domestic landscape. Ljubljana, 2016* (Photo: F.D.V.)

The object in question is a can as part of the urban fabric. It is impossible that it goes unnoticed; you can see many of them smashed around the city. The act of being run over by a car activates the transformation of that object. From a three-dimensional object it becomes two-dimensional and passing through the scanner, it is printed on silk, a precious fabric. This shifts the hierarchical value, from urban waste to 'art work'. These smashed cans assume an aesthetic value, with their graphics, colors and metallic sheen.

The relation with this object is reflected into the action. As an expression of an obsessional neurotic structure referring to the Lacanian notion of this neurosis. The exhibitionism and the fetishism towards objects. I utilize the objects related to our capitalist era: the things that adorn our daily routine and surround our lives.

The human subject has developed a very strong relationship to certain 'objects'; which goes beyond function and becomes an extension of itself. These objects become a mass phenomenon that drive our behaviors and become the representation of ourselves. Their function is to place us in a context of acceptance in a society that is well circumscribed and manipulated. The relationship with an object reflects also on an action and obsession: the speed

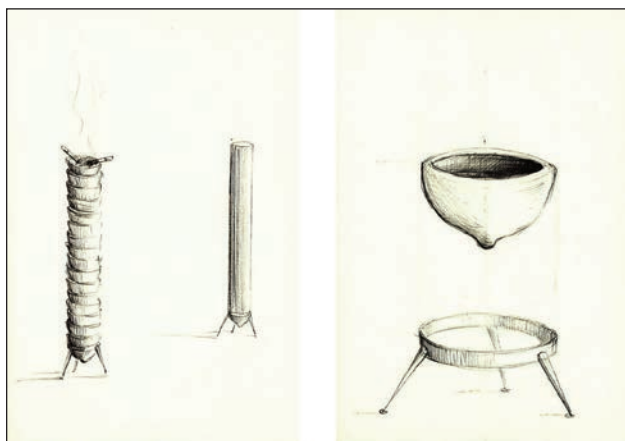


Figure 6: F.D.V.: *Fétichisme and lemon soda – lemons and/or oranges, brass, cigarettes* (Photo: F.D.V.)

of time has an overwhelming position in comparison to man., It causes a sort of time procrastination, or in other words not entering time, but maybe just staying in a state of “cosmic time”, a way to avoid death by becoming part of the space beyond death.

I have been working on the appropriation of a series of different automobile rims (Figure 4). The images of cuttlefish in their natural habitat are printed on the surface. The rims are nothing but a lie, an aesthetics mask/coverage. Maintaining their formal aerodynamics, they become a support for a seductive and almost alien image that covers the entire surface through which the logo of the car is transpiring.

Tadeja. A Fiat, of course.

Federico. The images of the cuttlefishes are chosen in a way that the sea urchins are present in another work, in addition to its physical and formal characteristics. This has probably something to do with my personal interests that create strong emotions beside the creative process. Those that are able to get me away from the daily routine and become immersed in a different dimension.

Free diving and experiencing the sea is a fundamental part of my existence. To become a predator in a ‘hostile’ environment, but at the same time ‘comfortable’ is something mandatory and meditative. To isolate myself for a limited period of time and to experience completely different feelings. To observe an ‘alien’ world, so fascinating, and then maybe transcend some emotions to another environment, perhaps more alien, or that of the creative space.

Another example from my practice is still not formally materialized (Figures 5, 6). It again takes into account the elements with which we relate methodologically and which are repeated systematically. They are part of both, a positive and a negative addiction that affects our body and our mind. I’m referring to the obsession with vitamin C through the act of pressing citrus fruits; and to the addiction to smoking.

The act of squeezing citrus fruits and automatically wedging in each other like a modular process to form a column, led me to imagine the individual elements as a ‘uniqueness’, and imagine them as a number of ashtray-sculptures.

The cigarette is also seen here as a sculpture, as an object that we picture very well in our imagination. I’m interested in the presence of cigarette within a sculptural-installation arrangement. Its narrative is retained, partially consumed; it implies that the action of smoking has been completed.

However, the action is paused and is part of the display within the exhibition environment. The cigarette exists in all its presence, but at the same time it is turning into ashes. It refers to life and death.

There is also a form of idolatry towards the car culture, as well as smoking as a historical reference to religious ceremonies and offerings to deities in cleansing rituals. These objects are part of a larger cultural performance brought into a new formal configuration.

Alienation from everydayness as inspiration

Federico. I believe in the everyday as the site of a fundamental ambiguity: it is both where we become alienated and where we can show our creativity. It is exactly by taking part to this alienation that I keep deconstructing this experience by challenging the obsessiveness of objecthood in contemporary society while placing it in a gallery setting or other social contexts (Figures 7, 8, 9).

Tadeja. The everyday is a site... an example of a general identity of space, as a contrast to the specific identity of a place, a square, a region... An abstract site, a constant but also a dynamic set of concrete and specific repeating circularities. The everyday is a ritual, our unconscious obsession. Being able to develop a distance to the everydayness seems the key to identify the relevance of what we are doing. A distance through the abstraction of the specific; through the awareness of our own obsessions in relation to the cultural context we are working in/with...

I have also been interested in how a form or a typology of visual aesthetics is linked to a specific time. What takes us back or forth? The ambiguity of time relates to an unknown space of a ‘future’. Perhaps even an unattainable idea of the future. Thus the future and the notion of Futurist always remain as unattainable, yet ironically recognizable through vintage imagery. An example of this dichotomy is captured through one of my latest work composed of cuttlefish bones connected into a curtain like surface. The geometric form of the cuttlefish embodying the curves is often associated with the futurists. On one side the Alpha Romeo Spider is printed, a car designed in 1966, also known as Osso di Seppia, which in Italian means a cuttlefish bone (Figure 10). The organic object is transformed into a new materiality, referencing through the imagery and nebulous



Figure 7: F.D.V.: *Discobolo di Nettuno, skeletons of sea urchins on black glass. Pugna Est Vita, Museo Apparente, Naples, 2013 (Photo: F.D.V.)*

form of the cuttlefish to a 'future'. An object of no time – since it is past/vintage, and simultaneously related to an abstract future.

The blurred image of the car is not visible at first glance, it becomes a puzzle-like fragment of memory to be rebuilt.

The delicate and suspended surface of the cuttlefish bones sways as people pass by, sways at a minimum air shift... It reminds of those curtains that we often encounter in the south Italy during hot summers. Curtains which try to hinder the passage of flies and to maintain the internal environment mild... Passing through those curtains activates a fragmented sound and movement, like that of the memory.

Alienation to region

Tadeja. The majority of your works selected for this discourse seem a very obvious artistic reflection of the powerful Mediterranean cultural context, where the sea is understood as the centre of the 'world'. The limits of this area are 'not only geographical' (Matvejević, 2008, 15 – Croatian ed. 1987). Can we challenge the notion of those limits? Your work indicates the blurring boundaries of the spatial contexts you are working in/with. This borderline position enables you to emphasize the potentials involved in a new situation. Working in-between familiar and exotic keeps the borderline alive, identifiable, but flexible, appearing/disappearing within its own rhythm.

Discussing the rhythm of the Mediterranean cities Lefebvre and Regulier write:

externality is necessary; and yet in order to grasp a rhythm one must have been grasped by it. /.../



Figure 8: F.D.V.: *Untitled (Bialetti), 2013. Wood worked on the lathe; Turning and Boring. Queens Park Railway Club, Glasgow, 2013 (Photo credit: Queens Park Railway Club)*

'all forms of hegemony and homogeneity are refused in the Mediterranean./.../ it is the very idea of centrality that is refused, because each group, each entity, each culture considers itself as a centre... (Lefebvre & Regulier, 2004, 95, 104).

Another space / place

Federico. The space which artists work with is another space. Even when the artistic intervention relates to a physical space, that space becomes a mental/metaphysical space. The artist is also playing barely with the reality, with a minimal displacement, dragging the viewer into his world. The observer, even if for an instant, loses the relationship with reality, with the 'functional' space to deal with in a 'new' reality'. The artist does not work with pragmatism and functionality but rather analyses reality and looks beyond the board/transverse.

Movements and shifts make certain things dissolve and remain and the other ones follow.

The ongoing collecting of objects is transformed into a new system referring to different places. Through this pattern a sort of a 'new-place' is formed, and embodied through the associative content that these selected objects contain. This makes a person feel as a citizen of no-place, a place outside of a location, more connected to the new system of object-meaning and a personal narrative.

Tadeja. Is this reality without any attachment to physicality possible? This place is specific and inhabited primarily mentally. But its creation is also architectural: it is defined by the selected objects. Though that place is distributed/scattered within many physical places it is unified through a singular human experience, forming his own socio-spatial identity.



Figure 9: F.D.V.: Brancusiello. wood carved and worked on the lathe. *Pugna Est Vita*, Museo Apparente, Naples, 2013 (Photo: F.D.V)

Creative practices as inspirations: another space / place

Federico. I have been interested in the work of Haim Steinbach (1985a, 1985b).

In his scenario a new space/universe is created. There is a deliberate physical and formal esthetics of the new space that allows the object(s) to adapt a particular type of relationship that is other. The space is formed to manipulate/change the object. By creating a shelf Steinbach creates a new formal construct that allows the objects he positions to express a very specific formal

order. This is emphasized and dictated by the properties that the new space beholds.

Through the specificities of that shelf he sets the precedent, in terms of colour, texture, form, proportion and scale, where “a relational play of measurements and number is implied between objects and shelf” (Wolfe-Saurez, 2008). In the exhibition in 1986 called *New Sculpture*, Steinbach showed every day objects juxtaposed one another, which perhaps carry some aesthetical connections but are highlighted and given hierarchy through the use of the colors on the shelf. However no parallels are made in their functionality: a ceramic pitcher to a cardboard detergent box. Steinbach addresses the formal composition of the objects. Thus the appropriated objects are dependent on the specific spatial condition.

The need to change the existing space and then to create a new display is part of the work. It is not only the object(s) to be affected by the space created, they are interacting with each other and with the space that hosts them. What allows the object to transform into an art object and remain as what it is; is the conscious decision of the artist.

The recreation of the space through an initial platform is also seen in the work of Tom Burr (2007). The larger spatial envelope remains as the white cube, but the recreation of a stage, a secondary object, allows the introduction of everyday objects in a scenario that binds them in an intentional way. The new stage implies a new set of rules the objects abide, which disconnects them from the everyday. This refers to Burr’s exhibition *Moods*, an installation of four chairs, placed at the centre of attention, in a relation to one another around a constructed platform and steel frames. The standard expectation of the directionality and orientation of chairs in an ensemble is changed and disrupted. Anke Kempkes writes:

But the chairs...Despite their symbolic and narrative potential they are no less ‘abstract’ than the former minimalist sculptures of Tom Burr. They are made ‘unrelated’, ready for entering the sphere of aesthetic experience, waiting to perform new yet unknown relations – like in a surrealist painting of a kind (Kempkes, 2008).

The staging of this object, in this case the chair, brings the conditions of its objecthood into visibility and away from its assumed function.

Closeness and distance as indicator of research relevance

Tadeja. The Mediterranean world seems an obvious background you are fighting for and against. It is perhaps about finding a dynamic balance of closeness and distance, security and taking risk, stepping out of the comfort zone, essential for creativity in any type of crea-



Figure 10: F.D.V.: *I wish I were a Futurist*; Alfa Romeo Spider ‘Osso di Seppia 1966-69’, 2014 – direct UV print on cuttlefish bones, steel. Jenifer Nails, Frankfurt am Main, 2014 (Photo credit: Jenifer Nails)

tive practice/research. Being close and far enough at the same time is also what triggers my research curiosity, and what I recognize while talking to others, from other fields, about research relevance.

My prejudices, when I am unaware of them, add to the ‘distance’ and block my understanding of any research message. Relevance is not only about the message itself...

I can also add a note of closeness and distance to your artistic practice. We share the obsession with objects. While my obsession shifts the scale and includes the specific places and regions, you are able to alienate yourself from these shifts. Your conceptualism doesn’t necessary mean you neglect aesthetics. Perhaps this is why I find it relevant for the architectural community of my faculty, my wider research context and myself.

I’m interested in what we can learn from the differences, how to overcome the world of dualities.

And how we structure our research the way we think. I’d like to challenge the obsession with both artistic and scientific research dissemination traditions; the integration has already started to happen. I’m in favour of the research freedom, its only limitation is perhaps its relevance for others we respect/admire. Relevance offers many faces. I feel the obsession with the declarative innovation requirements in research, I would like to relax from the pressure that cannot prevent the hot-water reinventions. Any research is an integral part of the collective knowledge body. In the case of the PhD research it is necessary to identify the relevance not only for the researcher and his immediate surroundings, but also for many diversified research contexts. Different types of knowledge co-exist in many research areas.

Your talking about the blurring boundaries of the artistic/curatorial practice triggers my thinking about

the editorial/supervisory practice. If the disciplinary background is essential in the professional supervision, the PhD supervision is different. The candidate is an expert already, with his/her own vision/motivation; the supervisor is the challenger/research trainer with the research 'training'-related vision. He/she creates the environment for the relational knowledge to develop. The most literal personalisation of this environment is the supervisory team. Each supervisor needs to train his/her awareness/emphaty, the responsiveness to specific situations; a rich experience can lead to blindness for new situations. This is what I have learned from/contributed to the supervisory training within the ADAPT-r so far. And from my home institution? I have learned the difference between the start of the career orientation through the PhD, the mid-term career needs to shift the practice (many ADAPT-r fellows), due to the personal/community crisis; or the career maturity research framing before/after retirement, potentially relevant for others.

I'm fascinated by the (hybrid) ways of architectural research. And in the potentials of my supervisory practice. Both. Because I need the former to improve the latter. And the latter to understand how to become an effective mirror/trigger of my candidate's thoughts; to himself and also to other researchers. Not a simple mirror, but the one with the glass blurred with my own knowledge/experience.

Identification of potential research relevance

Federico. We collect – select – filter – create place – uproot – move and return again. Never leaving anything behind.

Tadeja. This reinvestigation of the artistic actions' background offers some insight into its potential research relevance. The trajectories to what/how is selected/relevant for us can give us some initial ideas about our research relevance for others.

Potential research relevance through the local/regional perspective

As a supervisor/guest editor of this magazine I'm bringing my own pre-conceptions to the discussion. I need to address the notion of 'scientific research'. I belong to academic practitioners, triggered by an institutional divide within the discipline/among disciplines. The dichotomy of artistic and scientific research is deeply enrooted even within the academic promotion criteria. From the ADAPT-r and other discussions I know that 'scientific' research means many different things ('natural sciences'/'excellent research', like in Slovenia). Similar can be said about 'art' (a discipline/'artistic excellence'). I would like to address the variety of the multidimensional knowledge flows intertwining 'artistic' and 'scientific' research creativ-

ity. Instead of defining 'artistic'/'scientific' I prefer the investigation of the (field of) research creativity and its relevance for knowledge creation in any type of research.

CONCLUSIONS

What/who/how drives and triggers Federico's creative practice? The 'dialogue' itself explicates that the nomadic way of life is a set of triggers, driving him. His life-style involves excessive collecting of objects, which Federico is absolutely aware of. On the other hand the books he reads and the art-works he admires increase his imagination. The constant desire to create the magic moments of transformation from ordinary to extraordinary can also be seen as a key driver of Federico's practice.

What are Federico's relations to others – practitioners/researchers? There is deep respect for all... The inspirations from theories and practices are equally important. Some relations are easily seen in the 'dialogue' (he admires some contemporary artists, curators, philosophers...); the others emerge from the reader's perspective.

How can Tadeja as a supervisor trigger the artistic practice contextualisation? With the assumptions seemingly most obvious (for example, the notion of the identification with the (Mediterranean) region).

How can she trigger the process of identification by the community of research relevance? Through the stimulation of the investigation of the influences within the practice. Mapping of the trajectories/constellations involved (like in signposting/subtitling within the 'dialogue').

How to look beyond creative practice research and identify its contribution to the wider research community? The common glasses of the people involved help. The discussion on the shareability of the relational knowledge development is another potential.

The deliberate juxtaposition of the two voices can be seen as a representation of the deliberate juxtaposition of objects in the artistic practice discussed. It shows the first voice as object oriented and the other specific place focused. The artist reflects the ANNALES call from a distance, the architect looks through the filter itself. The evidence is obvious in their interpretations of identity. The seemingly imposed theme, though 'present' in the 'worlds' of both actors involved, can be seen as a trigger of the specific practice, in-depth investigation, avoiding the literariness of the identification and consciously developing a critical distance. The evidence can be traced in the literariness of the initial statements and the critical distance of the developed ones. For example: 'Am I aware that the Mediterranean cultural identity and its symbols are mirrored in my work? /.../ a sort of 'new-place' is formed for the individual, embodied through the associative content that these selected objects contain, /.../ a no-place.../

connected to the new system of object-meaning and a personal narrative.'

The juxtaposition of the two voices is not just a dialogue: the contextualisation of a creative practice invites many voices into the discussion; we can hide behind them, build on their shoulders, reinterpret, jump somewhere else; thus the dialogue becomes a rich conversation on its own right, beyond the duality of the represented voices.

We are now far from any research exclusivism. We acknowledge a wide variety of knowledge flows including the flow from within the creative practice and back again. We are also far from individualistic notions of relevance (some ignorant creative practitioners are thus not recognised as creative practice researchers) and from the idea that all excellent creative practice research results need to become globally relevant.

The idea of the ANNALES call is taken as a driver to investigate the contextual dimension of the specific

creative practice. The ADAPT-r up to now focused on singularities of the creative practitioners and the general nature of the knowledge explicated/developed. In the current research phase we redirect the discussion to the diversity of contextualisation and relevance levels.

This article demonstrates some insight of how we can identify and trigger the intermediate relevance levels. One aspect is (trans-)disciplinary, another (trans-) regional. The third one can be found in the freedom of our mental space: it breaks our current sensing/thinking limitations, to investigate the parallel views to our reality... that sometimes meet.

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KONTEKSTUALIZACIJA KREATIVNE PRAKSE. DIALOG

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POVZETEK

V pričujočem članku želiva avtorja pokazati, kako nastaja novo relacijsko znanje v raziskovanju konteksta kreativne prakse, in sicer skozi dialog o identiteti. Ta dialog je spodbudil poziv revije ANNALES o identiteti Mediterana. Najino razmišljanje izhaja iz sodelovanja v EU projektu ADAPT-r – 'Architecture, Design and Art Practice Training-research', ki razvija nov model raziskovalnega treninga na doktorski, podoktorski in mentorski ravni. Prvi avtor, Federico, je kipar in vizualni umetnik, doktorski študent, druga, Tadeja, pa arhitektka, akademska raziskovalka in njegova mentorica. V članku kontekstualizirava kreativno prakso kot povezavo med strokovno in akademsko sfero, med umetniškim in znanstvenim raziskovanjem. Dialog med avtorjema v jedru besedila kaže, kako lahko razvoj relacijskega znanja skozi diskusijo prispeva k eksplikaciji implicitnega znanja in h kreaciji novih umetniških in znanstvenih spoznanj.

Ključne besede: raziskovanje skozi kreativno prakso, relevantna raziskovanja, likovna umetnost, arhitektura

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POJEM IDENTITETA V IZBRANIH MEDNARODNIH LISTINAH VARSTVA DEDIŠČINE IN NJEGOVA UPORABA V SLOVENIJI

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IZVLEČEK

Članek opredeljuje pojem identiteta v povezavi z grajenimi strukturami v prostoru, predstavlja njegovo uporabo in različne pomene ter opredeljuje sistem dojemanja identitete grajenih struktur v povezavi z identiteto posameznika. Poleg tega je v prispevku podan pregled opredelitev pojma identiteta v zgoraj navedenem kontekstu v mednarodnih pravnih aktih in nekaterih slovenskih dokumentih, ki se nanašajo na ohranjanje dediščine, razvoj naselij ter v slovenskem okviru še na urejanje prostora.

Ključne besede: identiteta, grajene strukture, stavbna dediščina, konservatorski dokumenti

IL CONCETTO DELL'IDENTITÀ NELLA CONSERVAZIONE E NELLA TUTELA DEL PATRIMONIO AMBIENTALE SECONDO ALCUNI SELEZIONATI DOCUMENTI INTERNAZIONALI E LA SUA ATTUAZIONE IN SLOVENIA

SINTESI

L'articolo definisce il concetto dell'identità in relazione a strutture edificate nell'ambiente, presenta la sua attuazione, i suoi diversi significati e illustra la percezione delle strutture edificate in relazione all'identità del singolo individuo. Inoltre viene presentata una rassegna di come viene definito il concetto dell'identità nel detto contesto in diversi documenti internazionali giuridici e in alcuni documenti sloveni che si riferiscono alla conservazione e alla tutela del patrimonio abitativo, dello sviluppo dei centri abitativi e, nel caso della Slovenia, alla pianificazione del territorio.

Parole chiave: identità, strutture edificate, patrimonio abitativo, documenti sulla conservazione

UVOD

Pojem *identiteta* se danes – v obdobju globalizacije in internacionalizacije, ko moderna tehnologija omogoča hiter pretok informacij – uporablja v različnih kontekstih, tudi v povezavi s prostorom, z naselji, arhitekturo in stavbno dediščino. Termin *identiteta* je latinskega izvora (*identitas*) in ima v slovenskem jeziku po različnih slovarjih več pomenov: največkrat je pojem identiteta označen kot istovetnost, identičnost, istost, (popolna) enakost dveh stvari; skladnost; enakost stvari same sebi; skupek značajskih potez človeka itd. V razmerju do prostora, naselij in stavb pa je pojem identiteta mogoče poenostavljeno razumeti zlasti kot skupek in preplet značilnosti, ki prostor, naselja in stavbe označujejo in jim dajejo lastno prepoznavnost.

Pojem identiteta se zelo pogosto uporablja v kontekstu varstva stavbne dediščine, razvoja in prenove. V nadaljevanju so podane še nekatere druge dimenzije pojma identiteta in pojasnila, kako je pojem mogoče razumeti v razmerju do označevanja grajenih struktur v prostoru.

Pojem *identiteta* (Slika 1) bomo v nadaljevanju obravnavali v različnih kontekstih in pomenih: lokalna, regionalna, skupna, individualna, relativna, absolutna ter pojem povezali s terminoma *stabilitas loci* in *genius loci* (Slika 1).

RAZLIČNI POMENI IDENTITETE

Pojem identiteta grajenih struktur v prostoru se povezuje z različnimi pomeni. Prav ta raznolika pomenskost daje pojmu posebno vrednost. »Identity is notoriously loose concept. «/.../ This looseness is not /.../ a weakness – rather it is a key reason why the term is valuable«¹ (Butina Watson in Bentley, 2007, 2–3). Ti pomeni oziroma koncepti so si pogosto nasprotni. V literaturi tako zasledimo obravnavo lokalne in regionalne, skupne in individualne, relativne in absolutne identitete.

Prepoznavnost naselij, ki se kaže v fizičnih oblikah, vzorcih in prostorski organizaciji, skupaj z elementi naravnega okolja, imenujemo *lokalna* identiteta. Gre za prepoznaven značaj, oblikovan v preteklosti, ob vplivu številnih dejavnikov. Naselja so namreč sčasoma izoblikovala prepoznaven značaj zaradi naravnih, topografskih in pokrajinskih razmer, razpoložljivosti gradiv, poznavanja gradbene tehnologije, značilnosti gospodarstva in proizvodnje, družbenopolitičnih dejavnikov, predvsem pa tedanjih oblikovalskih pristopov. Tako kot posamezni kraji ali urbane strukture (naselja), lahko tudi skupine mest kažejo določeno skupno prepoznavnost, ki je lastna posameznemu območju ali regiji. V tem primeru govorimo o *regionalni* identiteti (Butina Watson, 1997, 3).

Skupna, relativna identiteta – lahko bi rekli kolektivna – je splošna, združevalna. S splošnimi dogovorjenimi ali privzgojenimi sestavinami opredeljuje relativno vrednost arhitekture in določa kontinuiteto razvoja ter razpoznavnost prostora. Nasprotno temu je *individualna, absolutna* identiteta ločevalnega značaja. Je avtorska in se loči od okolja. Nanaša se na posebnosti oziroma sestavine, ki neko enoto ločujejo od drugih in dajejo prostoru in njegovim splošnim vrednotam dodatno vrednost. Skupna in individualna identiteta se vedno med seboj prepletata (Fister idr., 1993, 5).

Obstoj identitete nekateri povezujejo s pojmom *genius loci* (duh kraja) in *stabilitas loci* (nespremenljivost kraja). *Stabilitas loci* je tisto, kar daje prostoru nespremenljivi karakter, posebno, njemu lastno atmosfero. Pri tem *stabilitas loci* ni odvisna od pogojev, ki jih narekujejo vedno znova sodobne ekonomske, socialne in politične ali celo prometne spremembe (Capuder, 1990, 90). Pooseblja jo duh prostora, njegov *genius loci*. *Genius loci* oziroma duh posameznega kraja označuje specifično atmosfero tega kraja. Sestavljajo ga simboli, t. j. vsebinski – mentalni del, in strukture kraja – formalni del. Urbano tkivo je mogoče razumeti kot interpretirani *genius loci*. Urbana struktura – notranja struktura – je namreč pogojena s strukturo *locusa* – zunanjo strukturo. »Urbani prostor ni neodvisni svet zase, odvisen je od splošnih značilnosti kraja. Samo v takem odnosu urbanega prostora do *locusa* sta konkretizirani tudi orientacija in identiteta« (Capuder, 1990, 91).

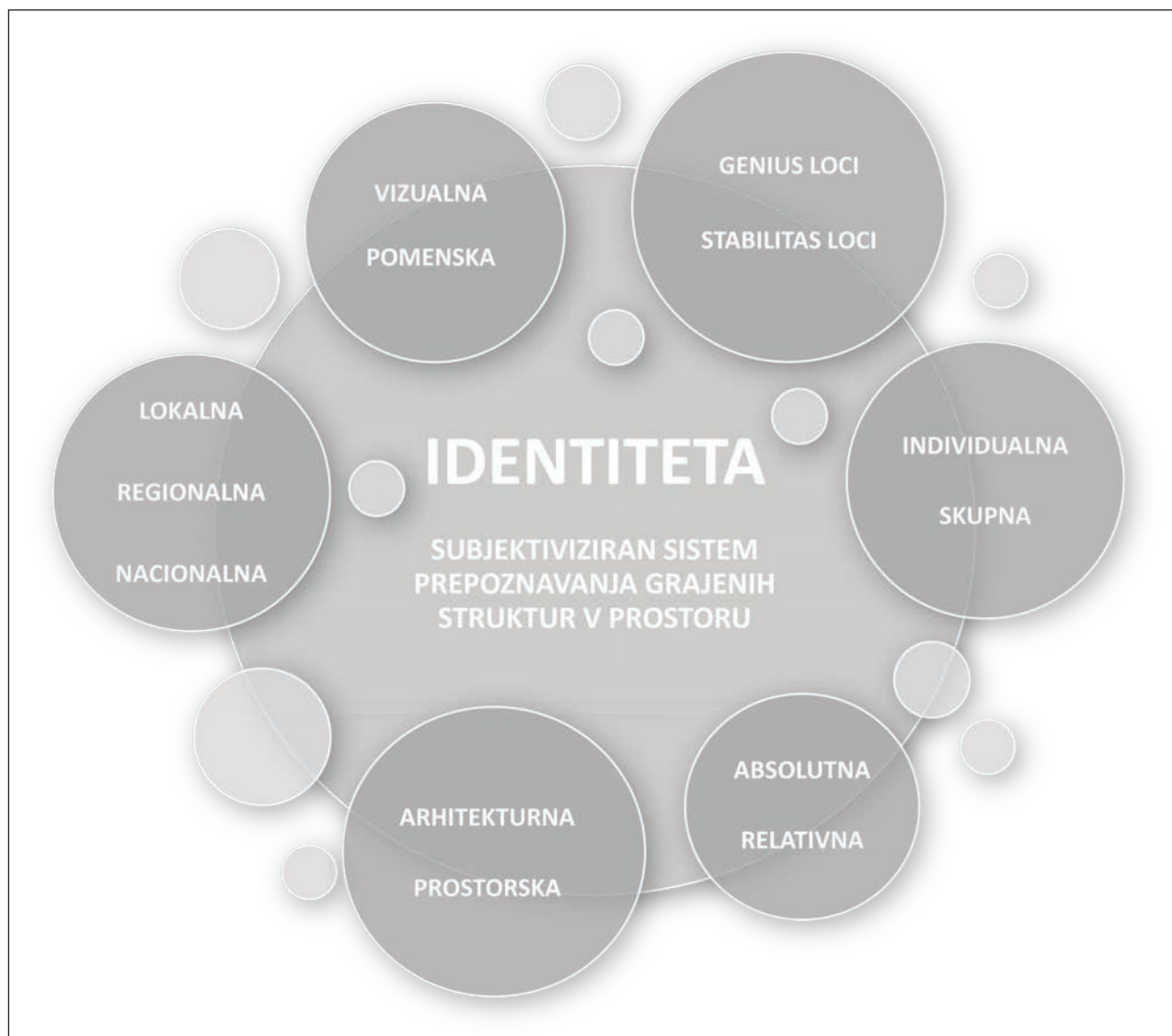
Tradicionalno razumevanje prostora kot stabilnega oziroma fiksnega je v času informacijske tehnologije, ki izničuje razdalje in soustvarja »globalno vas« (»global village«) problematično, deloma pa je tudi v nasprotju s konceptom integralnega varstva dediščine, ki vključuje dediščino v razvoj naselij, kar zahteva določeno prilagajanje sodobnim potrebam in načinu življenja.

IDENTITETA IN SUBJEKTIVNOST NJENEGA ZAZNAVANJA

V pregledu razumevanja pojma identiteta se bomo namerno izognili opredelitvam in diskurzom, ki so jih v preteklosti ponudili nekateri svetovno znani avtorji: od Norberga-Schultza in Charlesa Jenksa na eni strani, do Umberta Eca in Noama Chomskya na drugi strani. Arhitektura kot identiteta je bila na filozofski ravni že temeljito razčlenjena (Abel, 2000, 141–150).

Z vidika zaznavanja arhitekturno-urbane strukture v prostoru pa je identiteta mesta rezultat sistema prepoznavanja kompleksne strukture mesta oziroma njegovega značaja. Značaj mesta se nanaša na splet lastnosti oziroma na osnovne poteze mesta ter na njihovo izvirnost, prepoznavnost, na razlikovanje nasproti drugim.

1 V prevodu: »Znano je, da je identiteta ohlapen koncept. /.../ Ta ohlapnost /.../ ni slabost – prej je ključni vzrok, zakaj je termin tako pomemben«.



Slika 1: Pojem identiteta v različnih kontekstih in pomenih (Ilustracija: Tina Potočnik, Ljubo Lah)

Stanič definira identiteto mesta (s stališča opazovalca) kot vsoto različnih zgodovinskih, socioloških, ekonomskih, umetnostnih, etnoloških idr. občutkov opazovalca – je oznaka vseh predstav, ki jih mesto daje opazovalcu (Stanič, 1991, 25).

Zaznavanje identitete je torej subjektivno in človekov odnos do nje je lahko zelo oseben (Slika 2). Kot pravi Annette Roggatz (2005, 252): »Der Identitätsbezug kann sehr persönlich sein, wie das Haus, in dem man aufgewachsen ist, oder der Kiosk in der Nähe der Schule, der eine solch unbändige Anziehungskraft hatte«.²

Identiteta, ki se nanaša na grajene strukture, je namreč povezana z osebno identiteto (identiteto vsakega posa-

meznika). Georgia Butina Watson in Ian Bentley (2007, 3) sta prišla do ugotovitve, da ko posamezniki govorijo o identiteti nekega mesta ali kraja, navadno mislijo na pomen tega mesta v okviru njihove lastne identitete. Gre za vpliv tega mesta na njihovo predstavo o samem sebi oziroma na njihovo predstavo o vplivu tega mesta na to, kako jih bodo dojeli, razumeli drugi ljudje. Pri tem v konstruiranju človeške identitete nima takega pomena sama grajena struktura, kot pomen, ki ga ima ta struktura za človeka. Iz te povezave med identiteto človeka in pomenom kraja izhajata Georgia Butina Watson in Ian Bentley (2007, 6) ob postavitvi definicije pojma identiteta kraja: »Place-identity is the set of meanings associated with any

² V prevodu: »odnos do identitete je lahko zelo oseben, tako kot hiša, v kateri je nekdo odrasel, ali kiosk v bližini šole, ki je imel tako neznansko privlačno moč«.



Slika 2: Presek značilnosti identitete (Foto: Tina Potočnik, Ljubo Lah)

particular cultural landscape which any particular person or group of people draws on the construction of their own personal and social identities».³

Pri tem pogosto močno vplivajo na to, kako ljudje čutijo o svoji identiteti, tudi kraji, ki so sicer nepriljubljeni ali pa je identiteta grajenih struktur v nasprotju z identiteto prebivalcev – znan je primer Bosne – ki ga obravnava tudi Georgia Butina Watson in Ian Bentley (2007, 6). Povezava identitete kraja z identiteto posameznika oziroma istovetenje s prostorom, ki pogojuje tudi občutek pripadnosti temu prostoru (Capuder, 1990, 89), ima lahko tudi skrajne posledice, kot je v primeru etničnih čiščenj (Slika 2).

POJEM IDENTITETA V IZBRANIH MEDNARODNIH LISTINAH VARSTVA DEDIŠČINE

V nadaljevanju je obravnavana uporaba pojma identiteta v izbranih mednarodnih listinah in dokumentih, ki se nanašajo na varstvo stavbne in naselbinske dediščine in so nastali v pretežni meri pod okriljem mednarodnih organizacij Združenih narodov in Sveta Evrope.

Za tem je predstavljena uporaba pojma identiteta v izbranih nacionalnih normativnih dokumentih. Pri tem je bil kriterij obravnave dokumentov dejanska uporaba termina *identiteta*, v tujih pa angleške sopomenke oziroma prevoda (ang. *identity*).

³ V prevodu: »Identiteta kraja je niz pomenov, ki so povezani z določeno kulturno krajino, ki neko določeno osebo ali skupino ljudi vodi do oblikovanja njihove lastne ali družbene identitete«.

Pojma identiteta nekatere starejše listine – ki so sicer izjemnega pomena za razvoj doktrine varstva dediščine – ne uporabljajo. To so npr. Beneška listina iz leta 1964 (Mednarodna listina o ohranjanju in obnovi spomenikov in spomeniških območij / *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*; The Venice Charter) in Haaška listina iz leta 1954 (Konvencija o varstvu kulturnih dobrin v primeru oboroženega spopada / *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict*; The Hague Convention of 1954) pa tudi Amsterdamska listina iz leta 1975 (Evropska listina stavbne dediščine / *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage*). V okviru pregledanih mednarodnih pravnih aktov se identiteta prvič omenja leta 1985 v Granadski konvenciji.

Granadska konvencija, 1985

Konvencija o varstvu stavbne dediščine Evrope oziroma uradno Konvencija o varstvu evropskega arhitekturnega bogastva (ang. *Convention for the protection of the architectural heritage of Europe*), imenovana tudi Granadska konvencija, je bila sprejeta leta 1985 v Granadi. Njen namen je bil zagotoviti varstvo stavbne dediščine, ki je vsem skupna, tako je v mednarodno doktrino varstva dediščine povzdignila koncept celostnega ohranjanja in ga tudi natančneje opredelila (Petrič, 2000, 24; Pirkovič, 2010, 6). Granadska konvencija v 15. členu navaja, da si naj vsaka država članica prizadeva sledeče: »*To develop public awareness of the value of conserving the architectural heritage, both as an element of cultural identity and as a source of inspiration and creativity for present and future generation*«⁴ (Convention for the Protection of the Architectural Heritage of Europe, 2012). Listina torej kulturno identiteto povezuje s stavbno dediščino. Slednja tvori identiteto oziroma je njena ključna sestavina.

Urbana listina Evrope, 1992

Urbano listino Evrope (ang. *The European Urban Charter*) je leta 1992 sprejela Stalna konferenca regionalnih in lokalnih skupnosti Sveta Evrope. Listina

opredeljuje načela dobrega upravljanja mest in varstva urbane dediščine ter poudarja pomen lokalnih skupnosti in interdisciplinarnosti strokovnih skupin. Kot glavni cilj urejanja prostora opredeljuje načela celostnega ohranjanja (Pirkovič, 2010, 7). Listina v okviru opredelitve razvoja in podobe evropskega mesta navaja: »*Cities, however, are complex entities. They differ considerably in terms of urban development and size. Their identity, although rooted in history, is constantly changing. Over time, most towns and cities have evolved in the light of new requirements, ideals, lifestyles, standards of living and a new quality of life*«.⁵ Listina identiteto povezuje s preteklostjo in obenem z neprestanim spreminjanjem zaradi novega načina življenja. V nadaljevanju ob navajanju načel varstva v povezavi s fizično obliko mest navaja: »*European historic centers, with their buildings, urban spaces and street patterns, provide an important link between the past, the present and the future; they contain priceless elements of the architectural heritage; are places which enshrine the city's memory; establish a sense of identity for present and future generations and are key factors in establishing a sense of solidarity and a sense of community between the people of Europe*«.⁶ Listina torej v tem delu identiteto opredeljuje kot sestav stavb, urbanih prostorov, uličnih vzorcev (evropskih) zgodovinskih središč, ki med drugim pomenijo pomembno časovno vez in varujejo spomin mesta. V nadaljevanju preberemo: »*Urban architecture is made up of a heritage of elements considered to be of enduring significance, preserved to protect a town's identity and memory. This may include natural elements, i.e. the result of location, topography and climate, as well as man-made elements, the product of human skill and artistic and cultural values; this heritage is often complemented with additional elements in response to temporary or permanent needs, fashions or pressures, which have themselves, become permanent. This urban heritage constitutes an important and irreplaceable part of the urban fabric, crucial for the identity of a city and its inhabitants*«.⁷ Identiteto mesta (in spomin) listina povezuje z ohranitvijo arhitekturno-urbanih sestavov oziroma njihovih dediščinskih elementov, saj je dediščina bistvenega pomena za identiteto mesta in njegovih prebivalcev. V nadaljevanju je v dokumentu sama

4 V prevodu: »da bo razvijala zavest javnosti o pomenu ohranjanja arhitekturne dediščine (v uradnem prevodu: arhitektonskega bogastva) bodisi kot elementa kulturne identitete bodisi kot vira za navdih in ustvarjalnost sedanjih in prihodnjih generacij«.

5 V prevodu: »Mesta so vendar kompleksni organizmi. Znatno se razlikujejo glede na urbani razvoj in velikost. Njihova identiteta, četudi je zakoreninjena v preteklosti, se neprestano spreminja. Sčasoma so se vsa mesta in velemesta razvila v luči novih zahtev, idealov, življenjskih slogov in standardov in nove kvalitete bivanja«.

6 V prevodu: »Evropska zgodovinska središča ustvarjajo s svojimi stavbami, urbanih prostori in uličnimi vzorci pomembno vez med preteklostjo, sedanostjo in prihodnostjo. Vsebujejo neprecenljive elemente stavbne dediščine. So kraji, ki hranijo spomin mesta. Ustvarjajo občutek identitete za sedanje in prihodnje generacije in so ključni dejavniki v ustvarjanju občutka solidarnosti in pripadnosti Evropejcev«.

7 V prevodu: »Arhitekturno-urbane sestave tvori dediščina elementov, ki so trajnega pomena in ohranjeni za to, da se ohranjata identiteta in spomin mesta. Ti elementi so naravni (lokacija, topografija, klima) in ustvarjeni elementi (produkti človekovega ustvarjanja, njegovih umetniških in kulturnih vrednot). Dediščina pa je pogosto dopolnjena z elementi, ki so odraz trenutnih potreb, navad in nujnosti in so tudi sami postali trajni. Ta urbana dediščina tvori pomemben in nenadomestljiv del urbanega tkiva, ki je odločilnega pomena za identiteto mesta in njegovih prebivalcev«.

identiteta precej jasno opredeljena: »Every town has its own identity, to be preserved and asserted. Its regional affiliation, its location, its population, its spatial extent, its hinterland, its weather, its form, its color, its origins, its history, its function – all of these are elements which mark it off from other towns«⁸ (The European Urban Charter, 2011). Identiteta je torej lastnost vsakega mesta, ki se od drugega loči po lokaciji in njenih naravnih značilnostih, fizičnih značilnostih (obseg, oblika, barva), prebivalcih, zgodovini in izvoru ter funkciji.

Dokument iz Nare, 1994

Dokument iz Nare (ang. *The Nara Document on Authenticity*) je bil zasnovan leta 1994 na konferenci v Nari na Japonskem (ang. *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention*), katere tematika je bila avtentičnost v povezavi z dediščino. Dokument poudarja pomen raznolikosti kultur v svetu in pomen izraza te raznolikosti, ki se kaže v spomenikih, spomeniških območjih, kulturni krajini in v dediščini. Avtentičnost, ki izvira iz specifičnega kulturnega konteksta, je opredeljena kot bistven element definiranja, vrednotenja in monitoringa kulturne dediščine. V tem dokumentu lahko v 4. točki preambule preberemo: »In a world that is increasingly subject to the forces of globalization and homogenization, and in a world in which the search for cultural identity is sometimes pursued through aggressive nationalism and the suppression of the cultures of minorities, the essential contribution made by the consideration of authenticity in conservation practice is to clarify and illuminate the collective memory of humanity«⁹ (The Nara Document on Authenticity, 2011). Dokument vzporeja (kulturno) identiteto s kolektivnim spominom (k jasnosti slednjega prispeva avtentičnost) in jo postavlja nasproti svetovni globalizaciji in homogenizaciji.

Priporočilo št. R (95) 9, 1995

Priporočilo Odbora ministrov Sveta Evrope št. R (95) 9 o celostnem ohranjanju območij kulturne krajine kot dela krajinskih politik (ang. *Recommendation No. R (95) 9 of the Committee of ministers to member states on the integrated conservation of cultural landscape areas as part of landscape policies*), sprejeto leta 1995,

predstavlja izhodišče za razširitev koncepta celostnega ohranjanja na področje varstva (kulturne) krajine. Dokument državam članicam priporoča tesnejše vključevanje politike varstva krajine v prostorsko načrtovanje in v kmetijsko-gozdarske politike (Pirkovič, 2010, 8), tudi na podlagi naslednje priporočene usmeritve: »The protection and enhancement of cultural landscape areas and the landscape helps to preserve the folk memory and cultural identities of human communities and is a factor in the improvement of their environment«¹⁰ (Recommendation No. R (95) 9, 2011). Priporočilo torej obravnava ohranjanje kulturne identitete življenjskih skupnosti ljudi v povezavi z varstvom in povečevanjem območij kulturne krajine.

Agenda Habitat in Carigradska deklaracija, 1996

Agenda Habitat (ang. *The Habitat Agenda*) je poglobilni politični dokument, ki je bil zasnovan na konferenci Habitat II – drugi konferenci Združenih narodov o človekovih naseljih v Istanbulu leta 1996, katere prioriteten tematični sta bili primerno bivališče za vse in trajnostna mesta. Dokument, ki ga je sprejelo 171 držav, vsebuje prek 100 zavez in 600 priporočil, ki se nanašajo na problematiko človekovih naselij. V dokumentu je v prvem poglavju (v preambuli) opozorjeno na pomen identitete prebivalcev v okviru stanovanjskih politik in politik urbanega razvoja, v okviru tega prispevka pa je bolj zanimiva omemba identitete ob opredelitvi ciljev in načel: »Sustainable human settlements are those that, inter alia, generate a sense of citizenship and identity /.../«¹¹ (The Habitat Agenda, 2011). Identiteto oziroma občutek identitete torej lahko ustvarjajo le trajnostna človekova naselja. V sklopu, ki obravnava razvoj trajnostnih človekovih naselij v urbaniziranem svetu, se v podpoglavju na temo ohranjanja in rehabilitacije zgodovinske in kulturne dediščine pojem identiteta pojavi v povezavi s snovno in nesnovno dediščino kot izraz te dediščine: »Historical places, objects and manifestations of cultural, scientific, symbolic, spiritual and religious value are important expressions of the culture, identity and religious beliefs of societies«¹² (The Habitat Agenda, 2011). Agenda Habitat kot izraz identitete (ter kulture in verovanja) opredeljuje zgodovinska mesta (kraje), objekte in manifestacije kulturnih, znanstvenih, simboličnih, duhovnih in religioznih vrednot.

8 V prevodu: »Vsako mesto ima svojo identiteto, ki jo je potrebno ohraniti in braniti. Elementi, ki mesto označujejo oziroma ločujejo od drugih pa so njegova regionalna pripadnost, lokacija, ljudje, prostorski obseg, zaledje, klima, oblika, barva, njegov izvor oziroma začetek, zgodovina in funkcija«.

9 V prevodu: »V svetu, ki je vedno bolj dovzeten za sile globalizacije in homogenizacije, in v katerem se iskanje kulturne identitete včasih izvaja z agresivnim nacionalizmom in zatiranjem manjšinskih kultur, je bistven prispevek upoštevanja avtentičnosti v konservatorski praksi ta, da razjasnjuje oziroma pojasnjuje kolektivni spomin človeštva«.

10 V prevodu: »Varstvo in povečanje (vrednosti) območij kulturne krajine in same krajine pomaga ohranjati spomin ljudi in kulturne identitete človeških skupnosti in je dejavnik v izboljševanju njihovega okolja«.

11 V prevodu: »Trajnostna človekova naselja so tista, ki (med drugim) ustvarjajo občutek državljske pripadnosti in identitete, /.../«.

12 V prevodu: »Zgodovinski kraji, objekti in manifestacije kulturnih, znanstvenih, simbolnih, duhovnih in religioznih vrednot so pomemben izraz kulture, identitete in verovanj družbe (družbenih skupin)«.

Carigrajska deklaracija (ang. *The Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements*), sprejeta vzporedno z Agendo Habitat leta 1996, ki potrjuje slednjo in njun skupni cilj – boljši življenjski standard v večji svobodi za vse človeštvo, pojma identitete ne navaja (UN Habitat, Istanbul Declaration on Human Settlements, 2011).

Evropska konvencija o krajini, 2000

Evropska konvencija o krajini (ang. *The European Landscape Convention*) je bila sprejeta leta 2000 v Firencah. Konvencija podpira varstvo, upravljanje in načrtovanje evropske krajine in organizira sodelovanje v Evropi v okviru problematike, ki se nanaša na krajino. Gre za prvo mednarodno pogodbo, ki zadeva izključno evropsko krajino in vse njene dimenzije. Konvencija države podpisnice obvezuje, da krajino vključijo v regionalno in urbanistično načrtovanje ter v vse druge politike, ki imajo vpliv nanjo. Konvencija v preambuli navaja med izhodišči za oblikovanje tega dokumenta tudi (evropsko) identiteto (= prepoznavnost), h konsolidaciji katere prispeva prav krajina: »Aware that the landscape contributes to the formation of local cultures and that it is a basic component of the European natural and cultural heritage, contributing to human well-being and consolidation of the European identity«.¹³ V 5. členu, ob obravnavi splošnih ukrepov, nalaga vsaki državi podpisnici sledečo obvezo: »To recognize landscapes in law as an essential component of people's surroundings, an expression of the diversity of their shared cultural and natural heritage, and a foundation of their identity«¹⁴ (European Landscape Convention, 2011). V konvenciji je kot temelj identitete Evrope oziroma Evropejcev opredeljena prav krajina.

Krakovska listina, 2000

Leta 2000 je bila v Krakowu, na konferenci z naslovom Kulturna dediščina kot temelj razvoja civilizacije (ang. *Cultural Heritage as the Foundation of the Development of Civilization*) sprejeta listina, ki obravnava varstvo in ohranjanje stavbne dediščine, imenovana tudi Krakovska listina (ang. *The Charter of Krakow. Principles for Conservation and Restoration of Built Heritage*). Listina se že v preambuli – ob sklicevanju na proces

unifikacije Evrope – dotakne pojma identitete. Identiteta oziroma identitete postajajo vedno bolj značilne in različne: »We are conscious of living within such a framework, in which identities, in an ever more extensive context, are becoming characterized and more distinct. Europe today is characterized by a cultural diversity and thus by the plurality of fundamental values related to the mobile, immobile and intellectual heritage, the different meanings associated with it and consequently also conflicts of interest«.¹⁵ Priporočila iz listine, v poglavju cilji in metode, dopuščajo možnost rekonstrukcije stavbe le v povezavi z ohranjanjem identitete oziroma iz izjemnih socialnih in kulturnih razlogov, vezanih na identiteto celotne skupnosti: »Reconstruction of an entire building, destroyed by armed conflict or natural disaster, is only acceptable if there are exceptional social or cultural motives that are related to the identity of the entire community«.¹⁶ V dodatku, v nekakšni prilogi listine, je uporabljena terminologija dodatno pojasnjena: »Identity is understood as the common reference of both present values generated in the sphere of a community and past values identified in its authenticity«¹⁷ (The Charter of Krakow, 2011). Identiteta je torej v listini razumljena kot skupek sedanjih vrednot skupnosti in preteklih vrednot, ki se nanašajo na avtentičnost.

Okvirna konvencija Sveta Evrope o vrednosti kulturne dediščine za družbo, 2005

Okvirna konvencija Sveta Evrope o vrednosti kulturne dediščine za družbo (ang. *Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society*) je bila sprejeta leta 2005 v Faru na Portugalskem. Dokument poudarja, da ohranjanje dediščine in njena trajnostna uporaba težita k razvoju človeštva in dvigu kvalitete življenja. V 3. členu, ki se nanaša na skupno dediščino Evrope, se okvirna konvencija zavezuje za razumevanje skupne dediščine Evrope tudi kot sestava idej, principov in vrednot, ki izvirajo iz preteklih izkušenj in pripomorejo k razvoju miroljubne in stabilne družbe, ob tem pa tudi, da spodbujajo priznavanje skupne evropske dediščine, ki jo sestavljajo: »All forms of cultural heritage in Europe which together constitute a shared source of remembrance, understanding, identity, cohesion and creativity /.../«¹⁸ (Council of Europe Fra-

13 V prevodu: »se zavedajo, da krajina prispeva k oblikovanju lokalnih kultur in da je temeljna sestavina evropske naravne in kulturne dediščine, ki prispeva k človekovi blaginji in utrjevanju evropske prepoznavnosti (=identitete)«.

14 V prevodu: »da bo krajine zakonsko priznala kot bistveno sestavino človekovega okolja, kot izraz raznovrstnosti skupne kulturne in naravne dediščine ljudi ter temelj njihove istovetnosti (=identitete)«.

15 V prevodu: »Zavedamo se življenja v takem okviru, v katerem identitete – v vedno širšem kontekstu – postajajo značilne in vedno bolj izrazite. Evropo danes označuje kulturna raznolikost in s tem pluralnost temeljnih vrednot, vezanih na premično, nepremično in intelektualno dediščino, na različne pomene, ki se z njo povezujejo, in posledično tudi na konflikte interesov«.

16 V prevodu: »Rekonstrukcija celotne stavbe, ki je bila razrušena v vojnem spopadu ali v naravni katastrofi, je sprejemljiva le ob prisotnosti izjemnih socialnih in kulturnih vzrokov, ki so vezani na identiteto celotne skupnosti«.

17 V prevodu: »Identiteta je razumljena kot skupna zveza tako sedanjih vrednot, generiranih v sferi skupnosti, kot preteklih vrednot, identificiranih v njeni avtentičnosti«.

18 V prevodu: »vse oblike kulturne dediščine v Evropi, ki so skupni temelj spomina, razumevanja, prepoznavanja (=identitete), povezanosti in ustvarjalnosti /.../«.

mework Convention, 2011). Dokument pojem identiteta vzporeja oziroma primerja s pomnjenjem (spominom), razumevanjem, povezovanjem in kreativnostjo – katerih skupni vir so vse oblike kulturne dediščine.

Ob obravnavanih dokumentih omenimo še nekatere listine, ki tako kot že omenjena Beneška listina, Haaška konvencija in Amsterdamska listina sicer pojma identiteta v povezavi s stavbno ali naselbinsko dediščino ne opredeljujejo oziroma ga sploh ne omenjajo. Med znanimi mednarodnimi dokumenti so to, npr. Washingtonska listina iz leta 1987 (Listina o konservaciji zgodovinskih mest in urbanih jeder; ang. *Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas*; *Washington Charter – ICOMOS*), deklaracija, sprejeta v Rio leta 1992 (ang. *The Rio Declaration on Environment and Development*; *Rio Declaration*) in Leipziška listina iz leta 2007 o trajnostnih evropskih mestih (ang. *Leipzig Charter on Sustainable European Cities*).

POJEM IDENTITETA V SLOVENSKI PROSTORSKI ZAKONODAJI IN V STRATEGIJI PROSTORSKEGA RAZVOJA SLOVENIJE

Pojem identiteta se v normativnih in strateških dokumentih uporablja neposredno ali posredno. Poglejmo izbrane najpomembnejše pravne akte, ki urejajo področje varstva kulturne dediščine in načrtovanje ter urejanje prostora (Zakon o urejanju prostora, Zakon o prostorskem načrtovanju in Zakon o varstvu kulturne dediščine), ter strateški prostorski akt – Strategija prostorskega razvoja Slovenije.

Zakon o urejanju prostora, Zakon o prostorskem načrtovanju in Zakon o varstvu kulturne dediščine

Zakon o urejanju prostora (Ur. l. RS, št. 110/2002, v nadaljevanju: ZUreP-1), sprejet leta 2002 (Zakon o urejanju prostora, 2002) ne omenja pojma identitete, ob tem pa Zakon o prostorskem načrtovanju (Ur. l. RS, št. 33/2007, v nadaljevanju: ZPNačrt), sprejet leta 2007, v 8. členu (načelo ohranjanja prepoznavnih značilnosti prostora) navaja: »Prostorsko načrtovanje mora upoštevati vrednote in prepoznavnost obstoječih naravnih, grajenih in drugače ustvarjenih struktur, ki zaradi posebnih geografskih, kulturno-zgodovinskih, upravnih, socialno-ekonomskih in drugih pogojev razvoja sooblikujejo identiteto prostora in določajo njegove značilnosti« (Zakon o prostorskem načrtovanju, 2007, 4587). ZPNačrt torej identiteto prostora, ki jo povezuje s prepoznavnimi grajenimi strukturami, opredeljuje kot pomemben element, ki ga je potrebno upoštevati v okviru načrtovanja razvoja prostora.

Precej skopo je pojem identiteta zastopan v Zakonu o varstvu kulturne dediščine (Ur. l. RS, št. 16/2008, v nadaljevanju: ZVKD-1), sprejetem leta 2008. Le v 2. točki 1. člena (namen zakona) omenja identiteto, in sicer v naslednjem kontekstu: »Dediščina so dobrine,

podedovane iz preteklosti, ki jih Slovenke in Slovenci, pripadnice in pripadniki italijanske in madžarske narodne skupnosti in romske skupnosti, ter drugi državljanke in državljanji Republike Slovenije opredeljujejo kot odsev in izraz svojih vrednot, identitet, verskih in drugih prepričanj, znanj in tradicij« (Zakon o varstvu kulturne dediščine, 2008, 1121).

Strategija prostorskega razvoja Slovenije (SPRS)

Strategija prostorskega razvoja Slovenije (v nadaljevanju: SPRS) je strateški prostorski akt, ki velja od leta 2004, ko ga je sprejel Državni zbor Republike Slovenije. Dokument večkrat omenja identiteto v obravnavanem kontekstu. Prvič se pojma dotakne v uvodu, ob splošni predstavitvi dokumenta, ki: »Poudarja prizadevanja za ohranitev prepoznavnosti prostora in krepitev identitete Slovenije ter njenih lokalnih oziroma regionalnih identitet, kar v razmerah evropske konkurence ponuja primerjalne prednosti« (SPRS 2004, 8). V enakem kontekstu lokalno in regionalno identiteto omenja SPRS tudi v poglavju Zasnova prostorskega razvoja Slovenije s prioriteta in usmeritvami za doseg ciljev prostorskega razvoja Slovenije: »S prostorsko strategijo v skladu z načelom vzdržnega prostorskega razvoja se uveljavlja smotno rabo prostora ter varnost in kakovost življenja in dobrin. Spodbuja se prizadevanja za ohranitev prepoznavnosti prostora Slovenije ter njenih lokalnih in regionalnih identitet, kar v razmerah evropske konkurence predstavlja primerjalne prednosti, obenem pa bogati kakovost življenja njenih prebivalcev« (SPRS 2004, 18). Sledi še več omemb pojma identiteta.

Ob razlagi pojma arhitekturna krajina, dokument navaja identiteto prostora, ki jo oblikujejo gradnje enotnih meril: »Arhitekturna krajina je tista prostorska enota, v kateri je zaradi specifičnih geografskih, kulturno-zgodovinskih, upravnih, socialno-ekonomskih, gospodarskih in drugih pogojev razvoja, predvsem pa zaradi zavestne gradnje in ohranjanja značilnosti bivalnega okolja, mogoče razpoznati enotna merila vseh vrst gradenj, ki sooblikujejo identiteto prostora« (SPRS 2004, 9).

Prostorska identiteta je omenjena tudi v okviru splošnih izhodišč prostorskega razvoja Slovenije, in sicer kot ena temeljnih razvojnih zahtev: »Prostorska strategija upošteva zahteve po zagotavljanju in varstvu kakovosti okolja. Ohranjanje narave, varstvo prostorske identitete in kulturne dediščine ter varstvo in izboljšanje kvalitete bivalnega in delovnega okolja so temeljne razvojne zahteve, ki jih prostorska strategija vključuje kot sestavni del usmerjanja prostorskega razvoja« (SPRS 2004, 13).

Ob opisu stanja v krajinski in urbani strukturi v okviru obravnave značilnosti slovenskega prostora SPRS govori o arhitekturni identiteti, ki je odslikava značilnega poselitvenega vzorca: »Poselitveni vzorec Slovenije je odraz naravnih in zgodovinskih razmer /.../. Posledica takega poselitvenega razvoja se odraža v izjemni arhitekturni

identiteti in kulturni dediščini, ki je prisotna v številnih naseljih» (SPRS 2004, 14).

Ko je govora o krepitevi prepoznavnosti kakovostnih naravnih in kulturnih značilnosti krajine, SPRS obravnava arhitekturno identiteto kot del slovenske prepoznavnosti: »Slovenija je prepoznavna po pestri krajini in krajinskih vzorcih, arhitekturni identiteti mest in podeželskih naseljih, ohranjeni naravi, veliki biotski raznovrstnosti, velikem številu naravnih vrednot in naravnih procesih, bogastvu voda in gozdov. Take značilnosti imajo zlasti območja kulturne dediščine ter ekološko pomembna območja in zavarovana območja« (SPRS 2004, 28).

Ob obravnavi prenove naselij kot prednostne razvojne usmeritve SPRS omenja identiteto naselja, ki jo je ob prenovi potrebno upoštevati: »Pri načrtovanju prenove se upošteva ohranjeno identiteto naselja ali dela naselja in skrbi za uravnoteženo razmerje med grajenimi in zelenimi površinami v naselju« (SPRS 2004, 32).

Ob obravnavi prenove kulturne dediščine in druge stavbne dediščine SPRS omenja širšo prostorsko identiteto (katere del so naselja) in celotno identiteto (katere del je kvalitetna stavbna dediščina): »Z vidika prostorskega urejanja se naselja razvrsti na naselja s stavbno dediščino, ki je spoznana kot kulturna dediščina, naselja, ki so del širše prostorske identitete in naselja, katerih fond in struktura druge stavbne dediščine predstavljata vrednoto v arhitektonskem in urbanističnem smislu in se zanje načrtuje ustrezno obliko prenove. Prenovo se izvaja v vseh območjih s kvalitetno stavbno dediščino, ki se jo kot posebno vrednost opredeli kot del osnovne celostne identitete v krajinskem, naselbinskem ali arhitekturnem merilu, oziroma je s predpisom zavarovana kot naselbinska ali stavbna dediščina. Prenova ima prednost pred novogradnjo v naseljih, ki so del širše prostorske identitete in predstavljajo kvalitetno stavbno dediščino« (SPRS 2004, 32).

Nazadnje SPRS omenja nacionalno in lokalno identiteto, in sicer v okviru opredelitve optimalnega razvoja krajine: »Razvoj krajine je optimalen, kadar z umeščanjem dejavnosti dosegamo, da je krajina funkcionalen, ekološko in oblikovno uravnotežen sistem prostorskih struktur, ki omogoča zdravo, varno in prijetno bivalno okolje, kadar razvoj v največji možni meri ohranja naravno zgradbo, kulturne plasti ter zagotavlja prostor za odvijanje naravnih procesov, in kadar razvoj krajine omogoča, da je ta nosilka nacionalne in lokalne identitete« (SPRS 2004, 55).

POJEM IDENTITETA V ARHITEKTURNEM IN PROSTORSKEM KONTEKSTU

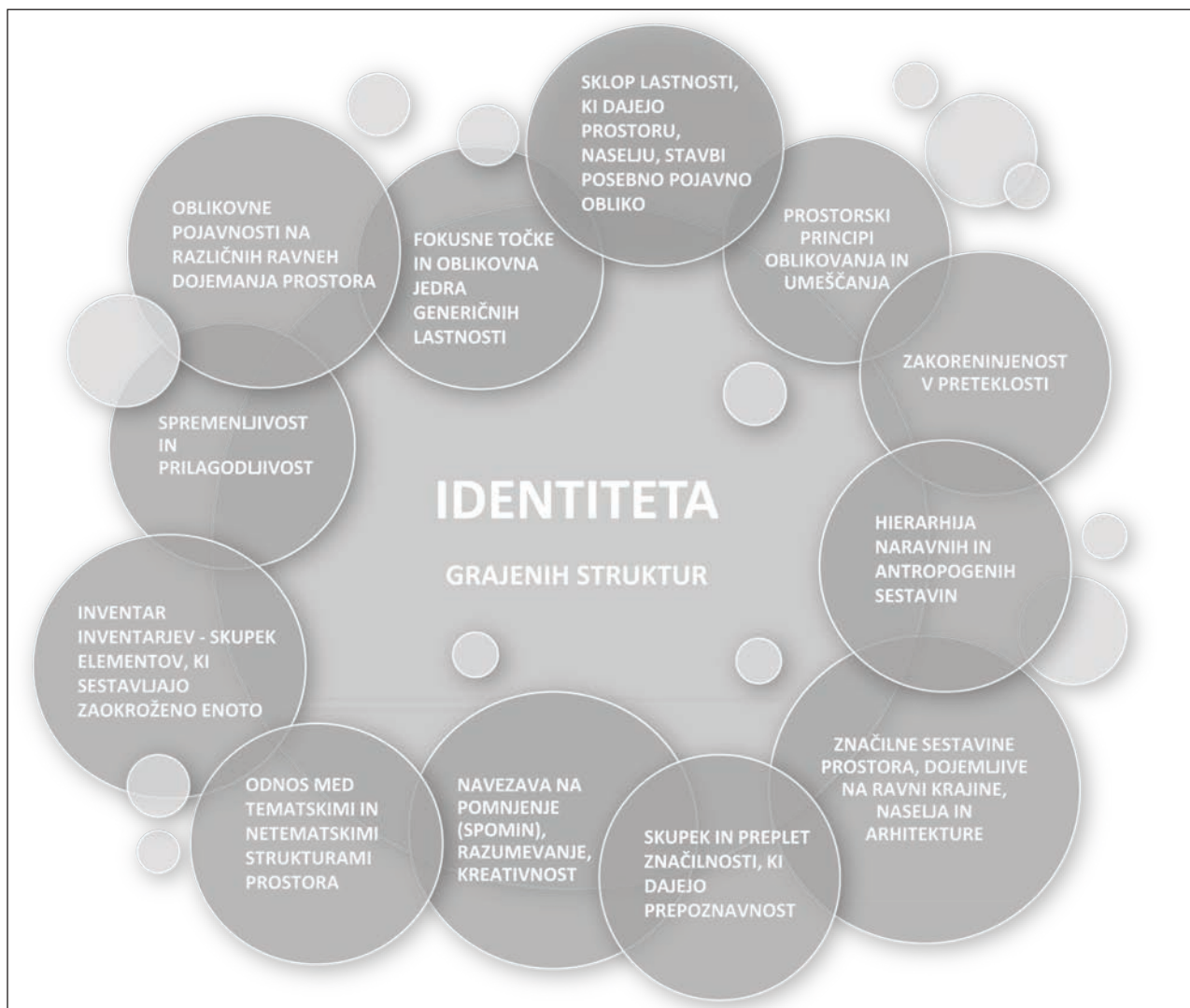
V različnih obdobjih je bil pri nas pojem identiteta v razmerju do grajenih struktur in prostora različno razumljen in uporabljan. V delih različnih *zgodnjih raziskovalcev* slovenskega prostora, kot so opisi Paola Santonina s konca 15. stoletja, upodobitve Giovannijskega

Pieronija in upodobitve drugih kartografov ter inženirjev iz 17. stoletja, delo Georga Matthäusa Vischerja itd., je bil pojem opredeljen enostransko in na podlagi poljubno izbranih elementov (grajenih in naravnih). Večinsko (preprostejše) stavbarstvo je bilo v upodobitvah zapostavljeno, obenem pa so bile lastnosti dežel obravnavane ločeno. Celoviteje je različne lastnosti in njihove pomene za identificiranje določenega prostora začel obravnavati Janez Vajkard Valvasor. Določene novosti so se v okviru razumevanja identitete uveljavile šele v drugi polovici 19. in v prvi polovici 20. stoletja. V drugi polovici preteklega stoletja pa so bili vpeljani tudi novi pristopi in bolj celostno razumevanje lastnosti identitete. Med prvimi so posebno vrednost zaokroženih kulturno-geografskih enot in širok spekter sestavin identitete prepoznale umetnostnozgodovinska stroka, etnologija in geografija, ki je v navedenem obdobju začela preučevati tudi do tedaj zapostavljene dele prostora (Fister et al., 1993, 5–6).

Danes pojem identiteta bivalnega okolja enakovredno združuje vse temeljne sestavine prostora: naravne in antropogene elemente ter ustvarjene pogoje, obenem pa upošteva celotno hierarhijo grajenih sestavin prostora in ne le *najpomembnejše* arhitekture. V zadnjih desetletjih preteklega stoletja se je v evropskem prostoru celo izoblikovalo dojemanje identitete prostora kot ene večjih kvalit, tako s kulturnozgodovinskega vidika, kot z vidika kvalitete življenjskega okolja (Fister et al., 1993, 11–12). Pomen identitete (in podobe) naselja pa naj bi bila osrednja tema za primerjanje (rangiranje) mest na mednarodni ravni pri tekmovanju za naložbe, za izobražen kader, dejavnosti, kulturo in turizem (Dimitrovska Andrews, 1998, 5). Pregled izkušenj uspešnih evropskih mest namreč kaže, da so se ta mesta začela zavedati odvisnosti statusa evropskega mesta in njegovega gospodarskega razcveta tudi od zmožnosti opredelitve identitete mesta v evropskem prostoru (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2011, 16). Mesta in regije (v tekmi za kapitalom in naložbami) tako vedno bolj spoštujejo vrednost prepoznavne identitete, zato težijo k razvoju, ki bi izražal lokalni ali regionalni značaj prostora – kulturne in grajene krajine (Butina Watson, 1997, 4).

Identiteto prostora Fister po francoskem zgledu za identifikacijo krajinskih enot opredeljuje kot sestavljenko iz specifičnega, hierarhičnega prepleta značilnih prostorskih sestavin – naravnih danosti in struktur, ki jih je ustvaril človek. Slednje jo tudi najmočnejše (ne) posredno določajo oziroma nanjo vplivajo (Fister et al., 1993, 5, 12, 24).

Značilne sestavine, ki oblikujejo identiteto prostora, lahko opredelimo na ravni krajine, naselja in posamezne arhitekturne enote. Na ravni krajine in naselij so to lokacija, lega naselbinskih teles v pokrajini, njihova usklajenost, prilagojenost reliefu in rabi tal, meje oziroma robovi, dominante, vedute, struktura, členjenost in parcelacija površin. Pri krajini gre še za posebne dele prostora ter pomenske in simbolne vrednosti, na nivoju naselij pa



Slika 3: Pojem identiteta v razmerju do prostora, naselij in stavb je mogoče poenostavljeno razumeti zlasti kot sestav lastnosti, ki jih označujejo in jim dajejo prepoznavnost (Ilustracija: Tina Potočnik, Ljubo Lah)

še za silhuete, zasnovo, prostorsko organiziranost naselja in njegovih delov, nasebinsko tipologijo, razmerje med osnovno enoto in celoto, členjenost gabaritov in fasadnih nizov ter pomen vsebinskih in drugih vrednosti. Na ravni arhitekture pa so značilne sestavine, ki oblikujejo identiteto, stavbna tipologija in zasnova enot, lega na parceli, vsebina, značaj ali funkcije stavbnih enot, orientiranost in prilagojenost terenu, gabariti, volumenska razmerja, tipika streh in struktura kritin, lega in oblika arhitekturnih členov, členjenost fasad, fasadna razmerja ter materiali, strukture, barvitost (Lah, 1992, 174; 1994, 137). Živa Deu (2004, 20) razume pojem identiteta kot »sklop kakovostnih lastnosti. Lahko rečemo tudi ožjih identitet, ki dajejo prostoru, naselju ali stavbi posebno pojavno obliko, po kateri jih je mogoče razpoznati in ločiti od drugih prostorov, naselij in stavb«.

Identiteto naselja in posameznih delov oblikujeta tudi odnos med tematskimi (ponavljajoči se vzorci grajenih in odprtih prostorov) in netematskimi strukturami (omrežje javnega prostora) ter ravnovesje med njimi (Dimitrovska Andrews, 2011, 53). Kot nosilce oziroma gradnike identitete naselja lahko opredelimo tudi pole (fokusne, središčne točke in oblikovna jedra generičnih lastnosti) ter povezave med njimi (Koželj, 1990, 23).

SKLEPNE UGOTOVITVE

Termin identiteta v splošnem pomeni istovetnost, identičnost, skladnost, ko pa govorimo o identiteti prostora, naselja ali stavbe, se ta nanaša na sklop lastnosti, po katerih je prostor in grajene strukture v njem mogoče ločevati od drugih (Slika 3).

Identiteta je skupek in preplet značilnosti, ki prostorske strukture označujejo in jim dajejo prepoznavnost. Ustvarjajo edinstveno podobo stavbi, mestu, krajini. Pri tem se pojem identiteta povezuje z različnimi pomeni. Govorimo o *lokalni* identiteti, ki se nanaša na prepoznavnost posamezne strukture in v primeru prepoznavnosti skupine struktur o *regionalni* identiteti. *Skupna* identiteta je splošna, združevalna, *individualna* pa je ločevalna. *Relativna* identiteta zaznamuje najširše, splošne, enotne lastnosti, *absolutna* pa ozke, individualne, razpoznavne lastnosti. Obstoje identitete se povezuje s prisotnostjo t. i. *genius loci* in aktivnostjo *stabilitas loci*. Z vidika zaznavanja je identiteta rezultat sistema prepoznavanja strukture v prostoru. Tovrstno zaznavanje je vselej deloma subjektivno; tako posamezniki, ki govorijo o identiteti nekega mesta oziroma kraja, navadno mislijo tudi na pomen tega mesta v okviru njihove lastne identitete.

Ob pregledu opredelitev pojma identiteta (v povezavi z grajenimi strukturami v prostoru) v okviru obravnavanih mednarodnih dokumentov (Granadska konvencija, Urbana listina Evrope, *Dokument iz Nare*, Priporočilo Odbora ministrov Sveta Evrope št. R (95) 9, Agenda Habitat, Evropska konvencija o krajini, Krakovska listina, Okvirna konvencija Sveta Evrope o vrednosti kulturne dediščine za družbo) lahko ugotovimo, da je v vsakem dokumentu pojem identiteta uporabljen z nekoliko specifičnim in prilagojenim pomenom. Splošno veljavne definicije pojma identiteta ni.

Definicijo pojma identiteta dejansko podaja le Krakovska listina, sama definicija pa je precej ohlapna. Iz konteksta uporabe pojma v preostalih navedenih mednarodnih dokumentih je mogoče povzeti, da je identiteta nekaj, kar je zakoreninjeno v preteklosti in je spreminjajoče, prilagodljivo. Ustvarjajo jo naravne in ustvarjene strukture, stavbna dediščina ter mesta, ki se po določenih značilnosti ločijo od drugih mest, stavbe,

urbani prostori in ulični vzorci historičnih jeder. Identiteta je povezana s pomnjenjem, tudi kolektivnim spominom, razumevanjem, povezovanjem in kreativnostjo. Zanja lahko rečemo, da je skupek in preplet značilnosti, potez, po katerih lahko razpoznamo oblikovani prostor – naravni ali grajeni. V povezavi z grajenim prostorom lahko povzamemo, da tvorijo identiteto zlasti ohranjene in ponavljajoče se značilnosti, ki so skupnega, združevalnega značaja. Identiteta pa, seveda, ni nekaj nespremenljivega. Ni stalna, večna, ampak se stalno razvija, dopolnjuje in spreminja. Če se osnovne značilnosti in poteze v razvoju ohranjajo, lahko govorimo o nadgradnji – kontinuiteti identitete, v nasprotnem pa o degradaciji identitete in o njeni diskontinuiteti.

V slovenskem okviru je pojem identiteta v vseh treh obravnavanih zakonih (Zakon o urejanju prostora, Zakon o prostorskem načrtovanju in Zakon o varstvu kulturne dediščine) redko uporabljen termin. Slednje pa nikakor ne velja za Strategijo prostorskega razvoja Slovenije, ki pogosto omenja lokalno, regionalno in nacionalno identiteto, kakor tudi arhitekturno in prostorsko identiteto. Ker obstoj identitete predstavlja vrednoto in primerjalno prednost, obenem pa bogati kakovost življenja njenih prebivalcev, menimo, da ohranjanje identitete mora postati cilj in temelj delovanja vseh, ki posegajo v prostor.

Identiteta grajenih struktur v prostoru ima danes v hitro spreminjajočem se svetu vsekakor pomembno mesto v človekovem življenju. Tega bi se bilo potrebno zavedati tudi ob načrtovanju razvoja, ki zadovoljuje naše sodobne potrebe, kajti tudi identiteta je ena od temeljnih človekovih potreb. Kot pravi Annette Roggatz (2005, 252): »Človek, ki je vezan na sedanost, potrebuje zanesljivo preteklost, da lahko deluje in ustvarja. Iz tega, torej iz individualnega in kolektivnega spomina, definira svojo identiteto. Človek potrebuje identiteto, da lahko oblikuje svojo prihodnost«.

THE CONCEPT OF IDENTITY IN SELECTED INTERNATIONAL DOCUMENTS OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION AND ITS USE IN SLOVENIA

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SUMMARY

In relation to space, settlements and buildings, identity can be understood as a compound of features, which characterize them and make them recognizable. The text presents the use of the term identity, its different meanings and contexts: local and regional, social and individual, relative and absolute, visual and semantic identity and its linkage to genius loci and stabilitas loci. In terms of perception, the identity is the result of subjective identification of structures in space, developed separately by every individual. In the second part the text provides an overview of the determination of identity within some international documents on conservation (The Granada Convention, The European Urban Charter, The Nara Document on Authenticity, Recommendation No. R (95) 9, The Habitat Agenda, The European Landscape Convention, The Krakow Charter, Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society) and within the Slovenian legislation (Spatial Management Act, Spatial Planning Act and Cultural Heritage Protection Act). The most important conclusion is that there is no generally accepted definition of this conception; only a cross-section of the identity's characteristics can be recognized. In Slovenian laws, handled in this paper, identity is only minimally represented or is not even mentioned. However, this does not apply to the Strategy of spatial development of Slovenia, which refers to local, regional and national identity, as well as architectural and spatial identity.

Keywords: identity, built structures, built heritage, documents on conservation

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HISTORICAL CHARACTER OF THE LANDSCAPE OF VELIKI BRIJUN

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the landscape of Veliki Brijun Island, from ancient to contemporary times. By examining the organisation and land use over various historical periods we have determined the island's characteristic features. The research results indicate changes in landscape, influenced by social, economic, cultural, and political circumstances. Various types of landscape have been formed, witnessing a range of space use during particular periods, including: agrarian, residential, military/fortification, tourism, forest/natural, production, maritime, and recreational use. Aiming to preserve the identified elements of landscape identity, criteria are proposed for the conservation of value in case of future spatial interventions.

Keywords: northern Adriatic, Veliki Brijun, landscape history, landscape factors, landscape types

IL CARATTERE STORICO DEL PAESAGGIO DELL'ISOLA VELIKI BRIJUN

SINTESI

Il tema del presente lavoro è il paesaggio dell'isola Veliki Brijun (Brioni Grande o Maggiore) dalla preistoria al giorno d'oggi. Sulla base delle ricerche effettuate sull'organizzazione e sull'uso dello spazio nelle diverse epoche storiche, vengono definite le sue caratteristiche peculiari e distintive. I risultati della ricerca indicano che il paesaggio è cambiato a seguito delle circostanze sociali, economiche, culturali e politiche. Si sono formate varie tipologie di paesaggio, che testimoniano ancora oggi diversi usi dello spazio in determinati periodi storici, come ad esempio: funzioni agricole, residenziali, militari difensive (fortificazioni), turistiche, silvicolturali, produttive, marittime e ricreative. Al fine di preservare gli elementi distintivi dell'identità paesaggistica, vengono proposti dei criteri per conservare il valore del paesaggio anche attraverso nuovi possibili interventi e progetti nell'area.

Parole chiave: Adriatico settentrionale, Veliki Brijun (Brioni Grande o Maggiore), storia del paesaggio, componenti paesaggistiche, tipologie di paesaggio

INTRODUCTION¹

Croatian territory abounds in various cultural landscapes, including the Brijuni Islands, an example of well-preserved landscape and seascape – a synthesis of natural and anthropogenic values. The island Veliki Brijun is located in northern Adriatic, next to the Istrian peninsula, north-west of the city of Pula. It boasts an area of 560 acres and is the largest of all of the 14 Brijuni islands.

Brijuni Islands became a national park in 1983 and is one of the rare national parks in Croatia that has experienced significant human activity throughout history (Zakon o nacionalnom parku i spomen području Brijuni, 1983). Therefore, it was recognised as a cultural property in 2012 and included in the Register of Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Croatia (Zakon o zaštiti i očuvanju kulturnih dobara, 1999). Previous approaches to the protection, conservation, and spatial planning at Brijuni National Park relied on separate analysis of either natural or cultural components, without examining the interrelationships of landscape types.

Considering the fact that during the past few decades maintaining the value of the cultural landscape of Veliki Brijun has stagnated, this research focuses on examining the anthropogenic features of landscape formed during historical development. The aim is to determine the factors that influence its identity and use them as a stepping stone to determining the criteria for future development plans.

A vast number of papers on the Brijuni islands has been published, mostly focusing on cultural or natural heritage. Some of the most prominent papers on archaeological heritage include: Gnirs, 1911; Mlakar 1962; Suić, 1976; Vitasović, 2005; Glogović, 1989; Begović-Dvoržak & Schrunck, 2006. The topic of military fortifications on the islands was covered by: Piplović, 2003; Cvek, 2015. The topic of tourist-architecture heritage was covered by: Goldstein & Mavar, 2003; Mugler, 2013; Dumbović Bilušić & Bilušić, 2015. The topic of natural heritage was covered by: Brockhausen, 1906; Schiller, 1912; Markotić, 1997. There has been virtually no systematic research on the formation and transformation of Veliki Brijun landscape, save for the following papers: Begović-Dvoržak, 1995; Dumbović Bilušić & Bilušić, 2015.

The research of Veliki Brijun landscape begins by examining the island within the historical, economic, social, cultural, political, and ecological context. The overall space-time context influences the landscape's heritage, whereas its revitalisation and future use must help stimulate and develop the environment.

The research was motivated by the changes in the Spatial plan of the Brijuni National Park, and the

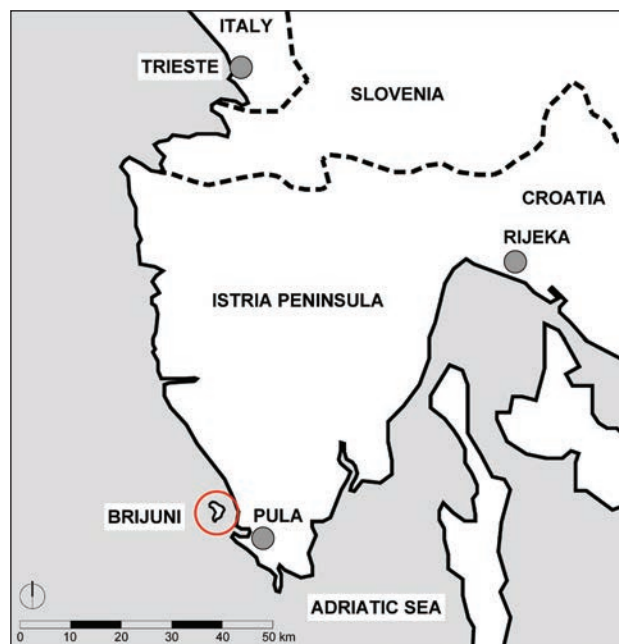


Figure 1: Position of Veliki Brijun – map (Source: authors)

creation of the Management plan, which required an adequate professional basis (Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske, 2014; Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske, 2015). This was followed by a research within the scientific project *Heritage Urbanism*, aimed at researching urban and spatial models for the revival and enhancement of cultural heritage.

Examining a landscape without including historical data can lead to a failure to recognise important factors of its character, and a loss of value when planning its development. Not only does a landscape's historical character serve as a means of understanding the historical nature of landscape, it also aims to include it in the planning of changes.

To gain insight into landscape formation, the paper examines through various historical periods the organisation and use of land, as well as landscape factors as elements of spatial, functional, and visual identity. Using time-slice analysis, various types of landscape, as well as their spatial positions and interrelations, were determined in different historical layers.

The research is based on field research, analysis of written and graphic historical sources, as well as available literature. Apart from the time-slice method, the inductive-deductive method was used for the creation of graphic attachments in GIS.

¹ This research is a part of the scientific project *Heritage Urbanism (HERU) - Urban and Spatial Models for Revival and Enhancement of Cultural Heritage (HERU-2032)* financed by Croatian Science Foundation, which is being carried out at the Faculty of Architecture University of Zagreb, under the project leadership of Prof. Mladen Obad Šćitaroci, Ph.D., F.C.A.

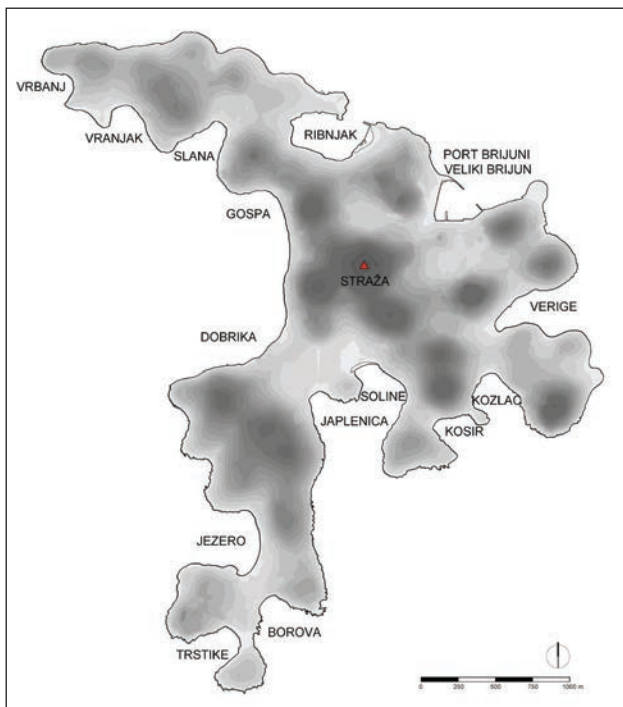


Figure 2: Relief – hypsometric characteristics of Veliki Brijun (Source: authors)

NATURAL FEATURES OF VELIKI BRIJUN LANDSCAPE

Natural features of an island include the topographical context whose advantages were used to establish settlements and employ other forms of land use: production, residential, military/fortification, tourist, recreational use etc. This relates to Carl Sauer's classical definition of cultural landscape: *The cultural landscape is fashioned out of a natural landscape by a culture group. Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape is the result* (Sauer, 1925, 37).

The geological and geomorphological make-up of Veliki Brijun consists of early-cretaceous carbonate sediments covered in thin quaternary deposits. Lithologically, these are thin-layered light-grey and white limestone.

With respect to relief, Veliki Brijun consists of a flat, indented shoreline which exhibits mild elevation inland, thus forming gently-inclined hills.² The inclination is usually slight, 12° maximum. The gently-inclined hills gradually spread inland, whereas the middle of the island culminates at its highest peak of cca 50 meters above sea level.

There are no sources of potable water, submarine springs, or running water on Veliki Brijun. On the hill



Figure 3: Aerial footage of Brijuni Islands (Source: <https://www.google.hr/search?q=brijuni&biw=1422&bih=766&source=lnms&tbnm>)

above Verige cove lie the remains of an old well and cistern that provided a supply of potable water. There are four ponds on the island as proof of former larger water areas and wetlands which were drained in the late 19th and early 20th centuries through the process of amelioration.

Veliki Brijun belongs to the European Mediterranean climate zone characterised by mild, relatively short and rainy winters and dry and hot summers.

Vegetation is lush with predominantly Mediterranean species, permanently green grass, *macchia* and forests. Forest vegetation consists primarily of holly oak and flowering ash spread on most of the island. The holly oak layer sporadically contains bay trees. Due to long-term anthropogenic influence the flora of the island has changed significantly. In 2013 the Brijuni Islands was included in Natura 2000,³ a network of protected areas, making this maritime zone extremely important in terms of planning and sea use.

Visually, Veliki Brijun has an indented and meandering coastline with deeply indented coves, especially on the north-eastern side. The land consists of conical forest-covered hills and is surrounded by open areas of meadows and pastures. Thus, a dynamic relief-composition of space is formed, complete with tall and short vegetation and bordered by a flat shoreline.

HISTORICAL LAYERS OF VELIKI BRIJUN LANDSCAPE – TIME-SLICE ANALYSIS

Examining the landscape of Veliki Brijun through various historical layers one can identify cultural, social, economic, ecological, and political circumstances of a

² The highest peak of the island is Straža is 54,7 meters above sea level.

³ By joining the EU, the most significant Croatian areas for the conservation of species and habitats were included in the network of protected areas Natura 2000 Ekološka mreža <http://www.biportal.hr/gis/> (15.1.2016.).

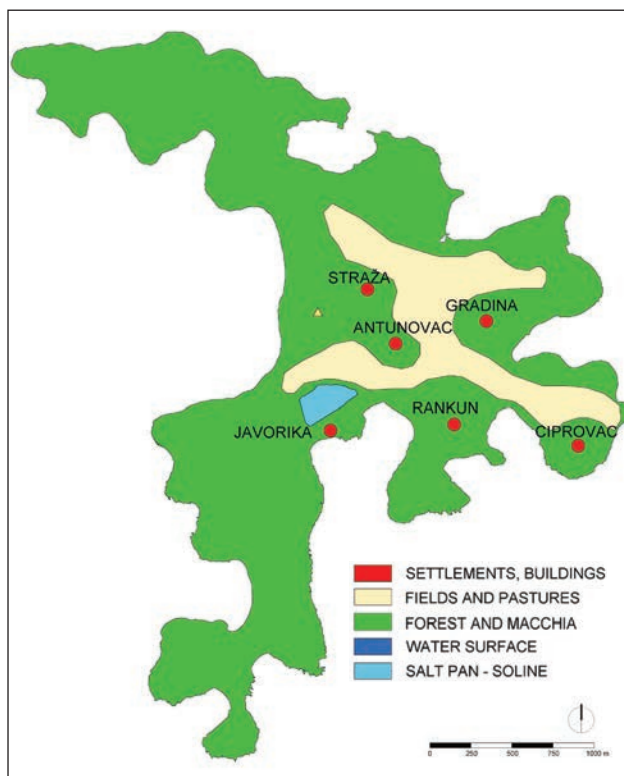


Figure 4: Organisation and land use of Veliki Brijun during prehistoric times (Source: authors)

particular period. Certain circumstances have left permanent marks in space by creating distinctive features of spatial organisation and land use enabling the identification of landscape factors. The historical character of landscape is defined as a combination of physical and perceptual attributes of a location. Through chronological layering, time-slice analysis, we examine the degree of conservation of landscape features from particular periods, and acknowledge their role and contribution to the current appearance of the landscape. The Veliki Brijun area possesses certain elements of historical character that are analysed within the corresponding spatial and historical context.

Prehistory (up to 2nd century B.C.)

Traces of life on Veliki Brijun are marked by dinosaur footprints in Barban, Ploče, and Tratika. The footprints date back to the Mesozoic era cca 230 – 65 million years ago.

The first evidence of anthropogenic influence on the changes in natural environment dates back to the

Neolithic period, cca 4000 years B.C. when livestock and crop farming, fishing, and probably salt extraction, as well as dwelling construction, marked the first significant change in the natural condition of the Brijuni landscape. The indented shoreline and coves were suitable for docking of ships, whereas the highest peaks were suitable for establishing hill forts and controlling and defending of the area.

The Bronze and Iron Ages, spanning from the 13th to 2nd centuries B.C., mark a high population density of Veliki Brijun (Suić, 1976, 63–83). From the late Bronze Age hill-fort settlements on the island were inhabited by the Illyrian tribe Histri⁴ who participated in the Mediterranean trade, as well as piracy (Starac, 1994, 46). From the 6th to 4th centuries B.C. northern Adriatic was the centre for the communication between the Greeks, Etruscans, and middle Europe, including the Histri tribes.

Organisation and land use

In the Javorika bay, in the immediate vicinity of the sea, a settlement without defensive structures was established. Traces of huts on the Gromače cape in the immediate vicinity of the sea, near the salty pond in the Soline cove, indicate the existence of semi-dugouts with exterior made of wicker.⁵

The position of the island in relation to Adriatic waterways influenced the use and organisation of island space. During the Bronze and Iron Ages the Histri erected their settlements (hill forts) on flat hilltops, in naturally convenient locations. These stone settlements were established on the most prominent hills at the centre of the island: Straža, Gradina, Antunovac, Ciprovac, and Rankun. The settlements were surrounded by one to three belts of concentric ramparts adapted to the natural configuration of the hill. An important architectural form of that age were burial structures – necropolises, stone heaps discovered on top of the hills Ciprovac, Antunovac, and Rankun (Gnirs, 1908). From today's perspective, these are small-scale organic settlements patterns.

By clearing forests and *macchia*, the first arable land and pastures were created. Presumably, the use of quarries and salt pans existed before Roman settlement on the island. Arable land was communal.⁶

Landscape identity factors

Landscape appearance in prehistoric times of the Bronze and Iron Ages was primarily defined by hill-fort settlements on flat hilltops and communal land ownership. Situating hill forts on hilltops enabled communication and a certain amount of control over waterways. Hill forts like Gradina and Ciprovac have been well

⁴ The Illyrian name for Brijuni was Brevona (Glogović, 1989, 13).

⁵ Archaeological research was conducted by archaeologist Anton Vitasović.

⁶ Pastures and livestock farming were vital to indigenous communities throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages (Suić, 1976, 60).

preserved as archaeological sites, whereas the highest peak Straža was used to build a new fort in mid 19th century. The Soline site, with a preserved toponym and marsh – pond, is a remnant of the shallow sea where salt was extracted in ancient and probably earlier times.

Roman and Byzantine Empire (2nd century B.C. – early 9th century)

From 177 B.C. Veliki Brijun was part of the Roman Empire and was populated by Roman settlers (military veterans, and officials).⁷

After the fall of the Western Roman Empire, Istria and thus, Brijuni Islands fell under the rule of Visigoths (476–539), and later the Byzantine Empire, until 788. During emperor Justinian's conquests in Eastern Adriatic and Apennines, the settlement of Kastrum on Veliki Brijun was probably used as a military settlement and quarantine. In the 6th century, following the spread of Christianity during the Byzantine Empire, two structures were built: a three-nave basilica of St. Mary in the immediate vicinity, above the Kastrum settlement, and St. Peter's Church on top of a nearby hill (Starac, 1999, 42–73; Šonje, 1981).

Organisation and land use

During the Roman times, the formerly communal land from the Neolithic period (forests, fields and pastures) became individual property of Roman landowners,⁸ and was organised into large agricultural estates. The centre of the estate was a villa in Verige, whereas several other rustic villas (*villae rusticae*) existed on the island's agricultural estates. The characteristic built-up settlement patterns are large-scale and are of the maritime villa and rustic villa type.

From the late 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D., two villas were built on Veliki Brijun. One villa with a pier was located in the Verige cove and had contained outbuildings, residential, and sacred buildings.⁹ With respect to technical solutions and utilities, the villa was very well equipped, as witnessed by the water reservoir and well on top of the hill, used to supply potable water to the villa.¹⁰ The northern part of the cove contained architecturally less elaborate, yet more functional outbuildings.¹¹ After the fall of the Western Roman Empire

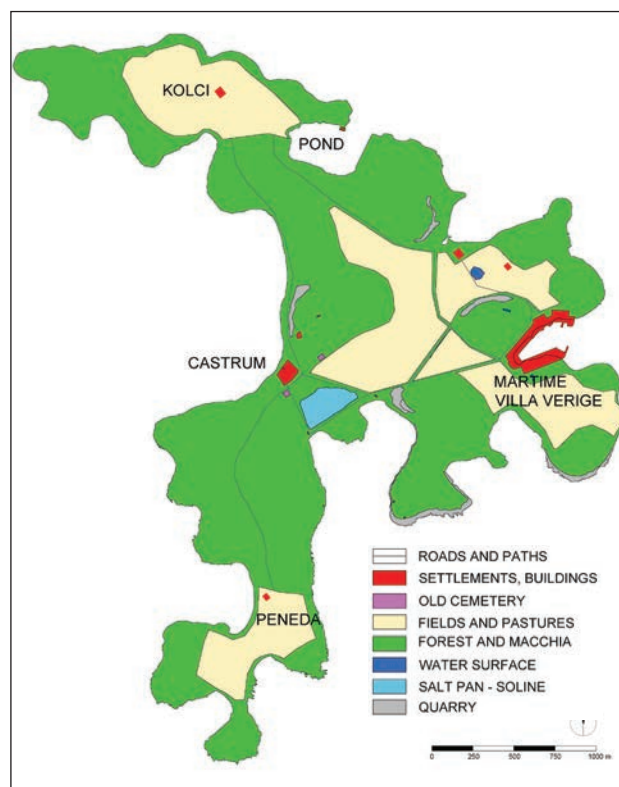


Figure 5: Organisation and land use during Roman and Byzantine times (Source: authors)

the Verige villa is abandoned and the inhabitants find refuge in a settlement in Dobrika cove.

The rustic villa located on the northern part of the island at the Kolci site served for exclusively economic purposes (Begović-Dvoržak & Schrunck, 2006). The oldest rustic villa located at the Dobrika cove maintained the continuity of life from ancient to medieval times due to its gradual transformation into a settlement.¹² Located by the shore, it was organised around a centre courtyard containing a cistern. At the end of the 4th century the villa was systematically fortified with strong defensive walls containing watch towers, guarded entrances, a water cistern, food and goods storage space. Thus, a military-camp (lat. *castrum*) type settlement of Kastrum was formed.¹³ Kastrum was organised in an orthogonal

7 After their victory in 177 B.C. the Romans conquer Istria and with it the Brijuni Islands, thus beginning the romanization of the area (Starac, 1994, 45–61).

8 The assumption that the entire island of Veliki Brijun had a single owner – apart from historical sources and parallels with Italian territory – is corroborated by the fact that there are no traces of land distribution on the island.

9 The villa is considered the largest in Istria and represents the most extravagant architectural complex on the eastern Adriatic coast (Zaninović, 1995, 86–96; Begović-Dvoržak & Schrunck, 2006). In mid 1st century amphoras and olive oil were produced in the villa (Starac, 1999, 65–67).

10 Considering its urbanistic and architectural make-up, the Verige cove villa can be compared to the Damecuta maritime villa on the island of Capri (McKay, 1998, 115).

11 Apart from the area designated for the production of wine and olives, farm facilities also contained food and wine storage space, as well as a pool for fish farming.

12 The antique cistern was also used during Venetian rule in the 15th and 16th centuries (Bertoša, 1986, 29).



Figure 6: Maritime villa at Verige cove (Photo: Biserka Dumbović Bilušić)

street layout, with several smaller squares at intersections. Four main entrances connected the settlement with the road system leading to other parts of the island.

Quarries were located mainly by the shore: north of the Dobrika cove on the western side of Veliki Brijun, near the rustic villa, and a Late-Antiquity settlement located between the Dobrika cove and Soline bay.

The patterns of unbuilt landscape include forests and *macchia*, vast farmlands for cultivating olives and vines, and to a lesser extent grain and vegetables.

Landscape identity factors

The Roman period which caused massive changes in the landscape of Veliki Brijun served as the basis for the future urbanization of the island. The changes in landscape were caused by new methods of land use, as well as the implementation of new technical achievements in processing and storing food and liquids (olive oil, wine, etc.), supplying water, quarrying, sea-salt exploitation, and the like (Starac, 1999, 8).

Making use of the island's natural advantages, a villa with a port was built in the well-protected Verige cove, as an example of highly representative architecture and urbanism of the time. The villa in Dobrika cove was transformed into an urbanized Late-Antiquity i.e. Byzantine settlement. Both villas, together with their arable farmland, introduce a new, large scale into the landscape and represent the key elements of architectural identity. Simultaneously, as a spatial focal point, they influenced the organisation of farmlands and woodlands, as well as the establishment of main roads toward land and sea. Relicts of agrarian olive-oil production are witnessed by old olive trees in particular areas, especially near Kastrum, and the northern part of the island. The functional identity of the island is defined by agrarian production of olives and wine, quarrying and salt extraction,¹⁴ and a defensive function.

Preserved landscape patterns from Antiquity and the Byzantine period are integrated in the spatial formation of tourist landscape in early 20th century and represent important elements of visual identity (Keller, 1905).

¹³ Kastrum also contained a textile workshop (Matijašić, 1998, 34).

¹⁴ At the site of former salt pans in Soline building remains are preserved.

Late 8th century to early 19th century (medieval and modern period)

From the late 8th to late 18th centuries this area was under Frankish, Aquileian, and Venetian rule, respectively. At this time the Brijuni Islands underwent a change in ethnic and economic structure. Unlike previous periods, when the area experienced economic progress and spatial improvements, this new era was a time of insecurity and constant threat accompanied by the menace of the plague. The Brijuni Islands, as well as Istria, were under Frankish rule since 788. The newly-arrived Slavic and the remaining Roman inhabitants settle in the area according to the feudal policy on farmland use of the time. Due to constant Saracen attacks in the 9th century, as well as the Venetian wars with west Istrian cities from 11th to 14th centuries, the Brijuni Islands were frequently taking a hit and changing rulers. At these tumultuous times the island population found a safe haven in the fortified settlement of Kastrum. During Venetian rule the Brijuni Islands were owned by various rich patrician families.¹⁵ The southern part of the island was a marshland – one of the reasons contributing to the migration from Kastrum to the settlement as we know it today. In addition to the agricultural production of olive oil, grapes, and grain, the most prominent activities included quarrying and wood exploitation, as well as salt extraction (Bertoša, 1986, 63). After the plague subsided in 1412, due to the loss of a great part of the population, the Pula municipal council decided to incentivize the settlement of the Brijuni Islands and grant privileges to stonecutters.¹⁶ Health problems were caused not only by the plague, but also the local conditions in marshlands i.e. malaria. According to historical descriptions from the 17th century, *the Brijuni Islands were a poorly inhabited location whose inhabitants are engaged in quarrying. Fields remain barren, but the sea is teaming with fish* (Bertoša, 1986, 69). The age of decadence and malaria lasted well into the late 19th century. The Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797 marks the end of Venetian rule.

Organisation and land use

Gradual decay of ancient civilisations and great socioeconomic changes influenced the spatial transformation of the island. The medieval and modern periods were marked by numerous attacks by conquerors, changes of rulers, the menace of the plague and malaria, all of which was reflected in space. The data from late 16th century indicates that the chief activities on the island included quarrying and wood exploitation, whereas livestock farming and agriculture became secondary. Therefore, farmlands and pastures from earlier periods

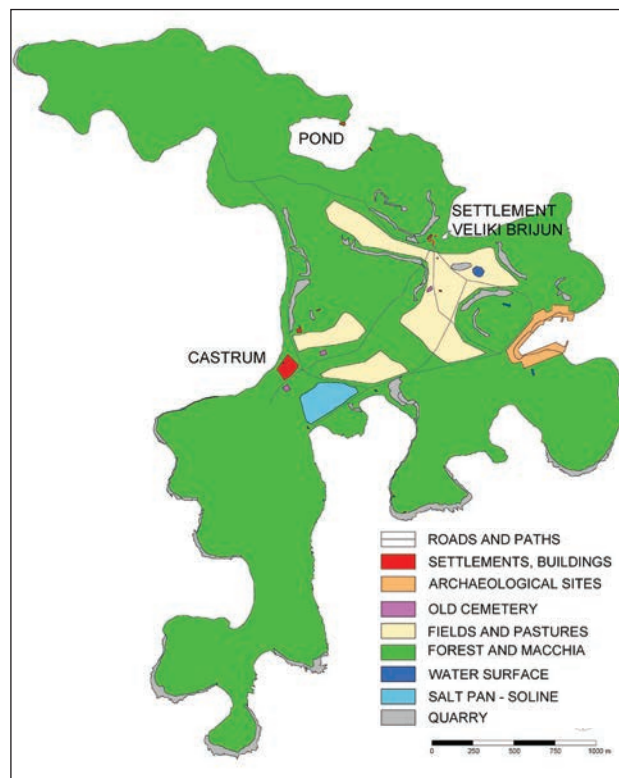


Figure 7: Organisation and land use from 8th to late 18th centuries (Source: authors)

diminished, went untended and were overgrown with macchia. In early 17th century there were merely fifty or so poor inhabitants on the island, living in fourteen houses and farming wheat, maize, and olives, quarrying and delivering stone for the construction of Venice.¹⁷ In addition to quarries used in the Roman period and located mostly by the shore, new ones were opened in the island's interior.

In the medieval period there were two settlements on the island: Kastrum on the southern shore, and the new settlement of Brijuni in today's port, around the shallow bay, near the defensive tower. In late 9th century, next to St. Mary's Church in the immediate vicinity of Kastrum, a Benedictine monastery was built, influencing the economic, social, and cultural life on the island. The life in Kastrum is interrupted due to the plague and the dissolution of the Benedictine abbey in 1312. However, ceramic remains in the water cistern, dating from the 15th and 16th centuries, indicate a continuity of life (Bertoša, 1986, 46). The exact period of the formation of the new Brijuni settlement in the interior, above the bay and today's port, has not been determined. The Roman-

15 The owners of the Brijuni Islands were patrician families: Dona, Canal, Cornero, and Franghini as the last one (Bertoša, 1986, 58).

16 According to the Statute of the city of Pula from 1421 and 1423, privileges were granted to stonecutters in Brijuni (Gnirs, 1911). In 1563 merely 0,5% of Brijuni land was cultivated (Bertoša, 1986, 67).

17 Report by Novigrad bishop Tommasini from 1650 (Bertoša, 1986, 70).

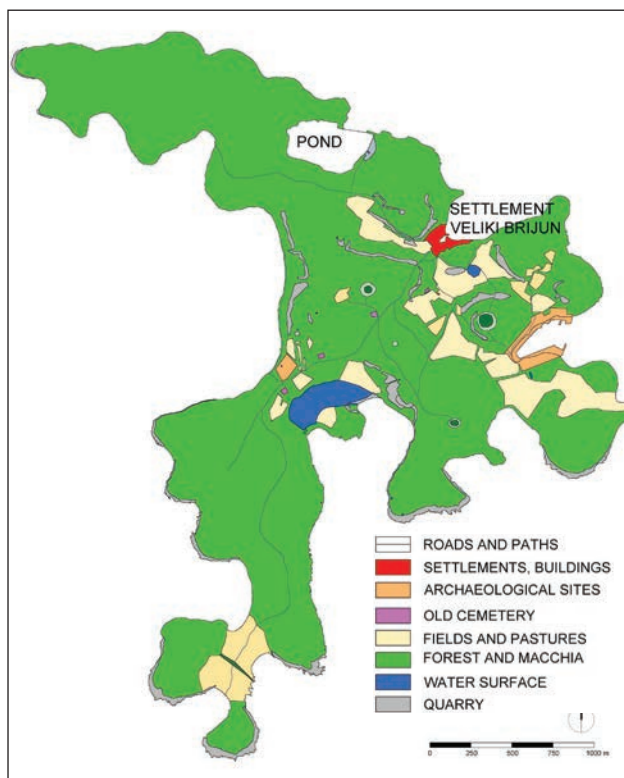


Figure 8: Organisation and land use in early 19th century (Source: authors)

esque defensive tower around which the settlement was formed dates back to the 12th century (Bertoša, 1986, 34). In the location of an older church in the settlement, St. German's Church was built in 1481, and St. Rocco's Church in 1504.

Landscape identity factors

From the 8th to late 18th centuries, the Brijuni Islands experienced a complete decline of previously accomplished economic, technical, and cultural values. This was also reflected in the condition of the landscape – untended farmlands and poor architectural activity. The ancient settlements Verige and Kastrum were abandoned, as were the rustic villas surrounded by farmland. A new settlement with fewer than twenty houses was formed next to the castle and tower. By building the Romanesque tower, and later a castle, the settlement did not reach new architectural heights, nor did the island's space organisation establish new spatial structures. The urban patterns of the new settlement include organic forms and small-scale construction, adapted to terrain

conditions. The silhouette of the settlement is dominated by the castle with tower.

The 19th century

After the demise of the Venetian Republic in 1797, the Brijuni Islands briefly came under Austrian rule, as they were part of Illyrian provinces under French administration following the Treaty of Schönbrunn, from 1809 to 1813. The islands will later become part of the Austrian Monarchy, until its demise in 1918.

At the beginning of the century the sole inhabitants of the island were stonecutters who engaged in manual quarrying (Bertoša, 1986). During the 19th century the number of inhabitants fluctuated substantially, as the inhabitants and military men fell ill with malaria (Bahr, 1991; Cvek, 2015, 79).

Organisation and use of land

Several cartographic illustrations from the early 19th century show the spatial organisation on Veliki Brijun,¹⁸ and the extent to which the island was built up. Since the Brijuni Islands were one large estate owned by a single owner, the subdivision of land was carried out solely according to use. Preserved maps clearly show that in the first half of the 19th century the largest portion of the island was covered in forest and *macchia*, especially in the south and north, apart from valleys containing farmlands with olive gardens and vineyards.¹⁹ Smaller areas with fields and pastures were located near the Brijuni settlement, the Peneda peninsula, near Soline, and the Rankun peninsula.

The central settlement of Brijuni is located at the bottom of the shallow bay near the defensive tower and castle, facing Istria. The settlement contains two churches and only ten or so residential and outbuildings, several of which are marked as dilapidated. Other dilapidated buildings include: St. Mary's Church with monastery, St. Peter's Church, three buildings in the Soline cove, two buildings at the foot of the Straža hill, and one by the shore of the Turanj cove. The settlement of Kastrum is marked as pasture ground with trees. The site of the antique villa in Verige cove marks only a water cistern. Salt exploitation in the salt pan was completely abandoned in the early 19th century.

At the highest peak of Veliki Brijun, located at the Neolithic hill fort, a strategically significant location which provides a broad view of both sea and land, the Tegetthoff fort was built from 1864 to 1868. In the late 19th century the defence system was improved and coastal forts Peneda, Naviglio, and Cavarola were built from 1898 to 1902 (Piplović, 2003). For the construc-

¹⁸ Map made during the French administration 1809–1813, a cadastral map from 1820, and topographic map from 1830.

¹⁹ Small and flat valleys stretching between hills the ground consists of thick layers of red soil and is suitable for farming, meadows, and vineyards (Kupelwieser, 2006, 32).

tion of these military forts several smaller active quarries were used (Bertoša, 1986). Due to the increasing number of professional soldiers the island had to provide more food, which led to an increase in farmland. In the efforts to fight malaria in the late 19th century amelioration was conducted as a basis for landscape transformation (Mlinarić, 2009). Island space was connected by a network of roads from previous periods, used in the late 19th century to connect military and civilian facilities.

Landscape identity factors

During the 19th century the landscape of Veliki Brijun was defined by areas covered in forest and *macchia*, overgrown fields, and marshlands. The modestly proportioned Brijun settlement with a prominent castle, at the foot of which a church and several residential buildings are located, is an example of vernacular architecture, in both structure and form. The settlement pattern was defined by stone houses with traditional inclined roofs, forming an organic whole. At the back of the settlement there were the large rocky slopes of stripped quarries.

New landscape patterns were established by the construction of military fortifications, situated at strategically important locations, either by the shore or strategic hills, contributing to the locations' visual identity.

The first half of the 20th century (1893–1945)

The big changes in Veliki Brijun landscape began in 1893 when the islands were purchased by Paul Kupelwieser.²⁰ Through major investments and interventions the islands underwent a vast transformation economically, socially, ecologically, and culturally. In addition to draining the land in order to fight malaria, organised agricultural production and afforestation were implemented. The establishment of organised agricultural production set the basis for the development of a fashionable new tourist destination.²¹

WWI halted all large-scale activities on Brijuni and after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918 they became part of the Kingdom of Italy.

Paul Kupelwieser died in 1919 and his son and heir Karl Kupelwieser struggled to keep the island business afloat. After his death in 1930, due to substantial debts, the Brijuni Islands were now owned by Italy.

After Italy's capitulation in 1943 the islands were taken over by the Germans. Allied air forces bombed German military positions on several occasions in 1944 and 1945 (Mlakar, 1959; Mlakar, 1971), damaging hotels and buildings on the western shore.

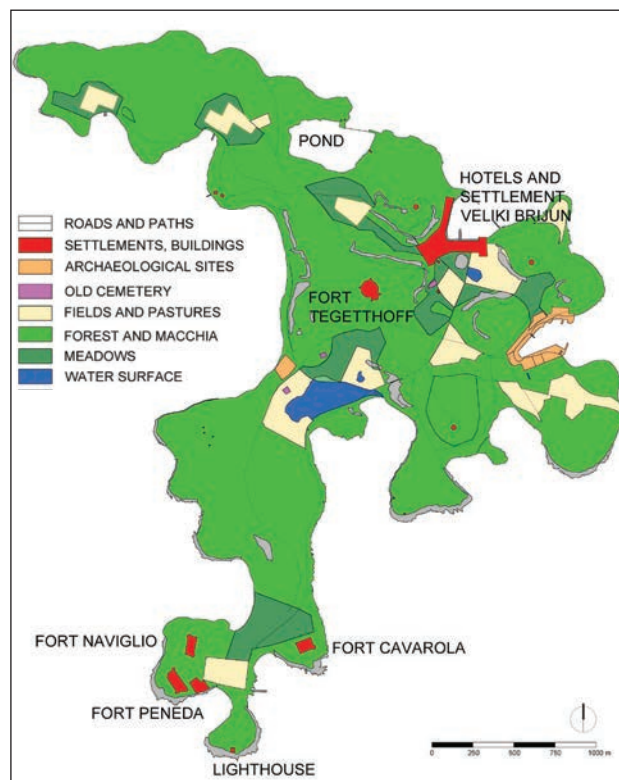


Figure 9: Organisation and land use in early 20th century (Source: authors)

Organisation and use of land

After purchasing Veliki Brijun, Kupelwieser turned the island into a model agricultural farm. Amelioration²² was followed by improvements to farmland designated for growing vines, olive trees, fruit trees, and the like. Simultaneously, several other activities were conducted, including afforestation, enhancements of old and building of new roads. New structures were built around the spatial nucleus that was the old historic settlement.

The shallow bay was levelled and a port was built for the docking of ships (Kupelwieser, 2006, 61), whereas a series of farm, residential, and outbuildings were built by the southern and western shores. For the formation of the port arch the natural shoreline was adjusted to form straight lines along the southern and western shore, whereas the area at the entrance channel was slanted, thus forming a zig-zag pattern in an attempt to imitate the shore's natural appearance.²³ The formation of the

20 Paul Kupelwieser was a director at an iron and steel plant in Vítkovice (Czech Republic) (Mugler, 2013, 136; Kupelwieser, 2006).

21 Although Veliki Brijun was not equipped for tourism, there are records of sailing excursions arriving from Pula in 1886 (Blažević, 1987, 66).

22 Robert Koch (1843–1910) was hired to fight malaria on the islands (Mlinarić, 2009, 145).

23 For the levelling of the bay and building of the new revetment, stone from abandoned quarries was used. A narrow-gauge railway was built to transport the stone. Thus, new space was gained for fields and meadows (Kupelwieser, 2006, 61).

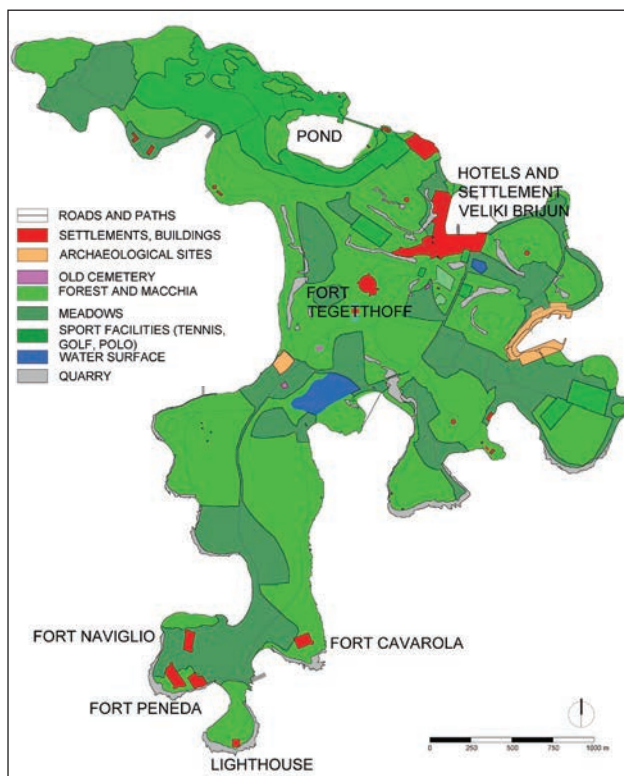


Figure 10: Organisation and land use in the second half of 20th century (Source: authors)

shoreline and the positioning of the main pier, as well as the location of the historic part of the settlement defined the spatial organisation of the future tourist resort of the Brijuni. The first structures built included separate housing for the owner and his family, and the labourers. Outbuildings included: stables, wine cellar,²⁴ windmill, dairy plant (Brockhausen, 1906, 229; Almanach, 1909b, 24), plant nursery etc., in the immediate vicinity of the shoreline, on the location of future hotels. To ensure the efficient functioning of the modern estate, potable water was supplied from land via submarine route, whereas electricity was produced by a generator.

The spatial organisation and construction density before the construction of tourist and hotel structures at the Brijuni Port are documented in a 1904 military map. This demonstrates that the construction was conducted without a previously designed spatial plan outlining the organisation and appearance of the future tourist resort. The idea of tourist development came to being several

years after the establishment of the agricultural farm. The port, which was built using the innovative reinforced concrete, enabled the docking of various vessels.

Following the architect Eduard Kramer's project design, by 1914 a series of hotels was built along the shoreline, accompanied by numerous amenities (cafés, restaurant, casino, reading room, etc.), and the first saltwater indoor swimming pool in this part of the Adriatic. The scope of the construction of tourist facilities is illustrated by the fact that just before the outbreak of WWI there were 300 luxury rooms registered on the island (Dumbović Bilušić et al, 2015, 361). Large sections of the Neptun hotel complex were built, characterised by historicist and secessionist decorative elements, playful mansards and modern forms reflected in large *loggias* with expressive ornaments, as well as old small-scale elements (churches, villas, labourer settlements, etc.). Tourists were mainly distinguished guests, Austro-Hungarian and European nobility, esteemed scientists, high-ranking officers, and the like.²⁵ In addition to tourist facilities, the island also contained an acclimatization centre for exotic animals waiting to be transported to ZOOs across Europe. Abandoned quarries by the shore and inland were systematically transformed into parklands.²⁶ Several guest villas were built on the southern and western shores.²⁷

Medieval churches (Churches of St. Peter and St. German) were restored, and archaeological sites were presented to the public (Gnirs, 1908; Gnirs, 1915).²⁸ The entire area is landscaped, with an important role played by the refurbished abandoned quarries. It was the time when revitalized quarries, restored churches, and archaeological sites were integrated into a landscaped park, stretching mostly through the centre of the island, and offered as a tourist attraction (Jurić & Ćorić, 2009).

The existing fortification system of Veliki Brijun was complemented by fort Giaccone during WWI (Piplović, 2003).

After the end of the Great War in 1918 the following years were a time of recuperation and the 1920s witnessed a number of undertakings, including the construction of golf and polo courses, and an airstrip (Kranjčević, 2015). To accommodate golf players, a new hotel named Karmen was built in 1942.

Landscape identity factors

At the turn of the 20th century, changes occurred not only in the spatial plan of the Brijuni landscape, but the attitude towards nature and landscape as well, sparking admiration for natural forms (Haeckel, 1899). Although

24 In 1903 the capacity of the wine cellar was 1055 hl of wine (Lenz Guttenberg & Pavletić, 2007, 12). The Brijuni wine was advertised in the islands' own newspaper *Brijuni Insel Zeitung*, published 1910–1914, as well as other publications (Almanach, 1909b, 12).

25 The list of distinguished guests was published in the *Brijuni Insel Zeitung* magazine.

26 The work was conducted according to the plans of chief forester Alojz Zuffar/Ćufar's (1852–1907).

27 Villa Otto, Villa Freis and Villa Bertha.

28 In line with the views of conservationists M. Dvorak and J.W. Kubitschek, the cultural heritage of the island was now used for tourism (Jurić & Ćorić, 2009).

plans initially focused primarily on model agricultural farm, gradually they began to incorporate the island as a whole, including its cultural and natural heritage (Brockhausen, 1906).

Unlike the organic spatial structure of the old Brijuni settlement, the construction of residential structures, outbuildings, and tourist structures gave the island new features. Urbanistic character was established by the in-line construction of the hotels Neptun I, II, and III, and their annexes, as well as the formation of a continuous representative façade. As opposed to single-storey structures that dominated the western shore, the southern shore now boasted three and four-storey structures, setting a new standard in space (Dumbović Bilušić et al., 2015). The vista from the shore toward the centre of the settlement remained open owing to careful dimensioning of the esplanade wall, the Wandelbahn, enabling the medieval tower to retain its long-standing status as a significant spatial accent of Brijuni. In the late 1930s the vista of the cove was enriched by the construction of hotel Karmen.

By the construction of hotels complemented by sports, recreational, and other holiday and entertainment amenities, the island became a tourist landscape.

The overall appearance of the landscape was especially accentuated by forests, numerous promenades of various widths (embellished with stone walls, small footbridges, and belvederes), as well as Mediterranean and exotic plants (agaves, mimosa, tangerine, almond, and bay trees, and the like).²⁹ Short and tall vegetation was neatly separated, with clearly outlined edges and a guided vista directed toward a distant perspective. To complement the indigenous vegetation (holly oak and olive trees, etc.), and the overall composition of the vista, pine and stone pine trees were introduced due to their geometric shapes.

The landscaped archaeological park containing the ruins of a maritime villa in Verige, and the Kastrum site are two of the most striking locations. Due to this specific relationship between its cultural and natural heritage the Brijuni Islands are regarded as a cultural fairy tale (Brockhausen, 1906).

The island's landscaping scheme integrates recognizable historical elements: abandoned quarries turned into landscaped parks as an early example of biological revitalization and ecological approach; buildings of historical value and archaeological sites. The positions of the Neolithic hill forts (Antunovac, Ciprova, and Rankun) were recognized for their beautiful vistas and were thus chosen as belvedere locations. This was a way of transferring into the modern age the prehistoric landscape's

character, defined by the harmony of architectural forms and natural topography. The former defensive and residential use of hilltops was partly retained, as plans were made to construct modern fortifications.

The second half of the 20th and the beginning of 21st century

Allied bombing campaigns destroyed or damaged most of the buildings on the western and southern shores. After WW II the Brijuni Islands became part of former Yugoslavia and were categorised as national (government) property. From 1947 Brijuni were used as a presidential residence and were thus closed to the public, losing their tourist and commercial use. The cultural and natural values of the island were recognized and measures to protect the nature and cultural property were implemented.³⁰ After the death of Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito in 1980 it was discussed whether the island should be open to the public.

The Act on National Parks and Brijuni Memorial Site from 1983 opened the island to the public, and aimed at ensuring the conditions for the permanent protection, maintenance, conservation, and improvement of structures and space on the islands, as well as the use of their natural, cultural, and historical values.

After the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991 the Brijuni Islands became part of the Republic of Croatia. With the changes in the socio-economic system, the island management and the system of financing changed as well. Today the Brijuni Islands are managed by the public institution Brijuni National Park.

During the past few decades the value of heritage, especially cultural and historical, has declined. The priorities have shifted toward maintaining the natural condition, leading to the succession of *macchia* and shrubbery, and the loss of the recognizable landscaped park structure – distinct edges and the relation between the lawns and tall vegetation. The villas and hotels managed by the Government and National Park, respectively, are not operating in a sustainable way, which is reflected in the failure to provide proper maintenance.

Organisation and land use

During the renovation after the bombing, the former concept of continuous façades was abandoned in favour of detached structures, especially on the western side of the port.

To accommodate government officials in the 1950s, old villas were renovated and several new ones built on

29 In the early 20th century, The Brijuni Islands were dubbed „*Natur Park im grössten Stile*“ [Nature park of the highest of styles]. As early as 1906 the islands boasted 35 km of walking and cycling paths (Brockhausen, 1906, 229; Almanach, 1909a, 24).

30 In 1948 the Republican Institute for the Protection of Natural Rarities of the People's Republic of Croatia declares the Brijuni Islands a protected natural rarity. The Regional Office for Preservation of Monuments in Rijeka includes the “Yugoslav Monument Site – Tito's Brjuni” in the Register of Immoveable Cultural Monuments in 1983. That same year, on the basis of the Nature Protection Act, Brijuni Islands were declared a National Park.



Figure 11: Hotel complex at Brijuni port in the 2015 (Source: PINP Brijuni)

the western shore, with landscaped parks added later on. Cultivated nature continues to hold the highest recognizable value.³¹ In place of the old dilapidated Saluga bathhouse a new one was built.

To accommodate the presidential security service on one section of the golf course in the Turanj cove hotels Franina and Jurina were built in 1956. These buildings were built in the form of pavillions in the park, designed according to modernist principles.

Standing army troops were stationed on the island, making use of some parts of Veliki Brijun and several other islands.³² For accommodation and military activities they mostly used the military structures built in the second half of the 19th century, the Peneda peninsula, and fort Tegetthoff. In late 20th century military troops abandoned the large area on the island, now occupying only a small part of Peneda and the area near Tegetthoff. Historic military forts that were not used began to decay.

In addition to the ZOO established next to the Jadranka villa, on the northern edge of Veliki Brijun a safari park was established in 1978 containing numerous

exotic animals, mainly gifts brought by foreign officials on their visit to the island.

Since the islands opened to the public, three systems of tourist use and visitation have existed: excursions/visits, stationary, and state-residential. Given the numerous examples of individual architectural and archaeological heritage, the Spatial plan of the Brijuni National Park divided the island areas into zones according to various degrees of protection. The most valuable areas include the central and north-western part of the island, containing the highest concentration of archaeological sites dating back to prehistoric times, antiquity, and early medieval period, surrounded by two archaeological zones: Verige and Kastrum. The second-degree protection area includes the landscape park, which is connected to the first-degree protection zone. This includes the locations of numerous cultural, historical, and natural elements, the central hotel-zone, and the fortification complex on the Peneda peninsula. The areas with the highest degree of nature protection include forest reserves, arboretums, and ornithological reserves. The island's surface is covered mostly in forests and woodlands whose natural

31 Gardner from Rijeka, Josip Kulfanek was in charge of maintenance (Radivojević, 2009).

32 The military's presence was necessary to provide maritime border security and protect high-ranking government officials.

value dictates spatial planning and management, aiming to preserve the integrity of forest stands (Ministarstvo zaštite okoliša i prostornog uređenja Republike Hrvatske, 2001).

Landscape identity factors

Post WWII period was a time of protecting and preserving values acquired in previous periods and did not contribute to creating new, recognizable landscape patterns. The renovation of tourist landscape following the bombing led to the purification of architectural and urbanistic characteristics from the early 20th century. This in turn diminished the features of the architecture and setting. Instead, the contributions related to non-material and associative values, as Brijuni were once again open to foreign officials³³ and renowned artists and scientists (Srđić, 1985, 46–60).

During the post WWII period, especially when the island was closed to the public, several villas were built that were masterfully incorporated in the environment.³⁴

LANDSCAPE IDENTITY FACTORS OF THE VELIKI BRIJUN ISLAND

The research of the genesis of Veliki Brijun Island revealed numerous types of landscape which resulted from organisation and use of land influenced by various historical, social, economic, cultural, and political circumstances. They bear witness to the relationship between natural circumstances and human activity.

On a small island, several landscapes types emerged that were interrelated and intertwined. Through different uses/facilities in space various landscape patterns were created, including residential, agrarian, fortification, production, maritime, recreational, and tourist landscapes, which acted as the bearers of spatial, functional, and visual identity of landscape and seascape. The research revealed the most important identity factors formed in particular time periods. The landscape's historical character is apparent in its current appearance.

The historical character of Veliki Brijun's landscape is defined by landscape patterns from prehistoric, antique, Byzantine, late-medieval and Renaissance periods, from late-19th and early-20th century Romantic and secessionist features, and mid-20th century modernist features.

The prehistoric landscape patterns are represented on hilltops that contain hill forts. These belong to Neolithic communities of the Liburni and illustrate the symbiotic relationship between topographical features of the terrain and the constructed residential, sepulchral, and defensive structures. Hillside were covered in for-

est, whereas peaks contained settlements with either concentric defensive walls, or sepulchral structures (tumuli).

The Liburnian hill forts illustrate the process of relocating from the plains (dugout settlement in Soline cove) to higher ground, which remained a permanent feature of the island, until the emergence of Roman settlements.

Ancient Rome introduced significant and long-lasting changes to the landscape with respect to settlement organisation and land use. Life on the island is settled in the plains, by the shore near docks or ports, a common feature of settling in the eastern Adriatic (Suić, 1976, 28). Unlike the communal use of pastures, fields, and forests practiced by Liburnian tribes, Roman senatorial families used their private land (*ager privatus*) to intensify agrarian production of olives and grapes, as well as the exploitation of natural resources, stone and salt. The functional identity of the landscape in Roman times is characterised by luxurious life style and leisure time, agricultural production, and exploitation of natural resources (McKay, 1998, 115). The settlement landscape is represented in large-scale maritime and rustic villas, which are now archaeological sites.

The period from 8th to late 18th centuries was defined by spatial isolation and malaria, marking a time of decay and demise of the island's urban and productive accomplishments. The settlement shifts to the north of the island and a new urban pattern emerges, with which the landscape structure reverts to a small spatial scale. In the organic settlement surrounded by quarries the landscape was dominated by the defensive tower, castle, and sacred buildings, whose structures have been preserved to this day.

The defensive and fortification character of the island in the 19th century is represented by landscape patterns with military forts dating from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, located on prominent coastal spots, as well as Neolithic hill forts, illustrating the historical sequence of defence identity.

The tourist and recreational character of the landscape from early to mid 20th century came about through planned activities. Brijuni Islands were recognized as the ideal Mediterranean landscape, an English park landscape (*„englischen-parklandschaft“*), “a sea garden”, a nature park, and the like (Brockhausen, 1906; Almanach, 1909a; Illustrierter Wegweiser, 1911, 41; Illustrierter Wegweiser, 1912, 42). The leisure and entertainment landscape is shaped by the landscape patterns of parklands, tennis and golf courts, forests and meadows with integrated remains of Roman villas and sacred buildings. In addition to the unbuilt landscape, the visual identity of the built-up landscape of the period

33 When Brijuni was the Yugoslav presidential residence it was always associated with the Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito. As a highly extravagant location it attracted many foreign officials until president Tito's death in 1980.

34 To satisfy the requests for separate accommodation in the 1950s, several residential villas were renovated / built on the western coast: Jadranka, Brijunka, Bijela (White) villa, Primorka, Dubravka, and Lovorka. The area surrounding all the villas consisted of landscaped parks with meticulously tended paths and garden equipment.

is defined by the typology of historicist and secession-style villas and hotels. Brijuni is comparable to famous European destinations: for its landscaping to the Island of Wight in England (Brockhausen, 1906), for its flora with Corsica (Illustrierter Wegweiser, 1912, 43), for its archaeological sites with Greek islands and Asia Minor (Illustrierte Wegweiser, 1912, 46), and for its climate with the Cote d'Azur (Der Fremdenverkehr, 1912, 2).

In the second half of the 20th century there were no significant changes in landscape. The Brijuni Islands became an exclusive holiday location for the former Yugoslav president Josip Broz Tito and his guests – foreign officials. The visual identity of the villas and hotels is defined by architectural and urbanistic characteristics of neoclassicism and modernism. Associative features and a non-material connection were created between the Brijuni landscape and Tito and the Non-Aligned movement.

In recent times activities are focused on maintenance, protection and preservation of natural and cultural values of the island aiming for relaxation, education, and recreation. With this in mind, small-scale elements are introduced, causing fragmentation of landscape patterns, creating a dispersion model.

CRITERIA FOR THE CONSERVATION OF LANDSCAPE VALUE AND NEW INTERVENTIONS ON THE ISLAND

By examining the landscape, we have confirmed the main hypothesis of the research stating that the historical features of the Veliki Brijun Island have influenced the formation of its character. The island presents distinct patterns of agrarian, residential, fortification, tourist, maritime, and recreational landscape from various periods. The anthropogenic character of the landscape is preserved in historical patterns as material elements of its spatial and visual identity. In addition to material features, the Veliki Brijun landscape boasts powerful associative features related to the post-WWII period when it served as the presidential residence of Josip Broz Tito and his place for meeting with numerous world leaders. When aiming to preserve landscape identity and adjust it for new use, the future development of Veliki Brijun cannot be planned solely according to laws of nature – the anthropogenic features of its character must also be taken into account.

The conservation of identified landscape features and values, as well as new interventions, must be based on satisfying the defined criteria (Dumbović Bilušić, 2015). The evaluation of landscape involves the relationship toward criteria groups for the determination of value of particular landscape factors and types/areas. The criteria are based on historical, cultural, architectural, setting, archaeological, and aesthetic values of landscape-identity factors i.e. types. The framework for the evaluation of cultural landscape is based on the internationally set and established evaluation model (UNESCO, 2012).

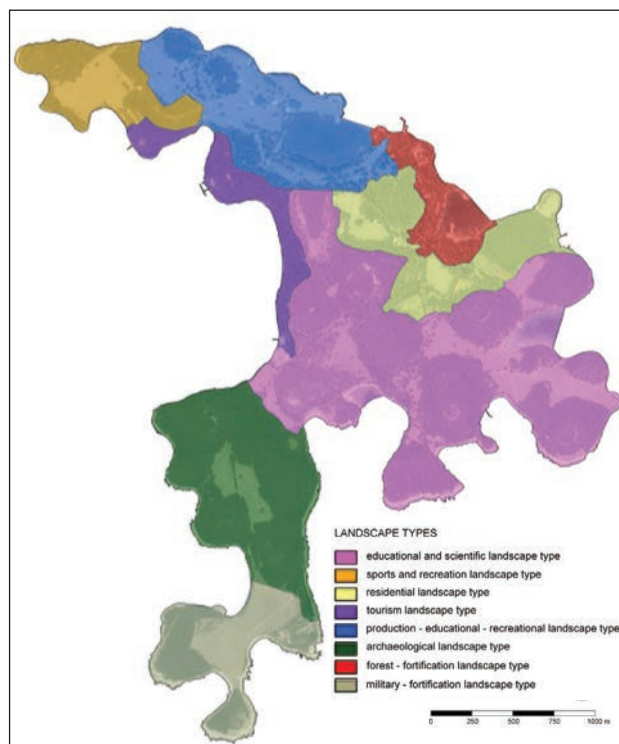


Figure 12: Veliki Brijun landscape types (Source: authors)

The criterion of wholeness/ integrity of cultural landscape, and therefore the evaluation of integrity, is based on the presence of distinctive formation components and functions of its development in multiple historical periods. The integrity of the Veliki Brijun landscape was studied as: functional, structural, and visual. The spatial identification of preserved landscape patterns, which document the functions that took place in the landscape through historical periods, defines the landscape's structural integrity. As a result of historical development, visual integrity is closely related to the identification of the morphological factors of landscape i.e. its identity. Landscape types of Veliki Brijun fully meet the criterion of integrity, as they possess a substantial number/quantity of factors, features, and patterns able to convey the value of integrity.

The criterion of authenticity/credibility relates to material landscape features, such as state of conservation/survival of historical structures and landscape patterns from various historical periods. The authenticity of landscape organisation, and its formation, includes the evaluation of the patterns of spatial organisation defined by the systems of roads, and land subdivision, etc. In addition to the main criteria of integrity and authenticity, other criteria for landscape evaluation include: time depth, coherence, representativeness, and rarity.

The criteria for value conservation and new interventions in the landscape of Veliki Brijun are based on the evaluation of value of each landscape type. If a landscape type exhibits higher degrees of conservation and value, the main intervention would include maintenance and conservation of its attributes. If the historical attributes have deteriorated, the landscape demands a higher degree of new interventions, which would include enhancements or the creation of new attributes.

CONCLUSION

The landscape of Veliki Brijun is an area of a small, low-elevation, slightly hilly island with pronounced human activity spanning over several thousand years. It is an area where natural elements and man-made structures are intertwined through human habitation and use. Within the framework of UNESCO's landscape classification, it could be categorised as intentionally designed tourist landscape from early 20th century with highly natural areas (forests and *macchia*) and landscape patterns from various historical periods integrated in its structure. Tourist landscape with diverse and complex landscape patterns and structures includes villas and hotels; recreational facilities (tennis, golf, polo, etc.), ZOO, promenades and paths with belvederes; outbuildings and ancillary facilities.

By analysing the elements of landscape identity of Veliki Brijun in various historical periods we have determined that over the course of history man has changed not only the landscape, but his attitude towards landscape, as well. The island's primarily agricultural and production character was the result of rich soil and sea shallows favourable for salt extraction, of limestone and quarries, and has survived during its long history, despite the post-WWII period when as the presidential residence it was closed to the public. The recent stage of the island's development within the Brijuni National Park is focused on relaxation, recreation, and education.

The formation and transformation of landscape and seascape as a relationship between man and nature has changed over the course of history. After a great economic and cultural rise during ancient times, followed by a breakdown of civilisation heritage, in the early 20th century Veliki Brijun underwent a planned transformation into a tourist location. It was designed as a tourist resort located in landscaped parkland with

important artefacts of architectural heritage integrated in its structure: archaeological sites from Roman/ancient times and Byzantine and early Medieval times, as well as historical buildings. The entire island was designed as park landscaped, in the spirit of the landscaping style developed in England in late 18th and 19th centuries.

Landscape patterns of residential character have been present throughout the island's history and were preserved in the structures of Bronze-Age hill forts, residential and rustic Roman villas, Byzantine settlement, Modern-Age vernacular settlement and residential villas at the coastal strip, from the first half and mid 20th century. The pattern continuity of the island's fortification and defensive role was preserved in the following structures: Bronze-Age hill forts, Late-Antiquity and Byzantine towered ramparts, medieval defensive towers and castle, and a fort from the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The patterns of tourist and hotel landscape originate in the first half and middle of 20th century. This period is also related to the patterns of unbuilt landscape of recreational facilities (tennis and golf courses, promenades, landscaped parklands in abandoned quarries and around hotels and villas). The patterns of agrarian landscape (fields, pastures, olive groves, vineyards) were significantly reduced when compared to the active productive periods of the Roman times and the early 20th century, and are thus now present in a very small capacity of the education garden and arboretum. The areas covered in forest and *macchia* belong to the historically continuous landscape patterns which have been present constantly and are the most represented among all of the other patterns.

The research has demonstrated that, aside from the predominantly natural character of Veliki Brijun landscape, anthropogenic attributes also proved important, as they shaped the elements of spatial, functional, and visual identity preserved within various landscape patterns. The mentioned landscape patterns that satisfy the criteria of time depth, diversity, representativeness, and rarity must be maintained to preserve the integrity and authenticity of the historical character of Veliki Brijun landscape. Diverse landscape patterns are integrated in the homogeneous, intentionally designed recreation and leisure landscape. Due to its unique and distinctive nature, the Brijuni landscape represents an important segment in not only Croatian, but Adriatic and Mediterranean cultural heritage as well.

ZGODOVINSKA ZNAČILNOST KRAJINE OTOKA VELIKI BRION

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POVZETEK

Veliki Brion je najveći otok v arhipelagu Brioni v severnem Jadranu. Članek se osredotoča na oblikovanje in spremembe krajine skozi različna zgodovinska obdobja. Namen raziskave je bil preko analize geneze krajine Veliki Brion ugotoviti organizacijo in rabo zemljišč ter dejavnike krajinske identitete. Cilj je, da se prepoznajo značilne krajinske značilnosti ter določijo merila za ohranitev krajinske vrednosti za prihodnje posege v prostoru. Ob prepoznavanju značilnih krajinskih vzorcev, tipov krajine, sta bila določena njihov prostorski položaj in medsebojna povezanost. Z induktivno-deduktivno metodo so v članku obdelani raziskovalni podatki, pridobljeni iz pisnih in grafičnih zgodovinskih virov, medtem ko je bila za pripravo grafičnih podob v GIS-u uporabljena časovna analiza.

Osnovne značilnosti krajine Veliki Brion vključujejo tudi odnos med naravnimi elementi in človekovimi aktivnostmi, ki so spreminjali in prilagajali krajino v skladu s socialnimi, kulturnimi, gospodarskimi in političnimi potrebami. Različne potrebe in funkcije prostora so kreirale stanovanjske, agrarne, utrdbene, proizvodjalne, turistične, pomorske in rekreacijske elemente krajine. Glede na kompleksen zgodovinski značaj krajine Veliki Brion, mora sodoben pristop k načrtovanju krajine temeljiti na priznavanju in upoštevanju funkcij, ki so se oblikovale v različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih.

Ključne besede: severni Jadran, Veliki Brion, zgodovina krajine, dejavniki krajine, tipi krajine

ABBREVIATIONS

- GIS** – Geographic Information System
UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WWI – World War I
WWII – World War II
PINP Brijuni – Public Institution National Park Brijuni

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OCENA POTRESNE RANLJIVOSTI OBJEKTOV ARHITEKTURNE DEDIŠČINE NA OBMOČJU SLOVENIJE

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IZVLEČEK

Objekti arhitekturne dediščine običajno niso bili zasnovani za prevzem potresne obremenitve. V nedavnih potresih na območju Mediterana je bilo največ poškodovanih prav zgodovinskih stavb. Prispevek vsebuje oceno potresne ranljivosti arhitekturne dediščine za najpogostejše tipologije na območju Slovenije, za katero velja povečana potresna ogroženost. Na podlagi podatkov iz registra nepremične kulturne dediščine in pričakovane potresne intenzitete je bila izdelana posebna karta, ki prikazuje posamezne enote nepremične kulturne dediščine in pričakovane potresne intenzitete. Izvedena ocena temelji na verjetnostni pričakovani stopnji poškodovanosti znotraj obravnavanega območja intenzitete. Rezultati so bili za posamezno tipologijo izraženi kot verjetnost pojava posamezne stopnje poškodovanosti po EMS-ovi makroseizmični lestvici.

Ključne besede: arhitekturna dediščina, potresna odpornost, ocenjevanje ranljivosti, konservatorstvo

VALUTAZIONE DELLA VULNERABILITÀ SISMICA DELLE OPERE DEL PATRIMONIO ARCHITETTONICO SUL TERRITORIO SLOVENO

SINTESI

Le opere del patrimonio architettonico non sono state solitamente progettate per far fronte ad un carico sismico. Nei recenti terremoti nell'area del Mediterraneo sono stati proprio gli edifici storici ad essere maggiormente danneggiati. Il contributo comprende una valutazione della vulnerabilità sismica del patrimonio architettonico per le tipologie più frequenti sul territorio sloveno e che sono soggette ad un maggior rischio sismico. Sulla base dei dati del Registro del patrimonio culturale immobiliare e dell'intensità sismica prevista è stata realizzata un'apposita mappa che mostra le singole unità del patrimonio culturale immobiliare e le intensità sismiche previste. La valutazione effettuata si basa sulla probabilità dei livelli di danno previsti all'interno dell'area di intensità esaminata. I risultati espressi per la singola tipologia mostrano la probabilità che si verifichi un determinato grado di danno secondo la scala macrosismica europea (EMS).

Parole chiave: patrimonio architettonico, resistenza sismica, valutazione della vulnerabilità, conservazione

UVOD

Potresi se razlikujejo od drugih naravnih nesreč po ogromni rušilni moči, ki lahko v hipu prizadene zelo široko območje in povzroči ogromno gmotno škodo na grajenem okolju. Gradnja objektov po gradbenih predpisih, katerih namen je aplikativna uporaba teoretičnega znanja z različnih tehničnih področij za zagotovitev ustrezne stopnje varnosti, kakovosti in trajnosti zgrajenih objektov, se po svetu širše in v okviru zakonskih določil uporablja šele dobrih sto let. Starodavni objekti arhitekturne dediščine so bili zato običajno grajeni izkustveno, na podlagi izkušenj, ki so jih graditeljski mojstri pridobivali postopoma, zlasti pri gradnji podobnih objektov v preteklosti. Zagotavljanje zadostne odpornosti in stabilnosti takih objektov glede potresnega vpliva pri zasnovi in gradnji pogosto ni bilo posebej upoštevano, saj osnovno teoretično znanje tega področja še ni bilo dognano, praktična spoznanja pa so se zaradi relativne redkosti potresov v življenjski dobi človeka težje prenašala v nove rodove graditeljskih mojstrov.

Zgodovinske stavbe in podobni objekti običajno torej niso bili zasnovani tako, da bi bili odporni proti potresnim obremenitvam. Gradbeni material in konstrukcijski sistemi, ki tvorijo take objekte, običajno dobro prenašajo tlačne obremenitve, nastale zaradi delovanja gravitacijskih obtežb. Tovrstne konstrukcije običajno slabo prenašajo strižne in natezne napetosti, zato so zelo ranljive za horizontalne obremenitve, med katerimi je najmočnejša potresna. V preteklosti je bilo pogosto pomanjkljivo tudi njihovo vzdrževanje, tako da je material marsikdaj razpadel zaradi vpliva časa in okolja. V nedavnih potresih smo že bili priče številnim izgubam na tem področju. V potresih, ki so se zgodili v zadnjem času na evropskih tleh (npr. 1976 – Furlanija, 1979 – Črna gora, 1980 – Potenza, 1997 – Umbrija, 1998 in 2004 – Posočje, 2009 – L'Aquila, 2012 – Modena), je bilo največ poškodovanih stavb in žrtev prav posledica neustrezne trdnosti zgodovinskih stavb.

Ocena potresne odpornosti obstoječih objektov znotraj opazovanega področja predstavlja prvi korak pri načrtovanju statične sanacije arhitekturne dediščine. Na področju potresnega inženirstva so bile v zadnjih desetletjih razvite številne nove metode, ki omogočajo zelo zanesljivo analizo potresnega odziva na nivoju večjega števila objektov s skupnimi karakteristikami (npr. FEMA, 1998; Freeman, 1998; Faccioli idr., 1999; Faeh idr., 2001; Giovinazzi in Lagomarsino, 2002; Erdik idr., 2004; Lagomarsino, 2006; Bosiljkov idr., 2015) ter nivoju posameznega objekta (npr. FEMA, 1998; SIST, 2005; Petrovčič in Kilar, 2013; Sinkovič idr., 2016). V prispevku se osredotočamo na ocenjevanje potresne ranljivosti posameznih tipologij objektov arhitekturne dediščine. Dobljene ocene veljajo torej za celotno območje in ne za konkreten primer in služijo kot osnovno vodilo pri odločanju o varstvenih posegih v arhitekturno

dediščino na določenem področju. V nadaljevanju je predstavljena metoda za ocenjevanje ranljivosti in prikazan primer ocene za območje Slovenije.

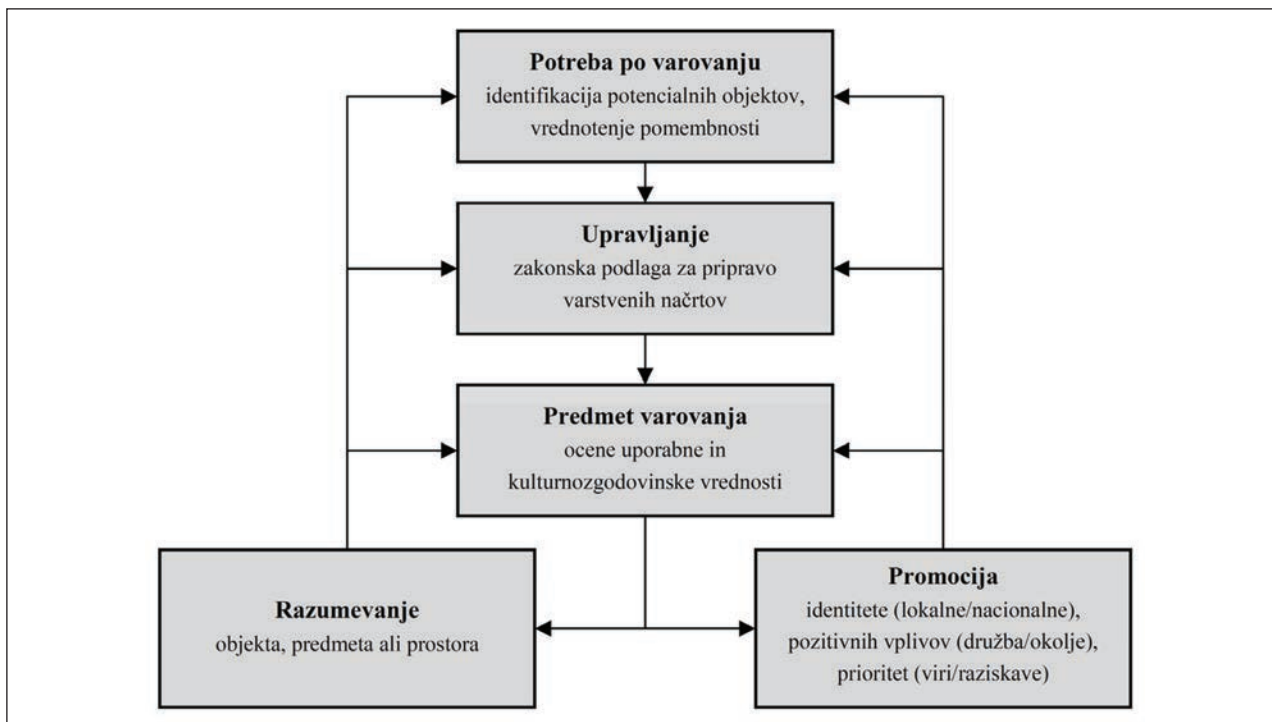
VAROVANJE ARHITEKTURNE DEDIŠČINE IN NJENA RANLJIVOST NA POTRESNO OBTEŽBO

Proces varovanja arhitekturne dediščine

Arhitekturna dediščina predstavlja zožitev pojma kulturna dediščina na vso nepremično dediščino, povezano z grajenim okoljem. V splošnem lahko kot arhitekturno dediščino opredelimo vsak grajeni objekt, ki v ljudeh vzbuja občutek radovednosti, povezan z vprašanjem o njegovem nastanku in kulturi ter duhu časa, v katerem je nastal (Feilden, 2003). Zanj je lahko značilna večja arhitekturna, estetska, zgodovinska, arheološka, ekonomska ali pa tudi družbenopolitična in simbolna vrednost. Kljub temu pa je prvi vtis vedno čustven, saj predstavlja simbol narodne identitete oz. dediščine.

Zakon o varstvu kulturne dediščine (ZVKD-1, Ur. l. RS, št. 16/2008) opredeljuje, da varstvo kulturne dediščine zajema ohranjanje materialnih in vsebinskih lastnosti predmetov, skupin predmetov oz. objektov ali območij, opredeljenih kot dediščina. V tem kontekstu pojem varstvo pomeni skrb za njihovo celovitost in neokrnjenost ter poudarjanje in zagotavljanje pomena predmetov in objektov kulturne dediščine kot bistvene sestavine sodobnega življenja. Varstvo kulturne dediščine ima predvsem kulturno funkcijo, varstvo arhitekturne dediščine pa se nanaša predvsem na ohranjanje vrednot oblikovanosti, materiala, izdelave, umestitve v prostor in vplivnega območja. Arhitekturne spomenike varujemo z zavarovanjem in drugimi instrumenti na podlagi omenjenega zakona ter z zakoni s področja urejanja prostora. V Sloveniji je na podlagi vpisa v zbirni register dediščine evidentirana dediščina varovana in je s tem obvezno izhodišče za pripravo prostorskih načrtov občin.

Odločitev za varovanje in načrtovanje obsega varovanja arhitekturne dediščine je posledica kompleksnega metodološkega procesa, ki ga prikazuje slika 1 (Baker, 1999). Prvi korak je zavest o obstoju potrebe po varovanju, ki izhaja iz definicije pojma kulturne oz. v našem primeru arhitekturne dediščine. V tem koraku potekata identifikacija potencialnih objektov varovanja, vrednotenje njihove pomembnosti in ogroženosti, kamor spada tudi konstrukcijska odpornost objekta na potresno obtežbo. Drugi korak je upravljanje in zajema zakonsko podlago za pripravo načrtov varovanja. V tej fazi se izoblikujejo konkretne smernice varovanja in smernice za vzdrževanje. Ocenijo se tako pozitivni kot tudi negativni vplivi, ki bi jih taki posegi povzročili, ter se določi razmerje med ekonomskimi in okoljskimi vplivi. V tretjem koraku se natančno opredelijo predmet varovanja, izdelajo se ocene njegove uporabne kot tudi kulturnozgodovinske vrednosti ter se določijo vplivi varstvenih posegov na ekonomske, socialne, izobraževalne



Slika 1: Proces varovanje arhitekturne dediščine kot ga opisuje Baker (1999)

Figure 1: The process of architectural heritage conservation according to Baker (1999)

in kulturne vrednosti. Iz vseh treh korakov kot rezultat sledita večje razumevanje vrednosti objekta tudi v širšem kontekstu ter njegova promocija, ki sta ključna pojma pri določanju identitete in prostora (Zupančič Strojani in Mullins, 2002). Proces je iterativen, zato se je na podlagi rezultatov mogoče vrniti v katerikoli korak in proces ponoviti do konca.

Iz zgorajnjega procesa torej izhaja, da je potrebno problematiko odpornosti objekta arhitekturne dediščine na zunanje vplive obravnavati že v prvem koraku, v katerem se definira potreba po varovanju. Z omenjenim prispevkom želimo torej pokazati katere vrste objektov arhitekturne dediščine na območju Slovenije so bolj ranljive na potresno obtežbo in s tem ozaveščati strokovno javnost in nosilce javnih pooblastil o ciljnih skupinah objektov, ki so prioritarno potrebne varovanja. Kot navajajo Vodopivec in soavtorji (2015), pregledne in znanstveno utemeljene metode odločanja, opredeljene za določen prostor in za določeno vrsto dediščine, pomagajo upravljavcem dediščine pri njihovem odločanju.

Ranljivost arhitekturne dediščine na potresno obtežbo in način njenega ocenjevanja

Starodavni objekti arhitekturne dediščine so bili običajno grajeni izkustveno, na podlagi izkušenj, ki so jih graditeljski mojstri pridobivali postopoma, zlasti pri

gradnji podobnih objektov v preteklosti. Pojav potresa je z vidika življenjske dobe človeka redek pojav, zato se je graditeljska praksa razlikovala od obdobja do obdobja in tudi glede na seizmičnost njihove geografske lokacije (Feilden, 2003). Na območjih z visoko seizmičnostjo, na katerih se močni potresi pojavljajo pogosteje, lahko v starih stavbah pogosto najdemo konstrukcijske detajle in ojačitve za boljši prevzem potresnih sil, po drugi strani pa na območjih z nizko seizmičnostjo take detajle najdemo le na stavbah, zgrajenih v prvih nekaj letih po večjih potresih (Tomažević, 2009).

Objekti arhitekturne dediščine so torej na potresno obremenitev različno občutljivi oz. ranljivi. Zaradi njihove pomembnosti in unikatnosti je pogosto treba oceniti ranljivost za vsak obravnavani objekt posebej. Kljub temu pa velja, da je tudi pri objektih arhitekturne dediščine v prvem koraku treba oceniti ranljivost posameznih tipov objektov glede na dano lokacijo. Tako dobimo splošno oceno ranljivosti na določenem območju, ki je eden od ključnih dejavnikov pri določanju stopnje in obsega sanacijskih ukrepov v smislu protipotresne utrditve. Rezultat ranljivostne analize znotraj določenega geografskega območja daje podatek o vplivu potresa na arhitekturno dediščino v obravnavani regiji za posamezni tip objekta. V splošnem lahko s takimi analizami določimo stopnjo potresnega tveganja za vse objekte in tako lažje načrtujemo tudi ukrepe za zaščito in reševanje v primeru rušilnih potresov.

Različne metode za ocenjevanje ranljivosti so podane na makroseizmičnih lestvicah in pogosto omogočajo grobo oceno ranljivosti stavb na širšem območju, ki jo dobimo iz osnovnih karakteristik objektov (tipologija, material, lega) ter podatkov o intenziteti. V zadnjih nekaj desetletjih so bile razvite tudi različne statistične metode, ki v kombinaciji z makroseizmičnimi lestvicami omogočajo natančnejše ocenjevanje ranljivosti objektov znotraj določenega območja. Najbolj splošna je metoda za oceno ranljivosti po evropski makroseizmični lestvici (skrajšano EMS) (Grünthal, 1998), ki je nadgradnja metode z lestvice MSK (Medvedev in Sponheuer, 1969) in tudi drugih predhodnih lestvic, s katerimi so se poškodbe klasificirale neodvisno od vrste objektov. Tak pristop je sicer preprost, vendar lahko daje precej netočne ocene na območjih z različnimi tipologijami objektov. Točnejši pristop bi seveda zahteval zajemanje širšega nabora arhitektonskih in inženirskih parametrov določene stavbe, vendar bi bilo to v praksi zelo težko izvedljivo, zlasti pri pripravi ocen ranljivosti za širše območje. Metoda po EMS temelji na kompromisu med preprosto delitvijo potresne odpornosti posameznih tipov stavb glede na uporabljeni material in tehnologijo gradnje ter robustnim načinom razlikovanja med različnimi odzivi (stopnjami poškodovanosti) na potresno obremenitev.

V nadaljevanju bo predstavljen primer novejša metode, ki temelji na dejansko registriranih poškodbah za določen tip objekta in intenzitete. Določena bo ocena ranljivosti tipičnih objektov arhitekturne dediščine v Sloveniji.

OCENJEVANJE RANLJIVOSTI NA PODLAGI DEJANSKO REGISTRIRANIH POŠKODB

V zadnjih desetletjih so bile razvite različne analitične metode za oceno ranljivosti skupine objektov na širšem območju, ki temeljijo na verjetnostni analizi (Dolce idr., 1994; FEMA, 1998; Freeman, 1998; Faccioli idr., 1999; Faeh idr., 2001; Erdik idr., 2003; Giovinazzi in Lagomarsino, 2002; Lagomarsino, 2006; Bosiljkov idr., 2015). V nadaljevanju bo predstavljena metoda, ki jo predlaga Lagomarsino (2006) in je sinteza dela različnih avtorjev, ki se ukvarjajo s problematiko ocenjevanja ranljivosti stavb. Ideja metode je, da se podatki o dejanski poškodovanosti stavb pridobijo na podlagi opazovanja poškodb, nastalih na stavbah po potresih znotraj homogenega makroseizmičnega območja. Podrobneje je v tem prispevku opisana njena aplikacija na zidane stavbe. Glavne značilnosti metode lahko strnemo v dveh točkah (Roca idr., 2006):

- kot osnova za določitev ranljivosti in pričakovanih poškodb se uporablja evropska lestvica EMS, za katero velja, da se kljub določeni meri subjektivnosti lahko uspešno uporablja za celotno analizo ranljivosti;

- metoda temelji na podatkih o dejansko registriranih poškodbah na določenem tipu objektov in pri določeni intenziteti, pri čemer lahko izberemo različno količino podatkov in s tem dosežemo želeno raven natančnosti.

Nastanek poškodb na zidanih objektih pri potresih glede na lestvico EMS

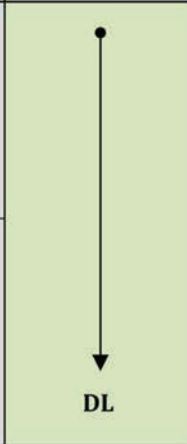

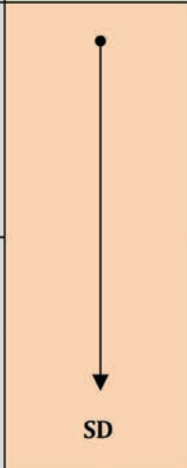

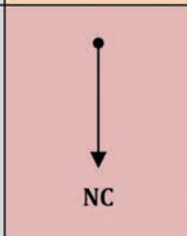

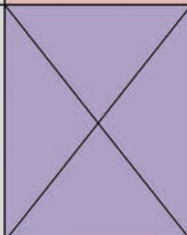

Lestvica EMS pri zidanih stavbah je predvidenih šest razredov ranljivosti, označenih s črkami od A do F. Pri razvrščanju posameznih vrst zidanih konstrukcij v razrede ranljivosti se poleg uporabljenega materiala upošteva tudi raven potresno odporne gradnje. Prvi trije razredi (A, B in C) predstavljajo odpornost tradicionalne gradnje, kamor običajno uvrščamo tudi objekte arhitekturne dediščine (zelo ranljiva skupina). Med temi so hiše iz nežgane gline ali zemlje, preproste zidane stavbe in starejše armiranobetonske konstrukcije, pri katerih ukrepi za povečanje varnosti med gradnjo v večini primerov niso bili upoštevani. Razreda D in E predstavljata novejša konstrukcije, ki so že bile grajene ob upoštevanju ukrepov za potresno varno gradnjo, zato so pri potresni obremenitvi manj ranljive (ranljiva skupina). Sem spadajo solidno grajene lesene konstrukcije, konstrukcije iz povezanega ali armiranega zidovja ter jeklene konstrukcije. V razredu F so konstrukcije, ki so bile projektirane po sodobnih načelih potresno odporne projekiranja (manj ranljiva skupina).

Uvrstitev določenega objekta v posamezno skupino je odvisna od vrste konstrukcije, tj. od materiala in posledično tudi od načina gradnje, ne pa tudi od tipologije objektov in obdobja, v katerem je bila konstrukcija zgrajena. Odziv posamezne vrste konstrukcije na potresno obremenitev je lahko zelo različen in je odvisen tudi od predhodne poškodovanosti objekta, kakovosti gradnje, neregularnosti, stopnje potresne odpornosti itd.

V prispevku smo na sliki 2 za namen primerljivosti med lestvico EMS in Evropskim predpisom Evrokodom 8-3 (SIST, 2005), ki ureja projektiranje potresno odporne konstrukcij pri prenovi stavb, približno umestili stopnje poškodovanosti (oznake D0 do D5), ki jih predvideva EMS.

V primerjavi s stopnjami poškodovanosti so evrokodova mejna stanja prag med različnimi stopnjami poškodovanosti. Tudi Evrokod 8-3 predvideva določene poškodbe za posamezno mejno stanje. Iz opisov poškodb, ki so za posamezno mejno stanje predvidene, lahko predpostavimo, da je mejno stanje DL na meji med stopnjami poškodovanosti D1 in D2, mejno stanje SD je doseženo približno na prehodu med D3 in D4, mejno stanje NC pa med D4 in D5.

Kakšne poškodbe bo določena vrsta konstrukcije utrpela, je odvisno tudi od intenzitete potresne obremenitve. Lestvica EMS za vsako od dvanajstih intenzitet ocenjuje za posamezni ranljivostni razred okvirne stopnje poškodovanosti.

Stopnja poškodovanosti	Mejno stanje po EC8-3	Grafični prikaz*	Opis poškodb	Opombe
D0			Ni poškodb.	
D1			Zanemarljive poškodbe, z lasastimi razpokami na majhnem številu sten. Konstrukcija ni poškodovana.	Odpadanje ometa v manjših količinah in padanje nepovezanih zidakov.
D2			Zmerne poškodbe, z lažjimi poškodbami konstrukcije. Veliko razpokanih zidov in porušeni deli dimnikov.	Odpadanje večjih kosov ometa in zmerne poškodbe nekonstrukcijskih elementov.
D3			Obsežne poškodbe, z zmernimi poškodbami konstrukcije v obliki širokih razpok v večini zidov.	Večje poškodbe nekonstrukcijskih elementov. Padanje strešnikov in rušenje dimnikov.
D4			Zelo hude poškodbe konstrukcije in nekonstrukcijskih elementov ter porušitve posameznih zidov.	Možna delna porušitev konstrukcije.
D5			Porušitev.	Popolna oz. skoraj popolna porušitev.

* Vir slik: Grünthal, 1998

Slika 2: Predlog kombiniranja stopenj poškodovanosti zidanih konstrukcij po EMS z mejnimi stanji po Evrokodu 8-3
 Figure 2: Damage grades based on the EMSscale and limit states based on Eurocode 8-3

Preglednica 1: Razredi ranljivosti po EMS in pripadajoči indeksi ranljivosti**Table 1: Vulnerability classes based on the EMS scale and their corresponding vulnerability indexes**

Razred ranljivosti	A	B	C	D	E	F
Indeks ranljivosti (V)	1.00	0.83	0.67	0.50	0.33	0.17

Prehodi med zaporednimi stopnjami poškodovanosti naj bi v splošnem predstavljali premo sorazmerno odvisnost med naraščajočo oz. padajočo intenziteto. Treba je tudi izpostaviti, da lestvica EMS ne navaja vseh možnih kombinacij med razredi ranljivosti in doseženo stopnjo poškodovanosti. Izpostavljeni sta vedno samo dve najvišje doseženi stopnji poškodovanosti, pri čemer velja predpostavka da bodo drugi objekti istega razreda ranljivosti utrpeli manjše stopnje poškodovanosti, in sicer v sorazmernih deležih. Pomembno je razlikovati tudi med poškodbami konstrukcijskih elementov (poškodbami na nosilni konstrukciji) in nekonstrukcijskih elementov (sekundarnih konstrukcijskih elementov, predelnih sten, dimnikov) ter med poškodbami, ki so nastale kot posredna posledica sekundarnega delovanja potresnega vpliva (npr. trkov med konstrukcijami, zemeljskih ali snežnih plazov, likvefakcije idr.).

Opis metode

Metoda je zelo priročna, ker določa analitično zvezo med razredi ranljivosti po EMS, potresno intenziteto in pričakovano stopnjo poškodovanosti. Shematično je potek metode prikazan na sliki 3. Osnovni parameter je povprečna stopnja poškodovanosti (oznaka m_D), ki je pri določeni intenziteti srednja vrednost stopnje poškodovanosti (slika 2). Statistično so stopnje poškodovanosti od D0 do D5 diskretne spremenljivke, parameter m_D pa je zvezna spremenljivka in je brez neposredne fizikalne interpretacije. Če vzamemo kot primer $m_D = 3.6$, to pomeni, da pri dani intenziteti v povprečju lahko pričakujemo poškodbe med tipoma D3 in D4.

Vrednost parametra m_D pri določeni intenziteti lahko določimo iz dejanskih podatkov o poškodbah na objektih po potresih. Če ti podatki niso na voljo, lahko parameter m_D ocenimo glede na razred ranljivosti, ki mu obravnavana vrsta objekta pripada. To storimo s t. i. indeksom ranljivosti (oznaka V), ki številčno opredeljuje enega od šestih ranljivostnih razredov, označenih s črkami od A do F (gl. Grünthal, 1998). Posamezne indekse ranljivosti prikazuje preglednica 1. Ker so objekti v razredu A v najranljivejši skupini, se jim dodeli najvišji indeks, tj. $V = 1.00$. V drugih razredih so premo sorazmerno nižji indeksi, pri čemer je indeks vsakega naslednjega razreda manjši za šestino.

Prve ocene za določitev analitične zveze med m_D ter V pri določeni intenziteti so bile določene na podlagi opazovanja poškodb na več kot 2000 cerkvah po potre-

su v Umbriji in Markah leta 1997 (Lagomarsino, 1998). Rezultate analize sta pozneje uporabila Giovinazzi in Lagomarsino (2002) ter predlagala splošno zvezo za m_D , ki velja za katerokoli tipologijo stavb in je prikazana na sliki 2. V navedeni enačbi označuje I stopnjo intenzitete po EMS. Q je t. i. indeks duktilnosti, ki ponazarja stopnjo povečanja poškodovanosti v odvisnosti od intenzitete in je v intervalu med 2.0 in 3.0. Višje vrednosti za Q veljajo za duktilnejše objekte. Za stavbe je priporočena vrednost $Q = 2.3$.

Parameter m_D pove, kolikšna je pri posameznem indeksu ranljivosti V in intenziteti I srednja vrednost razreda poškodovanosti. Braga idr. (1982) so ugotovili, da je funkcijo gostote verjetnosti posameznega razreda poškodovanosti (p_k) možno oceniti z uporabo binomske porazdelitve. Izraz za p_k je prav tako prikazan na sliki 3, pri čemer označuje verjetnost stopnje poškodovanosti D_k (od D0 do D5). Indeks k torej zavzema vrednosti med 0 in 5. Ob poznavanju verjetnosti za posamezni D_k lahko določimo tudi kumulativno verjetnost P_i , pri čemer bodo dosežene poškodbe stopnje D_i ali večje.

Z uporabo opisanega postopka se torej lahko izognemo opisnim ocenam in ranljivost objektov kvantificiramo. Prednost takega pristopa je, da lahko hitro in razmeroma preprosto ocenimo ranljivost večjega števila objektov na širšem območju. Ker ocena temelji na uporabi podatkov o dejansko nastalih poškodbah, lahko natančnost metode prilagajamo glede na vhodne podatke. Tak pristop je zelo primeren za preliminarno analizo ranljivosti objektov arhitekturne dediščine, pri čemer moramo zaradi visoke kulturne vrednosti uporabljati natančnejše metode. Po drugi strani pa so pri takem pristopu še vedno številne omejitve. Ena glavnih pomanjkljivosti je, da se analizira globalna odpornost objektov. To pa je zaradi arhitektonske kompleksnosti, konstrukcijskih detajlov, kakovosti materiala, načinov gradnje ter predhodnih poškodb lahko posledica različnih lokalnih porušitev, ki jih z globalnim pristopom ni mogoče zajeti. Temu bi se lahko izognili, če bi analizo ranljivosti izvajali na posameznih elementih, ki so sestavni deli objektov in jih v potresnem smislu lahko samostojno obravnavamo.

ŠTUDIJA PRIMERA: OCENA RANLJIVOSTI OBJEKTOV ARHITEKTURNE DEDIŠČINE V SLOVENIJI

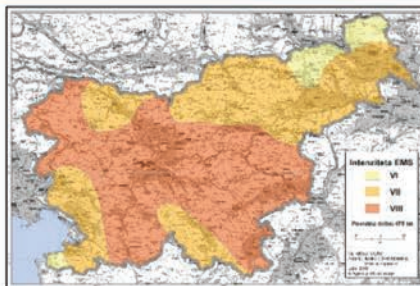
V tem prispevku bo ocena izvedena na podlagi verjetnostne analize po metodi, opisani v prejšnjem

Vhodni podatki

Potresna intenziteta (*I*)

Odraža škodo, ki jo potres določene jakosti povzroči na celotno grajeno okolje.

→ Karta potresne intenzitete po lestvici EMS.



Indeks ranljivosti (*V*) in indeks duktilnosti (*Q*)

Indeksa sta vezana na posamezno tipologijo objektov in številčno opredeljujeta verjetnost nastanka posamezne stopnje poškodb (indeks ranljivosti) in stopnjo povečanja poškodovanosti v odvisnosti od intenzitete (indeks duktilnosti).

Indeks ranljivosti je definiran kot vsota izhodiščne vrednosti (*V*₀) in korekcijskih faktorjev zaradi dodatnih karakteristik obravnavanih objektov (vzdrževanje, material, geometrija, lega itd.):

$$V = V_0 + \sum V_K$$

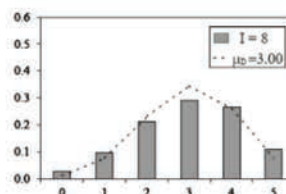
→ Vrednosti indeksov izhajajo iz opazovanih poškodb na posamezni tipologiji pri preteklih potresih.



Izračun ranljivosti

Povprečna stopnja poškodovanosti pri intenziteti *I*

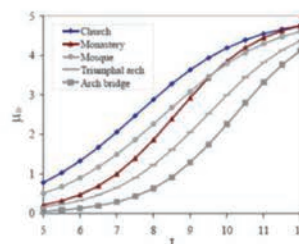
$$\mu_D = 2.5 \left[1 + \tanh \left(\frac{I + 6.25 V - 13.1}{Q} \right) \right]$$



Verjetnosti nastanka poškodb posameznega razreda poškodovanosti po EMS (od D0 do D5)

$$p_k = \frac{5!}{k!(5-k)!} (0.2 \mu_D)^k (1 - 0.2 \mu_D)^{5-k}$$

→ *k* označuje indeks razreda poškodovanosti (od 0 do 5)



Skupna verjetnost nastanka poškodb pri posamezni intenziteti

$$P(D_i | \mu_D) = \sum_{k=i}^5 p_k$$

Slika 3: Shematski prikaz potrebnih vhodnih podatkov in postopek izračuna ranljivosti na podlagi verjetnostne analize

Figure 3: Schematic representation of the required input data and the calculation procedure for vulnerability assessment based on a probabilistic approach

Preglednica 2: Tipologija in število enot kulturne dediščine državnega pomena**Table 2: Different typologies and their registered entities classified as cultural heritage of national importance**

Tip enote	Št. enot	Primer
Profana stavbna dediščina	125	grad Turjak
Sakralna stavbna dediščina	31	cerkev Sv. Trojice v Ljubljani
Sakralno-profana stavbna dediščina	6	samostan v Kostanjevici na Krki
Memorialna dediščina	49	Ilirski steber v Ljubljani

Vir: Register nepremične kulturne dediščine, september 2012

poglavju, pri kateri za izbrano tipologijo objekta izhajamo iz dejanskih, med potresom nastalih poškodb, ki jim v posamezni intenzitetni coni predpišemo verjetnost pojavitve. Izbrano metodo je mogoče uporabiti na različnih tipologijah objektov. V nekaterih primerih (npr. cerkve) je mogoče pridobiti ustrezno količino podatkov o nastalih poškodbah pri različnih intenzitetah. V drugih primerih pa se je zaradi pomanjkanja podatkov treba zanesti na individualno presojo za določitev ustreznih parametrov. V prispevku bomo metodo uporabili za tri najpogostejše tipologije objektov, s čimer bomo dopolnili že izvedene študije.

Enote nepremične kulturne dediščine na ozemlju Republike Slovenije

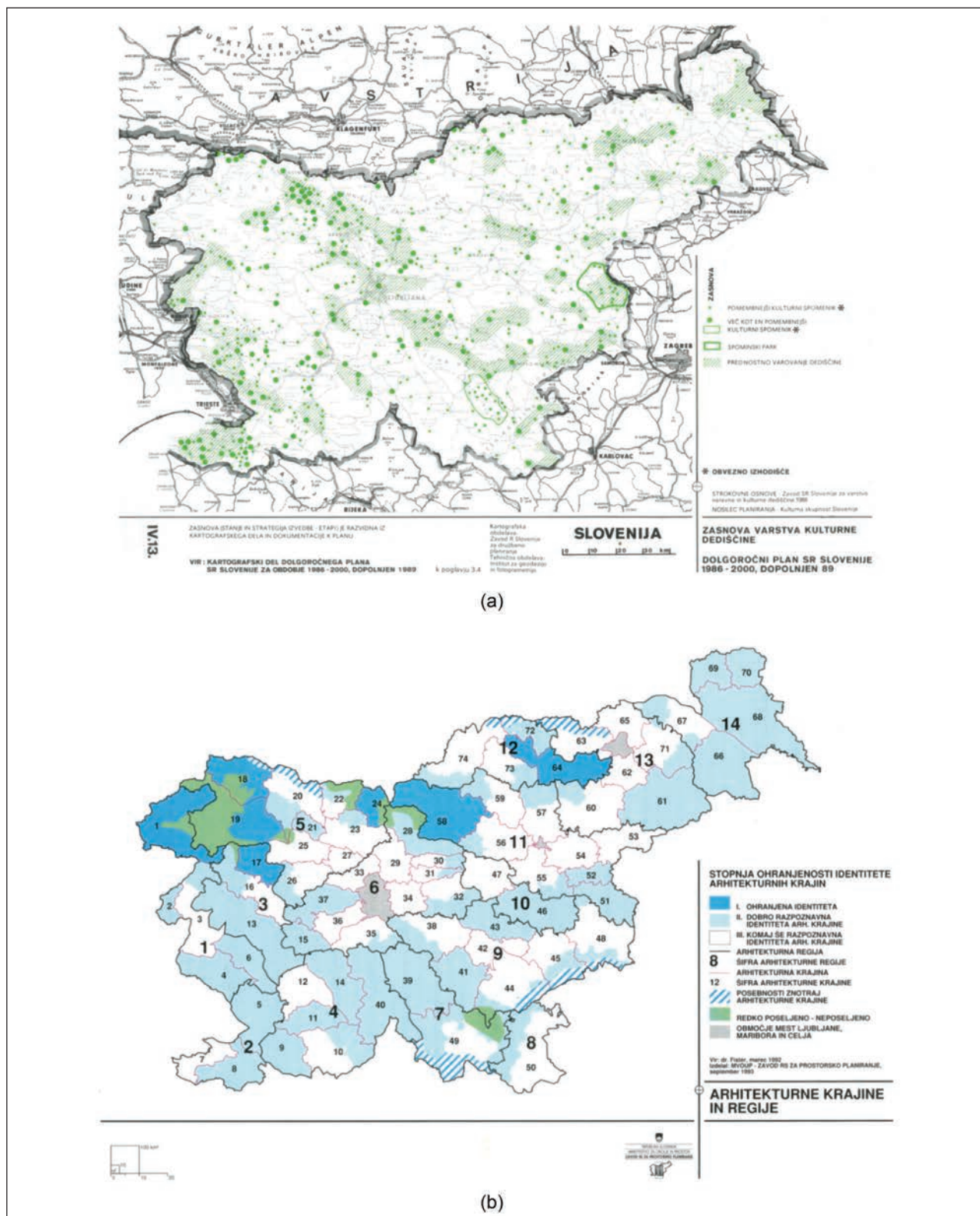
Republika Slovenija je skladno s 5. členom ustave dolžna skrbeti za ohranjanje naravnega bogastva in kulturne dediščine ter ustvarjati možnosti za skladen civilizacijski in kulturni razvoj. Register nepremične kulturne dediščine v Sloveniji, ki ga vodi ministrstvo, pristojno za kulturo, vsebuje več kot 30 000 enot in obsega vso nepremično kulturno dediščino ne glede na vrsto, tip, obseg, lastništvo ali varstveni status enote (MIZKŠ, 2012). Od tega je okoli dvesto enot stavbne in memorialne dediščine s statusom kulturnega spomenika državnega pomena, kamor uvrščamo najpomembnejše spomenike v Sloveniji (preglednica 2). Slika 4a v sklopu načrta varstva kulturne dediščine za obdobje 1986–2000 prikazuje lokacije spomenikov državnega pomena in prednostna območja varovanja.

V splošnem pojem arhitekturna dediščina presega okvire registra nepremične kulturne dediščine, saj je ta ena izmed glavnih sestavin identitete prostora. Fister idr. (1993) so pri izdelavi modela določanja arhitekturne identitete v Sloveniji prišli do zaključka, da je danes na Slovenskem 74 topografsko določljivih krajin, med seboj povezanih v štirinajst arhitekturnih regij. Slika 4b prikazuje omenjene krajin in regije skupaj s stopnjo ohranjenosti njihove identitete. V najvišjo kategorijo je uvrščenih sedem arhitekturnih krajin, omejenih pretežno

na gorska območja. V tej kategoriji je ohranjena večina kakovostnih razmerij med celotno stavbno dediščino in splošno identiteto arhitekturne krajine ter ni izrazite moteče arhitekture ali drugih posegov v prostor, ki bi bistveno razvrednotili dele arhitekturne krajine.

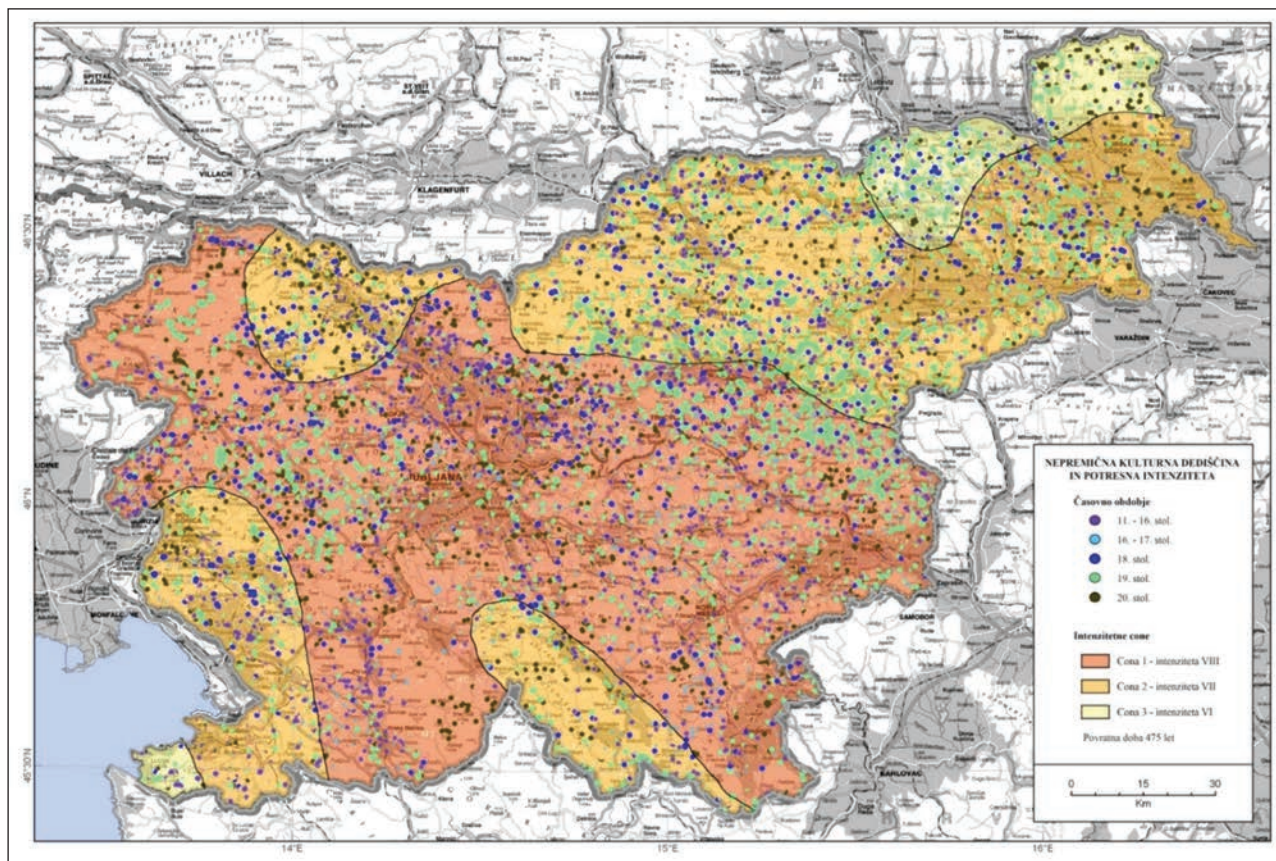
V drugo kategorijo je uvrščenih petindvajset arhitekturnih krajin, ki so skoncentrirane predvsem v zahodni, južni in severovzhodni Sloveniji. Tukaj je identiteta krajine še razmeroma dobro razpoznavna, saj je ohranjena večina značilne mreže naselij in prostorskih značilnosti. To pomeni, da lahko, poleg spomenikov državnega in lokalnega pomena, tudi številne objekte znotraj prve in druge kategorije vrednosti arhitekturne krajine obravnavamo kot objekte arhitekturne dediščine. V sklopu tega prispevka je bila zato za primerjavo izdelana karta z imenom Nepremična kulturna dediščina in potresna intenziteta (slika 5). Na njej so prikazani vsi elementi kulturne dediščine iz registra, tudi tisti, ki niso klasificirani kot spomeniki državnega in lokalnega pomena. Ker vpisi v register zajemajo tudi arheološke ostanke iz prazgodovine in antike, so zaradi relevantnosti prikazani samo objekti, zgrajeni od 11. stol. n. št. dalje. Kot podlaga karte je bila uporabljena karta potresne intenzitete Slovenije za 475-letno povratno dobo (Šket Motnikar in Zupančič, 2011), ki je bila izdelana na podlagi 1046 zapisov različnih intenzitet potresov, dobljenih iz poenotnega kataloga potresov Slovenije in sosednjih dežel, ki zajema obdobje med letoma 1201 in 2010 ter površine dobrih 100 000 km² (Šket-Motnikar in Zupančič, 2011). Skrajne meje tega območja so slabih 100 km od meja Slovenije. Karta intenzitet je določena za povratno dobo 475 let, kar ustreza 90-odstotni verjetnosti, da vrednosti na karti v petdesetih letih ne bodo presežene, in upošteva povprečne značilnosti tal znotraj območja posamezne stopnje intenzitete, na kar vplivajo tudi značilnosti lokalne geološke podlage.

Na sliki 5 je tako poleg lokacije objekta mogoče razbrati tudi predvideno stopnjo intenzitete. Intenzitete so razdeljene v tri cone: v coni 1 je intenziteta VIII, v coni 2 je VII, v coni 3 pa je predvidena intenziteta VI. Na podlagi podatkov, predstavljenih na karti, lahko za-



Slika 4: Načrt varstva kulturne dediščine za obdobje 1986–2000 (a) ter arhitekturne krajin in regije s stopnjo ohranjenosti identitete (b) (Fister et al., 1993)

Figure 4: Cultural heritage protection plan for the years 1986–2000 (a) and architectural regions of Slovenia with their corresponding level of identity conservation (b) (Fister et al., 1993)



Slika 5: Predlagana karta nepremične kulturne dediščine na posameznih intenzitetnih conah (Vir: podloga karte z intenzitetnimi območji povzeta po Šket-Motnikar in Zupančič, 2011, 114)

Figure 5: Proposed cultural heritage chart of structures and other fixed artefacts in specific intensity zones

ključimo, da se objekti arhitekturne dediščine pojavljajo v večjem številu v vseh treh intenzitetnih conah.

Analizirane tipologije

Izbrane so bile tri tipologije objektov, in sicer *stavbe*, *cerkve* ter *stolpi*. Vse tri tipologije so značilne za nepremično dediščino na Slovenskem in so med potresno obremenitvijo zaradi svoje konstrukcijske zasnove, načinov gradnje in uporabljenega materiala najranljivejše. Krajši opisi izbranih tipologij so navedeni v nadaljevanju.

- *Stavbe* zajemajo gospodarske in stanovanjske objekte, ki so pogosti v zgodovinskih mestnih jedrih. So razmeroma pravilnih tlorisnih dimenzij, z dokaj enakomerno porazdelitvijo sten v tlorisu in brez večjih prekinitev po višini. V višino merijo do štiri etaže in so grajene kot skupine med seboj povezanih objektov, kar pomeni, da so nosilni zidovi lahko skupni. Običajno je etažna višina večja od treh metrov, z nizkimi

parapeti ter s posledično velikimi okni. Stropi, kot tudi ostrešja, so leseni. Zidovi pogosto tudi niso povezani z zidnimi vezmi, zaradi česar je bistveno zmanjšana njihova potresna odpornost, saj ne delujejo povezano. Slika 6a prikazuje tri objekte kot značilne predstavnike te tipologije. Kolizej v Ljubljani so zgradili leta 1847 in je bil postavljen kot zadnji od treh podobnih objektov v avstro-ogrski monarhiji, za zgradbama (»Coliseum«) v Gradcu in na Dunaju (Kržan, 2008). V slovenski sekciji organizacije ICOMOS (angl. International Council on Monuments and Sites) so med drugim izpostavili, da je Kolizej na Slovenskem edini še ohranjeni primer romantične umetnosti na prehodu iz bidermajerja v historizem (ICOMOS/SI, 2011). Kljub večletnemu prizadevanju civilne iniciative ter dela arhitekturne in umetnostnozgodovinske stroke, da bi stavbo ohranili in restavrirali, so jo leta 2011 porušili. Drugi primer je t. i. Kadetnica v Mariboru. Gre za poslopje, s katerim je bil v Mariboru uveden neoromanski slog, ki se pri tem objektu najizra-

ziteje izraža s pročeljem na katerem so polkrožni zaključki oken in dekorativni elementi (Lutman in Weiss, 2003). Poslopje je bilo zgrajeno leta 1856 kot največja tovrstna stavba v tedanji Avstriji. Po zadnji prenovi, ki je bila zaključena leta 2009, so v njej center za vojaško izobraževanje in usposabljanje, vojaški muzej in informacijske službe. Tretji primer objekta tipologije stavb je Auerspergova palača, v kateri je danes ljubljanski mestni muzej. Gre za prvo arhivsko dokumentirano stavbo, ki je nastala s prezidavo grofovske palače grofov Turjaških iz leta 1547. Do leta 1935 je bila stavba s klasicistično fasado dom Auerspergov, ki veljajo za eno najvplivnejših kranjskih plemiških družin (Vovk-Čepič in Veselko, 2002). Danes je v lasti Mestne občine Ljubljana.

- *Cerkve* zaradi monumentalne zasnove, pri kateri se veliki razponi premoščajo z razmeroma redkimi rastri zelo visokih ter vitkih stebrov in sten, prav tako predstavljajo potresno zelo ranljivo tipologijo. V preteklosti je gradnja cerkva vedno posebej jala vrhunec graditeljske stroke posamezne dobe. Z iznajdbo novega materiala in tehnik gradnje so se pojavljali tudi novi arhitekturno-konstrukcijski elementi, ki so tvorili njihov skelet. Zato bi bilo tudi pri ocenjevanju ranljivosti treba upoštevati tipologije, vezane na posamezna zgodovinska obdobja. V Sloveniji je največ objektov sakralne arhitekture iz obdobja baroka, za katerega so v konstrukcijskem smislu značilni veliki volumni (široke ladje) in kupole ovalnih oblik. Druge karakteristike, kot so težnje po simetriji v tlorisu in po višini ter začetki gradnje kupol, pa izvirajo že iz renesanse (Crocì, 1998). V doktorski disertaciji (Petrovčič, 2013) smo vse cerkvene objekte klasificirali pod enotno tipologijo. Kot primeri te tipologije so na sliki 6b prikazani Frančiškanska cerkev v Ljubljani, cerkev sv. Mohorja v Gornjem Gradu ter cerkev Marije Snežne v Polskavi. Frančiškanska cerkev je zgrajena v slogu zgodnjebaročne bazilike z eno ladjo in dvema vrstama stranskih kapel. Cerkev sv. Mohorja pa je eden ključnih spomenikov visokega baroka na Slovenskem, ki sledi vzoru ljubljanske stolnice (Vidrih, 2012a in 2012b). Tudi cerkev Marije Snežne je poznogotska cerkev t. i. koroškega tipa z v celoti poslikano zunanostjo (arhitekturno poslikavo). Zaradi močne statične ogroženosti je bila v letih 2007 in 2008 izvedena sanacija s protipotresno utrditvijo (Kilar in Marušič, 2007).
- *Stolpi in zvoniki*¹ zajemajo tako posvetne kot sakralne objekte, za katere je značilno, da je višina bistveno večja od tlorisnih dimenzij in da so grajeni iz nearmiranega kamna ali opeke. Sem uvrščamo tako grajske stolpe, stolpe na mestnih

Preglednica 3: Upoštevane tipologije objektov in pripadajoče vrednosti indeksov V_0 , V in Q

Table 3: Considered typologies and corresponding values indexes V_0 , V and Q

Objekt	V_0	V	Q
Stavba	0.83	0.99	2.3
Cerkev	0.89	1.01	3.0
Stolp / zvonik	0.78	0.86	2.0

zidovih, razgledne stolpe kot tudi cerkvene zvonike, ki so popolnoma ali po večjem delu svoje višine ločeni od okoliških objektov. Zaradi neugodnega razmerja med višino in širino ter visoko postavljenim težiščem se pri potresni obremenitvi obnašajo kot sistem obrnjenega nihala, za katero obstaja nevarnost prevrnitve. Primeri takih objektov so predstavljeni na sliki 6c. Kamnit obrambni stolp na Taboru so leta 1485 izdelali Benečani, da bi se zaščitili pred vpadi Turkov. Pozneje je bil vaška žitnica, danes pa je v njem muzej. Grad Branik – Rihemberk je največji ohranjeni srednjeveški grad na Primorskem, s prevladujočim kamnitim romanskim stolpom iz 13. stol. Razmeroma vitek prostostoječi zvonik cerkve sv. Jurija v Piranu je del cerkvenega kompleksa na vzpetini nad mestom Piran, ki ga poleg zvonika sestavljajo še cerkev in krstilnica (baptisterij). Zvonik je bil zgrajen 1608 in je izdelan po vzoru cerkve sv. Marka v Benetkah (Bernik, 1994).

Glede na tipološke enote iz registra nepremične kulturne dediščine (preglednica 2) uvrščamo stavbe med profano stavbno dediščino, cerkve in stolpi pa so del sakralne oz. sakralno-profane stavbne dediščine. Določeni manjši stolpi so lahko tudi del memorialne dediščine.

Za potrebe analize po metodi, predstavljeni v prejšnjem poglavju, je treba za vsako obravnavano tipologijo določiti tudi indekse ranljivosti (V) in duktilnosti (Q). Vrednosti izbranih indeksov so prikazane v preglednici 3. Določene so bile na podlagi ranljivosti posameznih vrst zidanih konstrukcij, po predlogih Lagomarsina (2006), ki je določil indekse za podobne tipologije objektov v severni Italiji. Indeks V_0 je izhodiščna vrednost za oceno ranljivosti posameznega objekta. Poleg izhodiščne vrednosti pa je predvidena tudi njegova korekcija (indeks V_k), ki upošteva nekatere dodatne karakteristike obravnavanih objektov, vezane na raven vzdrževanja, kakovost vgrajenega materiala, pravilnost

¹ Zaradi krajšega zapisa bo v nadaljevanju za stolpe in zvonike pogosto rabljen samo izraz stolpi.

Preglednica 4: Korekcija indeksa ranljivosti – parametri in korekcijski faktorji
Table 4: Correction of the vulnerability index – parameters and correction factors

Parameter	Korekcijski faktor (V_k)			
(a) raven vzdrževanja	zelo slaba (+0.08)	slaba (+0.04)	srednja (0)	dobra (–0.04)
(b) kakovost materiala	slaba (+0.04)	srednja (0)	dobra (–0.04)	
(c) regularnost v tlorisu	večja neregularnost (+0.04)	regularna (0)	simetrična (–0.04)	
(č) regularnost po višini	večja neregularnost (+0.04)	regularna (0)		
(d) povezava s sosednjimi objekti	na vogalu (+0.04)	brez povezave (0)	povezava z obeh strani (–0.04)	
(e) sanacijski ukrepi	niso prisotni (0)	so prisotni (–0.08)		
(f) naklon terena	strmo pobočje (+0.08)	rahel naklon (+0.04)	na ravnini (0)	

Preglednica 5: Korekcija indeksa ranljivosti – upoštevani korekcijski faktorji pri posameznih tipologijah
Table 5: Correction of the vulnerability index – considered correction factors for each specific typology

Objekt	Korekcijski faktor (V_k)							Vsota V_k
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(č)	(d)	(e)	(f)	
Stavba	0.04	0.04	0	0.04	0.04	0	0	0.16
Cerkev	0	0.04	0	0.04	0	0	0.04	0.12
Stolp/zvonik	0.04	0.04	–0.04	0	0.04	0	0	0.08

v tlorisu, pravilnost po višini, lego, že uporabljene utrditvene ukrepe in morfologijo terena.

Predviden razpon vrednosti korekcijskih faktorjev je prikazan v preglednici 4. Končna vrednost indeksa ranljivosti je določena kot vsote izhodiščne ranljivosti in skupne vrednosti vseh upoštevanih korekcijskih faktorjev.

Preglednica 5 prikazuje izbrane vrednosti korekcijskih faktorjev za posamezni parameter pri določenem tipu objekta. Poudariti je treba, da gre v vseh primerih za grobo oceno posameznih parametrov, s katero poskušamo samo približno zajeti reprezentativne karakteristike posamezne tipologije v Sloveniji. Pri vseh tipologijah smo predpostavili, da sanacijski ukrepi za povečanje potresne odpornosti še niso bili izvedeni. Glede na to, da so bile osnovne ocene indeksov ranljivosti narejene za objekte v severni Italiji, za katere je v splošnem značilna razmeroma dobra kakovost uporabljenega materiala (Feilden, 2003), smo za objekte v Sloveniji pri uporabljenem materialu predpostavili nekoliko slabšo kakovost, pri stavbah in stolpih pa tudi nekoliko

slabšo stopnjo vzdrževanja. Pri vseh treh primerih smo upoštevali regularno zasnovano v tlorisu, pri stolpih celo simetrično, ki oceno ranljivosti nekoliko zmanjšuje. Za stavbe in cerkve pa smo upoštevali še neregularno zasnovano po višini. Pri povezanosti s sosednjimi objekti smo pri stavbah in stolpih predpostavili vogalno lego, ki v splošnem deluje neugodno zaradi povečanih torzijskih vplivov. Poleg tega smo pri cerkvah upoštevali tudi lego na neugodnem terenu (teren v naklonu).

Rezultati

Ocene ranljivosti za posamezno tipologijo objektov so prikazane na sliki 7. Rezultati so podani v obliki histogramov poškodb, ki prikazujejo verjetnost doseganja posamezne stopnje poškodovanosti po EMS znotraj treh intenzitetnih con, ki jih prikazuje slika 5. Verjetnosti doseganja posamezne stopnje poškodovanosti so bile izračunane na podlagi postopka, prikazanega na sliki 3. Slika 7 poleg stopnje poškodovanosti prikazuje tudi meje med posameznimi mejnimi stanji po Evrokodu 8-3. Interval do



*Kolizej v Ljubljani
(porušen leta 2011)*

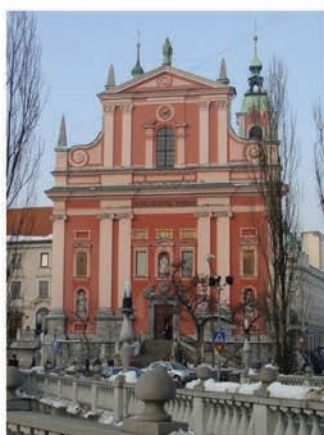


Kadetnica v Mariboru



*Auerspergova palača v Ljubljani
(danes Mestni muzej Ljubljana)*

(a) Stavbe



Frančiškanska cerkev v Ljubljani



Cerkev sv. Mohorja v Gornjem Gradu



Cerkev Marije Snežne v Solčavi

(b) Cerkve



*Stolp Tabor v vasi Lokevič na Krasu
(danes Vojaški muzej Tabor)*



*Okrogel kamnit stolp na gradu
Rihemberk v Vipavski dolini*

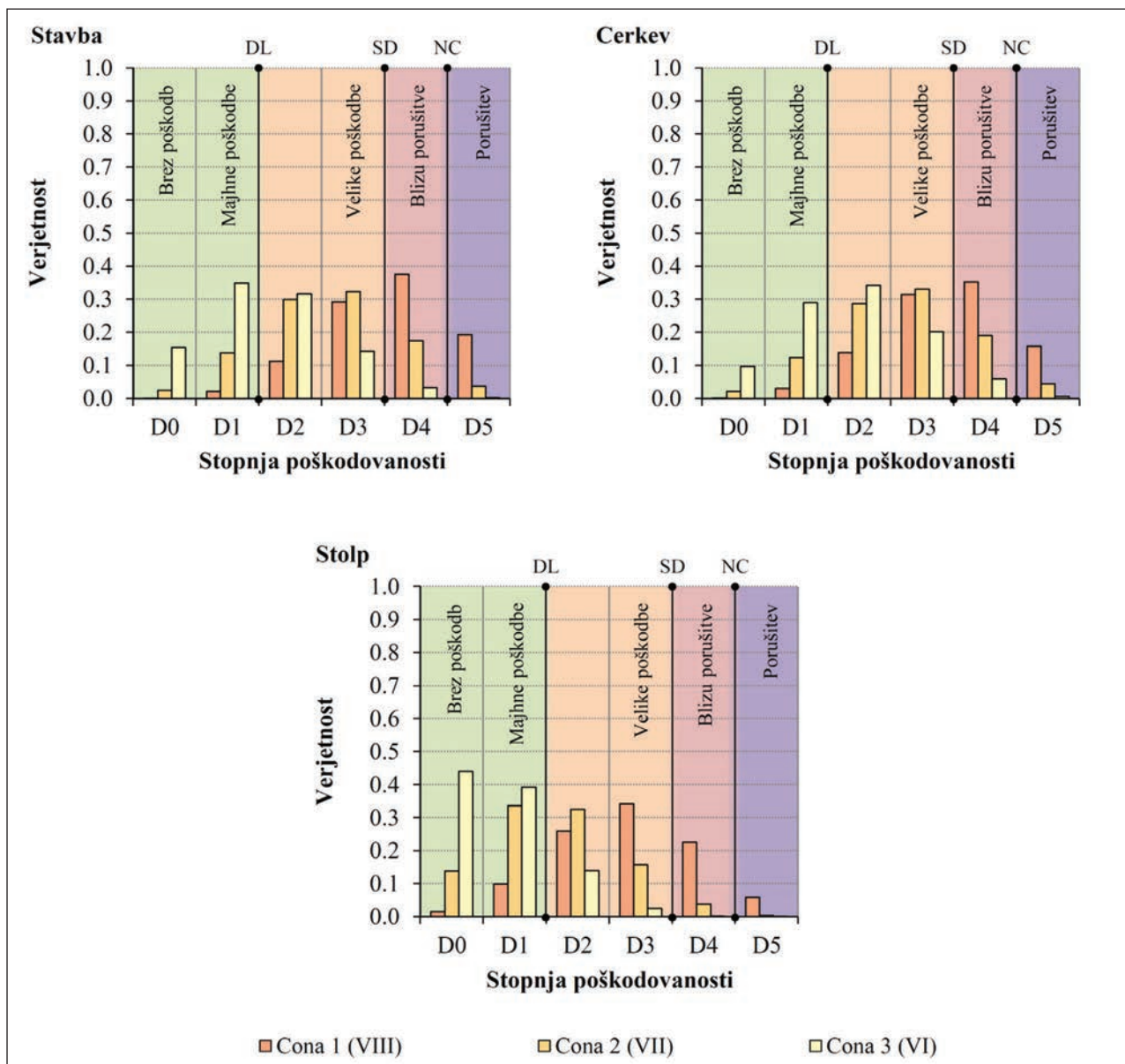


Zvonik cerkve sv. Jurija v Piranu

(c) Stolpi / zvoniki

Slika 6: Primeri objektov, ki pripadajo izbranim tipologijam: (a) stavbe, (b) cerkve, (c) stolpi

Figure 6: Examples of structures corresponding to a certain typology: (a) buildings, (b) churches and (c) towers



Slika 7: Verjetnost pojavitve določene stopnje poškodovanosti, ki velja v posameznih intenzitetnih conah (povratna doba potresa $T_r = 475$ let)

Figure 7: Damage grade probability for a specific intensity zone (return period $T_r = 475$ years)

mejnega stanja DL predstavlja območje brez poškodb oz. manjših poškodb. Med mejnima stanjema DL in SD se na konstrukciji pojavljajo zmernejše poškodbe, vendar je konstrukcija še stabilna. Med mejnima stanjema SD in NC je konstrukcija zelo močno poškodovana in je že na meji porušitve. Ko je preseženo mejno stanje NC, pa se konstrukcija poruši. Podrobnejši opis poškodb pri posameznem mejnem stanju je opisan na sliki 2. Iz rezultatov na sliki 7 je razvidno, da stopnja poškodovanosti po pričakovanjih narašča z intenziteto. Najmanjše poškodbe nastanejo znotraj cone 3 (intenziteta VI), nekoliko večje

znotraj cone 2 (intenziteta VII), največje pa znotraj cone 1 (intenziteta VIII). Razporeditev doseženih stopenj poškodb je močno odvisna tudi od tipologije objektov. Stavbe in cerkve imajo med seboj podobno razporeditev poškodb. Verjetnost pojavitve poškodb je pri teh dveh tipologijah pretežno v območju med DL in NC. Pri obeh tipologijah velja, da bi večina objektov pri intenzitetah VII in VIII presegla mejno stanje DL.

Izkaže se, da so stolpi oz. zvoniki najmanj ranljiva skupina, saj bi jih pri intenziteti VI 44 odstotkov ostalo nepoškodovanih (stopnja poškodovanosti D0), pri inten-

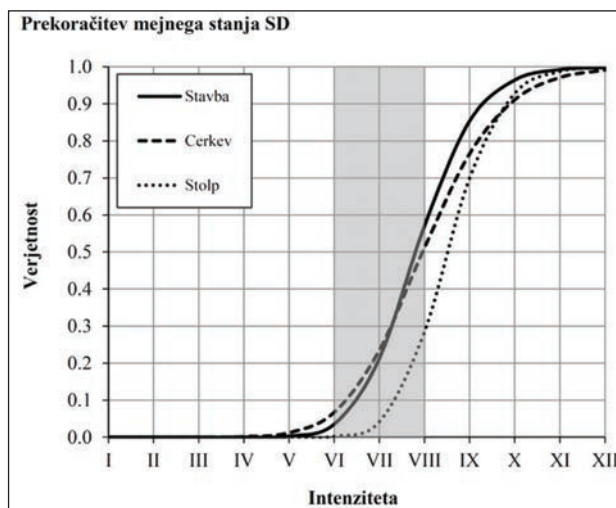
ziteti VIII pa bi jih nepoškodovanih ostalo le okoli tri odstotke. Preostali deleži bi utrpeli poškodbe od stopnje D1 do D4. Z višanjem intenzitete se situacija poslabšuje. Pri intenziteti VII je največja verjetnost pojavitve poškodb tipa D1 (okoli 34 %) in D2 (okoli 32 %). Približno enaka verjetnost je tudi pri intenziteti VIII, le da je tu pričakovan tip poškodb D3.

Največja verjetnost poškodb razreda poškodovanosti med D2 in D3 torej velja za stavbe in cerkve pri vseh treh intenzitetah. To velja tudi za stolpe pri intenzitetah VII in VIII. Verjetnost popolne porušitve (stopnja D5) je največja pri stavbah (okoli 20 %) in cerkvah (okoli 17 %). Predpis Evrokod 8-3, ki ureja zahteve glede protipotresnega utrjevanja konstrukcij, določa, da konstrukcija izkazuje dovolj veliko potresno varnost, če pri projektni potresni obremenitvi za $T_R = 475$ let mejno stanje SD ni preseženo. Pri tem mejnem stanju je konstrukcija močnejše poškodovana. Nosilni elementi še vedno lahko prenašajo vertikalno obtežbo in v določeni meri tudi horizontalno, kar omogoča preživetje ponovljenega zmernege popotresnega sunka. Zaradi velikosti in števila poškodovanih elementov popravilo verjetno ni več ekonomično. Dodatno predpis zahteva tudi preveritev preseganja mejnega stanja DL (v Sloveniji se upošteva potres s $T_R = 95$ let) ter mejnega stanja NC (upošteva se potres s $T_R = 2475$ let).

Verjetnosti preseganja mejnega stanja SD za obravnavane tipologije objektov so prikazane na sliki 8. Ob upoštevanju rezultatov s slike 7 je določitev te verjetnosti dokaj trivialna, saj so v tem primeru prikazani rezultati že bili določeni za povratno dobo 475 let. Tako lahko na podlagi zadnje enačbe iz slike 3 preseganje mejnega stanja SD določimo kot kumulativno verjetnost za stopnji poškodovanosti D4 in D5.

S slike 8 je tudi razvidno, da sta tipologiji stavb in cerkva najbolj ogroženi. Za stavbe verjetnost prekoračitve mejnega SD pri intenziteti VIII dosega 57 odstotkov. Povedano drugače, v coni z intenziteto VIII, ki zajema osrednjo, dobršen del severozahodne in jugovzhodno Slovenijo, bi se ob potresu, ki se lahko pojavi z desetodstotno verjetnostjo v petdesetih letih, kar 57 odstotkov zgodovinskih zidanih stavb močno poškodovalo ali celo porušilo. Tudi pri intenziteti VII je ta verjetnost še vedno razmeroma visoka in znaša približno 20 odstotkov. Pri intenziteti VI se ta verjetnost krepko zmanjša in znaša samo štiri odstotke. Zelo podobne vrednosti veljajo tudi za cerkve. Razlog za tako obnašanje je slaba konstrukcijska zasnova takih objektov, ki pri cerkvah pogosto vključuje visoke vertikalne elemente z velikimi razponi. Pri stavbah pa je zaradi lesenih stropov pogosta slabša povezanost s sosednjimi zidovi, kar zelo neugodno vpliva na potresni odziv takih objektov. To se v analizi odraža že v izhodiščnem indeksu ranljivosti (V_0), pri katerem je za stavbe bila privzeta vrednost $V_0 = 0.83$, kar ustreza razredu ranljivosti B po EMS (preglednica 1).

Pri cerkvah je bila ranljivost ocenjena še nekoliko višje, in sicer z indeksom $V_0 = 0.89$. Z upoštevanjem



Slika 8: Krivulje ranljivosti za izbrane tipologije objektov

Figure 8: Fragility curves of selected typologies

korekcijskih faktorjev pa se je vrednost končnega indeksa ranljivosti za obe tipologiji še povečala in v obeh primerih znaša približno 1.0 (preglednica 3), kar ustreza razredu ranljivosti A po EMS. V ta razred uvrščamo najranljivejše objekte, zato se tudi pri ocenjevanju ranljivosti, ki jo podaja lestvica EMS, pričakuje, da bo pri intenziteti VIII med 20 in 60 odstotkov objektov utrpelo stopnje poškodovanosti tipa D4 ter 20 odstotkov tipa D5 (porušitev), kar skupaj nanese od 40 do 80 odstotkov za obe stopnji poškodovanosti skupaj. V povprečju je to ravno 60 odstotkov, kar je zelo blizu verjetnosti preseganja mejnega stanja SD za stavbe (57 %), ki smo jo dobili z analizo, pri čemer smo upoštevali kumulativno verjetnost dveh stopenj poškodovanosti (D4 in D5). Tako ujemanje naše analize z metodo analize po lestvici EMS potrjuje ustreznost izbrane metode. Poleg stavb in cerkva se pri intenziteti VIII tudi stolpi izkažejo kot zelo ranljiva tipologija, saj bi bilo pri kar 28 odstotkih prekoračeno mejno stanje SD. Pri višjih intenzitetah ranljivost hitro pade, in sicer na zgolj štiri odstotke pri intenziteti VII, pri intenziteti VI pa je zanemarljivo majhna.

Iz navedenega sledi, da je pri stavbah, cerkvah in večinoma tudi stolpih (izjema je cona z intenziteto VI) razmeroma velika verjetnost preseganja mejnega stanja SD pri večjih intenzitetah (VII in VIII). Slika 8 za omenjene tri tipologije predstavlja t. i. krivulje ranljivosti (angl. fragility curves), ki za posamezno tipologijo prikazujejo verjetnost prekoračitve mejnega stanja SD v odvisnosti od intenzitete po EMS. Določene so na podlagi kumulativne verjetnosti po zadnji enačbi na sliki 3 za vsako intenziteto posebej. Krivulje ranljivosti sicer običajno prikazujejo verjetnost v odvisnosti od a_g (Symakezis, 2006). Ker imamo v analizi opravka z intenzitetami in ker v splošnem zveza med intenziteto in projektnim

Preglednica 6: Deleži objektov, ki bi pri projektni potresni obremenitvi ($T_R = 475$ let) znotraj posameznih intenzitetnih con verjetno utrpeli večje (nepopravljive) poškodbe

Table 6: The amount of structures that would in specific intensity zones sustain greater (irreparable) damage in the case of the design seismic loading ($T_R = 475$ years)

Intenziteta	Večja mesta / kraji / regije	Močnejše poškodovani objekti
VIII	Ljubljana, Kranj, Celje, Bovec, Postojna, Trbovlje, Novo mesto ...	57 % (stavbe) 51 % (cerkve) 30% (stolpi)
VII	Nova Gorica, Jesenice, Ribnica, Velenje, Dravograd, Ptuj, Murska Sobota ...	21 % (stavbe) 24 % (cerkve) 4% (stolpi)
VI	Portorož, Maribor, Gornja Radgona, severno Pomurje (Goričko) ...	4 % (stavbe) 7 % (cerkve) 1 % (stolpi)

pospeškom tal ni enoznačno določljiva, predstavitev krivulj ranljivosti v takem formatu ne bi bila smiselna.

S slike 8 je razvidno, da pri vseh treh tipologijah obstaja verjetnost presegevanja mejnega stanja SD šele od intenzitete V dalje, kar je skladno tudi z lestvico EMS, ki poškodbe na konstrukcijah predvideva šele pri intenziteti V. Pri intenziteti XII ta verjetnost pri vseh tipologijah presega 98 odstotkov. Za cerkve in stolpe do intenzitete VII je značilen dokaj podoben potek krivulje ranljivosti, pri čemer je pri cerkvah verjetnost presegevanja mejnega stanja SD nekoliko večja, od intenzitete VII dalje pa je ta verjetnost večja pri stavbah. Največja razlika je pri intenziteti IX in znaša okoli 15 odstotkov. V primerjavi s stavbami in cerkvami je za stolpe značilna dokaj nižja verjetnost prekoračitve tega mejnega stanja. Največja razlika je pri intenziteti VIII, kjer presega 20 odstotkov. Krivulja ranljivosti je za stolpe premaknjena nekoliko bolj v desno. Razlog za tako obnašanje je dobra zasnova takih objektov, saj so običajno zelo masivni in čokati (značilna je majhna vitkost). Posledično je pri teh objektih nižji tudi indeks ranljivosti (V), ki pri stolpih po upoštevanju korekcijskih faktorjev znaša 0.9. Pri stavbah in cerkvah z nekoliko manj ugodno izhodiščno zasnovo znaša indeks ranljivosti 1.03 oz. 1.05 (preglednica 3). Pri intenziteti X ranljivost stolpov nekoliko preseže ranljivost cerkva, vendar je ta razlika minimalna in znaša največ okoli tri odstotke.

SKLEP IN RAZPRAVA

Na podlagi izvedene analize je mogoče zaključiti, da stavbe, cerkve in stolpi spadajo v izjemno ranljivo

skupino objektov arhitekturne dediščine v Sloveniji. Pri najpogostejših in tudi najbolj ogroženih tipologijah, tj. cerkvah in do tri etaže visokih zidanih stavbah, veljajo znotraj posameznih intenzitetnih con zaključki, prikazani v preglednici 6. Kljub temu je treba poudariti, da gre v prikazani analizi le za grobo oceno ranljivosti, ki velja za območje celotne Slovenije, ob predpostavljanih vrednostih indeksov V in Q , ki so bile pridobljene ob opazovanju poškodb na objektih v severni Italiji, ki so jih v preteklem desetletju prizadeli potresi. Za prenos metode na območje Slovenije, pa smo v okviru te študije določili korekcijske faktorje (preglednica 5), ki vključujejo lokalne arhitekturne, konstrukcijske in druge značilnosti vezane na izbrane tipologije.

Zaključimo lahko torej, da na območju Slovenije obstaja povečana potresna ogroženost za stavbe in cerkve na območjih s VIII. stopnjo potresne intenzitete po EMS. Gre za pas, ki poteka od severozahoda, preko osrednje Slovenije in proti jugovzhodu države. Na tem območju lahko pričakujemo, da se bo ob potresu s povratno dobo 475-let poškodovala več kot polovica takšnih objektov. Posegi za povečanje potresne odpornosti arhitekturne dediščine morajo na tem področju biti usmerjeni v ti dve tipologiji objektov.

Rezultat analize ranljivosti znotraj določenega geografskega območja daje podatek o vplivu potresa na arhitekturno dediščino v obravnavani regiji za posamezni tip objekta. Na območju Slovenije pri objektih arhitekturne dediščine je torej sorazmerno veliko potresno tveganje. To pomeni, da je povečanje potresne odpornosti (varnosti) eden izmed ključnih dejavnikov pri načrtovanju sanacije takih objektov.

SEISMIC VULNERABILITY ASSESSMENT OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE BUILDINGS IN SLOVENIA

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SUMMARY

Historical structures were usually not designed to withstand seismic loads. During recent earthquake events in the Mediterranean a high degree of damage was observed on structures of architectural heritage. The article analyses the assessment of seismic vulnerability of such structures in Slovenia. A probabilistic assessment method based on the European macroseismic scale (the EMS) is presented. The method is based on observations of actual damage to individual buildings during earthquakes. Based on data available in the Slovenian Register of cultural heritage real estate and seismic intensity zones a special hybrid map was developed that shows individual cultural heritage structures, placed in the area of a certain seismic intensity. Analyses were performed for three characteristic building typology units: historic masonry buildings, churches and masonry towers. For each typology the probability of a specific state of damage in the event of an earthquake is presented. The study concludes that in Slovenia an increased seismic risk exists for historic masonry buildings and churches in areas with the VIII-th EMS intensity level. In this areas historic masonry buildings and churches have more than 50% probability that an earthquake with a return period of 475 years would cause severe damage or collapse. Therefore, when deciding for safeguarding measures for such structures ensuring sufficient earthquake resistance must also be considered.

Keywords: architectural heritage, seismic resistance, vulnerability assessment, heritage conservation

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NEIGHBOURHOOD ATTACHMENT IN CENTRAL AND PERIPHERAL AREAS OF BELGRADE: EVIDENCE FROM STARI GRAD AND KALUĐERICA

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ABSTRACT

The focus of this article is on two typical inner urban and peripheral neighbourhoods in the city of Belgrade, e.g. Stari grad and Kaluderica, which are comparatively analysed in terms of their residents' appreciation of the neighbourhood's social and physical environment, and development of bond and sentiment towards these neighbourhoods. By employment of a questionnaire survey analyses, the aim of the paper is to investigate individual (or group) of factors which mostly influence the components of neighbourhood attachment in the presented case study areas of a city undergoing a post-socialist transition.

Keywords: attachment, survey, neighbourhood, urban, suburban

L'ATTACCAMENTO AL QUARTIERE NELLE ZONE CENTRALI E PERIFERICI DI BELGRADO: EVIDENZE DA STARI GRAD E KALUĐERICA

SINTESI

Il focus di questo articolo è su due quartieri, un interno urbano e un periferico, tipici nella città di Belgrado, ad esempio, Stari grad e Kaluderica, che sono analizzati e comparati in termini dell'apprezzamento dell'ambiente sociale e fisico dei quartieri dai loro residenti, e dello sviluppo di legame e il loro affetto verso questi quartieri. Applicando un'analisi dell'indagine via questionari, lo scopo del lavoro è quello di esaminare i singoli (o multipli) fattori che influenzano di più dei componenti di attaccamento verso il quartiere nelle aree presentate come i casi di studio di una città nella fase di transizione post-socialista.

Parole chiavi: attaccamento, indagine, quartiere, urbano, suburbano

INTRODUCTION

From a sustainable urban development perspective, it has been argued that living in inner urban areas demonstrates numerous advantages over living in the urban periphery. In contrast to compact urban living, suburban forms are often characterised by discontinuity, leap-frogging and low densities. Typical examples of such sprawl may be found in North American-type of urban settings, being characterised by zoned areas with a single dominant use and low land-use intensity, relative uniformity of housing, weaker connections and lower accessibility as well as by reduced walkability (Petrić & Bajić, 2015, 135–136). However, in contrast to North American middle-classes who live mostly in suburbs, European middle-classes are mainly located in the inner city or better-off suburban areas. Conversely, those who cannot exercise their residential choice are increasingly concentrated in suburban areas of the European cities, whereas in North America, they predominantly inhabit the inner city areas (Szirmai, 2011, 15).

For countries which were under socialism/communism in the period between 1950s and 1990s, the state took the role of primary urban developer, and that was possible since most urban land and large production means were put in public ownership. The demand for labour in the growing urban/industrial centres attracted in-migration from rural areas and smaller towns to bigger urban centres, but public housing within socialist cities was limited both in quantity and in allocation rules. Therefore, not all of the housing demand could have been accommodated in cities; hence this opened a way to peri-urban concentration of the incoming population. In Serbia, almost 90% of agricultural resources had been privately owned (Hirt, 2009, 296). With the administrative control being less stringent at the urban periphery where people could acquire land from agricultural owners in order to develop a house, such self-help housing option became the mode to overcome the income-price problems (Kovács & Tosics, 2014).

The role of the neighbourhood in post-socialist countries undergoes transformation. In former Yugoslavia and Socialist Republic of Serbia “working people in a settlement, part of a settlement or several interconnected settlements had a right and duty to organise themselves into a local community with a view to realising specific common interests and needs in the fields of: physical improvement of their settlement, housing, communal activities, child care and social security, education, culture, physical culture, consumer protection, the conservation and improvement of the human environment, national defence, social self-protection, and in other spheres of life and work” (Triska & Barbic, 1980, 87). Yet this has changed with privatisation and marketization of the housing system and increased residential mobility. The transition from a centrally planned to market-driven economy is often argued to affect neighbourhoods

decline in importance for intensive social interaction, cohesion and equality, having that traditional ties succumb to the influence of privatism and individualism (Fischer et al., 1977; Guest & Wierzbicki, 1999; Ma, 2002). Generally, in the Serbian urban context, people who can exercise their residential choice would opt for the inner city living, where land is scarce but urban facilities and amenities are concentrated. Socio-economic status or the lack of financial sources would still drive people to find cheaper housing at the urban periphery. In addition, some have to choose suburban neighbourhoods due to unemployment issues in the inner city and unaffordability of its life commodities (Krisjane & Berzins, 2012). These factors are in contrast to the Western countries suburbanisation drivers, i.e. aspiration of the affluent population to attain a dream-house in suburbs (Petrić & Bajić, 2015). Various studies have hypothesised that neighbourhood attachment is linked to social networks (social cohesion) and physical environments, namely because both social and physical environments contribute to community identification and community sentiment (Zhu et al., 2012, 2440; Logan, 1978; Newman & Duncan, 1979; Lee & Guest, 1983). With that in view, the focus of this research is on factor(s) which influence neighbourhood attachment in two opposite types of neighbourhoods in a post-socialist city.

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY: NEIGHBOURHOOD ATTACHMENT

Among all dimensions of residential preference, neighbourhood attachment is regarded as the most personal one. Like Fischer et al. (1977, 156) argue, attachment to place is multidimensional and different types of people are attached to places for different reasons. As people not only choose to live in places that match their preferences (if they can afford it), but they also tend to adjust their view to favour current circumstances, attachment is seen as one of the resident’s adapting mechanisms to the neighbourhood (Talen, 2001; Brower, 1988).

This dimension of residential preference concerns residents’ emotional attachment to the neighbourhood in which they reside, and their satisfaction with the neighbourhood in meeting individual needs. In this respect, authors like Adams (1992a) and Hunter (1974; 1978) distinguish two aspects of attachment: community sentiment (related to overall emotional attachment to the neighbourhood) and community evaluation (related to rational assessment of the relative advantages and disadvantages of living in a particular neighbourhood).

As Adams (1992a, 219) points out: “on the surface, community sentiments and community evaluation may appear to be quite similar (as) for instance, both are seen as outcomes of participation and integration within the local community”. However, what makes a clear distinction between the two is the way in which residents

assess the local community: either by emotions only (community sentiment) or by involving rational judgment (community evaluation).

In sociological research, from the Chicago school of urban sociology to the present days, the majority of studies has focused on the neighbourhood as a social unit and the assessments of residential preference have pivoted on the role of neighbourhood attachment, mainly regarded through the aspect of community sentiment (Wekerle, 1985; Talen, 2001). In comparison to other city subareas, neighbourhoods, which are something less than a municipality but more than a few city blocks, are viewed as physical and social environments that affect the lives of their inhabitants (Olson, 1982). There are researchers who believe that in context of globalisation and urbanisation processes, the neighbourhood becomes even more important as a place of refuge (Zhu et al., 2012, 2443). The proponents of New Urbanism think that certain built environment may create a “sense of community”, but even though there may be appreciation of the neighbourhood’s physical and social environment, some other researchers believe that bonds and sentiments with a neighbourhood develop only with actual involvement in local social relationships (Zhu et al., 2012; Mesch & Manor, 1998; Stedman, 2003). In addition, some researchers find that social contacts and local social networks play much more important role in neighbourhood attachment within less affluent areas whereas attachment to “leafy” neighbourhoods is more conditioned by the physical component (Plas & Lewis, 1996; Forrest & Kearns, 2001).

Regarding factors which have the influence on community sentiment, Hunter (1974; 1978), Kasarda & Janowitz (1974) and Wellman (1979) argue that “local statuses” (e.g. age, length of residence, children living in the home, marital status and religion) affect the kinds of people we meet, the friends we make, and our sentimental feelings toward the neighbourhood itself. Fischer (1982) states that people’s gender also relates to community sentiment as ‘women traditionally are more responsible for childcare, shopping and other household tasks performed in the local community, ... (therefore), they are more likely to have locally-based social network ties and strong community sentiments when compared to men’. Also, in addition to age and length of residence, it is also the homeownership that affects feelings of sentimental attachment to the residential neighbourhood (Lee et al., 1991). Other studies emphasize the importance, but not a distinctive priority, of interpersonal ties (social interaction with one’s neighbours) as determinants of emotional attachment to the neighbourhood (Campbell et al., 1976; Zehner, 1972; Adams, 1992a). Despite the diversity of these findings, they all reflect the position that the local residential environment remains a meaningful unit for participation, investment, and commitment in modern societies (Fried, 1982).

In studies on community evaluation, it is argued that individual social statuses, different cultural values and desired goals, influence this aspect of neighbourhood attachment. According to Hunter (1974; 1978) cultural values, which are best captured by examining race and social class have a strong effect on community evaluation. Several studies also suggest that the length of residence as a measure of neighbourhood stability influences community evaluation (Litwak, 1961; Fischer, 1982; Lee et al., 1991; Adams, 1992a). There are, however, studies, which underlie that in general, ‘the effects of background variables such as race, income and tenure on community evaluation are small relative to the effects of perceived neighbourhood attributes such as friendliness of neighbours, noise, safety or quality of shops and schools’ (see: Campbell et al., 1976; Fried, 1982; Lee & Guest, 1983; Spain, 1988). Similar conclusions are drawn in the research done by Parkes et al. (2002, 23), where results showed that ‘perceived neighbourhood attributes are a much better guide than personal and housing background variables to understanding neighbourhood satisfaction’.

As Adams (1992a) suggests, community life affects community evaluation in ways which are both similar to and different from community sentiments. Objective characteristics of the local community, perceptions of those conditions, social statuses, and the interactions community members have with each other may affect both community sentiment and community evaluation. Community evaluation, however, is more sensitive to the local conditions such as crime and environmental problems than to participation in local communities via social network (Guest & Lee, 1983).

In sum, the ordering and strength of factors affecting neighbourhood attachment differ depending on whether one focuses on community sentiment or community evaluation. In the research on the relationship between the type of physical environment and neighbourhood attachment, there are two models that are most influential. The first model is called *linear* or *density-dependent* model and it follows the approach of Louis Wirth (1938), arguing that high-density living, coupled with relative anonymity of the individual and increased social disorder, puts greater tensions on daily life than smaller, longer-established and more homogeneous rural communities. This model predicted that neighbourhood satisfaction was inversely related to size of the neighbourhood and to the density and heterogeneity of the population (see: Adams, 1992b; Parkes et al., 2002).

In contrast to the linear model, the *systematic* model is based on the length of residence rather than on population size and density. The systematic model, as proposed by Kasarda and Janowitz (1974), suggests that satisfaction with the residential neighbourhood depends more on social factors linked to an individual respondent’s length of residence, system of friendship and kinship networks, and formal and informal associational ties.



Figure 1: Stari grad – urban (central) area of Belgrade

Therefore, it is possible to have increased attachment towards relatively crowded urban neighbourhoods in which residents have established good social networks over time (Parkes et al., 2002).

Even though traditional urbanism advocates and other sustainable city supporters suggest that ‘suburbanities are unattached’, research mainly shows the lack of a relationship between attachment and acceptance of traditional urban principles. Moreover, it is suggested that residents who are less attached or even unattached to suburbia are not necessarily more likely or willing to be attached to a different residential environment (Talen, 2001).

RESEARCH DESIGN FOR TESTING INFERENCES ON NEIGHBOURHOOD ATTACHMENT IN STARI GRAD AND KALUĐERICA

The case-studies for designing a survey on neighbourhood attachment of urban and suburban residents in the city of Belgrade have been chosen in order to represent a high contrast in terms of the physical settings.

Urban municipality of Stari grad (Figure 1) is the old core of Belgrade, which presents cultural, historical, architectural and economic hub of the city. Even its name Stari grad (Engl. “Old town”) depicts its role and position in the long period of development. The present administrative boundaries of Stari grad were outlined back in 1961 so that it encompasses 650 ha, or 435 ha of the mainland area and 215 ha of aquatic area (UB ŠF, IAUS,

2012). Its present population is approximately 48,000 people, which is 14% less than what was registered in previous census. In demographic terms, Stari grad is one of the oldest parts of Belgrade since more than 1/4 of its population is older than 60 years of age.

Kaluderica, as a suburban (peripheral) area of the city is infamous example for comprehensive illegal construction which had a kick-off in late 1960s due to lack of available flats in Belgrade. This formerly rural settlement became attractive for migrants coming from all over the country because of its proximity (12 km from the centre of Belgrade), favourable position – road connections, and most of all because the Master Plan of Belgrade that was endorsed in the early 1970s, drew the line right in front of Kaluderica allowing individual housing development there and not in the urban part of Belgrade (Saveljić, 1989; Žerjav, 2014; Petrić and Bajić, 2015). Its present population is approximately 27,000 living at the territory of 932 ha.

The type of research design which was performed in the two case-study areas was a survey, which included the following operations: 1) composition of the questionnaire; 2) composition of the codebook; 3) determination of the sample; 4) collection of the data; 5) data entry, data organisation and presentation, and data analysis and 6) interpretation of results.

Questionnaire survey in Kaluderica was conducted in the period February-March 2014, followed by the survey in Stari grad in the period April-July 2014. The



Figure 2: Kaluderica – suburban (peripheral) area of Belgrade

sample in Kaluderica was 91 respondents and in Stari grad 81 respondents. Each participating household was represented by one respondent only who was expressing his or her personal perception on the attachment to the residential neighbourhood, social and environmental context, physical planning issues, etc.

Once the data were collected and transferred to codes amenable to quantitative analyses, the statistical procedures of the SPSS Version 21.0 were applied.

FINDINGS ON FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE NEIGHBOURHOOD ATTACHMENT IN BELGRADE'S (SUB)URBAN NEIGHBOURHOODS

In reference to previous research on the underlying components of neighbourhood attachment (community sentiment and community evaluation), this empirical study considered these variables as the dependent ones and number of factors of socio-economic characteristics, ecological conditions and perception on those conditions in the neighbourhood as independent variables. Tests were conducted for two case-study areas of Belgrade: Stari grad (urban) and Kaluderica (suburban).

First hypothesis to be tested is that two neighbourhoods of central (urban) and peripheral (suburban) type statistically differ in terms of their residents' community sentiment.

Since the assumption on equal variances has been violated (Sig. value .004 in Levine's Test is less than

.05) we are looking under the second line for the Sig. (2-tailed) value (Table 1). This value (.004) is less than required cut off of .05, and we conclude that there is a statistically significant difference in the mean community sentiment to the residential neighbourhood between residents of Stari grad (mean score: 3.88) and Kaluderica (mean score: 3.41). According to Cohen (1988) the magnitude of differences between the two neighbourhoods in terms of community sentiment can be calculated using the following formula for eta squared: $\text{Eta squared} = t^2 : (t^2 + (N1+N2-2))$. Replacing with the appropriate values from the T-test (Table 1), the obtained result is 0.05, which explains that there is a small effect size for difference in community sentiments between residents of Stari grad and Kaluderica.

From a number of statistical analyses on relationships between independent variables: household type; gender; age; highest achieved level of education; home ownership; duration of living in a present neighbourhood; childhood type of neighbourhood; happiness with the contacts with neighbours; feeling of safety in the neighbourhood; perceived pollution problems; and satisfaction with the overall facilities provided by the neighbourhood, and community sentiment in Stari grad, there was only one statistically significant relationship documented, and that was a **medium positive correlation** between lack of perceived pollution problems in Stari grad and community sentiment (emotional attachment) to this neighbourhood ($r=.30$) (Table 2).

Table 1: Independent samples T-test for difference in mean scores of community sentiment to the residential neighbourhood between Stari grad and Kaluderica

Neighbourhood		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Community sentiment	Urban neighbourhood - Stari grad	81	3.88	.927	.103
	Suburban neighbourhood - Kaluderica	91	3.41	1.192	.125

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Community sentiment	Equal variances assumed	8.672	.004	2.860	170	.005	.470	.164	.146	.794
	Equal variances not assumed			2.901	167.070	.004	.470	.162	.150	.790

Following are the results of Pearson Correlation between variable of community sentiment to Kaluderica and variables which have previously shown statistically significant influence on this variable while performing the individual tests.

When observing the results from Table 3, it can be noticed that there is **medium negative correlation** between lack of happiness with the overall facilities provided by Kaluderica and community sentiment in this neighbourhood ($r=-.42$); **small negative correlation** between level of education of the respondents in Kaluderica and community sentiment in it ($r=-.29$); and **small positive correlation** between community

sentiment in Kaluderica and happiness with contacts with neighbours ($r=.28$); feeling of safety in Kaluderica ($r=.27$); respondent's age group ($r=.22$); and household type ($r=.11$), respectively.

The empirical research involving community evaluation was based on development of Neighbourhood Satisfaction Scale (NSS) for each of the two neighbourhoods as a measure of their residents' community evaluation (total neighbourhood satisfaction). NSS consists of 7 items, each one of them ranked from 1 to 7 (1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=mildly disagree; 4=neutral/undecided; 5=mildly agree; 6=agree; 7=strongly agree). The 7 items of scale are: 1) like of convenient location;

Table 2: Pearson Correlation between variable of environmental context and community sentiment in Stari grad

Neighbourhood			Lack of perceived pollution problems in the neighbourhood
Urban neighbourhood - Stari grad	Emotional attachment to the residential neighbourhood	Pearson Correlation	.302**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.006
		N	81

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 3: Pearson Correlation between variables of environmental context and community sentiment in Kaluderica

			Correlations						
Neighbourhood			Emotional attachment to the residential neighbourhood	Household type	Respondent's age group	Highest level of education	Happiness with neighbourhood contacts	Feeling of safety in the neighbourhood	Lack of happiness with the overall facilities provided by the neighbourhood
Suburban neighbourhood - Kaluderica	Emotional attachment to the residential neighbourhood	Pearson Correlation	1	.109	.224*	-.291**	.283**	.273**	-.424**
		Sig. (2-tailed)		.303	.033	.005	.007	.009	.000
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91	91
	Household type	Pearson Correlation	.109	1	.453**	-.024	.080	.129	-.144
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.303		.000	.824	.449	.223	.172
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91	91
	Respondent's age group	Pearson Correlation	.224*	.453**	1*	-.128	.034	.198	-.100
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.033	.000		.226	.751	.060	.346
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91	91
	Highest level of education	Pearson Correlation	-.291**	-.024	-.128	1	-.189	-.142	.217*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.005	.824	.226		.072	.179	.039
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91	91
	Happiness with neighbourhood contacts	Pearson Correlation	.283**	.080	.034	-.189	1	.218*	-.399**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.007	.449	.751	.072		.038	.000
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91	91
	Feeling of safety in the neighbourhood	Pearson Correlation	.273**	.129	.198	-.142	.218*	1	-.274**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.223	.060	.179	.038		.009
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91	91
	Lack of happiness with the overall facilities provided by the neighbourhood	Pearson Correlation	-.424**	-.144	-.100	.217*	-.399**	-.274**	1
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.172	.346	.039	.000	.009	
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91	91

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

Table 4: Independent samples T-test for difference in mean scores of community evaluation to the residential neighbourhood between Stari grad and Kaluderica

Total neighbourhood satisfaction	Neighbourhood	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
	Urban neighbourhood - Stari grad	81	34.20	7.153	.795
	Suburban neighbourhood - Kaluderica	91	29.19	6.868	.720

		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Total neighbourhood satisfaction	Equal variances assumed	.815	.368	4.684	170	.000	5.011	1.070	2.899	7.123
	Equal variances not assumed			4.672	165.884	.000	5.011	1.072	2.893	7.128

2) like of 'village feel' (friendly people); 3) like of presence of facilities, amenities and house values; 4) like of quietness and safety; 5) like of good neighbours; 6) like of public transport system; and 7) like of environmental quality and level of cleanliness.

When forming a scale like NSS, the most important fact is its reliability, i.e. scale's internal consistency, or the degree to which the items that make up the scale 'hang together' (Pallant, 2001). All the items have to measure the same underlying construct or otherwise the scale we developed is not reliable. The most common measure of internal consistency of scale is Cronbach alpha coefficient. This coefficient should be above .7 for considering a scale to be reliable with our sample.

In the case of NSS, for each one of the two case-study neighbourhoods (urban and suburban), Cronbach's alpha was above this critical value: for Stari grad (.796), and for Kaluderica (.708).

Following the formation of NSS, the hypothesis to be tested is on difference between the two types of neighbourhoods in terms of their resident's community evaluation.

Since Sig. value (.368) in Levine's Test is above .05 (Table 4), the assumption on equality of variances has not been violated and we look under the first line for the Sig. (2-tailed) value. As this value (.000) is less than .05 that means there is a statistically significant difference between Stari grad and Kaluderica in the mean scores of community evaluation (total neighbourhood

satisfaction). According to the mean values from the Group Statistics Table, respondents from Stari grad had a higher mean total neighbourhood satisfaction (34.2) than respondents in Kaluderica (29.19). The magnitude of differences between the two neighbourhoods in terms of community evaluation of the residential neighbourhood shows **moderate effect** according to Cohen's (1988) Eta squared, which in this case equals 0.11.

The next step of analyses regarding community evaluation concerns testing the hypotheses on relationship among certain independent variables and community evaluation. Those independent variables are identified from the literature review, and they can be summarised to what Adams (1992a) addresses as 'ecological conditions' and 'perception on those conditions'. Here, the ecological conditions include 2 variables: duration of living in a present home, which is a measure of stability of the local area, and home ownership. Perception of ecological conditions is captured by the following variables: happiness with contacts with neighbours; perception on neighbourhood safety; satisfaction with public transport in the neighbourhood; satisfaction with the overall facilities, and perception on lack of certain facilities in the residential neighbourhood.

According to statistical T-tests (Tables 5 and 6) which were conducted in Stari grad and Kaluderica regarding the relationship between duration of living in a present home or home ownership on the one hand, and community evaluation (total neighbourhood satisfaction) on the

Table 5: Independent samples T-test for difference in mean scores of community evaluation in Stari grad and Kaluderica between residents living in their present home for less and equal 5 years and residents living in their present home for 6 years and longer

Group Statistics

Neighbourhood		Duration of living in the present home	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Urban neighbourhood - Stari grad	Total neighbourhood satisfaction	Less and equal 5 years	20	35.60	7.330	1.639
		6 years and more	61	33.74	7.094	.908
Suburban neighbourhood - Kaluderica	Total neighbourhood satisfaction	Less and equal 5 years	16	29.00	6.314	1.579
		6 years and more	75	29.23	7.020	.811

Independent Samples Test

Neighbourhood		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Total neighbourhood satisfaction in Stari grad	Equal variances assumed	.016	.898	1.011	79	.315	1.862	1.843	-1.806	5.530
	Equal variances not assumed			.994	31.522	.328	1.862	1.874	-1.957	5.682
Total neighbourhood satisfaction in Kaluderica	Equal variances assumed	.170	.681	-.119	89	.905	-.227	1.902	-4.006	3.552
	Equal variances not assumed			-.128	23.622	.899	-.227	1.774	-3.892	3.439

other, there was not a statistically significant difference in the mean scores of community evaluation between residents who have been living in their present home for less or equal 5 years and those who have been living in their present home for 6 years and longer, nor there was a difference between owner-occupiers and non-owner occupiers.

Following are the results of Pearson Correlation (Table 7) between variable of community evaluation (total neighbourhood satisfaction) in Stari grad and variables of perception of ecological conditions, which have previously shown statistically significant influence on this variable while performing the individual tests.

When observing the results from Table 7, it can be noticed that in Stari grad there is **large positive correlation** between satisfaction with public transport system and community evaluation ($r=.70$), between satisfaction with the overall facilities provided by this neighbourhood and community evaluation in it ($r=.568$), and between feeling of safety and community evaluation in Stari grad ($r=.529$); **medium positive correlation** between happiness with contacts with neighbours and community evaluation in Stari grad ($r=.48$); and **small negative correlation** between perception on the lack of facilities in Stari grad and community evaluation in it ($r=-.195$).

Table 6: Independent samples T-test for difference in mean scores of community evaluation in Stari grad and KaludERICA between owner- occupiers and non owner-occupiers

Group Statistics

Neighbourhood		Ownership over the house or flat	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Urban neighbourhood - Stari grad	Total neighbourhood satisfaction	Owner occupied	76	34.24	7.056	.809
		Not owner occupied	5	33.60	9.450	4.226
Suburban neighbourhood - KaludERICA	Total neighbourhood satisfaction	Owner occupied	83	29.33	6.949	.763
		Not owner occupied	8	27.75	6.182	2.186

Independent Samples Test

Neighbourhood		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Total neighbourhood satisfaction in Stari grad	Equal variances assumed	.601	.441	.192	79	.848	.637	3.322	-5.976	7.250
	Equal variances not assumed			.148	4.298	.889	.637	4.303	-10.990	12.263
Total neighbourhood satisfaction in KaludERICA	Equal variances assumed	.553	.459	.617	89	.539	1.575	2.551	-3.494	6.645
	Equal variances not assumed			.681	8.798	.514	1.575	2.315	-3.680	6.830

The results presented in Table 8, show that in KaludERICA there is **medium positive correlation** between satisfaction with the overall facilities provided by this neighbourhood and community evaluation in it ($r=.467$), between satisfaction with public transport system and community evaluation in KaludERICA ($r=.464$), and between happiness with contacts with neighbours and community evaluation in this neighbourhood ($r=.429$); **small positive correlation** between feeling of safety and community evaluation in KaludERICA (.296), and **small negative correlation** between perception on the lack of facilities in KaludERICA and community evaluation in it ($r=-.258$).

CONCLUSION

The main inferences of the study regarding neighbourhood attachment components (community senti-

ment and community evaluation) in central and peripheral parts of Belgrade showed both similarities and some particularities in comparison to what has been identified in the literature review on this subject.

First of all, the deductions of this study support the systematic model rather than the linear or density-dependent one since there is a statistically significant difference between the urban (Stari grad) and suburban (KaludERICA) neighbourhoods both in terms of community sentiment and community evaluation with higher mean scores in the urban neighbourhood.

Then, the presented research has proven a hypothesis that perceived neighbourhood attributes (overall facilities provision, and especially public transport system organisation; feeling of safety; and happiness with contacts with neighbours) are better predictors of community evaluation (total neighbourhood satisfaction)

Table 7: Pearson Correlation between variables of perception of ecological conditions and community evaluation in Stari grad

			Correlations					
Neighbourhood			Total neigh- bourhood satisfac- tion	Happi- ness with neigh- bourhood contacts	Feeling of safety	Satisfac- tion with public transport system	Satisfac- tion with the overall facilities provided by the neigh- bourhood	Perception on lack of facilities
Urban neigh- bourhood – Stari grad	Total neigh- bourhood satisfaction	Pearson Correlation	1	.477**	.529**	.700**	.568**	-.195
		Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.000	.000	.080
		N	81	81	81	81	81	81
	Happiness with neigh- bourhood contacts	Pearson Correlation	.477**	1	.326**	.306**	.308**	-.113
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.003	.005	.005	.315
		N	81	81	81	81	81	81
	Feeling of safety	Pearson Correlation	.529**	.326**	1	.207	.312**	-.051
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.003		.064	.005	.650
		N	81	81	81	81	81	81
	Satisfaction with public transport system	Pearson Correlation	.700**	.306**	.207	1	.486**	-.151
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.005	.064		.000	.178
		N	81	81	81	81	81	81
	Satisfaction with the over- all facilities provided by the neigh- bourhood	Pearson Correlation	.568**	.308**	.312**	.486**	1	-.363**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.005	.005	.000		.001
		N	81	81	81	81	81	81
	Perception on lack of facilities	Pearson Correlation	-.195	-.113	-.051	-.151	-.363**	1
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.080	.315	.650	.178	.001	
		N	81	81	81	81	81	81

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

than personal or housing background variables. Community sentiment, however, is much more difficult to predict, especially for the urban neighbourhood, where in the case of Stari grad there was just one independent variable (lack of perceived pollution problems in the neighbourhood) which showed a statistically significant relationship with community sentiment.

The observed relationships between independent variables and community sentiment and community evaluation as the dependent ones showed that in Bel-

grade's neighbourhoods, the physical environment and perception on that environment play a much more significant role for neighbourhood attachment than neighbourhood interactions. Particularity of the studied cases is that people put large importance on the public transport system organisation when they rationally assess relative (dis)advantages of their neighbourhood and develop the attachment to it. This could be an important guide for upgrading the residential environments, both central and the peripheral ones.

Table 8: Pearson Correlation between variables of perception of ecological conditions and community evaluation in Kaluderica

			Correlations					
Neighbourhood			Total neighbourhood satisfaction	Happiness with neighbourhood contacts	Feeling of safety	Satisfaction with public transport system	Satisfaction with the overall facilities provided by the neighbourhood	Perception on lack of facilities
Suburban neighbourhood – Kaluderica	Total neighbourhood satisfaction	Pearson Correlation	1	.429**	.296**	.464**	.467**	-.258*
		Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.004	.000	.000	.013
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91
	Happiness with neighbourhood contacts	Pearson Correlation	.429**	1	.161	.466**	.339**	-.134
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.127	.000	.001	.205
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91
	Feeling of safety	Pearson Correlation	.296**	.161	1	-.015	.251*	-.243*
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.004	.127		.889	.016	.020
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91
	Satisfaction with public transport system	Pearson Correlation	.464**	.466**	-.015	1	.390**	-.084
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.889		.000	.430
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91
	Satisfaction with the overall facilities provided by the neighbourhood	Pearson Correlation	.467**	.339**	.251*	.390**	1	-.453**
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.001	.016	.000		.000
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91
	Perception on lack of facilities	Pearson Correlation	-.258*	-.134	-.243*	-.084	-.453**	1
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.013	.205	.020	.430	.000	
		N	91	91	91	91	91	91

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

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NAVEZANOST NA NASELJE V CENTRALNIH IN PERIFERNIH PODROČJIH BEOGRADA: DOKAZI IZ NASELIJ STARI GRAD IN KALUĐERICE

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POVZETEK

Članek izhaja iz vprašanja kako se občutek skupnosti in evaluacija skupnosti, kot dve komponenti navezanosti na naselje, spreminjata odvisno od socio-ekonomskih značilnosti prebivalstva, kakor tudi od različnih vrst fizičnih okolij. Raziskava temelji na dveh študijah primera mestnega in primestnega tipa v mestu Beograd. Metodologija, ki je bila uporabljena pri raziskovanju, je metodologija družbenih raziskovanj, pri čemer so bili podatki zbrani z metodo vprašalnika. Statistične analize (T-test in Pirsonova korelacija) so opravljene s pomočjo programa SPSS. Rezultati so pokazali, da prebivalci mestnih naselij kažejo višjo stopnjo skupne navezanosti na naselje v katerem živijo glede na prebivalce primestnih naselij. Pokazalo se je, da osebne spremenljivke ali one v zvezi s stanovanjem v manjšem obsegu vplivajo na občutek skupnosti in evaluacijo skupnosti kot fizično okolje in percepcija tega okolja. Poseben rezultat te raziskave predstavlja značilna zmera do visoka pozitivna korelacija med zadovoljstvom s sistemom javnega prevoza in evaluacijo skupnosti v naseljih v katerih je bila izvedena anketa. Ta rezultat bi lahko vplival na prihodnjo politiko k bolj ambicioznim in bolj trajnostnim (pri)mestnim okoljem.

Ključne besede: navezanost, anketa, naselje, mestno, primestno

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NAČRTOVANJE V NASELJIH ZNOTRAJ KULTURNE KRAŠKE KRAJINE NA ŠTUDIJSKEM PRIMERU IDEJNE KRAJINSKO-URBANISTIČNE ZASNOVE DIVAČE

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IZVLEČEK

Kulturna kraška krajina predstavlja pomembno vrednoto znotraj slovenskega prostora. Namen članka je preveriti hipotezo, ki pravi, da so kraške reliefne oblike, s poudarkom na vrtačah, lahko vsestransko orodje in pomoč pri prostorskem načrtovanju naselij znotraj kraške krajine v primerih, ko se izgubljajo značilnosti in identiteta kulturne kraške krajine. Raziskovalno delo je slonelo na integraciji/povezovanju zgodovinske (zbiranje virov, morfogeneza) ter deskriptivne metode (analiza in inventarizacija prostora, analiza primerov dobre prakse, kategorizacija, izvedba ankete). Rezultati so predstavljeni na študijskem primeru idejne krajinsko-urbanistične zasnove Divače.

Ključne besede: kulturna kraška krajina, urbanistična zasnova, krajinska zasnova, Divača, identiteta, razvoj, mestna podoba

LA PROGETTAZIONE NEI CENTRI ABITATI DELL'AREA CULTURALE CARSICA SULL'ESEMPIO DEL PROGETTO DI STUDIO PAESAGGISTICO-URBANISTICO DI DIVAČA

SINTESI

Il paesaggio carsico ha un valore molto importante nel territorio sloveno. Lo scopo di questo articolo è quello di verificare l'ipotesi che sostiene che la morfologia del territorio carsico, specialmente le doline, possono essere di grande aiuto nella pianificazione territoriale degli insediamenti all'interno del paesaggio carsico nei casi in cui si perde l'identità culturale e le caratteristiche paesaggistiche. Il lavoro di ricerca si è basato sull'integrazione/il collegamento tra i metodi storici (raccolta delle informazioni, morfogenesi) e quelli descrittivi (analisi del paesaggio, analisi di esempi di una buona prassi, categorizzazione, svolta di un sondaggio). Il risultato di ricerca si basa sulla progettazione concettuale del paesaggio urbano di Divača.

Parole chiave: paesaggio carsico, progettazione urbana, progettazione del paesaggio, Divača, identità, sviluppo, paesaggio urbano

UVOD

Kulturne krajine, ki so plod tradicionalnega¹ gospodarjenja (rabe), so prepoznane kot vrednota (MOP, 2008). Njihove urbane in krajinske strukture predstavljajo pomemben element identitete prostora. V Strategiji prostorskega razvoja Slovenije² (SPRS, 2004, 55) je zapisano, da »je razvoj kulturne krajine optimalen, kadar razvoj krajine omogoča, da je ta nosilka nacionalne in lokalne identitete«. »Pomensko obogatene krajinske prvine so lahko nosilke tako osebne kot skupinske identitete – simboli pripadnosti določeni skupini« (Kučan, 1998). (Kulturna) kraška krajina ima zaradi svojih lastnosti in simbolne vloge še poseben nacionalni pomen (SPRS, 2004). Na Krasu sta predvsem geološka zgradba in relief najizraziteje pogojevala način razvoja kulturne krajine. V njej se odslikava težnja po ohranitvi in skrbi za rodovitno zemljo ter pitno vodo, največji dragočnosti Kraševcev.

Članek se z raziskavo geografsko omeji na kulturno kraško krajino Divaškega Krasa³ (izbrano študijsko območje je označeno na Sl. 2). Strateški prostorski dokumenti na ozemlju Divaškega Krasa namreč predvidevajo krepitev prometnega križišča z dograditvijo nove cestne in železniške infrastrukture (SPRS, 2004; Uredba, 2005; MOP, 2012). Sklepamo lahko, da bodo ti gonilna sila gospodarskega, družbenega in prostorskega razvoja. Vendar se sodobni človek 21. stoletja s svojimi dejavnostmi oddaljuje od neposrednega stika z domačo krajino. Možnost dostopa do naravnih virov s celega sveta je povzročila upad zavesti o »prednosti kulturne krajine, kakor se jih je zavedal tradicionalni agrarni človek« (Breg, 2007, 55). V intenzivno razvijajočih se naseljih na območju Krasa, kot so Logatec, Sežana, Divača, Kozina, se tekom prostorskega načrtovanja dejavnosti izkazuje težnja po zasipanju in pozidavi vrtač (Breg, 2007). Vrtače in druge kraške reliefne oblike⁴ so razpoznavna sestavina kraške krajine. Razvidno je, da se v procesu družbenogospodarskega razvoja odvija degradacija značilnosti kulturne kraške krajine,⁵ s tem pa se izgublja identiteta kraške krajine. Capuder Vidmar (2012) je mnenja, da sodobna kriza prostora izvira tudi iz odtujenosti med arhitekturnimi in urbanimi rešitvami ter prostorom, v katerega so postavljene. Če povzamemo, »se krajina zaradi intenzivnih družbenogospodarskih

procesov in globalizacije hitro spreminja in postaja vse bolj poenotena« (MOP, 2008, 1). To utemeljuje iskanje/raziskovanje načrtovalskih orodij za uresničevanje ciljev strateških prostorskih dokumentov na območjih kulturne kraške krajine.⁶

Hipoteza raziskave pravi, da prostorskim načrtovalcem na območju kulturne kraške krajine kraške reliefne oblike lahko predstavljajo orodje in pomoč za omilitev degradacije značilnosti in identitete kulturne kraške krajine. Cilj prispevka je skozi študijski primer idejne krajinsko-urbanistične rešitve Divače utemeljiti ohranjanje in vključevanje kraških reliefnih oblik v prostorske zasnove. Sprašujemo se o vlogi kraških reliefnih oblik oziroma vrtač s treh vidikov. Prvi vidik predstavlja vključevanje vrtač v zeleni sistem urbanih naselij kot prostor za rekreacijo in prosti čas. Drugi vidik je vključevanje oziroma prilagajanje krajinsko-arhitekturnih rešitev značilnostim vrtače in avtohtonemu materialu - kamnu. V tretjem vidiku vrtača predstavlja zgled za analogno oblikovanje v urbanih okoljih.⁷

Poglavje, ki sledi uvodu, je razdeljeno v tri dele. Prvi je opredelitev in opis metode raziskovalnega dela. Sledi izvedba metode na izbranem študijskem prostoru, (kulturni) kraški krajini Divaškega Krasa, in hkratna formulacija/pojasnitev vloge vrtače (kraških reliefnih oblik) v različnih okoliščinah. Poglavje se zaključí s stopnjevanjem deskriptivne metode, to je kategorizacijo pridobljenih podatkov o Divači na probleme in potenciale. V tretjem poglavju so predstavljeni rezultati, idejna krajinsko-urbanistična zasnova naselja Divače.

METODE DELA

Opis metode

Raziskovalno delo je temeljilo na dveh osnovnih metodah. **Historična metoda** je vključevala zbiranje in preučevanje zgodovinskih virov in dokumentov ter izdelavo morfogeneze naselja. **Deskriptivna metoda** je vsebovala analizo in inventarizacijo prostora, izvedbo grafične ankete z metodo spoznavnih zemljevidov, analizo primerov dobre prakse ter kategorizacijo podatkov o obravnavanem prostoru na probleme in potenciale. Analiza in inventarizacija prostora je bila razdeljena na posamezne vsebinske sklope (glej Sl. 1).

1 Opredelitev pojma se nanaša na opredelitve in definicije iz Evropske konvencije o krajini (MOP, 2008).

2 SPRS – Strategija prostorskega razvoja Slovenije.

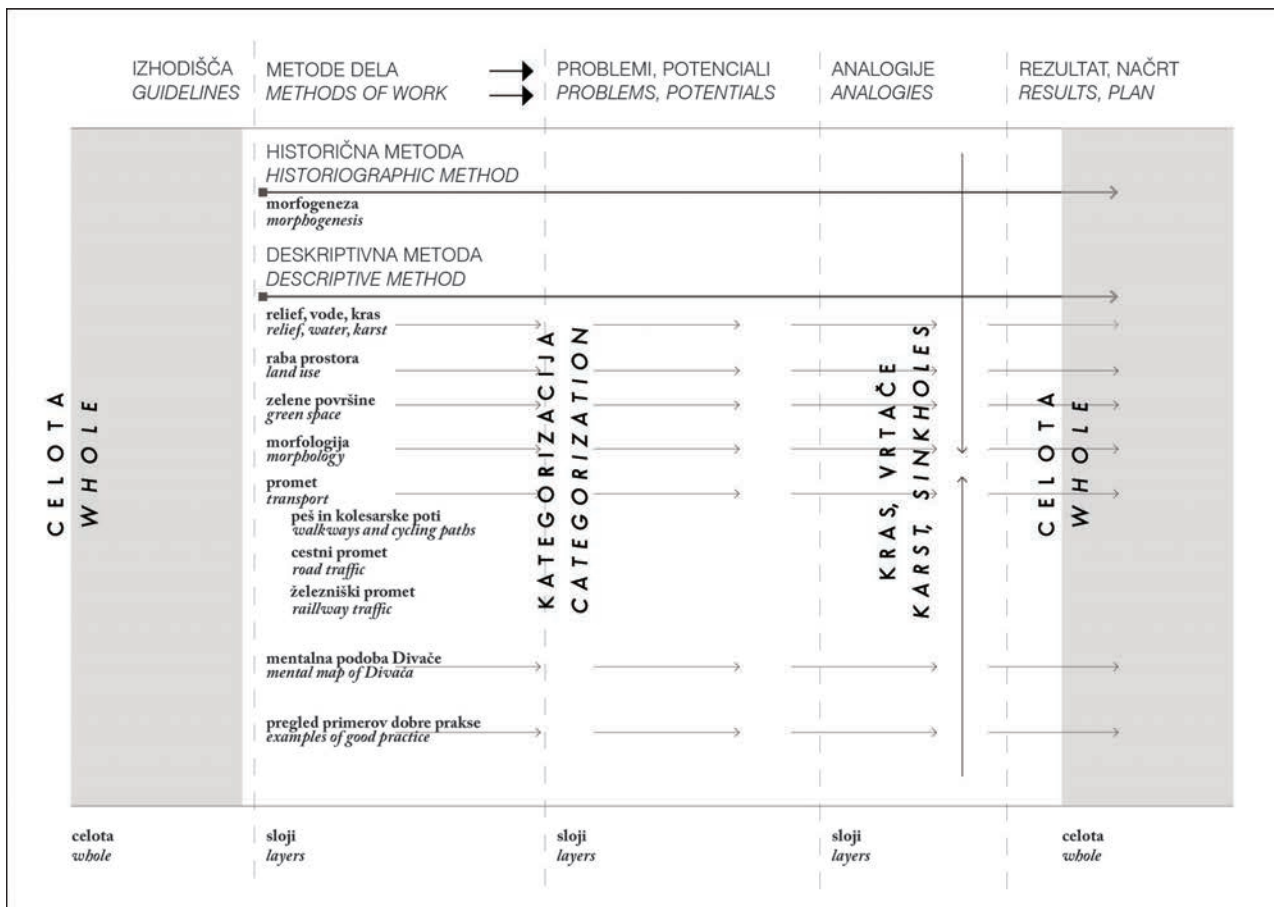
3 »Različni avtorji delijo Kras na manjše dele, katere navadno poimenujejo po osrednjem naselju. Divaški Kras je del Krasa, poimenovan po večjem naselju Divača« (Markočič, 2011, 7). Enotno določenega obsega Divaškega Krasa ni (Markočič, 2011), v članku je prostor obravnave določen na podlagi naravnogeografskih povezav med Divačo in Škocjanskimi jamami.

4 Kraške reliefne oblike delimo na površinske in podzemeljske (Gams, 2004). Članek glede na namen raziskave obravnava površinske kraške oblike s poudarkom na vrtačah in udornicah.

5 »Značilnost krajine je prepoznavna lastnost, ki opredeljuje določen krajinski videz ali značaj; na primer: oblikovanost površja, raba prostora, rastje« (Pangeršič, 2011, 51). Značilnosti (kulturne) kraške krajine opisujejo avtorji Mihevc (2001; 2005), Gams (2004), Jurkovšek (1996), Habič (1972). Prav tako so glavne značilnosti s prostorskega vidika povzete v SPRS (2004).

6 SPRS (2004), Evropska konvencija o krajini – izvajanje v Sloveniji (MOP, 2008), Razvojni program občine Divača za obdobje 2007 do 2013 (ORA Krasa in Brkinov, 2009), Strateški projekt Kras (Kras – Carso, 2012).

7 Oblikovalsko orodje je v času po 2. svetovni vojni razvil in vpeljal krajinski arhitekt Lawrence Halprin (Ogrin, 1993).



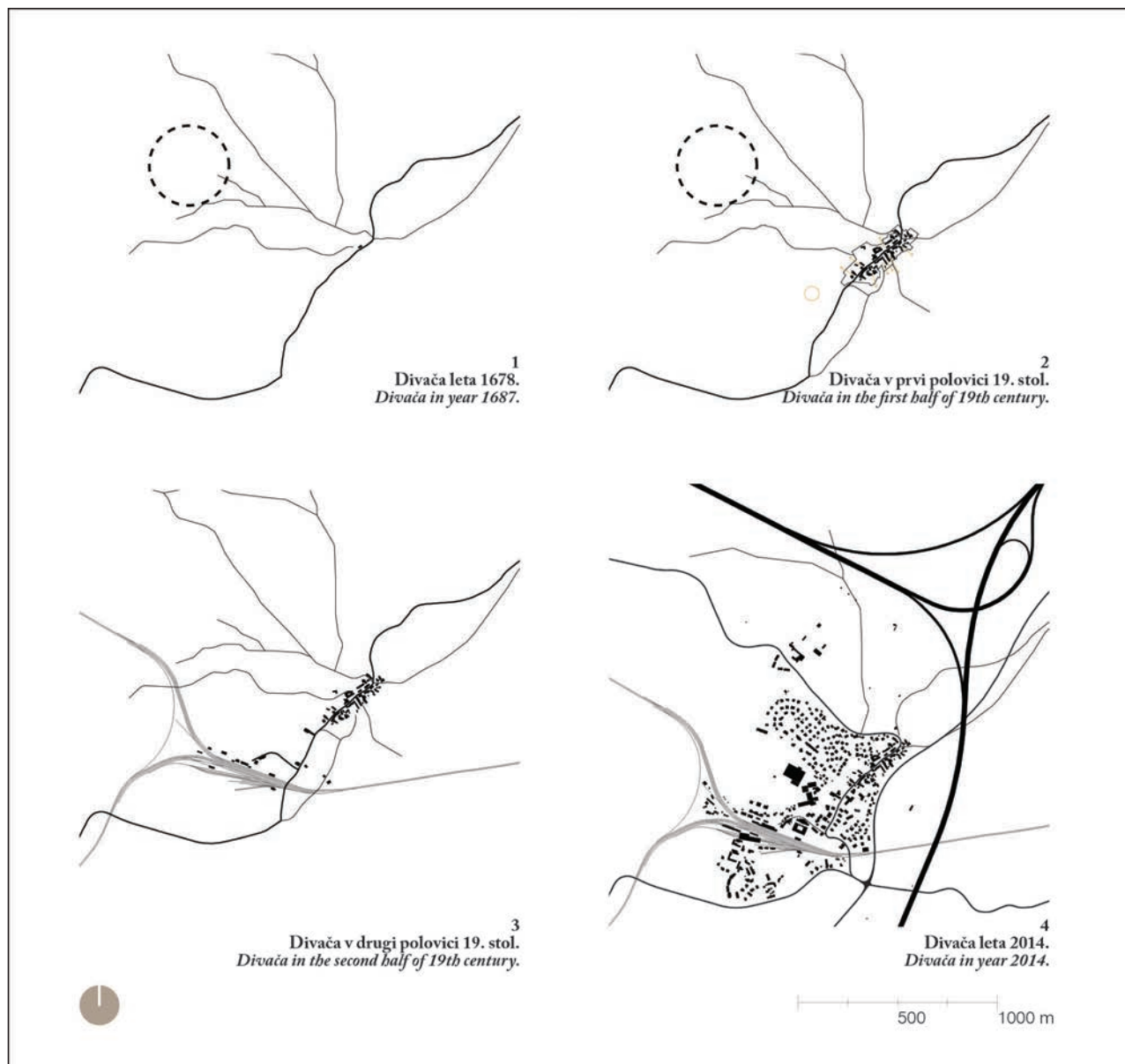
Slika 1: Shema poteka raziskovalnega dela
Figure 1: Scheme of research work course

Izvedba metode

MORFOGENEZA – Zgodovinski razvoj kraja smo opredelili s štirimi razdobji. Meje med njimi so bile postavljene na podlagi izrednih ali velikih dogodkov, ki so se zgodili na območju današnje Divače.⁸ Prvo obdobje je med letoma 1308 in 1687. Prva znana omemba kraja izvira iz leta 1308. V knjigah dohodkov tržaškega kapitlja je zapisano: »2 groša za vino Martina iz Divače«. Najstarejšo omembo Divače je odkril tržaški raziskovalec krajevnih imen, Pavle Merku (Potokar, 2011). Valvasorjeva Slava vojvodine Kranjske vsebuje zapis o velikem požaru v Divači, februarja leta 1687, ki je nastal, ko se je furmanom vžgal smodnik. Zabeleženo je, da je bilo takrat v naselju 24 hiš z gospodarskimi poslopji. Požar je uničil vse, razen šestih hiš in cerkve, ki je stala nekoliko izven takratnega jedra (Potokar, 2011). Okrog cerkve se je kasneje vzpostavilo novo vaško jedro. Drugo obdobje je prva polovica 19. stoletja. Glede

na franciscejski kataster iz leta 1819 se je oblikovala majhna, gručasta, obcestna kraška vas, ki je štela okrog 23 hiš z gospodarskimi poslopji ter okrog 138 prebivalcev (Potokar, 2011; MK, 2013). Divača se je oblikovala ob glavni poti Senožeče–Lokev–Trst. Iz tega obdobja izvirajo trdne, kamnite, kraške hiše (Potokar, 2011). Tretje obdobje je najpomembnejši mejnik v razvoju in spremembah Divače. Začne se z letom 1857 oziroma s prihodom južne železnice Dunaj–Trst. Kraj s kmetijskim značajem je takrat dobil osnovo za razvoj gospodarstva, političnega in kulturnega življenja. Ilustrativen kazalnik razvoja kraja je število prebivalcev. Leta 1869 jih je bilo 215, leta 1900 pa 644 (Potokar, 2011). V četrto obdobje štejemo konec 20. stoletja. Zaznamovano je bilo z izgradnjo avtoceste Ljubljana–Koper–Trst in obsežnega območja enodružinskih hiš na SZ naselja (PISO, 2013b). Naselje Divača se je razvilo v urbanizirano naselje s 1423 prebivalci (Statistični urad RS, 2013). Divača je največji kraj in sedež občine Divača.

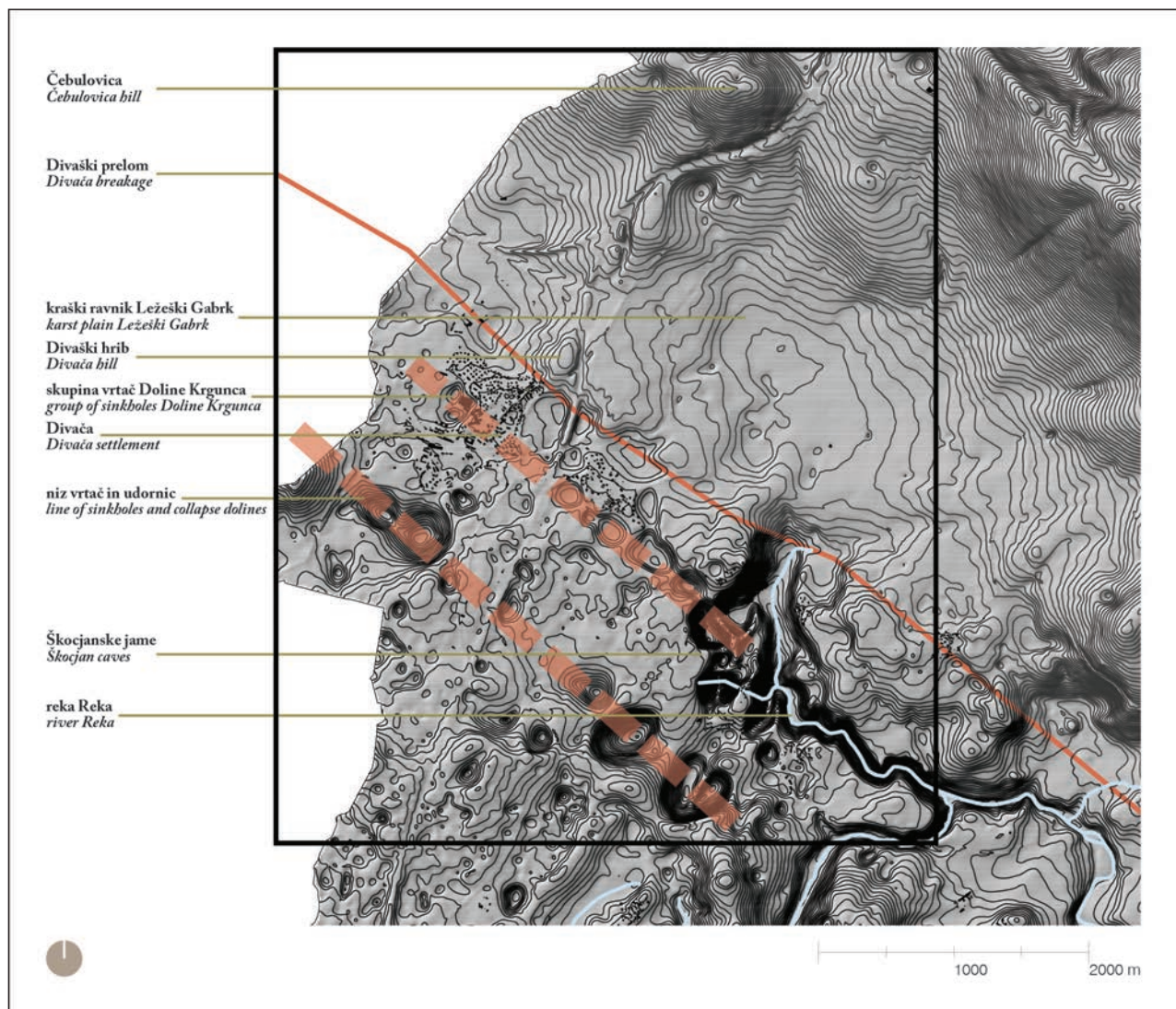
8 Divača se v članku nanaša na urbanizirano naselje Divača. V drugem primeru je to ustrezno označeno, na primer občina Divača.



Slika 2: Morfogenez Divače od leta 1687 do leta 2014 (kart. podl.: GURS, 2010b; GURS, 2010d; MK, 2013)
Figure 2: Morphogenesis of Divača from 1687 until 2014 (cart. basis: GURS, 2010b; GURS, 2010d; MK, 2013)

RELIEF, VODE, KRAS – Naravnogeografsko je Divača povezana s Škocjanskimi jamami in s tokom podzemne reke Reke. Povezava poteka preko dveh nizov vrtač in udornic, ki se vrstijo od mesta, kjer ponikne Reka do Divače. To območje predstavlja sistem kraških pojavov in procesov (Mihevc, 2001). Breg (2007) opozarja na ekosistemski in hidrološki pomen vrtač, na pomen krasotvornih procesov ter na njihovo ne spregledljivo vlogo v kulturni krajini. Navedeno argumentira, pomen neposrednega prenosa kraških reliefnih oblik v načrtovalski proces.

V dinarski smeri SZ–JV, vzporedno z dvema nizoma udornic in vrtač poteka Divaški prelom. Ta deli Divaški Kras na severni in južni (Jurkovšek, 1996) oziroma na zahodni in vzhodni (Slabe, 2005). Poteka na meji med različno zgradbo in starostjo kamnine (Jurkovšek, 1996; Slabe, 2005) ter je vplival na morfologijo površja Divaškega Krasa. Morfološko najizrazitejše reliefne oblike, ki obdajajo naselje Divača so: Divaški hrib na SV, skupina treh vrtač Doline Krgunca na Z robu ter dve vrtači J od železnice (glej Sl. 10). Kamninska sestava se prav tako odraža v strukturi suhih zidov⁹. Severno



Slika 3: Karta digitalnega modela reliefa in konfiguracije plastnic prikazuje potek dveh nizov vrtač in udornic na prostoru med Divačo in Škocjanskimi jamami (kart. podl.: Mihevc, 2001; Cerkvenik, 2006; GURS, 2010a; GURS, 2010b; ARSO, 2013). Črn okvir označuje izbrano študijsko območje

Figure 3: Map of a digital terrain model and the configuration of contours shows the course of two sets of sinkholes and collapse dolines in the area between Divača and the Škocjan caves (cart. basis: Mihevc, 2001; Cerkvenik, 2006; GURS, 2010a; GURS, 2010b; ARSO, 2013). The black frame indicates the selected study area

od Divaškega preloma so suhi zidovi nizki, gradijo jih tanki in ploščati apnenci. Na južni strani so zidovi višji in debelejši, iz večjih kamnitih gmot (Mihevc, 2005). Suhi zidovi so edinstven kulturni in morfološki element kraške krajine.

RABA PROSTORA - Iz karte Franciscejskega katastra (1823) (Petek in Urbanc, 2004; MK, 2013) smo glede na zemljiško parcelacijo (vrtače so bile označene kot samo-

stojne, deljene parcele) razbrali, da je bila večina vrtač delanih¹⁰. Bile so prostor agrarne dejavnosti za vrtove in njive ali prostor za zajemanje vode (kali, lokve). Slednje kaže na veliko družbeno-ekonomsko vlogo vrtač (Breg, 2007). V nadaljevanju sta predstavljeni dve karti rabe prostora glede na podatek iz leta 2010. Prva prikazuje rabo ruralnega dela naselja, druga pa rabo pozidanega dela.

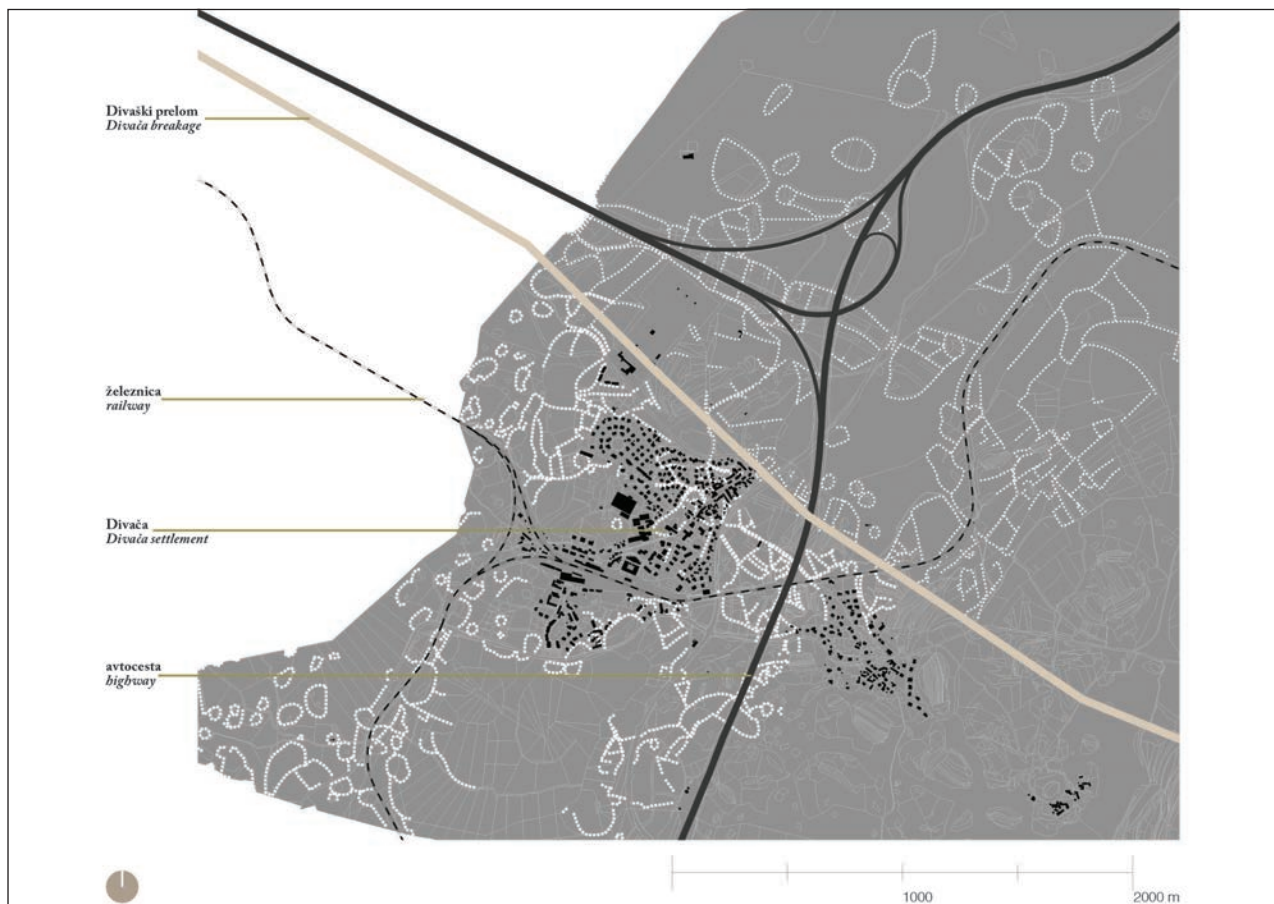
9 Suhi zidovi so nastali ob prelaganju kamenja za pridobitev obdelovalnih površin (Mihevc, 2005).

10 Delana vrtača ali kulturna vrtača, ki je (bila) vir agrarne dejavnosti (Mihevc, 2005).



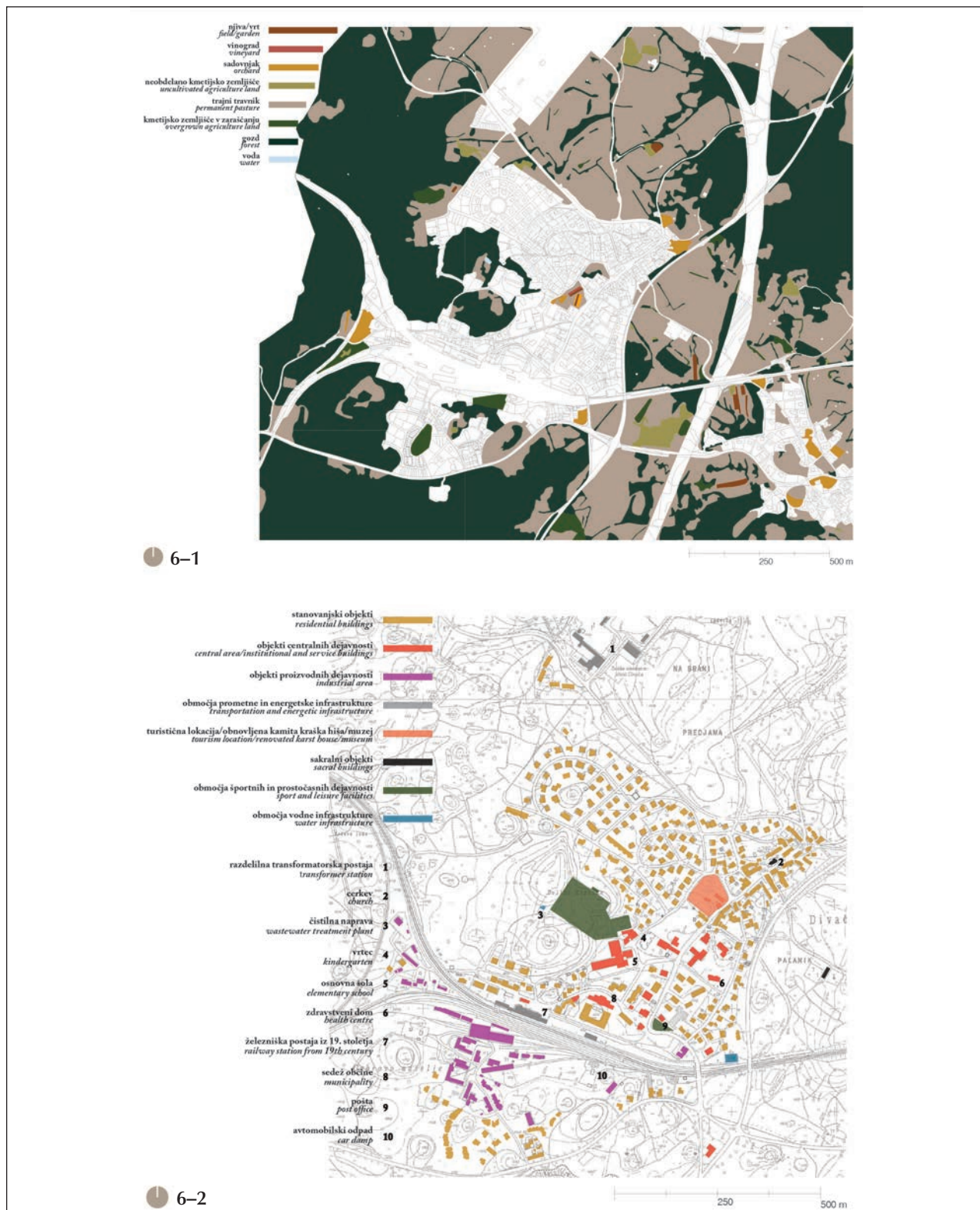
Slika 4: Leva slika je primer suhega zidu severnega dela Divaškega krasa, desna pa primer suhega zidu iz južnega dela (Fotografiji: Urška Valenčič, avgust in oktober 2013)

Figure 4: The left photograph is an example of a drywall from the northern part of the Divača karst, and the right photograph is an example of a drywall from the southern part. (Photographed by: Urška Valenčič, August and October 2013)



Slika 5: Shema suhih zidov severnega in južnega dela Divaškega Krasa. Suhi zidovi so narisani na podlagi TTN 5 (GURS, 1995) (kart. podl.: GURS, 1995; Cerkvnik, 2006; GURS, 2010b; GURS, 2010c; GURS, 2010d)

Figure 5: Scheme of drywalls of the northern and the southern part of the Divača karst. The drywalls are drawn on the basis of TTN 5 (GURS, 1995) (cart. basis: GURS, 1995; Cerkvnik, 2006; GURS, 2010b; GURS, 2010c; GURS, 2010d)



Slika 6: Slika 6–1: Raba ruralnega prostora okrog naselja Divača (kart. podl.: GURS, 2010c; MKGP, 2010). Slika 6–2: Raba pozidanih in sorodnih površin (kart. podl.: GURS, 1995; GURS, 2010b)
 Figure 6: Figure 6–1: Use of rural space around the settlement of Divača (cart. basis: GURS, 2010c; MKGP, 2010).
 Figure 6–2: Use of built-up and similar areas (cart. basis: GURS, 1995; GURS, 2010b)

ZELENE POVRŠINE - Analizo sistema zelenih površin smo izvedli na podlagi terenskega ogleda s kartiranjem in fotografiranjem. Pridobljene podatke smo dopolnili s pregledom kartografskega gradiva – različno starih digitalnih ortofoto posnetkov (GURS, 2006; PISO, 2013a; ARSO, 2013), temeljnega topografskega načrta (GURS, 1995) in pregledom literature (Kaligarič in Seliškar, 1999; Petek in Urbanc, 2004; Panjek, 2006; ORA Krasa in Brkinov, 2009; MK, 2013). Izdelali smo popis avtohtonih in značilnih drevesnih in grmovnih vrst Divaškega Krasa. Kraško krajino Divaškega Krasa na izbranem študijskem območju smo definirali z opredelitvijo krajinskih vzorcev.¹¹ Opredelili smo 13 različnih krajinskih vzorcev. V Sliki 5 je predstavljenih 5 izmed vseh, izbrani so bili tisti, ki so najbližje naselju, oziroma se nahajajo znotraj naselja Divača. Vegetacija/zeleni sistem skupaj z reliefom predstavlja osnovno (vidno) strukturo krajine. Pomen in vlogo krajinskih vzorcev ter njihovih gradnikov v načrtovalskem procesu podobno preverja že Mlakar (1994) v delu »Vidne tipološke značilnosti prostora kot oblikovalsko izhodišče«. Zanimiv podatek v povezavi z zelenim sistemom kulturne kraške krajine je vezan na čas vladavine Marije Terezije in Jožefa II. Takrat je bila na Krasu in Goriškem razširjena sviloprejska panoga, velik del kulturne krajine pa so zasedali s tem povezani nasadi murv (Potokar, 2011).

MORFOLOGIJA – Zgradbe Divače smo razčlenili v posamezne tipološke skupine na podlagi vizualne podobe. Opredelili smo 6 različnih skupin stavb. Prvo skupino tvori kamnita kraška arhitektura starega vaškega jedra iz prve polovice 19. stol. (Potokar, 2011; PISO, 2013b). Druga skupina so območja prostostojećih hiš v Z, J in V delu naselja. V svojo skupino lahko uvrstimo dve meščanski vili v zelenju iz 19. stol. (Potokar, 2011). Četrto skupino sestavljajo modernistični prostostoječi stanovanjski bloki. Značilna tipologija povezuje želez-

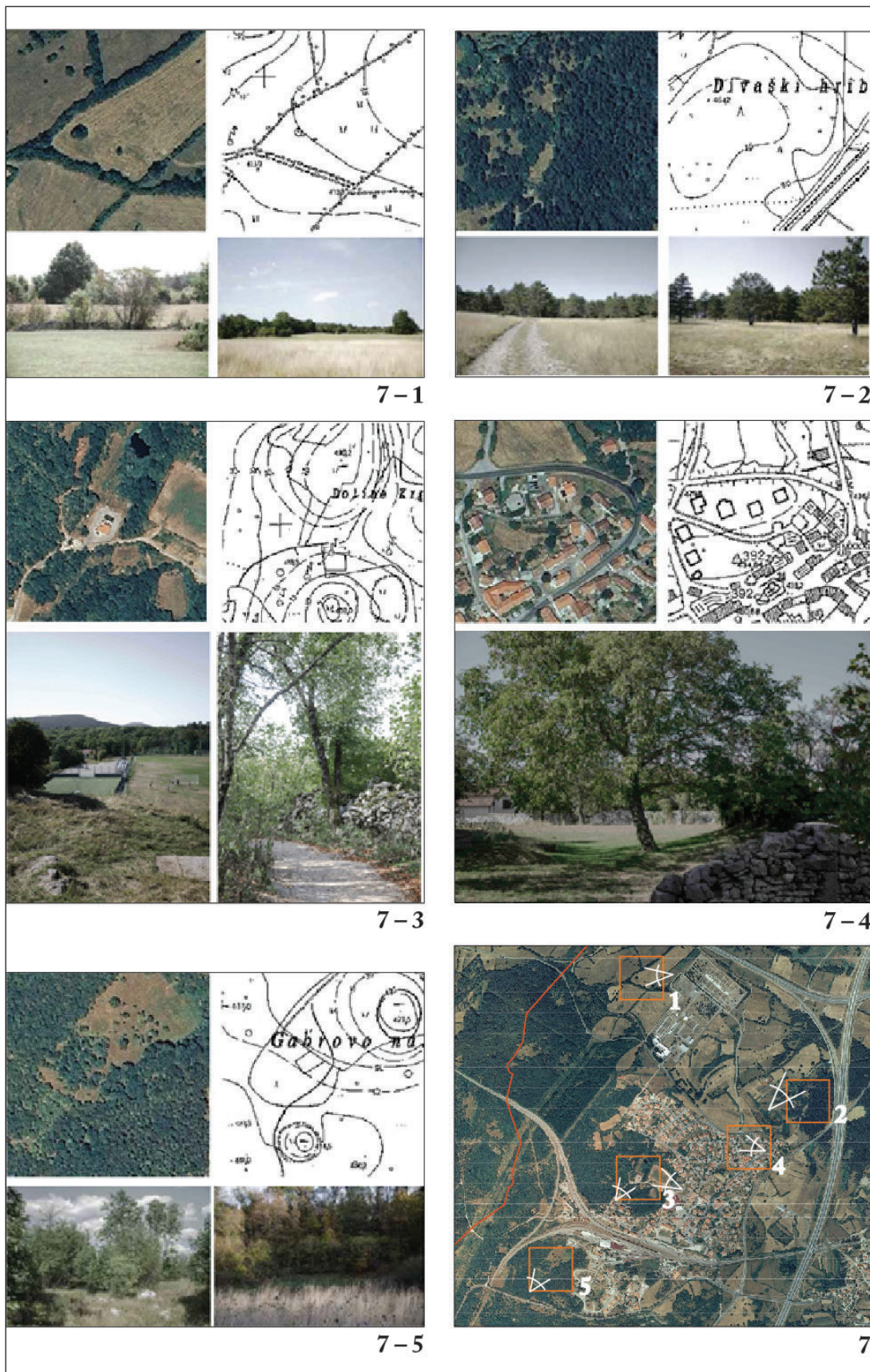
niško postajo iz časa Avstro-Ogrske ter ostale stavbe, vsebinsko vezane na železnico. Šesta skupina je območje obrtno-industrijskih objektov oziroma delavnic železnice. Sorodna vsebina narekuje nekatere skupne, arhitekturno-tehnične poteze. Druge nestanovanjske stavbe (stavbe javne uprave, stavbe za zdravstveno oskrbo ipd.), ki gradijo središče naselja so tipološko različne oziroma med njimi v okviru razporeditve, ni mogoče, opredeliti podobnih značilnosti. Znotraj naselja so zastopani primeri verižnega in terasnega bloka ter primeri verižnih in vrstnih hiš. Domnevamo lahko, da je razvoj industrije in delovnih mest ter upad agrarne dejavnosti v drugi polovici 20. stol. botroval oddaljitvi prebivalcev Divače od kulturne kraške krajine. Sprememba življenjskega sloga, razvoj tehnologij in materialov v gradbeništvu so bili vzrok upadu uporabe avtohtonih materialov. Med drugim je tudi »razširjena in nekritična uporaba vzorcev modernistične arhitekture povzročila degradacijo samega bistva funkcionalistične stanovanjske arhitekture ...« (Mihelič, 1983, 53). Vzporedno s tem je bil pri načrtovanju zapostavljen vidik do značilnosti prostora, v katerem se je določena arhitektura gradila.

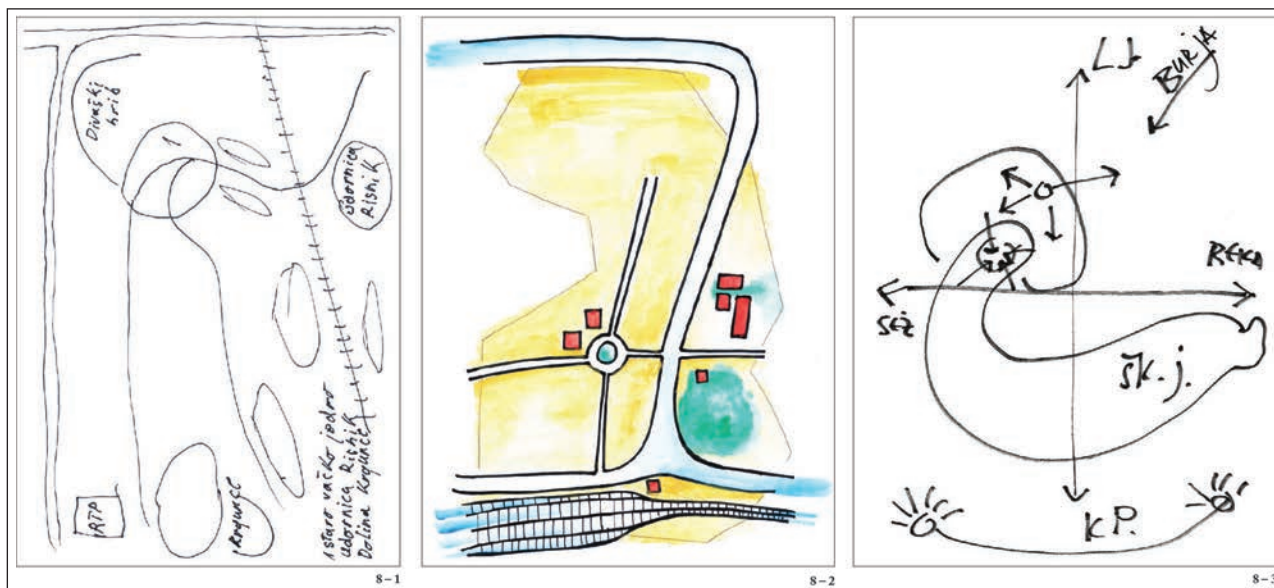
PROMET – Analizo prometne infrastrukture smo razdelili v tri sklope. To so peš in kolesarske poti, cestni promet ter železniški promet. Obravnavane so bile predvsem z morfološkega vidika v odnosu s krajino. Kulturni kraški krajini Divaškega Krasa lahko sledimo preko gostega spleta peš in kolesarskih poti. Izmed teh navajamo dve vsebinsko opredeljeni in zaključeni; na južnem robu Divače speljana tematska pot »Krasoslovna naravoslovna učna pot Divaški Kras« ter »markirana pot Divaški kolesarski krog« (Občina Divača, 2013). Najbolj ostro mejo med krajino in naseljem predstavljata avtocesta Divača–Sežana na severnem robu ter regionalna cesta Divača–Senožeče na vzhodnem robu. Železnica in železniška postaja v sedanji zasnovi predstavljata ostro

Slika 7: Primer petih krajinskih vzorcev na območju Divače, opredeljeni na podlagi digitalnega ortofoto posnetka in terenskega ogleda, posamezni izseki so predstavljeni v Slikah 7–1 do 7–5 (kart. podl.: GURS, 1995; GURS, 2006). Slika 7–1: Travniška krajina z omejkami, kamnitimi suhimi zidovi in soliterji. Na obeh travnikih je to velikolistna lipa. Slika 7–2: Gozd črnega bora na Divaškem hribu s primesmi drugih drevesnih in grmovnih vrst na gozdnem robu. Slika 7–3: Sistem treh vrtač Doline Krgunca. Sklenjeno območje gozda prekinja nogometno igrišče in čistilna naprava. Čez območje vodi nekaj pešpoti, obdanih s suhimi zidovi. Slika 7–4: Ostanke kulturne kraške krajine znotraj naselja. Travnato zaplato obdaja kamnit suhi zid, ob robu raste navadni oreh, v ozadju je stanovanjska hiša. Slika 7–5: Sklenjen gozd obdaja neporaščeno vrtačo. Viden je trend zaraščanja vrtače

Figure 7: Example of five landscape patterns in the Divača area, defined on the basis of a digital orthophoto image and a field visit, individual sections are presented in Figures 7–1 to 7–5 (cart. basis: GURS, 1995; GURS, 2006). Figure 7–1: Meadow landscape with field borders, stone drywalls and saltpeters. Both meadows feature large leaf linden. Figure 7–2: Black pine forest in Divaški hrib with elements of other tree and shrub species on forest boundaries. Figure 7–3: System of three sinkholes of Krgunca Valley. The closed forest area is interrupted by a football ground and a water treatment plant. There are some footpaths surrounded by drywalls leading through the area. Figure 7–4: Remains of the karst cultural landscape inside the settlement. The grassy patch is surrounded by a stone drywall, along the edge grows common walnut, in the background is a residential house. Figure 7–5: Closed forest surrounds a less overgrown sinkhole. A trend of overgrowing the sinkhole is visible

11 »Krajinski vzorec je kompozicija različnih krajinskih prvin, na primer reliefa, stanja površinskega pokrova in rabe. Krajino lahko opredelimo kot sistem krajinskih vzorcev« (Golobič, 2009-10).





Slika 8: Slika 8–1: Risba najstarejšega anketiranca iz S dela Divače, kjer je opredeljenih največ kraških značilnosti (vprašalnik 1). Slika 8–2: Risba najmlajše anketiranke iz S dela Divače. Risba izključuje naselje J od železnice (vprašalnik 2). Slika 8–3: Risba strokovnjaka s področja prostorskega načrtovanja. Na risbi je označeno naravno zaledje Divače v povezavi s Škocjanskimi jamami (vprašalnik 2)

Figure 8: Figure 8–1: Drawing by the oldest interviewee from the N part of Divača where the majority of karst features are identified (questionnaire 1). Figure 8–2: Drawing by the youngest interviewee from the S part of Divača. The drawing excludes the settlement S of the railway (questionnaire 2). Figure 8–3: Drawing by a spatial planning expert. The natural hinterland of Divača in connection with the Škocjan caves is marked on the drawing (questionnaire 2)

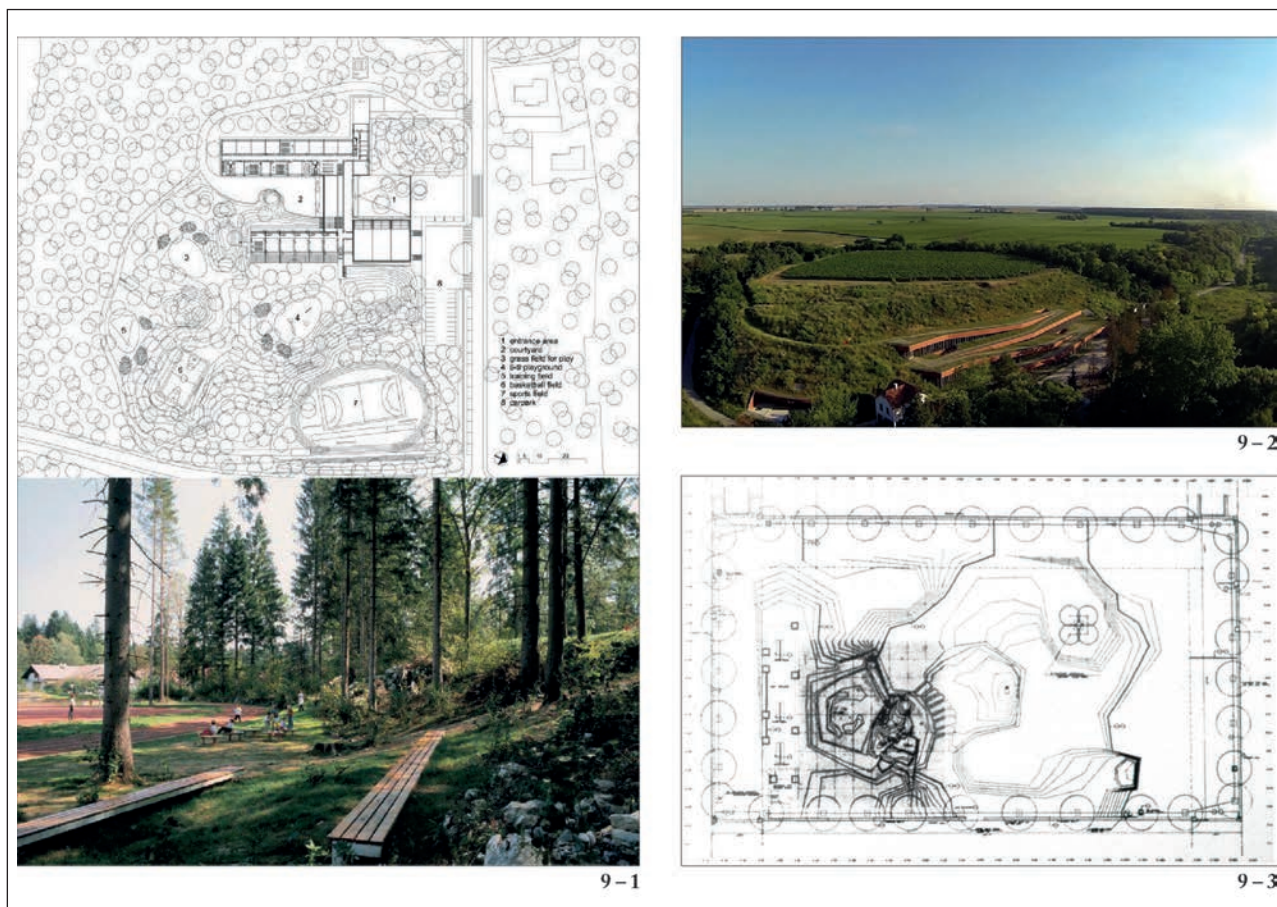
mejo med severnim in južnim delom naselja Divača, kar pri razvoju infrastrukture kaže na iskanje ravnovesja med ohranjanjem zveznosti krajine s prilagajanjem zatečenemu reliefu na eni strani ter razvojem hitre in udobne infrastrukture na drugi strani. Mesto 20. stol. je bilo definirano z uvedbo avtomobila in racionalnim omrežjem poti. Morda mora mesto 21. stol. polagati upe v krajino in ne v prisiljeno vzpostavljeni red (Designing for tomorrow, 2010).

MENTALNA PODOBA DIVAČE – Grafična anketa (Golobič, 2006) je potekala z metodo risanja spoznavnih zemljevidov po metodi K. Lynch¹² (Polič, 2002). Anketo je opravila skupina desetih prebivalcev Divače, od tega je bilo pet moških in pet žensk. Starost anketirancev je bila v razponu med 20 in 50 let, 9 izmed njih je bilo laikov, 1 pa strokovnjak na področju prostorskega načrtovanja. Udeležencem v času anketiranja niso bile predložene kartografske podlage Divače. Anketiranci so bili razdeljeni v dve skupini. Naloga petih anketirancev je bila podati risbo splošne predstave o Divači in opredelitev značilnosti, ki v njihovem pogledu zastopajo ‚kraško‘. Druga skupina je dobila navodilo naj podajo risbo sploš-

ne predstave o Divači in naj opredelijo njene značilnosti. Pridevnik ‚kraško‘ je bil torej pri drugi skupini izpuščen.

Interpretacija risb: V skupini s prvim vprašalnikom je vseh pet anketirancev poiskalo in opredelilo eno ali več kraških značilnosti Divače (kraška gmajna, obnovljena kamnita kraška hiša, staro vaško jedro, udornica Risnik, Doline Krgunca, suhi zidovi). V drugi skupini anketirancev je kraške značilnosti Divače opredelil le en izmed vseh anketirancev. Ta je bil strokovnjak s področja prostorskega načrtovanja. Iz primerjave med risbami iz prve in druge skupine anketirancev lahko sklepamo, da prebivalci brez predhodnega opomina, Divačo ne enačijo s kraškim. Glavnino risbe vseh desetih anketirancev predstavlja cestno omrežje in železnica (železnica je večinoma narisana kot ločnica med S in J delom naselja). Iz tega lahko sklepamo, da ima Divača prevladujoč značaj prometnega križišča. Poleg opisanega smo opazili, da so značilnosti risb pogojene še z dvema dejavnikoma. Risbe so bile različne glede na to iz katerega dela Divače je anketiranec (iz ‚stare Divače‘ S od železnice ali iz ‚nove Divače‘ J od železnice). Vsi prebivalci iz J dela naselja so namreč označili oba dela naselja (S in

¹² Spoznavni (percepcijski) pristop se s prostorom ukvarja posredno v relaciji do opazovalca. Gre za študijo podobe mesta v odnosu z ljudskim dojetjem fizičnega okolja, pogosto v navezavi z gibanjem po prostoru (Gosling in Maitland, 1984).



Slika 9: Slika 9–1: Ureditev igrišč ob osnovni šoli Ob Rinži (Studio AKKA, 2014). Slika 9–2: Oblikovanje Arheološkega muzeja Vučedol (Archiscene, 2014). Slika 9–3: Halprinov načrt za Lovejoy plazo v mestu Portland (Ogrin, 1993)

Figure 9: Figure 9–1: Arrangement of playgrounds by the Ob Rinži elementary school (Studio AKKA, 2014). Figure 9–2: Design of the Museum of Archaeology Vučedol (Archiscene, 2014). Figure 9–3: Halprin's plan for the Lovejoy Plaza in Portland (Ogrin, 1993)

)), medtem, ko sta dve prebivalki S dela Divače podali le risbo ‚stare Divače‘ brez J dela naselja. Drugi dejavnik, ki je narekoval določene podobne poteze risb je starost anketirancev. Sklepamo lahko, da zavedanje o kraški okolici Divače sovпада z anketiranci stari nad 40 let. Trije najstarejši udeleženci ankete so namreč na risbi opredelili največ kraških značilnosti.

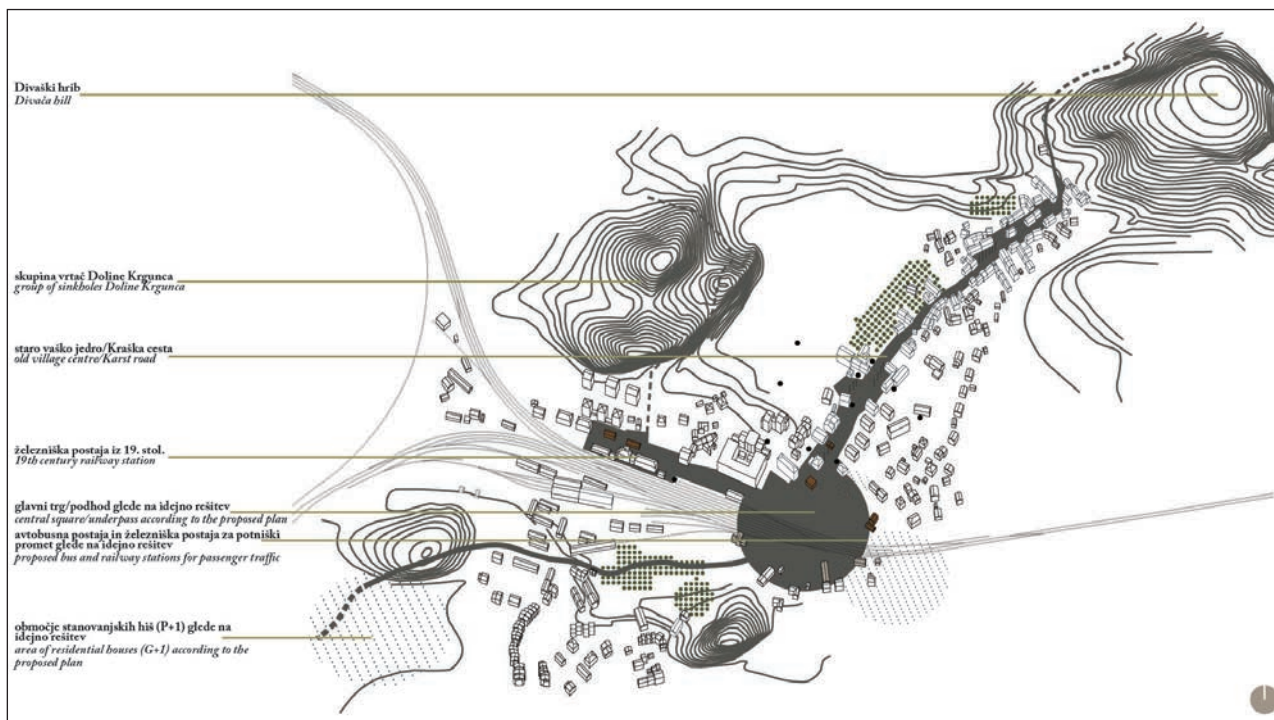
PREGLED PRIMEROV DOBRE PRAKSE – Kot primere dobre prakse navajamo 3 prostorske zasnove. Dve temeljita na prilagajanju in vključevanju zatečenih reliefnih oblik v zasnovo, ena pa v prostorsko rešitev vnaša zelene značilnosti z analognim oblikovanjem. Prvi projekt je zasnovan na območju kraške krajine, gre za ureditev igrišč ob osnovni šoli Ob Rinži. »Krajinsko oblikovanje prostora okrog osnovne šole za strukturiranje prostora izkorišča naravno razgiban in skalnat svet kraških vrtač in notranjo členitev gozda« (Kučan et

al., 2010, 190). Prostori za igro in šport so umeščeni tako, da se poskuša ohraniti prvinskost/divjost gozda (Kučan et al., 2010), s tem pa se ohranjajo tudi njegove socialne in ekološke funkcije. Pri drugem primeru gre za arhitekturno zasnovo. Oblikovanje Arheološkega muzeja Vučedol je podrejeno integraciji s terenom, v katerega je stavba vkopana. Objekt je lociran na reliefni rob, od koder se v krajino odpira le prva, glavna fasada (Archiscene, 2014). Tretja zasnova je primer krajinskega oblikovanja v strogo urbanem okolju (neposreden stik oziroma fizična navezava z naravno krajino ni mogoča). Halprinov načrt za Lovejoy plazo v mestu Portland kaže, da zasnova črpa navdih iz narave oz. gorskega skalovja (Ogrin, 1993). Glavno načrtovalsko orodje tega in sorodnih Halprinovih del je analogno oblikovanje. Ureditve odprtega prostora so abstraktna preoblikovanja skalnate gorske krajine (Ogrin, 1993).

PROBLEMI IN POTENCIALI

Tabela 1: Opredeljeni so problemi in potenciali naselja Divača s stališča ohranjanja/krepitve značilnosti in identitete kulturne kraške krajine

	S STALIŠČA OHRANJANJA/KREPITVE ZNAČILNOSTI IN IDENTITETE KULTURNE KRAŠKE KRAJINE	
	-	+
RELIEF, VODE, KRAS	Zasipanje vrtač ob upadu njihove družbeno-ekonomske vloge.	Znotraj starega vaškega jedra so ohranjeni krajinski vzorci, ki so posledica agrarne rabe pred intenzivno mehanizacijo kmetijstva. Krajinske vzorce gradijo vrtače, suhi zidovi in avtohtona oziroma značilna vegetacija (glej Sl. 7 – 4).
	V drugi polovici 20. stol. so bile kraške reliefne oblike oziroma vrtače pri gradnji prezrte in velikokrat zasute (GURS, 1995; GURS, 2006; ARSO, 2013b; MK, 2013; PISO, 2013a).	
	Kot primer navajamo skupino 3 vrtač, Doline Krgunca kjer so, kot posledica zasipanja in prostorske zasnove čistilne naprave, (vidno) degradirane značilnosti kraške krajine (glej Sl. 7 – 3).	
ZELENE POVRŠINE	Nezveznost ter izrinjenost krajine iz naselja zaradi načina razporeditve grajenih struktur ter gostega prometnega omrežja.	Divača ima naraven nastavek za oblikovanje zaokroženega zelenega sistema naselja. Ponuja se možnost, da se z ustreznim načrtovanjem v naselje vpne Divaški hrib, sistem treh vrtač Doline Krgunca ter dve ohranjeni vrtači južno od železnice.
RABA PROSTORA	Lokacija in organizacija avtomobilskega odpada na JV robu železnice.	Vzdrževalec kulturne kraške krajine sodobnega časa lahko postaneta rekreacija in prosti čas. Vrtače imajo potencial sotvorjenja zelenega sistema naselja.
	Naselje nima vzpostavljenega trga.	Železnica in obstoječi obrtno-industrijski objekti na njenem JZ robu so potencial za razvoj obrtno-proizvodnih dejavnosti.
MORFOLOGIJA	Upad uporabe avtohtonih materialov, tj. kraškega kamna in lesa.	Staro vaško jedro iz prve polovice 19. stol. s kamnitimi kraškimi hišami je zavarovano kot območje kulturne dediščine (MK, 2014).
		Kraške reliefne oblike ponujajo priložnost za krajinsko-arhitekturno oblikovanje (glej Sl. 9 – 1).
		Velik, krožen prostor v JV delu naselja ponuja možnost za zasnovo osrednjega prostora/trga naselja.
PROMET	Železnica ostro deli naselje na severni in južni del.	Predvidena je izgradnja 2. železniškega tira med Divačo in Koprom ter vzpostavitev hitre železniške povezave med Divačo in Trstom kar je lahko priložnost za razbremenitev cestnega prometa (ORA Krasa in Brkinov, 2009; Kras - Carso, 2012).
		Železniška postaja v Divači predstavlja priložnost za oblikovno in pomensko prenovo, razvoj železniškega križišča v komunikacijsko središče naselja.
		Načrtovana je izgradnja obvoznice do Sežane v smislu razbremenitve tranzitnega prometa čez staro vaško jedro (PISO, 2014). Pokaže se priložnost za oblikovanje parterja starega vaškega jedra Divače v prid pešcem.



Slika 10: Shema glavnih elementov in potez idejne krajinsko-urbanistične zasnove Divače
Figure 10: Scheme of main elements and features of the conceptual landscape and urban design of Divača

REZULTAT

Rezultat je idejna krajinsko-urbanistična zasnova Divače, ki temelji na povezavi severnega in južnega dela naselja, vzpostaviti glavne urbane poteze ter vključiti Divaškega hriba, Doline Krgunca in dveh vrtač južno od železnice v naselje. Glavne urbanistične in krajinske poteze so določene z idejnim krajinsko-urbanističnim načrtom (glej Sl. 11). Za krajinsko-arhitekturno oblikovanje območij so podane samo smernice v besedilu.

MORFOLOGIJA - Glede na idejno rešitev so nove stavbe načrtovane v sklopu treh območij. Najobsežnejši vnos grajenih struktur je območje stanovanjskih hiš (P+1) na JZ robu naselja. Na ostalih dveh območjih so načrtovane posamezne stavbe. Na glavnem trgu zapolnjujejo vrzeli in strukturno dopolnjujejo ter zaokrožujejo rob trga. Pri ureditvi območja proizvodnih dejavnosti na JZ robu železnice smo uporabili načelo zgoščevanja urbanega tkiva z dograditvijo treh novih objektov.

RELIEF, VODE, KRAS - Suhi zidovi so bili v idejni rešitvi večkrat uporabljeni kot meja med prostori in sočasno kot urbana oprema. V starem vaškem jedru členijo parter, na glavnem trgu tvorijo robove med javnim in poljavnim prostorom, med višinskimi razlikami, v južnem delu naselja, so suhi zidovi načrtovani ob pešpotih. Ohranjene večje kraške reliefne oblike Divaški

hrib, Doline Krgunca ter dve vrtači južno od železnice tvorijo nastavek za oblikovanje zelenih površin naselja.

ZELENE POVRŠINE - V prostorsko zasnovo so štiri našete kraške reliefne oblike vključene tako da se neposredno odpirajo na urbane površine ali pa preko peš poti. Ta krajinska območja tvorijo sestoji avtohtone oziroma značilne vegetacije, suhi zidovi, poti in pogledi. Zaradi kompleksnosti območja Dolin Krgunca v idejni rešitvi zgolj podajamo smernice za nadgradnjo obstoječega programa za šport in rekreacijo ter sanacijo območja čistilne naprave. Načrtovane ureditve naj sledijo konfiguraciji terena ter značilnosti obstoječe vegetacije. Pešpoti so na bolj zahtevnih delih reliefa lahko oblikovane kot mostovi, oziroma so speljane med drevesi (doživljajska vrednost). V starem vaškem jedru, historičnem delu Divače, je predlagana ureditev murvinega drevoreda. Kot drevoredno drevo murvina široka in gosta krošnja daje senco mestnim površinam, na drugi strani pa predstavlja možnost za oživitev kulturne kraške krajine v prihodnosti, saj omogoča kmetijsko ali obrtno dejavnost. Drevored se iz historičnega jedra na severu izteče v Divaški hrib po Stari rimski cesti.¹³

RABA PROSTORA - Načrtovana je programska zaokrožitev treh območij v naselju.

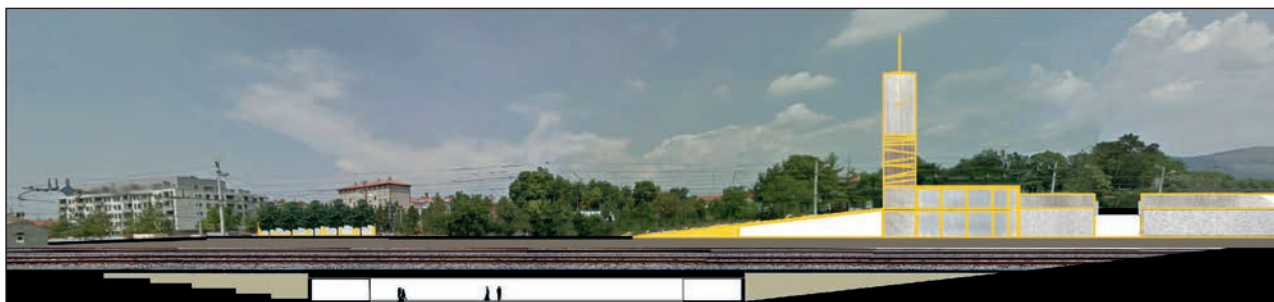
Prva se zgodi na območju glavnega trga. Predlog rešitve je, da stavbe, ki obdajajo trg, v celoti zavzamejo

¹³ ledinsko ime (GURS, 1995).



Slika 11: Tloris idejne krajinsko-urbanistične zasnove Divače (kart. podl.: GURS, 2010b; GURS, 2010c; GURS, 2010d; PISO, 2013b)

Figure 11: Proposed urban plan of Divača (cart. basis.: GURS, 2010b; GURS, 2010c; GURS, 2010d; PISO, 2013b)

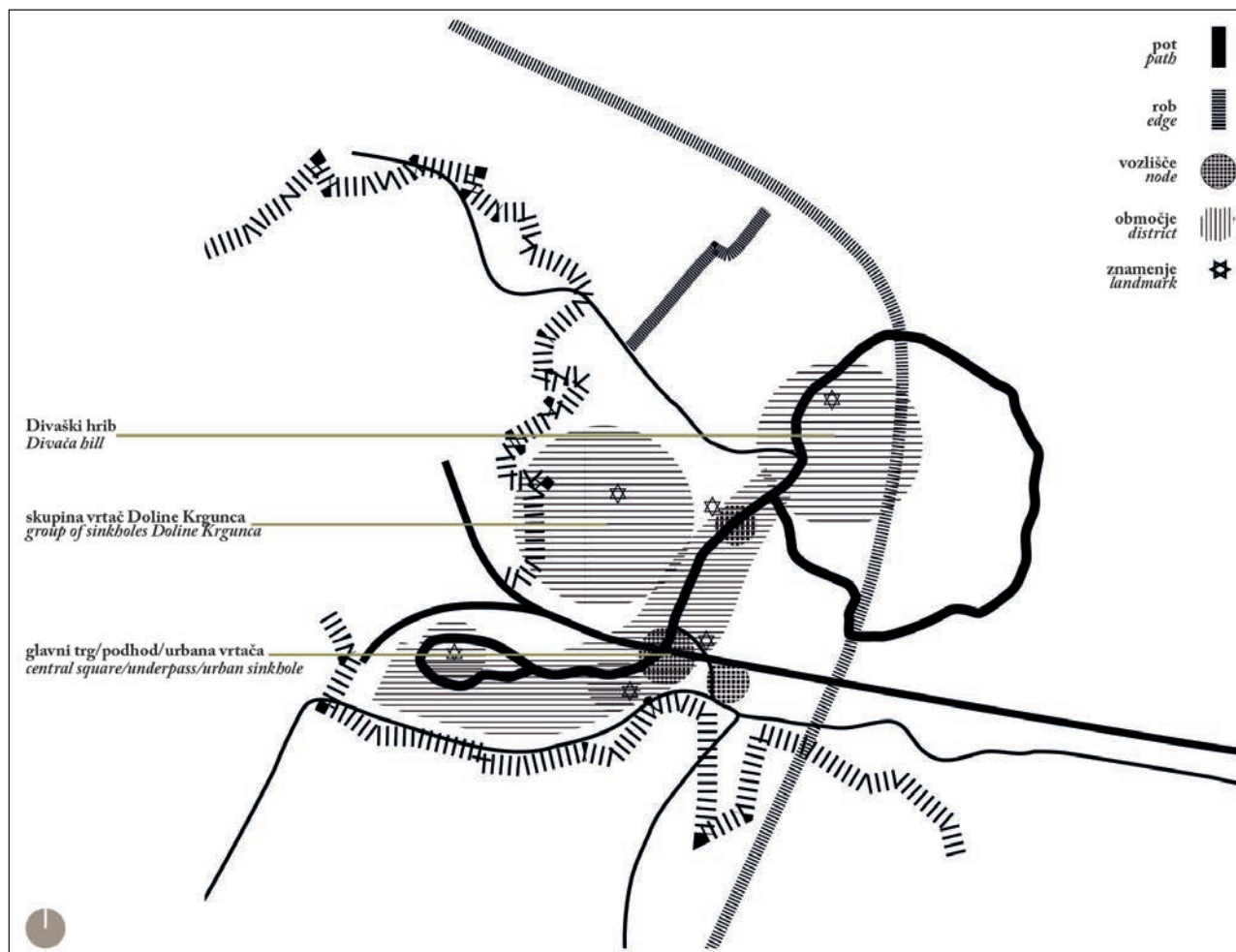


Slika 12: Ureditev novega trga s podhodom pod železnico. Na vzhodni strani trga je na severnem robu železnice postavljena nova železniška postaja za potniški promet

Figure 12: New main square with passageway underneath the railway. On the east side of the square and northern edge of the railway is formed a new train station for passenger transport

centralne dejavnosti. Za vsebinsko in oblikovno dopolnitev osrednjega trga je zasnovanih pet stavb. Načrtovana je tržnica z objektom za skladišče, hladilnico in servis. V podhodu pod železnico so kot alternativa izgradnji nakupovalnega centra predvidene trgovine. Iz poslopja (vila iz 19. stol. s parkom), kjer sta danes pošta in sta-

novanje, se stanovanje preseli na drugo lokacijo. Poštne storitve dopolnijo knjigarna, slaščičarna in kavarna. Vrzel vzhodno od pošte zapolni trgovina in galerija s produkti kraške obrti in rokodelstva, ki zastopajo kraški prostor in identiteto. Na vzhodni strani trga je na severnem robu železnice postavljena nova železniška postaja



Slika 13: Mentalna podoba Divače glede na idejno krajinsko-urbanistično zasnovo Divače. Grafični simboli so povzeti po Lynchu (1960)

Figure 13: Mental picture of Divača according to proposed urban plan of Divača. Symbols are applied from Lynch (1960)

za potniški promet. Južno od železnice je lociran peti objekt s poslovnimi prostori. Idejna rešitev ukine lokacijo obstoječega bencinskega servisa in predvidi iskanje nove ustrežnejše lokacije. Na vzhodnem robu naselja je locirana nova avtobusna postaja s spremljajočimi servisnimi objekti in parkirno garažno hišo v podzemlju.

Druga sprememba v rabi prostora je načrtovana v JZ delu naselja, kjer je v skladu z občinskim načrtom (PISO, 2014) predvideno območje stanovanj.

Tretja programska zaokrožitev je načrtovana v JZ delu naselja, ob železnici. Razvoj tega območja v idejni rešitvi predstavlja alternativo razvijajoči se poslovno-obrtni coni Risnik na robu Regionalnega parka Škocjanske jame. Rešitev predvideva dopolnitev obstoječih kapacitet (objekti v lasti Slovenskih železnic in Občine Divača (PISO, 2013b)) za obrtno-proizvodne dejavnosti. V skladu s celostno zasnovo idejne rešitve

je predlagan prenos lokacije avtomobilskega odpada iz JV dela naselja na to območje. Obstoječa dejavnost na preseljeni lokaciji lahko pomeni priložnost za nadgradnjo v sodobno reciklažo avtomobilov. Ocenjeno je, da v Sloveniji nastaja najmanj okrog 40.000 izrabljenih vozil letno, zajem teh vozil v razgradnjo pa bi pomenil tudi do 2500 novih delovnih mest (OZS, 2014). Direktiva Evropske unije o izrabljenih vozilih predpisuje, da se mora 85 % vsakega vozila reciklirati, od leta 2015 se bo ta predpis še poostiril (Uredba, 2011).

OBLIKOVANJE URBANEGA PROSTORA – Na stiku severnega in južnega dela naselja je oblikovan glavni trg. Zasnovan je po analogiji kraške vrtače in kot udoben ter širok podhod pod železnico, kar hkrati rešuje problem nepovezanosti S in J dela naselja. Oblika trga se odziva na robove obdajajočega grajenega tkiva. V severnem delu sledi organski krivulji kamnitega zidu,

vezanega na park vile iz 19. stoletja. Na zahodnem robu trga je zaradi padca terena terasno zasnovan prostor za tržnico. Tržnica je od obstoječega večstanovanjskega bloka ločena z linijo murvinih dreves.

Znamenja v naselju Divača predstavljajo obstoječ Divaški hrib in zvonik cerkve v starem vaškem jedru. V idejni rešitvi je zahodna stran nove železniške postaje za potniški promet oblikovana kot razgledni stolp z uro. To pomensko in višinsko znamenje obenem predstavlja kompozicijski kontrapunkt edini obstoječi arhitekturni dominantni naselja. Prtilični postajni objekt je postavljen na pilote ob vkopu železnice, do nivoja te pa uporabnik pride ali z dvigalom ali s klančino ob robu železnice. Ta se v nivoju železnice izkoristi in oblikuje kot nadkrit čakalni prostor (glej Sl. 12). Postajni objekt je oblikovno zaokrožen s kamnitim zidom, ki se pripne na obstoječ zid (iz časa gradnje železnice) ob železnici in vodnem rezervoarju. Železnica postane prisotna v naselju tudi preko zvoka. Prihodi, odhodi vlakov in obvestila iz nove železniške postaje skupaj z vizualno zaznavnimi strukturami tvorijo trg in govorijo o Divači kot križišču poti.

Načrtovane stanovanjske hiše v JZ delu naselja so razmeščene v ohranjeno kulturno kraško krajino. Oblikovanje temelji na značilnostih kamnitih kraških hiš iz prve polovice 19. stol. Materiali in karakteristike starega vaškega jedra, interpretirani s sodobnim oblikovalskim jezikom, so preslikani v načrtovano območje stanovanjskih hiš. Načrtovanje zasnovanih stavb temelji na vzorcu borjačev (Lah, 1994). Borjač zavzema dve vlogi. Prva je notranji, zasebni borjač posamezne stavbe. V drugi vlogi pa je borjač interpretiran v manjši javni in poljavni prostor, ki združuje posamezne enote in se hkrati izteka v odprto kraško krajino (vrtače). Rezultat je strnjen zazidalni vzorec. Namesto velikih odmikov med stavbami zasebnost zagotovi zasnova arhitekture, s suhimi zidovi vezanimi na hišo ter eno slepo fasado. Cilj razporeditve je zagotoviti integracijo stavb z obstoječo krajino ter omogočiti prebivalcem povezavo s krajino.

PROMET - Načrtovan širok podhod pod železnico omogoča zvezno potovanje čez prostor. Železnica glede na predlagano idejno rešitev tako ne predstavlja več težko prehodnega roba (problem), temveč pot (potencial). V prometni zasnovi idejne rešitve je glede na dopolnjen osnutek OPN Občine Divača predlagana izgradnja obvoznice do Sežane (PISO, 2014). Kraška cesta, ki poteka čez staro vaško jedro Divače, na ta način postane razbremenjena tranzitnega prometa do Sežane. V sklopu rešitve in reorganizacije prometa je predlagana nova lokacija avtobusne postaje. Ta se umakne na JV rob naselja, kar omogoča, da se avtobusni promet neposredno preusmeri na cesto proti Senožetom, od koder se odcepi omenjeni krak obvoznice proti Sežani. Staro vaško jedro je po tem urejeno kot *shared space*.¹⁴ Divača je manjše mesto in kot tako obvladljivo za pešca. Prizadevanja v prometni organizaciji težijo

k zmanjšanju uporabe avtomobilskega prevoza, ker ti zasedajo preveč življenjskega prostora (Mestna občina Ljubljana, 2014). Cilj je zvečati vlogo kolesarskih poti in pešpoti ter uporabo javnega in tirnega prevoza (Mestna občina Ljubljana, 2014). Organizacija prometa v predlagani idejni rešitvi tako daje poudarek na oblikovanje in organizacijo peš in kolesarskih poti. Vzdolž teh so navezane različne storitvene in servisne vsebine, ki te poti programsko podprejo in osmislijo.

MENTALNA PODOBA DIVAČE - Načrt idejne krajinsko-urbanistične zasnove Divače smo interpretirali v mentalno podobo na podlagi petih grafičnih znakov povzetih po Lynchu (1960). V primerjavi z obstoječim stanjem ima idejna rešitev oblikovana štiri jasna krajinska območja in glavno urbano območje vzdolž naselja (v smeri SV–JZ). Železnica predstavlja pot in ne več rob. Druga oblikovana pot je predvsem peščevo, ki povezuje nastala območja in vozlišča – trg ob cerkvi, nov, glavni trg ter komunikacijsko vozlišče na robu naselja (avtobusna in železniška postaja za potniški promet). Obstoječemu arhitekturnemu znamenju naselja (cerkveni zvonik) se pridruži stolp železniške postaje (glej Sl. 12). Krajinska območja po tej zasnovi hkrati predstavljajo znamenja v prostoru (Divaški hrib, Doline Krgunca, dve vrtači južno od železnice).

RAZPRAVA

Idejna krajinsko-urbanistična zasnova Divače kot odgovor na probleme in potencialne naselja Divača kaže, da so kraške reliefne oblike oziroma vrtače lahko vsestransko orodje in pomoč pri prostorskem načrtovanju naselij znotraj kraške krajine v primerih, ko se izgubljajo značilnosti in identiteta kulturne kraške krajine. Pri tem so prepoznavne tri vloge vrtače. Prva je vključevanje vrtač (kraških reliefnih oblik) v prostorsko zasnovo oziroma zeleni sistem naselja. V Divači je to skupina treh vrtač, Doline Krgunca z obstoječim športno-rekreacijskim nastavkom, Divaški hrib in dve vrtači južno od železnice. V drugem primeru gre za prilagajanje prostorskih zasnov vrtačam. Takšen primer predstavlja zasnova in razporeditev stanovanjskih hiš v kulturno kraško krajino, v JZ delu naselja. Tretji primer je posnemanje ali abstraktno preoblikovanje vrtače (analogno oblikovanje) na podlagi katerega je zasnovan glavni trg/podhod v Divači. Pomembno je, da poudarimo omejitve teh ugotovitev. Da bi lahko dokončno potrdili hipotezo, je potrebno predlagano prostorsko zasnovo še kritično presojeti oziroma vrednotiti. To pomeni nadaljevanje raziskave z vključevanjem javnosti, predstavitev idejne rešitve prebivalcem Divače in strokovni javnosti, risanje spoznavnih zemljevidov na podlagi predstavljene rešitve ali simulacijsko opazovanje prostorske zasnove.

Posredno podporo rezultatom lahko najdemo v prispevkih o kontekstualnem odnosu do prostora, ki pri

14 Koncept oz. termin je prvič predstavil nizozemski prometni inženir Hans Monderman (Methorst et al., 2007).

načrtovanju teži k spojitvi novega z obstoječim. In kot je npr. v delu Hvalnica senci (Bharne, 2002, 78) zapisano, da spremembe in razvoj današnjega časa ne bi smele preprečevati, »da bi globoko ukoreninjen niz kulturnih vrednot in načel ohranjali, reinterpreterali, ponovno iznašli in tako ohranili pri življenju«.

SKLEP

Vključevanje kraških reliefnih oblik oziroma vrtač v prostorske zasnove znotraj kulturne kraške krajine ima lahko potencial pri omilitvi degradacije značilnosti in

identitete kulturne kraške krajine. Kraške reliefne oblike in vegetacija skupaj s kulturnimi prvinami krajine (stanje površinskega pokrova/raba, morfologija površja, suhi zidovi) so nosilci lokalne identitete. Ugotovitve nakazujejo na nekatere možne implikacije. Ena izmed njih kaže na pomembno soodvisnost med fizično zasnovo bivalnega okolja in načinom bivanja sodobnega človeka. Gehl (2010) pravi, da najprej oblikujemo mesta, nato mesta oblikujejo nas. To vodi k razmisleku o tem, katero pot bomo v prihodnosti izbrali: globalno poenotenje mest in naselij ali poudarjanje identitete kraja v določenem okolju in času.

PLANNING IN SETTLEMENTS WITHIN THE KARST CULTURAL LANDSCAPE ON THE CASE STUDY OF THE CONCEPTUAL LANDSCAPE AND URBAN DESIGN OF DIVAČA

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SUMMARY

The karst cultural landscape represents an important value within the Slovenian territory. The objective of this article is to test the hypothesis which stipulates that karst landforms, with emphasis on sinkholes, may be a versatile tool and help with spatial planning of settlements within the karst landscape in cases when the characteristics and the identity of the karst cultural landscape are being lost. The research part was based on the integration/connecting of the historical (source collection, morphogenesis) and the descriptive method (analysis and inventarization of the space, the analysis of the examples of good practice, categorisation, conducting a survey). The results are presented on the case study of the conceptual landscape and urbanism design of the town of Divača. The conceptual solution is based on the connection between the northern and the southern part of the settlement and on establishing main urban feature, namely including into the settlement the Divaški hrib, Krgunca Valley and two sinkholes south of the railway. In doing so, three roles of the sinkhole were identified. The first is the inclusion of sinkholes (karst landforms) into the spatial design or the green system of the settlement. In Divača, that is a group of three sinkholes, the Krgunca Valley with the existing sports and recreational attachment and Divaški hrib. In the second case it is an adjustment of the spatial designs to sinkholes. This case is represented by the design and the layout of residential houses in the karst cultural landscape, in the SW part of the settlement. The third case is the imitation or abstract transformation of the sinkhole (analog design) on the basis of which the main square/underpass in Divača is designed. Certain parallels for an indirect confirmation of the hypothesis may be found in the principles of spatial planning in the Eastern civilization before they began imitating the Western world. The hypothesis of the article may ultimately be confirmed or rejected by continuing the research work, namely by critically assessing or evaluating the proposed spatial design of Divača.

Keywords: karst cultural landscape, urban design, landscape design, Divača, identity, development, townscape

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URBAN INTEGRATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE IN ZADAR

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ABSTRACT

The paper examines urban integration of archaeological heritage in the town of Zadar via analysis of the town's history and urban development; the history of archaeological research and archaeological heritage protection and preservation; and the analysis of the relevant developed urban or spatial planning documents in relation to archaeological heritage. The history of archaeological research, of archaeological heritage protection and preservation and of urban and spatial planning in Zadar have not yet been systematically scientifically researched, and cover the period between the late 19th century (first archaeological excavations) and 2015.

Keywords: archaeological heritage, urban and spatial planning, urban integration, integrated protection/conservation, Zadar

INTEGRAZIONE DEL PATRIMONIO ARCHEOLOGICO DI ZARA NEL CONTESTO URBANO

SINTESI

L'articolo analizza l'integrazione urbana del patrimonio archeologico nella città di Zara, attraverso lo studio della storia cittadina e dello sviluppo urbano, un'analisi storica sulla ricerca archeologica e sulla protezione del patrimonio archeologico, e un'indagine approfondita sui principali materiali e documenti di pianificazione urbana e territoriale, in relazione al patrimonio archeologico. La storia della ricerca archeologica, della protezione e conservazione del patrimonio archeologico, e della pianificazione urbana e territoriale a Zara non è stata ancora studiata in maniera sistematica e scientifica; essa copre un arco di tempo che va dalla fine del XIX secolo (primi scavi archeologici), ai giorni nostri.

Parole chiave: patrimonio archeologico, pianificazione urbana e territoriale, integrazione urbana, protezione integrata, Zara

INTRODUCTION

The paper examines and analyses urban integration of immovable archaeological heritage and the relation between urban planning and *in situ* preservation of archaeological heritage in the town of Zadar. The analysis of the process of urban integration consists of three units: 1) a brief review of history and urban development of the town, from ancient Illyrian period until today, as a historic, spatial, and value context of urban integration of archaeological heritage, 2) the history of archaeological research and archaeological heritage protection and preservation divided in four characteristic periods from the late 19th century to 2015, and 3) analysis of relevant developed urban or spatial-planning documents of different levels in relation to archaeological heritage, from the first regulation plans, from the first half of the 20th century, until 2015.

Thus far, there has been no systematic research focused on the integration of archaeological heritage in Zadar. This topic was only partially covered by experts and researchers who researched certain aspects of integration of archaeological heritage. From the standpoint of urban planning, some researchers addressed this topic, including Dražen Arbutina who researched Bruno Milić's work and efforts on urban planning in Zadar; Ines Merčep whose paper researched the competition for the reconstruction of the historic core (1953); Antonija Mlikota whose doctoral thesis researched the post-war construction and reconstruction of the town until 1967; and Damir Magaš who researched the town's spatial development until 1981 (Arbutina, 2000; 2002; Magaš, 1982; Merčep, 2005; Mlikota, 2013; Rukavina & Bojanić, 2012). Likewise, the papers by urban planners Josip Seissel, Dragan Boltar, and Vladimir Ivanović are important contributions to this aspect (Boltar, 1961; Ivanović, 1971; Seissel, 1954). From an archaeological standpoint, integration of archaeological heritage is touched upon in texts written by Mate Suić, Ivo Petricioli, Šime Batović, and other archaeologists. The conservation aspect of integration of archaeological heritage is addressed in texts by Grga Oštrić, Ksenija Radulić, Pavuša Vežić, Tomislav Marasović, Miljenko Domijan and others (Domijan, 1989; Marasović, 1985; Oštrić, 1989; Radulić, 1970; Vežić, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1997). The only systematically and scientifically covered topic that the conducted research relies on is the history of Zadar (M. Suić, I. Petricioli, Nada Klaić et al) (Klaić & Petricioli, 1976; Suić, 1981; 2003).

The following research is based on scientific processing of published archaeological research, conservation research and records of interventions on architectural

(archaeological) heritage in Zadar, documents from the Conservation Department in Zadar, publications and articles on urban planning and architecture in Croatia, document sources, archival sources (urban and spatial-planning documents), online sources, and interviews with archaeologist Smiljan Gluščević, PhD and Barbara Peranić, archaeologist and conservator.

The conducted research was considerably hindered by the lack of any previous systematic research. For instance, there are no complete maps of archaeological topography (results of conducted archaeological excavations), nor are there maps or inventories of visible archaeological remains. The results of numerous archaeological excavations have not been published and a multitude of documents are missing at the competent conservation department. There has not been sufficient research of the overall history of archaeological research in Zadar, the history of archaeological heritage protection and preservation or the history of urban and spatial planning (developed urban and spatial-planning documents). The legacy of most architects who were engaged in the post-war reconstruction of Zadar is in disarray and uninvestigated. All of these limitations impede research.

In the contemporary period in many European countries archaeological heritage is recognized as a non-renewable resource that needs to be preserved and integrated in the contemporary life.¹ Historical, often unfavorable, relationship between urban planning and protection and preservation of archaeological heritage is gradually changing by the realization that archaeological heritage is an important factor of spatial identity and spirit of place which contributes to the quality of life. Archaeological heritage promotes social cohesion, community identity, development of cultural tourism and other benefits for the town. Its protection, preservation *in situ*, presentation and interpretation, use and enhancement that includes urban integration is encouraged. As an example of the contemporary management and integration of archaeological heritage in Europe and in the Mediterranean the case of Spain is highlighted, where in many towns (Mérida,² Tarragona, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Málaga, Cartagena, etc.) urban integration of archaeological heritage in contemporary life is being conducted based on the identification of archaeological heritage as a spatial and development resource.

The paper is based on a doctoral research entitled *Archaeological heritage integration method in urban planning*, beginning as part of the scientific project «Urban and Landscape Heritage of Croatia as part of European Culture» (2009–2013), and ending in 2015 as part of the scientific project «Heritage urbanism (HERU)

1 Protection and preservation of archaeological heritage at the international and European level is regulated primarily by numerous protection related documents which define professional conservation principles; by documents relating to urban and regional planning and by documents on environment protection which recognize cultural heritage as one of its components (Rukavina, Obad Ščitaroci, Petrić, 2013; Rukavina, 2015).

2 Management and urban integration of the archaeological heritage in Mérida was investigated as a case study and an example of good practice in the doctoral research *Archaeological heritage integration method in urban planning* (Rukavina, 2015).

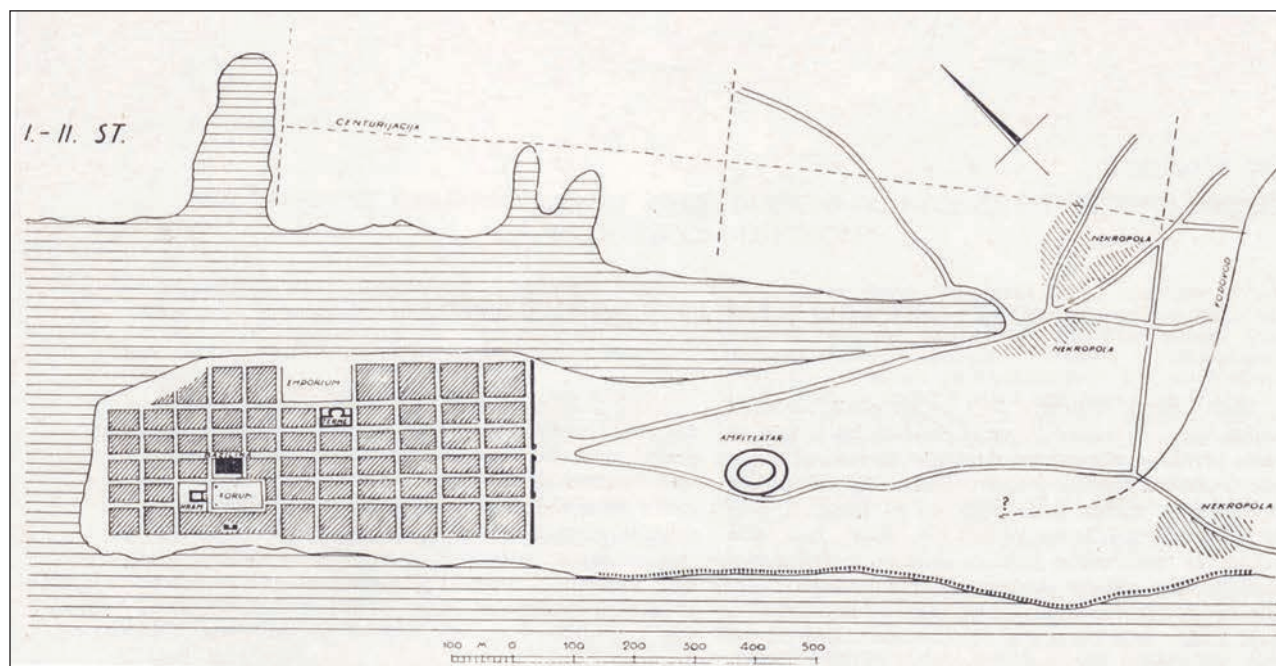


Figure 1: Roman period (1st–2nd century) (Petricioli, 1958, 66)

– Urban and Spatial Models for Revival and Enhancement of Cultural Heritage».³

HISTORICAL AND URBAN TOWN DEVELOPMENT – OVERVIEW

The Zadar town area has been continuously inhabited from prehistoric times, spanning over almost 3000 years. Archaeological research and findings indicate that the Zadar peninsula was continuously inhabited from the 9th century B.C. The peninsula's defensive position and natural harbour were the main reasons for inhabitation. Numerous Greek ceramic artefacts dating from the most ancient times to the Hellenistic Period bear witness to the strong commercial ties between the local Illyrian population and southern Italy and Greece. At the time Zadar was one of the strongest Liburnian centres on the Adriatic (Durman et al., 2006, 304; Petricioli, 1962, 9).

The first Roman settlement was formed during Caesar's time when Italic settlers began inhabiting the peninsula, whereas its colonial status and urban physiognomy developed under Emperor Augustus. The town was named *Colonia Iulia Iader*, after its founder. The town did not play a major role during Roman times, but archaeological remains bear witness to substantial economic and cultural development. Following the principles of Roman urban planning, the town was di-

vided into blocks within an orthogonal grid plan which for the most part corresponds to the current layout on the peninsula. The town centre containing a forum was located in the western part of the peninsula, with an adjoining *capitolium* and temple, forming a unique spatial complex (whose remains are partly visible today). The very beginning of forum construction dates back to the beginning of the colony itself in 27 B.C., whereas its final appearance was shaped during 3rd-century reconstruction. The town was surrounded by walls constructed under Emperor Augustus with at least three gates, the main of which was a triumphal arc (remains visible on Petar Zoranić square and Emperor Augustus passageway). On the north-eastern part of the peninsula, near the harbour, there was a market place (*emporium*), and an amphitheatre outside the town walls (figure 1). The peninsula most probably also housed a theatre, although this theory is yet to be archaeologically tested. The town was equipped with a sewer and water-supply system, as well as various public facilities. Numerous finds of floor mosaics, sculpture fragments and ornaments, and painted walls indicate a high standard of living of wealthier citizens. Outside the town walls there were necropolises, agricultural estates (*villae rusticae*), two aqueducts that supplied the town with fresh water (remains visible in Ivan Zadranin street, Franko Lisica street, the town cemetery, and Gaženica - the industrial

³ Project *Heritage Urbanism* (2014–2018) is financed by Croatian Science Foundation (HRZZ-2032), which is being carried out at the Faculty of Architecture University of Zagreb. Further information: <http://www.arhitekt.unizg.hr/znanost/HERU/default.aspx>.

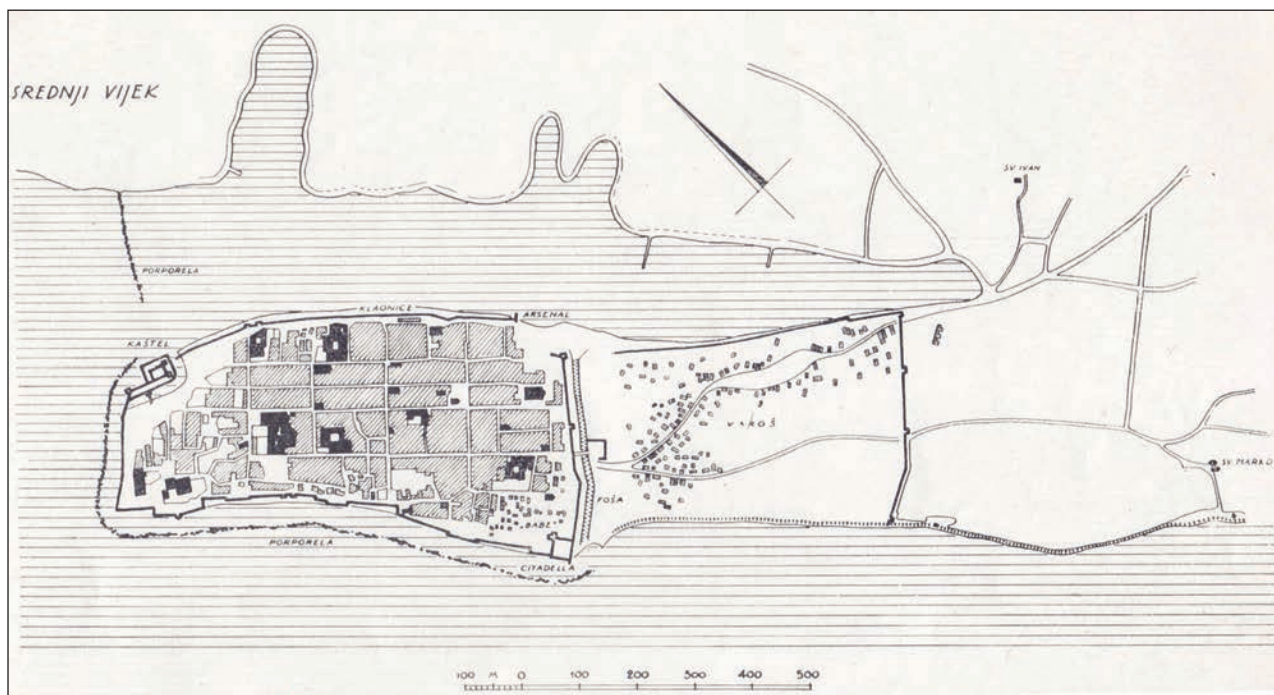


Figure 2: Zadar in the middle ages (Petricioli, 1958, 67)

part of the town), whereas the entire town territory (*ager*) was divided into *centuriae*, whose traces have survived to this day (parts of contemporary grid plan, dry-stone walls, land subdivision). In Late Antiquity, in the 5th and 6th centuries, the town saw the construction of numerous early-Christian churches logically incorporated in its ancient tissue (some have survived to this day and some were discovered during archaeological and conservation research) (Durman et al., 2006, 304–305; Giunio, 2001; 2008a; Petricioli, 1962, 4).

During the Migration Period Zadar avoided destruction, and after brief Ostrogoth rule in 535 it became the capital of Byzantine Dalmatia and the seat of the imperial governor. In the early 9th century, Zadar bishop Donat was the head of the delegation that surrendered the Dalmatian cities to Charlemagne (only to be returned to Byzantium in 810). It was during this period that St. Donat's church was built, one of Zadar's most famous buildings. In the 10th century Dalmatian cities spark the interest of the Venetians who succeeded in occupying Zadar for the first time, if only for a short while (Durman et al., 2006, 306; Petricioli, 1962, 4).

In the early centuries of Croatian history Zadar maintained a connection with Croatian rulers whose rule it began to accept in the 11th century. Croatian influence was increasingly stronger in this still mostly Byzantine town. The 12th and 13th centuries were a time marked

by constant battles between Zadar and Venice⁴, which conquered the town several times, and the changes in government between Venice and Croatian-Hungarian kings (Durman et al., 2006, 306; Petricioli, 1962, 4–5).

The medieval urban Zadar area included the entire Roman town on the peninsula, with the most part of the Roman grid plan preserved. In 1346 the Venetians renovated the *Kaštel* fortress at the entrance to the town harbour and dug a moat, which meant tearing down surrounding buildings to create a glacis for defensive purposes. In the 15th century, in place of the former tower on the southern town corner, the fortress *Citadela* was built and a moat was dug along the south-eastern town wall (figure 2) (Durman et al., 2006, 306; Petricioli, 1962, 11; Vežić, 1990, 7–43). The remains of *Kaštel* and *Citadela* were incorporated in the more recent historical construction and are still partially visible owing to conservation efforts.

In 1409 Venice purchased Zadar and Dalmatia from the Croatian-Hungarian king, causing the town to stagnate after imposing restrictions on economic activities. The stagnation intensified after the Ottoman surge in the 16th century. Due to the development of artillery, it was necessary to modernise the town walls and build a new fortification system (most of which have been preserved to this day). The town suburb of Varoš was destroyed and the people moved inside the town walls to enable the construction of *Forte*, a large rampart serving as the

4 Periods of Venetian rule: 1116–1181, 1205–1358 (town rebellion against Venice: 1164, 1167–1170, 1181, 1242, 1311–1313, 1345, 1357) (Petricioli, 1962, 4–5).

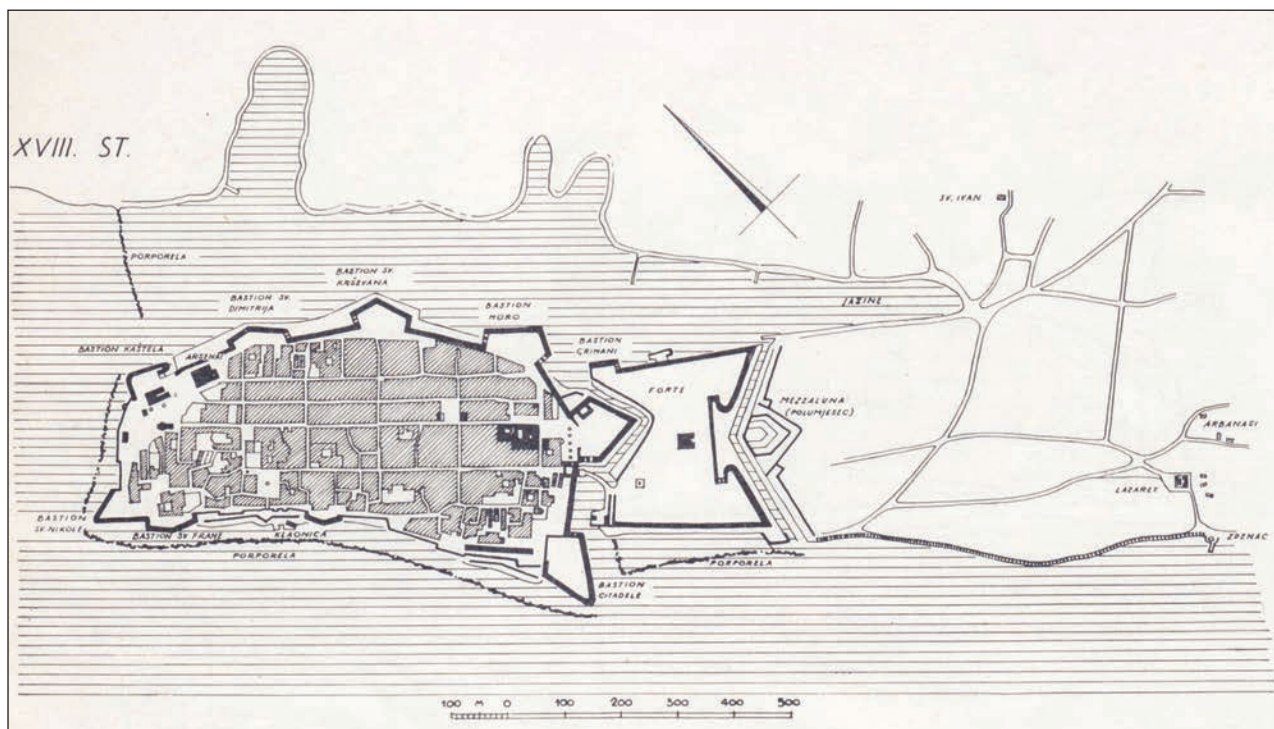


Figure 3: Zadar in the 18th century (Petricoli, 1958, 68)

external fortification belt toward the interior, whereas the medieval town walls were fortified with bastions and partially rebuilt. In the early 16th century the entire area outside the Zadar peninsula was conquered by the Ottomans who continued to battle Zadar all through the 17th century. In the 17th and 18th centuries two canals were dug along the *Forte* rampart and a new fortress was built called *Mezzaluna* (later demolished). Economic circumstances had improved somewhat in the 18th century, although the town's recovery was negligible (figure 3) (Petricoli, 1962, 6, 11, 13).

After the fall of Venice in 1797, Zadar came under Austrian rule, only to be conquered by the French in 1806. Austrian rule was re-established in 1813 and lasted until the end of WWI when it was taken over by Italy. Under Austrian rule Zadar became the administrative centre of Dalmatia, which stimulated the town's overall development. During this period the south-western town walls were demolished (1874), followed by the construction of the new shore, whereas the town's urban structure for the first time began spreading outside the peninsula. (figure 4) (Petricoli, 1962, 6–7, 13; 1965, 197).

After WWII and severe destruction caused by Allied forces (bombing destroyed 80% of structures on the peninsula), Zadar was returned to Croatia to form a part of Yugoslavia, thereby entering a time of reconstruction, economic recovery and rapid urban development. The socialist period was marked by: industrial development

(industrial zone Gaženica), commercial and tourist development (tourist zones Puntamika, Borik, etc.), transport infrastructure development (harbour, railway, airport), spatial expansion of the town over the entire area of the ancient Roman *ager*, a rapid surge of population, as well as illegal and unplanned construction on the broader town area (Magaš, 1982; Merčep, 2005, 68).

The period of transition and shifting to a market economy began in 1991 after Croatia declared independence. The town once again suffered destruction during the War of Independence (1991–1995) impeding the course of its development. Only during the recent years has the town begun to recover (tourism, culture, trade, infrastructure), whereas according to the 2011 census it has a population of 75 062.

HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE PROTECTION AND PRESERVATION IN ZADAR

The history of archaeological research and archaeological heritage protection and preservation in Zadar can be divided according to intensity, character, and applied methodology into four distinct periods: beginnings of archaeological excavations pre-WWII, town reconstruction between 1945 and 1975 (integration of archaeological monuments), the period between 1975 and 1991, and the contemporary period post-1991.

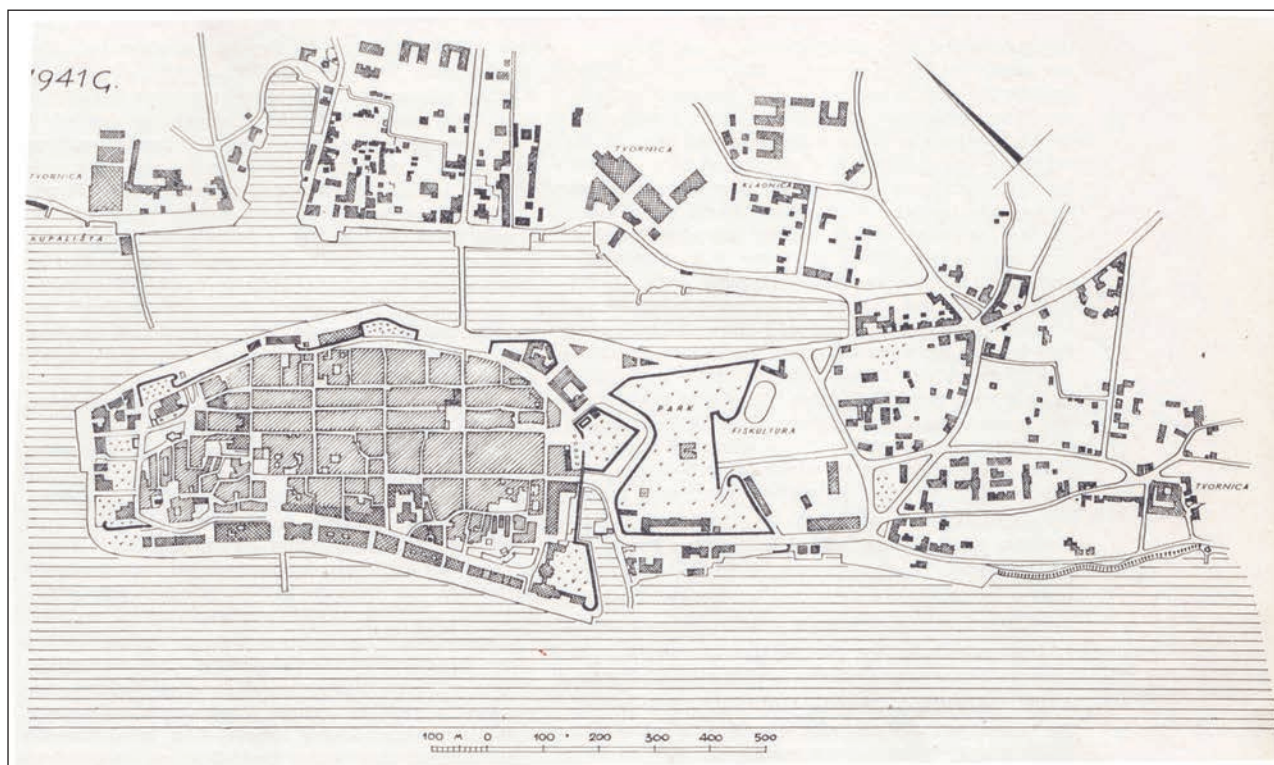


Figure 4: Zadar 1941 (Petricioli, 1958, 69)

Beginnings of archaeological excavations pre-WWII

The beginnings of archaeological research in Zadar can be traced back to the time of Austrian administration and the town's gradual economic recovery, as well as construction activities in the 19th century. The conservator of Zadar monuments at the time was Carlo Federico Bianchi who has left a multitude of records on ancient remains found during construction on the Zadar peninsula (remains of ancient Roman streets, of structures/architecture, mosaics, sculptures, and graves) (Suić, 1970, 242–245). The Archaeological museum in Zadar was founded in 1832, whereas the first archaeological excavation was conducted in 1877 by Frane Bulić and Alois Hauser at the location of St. Donat's church. It was then discovered that the church is partly built on the forum pavement which remained visible (Batović, 1964, 679; Suić, 1948, 201; 1970, 246). Archaeological excavation of the pre-Romanesque *Stomorica* Church and the Church of St. Peter the Elder began in 1880 and 1886, respectively (Petricioli, 1958, 57; Petricioli & Vučenović, 1970). Excavations at Petar Zoranić Square were supervised by archaeologist Josip Bersa⁵ in 1908 when the remains of ancient Roman and medieval town gates, walls, and a small early-medieval church were discovered (Batović,

1964, 679; Suić, 1948, 200; 1970, 242). Some of the finds (the base of the ancient Roman triumphal arch) were conserved and remain visible *in situ*.

Small-scale excavations continued under Italian administration (1918–1943). Between 1928 and 1930 excavations were conducted in the area south-east of St. Donat's Church, leading to the discovery of a new surface of the forum pavement⁶ while demolishing some of the existing buildings to "liberate" a monument (a church rotunda), also several test pits were excavated aiming to determine the exact surface of the forum (Batović, 1964, 680; Suić, 1948, 201; 1970, 246). Sites also examined during this period were the ancient Roman necropolis near Benkovac road and Great St. Mary's Church remains while digging a shelter within town walls (Batović, 1964, 680; Vežić, 1975). Archaeological excavation was supervised by Italian archaeologist Luigi Crème, the director of the Archaeological museum in Zadar at the time.

Town reconstruction between 1945 and 1975 – integration of archaeological monuments

After WWII, when virtually the entire historic part of Zadar lay in ruins and town reconstruction was to

5 Director of the archaeological museum at the time.

6 Discovered surface remained visible – collection of stone monuments at the archaeological museum.

begin, archaeologists were faced with an unusual situation. Archaeologists and conservators⁷ planned a comprehensive systematic research of ruined town areas prior to the commencement of reconstruction and new construction, while conservator Grga Oštrić was vehemently advocating for the prevention of new construction on the peninsula in order to ensure sufficient time for research and development of a construction plan (Suić, 1977, 40).

The Zadar administration at the time passed a regulation ordering that prior to any new construction in the historic centre – *old town*, archaeological excavation must be conducted at investor's cost. However, the regulation was not enforced, leaving the salvaging of archaeological data to the efforts of the Archaeological museum in Zadar or the former History Institute in Zadar.⁸ Excavations would start too late, after building plans had already been designed and important details, which would otherwise have been preserved, had to be sacrificed (Petricioli, 1958a, 91).

Practice has shown that necessary archaeological interventions during foundation digging and similar occasions add considerably to the cost of construction, and more often than not demand changes to the original design for some buildings, due to discovered remains. Consequently, this led to the conclusion that archaeological excavations should be conducted prior to construction, in all areas with planned development. Previous failures have shown that not even preliminary construction plans can be made without a detailed knowledge of the town's archaeological topography, or without evaluation of discovered remains. Archaeologists took advantage of the situation, conducting extensive research on a broader area of the ancient Roman forum complex (Suić, 1977, 40).

The research of the forum complex began as early as 1948 (with test-pit excavations), continuing in 1949 and 1952 (Batović, 1964, 6; Suić, 1948, 202–204). Systematic excavation of the complex was intensified between 1964 and 1967 when the clear surface of the forum and the surrounding area was excavated, as well as the partial remains of the forum's integral parts (taverns, basilica, *capitolium* with temple). The excavation of the north-eastern edge of the forum, near the cathedral belfry, was conducted in 1971 (Suić, 1981, 204, 206).

The previously mentioned rescue excavations during foundation digging for new buildings on the peninsula began in the 1950s, albeit with limited scope and without a research plan, provided important data for defining the virtually unknown *archaeological topography* of the

ancient, late-ancient, and early-medieval town. Some of the more important finds on the peninsula include: pavements of several ancient Roman streets, sewer system, market place (*emporium*), granary (*horreum*), remains of ancient, late-ancient, and medieval walls and gates, ancient Roman residential buildings (*domus*), cisterns, private bathhouse complex (*balneum*) in Široka Street (*Calle Larga*), and public bathhouse (*thermae*). Outside the peninsula, research of *centuriation*, aqueducts, *villae rusticae* and ancient Roman and late-ancient necropolises was conducted (Batović, 1964, 681; Batović, 1980; Belošević, 1967; Ilakovac, 1964; 1982; Nedved, 1980; Suić, 1955; 1956; 1981). Archaeological research of the remains from late-ancient and medieval periods was likewise conducted: medieval town walls, *Kaštel* fortress at harbour entrance, St. Mary's Church and convent, St. Thomas' early-Christian basilica, pre-Romanesque Stomorica Church, St. Ursula's Church on Puntamika peninsula, St. Peter the Elder's Church, early-Christian cemetery basilica (St. John's) (Jerš-Pohl, 1975; Miletić & Štrkalj, 1977; Petricioli, 1958b, 56–63; 1965; Petricioli & Vučenović, 1970; Petricioli & Vežić, 1975). At the time archaeological excavations were supervised by archaeologists from the Archaeological museum – Mate Suić, Šime Batović, Boris Ilakovac, and art historian Ivo Petricioli,⁹ later joined in the museum by archaeologist Branka Nedved.

Numerous mentioned finds discovered on the peninsula were, at the time, preserved *in situ*, remained visible and integrated into new construction, open or public spaces (south-eastern town walls and gates, remains of the *horreum*, basin from private bathhouse, public bathhouse, remains of an ancient Roman building in Kraljevski Dalmatin Street, Stomorica Church, remains of the *Kaštel* fortress, remains of medieval town walls, remains of early-Christian St. Thomas' basilica). At the level of urban planning, this was the beginning of the partial integration of the forum complex. Another important contribution to integration and preservation of archaeological heritage during the 1970s was given by Zadar conservator Ksenija Radulić who was a strong advocate for the completion of urban integration of the forum complex (Radulić, 1970).

Period between 1975 and 1991

After 1975, archaeological research in the town subsided, and those that were conducted were mainly rescue excavations. The excavations were conducted by either the Archaeological museum in Zadar or the

7 Dalmatian Institute for Conservation (*Konzervatorski zavod za Dalmaciju*) founded a committee in Zadar in 1946. In 1952, the Zadar conservation office (*Konzervatorski ured u Zadru*) is founded which in 1954 becomes an independent institution (today's *Konzervatorski odjel u Zadru*) (Đinić, 2006, 65–67).

8 Today's Institute for Historical Sciences at the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zadar (*Zavod za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*).

9 Employed at Archaeological museum 1949–1954. Between 1955 and 1958 employed as expert associate at the History Institute in Zadar and from 1958 employed at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zadar (http://info.hazu.hr/hr/clanovi_akademije/osobne_stranice/ivo_petricioli).

Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments in Zadar (conservation research of individual monuments). Excavations were carried out at the following locations: cathedral complex (1977–1983), St. Clement's Church (1977–1978), Citadel (1979–1983), forum (1984), St. Marina's Church (1988), whereas rescue excavations were conducted at: necropolis at Ivan Zadrani Street (1975/1976), Kaljska Street (1985), ancient Roman Relja necropolis (1989–1990, 850 graves), town market place, St. Dominic's monastery (Fadić, 1999; Gluščević, 1990; 2001; Nedved, 1980; Vežić, 1986, 171; Vežić, 1988; 1990; Ministry of Culture – Conservation Department in Zadar, interview with dr. sc. Smiljan Gluščević, Archaeological Museum in Zadar). Protected cultural and historical area of the town was proclaimed in 1978.

During this period preserved finds included the remains of St. Clement's Church (at Arbanasi), St. Marina's Church (at Gaženica) and the medieval Citadel, whereas the visible remains of ancient Roman aqueduct were integrated into the layout of a new residential complex (Ivan Zadrani st. / Ante Starčević st.).¹⁰

Contemporary period post-1991

Archaeological researches in the Zadar post-1991 consist mostly of rescue excavations.¹¹ The following archaeological excavations have been conducted: garden at Zadar Seminary (1992–93), garden at St. Mary's convent (1995), cemetery basilica¹² (1995), Šimun Kožarić Benja Street, Relja necropolis (1998–99, 2005–06, 2008, 2009), Varoška Street (2000), *capitolium* – John Paul II Gymnasium (2002), St. Nicholas' Church (2004, 2006), cathedral (2006–07), forum – Pope John Paul II Square (2006–07), Petar Zoranić Square (2006–07), puppet theatre (2007), R. Bošković Street (2007), Citadel (2008) (Alihodžić, 2009; 2010; Brusić, 2008; Fadić, 2007; 2007a; 2007b; Fadić & Štefanac, 2011; Giunio & Jurić, 2004; Giunio, 2007; 2008; 2014; Gluščević, 2001; Gusar & Vujević, 2009; Jurić 2008; 2008a; Vežić, 1997; Vučić, 2008; 2010). Underwater archaeological excavation of ancient Roman dock at Kolovare was conducted in 2007 and the International Centre for Underwater Archaeology was founded in the same year (Gluščević, 2008).

In the contemporary period, the remains that were preserved *in situ* and left visible include the remains of the ancient Roman mosaic in St. Mary's convent, remains of early-Christian mosaic in the cathedral, remains of early-Christian cemetery basilica, and the remains of *capitolium* substructions in the new gymnasium building, discovered during rescue excavations, whereas renovations were conducted at Petar Zoranić Square (visible remains of ancient and medieval town gates),

and John Paul II Square (visible remains of ancient Roman basilica and medieval town wall).

Although archaeological excavations in Zadar began in late 19th century, a more substantial research of the town was prompted by WWII destruction. For the most part, archaeologists took advantage of the opportunity to conduct excavations prior to the commencement of construction and, wherever possible, enabled *in situ* conservation and integration of numerous archaeological remains (forum, town walls, bathhouse, *horreum*, basin belonging to private bathhouse, St. Thomas' early-Christian basilica, *Stomorica*, St. Anastasia's (St. *Stošija's*) Church in Puntamika, *Kaštel*, residential-building mosaics in Kraljevski Dalmatin Street). An example of urbanistic integration of archaeological area at the time would be the ancient Roman forum. Post-1975 archaeological excavations subsided because the town reconstruction had mostly been completed and the research focused on individual monuments (St. Marina, St. Clement, the cathedral, the Citadel), and rescue excavations prompted by town expansion (necropolises). The contemporary period is defined by continued rescue excavations, as well as neglect, abandonment, and even devastation of previous conservation efforts (public bathhouses, *horreum*, ancient Roman basin, ancient Roman residential building, aqueduct, *Kaštel*, town walls, St. Thomas' Church, St. Marina's Church, St. Clement's Church, St. Anastasia's Church at Puntamika).¹³ Failure to recognize archaeological heritage as a development resource, and the lack of strategy for its management in the contemporary period led to the decay and endangerment of the town's archaeological heritage.

Aside from the still uncompleted urban integration of the forum complex remains, other instances of presentation and integration of archaeological heritage in Zadar are not examples of (systematic) urbanistic integration, but rather of individual conservation efforts/projects to preserve and integrate archaeological heritage. (figure 5. and 6.)

ANALYSIS OF URBAN-PLANNING DOCUMENTS IN RELATION TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

Analysis and evaluation of relevant urban and spatial planning documents of Zadar, developed between 1939 (first regulation plan) and 2015, is conducted in relation to preservation and enhancement of archaeological heritage and its urban integration. As of yet there have been no similar analyses of Zadar's urban and spatial-planning documents. The goal is to determine the treatment of archaeological heritage in relevant urban and spatial-planning documents which have dictated

10 Positions of residential buildings were defined by the traces of the aqueduct and the ancient road.

11 Archaeological excavations were conducted by archaeologists from the Archaeological Museum in Zadar (*Arheološki muzej Zadar*), archaeologists-curators at the Museum of Ancient Glass (*Muzej antičkog stakla*), and Zadar University archaeologists.

12 Legally protected in 2003 (MK, Registar kulturnih dobara Republike Hrvatske).

13 For more detail: Rukavina, 2015 (doctoral thesis *Archaeological Heritage Integration Method in Urban Planning*).



Figure 5: Visible archaeological remains and rescue excavations on the Zadar peninsula

Zadar's spatial development in the 20th and early 21st centuries, and their influence on the preservation of immovable archaeological heritage.

Qualitative analysis criteria for the evaluation of urban-planning documents

For the purpose of urban and spatial planning documentation analysis and evaluation in relation to the preservation and enhancement of archaeological

heritage and its urban integration, the defined criteria can be divided into three groups: 1) criteria relating to endangerment of archaeological heritage by planned interventions – group A, 2) criteria relating to protection measures of overall archaeological heritage – group B, and 3) criteria relating to individual archaeological finds/sites (e.g. forum, ancient Roman street grid, walls, *centuriation*, and the like) – group C.

The number and variety of defined criteria for the evaluation and analysis of urban and spatial-planning

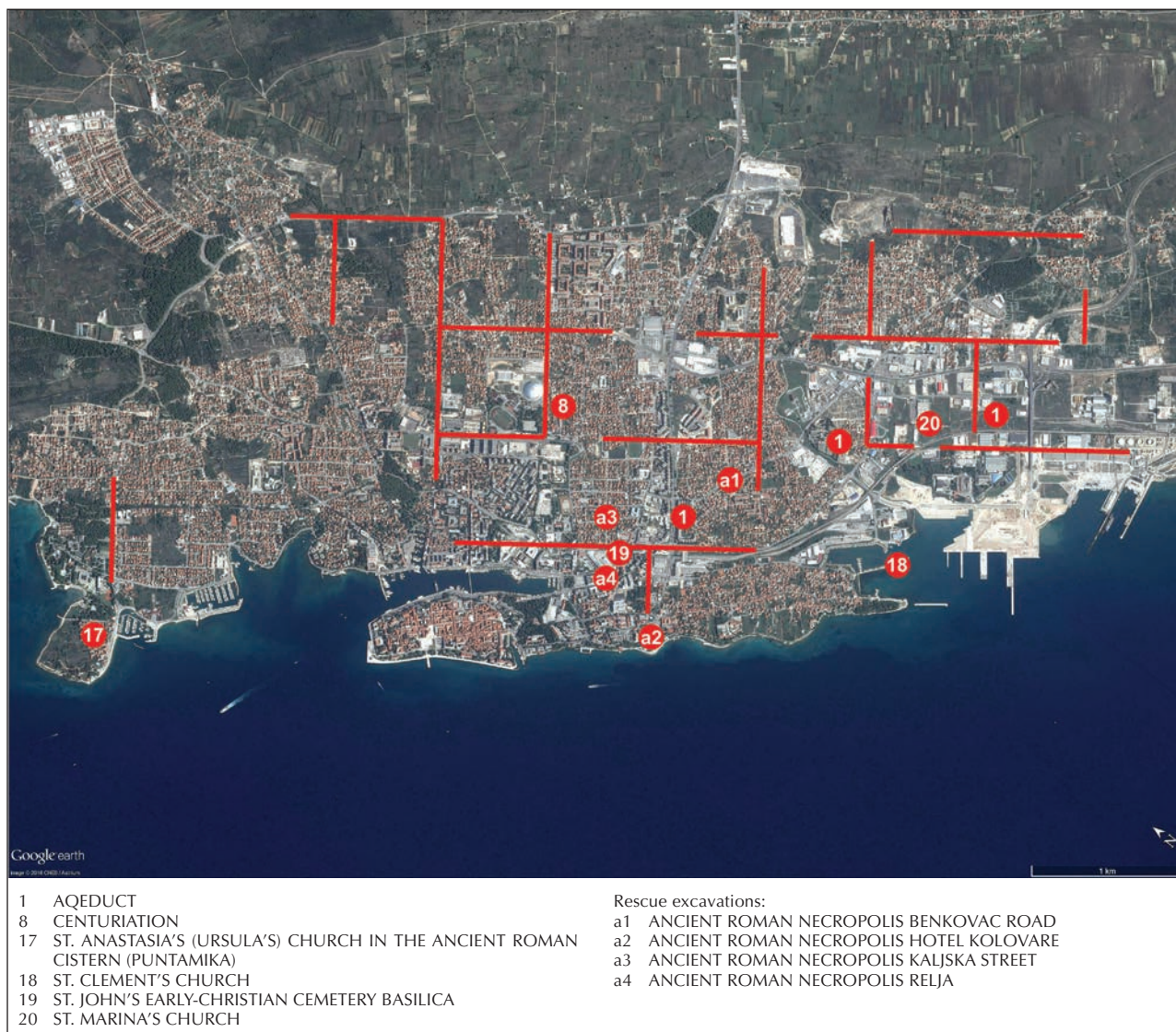


Figure 6: Visible archaeological remains and rescue excavations outside the Zadar peninsula

documents (22 criteria in total, table 1.) have been influenced by numerous factors: first and foremost, different historical contexts of planning and protection of architectural heritage, which involves the development of professional standpoints and methods, plans of various scales, implementation of previously planned interventions, various plan scopes, as well as legal, economic, political, social, and cultural contexts of the planning process.

The analyzed criteria are classified according to impact on the archaeological heritage in the two groups of categories - favorable and unfavorable in relation to the archaeological heritage. Evaluation of the particular plan (favorable, partly favorable, partly unfavorable and unfavorable) in relation to the archaeological heritage is obtained by representation of the group of criteria (A;

B; C) and the number of relevant criteria in a particular category (favorable and unfavorable) for the each plan (table 1).

Piano regolatore di Zara, 1939 (Paolo Rossi de Paoli)

The first developed plan relating to archaeological heritage on the Zadar peninsula (historic town core) is evaluated as partly unfavourable because, aside from the planned regulation on the modern-day *John Paul II Square*, no major interventions on urban tissue were planned (Arbutina, 2000) (figure 7). The planned regulation was related to the ancient Roman forum and basilica and would have most probably damaged the archaeological remains preserved underground. The plan was never realised due to the outbreak of WWII.

Table 1: Comparison of analysed urban planning documents according to defined criteria

Plan	Piano regolatore di Zara	Zadar regulation plan	Regulation plan for Zadar's historic core	Zadar city centre construction plan	Master-plan	Zadar master-plan	Zadar County spatial plan
year of plan adoption	1939	(1947)	(1955)	1961	1973	1989	2004-2011
unfavourable in relation to archaeological heritage							
A an entirely new planned urban structure on the peninsula		*					
A development of historic core regulated solely by spatial plan							*
B protection of archaeological heritage is not regulated	*	*					
B integration and presentation of possible new archaeological finds is not regulated			*	*			
B no recognition of the spatial value of archaeological heritage as a development resource							*
B protection of archaeological heritage left solely to relevant conservation department							*
C planned interventions on ancient Roman forum	*				n/a	n/a	n/a
favourable in relation to archaeological heritage							
A planned small-scale urban interventions in the archaeological area	*						
B protection, presentation, and integration of archaeological heritage					*	*	*, repealed by amendments
B obligation of conducting preliminary investigations of archaeological areas prior to construction, as a basis for determining the conditions for new construction					*		
B obligation of developing a detailed urban-conservation plan for the historic town core					*	*	
B inventories of archaeological areas and sites					*	*	*
B map of archaeological and architectural heritage					*	*	*
B prescribed active protection of architectural heritage					*		
A plan highlights historical heritage as a resource						*	
B protection of archaeological sites from new construction wherever possible						*	
B particularly significant sites are to be preserved and presented in situ						*	
B proposes urban integration of archaeological heritage (its inclusion in economic and social spheres and integration into spatial and functional solutions of the contemporary city)						*	
C planned urban integration of the part of the forum and its reuse as city square	n/a	partly	*	*	n/a	n/a	n/a
C conservation/affirmation of ancient grid plan	n/a	*	*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
C planned presentation of archaeological remains of city walls			*	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
C affirmation of traces of Roman centuriation					partly	*	

Key:

A – criteria relating to endangerment of archaeological heritage by planned interventions

B - criteria relating to protection measures for overall archaeological heritage

C- criteria relating to individual archaeological finds/sites.

n/a - not applicable

brackets – plan was not officially adopted

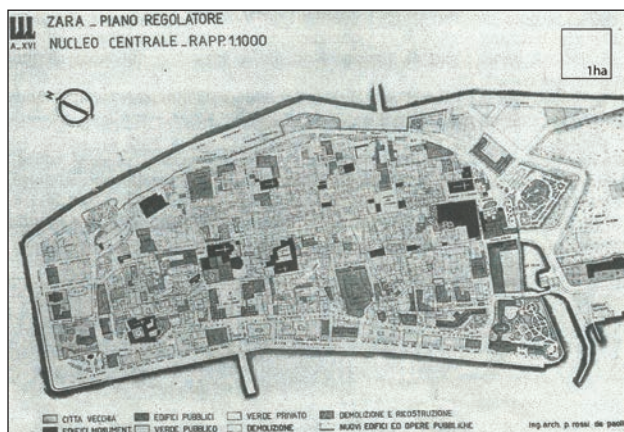


Figure 7: Regulation plan, historic town core, detail, 1939 (Arbutina, 2000, 139)

In relation to overall archaeological heritage, the plan is evaluated as partly unfavourable (planned small-scale interventions in the archaeological area, planned interventions at ancient Roman forum area).

Regulation plan of Zadar, 1947 (Milovan Kovačević, Zdenko Stržić, Božidar Rašica)

The first plan that proposed the spatial solution for the reconstruction of the devastated Zadar peninsula post WWII were influenced by functionalist views on the town (CIAM, Le Corbusier). It did, however, retain the ancient Roman grid plan, albeit with an entirely new structure, ensuring ventilation, insolation, and vegetation, whereas the old historic town was represented only by isolated monuments (Arbutina, 2002, 33; Merčep 2005, 69–70). It did not regulate the archaeological heritage protection, and its implementation would have had severely adverse consequences for the preserved underground archaeological remains (modern construction techniques). The plan was not implemented, but it did, however, serve as a basis for numerous demolitions and removal of historic buildings (figure 8).

In relation to overall archaeological heritage, the plan is evaluated as unfavourable (an entirely new structure planned in the archaeological area, the integration and preservation of possible new archaeological finds is not regulated).

Regulation plan for Zadar historic town core, 1955

(Bruno Milić, Faculty of Civil Engineering, Architecture and Geodesy at Zagreb University, Institute for Urbanism)¹⁴

Based on the results of public urban-planning competition¹⁵ from 1953 calling for solutions for the reconstruction of Zadar's historic town core, architect Bruno Milić developed in 1955 a regulation plan for Zadar's historic town core, based on a synthesis of the three winning designs (Arbutina 2002, 38). In relation to archaeological heritage, Milić's plan provided for urban integration of the part of the ancient Roman forum and its reuse as new town square within a typological reconstruction of lost spatial relations and a medieval-town scale. The plan also affirmed the ancient Roman grid plan. The presentation of archaeological remains of medieval and renaissance town walls (north-western and south-western walls) was also planned (UZ FA IUSPLA Bruno Milić). The plan did not regulate the conservation of archaeological finds in other parts of the peninsula (figure 9).

In relation to the overall archaeological heritage, the plan is evaluated as partly favourable (planned urban integration of the ancient Roman forum remains; affirmation of ancient Roman grid plan; planned presentation of medieval and renaissance walls). The plan did not provide for the possible new archaeological finds, or their integration and preservation.

Zadar town centre construction plan, 1961¹⁶

As Milić's plan did not generate any detailed urban-planning studies, and the immediate vicinity of the churches of St. Donat and St. Anastasia, as well as the ancient Roman forum remained unbuilt, a new urbanistic and architectural competition was announced, calling for ideas for the development of a section of the forum and Široka Street (Boltar, 1961, 40). After the competition, an expert advisory committee was founded for the construction of the peninsula centre, which developed the construction plan based on competition entries.¹⁷ The plan provided for urban integration and uncovering of a part of the ancient Roman forum and its reuse as the central town square surrounded by a contemporary buildings with various uses, within a typological reconstruction of lost spatial relations and a medieval-town

14 The plan was not officially adopted and it was a synthesis of three equally excellent, first-prize winning works in the 1953 competition. Three equally valuable awards were awarded to: Berislav Kalodera and associates, Bruno Milić and Miroslav Kollenz and associates, Vladimir Ivanović, Radovan Mišćević, Branko Petrović, and Branko Vasiljević and associates (*Urbanistički institut NRH*) (Arbutina, 2002, 35; Merčep, 2005, 72–74).

15 The programme for the competition were developed by the Yugoslav (today's Croatian) Academy of Sciences and Arts (architects Josip Seissel, Andrija Mohorovičić, Drago Galić, archaeologist Mate Suić and conservator Grga Oštrić) (Boltar, 1961, 40; Merčep, 2005, 70; NOO Zadar, 1953).

16 Expert advisory committee for the construction of the peninsula centre, based on the synthesis of competition entries, 1959.

17 The members of the Committee (*Odbor pri Savjetu za urbanizam i građevinarstvo Narodni odbor Općine Zadar*) were members of the judging panel (Zvonimir Tišina, Dragan Boltar, Ninoslav Kučan, Zdenko Sila, conservator Grga Oštrić and government representatives Albin Švorinić and Ante Sorić), architects Josip Seissel, Andrija Mohorovičić and Mladen Kauzlarić. First prize winner was a group of

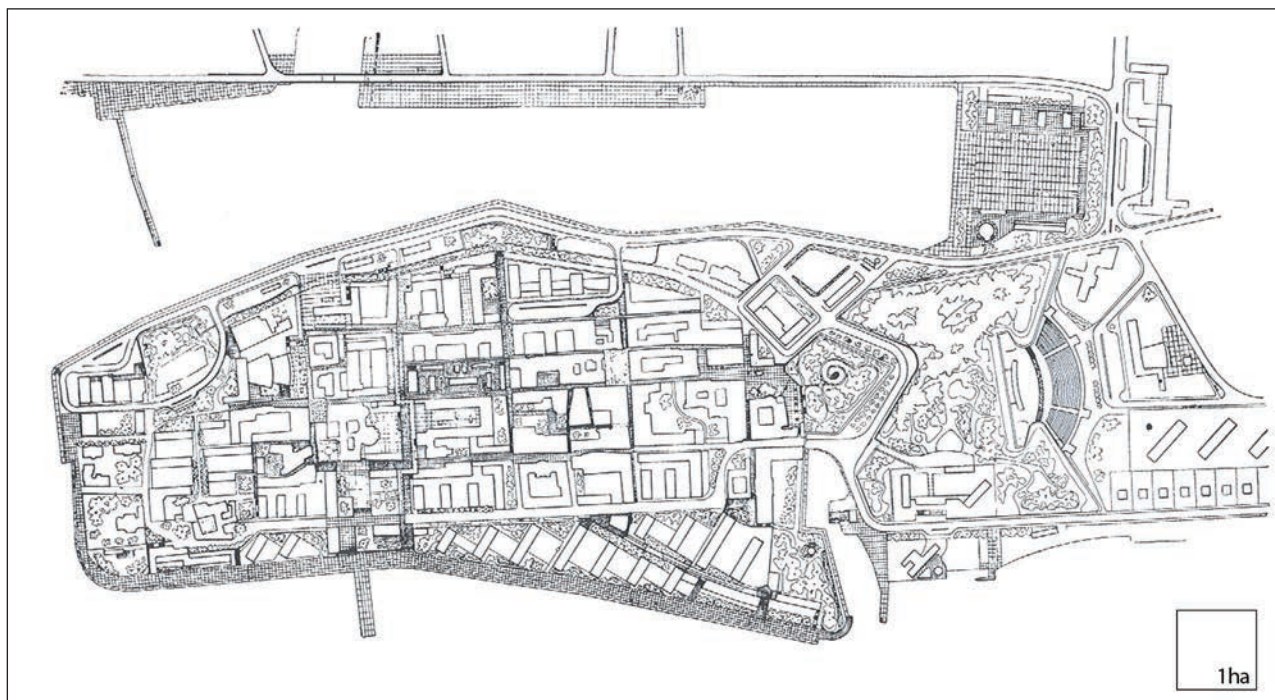


Figure 8: Zadar Regulation plan, 1947 (Arbutina, 2002, 34)

scale.¹⁸ Based on the plan, the reconstruction of the central part of the peninsula was mostly completed (structures A, B, C, D, E, H¹⁹, I, were built according to the plan, figure 10).

In relation to the overall archaeological heritage, the plan is evaluated as partly favourable (planned urban integration of the ancient Roman forum remains). It did not provide for the possible new archaeological finds, or their integration and preservation.

Zadar masterplan, 1973 (team leader Vladimir Ivanović, Croatian Institute for Urban Planning²⁰)

The Zadar masterplan adopted in 1973 emphasises the importance of architectural and archaeological heritage and defines the general measures for its protection²¹ in the town area, whereas the integral part of the plan also includes map 5. *General plan for the protection of archaeological sites, architectural monu-*



Figure 9: Zadar historic town core regulation plan – photomontage of scale-model photo, 1955 (Arbutina, 2002, 58)

authors including Vladimir Ivanović, Grozdan Knežević, Zdenko Kolacio, Mirko Maretić, Josip Uhlík, and the second prize winners included Bruno Milić and Marija Širola. The Institute for Urbanism (*Zavod za urbanizam*) at the Faculty of Civil Engineering, Architecture and Geodesy at Zagreb University (today's University of Zagreb Faculty of Architecture) was in charge of the study and the coordination of construction at central Zadar peninsula in 1961 (Boltar, 1961; UZ FA IUSPLA Dragutin Boltar).

18 "Interventions in the square shall focus on its use, which is attractive from both historical and urban aspects –being the heart of the town. Here the Roman forum will be clearly outlined – it can even be separated by archaeological fragments to evoke an ancient Roman porticus – much like the two main Roman streets (*Cardo Maximus* and *Decumanus*)..." (Boltar, 1961, 41).

19 Built in disregard of the construction plan.

20 *Urbanistički institut SRH*

21 "Protection, presentation, and integration of archaeological sites into contemporary life is to be conducted on the basis of scientific criteria of archaeology. Prior to the commencement of any type of construction in any particular archaeological zone, it is necessary to investigate every such site, and on the basis of archaeological and conservation methods and criteria establish the significance and value

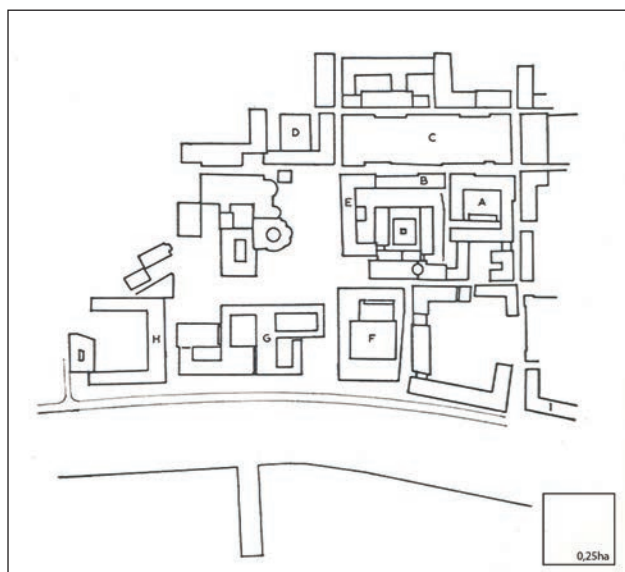


Figure 10: Centre construction plan, 1961. Use of buildings according to plan: A, B residential buildings with shops on ground floor toward Široka Street; H, I residential buildings; C mixed-use (residential, business, commercial, public, service); D mixed-use (residential, business, commercial, public - cinema); E tourist and service; G public and tourist use (archaeological museum); F public (Boltar, 1961, 41)

ments, agglomerations of ambiental value, and the old cemetery which included six value categories applied to buildings and town areas, as well as archaeological sites in town areas outside the peninsula. The plan prescribed *active protection* (integrated protection) of architectural heritage, and the development of the urban-conservation plan for the historic core²², but did not provide a detailed regulation of the protection of architectural and thereby archaeological heritage (protection measures were not specified for individual monuments outside the peninsula – they were to be determined for each separate monument in cooperation with conservators). For the area outside the peninsula, the plan provided for a new grid plan, which to a small degree corresponds to the ancient Roman *centuriation* (figure 11).

In relation to the overall archaeological heritage, the plan is evaluated as partly favourable (general protection measures – protection, presentation, and integration of archaeological heritage; obligation of conducting archaeological research of archaeological areas prior to construction, as a basis for determining the conditions for new construction; obligation of developing a detailed urban-conservation plan for the historic town core; inventories of archaeological areas and sites, prescribed active protection of architectural heritage).

Zadar masterplan, 1989 (concept authors Aleksandar Bašić, Ivan Čižmek, Nives Kozulić, Tomislav Valerjev, Croatian Institute for Urban Planning²³ and the Zadar Institute for Urban Planning²⁴)²⁵

The Zadar 1989 masterplan highlights historical heritage as a resource, and proposes its inclusion in economic and social spheres and its integration into spatial and functional solutions of the contemporary town. In this way, the revitalization and promotion of cultural and historical values of heritage will be foreseen. The masterplan foresees the protection of archaeological sites from new construction wherever possible, whereas particularly significant sites are to be preserved and presented *in situ*. The plan prescribes the creation of a detailed plan which would include the entire area of the Zadar peninsula (49 ha). It also acknowledges the preserved traces of ancient Roman *centuriation* outside the historic zone, as a basis for spatial enhancements (street and pedestrian network) of areas affected by unplanned and illegal construction, as well as a spatial and organisational element of the planned industrial zone (Gaženica)²⁶ (figure 12). There was no substantial implementation of the masterplan due to the outbreak of war (1991–1995) and the changes in political and economic systems.

In relation to overall archaeological heritage, the plan is evaluated as favourable (prescribes detailed protection measures – preservation of archaeological finds/sites from future construction wherever possible; presentation and *in situ* conservation of significant archaeological sites; proposal for urban integration of archaeological heritage; affirmation of *centuriation* traces; obligation to develop a detailed urban-conservation plan for the historic town core).

of particular site and the conditions under which new structures can be realised in a particular archaeological zone" (HDA, Generalni urbanistički plan Zadar, 1972).

22 The plan was not developed.

23 Urbanistički institut SRH.

24 Zavod za urbanizam Zadar, founded in 1975, today's Zavod za prostorno uređenje Zadarske županije.

25 Amendments to the masterplan 1991/1992 and 1998.

26 "Area of centuriation, mostly built-up,... In this area, the orthogonal plan of the centuriae should be affirmed, wherever conditions allow, whether as a dirt-road, path, tree-lined path, building line, and the like. Archaeological sites marked in graphic materials are to be protected from new construction wherever possible, and in any case, thoroughly investigated and documented. Particularly significant finds are to be preserved and presented *in situ*" (MGIPU, Generalni urbanistički plan Grada Zadra, 1989).



Figure 11: Zadar masterplan (Land use plan), 1973. Legend: yellow – residential area, orange – tourist area, red – central area, purple – industrial area (Urbanistički institut SRH, 1987, 34)

Zadar County spatial plan, 2004 (coordinator Nives Kozulić, team leader Nevena Rosan, Physical Planning Institute of Zadar County²⁷²⁸)

Although the plan is still valid, it only formally regulates the protection and preservation of archaeological heritage (prescribed general measures for the protection of archaeological heritage defined by the Croatian Act on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Goods).²⁹

The plan does not recognize the spatial value of archaeological heritage as a development resource. The masterplan was repealed by 2011 amendments, leaving the regulation of town development, and its historic core especially, solely to the spatial/physical plan, without the means to adequately regulate the conservation and enhancement of the historic core and archaeological heritage (figure 13).

In relation to the overall archaeological heritage, the plan is evaluated as partly unfavourable (general protection measures stipulated by the Croatian Act on the Protection and Preservation of Cultural Goods; protection left solely to competent conservation department; no application of *integrated protection* principle – no defined measures for the protection of archaeological heritage from the point of view of spatial/urban planning; no concrete guidelines for

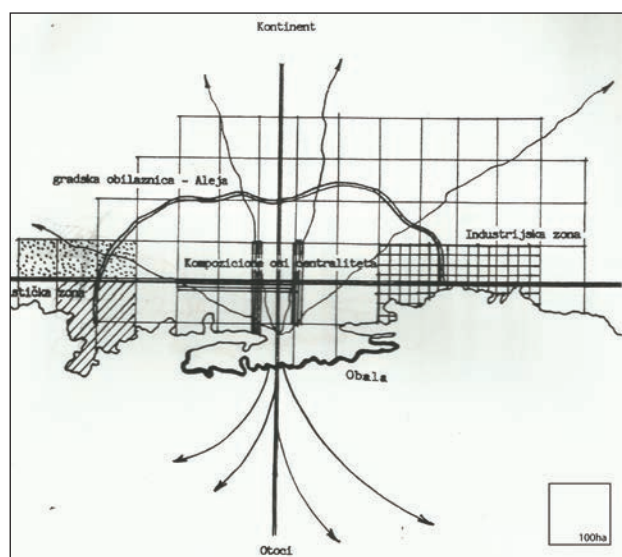


Figure 12: Zadar masterplan, 1989, concept (MGIPU, Generalni urbanistički plan Grada Zadra, 1989)

the protection/conservation of particular finds/sites – their use, presentation, or urban integration).

²⁷ Zavod za prostorno uređenje Zadarske županije

²⁸ Amendments, 2008 and 2011.

²⁹ Article 316 and 318 (2008) and article 318 (2011) (Gradsko vijeće Grada Zadra, 2008; Gradsko vijeće Grada Zadra, 2011; Zakon o zaštiti i očuvanju kulturnih dobara NN 69/99, 151/03, 157/03, 87/09, 88/10, 61/11, 25/12, 136/12, 157/13, 152/14).



Figure 13: Zadar County Spatial Plan, map 5. Development and organization of the settlement – cut-out, amendments 2011. Legend: (S) residential, (M) mixed use, (K) business, (D) public, (T) tourist, (Z) green, (R) sport and recreation, (I) industrial (Gradsko vijeće Grada Zadra, 2004, www.grad-zadar.hr)

Synthesis and overview of analyzed urban and spatial planning documents

Seven urban and spatial-planning documents have been analyzed (amendments excluded), developed between 1939 and 2015, on the basis of 22 criteria listed in Table 1. The criteria are divided in three groups: endangerment of archaeological heritage by planned interventions (group A, 3 criteria), measures for the protection of archaeological heritage (group B, 14 criteria), planned guidelines for particular finds/sites (group C, 5 criteria). Taking into account the defined criteria, in relation to archaeological heritage in the town, the 1947 plan is evaluated as unfavourable, the plans from 1939 and 2004 as partly unfavourable, and those from 1955, 1961, and 1973 as partly favourable. The only plan favourable for archaeological heritage is the one from 1989. This plan foresees the *preservation of archaeological sites from future construction wherever possible, conservation and presentation of particularly significant archaeological sites, inclusion of archaeological heritage in economic and social spheres and its integration into spatial and functional solutions of the contemporary town* (planned urban integration).

1939 and 1947 plans do not regulate the protection and preservation of archaeological heritage. The 1950s plans show a continuous development of expert standpoints and planning methods, until the

1990s when principles of *integrated protection*, which includes urban planners in the protection of archaeological heritage, slowly fade. Records and maps of archaeological sites and areas, as well as measures for the protection of archaeological heritage have been an integral part of adopted plans since 1973. The 1973 and 1989 plans provided for urban integration of archaeological heritage, prescribe general measures for the protection of archaeological heritage, which were more detailed in the 1989 plan, whereas both plans prescribe developing the urban-conservation plan for the Zadar peninsula as a mean of preserving and guiding the completion of reconstruction and revitalization of historic town core (never developed). The 1973 plan prescribes active (*integrated*) protection of architectural heritage. Not one plan applied a systematic approach to the integration of archaeological heritage (visible or underground), whereas the current plan (from 2004, amendments from 2008 and 2011) does not acknowledge archaeological heritage as the town's spatial and development resource, provides almost no regulation on the issue and does not prescribe development of more detailed plans.

CONCLUSION

The research results on urban integration of archaeological heritage in Zadar include:

- 1) The history of archaeological research and archaeological heritage protection and preservation in Zadar, divided in four periods: beginnings of archaeological excavations pre-WWII, town reconstruction between 1945 and 1975, period between 1975 and 1991, and the contemporary period post-1991.
- 2) The analysis and evaluation of the relevant urban plans in relation to enhancement and preservation of archaeological heritage and its urban integration according to defined criteria.
- 3) The defined three groups of criteria for the evaluation of urban and spatial planning documents: 1 criteria relating to endangerment of archaeological heritage by planned urban interventions, 2 criteria relating to protection measures for overall archaeological heritage, and 3 criteria relating to individual archaeological finds/sites.

By synthesizing the research results, an innovative approach to the protection of historic area in the modernist period (1950–1975) is recognized. The approach can be regarded as a **management model** which included urban integration of archaeological heritage related to town reconstruction following WWII. This period saw the beginning of urbanistic integration of the ancient Roman forum complex, as well as individual integration of numerous archaeological remains (south-eastern town walls and gates, remains of the *horreum*, basin from private bathhouse, public bathhouse, remains of ancient Roman residential building, remains of pre-Romanesque *Stomorica* Church, of the *Kaštel* fortress, of medieval town walls, of early-Christian St. Thomas' basilica, etc.). This management model included: interdisciplinary cooperation between expert archaeologists, conservators, and urban planners on the protection of archaeological heritage within an urban context; an important role of scientific and educational institutions (Academy of Sciences and Arts and the Faculty of Architecture at the University of Zagreb); competitions in 1953 and 1959, used as the basis for developing urban plans (1955, 1961); a deviation from urban-planning principles of modernist architecture and urbanism, as well as numerous archaeological, conservation, historical and other scientific research. The aspect of conservation of

archaeological heritage in this period, despite certain mistakes, is one of the value factors of post-war reconstruction of Zadar (to this day the definitive scientific evaluation of the process has not been conducted).

Research of the urban integration of archaeological heritage can be conducted in other towns in Croatia with rich archaeological heritage that have also suffered WWII devastation (e.g. Pula, Rijeka). These towns have also failed to complete the reconstruction and revitalization of the historic town core, nor have they systematically approached the issue of integration of archaeological heritage.

Croatia has a long tradition of acknowledging the protection of architectural and archaeological heritage in the context of urban and spatial planning, beginning in practice in the 1950s (post-war reconstruction of Zadar), and in theory in the 1960s, anticipating numerous principles of contemporary conservation principles which have later become internationally accepted and known as *integrated protection*.

After the change in the political system in 1990 and the past 25 years of adjusting to new conditions (transitional period) in Croatia, the previously developed and implemented principles of integrated (active) protection have not been sufficiently evaluated and are only formally accepted in the planning process. The contemporary period is defined by a lack of interdisciplinary cooperation between experts (archaeologists, conservators, urban and spatial planners), and other participants in the complex issue of preserving architectural/archaeological heritage in an urban context, as well as the failure to recognize archaeological heritage as a non-renewable spatial resource.

Identified management model of archaeological heritage in Zadar represents the adequate technical and scientific basis for the development of contemporary management model by adjusting it to the present context and by supplementing it with the contemporary principles of archaeological heritage protection and preservation.

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URBANA INTEGRACIJA ARHEOLOŠKE DEDIŠČINE V ZADRU

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POVZETEK

Članek raziskuje urbano integracijo arheološke dediščine v mestu Zadar s pomočjo analize zgodovine in urbane- ga razvoja mesta, zgodovine arheološke raziskave in varstva ter ohranitve arheološke dediščine in analize relevantnih dokumentov urbanističnega ali prostornega načrtovanja v povezavi z arheološko dediščino. Zgodovina arheološke raziskave, varstva in ohranitve arheološke dediščine ter urbanističnega in prostornega načrtovanja v Zadru še vedno niso sistematično znanstveno raziskovani, zajemajo pa obdobje med poznim 19. stoletjem (prvi arheološki izkopi) in letom 2015.

Ključne besede: arheološka dediščina, urbanistično in prostorno planiranje, urbana integracija, integralna zaščita/ ohranitev, Zadar

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EXPRESSIONS OF SPATIAL QUALITY AND LOCAL IDENTITY
IN URBAN RIVERFRONTS

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ABSTRACT

The paper discusses a set of spatial attributes referring to urban places and design, principally focusing on the urban riverfronts and their expressions of perceived quality and spatial identity. River landscapes, riverfronts and designed urban places along the river banks are among the most visible, strong and prominent features of the river cities. They bring certain uniqueness and potential to boost urban quality and to develop places for people. Following our earlier reviews and meta-analyses, we tackle some essential definitions and regularly employed characteristics that reflect the importance and relevance to riverfront development. We debate a list of place-related attributes and explain their role regarding human perception, formation of local identity and their relation to places' appeal, in the case of two different European river cities, Ljubljana and Lisbon.

Keywords: spatial attributes, spatial quality, urban riverfronts, local identity, urban design

LE ESPRESSIONI DI QUALITÀ SPAZIALE E IDENTITÀ LOCALE NELLO SVILUPPO
DI LUNGOFIUME URBANO

SINTESI

Il documento descrive una serie di caratteristiche spaziali relative alle località urbane e alla progettazione, concentrandosi principalmente sui riverfront urbani e sul loro effetto di qualità percepita e identità spaziale. I paesaggi fluviali, il lungofiume e località urbane progettate lungo le rive del fiume sono tra le caratteristiche più visibili, forti e prominenti delle città attraversate da un fiume. Essi portano una certa eccezionalità e potenzialità per aumentare la qualità urbana e sviluppare i posti adatti alla gente. Prendendo in considerazione le nostre revisioni precedenti e meta-analisi, affrontiamo alcune definizioni essenziali ed usiamo regolarmente le caratteristiche che hanno impatto sull'importanza e rilevanza per lo sviluppo del riverfront. Discutiamo un elenco di quattro particolarità relative ai luoghi sopraccitati e provvediamo a spiegare il loro ruolo nella percezione umana, nella formazione di identità locale e nel loro rapporto con l'attrattività dei luoghi, nel caso di due diverse città fluviali europee, Lubiana e Lisbona.

Parole chiavi: caratteristiche spaziali, qualità spaziale, i riverfront urbani, identità locale, progettazione urbana

INTRODUCTION

Rivers and river landscapes¹ in urban environments have always been important factors of the development and have often been recognized as a resource and advantageous predisposition in multiple senses – as a connection, greenery, border, protection, in terms of fisheries, industrial and port development, recreation, leisure, aesthetics, public open spaces, and of course their role of preservation and nature from the ecological perspective. Remarkable in this sense is also another factor – the creation of spatial identity – which brings, among other, spatial recognition and authenticity of a broader geographical locality.

In urban environments the recognition and authenticity of a broader geographical locality are leaned upon the intertwinement of a large range of elements and features: from morphological structures, vegetation, climate, built structures and infrastructures, historical character and existence of cultural heritage, land use patterns, to more indirectly visible, less tangible, such as inhabitants' habits and customs, governmental regulations or behaviour patterns (Verovšek et al., 2016). However, a river in a city, river landscapes and riverfronts are of the most visible, strong and prominent elements in these terms – they bring certain uniqueness and potential to boost urban qualities and develop places for people. Throughout the years, the multifunctional nature of riversides revealed their potential to respond to diverse necessities, thus acquiring several meanings. From being principally traffic routs in the Middle Ages and economy booster in the industrial era, they are lately being readapted to places for wellbeing and re-naturalization. These constant and successful functional and spatial reinventions of riverside areas depict their values and capacity to obtain various significations in urban life.

As claimed by Larice and Macdonald (2010), the tendencies towards studying, designing and creating urban places with a greater relevance to the user's personal experience – as a response to the impersonal approach of design – have reinforced the search for alternative ways of tackling the city and its parts, including riverfronts. Therefore, the scientific community has developed a rich set of aspects to approach the evaluation and interpretation of urban reality, either in a conceptual/ concise/abstract way (Bosselman, 1998) or by means that provide perceptions closer to the experience (Juvančič et al., 2014). Criteria and indicators for assessing spatial potentials, pre-dispositions or constraints are therefore based on physical, cultural and social or purely perceptual nature of urban reality.

This paper provides a descriptive overview of a set of spatial attributes related to urban riverfronts from the aspect of urban design and planning. Following our earlier reviews and other meta-analyses of the common qualities in urban environments (Ewing et al., 2006; Verovšek, 2012; Verovšek et al., 2013; Čavič and Beirao, 2014), we tackle some essential definitions and regularly employed characteristics that reflect importance and relevance in terms of river banks. We select and discuss a set of place-related attributes and explain their role in terms of human perception and the role for a wider audience and users. The discussion is systematically underpinned by geographically two different showcases; that is, by two river cities in Europe – Ljubljana with the Ljubljanica river and Lisbon with Tagus river.

PLACES' EXPRESSIONS FOSTERING URBAN QUALITY AND LOCAL IDENTITY

Most commonly speaking, the identity of a place represents the key characteristics with which a particular place is associated.² The numerous elements and features and their combinations define a certain place and bring an expression of uniqueness and authenticity, which has been, since the earliest times, regarded as a sign of value and quality, however, not necessarily strictly correlated to what is considered architectural or urbanistic quality.

The definition of place is closely linked to comprehension of its identity, which by differentiation allows for place's distinction within spatial continuity and topologic configuration. In broader sense and using Saussure's linguistic theory of meaning-making (Saussure, 1959), the definition of any significant entity is linked to its uniqueness in comparison to proximate or similar elements within the system. Said differently, a place as a meaningful element generates its identity twofold: a) in a relationship towards proximate and the neighborhood places and b) in relation to functionally similar but physically separated places.

Lynch (1960) considered identity as part of the image of a city with the appearance being the most instantly perceived reflection of its spatial identity, even if neglecting the subjective interpretation of it. However, counting with its counterpart, a place-related identity also inevitably refers to either subjective or objectivised cluster of ideas about the place. It represents an assemblage of information about the place for its user or the observer. Spatial identity is in this view seen as a dynamic, collective creation of the interaction between, on the one side the capacities for memory, consciousness,

1 Urban rivers include rivers, or river segments, which originate or flow in urban regions, as well as canals or channels (which are man-made but have, over time, achieved characteristics of natural rivers (Yue, 2012).

2 Place identity can commonly be defined in two different ways, by either the ways people express identifications with reference to the physical environment or the distinctiveness of the environment itself. For the purpose of this paper, place identity is confined to the unique or distinct character of a place (Azmi et al., 2014).

and organized construal and on the other the physical and societal structures and processes which constitute the social context (Breakwell, 1986; Lappegard, 2007). As such, the local or regional identity and character are never a stable construct, but is continuously evolving (Kaymaz, 2013) on the long term basis, however, the essence of it persists due to the more constant factors influencing its appearance. The later forms, what Mlinar (1994)³ calls the *continuation*, as one of the two most conspicuous measures that define any kind of identity (identity in any sense).

Consequently, the place identity is also inevitably in conjunction with tradition: “A city’s identity relates to its historical background and to the particularities that traditionally characterized that city” (Deffner and Metaxas, 2010, 52). However, respecting the spatial identity as a quality, which is pursued by many European documents,⁴ proposes not rigorously preserving current state or copying the old models, but rather defining the spatial *differentiation* and *continuation* in an always new context and attuned to new means of accomplishing it. In terms of urban design, it suggests moving the focus from static to dynamic, from formal towards functional, from economic to social dimension of urban and architectural space, that is by lived experience (Tuan, 1975) turned into a Lefebvre’s *living organism* (Lefebvre, 1991). From the urban planning point of view, as Mrđa and Bojanić Obad Šćitaroci (2016) ascertain, it is essential to integrate the protection of places’ identity into the planning process, to create a new assessment model that will trigger a new method of specific planning approach.

No matter how we set it, the concept of local or spatial identity predictably connects the existing urban

form and configuration, morphology and land patterns, as well as climate, vegetation, to some less tangible features (such as inhabitants’ habits and customs, governmental regulations or behavioural patterns) that define the perception of a place. Therefore, the identity connects the multifractal urban characteristics and attributes, yet at the same time relates to what constitutes the urban quality as perceived by users. As pointed out above, not all the spatial configurations forming its identity are considered architectural or urbanistic quality, however, many of the existing spatial attributes have recognised significance of quality and identity.

In the paper we do not intentionally categorise the attributes and qualities by their type, however, we discuss them from the aspect of visual physical form, socially-economic liveliness that provides urbanity and assures users’ sojourning, as well as from the aspect of spatial identity which is shared by the users through their mental perceptions.

SELECTION OF URBAN ATTRIBUTES APPLIED TO URBAN RIVERFRONTS

In the following chapter we introduce four urban attributes relevant to urban riverfronts and fostering urban quality and the sense of local identity as noted by literature and also judged by the expert panel in past studies (Ewing and Handy, 2009; Carmona, 2010; Verovšek, 2012; Verovšek et al., 2013; Cavic and Beirao, 2014). The selected set is put in the perspective of two geographically different showcases; the city of Ljubljana with Ljubljana River⁵ and the city of Lisbon with the delta of Tagus River.⁶ We use three photos in a row, demonstrating the riverbank scenery according

3 Mlinar (1994) claims, there are two key measures that define each identity, these are differentiation and continuation.

4 The European Urban Charter in 1992 was on the European level among the first concerted efforts to bring the existing local and urban identity in line with efforts linking legislative reform with spatial and architectural development. Following this agenda, also other more contemporary planning and strategic documents highlight the need to preserve or reinforce the locally specific character and identities, which refer to newly created or retrofitted places. Also, a number of contemporary policies have responded by integrating the protection of traditional cultural landscape into their objectives and measures.

5 The Ljubljana River is the continuation of several karst rivers that flow from the Karst region towards Ljubljana and Ljubljana basin. After entering Ljubljana from the south, it defines a hoop around the northern slope of Castle hill and encircles the historical centre. In the eighteenth century, the Gruber Canal was built in an attempt to reclaim lands against frequent flooding, cutting through the southern end of the promontory. Today the river is considered as one of the greatest spatial potentials in the city of Ljubljana. In the outer parts of the city the riverfronts are less urbanized, greener and gradually sweeping down; however, the central part of the city river is strongly confined; at that time it was a unique solution (Plečnik) which was complemented by other Plečnik’s works such as monumental buildings, open squares, canals, embankments, and riverside parks, altogether forming a strong spatial identity, which is today protected as a cultural heritage. In the last decade, the riverbanks in the section of the old city centre of Ljubljana were partly renovated. Interventions were inserted within the existing design not to overrun the existing heritage and identity. Ljubljana received The European Prize for Urban Public Space for this project in 2012. (The European Prize for Urban Public Space is a biennial competition organized by seven European institutions with the aim to recognize and encourage the recovery projects and defence of public space in cities (<http://www.publicspace.org/en/prize/2012>).

6 Out of 18 municipalities that compose the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, 16 have one or more waterfronts: 6 of them by the sea and 10 of them along either the Tagus or the Sado rivers estuaries. In the case of Lisbon, river and the riverside represent an important element in city development. Lisbon Riverside is nowadays, almost in its totality, placed over artificially constructed landfills which as outputs of a long process of conquering water areas, depict the relationship city has established with its river. The nature of Lisbon’s shore has been changing over centuries, moving from the rich, direct and intense city-river interplay, towards a gradual levelling of their joining area through the artificial and mostly industrial expansion of landfills which led to the extension and regulation of the shore ring. Nowadays, due to decline and relocation of industrial activities Lisbon shoreline is an artificially regulated area that despite its morphological uniformity allows for diverse urban interventions and various open public space typologies (recreational, social, etc.).



Figure 1 and 2: Bringing people closer to the water and greenery of the river edge is one of the well-recognised approaches to boost the sense of naturalness

to the selected spatial attribute (one of the three photos demonstrates the non-designed riverfront scenery, not specially targeting urban use or proposing attendance) and an additional non-river scenery referencing high (max) or low (min) value by this attribute in one of the two cities (*Table 1, Table 2*). Short descriptions are provided, pointing out the features that make each scene either high or low with respect to each spatial attribute.

Nature in the city – naturalness

The presence and effect of natural environments and elements of nature in urban and architectural space is widely discussed and investigated. It is well documented (e.g. Balling and Falk, 1982; Ulrich, 1986; Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989; Ward Thompson, 2002; Beatley, 2010, etc.) that elements of nature or “nature in the city” bring positive effects in numerous aspects such as biodiversity, microclimate, air quality, aesthetics, variety in appearance, noise reduction, to more subtle and complex, such as restorative effects for humans, aroused sense of balance or control and preferences by people. The concept of naturalness in these terms refers to people’s perception that a place is connected to nature if containing elements such as water, vegetation, natural materials as woods, geomorphological variegation or offer vistas to mountains, hills or presence of animals, etc. In this context the naturalness represents the relation or proportion between the man-made impact and his natural counterpart or input. The question of “real” or total naturalness does not seem to be very crucial at this point. It is apparent that elements of nature in the urban realm capture adjusted form and reflect limited essence. However, from the aspect of human perception and preferences, it does not seem to

be any less effective. Beatley (2010) claims that even the smaller doses of nature in more discontinuous ways (e.g. a rooftop garden, an empty corner lot, single tree, water pass) that are incorporated or found in the compact parts of the cities, have positive effects on human wellbeing and raise the quality of living environments. Additionally, in the case of study referring to larger green areas or remote riverfronts (Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989), those areas were recognized as more attractive to users if moderately reformed, designed and equipped, thus in a way urbanized, adjusted and controlled. We could claim that harsh wildness is not particularly cherished among urban users if it does not provide with basic functionalities and infrastructures, path networks and adequate sense of safety or control. However, the uncontrolled, wild spaces such as railway sidings, river corridors, canal-side banks are claimed to be important in continuity of natural habitat for plant and animal diversity allowing for restoration of wildlife, city resilience and biodiversity (Baines, 1986). Wildness in urban areas is given a value due to its special conditions to hold a memory on what urban space was before it got constructed. It is an undetermined, open and free area, which leaves space for creativity and differently from constructed natural spaces with cut grass, permits observation of ecosystem in its originality and self-organising spontaneity (Ferraton and Iotzova, 2015).

According to abundant theoretical and empirical literature, deductive reasoning shall lead us to the statement that river as an element in the urban environments brings rich predisposition in terms of higher levels of naturalness. Not only is the proximity of water advantageous for the development or design of adjacent urban places, but also the often required green buffer zone/corridor⁷ lengthwise the river enriches the potential for develop-

⁷ Different documents on EU level use dissimilar terminology and required building offsets: Slovenian legislation proposes a 15 meter offset from the river line for new constructions and infrastructures for most rivers of the first class (hydro-morphological classification;

ment of quality and pleasant spaces, usually related to recreation, play and leisure. Slovenian strategic plans on the level of municipalities, which are prepared in accordance with European environmental and planning agendas, are laying great efforts to develop and make good use of areas adjacent to rivers in urban contexts. Special concern goes to approaches that bring recreational and walking paths closer to water (*Figure 1, Figure 2*) and design solutions that offer user experience in the immediate vicinity of water and greenery along it.

Spatiality – openness, spaciousness, containment and enclosure

In architectural theory authors such as Joedicke (1985), claim that even though very basic, the feature of spaciousness is very important in spatial experience. 'Spaciousness' depends on the area or space and height of facades adjacent to it – when the space is small with high surrounding buildings, it is perceived as less spacious comparing in comparison to a larger one with a lower built surrounding (Beirão et al., 2014). Spaciousness is deemed significant due to its importance for safety and utility because more spacious places provide area for satisfaction of basic human needs giving them enough room not to feel threatened by enabling their capacity to see or move (Stamps, 2010). In urban theories, less spacious or more contained places allow for closer human interaction and mingling giving possibility for hearing and seeing other people as crucial factor for sojourning and social interaction (Gehl, 1987). Similarly, the term of openness refers to a view, visual scope and addresses the characteristics of spatial built membrane and refers to how much of the spatial two-dimensional or three-dimensional perimeter is enclosed or open towards its background (Nasar, 2011) and relates as opposite to attribute enclosure.⁸ As a more narrow and focused attribute, openness of spatial boundaries participates in generating spaciousness of urban space – higher openness contributes to higher spaciousness. Interestingly, both attributes – openness and enclosure in different urban places – can be considered either valuable or disturbing in terms of human perception. There are human-related and space-related reasons for this occurrence. The spatial cognition is influenced by one's previous experiences, memories and individual predispositions and preferences. The phenomenon of openness which to someone might evoke emotion of freedom could to the other represent intimidation (Arnheim, 1977). Cullen (1961), for instance, states that enclosure of an

outdoor space, that is, what forms a room-like (Ewing and Handy, 2009) impression, is, perhaps, the most powerful, the most obvious, of all the devices to install a sense of position, of identity with the surroundings. The connotation one gives to an extremely broad or enclosed space, positive or negative one, will as well depend on the spatial context and the anticipations of the user. At lower urban densities, building masses become less important in defining space (Ewing and Handy, 2009), which is followed by the users expectations and cognition, thus the spaciousness - at least in a sense of defined openness (Kaplan and Kaplan, 1989; Nasar, 1990, 1994) – become appreciated feature. When the contexts and reference change, the perceptions and spatial cognition reasonably follow.

It is evident that riverfronts in their nature capture more spaciousness and form specific context in these terms due to relatively less dense urban contexture and wider buildings' edge offsets. Along with the river width and bridges that bring certain sense of spaciousness, there is, as stated before, a green buffer zone lengthwise the river required and regulated by the architectural and planning legislation in numerous European cities.⁷ This brings different predispositions to such places and their potential for development as liveable and pleasant public open places. There are, of course, exceptions to this principle, referring to the existent greater building densities (e.g. old/historical urban centres), closely confining the river and the water line by the buildings and built infrastructures. In these cases, the sense of spaciousness remains due to the river width, but is less intense comparing to riverbanks with wider offsets of buildings. As Ewing and Handy (2009) states, at low urban densities, building masses become less important in defining space, and trees assume the dominant role. Rows of trees, either along the street or along the river paths can humanize the height-to-width ratio. Thus, the perceived spaciousness can be strongly affected also by trees and canopies of the green buffer zone, however, the greenery provides more transparent less solid enclosure, which, for some authors is the finest solution for places suffering from exceeded openness perceived. Besides, the scale of spaciousness at the riverbank sceneries can be established in different scales of spaciousness (*Figure 3 and 4*).

Linkage – access and connectivity

Accessibility and linkage are tightly interrelated attributes of urban places that raise interest of many

greater offsets are required in case of protected area of nature, green zones (50 m), water protection zones, protective forests and flooding areas, Zakon o vodah Uradni list RS, nr. 67/02).

⁸ Enclosure and the related spatial containment are considered both in plan and vertical section. The amount of enclosure and the resulting degree of containment, partially depend on the ratio of the width of the space to the height of the enclosing walls (Carmona, 2010). Enclosure refers to the degree to which streets and other public spaces are visually defined by buildings, walls, trees, and other vertical elements. Spaces where the height of vertical elements is proportionally related to the width of the space between them have a room-like quality (Ewing et al., 2006).



Figure 3 and 4: Opening the views and spacing-out the sceneries at the riverbank can be established in different scales of spaciousness (city centre and outwards)

practitioners and theoreticians. One can judge the accessibility of an urban place by openness of its limits, which allows for its connections or linkages to its surrounding places, both in visual and physical sense. Ewing and Handy (2009) define the linkage as a feature that promotes the interconnectedness of different places and that provides convenient access between them. As they claim, the linkage refers to physical or visual⁹ connections longitudinally or laterally across a place, forming, as Cullen (1961) defines it, continuity¹⁰ of the visual or physical path. There is of course a distinctive difference between the visual and physical connections. Physical connections can be represented by the travel trajectories, whereas visual connections don't necessarily (or at all) coincide with them and thus do not relate to the actual accessibility and linkage network. The actual linkage is also closely associated with intersections, network configuration and urban nodes,¹¹ the latter being reasonable accompaniment of the linkage nodes. As complex process of organization connects the different nodes of the urban fabric, connections enable one to get easily to any point, preferably by many different paths (Salingaros, 1998).

Although the position of a certain place within the network of other places in the city cannot be taken as a short-term or bottom-up design quality but rather a

positive or negative predisposition to it, it definitely impacts the estimated value of space in the urban matrix.¹² Centrality (as opposed to positional periphery) is always an advantage in these terms and brings higher levels of accessibility and connectivity.

Inversely, as with the attributes of naturalness and spaciousness that commonly reach higher values in case of riverfronts, the attribute of linkage expectably gains lower levels at places along the river. This is a reasonable impact of the waterline as an obstacle to common modes of movement.¹³ However, although the access from bank to bank is clearly more impeded than, for instance, in the case of a city road, we can claim that cross linkage channels gain accumulated movements in these terms (Figure 5, Figure 6). Bridges here play a crucial role by pooling the movement into defined currents and forming strong connection nodes, which commonly adds to liveability, dynamics and quality in societal terms.

Topography and visual amplitude

One of the strongest attributes that that participates in constitution of place identity is related to spatial topography and the extent to which the built structures follow and adopt the terrain configuration. Depending

9 As emphasized by Lynch (1960), visual connections are necessary for orientation and for creating a coherent picture of an urban setting; however, they do not necessarily (or at all) coincide with the travel trajectories and thus do not relate to actual accessibility.

10 Cullen (1961) defines continuity as "a simple way to show how one type of space is directly linked to another by the physical elements." When a physical element creates a small field to move along, such as a fence or a sidewalk, continuity indicates whether a viewer is within the field. It suggests a path and an uninterrupted view within the object's field (Sora et al., 2008).

11 Urban nodes are not entirely defined by structures in urbanistic terminology, however, most often they represent an object or place of attraction for a greater part of users (Salingaros, 1998).

12 There are well known models of spatial geometric configurations developed (e.g. Hillier and Hanson, 1989) that offer analysis of spatial arrangements and relational concept of space and describe the relative connectivity, accessibility and centrality in regard to possible paths, position, choice and integration.

13 In this paper we regard river as a travel network negligible in terms of traveling in the city and daily travel behaviours of the majority.



Figure 5 and 6: Bridges accumulate the movement currents and form strong connection- and activity- nodes

on the slope shapes and the urban design embedded, places are more or less exposed towards environment or embedded into it, which permits a stronger or weaker control over territory, influencing the feeling of safety, place visibility, wind protection, sun exposure (insolation), etc. The topographic aspect is, therefore, implicitly involved in the definitions of several well distinguished but structured qualities, such as visual complexity or imageability of place (Ewing et al., 2006). It is clear that terrain configuration is an attribute that doesn't provide with quality itself, but offers higher or lower potential for the development of it, if places are structured around topography by taking advantage of its natural benefits such as terraces, viewpoints, depressions as defined by contour, valleys, slopes; or by overcoming its slope and height obstacles for water supply, drainage, accessibility. The analysis of topography is often undertaken by geographers (Huggett & Cheesman, 2002) and real estate economists (Hurd, 1924), who observe the way settlements are being adapted to the environment and its impact on functionality, cost-effectiveness or the influence on other related processes. In urban and architectural researches, topography analyses are often conducted for comprehension of how urban heat, flooding, microclimates, temperature, landuse, etc are influenced by the environment. Interesting from our point of view is the relationship that urban place establishes with the topographical features, as they profoundly define its character, predefine its insolation, limit or enhance its usage and potentiate its visual amplitude. Visual amplitude in its definition is strongly related to topographic

features of any space. It depicts the attribute of a visual field a certain place propagates giving an idea about the overall visual angle and coverage from a certain place, describing the visible spatial structure of an environment. Visual amplitude is dependent both on topography and built structure. Places on convex and parallel slopes, especially those, which are less enclosed, have stronger visual amplitudes. The quality of visual amplitude is thus partly dependent on openness; however, in this case, it does not relate to the perception in terms of spaciousness but to proportion and variety of the vistas encompassed. The more enclosed places tend to obtain lower visual amplitude and less powerful views.

Visual fields are usually addressed by isovist and viewshed methodologies. While isovist represents the portion of space that can be 'overviewed' from a certain spot, viewshed shows objects and parts of the objects that are visible from specific spatial point. Isovist depict shape of the view from certain location as being carved out by built and topographic obstacles, whereas viewsheds¹⁴ are about the visibility of features.¹⁵ Viewsheds are commonly used where terrain heights come into play (Weitkamp, 2011). Thus, the visual amplitude can be depicted by viewshed representing a possible visible coverage towards urban – or landscape from a certain point – the greater the visible portion, the stronger the visual amplitude.

By applying the attribute of visual amplitude to riverfronts and river scenery, we can for sure confirm both: potentials and weaknesses deriving from topographical predispositions of the riverscapes. By taking into ac-

14 A viewshed is the geographical area that is visible from a location. It includes all surrounding points that are in line-of-sight with that location and excludes points that are beyond the horizon or obstructed by terrain and other features (e.g., buildings, trees); (Weitkamp, 2011).

15 Inversely, the area from which a structure, object or a standpoint can be seen may be called the zone of visual influence. It is the area from which a particular object/point is theoretically visible. Zones of visual influence have been used extensively in wind farm development. A cumulative zone of visual influence is used to define the cumulative effects of many developments (The European Wind Energy Association, 2012).

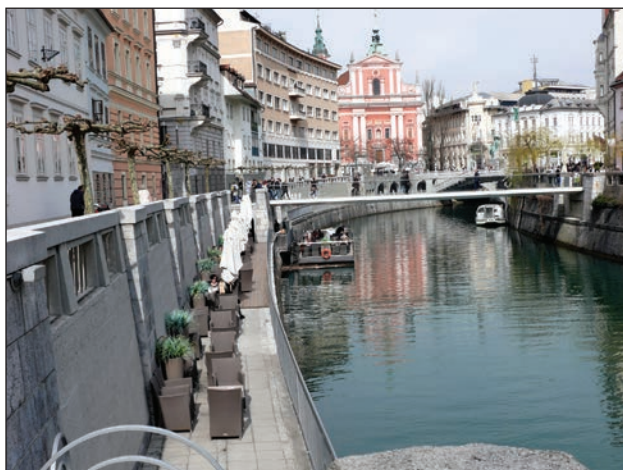


Figure 7 and 8: Slight river curves commonly establish richer sceneries with higher visual amplitudes as opposed to sceneries by straight banks

count the concave form of the river bed and surrounding slopes, one can make inferences on lower visual amplitudes. From a specific standpoint on the riverfront, the visible coverage is commonly lower due to lower position, while convex and higher slopes would provide more extensive views and consequently more visual complexity. However, if taking into account commonly lower building densities along riverfronts, or greenery that allows transparency, or the possibilities offered by the bridges, one can also make reasonable inferences on some higher visual amplitude, compared to places lying higher from the riverbed where/if the building densities are higher. The attribute of visual amplitude is therefore very much dependent on the micro location and its topographical, as well as build configuration, also the river width, stream meandering and the nature of river slopes, which are frequently dependent on geology of the river basin (Figure 7, Figure 8).

DISCUSSION

In an attempt of the urban design and planning to achieve the quality within the spatial attributes examined and discussed in this paper, many different tactics occur. Each place can be seen through a set of ideas about how it should perform, what functionalities it should promote, what form it would capture and how it should be organized to provide with well-balanced public life and distributions, well designed and functional furniture, quality environment in terms of visual appeal, orientation, or noise/air pollution etc. There are great differences among different kind of places (plazas, squares, streets, banks, parks, atriums...) and their potentials to develop certain urban qualities. However, there are also great variances, among a particular kind of places – in our case riverfront spaces and their relation to the city

form and layout. And yet, there are differences in perceptions of the qualities, as being contingent on various pre-established conditions such as the cultural context. For example, the concept of spaciousness/openness and enclosure within the context of North American cities cannot be compared with European or Asian ones. In the same way as we are born into the language and culture, we are born into the spatial context. Our culturally influenced and therefore almost intrinsic concept of space is present as a reference to understanding and valuing new realities.

We applied our review to the riverfronts in Ljubljana and Lisbon regarding set of selected attributes. Between these two cities, there are two crucial deviances that further drag most of the spatial characteristics, these are, size of the river and the position of the river within the city fabric, and the size of the city distances that provide different scales, especially in terms of spaciousness, linkage and visual amplitudes. Lisbon's case offers greater distances, and the Tagus delta, due to its broadness, provides with the sceneries and spaces on a different scale regarding spaciousness, while Ljubljana scales lower and flows through the very central part of the city, thus allowing for more proximate social interactions. Although it is evident, that riverfronts in their nature capture more spaciousness and form specific context in these terms due to relatively less dense urban contexture, the two cases revised, show great differences also regarding openness of the public spaces nearby. It is evident that Tagus River creates a sea-like impression in its lower flow (river delta). The distances between the banks create a perception of separation which literally results in inexistent cross linkage for the pedestrians.

Bridges providing the linkage are well-distinguished but offer almost exclusively the transport function for motorized traffics. Number of bridges affects visual

Table 1: Selected spatial attributes; Ljubljana – Ljubljanica River

	LIUBLJANA Ljubljana	non-river scenery reference o	riverfront scenery -	riverfront scenery +	un-designed or irrelevant riverfront reference o
Naturalness		Naturalness in the non-river scenery weakly expressed (appeal compensated with other qualities) 	Naturalness in the scenery less expressed but still strong comparing to environments without the water proximity 	Naturalness in the scenery notably expressed (water, trees, green plot) 	Naturalness in the scenery extremely expressed due to un-designed nature and less control – banks not designed for people 
Spaciousness		Spaciousness not expressed – strong enclosure by buildings 	River edge closely confined – spaciousness remains due to river width surface 	River edge less firmly confined – spaciousness notably expressed** 	River edge not designed for people – spaciousness intense, not confined 
Linkage		Linkage intensely expressed – exceeding effect, and place becoming strongly transitional 	Linkage only longitudinal, crosswise connection not in a reach of sight 	Linkage clear and notably expressed longitudinally and laterally 	Linkage not designed for people, longitudinal linkage inexistent 
Visual amplitude		Visually amplitude strongly expressed due to the topographically advantageous position 	Visual amplitude low from the bottom of the confined river bank 	Visual amplitude notably expressed due to viewer position on the bridge 	Visual amplitude of the scenery intensive but not available to users nor fitting human scale* 












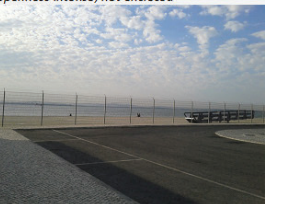




amplitude of the places twofold. On one side, when observing from a place, a higher number of bridges chunk visual field into smaller portion diminishing visual amplitude of a place. When observed from outside, more bridges offer more opportunities to capture better stand/view point, widening the visual field towards a certain place on the bank. The attribute of visual amplitude in these two cases is of course very much dependent also on the micro location and its topographical, as well as build configuration, the river width, stream meandering, and the nature of the river slopes grading down the riverfronts and holding the bridges' edges. In the central part of Ljubljana on the distance of 10 km, there are 20 bridges, of which 9 is exclusively proposed for non-motorised traffic (pedestrian, bike). This proportion ranks high in comparison to most of the European cities, and by taking in the account also the slight meandering of the river, we can claim that Ljubljana's riverfronts are

well pre-dispositioned in terms of visual amplitudes towards the riverbank, but are quite constrained regarding visual amplitude from riverbank locations. Differently, in case of Tagus, visual amplitude from the riverside is rather high due to wideness of river's delta and lack of proximate bridges that would work as visual constrains. Due to the lack of bridges, visual amplitude towards the places is low since stand/viewpoints are non-existent. Likewise, both, the linkage with the connectivity and the characteristics related to spaciousness are almost in diametric contrast within these two rivers, however in both cases these provide with the uniqueness and adds to the geo-local identity and appeal.

CONCLUSION

Urban rivers with appurtenant riverbanks hold specific predispositions in terms of developing urban

Table 2: Selected spatial attributes; Lisbon – Tagus River

LISBON Tagus	non-river scenery reference o	riverfront scenery -	riverfront scenery +	un-designed or irrelevant riverfront reference o
Naturalness	<i>Naturalness in the non-river scenery weakly expressed (appeal compensated with other qualities)</i> 	<i>Naturalness in the scenery less expressed but still strong comparing to environments without the water proximity</i> 	<i>Naturalness in the scenery notably expressed (water, trees, green plot)</i> 	<i>Naturalness in the scenery extremely expressed due to un-designed nature and less control – banks not designed for people</i> 
Spaciousness	<i>Spaciousness not expressed – strong enclosure by buildings</i> 	<i>River edge closely confined – spaciousness remains due to river width surface</i> 	<i>River edge less firmly confined – spaciousness notably expressed**</i> 	<i>River edge not designed for people – spaciousness intense, not confined</i> 
Openness	<i>Openness intensely expressed – low enclosure by buildings</i> 	<i>Openness not expressed – high enclosure by buildings</i> 	<i>Openness intensely expressed – low enclosure by buildings</i> 	<i>River edge not designed for people – openness intense, not enclosed</i> 
Linkage	<i>Linkage intensely expressed – exceeding effect, and place becoming strongly transitional</i> 	<i>Linkage only longitudinal, crosswise connection not in a reach of sight</i> 	<i>Linkage clear and notably expressed longitudinally and laterally</i> 	<i>Linkage not designed for people, lateral linkage inexistent</i> 

places. They form distinct spatial arrangements to evolve place-based qualities, and promising possibilities to foster local identity. As claimed by the European centre for river restoration (ECRR, 2017), there are more than 50% of people in the world now living in cities and more than 75% live near a river. Rivers are increasingly valued as part of the urban environment; successful urban river restoration is as much about establishing trust with local people, boosting their sense of identity with their rivers, as it is about improving flows and habitats. There are indeed great differences among diverse urban rivers, their expanse, geomorphology, river profile and configuration of the banks, as well as how they are embedded into the urban fabric and integrated into the socio-cultural, ecological, economic and managerial structures of the city. In the article we delve into the selection of spatial attributes, which appear to be more common for the riverscapes and places along the river banks. We put them in the perspective of two unlike cities with unique and

rather dissimilar riverscapes, to demonstrate the differences and similarities and validate choice of the picked attributes. The characteristics relating to naturalness, distinct topography and spatiality, as well as particularity regarding linkage, are important factors concerning the development of river-by places and their urban design. Not all determine the quality itself, but rather the specific potential to be used in a constructive way from the aspect of visitors, residents and users. Likewise, from the aspect of the river sceneries and the spatial identity, these attributes are vital in bringing unique or distinct character to places longwise the river, which is to be recognized and recalled vividly by the users/observers in comparison to other places of the city, however, although not necessarily strictly correlated to what is considered architectural or urbanistic quality. The discussion we expose and consider important in this article is especially the gradual shift in designing, which tends to put forward the actual user's experience. The debated research and

findings related to the exposed attributes correspondingly represent a rich repository of knowledge to answer questions about spatial qualities, their meanings, ways of their achievement and the ultimate aims at pragmatic value of responsive, well-recognizable and user-friendly structure and shape. The perpetual challenge, however,

is how to apply this knowledge to specific geo-local entity and how to assure the non-conflicting riparian uses among ecological, economic and social functionalities, while concurrently boosting the aesthetic, visual and locally distinct expression in the process of urban planning and design.

IZRAZI PROSTORSKE IDENTITETE IN KAKOVOSTI URBANIH PROSTOROV PRI RAZVOJU MESTNIH REČNIH NABREŽIJ

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POVZETEK

Razprava o kvalitetah urbanega prostora in identiteti, ki jo prostori nosijo, je stalnica strokovne, znanstveno-raziskovalne, tudi umetniške diskusije v disciplinah, povezanih z načrtovanjem in urejanjem urbanih prostorov. Članek obravnava sklop prostorskih lastnosti, ki se nanašajo na oblikovane urbane prostore in sicer s poudarkom na razvoju obrečnih mestnih nabrežij ter njihovega izraza prostorske identitete in kakovosti. Obrečni prostor, mestna nabrežja in oblikovani nizi prostorov na rečnih bregovih so lahko eden bolj močnih dejavnikov prepoznavnosti prostora in njegove kakovosti. Prinašajo namreč specifičen izraz prostorske identitete, hkrati pa nosijo ugodne možnosti za razvoj funkcionalnih in uporabniku prijaznih prostorov. Sledeč našim predhodnim študijam in obstoječi literaturi na tem področju v članku obravnavamo nekatere osnovne pojme prostorskih kvalitete, ki odražajo pomen za razvoj ali revitalizacijo rečnih obrežij ter prostorov na bregovih urbanih rek. Razprava sledi širim osnovnim prostorskim atributom, ki so značilni za obrečni prostor, pri tem pregledno izpostavimo njihovo vlogo za uporabnika in njegovo zaznavanje, pomen, ki ga imajo za razvoj prostorske identitete in pomen, oziroma potencial ki ga nosijo za nastanek odzivnih in, s strani uporabnikov, dobro sprejetih prostorov. Dana izhodišča in referenčne vrednosti prikažemo na primerih dveh evropskih rečnih mest, to je, Ljubljane z Ljubljjanico in Lizbone z rečno delto toka Tajo.

Ključne besede: prostorski atributi, prostorske kvalitete, mestna nabrežja, prostorska identiteta, urbano oblikovanje

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CASINO V SOCIALISTIČNEM MESTU: ZAČETKI IGRALNIŠKE INDUSTRIJE IN SOCIALNOEKONOMSKA PREOBRAZBA NOVE GORICE

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IZVLEČEK

Članek analizira prostorske in družbene posledice igralniške industrije, ki je vzniknila v osemdesetih letih v mestu Nova Gorica na jugoslovansko-italijanski meji. Avtor predstavlja ideološke in politične okoliščine, ki so vplivale na transformacijo planiranega socialističnega mesta v kraj kapitalističnega načina zabave, namenjene izključno tujim državljanom. Kot eden izmed najpomembnejših virov trdne valute je igralništvo uživalo podporo podjetniških in političnih elit poznega socializma. Čeprav je Casino deloval kot izolirana prostorska celota, je ob svoji nenehni širitvi načel tudi sistem socialističnih vrednot in sprožil posledice na družbenem in urbanem tkivu mladega mesta še pred ponovno uvedbo tržnega sistema, ko je igralništvo naposled postalo njegova poglobljena simbolna dominanta.

Ključne besede: Nova Gorica, igralništvo, modernistični urbanizem, HIT, jugoslovanska ekonomija

IL CASINÒ NELLA CITTÀ SOCIALISTA: GLI INIZI DELL'INDUSTRIA DEL GIOCO D'AZZARDO E LA TRASFORMAZIONE SOCIOECONOMICA DI NOVA GORICA

SINTESI

L'articolo analizza le conseguenze spaziali e sociali provocate dall'industria del gioco che dagli anni ottanta in poi ha iniziato a svilupparsi a Nova Gorica, città sul confine italo-jugoslavo. L'autore presenta le condizioni ideologiche e politiche che hanno influenzato la trasformazione di una città socialista pianificata a tavolino in un luogo di divertimento di tipo capitalista, adibito esclusivamente a visitatori stranieri. Come una delle fonti più importanti di valuta forte il gioco d'azzardo aveva il sostegno delle elites politiche e imprenditoriali del tardo socialismo. Nonostante il Casino funzionasse come un'unità spaziale indipendente come conseguenza del suo continuo allargamento ha iniziato a porre in questione i valori essenziali del sistema socialista e ha provocato conseguenze sia nel tessuto sociale che in quello urbano della giovane città ancora prima dell'introduzione dell'economia di mercato, quando l'industria del gioco è divenuta la sua dominante simbolica principale.

Parole chiave: Nova Gorica, gioco d'azzardo, urbanismo modernista, HIT, economia jugoslava

UVOD: METABOLIZEM NOVEGA URBANEGA PROSTORA OB MEJI

Grajeno okolje in način življenja, h kateremu naj bi to napeljevalo, je v času velikih ideologij 20. stoletja postalo eden izmed najbolj razpoznavnih kulturnih simbolov modernosti v njenih različnih izpeljavah.¹ V največji meri je to veljalo za režime, utemeljene na ideologiji komunizma, saj, kot pravi Virág Molnár v svoji knjigi, kjer na celokupen način analizira arhitekturo, politiko in proces izgradnje države v povojni srednji Evropi, »verjetno noben drug politični sistem ni bil tako prepričan v socialno-transformativno vlogo arhitekture in arhitektov kot je to bil socializem« (Molnár, 2013, 7). Ta je najbolj prišla do izraza v primeru povojne gradnje približno šestdesetih novih mest v Sovjetski zvezi in vzhodni Evropi, čeprav so bile mesijanske aspiracije močno prisotne tudi pri prevajanju modernističnih utopij v načrte novih urbanih centrov od Velike Britanije prek Indije do Braziliije (Feuerstein, 2008; Holston, 1989; Grindrod, 2013).

V povojni kontekst zamisli socialističnih novih mest v srednji in vzhodni Evropi, celo kot enega prvih primerov, lahko prištejemo tudi leta 1947 pričeto gradnjo Nove Gorice na sami hladnovojni razvodnici kapitalizma in socializma.² Imaginarij tega novega mesta, katerega smoter sicer ni bil stanovanjski prilastek (mono)industrijski dejavnosti, kot je bilo to v slučaju večine sorodnih na novo osnovanih naselij v vzhodni Evropi (gl. Cinis et al., 2008), ampak nadomestno upravno, gospodarsko in kulturno središče severnoprimorske regije po določitvi nove meje z Italijo, je bil v mnogočem podoben idealizirani podobi stvaritve novega, na kožo delovnega človeka pisanega habitusa. Opraviti imamo torej z urbanim planiranjem velikega obsega kot načinom kompleksne ideološke intervencije v prostor v sklopu politike identitete na obmejnem območju (gl. Radović, 2013, 168). Prek svoje modernistično-funkcionalistične strukture, pa tudi v diskurzu, ki je spremljal izgradnjo, se je novo urbano okolje v svoji prvi fazi konstituiralo v opoziciji do bližnjega »kapitalističnega imperializma«, odgovornega za izgubo starega mesta, a kmalu za tem spričo velikih premikov v jugoslovanski notranji in zunanji politiki ter ekonomiji, doživelo redefinicijo svoje identitete (več o tem: Ramšak, 2015, 67–99). Sociološke aspekte tega procesa so v preteklosti beležile posamezne raziskave, ki so jih strnili Jože Šušmelj in Marjan Tavčar (1965) ter Zdravko Mlinar (1983). Obširneje in na podlagi pristopov sodobne urbane antropologije pa se je z vprašanjem, kako se je prek odnosa posameznikov do prostora (funk-

cionalnim, afektivnim, identifikacijskim) v svojega pol stoletja obstoja Nova Gorica konstituirala kot družbeno dejstvo ukvarjala le Katja Jerman (2008; 2012).

Omenjena etnologinja ugotavlja, da vladajoča politična opcija običajno spodbuja določene pomene in interpretacije okolja, kar je tudi v primeru novega mesta ob zahodni slovenski meji pustilo močno sled v spominu ljudi in njihovem dojemanju dominantnih diskurzov o socialističnem napredku, čeravno se v spominski topografiji izrisuje večplastna izkušnja novega mesta (Jerman, 2008, 281). Izhodišče njene in redkih drugih raziskav je fenomen nastajanja in družbene strukture ter spleta medsebojnih interakcij v novem, socialističnem mestu, katerega ekonomska osnova je v veliki meri temeljila na industriji. V okviru tega članka pa nas zanimajo politične okoliščine ter prostorske posledice krepitev terciarnega sektorja za potrebe tujih potrošnikov, ki je dodobra posegel v izhodiščno podobo mesta kot izložbenega okna socializma. Ta proces je še pred propadom jugoslovanskega socialističnega sistema pripeljal do razrasta igralniške industrije kot enega izmed najbolj izrazitih načinov kapitalističnega načina zabave. S to prilagoditvijo ekonomskega modela lokalnega razvoja povpraševanju z druge strani meje je prišlo do bistvenega odstopanja od dotedanjih vzorcev jugoslovanskega turizma, ki je sicer že prej poznal elitne rezorte zaprtega tipa,³ a bil v splošnem znan po tem, da njegov smoter ni bil le maksimalizacija dobička (Basauri et al., 2012).

A pri omenjenem fenomenu eksplozije obmejnega igralništva vendarle nimamo opravka z enostranskim procesom razgradnje socialističnih vrednot, na katerih je bilo osnovano novo mesto, in linearnim podrejanjem kapitalističnim vzorcem urbanega razvoja. Če gledamo na pojavnost tega fenomena še za časa socialistične Jugoslavije samo z arhitekturnega vidika, bržkone ne bomo zaznali izstopajočih intervencij, ki bi povsem spremenile dominante socialistično-modernističnega urbanega prostora, kot se je to zgodilo ob nadaljnji eksploziji igralništva v letih in desetletjih po osamosvojitvi Slovenije. Vpeljevanje socialistični ureditvi neprikladne ekonomske dejavnosti, namenjene izključno tujim gostom, se v svoji zgodnji fazi prej izkazuje v obliki spremembe upravljalvskega režima na določenih mikrolokacijah (ob prvem igralnem salonu), predvsem pa kot sprememba družbenih praks. Na te bomo v nadaljevanju še posebej pozorni in jih postavili v okvir širših družbenoekonomskih sprememb v jugoslovanskem poznem socializmu. S fenomenom *casinaja* se bomo torej srečali na ravni njegove fizične umeščenosti v prostor in na ravni njegovega družbenega

1 Članek je nastal v okviru temeljnega raziskovalnega projekta ARRS J6-6833 »Kraji spomina, kraji meje: spomin in identiteta na slovensko-italijanskem mejnem območju v dolgem dvajsetem stoletju«.

2 Med precej skromno literaturo o političnih, ekonomskih in arhitekturnih ozadih nastanka Nove Gorice lahko omenimo naslednje prispevke: Torkar, 1987; Ukmar, 1993; Di Battista, 2011; Čelik, Di Battista, 2012; Grabar, 2009.

3 Najbolj znan tovrsten primer je bil gotovo hotelsko-igralniški kompleks *Haludovo Palace* na otoku Krku, odprt leta 1972 s sredstvi mogotca in lastnika erotične revije *Penthouse* Boba Guccioneja (Tomažič, 2013). Za splošen pregled o odpiranju jugoslovanskega turističnega trga proti Zahodu gl. Grandits, Taylor, 2010.

pomena kot dejavnika spremembe vrednostnih in moralnih načel socialističnega reda, ki so postajale proti koncu osemdesetih let vse bolj vidne.

Strukturnim spremembam v obmejni turistični ponudbi, ki se je ob liberalizaciji mejnega režima začela razvijati v drugi polovici petdesetih let in se na to vse bolj prilagajala povpraševanju s sosednjega kapitalističnega trga, dokler se ni v drugi polovici osemdesetih let pojavila ekskluzivna igralniška industrija, bomo sledili na osnovi razdrobljenega arhivskega gradiva republiških organov na področju gospodarstva in financ, ki so imeli v pristojnosti urejanje igralništva. Analizo teh materialov, ki nam odstirajo predvsem politični odnos do poskusov vzpostavitve igralniške dejavnosti v obmejnem mestu že od konca šestdesetih let, bomo dopolnili s prav tako precej skopo dokumentacijo občine Nova Gorica (SO NG), ki se nanaša na umeščanje te dejavnosti v lokalno okolje in s tem povezano razreševanje prostorskih konfliktov, pri čemer si bomo pomagali tudi z ustnimi viri tedanjih akterjev in opazovalcev. Pri tem nas bo še posebej zanimalo na kakšen način so se gospodarske elite, lokalne institucije in prebivalstvo soočali s kulturnimi in prostorskimi učinki, ki jih je v nominalno še vedno socialistični sistem vnašala igralniška industrija. Gre za problematičen odnos med socialistično identiteto, vrednotami in načinom urejanja prostorskega razvoja na eni strani in profitno naravnano reinvecijo urbane krajine na drugi strani, ki pa mu lahko v primeru drugih socialističnih držav sledimo šele v času postsocializma (cf. Pusca, 2008). Čeravno polemika o teh vprašanjih v tedanjem tisku skorajda ni bila prisotna in so tudi drugi viri za raziskavo tega fenomena jugoslovanskega poznega socializma omejeni ali nedostopni (gradivo podjetja HIT Gorica še vedno čaka na uradni arhivski prevzem), lahko v okviru pričujočega članka vsaj na pregleden način prikažemo glavne obrise omenjenega ekonomsko-socialno-kulturnega pojava ob zahodni meji. Odgovor na širše vprašanje, kako se je v tej metamorfozi od mesta socialistične do mesta kapitalistične utopije znašlo novogoriško prebivalstvo, za katerega bi bila potrebna antropološka raziskava dosti širšega značaja, pa bo moral zaenkrat ostati nedorečen.

»MI GRADIMO SOCIALIZEM«

V času najintenzivnejšega procesa izgradnje socializma in hkratnega zaostrovanja odnosov z medvojni zahodnimi zavezniki je Jugoslavija jeseni leta 1947 pričela graditi svoje prvo novo mesto, oddaljeno le nekaj sto metrov od sveže začrtane meje, ki je v tistem času predstavljala mnogo več kot le demarkacijo med dvema državama.⁴ Na dejstvo, da gre tudi za ideološko ločnico, je opozarjal že sam napis »Mi gradimo

socializem« na vrhu goriške železniške postaje tik ob mejni črti in dobro viden na sosednjo stran. Propagandni diskurz tedanjega časa je mesto razglašal za »glasnik veselega ustvarjanja in napredka, ki ga zmore delovno ljudstvo, kadar se zaveda svoje svobode in dejstva, da ustvarja zase«, kot je novembra 1947 zapisal *Slovenski poročevalec*.⁵ Proces mapiranja in identifikacij je poleg starejših vzorcev delitve na liniji civilizacija–barbarizem, kot ugotavlja Sabina Mihelj (2014, 289), na obeh straneh meje operiral z enakim narativom napredka, a z bistveno razliko glede dojemanja, kaj je dejanski pomen »modernosti«. Za zahodno stran je pomenila podrejanje zakonitostim tržne ekonomije, na vzhodni strani meje pa so novo družbo želeli ukrojit po potrebah in pričakovanih delovnega človeka.

Temu je bilo prilagojeno tudi novo mesto za 20.000 prebivalcev, za katerega načrt je po sprejetju sklepa politbiroja centralnega komiteja Komunistične partije Jugoslavije javnosti prvič razkril tedanji predsednik slovenske vlade Miha Marinko na slovesni proslavi priključitve Primorske na Lijaku 21. septembra 1947.⁶ Ivan Maček – Matija, minister za gradnje (1946–1951) in podpredsednik slovenske vlade (1946–1953), kateremu je bila zaupano vodenje prvega tako obsežnega infrastrukturnega projekta v novi Jugoslaviji, je na »zaprtem« natečaju izbral Edvarda Ravnikarja, vodjo oddelka za projektiranje na tem istem ministrstvu. Idejni osnutki njegovih konkurentov so načrtovano mesto v pričakovanju bodoče združitve še naslanjali na staro Gorico, Ravnikar pa je v svojem načrtu že upošteval stroge varnostne zahteve po prepovedi gradnje v 800 metrskem pasu od mejne črte. Mestno jedro v obliki široke magistrale v smeri sever-jug je zato umestil nekoliko vzhodneje in jo skušal skozi daljši predor navezati na obstoječo vipavsko cesto. Osemdeset metrov široka magistrala naj bi z drevoredom platan, cvetličnimi gredami in paviljoni ustvarila videz »cestne kompozicije empirskega tipa, kakršne poznamo iz Italije in južne Francije« (Ravnikar, 1984, 46), hkrati pa je magistrala v kontekstu povojnega socialističnega urbanizma pomenila prostor politične mobilizacije, kjer lahko prebivalci zborujejo, namesto da bi se umikali v svoja predmestna naselja (Molnár, 2013, 35). Ravnikarju pa je cestni križ najbolj služil za neposredno aplikacijo Le Corbusierjevega načela funkcionalnega coniranja, ko je ob zgornji del magistrale zarisal rekreacijske površine, ob levi krak stanovanjski del in na desno stran industrijsko območje (Ravnikar, 1984, 46). Za razliko od neoklasicističnih hausmannovskih urbanističnih principov in realsocialističnega arhitekturnega stila, ki je vladal v Stalinovi Sovjetski zvezi in njenih satelitih v vzhodni Evropi (Mumford, 2009; Cinis et al., 2008, 228), je Ravnikar v svojem načrtu za Novi Beograd in za Novo Gorico

4 O kolektivnem spominu na proces razmejevanja na Goriškem gl. Širok, 2012.

5 Slovenski poročevalec, 9. 11. 1947: Nova Gorica bo prvo novo, v Titovi Jugoslaviji zgrajeno mesto, 3.

6 Slovenski poročevalec, 9. 11. 1947: Nova Gorica bo prvo novo, v Titovi Jugoslaviji zgrajeno mesto, 3.



Slika 1: Razglednica Nove Gorice iz leta 1962 (PANG-667, razglednica št. 587)
Figure 1: Postcard of Nova Gorica from 1962 (PANG-667, postcard n. 587)

spojil izrazito funkcionalistični pristop k urbanizmu Le Corbusierja, v čigar biroju je leta 1939 tudi sam preživel pet mesecev, modernistični dizajn stanovanjskih blokov in politično zahtevo po monumentalnem izgledu reprezentativnih objektov (Ravnikar, 1947, 364–365; Košir, 2006, 19; Kulić, 2012, 123–128).

V primeru ideološkega spopada na polju urbanega prostora na jugoslovansko-italijanski meji potemtakem ne moremo govoriti o apropiaciji arhitekturnega modernizma s strani Zahoda, kot je to bilo značilno denimo za vzhodno – zahodno berlinski duel *Stalinallee*⁷ – *Hansaviertel*, ampak je (prilagojeni) modernizem pravzaprav postal zaščitni znak novega socialističnega prostora.⁸ V tem smislu velikokrat citirana Ravnikarjeva izjava o »urbanizmu kot orožju v nacionalnem in političnem boju« ni naznanjala izgradnje vizualno prepoznavnega nacionalnega arhitekturnega stila (t. i. *architecture parlante*), ampak radikalno drugačno razumevanje organizacije urbanega življenja. Nekako tako kot za Novi Zagreb razlaga hrvaška etnologinja

Valentina Gulin Zrnić (2004, 63; po: Jerman, 2008, 83), ko pravi: »'socialistično mesto' je atribut splošnih socialističnih idealov družbene pravice, enakosti, humanosti, vendar v obliki, da bi prostorsko realiziral substancialne socialistične ideje, ne obstaja«. V Novi Gorici za novega komunističnega človeka niso gradili monumentalnih in dekoriranih »palač za delavce«, poznanih iz Stalinove Sovjetske zveze, ampak samostojne stanovanjske bloke čistih linij v obeležju mednarodnega stila. Ni pa pri fizični in simbolni konstrukciji novega mesta umanjkal za tedanje ljudske demokracije značilni *leitmotiv* sublimacije delavcev v heroje in zoperstavljenja njihovih naporov imperialističnemu »rovarjenju« in »destruktivizmu« oz. je bil ta zaradi neposredno bližine meje, podobno kot v razdeljenem Berlinu, še posebej izpostavljen (cf. Bartetzky, 2013, 142).

Gradnja že od vsega začetka kljub voluntarističnem zagonu ni potekala brez zapletov, z najhujšim izzivom pa se je nastajajoče mesto spopadlo ob izteku prve petletke, ko so v začetku petdesetih let republiške in

7 Dosežke pri gradnji realsocialistične avenije, ki so jo promovirali prek pesmi, slik, posterjev, člankov, brošur, poštних znamk, spominkov in igrač, si je prišlo leta 1953 ogledat kar pol milijona zahodnonemških obiskovalcev (Colomb, 2012, 62).

8 O odnosu med političnimi ideologijami in modernizmom ter v zvezi z interpretacijo jugoslovanskega modernizma gl. Šuvaković, 2004; Le Normand, 2014.

zvezne dotacije popolnoma presahnile. Če je namreč zidava kljub menjavanju uradnih investitorjev, stalnemu spreminjanju načrtov, premeščanju delavcev na druga gradbišča po Sloveniji in neporavnavanju sprotne obveznosti dotlej z zamudami še potekala dalje, se je leta 1951 malodane ustavila.⁹ Okrajni izvršilni odbor Gorica je zato junija tega leta pozval Vlado LRS za odobritev kredita v višini 1 milijona dinarjev za dokončanje že začelih gradbenih projektov z obrazložitvijo, da je vzpostavitev političnega, gospodarskega in kulturnega središča Slovenskega Primorja še vedno vsaj tako pomembna, kot je bila nekaj let pred tem.¹⁰ A ker od slovenskih oblasti očitno niso uspeli pridobiti potrebnih sredstev – nenavadno o tej problematiki sploh niso razpravljali na sejah centralnega komiteja slovenske partije – so nekaj mesecev kasneje skušali omehčati še prvega moža jugoslovanske partije in premiera Josipa Broza – Tita z razlago, da gre pri propadajočih objektih novega mesta zaradi bližine državne meje tudi za politični, ne le ekonomski problem.¹¹ Toda nekaj let po resoluciji informbiroja, ko je Jugoslavija že iskala nova zavezništva na Zahodu in želela normalizirati odnose s sosednjo Italijo ter Avstrijo, hkrati pa se še vedno soočala s hudim pomanjkanjem, pomen postavitve socialističnega izložbenega okna za kapitalistični svet onstran meje ni imel več takšne veljave kot še nekaj let prej.

Težave s financiranjem in tudi prehajanje politične pristojnosti iz republiških na organe lokalne uprave je za seboj povleklo tudi bistvene posege v Ravnikarjev izhodiščni koncept mesta, potem ko je ta spomladi leta 1950 oddal zadnja dopolnila svojega načrta. Arhitekt Božidar Gvardjančič je v svojem zazidalnem načrtu iz leta 1953 bolj prisluhnil ljudskemu odboru Goriške oblasti in namesto velikih stanovanjskih blokov obdanih z zelenjem dopustil zidavo manjših večstanovanjskih objektov in zasebnih hiš, ki so novim gradnjam dajale značaj predmestnega naselja. Umeščanje novih objektov v prostor na podlagi približnih interpretacij omenjenega Gvardjančičevega zazidalnega načrta in njegove skice generalnega urbanističnega plana je potekalo precej stihijsko, celovit urbanistični program pa je šele leta 1957 izdelal geograf Igor Vrišer, leto za tem pa je arhitekt Viljem Strmecki priskrbel nov zazidalni načrt, po katerem je mesto sicer ohranilo magistralo kot središčno os in dobilo še vertikalno v obliki nebotičnika, a se odmaknilo od ustroja cestnega križa kot razvodnice posameznih con. Na osnovi tega načrta je bil do sredine šestdesetih let zgrajen največji del mestnega jedra, od leta 1964 pa je skrb za urbanistično podobo

kraja od Projektivnega ateljeja iz Ljubljane prevzel novogoriški Zavod za urbanizem (Torkar, 1987, 54–75). S podpisom njegovega direktorja, arhitekta Tomaža Vuge, so ob bolj odmaknjeni Cankarjevi ulici in ob Ulici Gradnikove brigade v sedemdesetih letih nastale stanovanjske stolpnice, v katere so se je naselilo tisoče domačinov in priseljencev iz vseh delov Jugoslavije (Toplak, 2012, 74), v središču mesta pa so se v istem času pojavili prvi primerki postmoderne arhitekture (Hotel Argonavti).

MESTO SREČEVANJA

Razvojni preboj je mlado mesto doživelo šele z združevanjem in ukinitvijo okrajev leta 1965, predvsem pa za uveljavitvijo svoje posredniške vloge pri čezmejnem prometu. K temu je odločno pripomogel t. i. drugi videmski sporazum med FLRJ in Italijo iz leta 1955,¹² ki je v desetkilometrskem pasu omogočal vzpostavitev maloobmejnega prometa, kar je pomenilo izdajo prepustnic in olajšave pri prenosu blaga čez mejo za lokalno prebivalstvo. Prav tako je bil z namenom povečanja gospodarskega sodelovanja leta 1955 podpisan goriški sporazum, osebni in tovorni promet pa se je še okrepil z razširitvijo videmskega sporazuma (t. i. tretji videmski sporazum) leta 1962 (Nečak, 2000, 303–304; Šušmelj, 2009; Repe, 1998). Z uvajanjem tržnih principov v jugoslovansko gospodarstvo se je pomen gospodarskega sodelovanja s sosednjo Italijo, ustanovno članico Evropske gospodarske skupnosti, še povečeval, na območju Nove Gorice pa je vzcvetel maloobmejni promet in z njim množica mesnic, bencinskih servisov in drugih lokalov, kjer so se imetniki maloobmejnih prepustnic z druge strani meje oskrbovali ceneje kot doma.¹³ Obseg terciarne dejavnosti se je od začetka šestdesetih do začetka sedemdesetih let kar podvanjsteril. Na račun tega, predvsem pa z ekstenzivnim razvojem industrije je občina sredi šestdesetih let preseгла slovensko povprečje narodnega dohodka (Nanut, 1972, 12–13) in se do začetka osemdesetih let v republiškem merilu povzpela na 14. mesto.¹⁴

Omilitev mejnega režima in naraščanje tranzitnega prometa sta v šestdesetih letih močno spodbudila tudi razvoj gostinstva in turizma, ki pa sta še vedno zastajala za republiškim povprečjem, saj je njun delež vse do osemdesetih let znašal povprečno le 2 odstotka, kar pomeni celotno odstotno točko manj kot v preostali Sloveniji, temu ustrezno pa je bilo tudi manjše število zaposlenih v tej dejavnosti.¹⁵ Investicije v osnovno

9 PANG-61, 2, 3, Problematika investicijske izgradnje v goriškem okraju v letu 1951 po uveljavljanju novih gradbenih predpisov, nedatirano.

10 PANG-61, 2, 3, Dopis »Problematika investicijskih zgradb« Predsedstvu vlade LRS in Gospodarskemu svetu LRS, 25. 6. 1951.

11 PANG-61, 2, 3, Dopis »Izgradnja Nove Gorice kot naselja« predsedniku Vlade FLRJ Josipu Brozu – Titu, 20. 11. 1951.

12 Prvi sporazum iz leta 1949 je urejal le prehajanje meje za zemljiške dvolastnike, kar pa je že deloma omogočalo tvegano tihotapljenje.

13 PANG-104, 06/B-1/85, Analiza razvojnih možnosti občine Nova Gorica do leta 2000. Februar 1985, 100.

14 PANG-104, 06/B-1/85, Analiza razvojnih možnosti občine Nova Gorica do leta 2000. Februar 1985, 94.

15 PANG-104, 06/B-1/85, Analiza razvojnih možnosti občine Nova Gorica do leta 2000. Februar 1985, 95.



Slika 2: Hotel Park leta 1967 (PANG-667, razglednica št. 16)
Figure 2: Hotel Park in 1967 (PANG-667, postcard n. 16)



Slika 3: Soba v hotelu Park pred renovacijo (GM-OZ, fotografija št. 22387)
Figure 3: Hotel room in the Hotel Park before the renovation (GM-OZ, photo n. 22387)

turistično infrastrukturo so bile sicer predvidene že v prvem investicijskem planu za Slovensko Primorje za obdobje 1947–1951, kjer je bilo za novogoriški hotel skupaj z restavracijo predvidena dobra polovica od 40 milijonov dinarjev, namenjenih za to panogo na celotnem »novoosvojenem« ozemlju.¹⁶ Polovico tega zneska naj bi porabili že v letu 1948,¹⁷ a se je realizacija restavracije, kavarne in hotela zavlekla za kar deset let, čemur so botrovala nasprotujoča si mnenja o lokaciji, obsegu in vsebini tega objekta.¹⁸ Naposled so mu prostor našli ob kasnejši Delpinovi ulici, s čimer je bila njegova lokacija nekoliko odmaknjena od osrednje magistrale in je lahko tri desetletja kasneje, kot izoliran igralniški kompleks, zaživela bolj neopazno. Nov hotel Park je nadaljnji dve desetletji poleg solkankega hotela Sabotin predstavljal hrbtnico nočitvenih kapacitet v občini, ki so jih koristili predvsem tranzitni gostje, uslužbenci carinskih služb in trgovski potniki, saj ni nudil prav velikega udobja (nekateri so se še v začetku osemdesetih let premogle samo umivalnik) (slika 2, slika 3). Nasprotno pa je nova restavracija hitro postala priljubljena točka gostov iz sosednje države ali kot se slikovito spominja ena izmed prvih meščank Nadja Koglot Puppis, so takrat »vsi mislili, da se v njej je le po italijansko« (Koglot Puppis, 2008, 55). »Kot muhe na med« pa so na erotične predstave pričeli iz tedaj še močno konservativne Italije lesti obiskovalci nočnega kluba, ki so ga konec šestdesetih let uredili v kletnih prostorih hotela (Vuga, 2016).

Ne le kulturno, ampak tudi ekonomsko odpiranje proti Zahodu v času po jugoslovanski ekonomski reformi leta 1965,¹⁹ je v drugi polovici šestdesetih let privabilo kopico italijanskih investitorjev, ki so želeli izkoristiti lego ob milijonem in premožnem severovzhodu Italije in v Novi Gorici oz. v njeni neposredni okolici odpreti igralnico.²⁰ Ti so zato na tedanjo SO NG pošiljali nadvse ugodne ponudbe, po katerih so bili pripravljene nositi vse stroške opreme in odvajati polovico izkupička ter primakniti še kako drugo donacijo. Lokalna oblast je zato že od konca leta 1966 na republiško skupščino naslavljala pobude za spremembo Zakona o posebnih igrah na srečo, ki je onemogočal otvoritev igralnega salona v njihovem kraju.²¹ K ideji o razvijanju te, izmed socialističnih držav samo v Jugoslaviji dovoljene

dejavnosti, jih je najbolj napeljal portoroški zgled, kjer je ob pomoči italijanskih partnerjev začel celotnemu kraju prinašati izdaten dobiček leta 1964 odprt *Casino* (Mužič, 2013, 33–35). Slednji je v začetku posloval kar po internih pravilih, prvi evfemistično poimenovani zakon o igralništvu za izključno tuje državljane in za tuje valute pa je Ivan Maček na mestu predsednika slovenske skupščine podpisal šele naslednje leto (Ur. l. SRS 29/1965). Čeprav se je v osnutkih krovnega Zakona o igrah na srečo omenjalo možnost petih igralnic na območju SRS, med njimi tudi v Sežani ali Novi Gorici,²² je njeno odprtje v enem izmed teh dveh obmejnih krajev preprečeval pogoj o prirejanju iger *roulette*, *chemin de fer*, *baccara simple*, *baccara tout va*, *trente et quarante*, *black 21*, *boule* in iger na igralnih (»slot«) avtomatih zgolj v *pretežno turističnih krajih* z najmanj 1000 turističnimi posteljami in povprečnim številom 200.000 nočitev letno.²³

243 ležišč v tedanjih dveh novogoriških hotelih temu kriteriju še zdaleč ni zadoščalo, argumentom o možnosti hitrega dostopa po italijanskem cestnem omrežju in potencialu velikega števila dnevnih obiskovalcev pa republiške oblasti niso prisluhnile niti v primeru predlogov domačih niti tujih (so)investitorjev.²⁴ Ob tem lahko domnevamo, da je socialistični družbeni ureditvi ne najbolj prikladen način zabavišnega turizma ostal relativno nemoteč dokler se ga je posluževal majhen krog elitnih gostov v turističnem Portorožu in Bledu, množična obiskanost pa bi bržkone v tujini in doma sprožila očitke o podrejanju socialističnih idealov nebrzdanemu hlastanju po Zahodnih devizah. A v tistem trenutku se je kot edini formalni »moralno-politični« razlog proti širitvi mreže obmejnih igralnic omenjalo dejstvo, da je v Jugoslaviji tedaj poslovalo že 9 salonov, v kapitalističnih Italiji in Avstriji pa samo 6 oz. 4, zaradi česar so pri zahodni sosedni, od koder je dejansko prihajalo 98 odstotkov hazarderskih gostov, celo razmišljali o uradni protestni noti.²⁵ Drugi ugovori, ki bi jih pričakovali pod kategorijo »moralno-političnih« razlogov, v tedanjem času partijskega »liberalizma« niso prišli na dan niti na republiškem niti na lokalnem nivoju. Tam so moderen urbanistični ustroj mesta (socialistični karakter se ni več omenjal) celo šteli kot prednost pri umeščanju igralniškega turizma v njegovo tkivo, italijanski investitorji pa

16 AJ-41, 617, 970, Investicijski plan za Slovensko Primorje za l. 1947–1951.

17 AJ-41, 157, 293, Hotel Nova Gorica – podaci za plan investicija u 1948 god.

18 AS-233, 77, 731, Restavracija in kavarna Nova Gorica – tehnično poročilo. Projektant: Stanislav Rohrman, 7. 3. 1951.

19 Pozive k vlaganju v jugoslovansko gospodarstvo je bilo moč prebrati tudi v tujem tisku (Il Piccolo, 27. 12. 1966: Belgrado deve raddrizzare il »nuovo corso« dell'economia).

20 Kot možni lokaciji sta se omenjali grad Kromberk in vila na Pristavi, iz katere bi morali najprej izseliti higienski zavod (AS-223, 4502, 47-2/67, Prošnja Bruna Gazzana za izdajo dovoljenja za ustanovitev in upravljanje igralnice v Novi Gorici, 14. 10. 1967; Prošnja Casino Municipale iz San Rema za izdajo dovoljenja za otvoritev igralnice, 21. 11. 1967).

21 AS-2104, 56, 578, Predlog o dopolnitvi Zakona o igrah na srečo, 7. 12. 1966.

22 AS-223, 4502, 47-1/65, Osutek Zakona o igrah na srečo, 8. 4. 1973, §57.

23 Zakon o posebnih igrah na srečo, § 4 (Ur. l. SRS 29/1965).

24 AS-2104, 16, 203, Otvoritev igralnic v Mariboru in Novi Gorici, 22. 4. 1967.

25 AS-2104, 56, 578, Mnenje Odbora za družbeni plan, finance in proračun Skupščine SRS glede dopolnitve Zakona o igrah na srečo, 27. 9. 1967.



Slika 4: Razglednica Nove Gorice iz leta 1978 (GK-OD, foto A. Nemeč – Nova Gorica: Prospektbiro, 1978)

Figure 4: Postcard of Nova Gorica from 1978 (GK-OD, foto A. Nemeč – Nova Gorica: Prospektbiro, 1978)

so Novo Gorico že videli kot bodoči prvovrsten turistični center, ki bi prenesel celo več tovrstnih objektov.²⁶

Obnova ekstenzivnega modela industrializacije v sedemdesetih letih ni bila naklonjena vlaganjem v rast obsega turističnih kapacitet oz. na splošno terciarne dejavnosti, v zvezi s katero so nekateri tedaj vodilni funkcionarji videli nevarnost, da spreminja Slovenijo v »družbo komijev« (Repe, 2006, 70). Leta 1972 so poleg portoroškega hotela Metropol odprli nov velik igralni salon, konec obdobja Kavčičevega »liberalizma« pa je za nekaj let prekinil načrte SO NG in slovenskih²⁷ ter tujih turističnih podjetij za nadaljnje razvijanje tega tipa turizma tudi v drugih mestih. »Posebne igre na srečo same po sebi niso v skladu z osnovnimi načeli in tudi ne

z drugimi političnimi dokumenti, da so delo in rezultati dela osnova za določanje položaja človeka v družbi in s tem v zvezi za zadovoljevanje njegovih potreb«, je leta 1973 ugotavljal republiški sekretar za finance Jože Florjančič, a v isti sapi nekako pokrpal integriteto sistema, katerega predstavnik je bil: »Posebne igre na srečo so torej institucija, ki je namenjena samo tujcem, mi pa pri tem zagotavljamo le prostor in druge pogoje za to igro.« Te »institucije« so bile pri nas, kot je pojasnil, »uvedene le [podčrtal avtor] zato, da se z njimi kompletirajo turistične storitve in se zadovolji tovrstnemu povpraševanju tujcev«.²⁸

Vztrajanje pri ohranitvi ali celo zaostritvi obstoječih pogojev za prirejanje posebnih iger na srečo, k čemur

26 AS-2104, 56, 578, Predlog o dopolnitvi Zakona o igrah na srečo, 7. 12. 1966; AS-223, 4502, 47-2/67, Prošnja Bruna Gazzana za izdajo dovoljenja za ustanovitev in upravljanje igralnice v Novi Gorici, 14. 10. 1967.

27 Leta 1971 je s prošnjo za izdajo posebnega dovoljenja poskušal tudi Zavod za turizem Ljubljana, delujoč v okviru podjetja Emona, ki je po manjši igralnici v hotelu Slon nameraval to dejavnost razširiti še v Maribor in Novo Gorico. Predlog za slednjo so utemeljili z argumentom, da se je mesto razvilo v pomembno gospodarsko, kulturno, in turistično področje, ki mu daje še poseben pomen bližina državne meje z Italijo (AS-2104, 16, 203, Prošnja Emone Ljubljana Republiškemur sekretariatu za finance za prirejanje posebnih iger na srečo v hotelih »Slavija« Maribor in »Park« Nova Gorica, 18. 3. 1971). Prav ta okoliščina je že v šestdesetih letih postala najpomembnejša komparativna prednost novega mesta, ki je privlačila investicije podjetij iz drugih krajev Slovenije, aktivno pa je k temu pristopila tudi občinska oblast (Mlinar, 1983, 53).

28 AS-223, 4502, 47-1/65, Nekatere dileme v zvezi z novo ureditvijo posebnih iger na srečo, 30. 10. 1973.

je težil omenjeni republiški sekretariat, pristojen za izdajanje dovoljenj, je govorila proti temu, da bi se tudi novogoriški turizem dopolnil s tovrstno ponudbo. V skladu s tem je bil zavržen tudi predlog podjetja Alpe-Adria, ki je leta 1971 začela v mestu graditi nov obsežen hotelsko-zabavišni kompleks. Čeprav že v izhodišču z 246 sobami, pivnico, barom, nočnim klubom, kavarno, kegljiščem, pokritim bazenom in savno namenjen predvsem italijanskim in tranzitnim gostom (načrtovali so kar 85 odstotkov tujih nočitev),²⁹ v centru niso uredili predvidene igralnice, ki bi jo naj omenjeno ljubljansko podjetje odprlo skupaj z avstrijsko-ameriškim partnerjem.³⁰ A število domačih in tujih obiskovalcev se po pet let dolgi realizaciji te investicije, ki je bila v celoti pokrita s posebnim kreditom Jugobanke, namenjenim krepitvi celinskega turizma v Sloveniji,³¹ ni gibalo po načrtih. V kolikor so bile nočitvene kapacitete vsaj polovično zasedene, je na drugi strani nerentabilno posloval celo nočni bar. Zaradi problematične kvalitete gradnje tega postmodernističnega objekta in neuspešnega vodenja poslov, je TOZD hotel Argonavti,³² kot se je imenoval od leta 1979, vseskozi od otvoritve aprila 1976 dalje ustvarjal izgubo, ki se je do stečaja leta 1984 nabralo za več kot 25 milijonov dinarjev.³³ Pred tem se je kot eden izmed sanacijskih ukrepov omenjala tudi možnost odprtja salona z igralnimi avtomati, za katere so po novem Zakonu o posebnih igrah na srečo iz leta 1980 veljali nekoliko omiljeni pogoji.³⁴ Ker pa je bil zaradi carinskih restrikcij njihov uvoz onemogočen, do preureditve dela tega objekta, ki je nameraval v zakup vzeti Casino Portorož, ni prišlo.³⁵ Je pa v dokumentaciji hotela, ki sta ga po stečaju prevzela v upravljanje hotel Park in Iskra Delta za namen svojega računalniško-izobraževalnega centra, ostalo dovoljenje Republiškega sekretariata za finance, ki je pomenilo prvi korak k novemu poglavju novogoriškega turizma (HIT – Deset let, 1994, 16).

KOVNICA DEVIZ

Kljub sklenitvi Osimskih sporazumov leta 1975 in »najbolj odprti meji v Evropi«, kot se je tedaj označe-

valo liberaliziran režim prehajanja med Italijo in Jugoslavijo (Šušmelj, 2009; Pirjevec, 2015; Klabjan, 2013), je pričel maloobmejni in redni promet na Goriškem konec sedemdesetih let izrazito upadati in sicer med letoma 1978 in 1981 za kar 24 odstotkov letno, kar je pomenilo upad števila prihoda tujih potnikov na raven iz leta 1966 (Mlinar, 1983, 67). V povezavi s tem je tudi novogoriški turizem v začetku osemdesetih let, čeprav je delež tujih gostov predstavljal le še dvajset odstotkov, kazal dokaj klavrno podobo. Leta 1983 je mesto obiskalo manj ljudi kot leta 1970 (34.000), število nočitev tujih gostov pa je sploh strmoglavilo na najnižjo raven do tedaj (18.000). Upad prihoda (italijanskih) gostov so pripisovali predvsem vplivom svetovne gospodarske krize, dvigu cen njihovih priljubljenih produktov, slabim cestnim povezavam, pa tudi skromni turistični ponudbi, omejeni predvsem na naravne znamenitosti.³⁶

Z recesijskimi trendi doma in v sosednji Italiji so se posamezniki, ki so se na lokalnem nivoju ukvarjali z razdrobljeno turistično ponudbo, najprej skušali spoprijeti z izkoriščanjem ugodnih klimatskih pogojev in razvojem športnega turizma, na katerega je resno računal hotel Park, ki se je tudi sam leta 1981 začel otepati z izgubo.³⁷ V ta čas pa sodi tudi ponovna ideja o vzpostavitvi igralniškega centra, ki jo je začel udeležati gospodarstvenik Danilo Kovačič. S spojitvijo HGP »Gorica« in TOZD Gostinstva Rožna dolina v GKP Gorica je zagnani direktor hotela Park leta 1982 začel z združevanjem razdrobljenega novogoriškega gostinstva in turizma, kar je bil že dolgoletni načrt občinskih oblasti,³⁸ ki je v končni fazi leta 1986 pripeljal do enotnega konglomerata, poimenovanega HIT (hoteli-igralnica-turizem) Gorica. Osnovni namen vpeljave skromne igralniške ponudbe je bilo zagotavljanje boljše zasedenosti hotela po končanju nujno potrebne adaptacije, s katero so se odprle tudi možnosti prostorske širitve.³⁹ A velikega deviznega priliva si od te dejavnosti v tistem času ni obetal še nihče, pač pa so si jo predstavljali zgolj kot dopolnitev in pomoč pri polnjenju nočitvenih kapacitet.⁴⁰

Decembra 1984 je bila končana predelava hotelske restavracije v t. i. *Roulette Salon*, saj Casino Portorož, ki

29 PANG-104, 1390, 06/B-1/82-01, Poročilo o poslovanju TOZD Argonavti od leta 1976–1981, 1.

30 AS-223, 4502, 47-2/67, Vloga turistične organizacije Alpe-Adria za odobritev igralnice v Novi Gorici, 28. 5. 1971.

31 AS-223, 5086, 332-02/81-4, Informacija Jugobanke o problematiki hotela Argonavti, Nova Gorica, 16. 9. 1981.

32 Po združitvi delovne organizacije Alpe-Adria je hotel deloval v sestavu ljubljanskega SOZD SAP Viator oz. kasneje preimenovanega v Integral.

33 PANG-104, 1390, 06/B-1/82-01, Poročilo o poslovanju TOZD Argonavti od leta 1976–1981, 1–4.

34 V tem primeru je bil v dotičnem kraju določen vsaj 30 odstotni delež tujih nočitev (Ur. l. SRS, 32/1980, § 44).

35 PANG-104, 1390, 06/B-1/82-01, Poročilo o poslovanju TOZD Argonavti od leta 1976–1981, 7–8, 14.

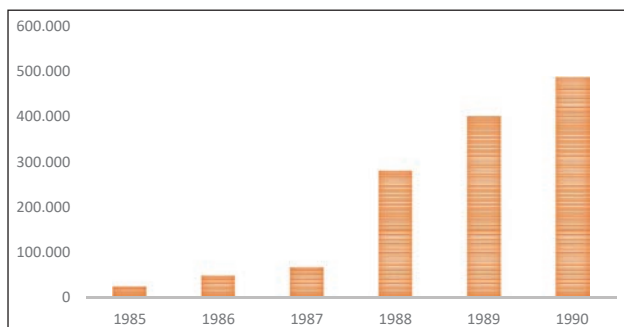
36 PANG-104, 06/B-1/85, Analiza razvojnih možnosti občine Nova Gorica do leta 2000. Februar 1985, 97.

37 PANG-104, 06/B-1/83, Poročilo o delovanju Sklada za pospeševanje turizma v letu 1982 in problematika turizma v občini Nova Gorica, 28. 4. 1983.

38 PANG-104, 1389, 06/B-1/82-01, Zaključni račun HGP Gorica, TOZD Park, 24. 8. 1982.

39 PANG-104, 1389, 06/B-1/82-01, Zapisnik 11. seje občinskega izvršnega sveta SO NG, 9. 9. 1982, 30.

40 PANG-104, 06/B-1/85, Analiza razvojnih možnosti občine Nova Gorica do leta 2000. Februar 1985, 100. Na obrobost tega dogodka kaže tudi drobna notica iz časopisa Primorske novice, kjer so poročali o predstavitvi najnovejše hotelske pridobitve udeležencem okrogle mize o turizmu (Primorske novice, 21. 12. 1984: Igralnica v Park hotelu, 5).



Grafikon 1: Rast števila obiskovalcev igralnice v hotelu Park 1985–1990 (vir: HIT – Deset let, 1994, 31)

Chart 1: Growth in visitors in the Hotel Park gambling saloon 1985–1990 (source: HIT –Deset let, 1994, 31)

je z omahovanjem vložil delež zagonskih sredstev, ni dopustil uporabe istega imena, kot ga je nosil sam (HIT – Deset let, 1994, 9). Njegov dolgoletni direktor Nino Spinelli je nasploh močno dvomil v potencial dnevnih turističnih tokov na Goriškem.⁴¹ Toda dogajanje v naslednjih letih je pokazalo ravno nasprotno, saj je število obiskovalcev samo v petih letih povečalo kar za dvajsetkrat iz slabih 25.000 leta 1985 na skoraj pol milijona v letu 1990, kar je do tega leta skupaj nanese 1.3 milijona obiskovalcev (grafikon 1). Realizacija HIT-ove igralniške dejavnosti se je tako iz slabih 4 milijard italijanskih lir, ki so veljale v tem podjetju za »uradno valuto«, leta 1986 povzpela na dobrih 52 milijard leta 1990, gostinski del pa jih je k temu dodal še slabih 10. Novogoriška igralniška meka je tako glede na obseg poslovanja že leta 1988 zasenčila do tedaj največji jugoslovanski igralniški center v Portorožu in začela postajati opazna tudi v evropskem merilu. Temu so sledile stalne preнове in prostorske razširitve, tako da je bilo po celoviti adaptaciji igralnice leta 1989 na voljo že 350 avtomatov in 40 igralnih miz, naslednje leto pa se ji je pridružil še dodatni salon (HIT – Deset let, 1994, 10–11, 31).

Ključnega pomena za eksplozijo igralništva v Novi Gorici je bil prevzem ameriškega tipa igralništva, ki ga je HIT-u pomagal uvesti ameriški poslovnež Steve Stojanović, in je za razliko od elitnega francoskega, pri katerem so vztrajali v Portorožu in večini drugih evropskih casinojev, gradil na množični dostopnosti in povezavi z drugimi načini zabave (HIT – Deset let, 1994, 18). Zapeljivost igralništva, ki je tudi iz protislovensko usmerjenih Italijanov izvleka denar naravnost v roke »komunistov«,⁴² se je prekrivala z vzorci kulturne

potrošnje, ki jo je spodbujal naraščajoči medijski imperij Silvija Berlusconi (Torkar, 1994, 184). Italijanskim iskalci sreče so tako v nadmodernem »nekraju« na drugi strani meje lahko našli tisto »osvobajajočo anonimnost«, v kateri v uživajo ljudje, ki želijo, kot pravi urbani antropolog Marc Augé (2011, 102), za določen čas odmisli svoj položaj, mesto ali videz.

Podjetje HIT, ki ga leta 1988 sploh še ni bilo na seznamu največjih slovenskih gospodarskih organizacij, se je po skoraj 600 odstotni rasti naslednje leto že uvrstilo na 123. mesto⁴³ in postalo 3. največji izvoznik na področju turizma oz. 38. v celotnem republiškem gospodarstvu.⁴⁴ Še več, konec leta 1990 si je tedaj že dobro znani Danilo Kovačič drznil napovedovati, da bi lahko novogoriško turistično tržišče prineslo v slovensko državno blagajno toliko deviz kot celotni slovenski turizem skupaj.⁴⁵ Verjetno bi razrast igralništva le nekaj let prej, ko je predsednik slovenskega predsedstva Sergej Kraigher kot odgovor na prigovarjanje za dopustitev te dejavnosti predsednika SO NG Jožeta Šušmelja vprašal, »ali je naš ideal delovni človek ali špekulant« (Šušmelj, 2015), partijska elita ne sprejela tako zlahka takšnega modela razvoja lokalne ekonomije. V času, ko je na čelu republiškega izvršnega sveta Dušan Šinigoj (1986–1990) uveljavljal politiko ne le kakršnegakoli izvoza, ampak predvsem tistega, ki je prinašal visoko dodano vrednost v devizah (Prinčič, 2011, 168) in so direktorji turističnih podjetij postali na moč dobrodošli obiskovalci v njegovem kabinetu (Repe, 2006, 72), pa proti usmerjanju gospodarstva v to panogo v sicer nominalno še vedno socialistični državi ni bilo več resnih političnih zadržkov. »Nova Gorica ni Las Vegas, ima pa igralnico, ki je po svoji specifičnosti postala poznana širom po Evropi, še bolj pomembno pa je to, da materi Sloveniji prinaša lepe devizne denarce,« je pisalo na naslovnici regijskega časnika v času proti koncu obravnavanega obdobja.⁴⁶ Devizni argument« je odehtal tudi varnostna tveganja (po Zakonu o prirejanju posebnih iger na srečo je moral svoje soglasje za izdajo dovoljenja prispevati tudi Sekretariat za notranje zadeve), saj je svoj lonček v obliki provizij nastavila tudi Služba državne varnosti (HIT – Deset let, 1994, 24).

Odmevnejših nasprotovanj pa, kot kaže odsotnost polemike v časopisju in v razpravah organov lokalne samouprave, ni bilo niti v ožjem lokalnem okolju. K temu je bržkone pripomoglo odpiranje novih delovnih mest. Skupno število zaposlenih v HIT-ovi igralniški in gostinski dejavnosti je do konca leta 1990 bilo že več kot 600 (HIT – Deset let, 1994, 31), krepitev turističnega sektorja pa je postala tudi statistično opazna. Za razliko

41 Primorske novice, 19. 10. 1984: Dvajset let portoroškega kolesa sreče, 4.

42 Il Piccolo, 14. 9. 2012: Casinò, 30 anni fra azzardo e striptease. Dostopno na: http://ricerca.gelocal.it/ilpiccolo/archivio/ilpiccolo/2012/09/14/PR_27_01.html.

43 Primorske novice, 18. 7. 1989: Dvajset let portoroškega kolesa sreče, 3.

44 AS-223, 5711, 332-01/86-14, Informacija o najuspešnejših izvoznikih turizma v SR Sloveniji januar-december 1988, 19. 4. 1989.

45 Primorske novice, 14. 12. 1990: Hazardni boom, 1.

46 Primorske novice, 14. 12. 1990: Hazardni boom, 1.

od predhodnega obdobja, ko je bil njegov delež v lokalni ekonomiji nižji od republiškega povprečja, se je v drugi polovici osemdesetih let dvignil nad to raven, tako po odstotku družbenega proizvoda (3,5 %) kot po odstotku zaposlenih v tej panogi (3,3 %).⁴⁷ Ta delovna mesta so za razliko od podcenjenega dela v novogoriškem vzoru Atlantic Cityju, prav tako znanem po bliskovitem razvoju igralništva na deindustrializiranem severozahodu ZDA od konca sedemdesetih let dalje (Hannigan, 2005, 156), lokalnemu prebivalstvu nudila precej velik zaslužek. Ta je bil znatno odstopajoč od povprečja plač v socialističnem gospodarstvu, celo toliko, da so dobro plačana, a izobrazbeno nezahtevna delovna mesta začela ustvarjati distorzijo na trgu lokalne delovne sile in nespodbudno vplivati na željo mladih po nadaljevanju študija (cf. Jerman, 2008, 152). Ni trajalo dolgo, preden je vsakdo izmed meščanov, že imel koga izmed bližnjih, ki je imel korist od množice prihajajočih hazarderjev (Šušmelj, 2015). Da je igralniški velikan deloval v socialističnem okolju in v povezavi z lokalnimi oblastmi, se je videlo tudi po »družbeno odgovorni« podpori športu, kulturi in investicijah v mestno infrastrukturo (mladinski dom, bazen), zlasti pa tisto, ki je služila estetskim in funkcionalnim potrebam njihovih obiskovalcev. Na splošno pa so bili izdatki, namenjeni lokalnemu okolju, bistveno nižji kot v primeru portoroškega Casinoja, ki je praktično v celoti postavil novejšo turistično infrastrukturo v kraju (Mužič, 2013, 57). Spinellijev dolgoletni model »ustvarjamo v socializmu, poslušamo s kapitalisti«⁴⁸ oz. usmerjanje večine igralniškega zaslužka v lokalno okolje (tudi v šolstvo, zdravstvo, otroško varstvo ipd.) se torej v Novi Gorici ni ponovil.

Prisotnost igralništva se sprva ni kazala v obliki, kot jo poznamo z druge strani Atlantika. »Ni mogoče reči, da je v primeru novogoriškega igralništva ta ali on izdelek, objekt, osebek kič sam po sebi, saj se za produkt skrivajo najbolj zveneča slovenska imena arhitekture, designa, kiparjenja, likovnosti, mediamarketinga itd.«, je že v začetku devetdesetih let pisal neprizanesljivi kritik potvarjanja izvirne arhitekturne podobe modernističnega mesta Vinko Torkar (1994, 184), in pri tem izpostavil vprašanje, »ali je znosnejša demokratična diktatura osladnosti kiča ali strogost totalizirajočih avantgard?«. Mesto je na videz še naprej živelo svoje »socialistično« življenje ali kot je leta 1990 pribeležil nek novinar: »Neugledna Delpinova ulica, v kateri se nahaja igralnica, je vsak dan dobredno zatrpna z vozili. Lokali, razen redkih izjem, so tod na zelo nizki ravni. Gostje, ki bi si morda radi kaj kupili, preden vstopijo v bleščeče igralniške prostore, ostajajo praznih rok. Kot v posmeh jim na drugi strani ceste brkati prodajalci ponujajo ‚južnjaški kič‘. HITova prizadevanja za uredi-

tev ulice, oziroma lokalov, so naletela na gluha ušesa. Morda se bo zmigala nova občinska oblast?«.⁴⁹ Na dan je prišla bojazen marksističnih teoretikov urbanizma, da je priključitev Jugoslavije na svetovni trg pod krinko nevtralne »nuje stvari« in pojma »urbanosti« povzročila tudi »infiltracijo« zahodnih življenjskih vrednot (Jakhel, 1979, 28). A trgovska in druge komercialne dejavnosti, pa tudi prostorska politika občinske oblasti, se očitno niso takoj prilagodile povpraševanju in iskanju profita, zaradi česar je HIT vzporedno z širjenjem obsega igralništva nenehno dvigoval tudi kvaliteto svoje gostinske dejavnosti, tako da so prihajajoči gostje skoraj popolnoma gibali v okviru njegovih kapacitet. Ob tem se je kot turistična destinacija začela počasi pojavljati tudi »zelena« okolica (Goriška Brda, Posočje), mesto pa je ostalo iz teh tokov večidel izločeno.

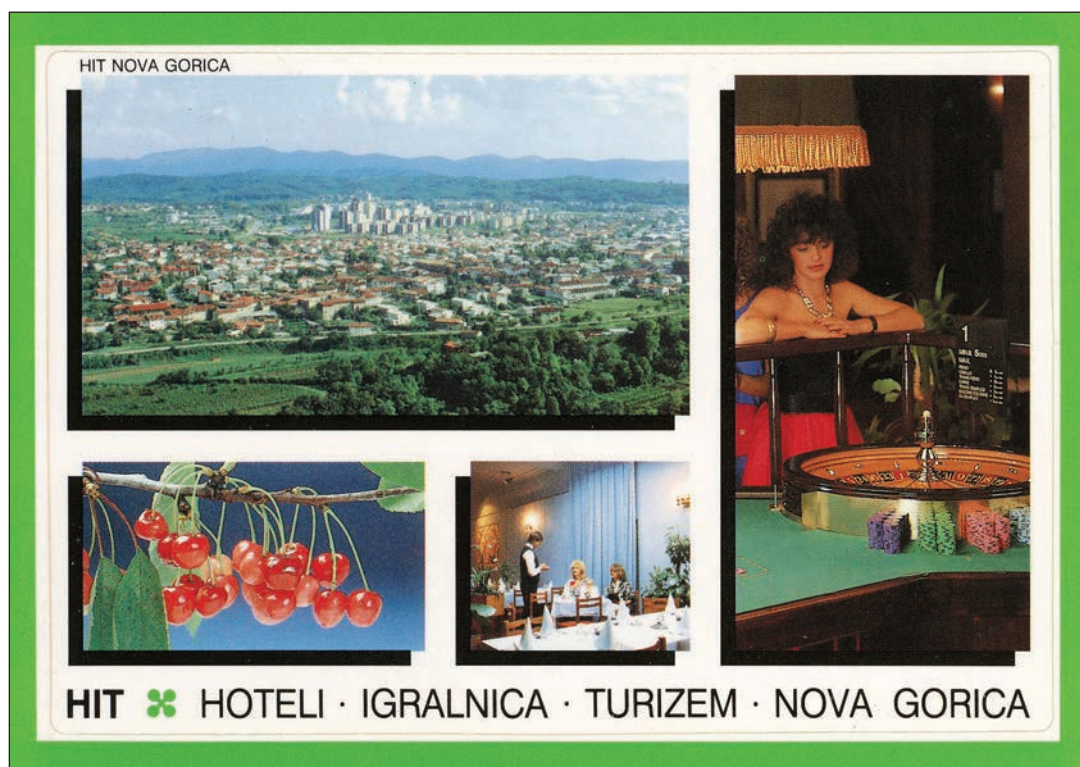
Nezmožnost druženja v historičnem jedru in splet socialnih okoliščin, značilen za nova mesta, sta bila že od vsega začetka eden izmed glavnih razlogov, da je kar tretjina meščanov opisovala svoje mesto kot pusto in pri tem veliko bolj cenila njegovo lego, klimo in lepo okolico, kot pa njegov urbanistični značaj (Mlinar, 1983, 98–99). Že omenjeni zabaviščni centri niso uspeli povsem zaživeti, kar so še posebej občutili mladi: »Zvečer nimam kam iti. Lahko grem v Cocktail, Argonavte ipd., tam pa nimam kaj delati (lahko piješ, lahko se pogovarjaš, kadiš in nič drugega)« (Mlinar, 1983, 115). A v kolikor so ta prizorišča še bila namenjena tako tujim kot domačim gostom, je igralnica in njena okolica delovala kot popolna klavzura, ki je živela svoje oddvojeno življenje predvsem v nočnem času. V njej se je govoril tuj jezik in se je plačevalo le v tuji valuti, s čimer pa so imeli opravka samo zaposleni, saj je bil jugoslovanskim oz. slovenskim državljanom vstop v igralniške prostore prepovedan vse do sprejema novega zakona leta 1995. Obljudena igralnica in njena okolica je tako postala izključna domena tujcev, ko pa se je Casino razširil še na hotelsko kavarno, so meščani izgubili eno izmed redkih družabnih zbirališč, zaradi česar so se tedaj prvič zaslislali nekateri kritični glasovi sicer povečini ravnodušnih domačinov (Vuga, 2016). Oblikovanje družbeno-dostopnih prostorov z ne-izključevalnim značajem je namreč ena izmed bistvenih smernic načel sodobnega urbanega upravljanja (Verovšek et al., 2015, 122), katere ignoriranje je bilo v socialističnem sistemu še toliko težje razumljivo. Izgubo funkcionalnega mestnega prostora je skušala občinska oblast v tedanjem kontekstu sicer nadomestiti s »samoupravnim« pogojem, da se v iskanje prostorske rešitve za razširitev igralnice vključi predstavnike Skupnosti krajevnih skupnosti in se jo prestavi v nadomestni objekt, s čimer bi se hotelski vrt ponovno sprostil za potrebe meščanov, a do tega ni prišlo.⁵⁰

47 PANG-104, 06/B-1/90-1, Pregled uresničevanja razvojne strategije občine Nova Gorica v letih 1987–1989, 4.

48 Primorske novice, 21. 12. 1984: Delati v igralnici, 8.

49 Primorske novice, 15. 6. 1990: Novogoriški Las Vegas rojeva mlade, 7.

50 PANG-104, 06/B-1/86, I, Zapisnik 11. seje občinskega izvršnega sveta, 18. 7. 1986.



Slika 5: Razglednica Nove Gorice s konca osemdesetih let, nedatirana (PANG-667, razglednica št. 1190)

Figure 5: Postcard of Nova Gorica from the late 1980s, undated (PANG-667, postcard n. 1190)

Vodstvo podjetja HIT je pri svojih načrtih o dozidavah naletelo tudi na neodobranje stanovalcev bližnjih stanovanjskih blokov, saj so ti s svojimi pritožbami ustavili izdajo gradbenega dovoljenja, v katerem je sicer SO NG predvidevala namembnost objekta le za dobo petih let. Najbolj pereč problem je bilo pomanjkanje parkirnih mest, saj je večina od tudi 3000 dnevniških obiskovalcev prihajala s svojimi avtomobili, tako da se je do tedaj mirna okolica hotela Park spremenila v kaotično prometno površino, kar je HIT v dogovoru z občinskim izvršnim svetom nekoliko omilil šele z izgradnjo novega parkirišča leta 1990 (HIT – Deset let, 1994, 9).

Še pred tem pa se je že resno razpravljalo tudi o treh možnih novih lokacijah igralnice: med ulico Gradnikove brigade, Vojkovo in Kidričevo cesto; na Parkovšču; ali celo pri Vrtojbi. Za prvo variantno je bil že izveden natečaj, a do nadaljnjih korakov, zaradi propada dogovora med HIT-om in njegovim ameriškim partnerjem, ni prišlo.⁵¹ Potencialne lokacije ob načrtovani avtocesti pa kažejo, da je bil igralniški turizem že takrat skoraj popolnoma ločen od preostalega mestnega življenja ali pa je bilo slednje za obiskovalce celo moteče (Vuga,

2016). Argumenti o pozitivni povezavi med modernim urbanizmom Nove Gorice in prostorskimi pogoji igralništva, s katerimi so v šestdesetih letih lokalne oblasti podpirale svoje načrte, niso zdržali, prihajajočih hazarderjev pa niso pritegnile niti ostale točke interesa oz., kot so ugotavljali kasneje, je postalo jasno, »da večine obiskovalcev teh igralnic samo mesto in njegova regija kot turistična destinacija z lastno zgodovino in značilno identiteto ne zanimata kaj dosti« (Prekovič, 2001, 742). A do začetka devetdesetih let je donosna dejavnost, katere širitev so pri HIT-u utemeljevali z v občinskih planih opredeljeno usmeritvijo v izvozno gospodarstvo, ostala in končno obvladala dogajanje na Delpinovi ulici ter kmalu postala tudi ena izmed dominant mestnega prostora kot celote. Če še ne toliko v svoji fizični, pa vse bolj v konstrukciji svoje simbolne podobe v smislu prizorišča imaginarnega in fantazijskega dogajanja (cf. Selwyn, 1996).

Ko govorimo o ustvarjanju »imidža« nekega mesta se moramo zavedati, da konec osemdesetih let še ni bil čas t. i. urbanega menedžmenta (gl. Bačilija, 2011) oz. »place branding«, ki se je močno razširil z vzponom

⁵¹ PANG-104, 06/B-1,89-01, IX, Obrazložitev dosedanjih aktivnosti v zvezi z razširitvijo igralnice in drugih objektov HIT-a na obstoječi lokaciji. 16. 2. 1989.

neoliberalizma v naslednjih desetletjih (gl. Colomb, 2012, 11–38). Vendarle pa lahko spremembe v reprezentaciji Nove Gorice že zaznamo prek razglednic kot osnovnega sredstva konstrukcije turistične podobe kraja. Prve razglednice Nove Gorice ustvarjajo vzdušje prijetnega skupnostnega življenja v novih, lepo urejenih soseskah (slika 1). Tiste, ki so nastale v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih, prikazujejo živahno prometno os, reprezentativne objekte, zelene ambiente in skoraj v vseh primerih tudi spomenike partizanom in osebnostim iz preteklega političnega ter kulturnega življenja (slika 4). Fotografirani portreti se torej ujemajo z vizijo prostorskega odraza socialistične modernosti v kombinaciji s poudarkom na pglavitnih krajih spomina, vezanih na konstitutivne točke narodne in revolucionarne zgodovine. Bolj kot pa se bližamo koncu osemdesetih let, več razglednic posreduje zapeljivo podobo nočnih panoram in fotografij posameznih zabaviščnih objektov. Sporočilo o urbanistični strukturi modernega mesta in njegovi glavni arhitekturni pomniki pa so že močno potisnjeni v ozadje, dokler ni naposled popolnoma prevladal nov estetski režim sanjskega okolja igralnic in z njimi povezanega glamuroznega načina življenja – tudi na tistih z napisih v slovenskem jeziku (slika 5).

SKLEP

Bleščeči igralniški objekti in spremljajoča infrastruktura so danes vizualno izstopajoč, v zavesti meščanov pa s preostalo teksturo mesta že zlit element, katerega prisotnost je pravzaprav postala eden izmed glavnih prostorskih pomnikov Nove Gorice. Z ozirom na radikalne spremembe v urbanem tkivu v nekdanjih socialističnih državah, ki so nastale kot posledica intenzivnih intervencij kapitala (gl. Czepczinsky, 2008), bi nas takšen razvoj ne presenetil, v kolikor bi govorili zgolj o rezultatu ekonomske tranzicije iz devetdesetih let. Toda v primeru novega mesta ob meji, postavljenega kot nadomestno regionalno središče in obenem konstituiranega kot protipol kapitalistični organizaciji urbanega življenja, lahko sledimo transformacijam ekonomske strukture in družbenih praks že za časa (poznega) socializma. Z novim mednarodnim položajem Jugoslavije in njenim odpiranjem na Zahod je nekdanji »svetilnik« ne meji dveh ideoloških sistemov že v zgodnji fazi svojega razvoja izgubil značaj izločbenega okna socializma oz. postal točka prehajanja ljudi, idej in blaga med v svet odprto Jugoslavijo in

njeno zahodno sosedo Italijo.

S tem je prišlo tudi do sprememb v sektorju turizma in gostinstva, katerega usmerjanje je bilo v Jugoslaviji pod izrazito političnim vplivom. Sčasoma se je ustvarila ponudba, očitno usmerjena k potrošnikom iz premožnega zaledja severne Italije, a kljub temu ne v njihovi popolni domeni, zato so modernistični urbani prostor in posamezne postmodernistične intervencije v njem služili kot ambient srečevanja ne le ljudi iz obmejnega območja, ampak tudi iz notranjosti Slovenije in Jugoslavije ter drugih tranzitnih obiskovalcev. V ta čas uvajanja tržnih principov v jugoslovansko ekonomijo v sredini šestdesetih let sodijo tudi prvi poskusi vzpostavitve igralniške dejavnosti po zgledu dobičkonosnega Casinoja v Portorožu. Pobuda za krepitev tega dela turistične ponudbe, močno nasprotujoče socialističnim vrednotam, je ves čas prihajala z lokalnega nivoja, na katerega so se z ugodnimi ponodbami obračali tuji in tudi domači investitorji. Da že tedaj ni prišlo do realizacije teh načrtov, niso bili posredi ideološki razlogi, ampak predvsem logika stroge regulacije in omejevanja konkurence, ki so se je držale republiške oblasti.

Tudi eksplozijo igralništva v osemdesetih letih so sprožili lokalni faktorji v bistveno spremenjenih ekonomskih okoliščinah v poznosocialistični Jugoslaviji, ki se je ubadala s kroničnim pomanjkanjem trdnih valut. Čeprav je bila ta dejavnost v izhodišču videna samo kot dopolnilni način popolnjevanja slabo zasedenih hotelskih kapacitet, se je že v nekaj letih izkazala kot izjemno uspešen način izvajanja deviz od množice prihajajočih dnevnih oz. nočnih obiskovalcev z italijanske strani meje, kmalu pa tudi od drugod. S tem dejstvom lahko najbolj prepričljivo pojasnimo odsotnost kakršnihkoli resnih političnih pomislekov proti množičnemu razvoju te dejavnosti, ki se je tudi dobro ujela s kulturnimi spremembami v tedanji Italiji, domačinom pa ostajala nedostopna. Določena nasprotovanja so se pojavila v ožjem lokalnem okolju, ki je na eni strani ohranjalo sistem starih družbenih praks, po drugi strani pa sprejelo delo v igralniško-zabavišni industriji kot priložnost za odličen zaslužek. Prirejanje »posebnih iger na srečo«, kot je jugoslovanska zakonodaja evfemistično poimenovala organizacijo hazarda za tujce, se je tako že pred propadom socialističnega sistema dodobra usidralo v najbolj zahodnem mestu v državi. Temu je sledila tudi uradna propaganda, ki v zadnjih letih starega režima ni več imela pomislekov ustvarjati privida sveta kapitalističnega užitka v nekdanjem mestu socialistične utopije.

CASINO IN THE SOCIALIST TOWN: THE ORIGINS OF THE GAMBLING INDUSTRY AND THE SOCIOECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION OF NOVA GORICA

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SUMMARY

The article analyses spatial and societal consequences of gambling industry, which emerged in the 1980s in the town of Nova Gorica on the border between Italy and Yugoslavia. Built as the modernist counterpart to the old town, which remained in capitalist Italy in 1947, Nova Gorica initially posed as the showpiece of socialism, but experienced metamorphosis of its identity even before the socialist Yugoslavia was over. The author presents the ideological and political circumstances, which influenced the transformation of the socialist modernist town into a place of consumption and questionable entertainment. While until the 1970s, tourist infrastructure was intended to attract both domestic and foreign tourists, the new Casino opened in 1984 was designed for foreign citizens only. By introducing the American model of gambling, it became an instant success and attracted 1.3 million mostly Italian visitors until 1990. As one of the main sources of the much-needed hard currency, it was supported by the entrepreneurial and local political elites, which also relinquished some principles of "socialist" spatial governance to give way for its extensions. Even though, Casino facilities functioned as an isolated enclave, it became a generator of changes in the system of socialist values and paved the way for the gambling boom in Nova Gorica in the 1990s and 2000s.

Keywords: Nova Gorica, gambling industry, modernist urbanism, HIT, Yugoslav economy

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- AS-223** – Arhiv Republike Slovenije (AS), Vlada Republike Slovenije (fond 223).
- AS-233** – AS, Ministrstvo za gradnje LRS (fond 233).
- AS-2104** – AS, Republiški sekretariat za finance Socialistične republike Slovenije (fond 2104).
- GK-OD** – Goriška knjižnica Franceta Bevka, Oddelek za domoznanstvo.
- GM-OZ** – Goriški muzej, fototeka oddelka za zgodovino.
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DIVINE COMMAND ETHICS, COSMOPOLITANISM, FUNDAMENTALISM AND DIALOGUE

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ABSTRACT

The paper aims to investigate the relationship between divine command theory of morality, ethical cosmopolitanism framework and correlated challenges pertaining to the questions of a plausible universalism and dialogue in the globalized world. The methods used include an analysis of commitments of divine command ethics and claims about objectivity and authority of morality. Next, a compatibility between divine command ethics and cosmopolitan framework is investigated. The main claim is that divine command ethics is not committed to and does not succumb to fundamentalism or unjustified absolutism and that a proper understanding varieties of universalism reveals this.

Keywords: divine command ethics, moral obligation, cosmopolitanism, universalism, fundamentalism, dialogue

ETICA DEL COMANDO DIVINO, COSMOPOLITISMO, FONDAMENTALISMO E DIALOGO

SINTESI

Il lavoro ha voluto analizzare il rapporto tra la teoria del comando divino, il quadro etico del cosmopolitismo e le sfide legate alla domanda di universalismo e di dialogo plausibili in un mondo globalizzato. I metodi usati comprendono l'analisi degli impegni richiesti dall'etica del comando divino e la richiesta di obiettività e di autorità della morale. Viene quindi analizzata la compatibilità tra l'etica del comando divino e l'ambito cosmopolita. La conclusione principale è che l'etica del comando divino non implica a e non si confonde con il fondamentalismo o con l'assolutismo ingiustificato, come mostrato da una corretta comprensione della varietà dell'universalismo.

Parole chiave: etica del comando divino, obbligo morale, cosmopolitismo, universalismo, fondamentalismo, dialogo

INTRODUCTION

The paper investigates the relationship between divine command theory of morality, ethical cosmopolitanism framework and correlated challenges pertaining to the questions of the rationality of religious commitment, plausible universalism, and dialogue in the globalized world. After presenting a key tenor behind divine command ethics and ethical cosmopolitanism, a question about the compatibility of both ethical frameworks is posed. This is an important question for the challenges of the globalized world, in which we see tendencies of different religious fundamentalisms and prevalence of some collective identities. The claim will be that divine command ethics is not committed to and does not succumb to fundamentalism or unjustified absolutism and that a proper understanding of divine command ethics, religious commitment and varieties of universalism reveals this. At the end, some consequences of this for the debate on dialogue are addressed.

DIVINE COMMAND ETHICS AND AUTHORITY OF OBLIGATION

In this section, the paper defines the basic characteristics of a moderate divine command theory. In this endeavour it relies primarily on the work of Stephen Evans in his recent book *God and Moral Obligation* (2013). The reason is not that Evans is alone in defending divine command ethics, on the contrary, we are witnessing its wide revival.¹ Divine command theory of morality was for the most part of the development of the 20th century moral theory not considered as a particularly viable. Its recent revival is partly due to the fact that divine command ethics is particularly well suited to accommodate some of the central aspects of morality, including its phenomenology, especially those related to authority of moral obligation.

In elaborating a viable divine command ethics account, it is best to start with an ontological understanding of divine command theory, according to which moral obligations depend on God ontologically (God is thus the ground of moral obligations) and God as a command-giver represents the best explanation of objective moral obligations. This is different from a somewhat less plausible epistemic claim that one cannot believe and have knowledge of moral obligations without the belief

in God. Further details of a former view can be spelled out in different ways. One prosperous manner to do so is to further spell it out as the claim that moral obligations are or express divine requirements, as “God’s will for humans insofar as that will has been communicated to them” (Evans, 2013, 25) and thus as commands of a good and loving God. This view is narrow in a sense that it does not presuppose that there cannot be any ethical truths that do not depend on God and also it is primarily focused on aspects of moral obligation. In a somehow similar manner Audi (2011) closely relates divine command theory with the notion of a moral authority of God as part of the religious commitment of an individual. In the ontological terms, one can thus claim that e.g. the property of obligatoriness of actions can be equivalent to the property of divine commandedness. Divine commandedness can also be understood as divine commandability in the sense that it is not necessarily that every obligatory act is understood as being commanded by God, but merely that it is commandable, i.e. of being eligible to be commanded by omniscient, omnipotent and perfectly good and loving God.

One prominent feature of divine command ethics is that it can easily accommodate and explain the authoritative nature of moral obligations. This characteristic of moral obligation was persuasively exposed by Elizabeth Anscombe in her famous essay on modern moral philosophy (1958), marking the turn towards rejuvenation of virtue ethics in the second part of 20th century. Anscombe emphasizes several distinctive features of obligation or an “ought”, among them its law-like aspect.² The basic tenets of such a view can be summarized as the claim that moral obligations (as experienced and as part of moral discourse) have a unique character, which any moral theory that attempts to explain obligation must illuminate and accommodate in the explanation offered (cf. Evans, 2013, 12). The mentioned unique character is closely related to objectivity, authority, universality, the verdict on the action, accompanying motivational pull and a close connection to phenomena of responsibility, blameworthiness, and punishment.³

Moral judgments involve a feeling of their objectivity; they seem independent of our interests and desires; it appears as if their force comes from outside (that they have external origin) i.e. from the relevant moral circumstances that exert

1 Among them are the works of Robert Adams (1999), Philip Quinn (1979; 1990) and most recently John E. Hare (2015).

2 Anscombe proposed the following diagnosis: “But they [i.e. terms like ‘ought’ or ‘should’; n. VS] have now acquired a special so-called ‘moral’ sense-i.e. a sense in which they imply some absolute verdict (like one of guilty/ not guilty on a man) on what is described in the ‘ought’ sentences used in certain types of context: not merely the contexts that Aristotle would call ‘moral’ – passions and actions – but also some of the contexts that he would call ‘intellectual’. The ordinary (and quite indispensable) terms ‘should’, ‘needs’, ‘ought’, ‘must’ – acquired this special sense by being equated in the relevant contexts with ‘is obliged’, or ‘is bound’, or ‘is required to’, in the sense in which one can be obliged or bound by law, or something can be required by law” (Anscombe, 1958, 5).

3 This is also the central question that Korsgaard addresses in *The Sources of Normativity* (1996). She exposes the special nature of obligation in the following way: “the day will come, for most of us, when what morality commands, obliges or recommends is hard: that we share decisions with people whose intelligence or integrity do not inspire our confidence; that we assume grave responsibilities to which we feel inadequate; that we sacrifice our lives, or voluntarily relinquish what makes them sweet” (Korsgaard, 1996, 9).

pressure on us to act in a certain way, limiting the range of our choices; the agent experiences a felt-demand on behaviour (Potrč & Strahovnik, 2014, 162).

It is this special character which is driving Anscombe's astonishment about a modern concept of obligation, which was not at all so prominent in ancient Greek ethics. And this is why she explicitly relates such a conception of moral obligation with a law-like character of morality, a law-conception of moral obligation and God as a law-giver, and further pinpoints Christianity as an origin of it.

How did this [i.e. such conception of an 'ought' and obligation; n. VS] come about? The answer is in history: between Aristotle and us came Christianity, with its law conception of ethics. For Christianity derived its ethical notions from the Torah. [...] To have a law conception of ethics is to hold that what is needed for conformity with the virtues failure in which is the mark of being bad qua man (and not merely, say, qua craftsman or logician) - that what is needed for this, is required by divine law. Naturally it is not possible to have such a conception unless you believe in God as a law-giver; like Jews, Stoics, and Christians. But if such a conception is dominant for many centuries, and then is given up, it is a natural result that the concepts of 'obligation', of being bound or required as by a law, should remain though they had lost their root; and if the word "ought" has become invested in certain contexts with the sense of 'obligation', it too will remain to be spoken with a special emphasis and a special feeling in these contexts (Anscombe, 1958, 5–6).

Anscombe's further proposal is quite radical, i.e. that modern moral philosophy should drop such a conception of obligation, mainly because the law conception of morality lack justification, given that God does not play the role of the law-giver anymore and furthermore such a groundless conception can also be harmful. But this is just one possible route to take out of this apparent dilemma. Another option is to take the above mentioned experiential aspects of moral obligation seriously (together with the platitudes that Anscombe is relating with the notions of ought and obligation), and try looking hard at which moral theory (or theories) can accommodate them in their fullest sense. This is part of what motivates the return of divine command ethics.

Among the strengths of divine command theory is the one that it can easily accommodate the above mentioned aspects of the moral obligation related to

authority and objectivity. First, divine command theory is an objectivist theory in the sense that there is a truth of the matter about the content of moral demands. Secondly, given the presupposition that God created human beings in a way that their final goal is establishing the relationship with God, then establishing and maintaining such relationship is of supreme importance. And if moral obligations are part of this relationship, then this readily explains their importance and overridingness. Third, according to this theory the motivating power of moral obligations emerges out of our tendency to satisfy the requirements of a supreme being to which we owe gratitude and whose love for us is such that we can enjoy eternal happiness in communion. And lastly, since all human being are understood as God's creatures, thus all participate in social relation that grounds universality of moral obligations (Evans, 2013; Audi, 2011).

Formulated in this way, i.e. divine command theory of morality as the foundation for explicating moral obligation, such a theory is also compatible with other types of moral theories and normative frameworks, complementing them and accommodating other aspects of morality. It is thus compatible and complementary with natural law approach and virtue ethics since the former could represent a viable ground for a theory of value and the latter a basis for a theory of character (Evans, 2013, 54–87).⁴

But how does such a view fare in relation to the pluralistic nature of a globalized and plural world? Can a viable moral universalism sustain divine command ethics? Is such a conception of morality also compatible with ethical cosmopolitanism and its basic tenets? How do different religious traditions fall into such a picture? We turn our attention to these matters now.

ETHICAL COSMOPOLITANISM

Contemporary ethical cosmopolitanism arises on the basis of a recognition of living in a "world of strangers" (Appiah, 2007) and at the same time possessing the means to affect the lives of others, to get to know those lives and confront different ways of living. Within such a context K. A. Appiah puts forward an influential defence of cosmopolitanism, in which he attempts to reconcile liberal universalism and cultural relativism. The result is a comprehensive account of ethical cosmopolitanism.

One of the aspects of the phenomenon of globalization is the increasing interconnectedness and interdependence of the world as a whole in all of the aspects of human life. The most pertinent challenges that the humankind is facing, e.g. climate change and other environmental pressures toward a planet that cannot grow, economic questions and migration issues, the global rule of law and protection of basic human rights, the proper

⁴ This then goes against Anscombe's "either-or" position, which she uses as a basis for the argument and an appeal towards developing virtue account of morality as a substitute to existing contemporary moral theories.

role and effectiveness of international organizations and many others are global in their nature and demand a global response (Singer, 2004).

Such a response is only possible as a result of dialogue and cooperation between communities across the globe. The ethical dimensions of this process are related mainly to the questions of what we owe to other members of this global community and on which grounds can we develop common understanding.⁵ Several authors⁶ have started to address the issues mentioned from the distinctively global perspective, also in ethics. Based on such presuppositions some authors started to defend cosmopolitanism as a possible solution (or at least a first step towards such a solution) to the mentioned challenges or as a proper perspective for ethical discourse given the global framework. In most cases this is a defence of a version of ethical cosmopolitanism as a view that we have obligations and responsibilities to others in a global world, and not necessarily a political cosmopolitanism (defending an idea of some kind of concrete global polity, world government and citizenship), cultural cosmopolitanism (a kind of an open-minded interest in different cultures and ideas about an emerging universalistic culture), critical cosmopolitanism or other types of cosmopolitanism.

Appiah starts with an initial assumption that the need to accept ethical cosmopolitanism emerges out of recognition of a fact that we possess the means both to get to know about the lives of others and to substantially affect these lives, which establishes responsibility on our side. His preferred account of “rooted” ethical cosmopolitanism encompasses two related ideas, namely (i) universal concern: that we have obligation to others, to all “citizens of the cosmos” so that this set extends beyond that of members of our country, kind, race, class, social group, etc., and (ii) legitimate difference: that we have to value lives of others in a sense of taking an interest in the practices and beliefs that they cultivate and find important (Appiah, 2007, xi–xiii). Both of these ideas can also clash among each other. One of the presuppositions of such a position is also that at least some values are universal across cultures and societies, though their comparative importance or ranking is most usually left open. Such universal values are correlated with basic human needs; in the background of basic values is a belief that “we all have a good reason to do or to think or feel certain things in certain context, and so, have reasons to encourage these acts and thoughts and feelings in

others” (Appiah, 2007, 26). We use the very language of values in order to coordinate our lives with another, given the interconnectedness of the world, every community, culture, tradition, civilization is important for revealing to us the values that were possibly unrevealed till now and ways of leading lives in accordance with these values. A conclusion from all this for ethical cosmopolitanism is a very optimistic one:

Armed with these terms, fortified in a shared language of value, we can often guide one another, in the cosmopolitan spirit, to shared responses; and when we cannot agree, the understanding that our responses are shaped by some of the same vocabulary can make it easier to agree to disagree (Appiah, 2007, 30).

But it is precisely the disagreement that often is the source of problems and conflict. It is therefore crucial to analyse its nature and offer a model of a moral dialogue in order to resolve conflicts and overcome disagreements. How is this disagreement strengthened within the perspective of divine command ethics? Moral disagreement can be defined as a situation in which the parties involved agree upon and have sufficient understanding of all the facts, but nonetheless disagree what the morally appropriate attitude toward some object of evaluation (action, practice, tradition, situation, outlook, ...) is.

Appiah identifies three main sources or kinds of moral disagreement. Either (i) the two parties fail to share a common evaluative vocabulary, or (ii) they might share it but gave it a different interpretation, or (iii) they can assign different weight to particular values. Either way, it seems that in a cross-cultural or trans-cultural dialogue we will be left with a considerable moral disagreement. Divine command ethics faces similar issues regarding a plausible universalism and possible disagreements between different religions and religious traditions. The responses could also be analogous.

Both defenders of cosmopolitanism and proponents of divine command ethics can argue first, that there can be a disagreement about why we should do something and at the same time agreement about what to do (disagreement in reasons vs disagreement on reasons; cf. Audi, 2014). In other words, some disagreements are benign in practice. Second, the role of reasoned argument resulting in agreement about values is often exaggerated. And at last, most of the conflicts that the

5 “The main problem is the lack of dialogue on these questions. All partners lack the willingness to train the ways of dialogue. ... Yet global development demands dialogue and cooperation. It seems there is no way than living dialogue about the civic and cultural foundations of our development” (Juhant, 2010, 49–50).

6 Among them e.g. John Rawls, Peter Singer, K. A. Appiah, Marta Nussbaum, Seyla Benhabib, David Held, Peter Unger and others. In this vein Nussbaum argues: “If our world is to be a decent world in the future, we must acknowledge right now that we are citizens of one interdependent world, held together by mutual fellowship as well as the pursuit of mutual advantage, by compassion as well as self-interest, by a love of human dignity in all people, even when there is nothing we have to gain from cooperating with them. Or rather, even when what we have to gain is the biggest thing of all: participation in a just and morally decent world” (Nussbaum, 2006, 324).

humankind faces today are not the result of conflicting values and moral disagreement at all (Appiah, 2007, 45–67). Instead of clinging to unsuccessful attempts to overcome moral disagreement Appiah as a defender of ethical cosmopolitanism expresses what could be called *the primacy of practice optimism*, a view according to which we can “agree about practices while disagreeing about their justification” (Appiah, 2007, 70). For example, we can agree that we should allow people to exercise the freedom to express their religious belief without agreeing on the grounds for this. The point of cross-cultural dialogue is most often even not that of coming to agree about values but to learn about others and their values. It is the practice that changes things and ameliorates problems and conflicts. But, one could reply, that the most pressing problems arise exactly when we disagree about practice and when it seems that the source of this is the disagreement in justification. The tragedy of the world is, one might object, on the other hand, that practices might easily go the other way, even to a point of being morally evil. This is the core of the primacy of practice optimism that cosmopolitanism defends. For cosmopolitanism it is the practices and not principles or values that enable us to live together in peace. Appiah is therefore defending that practice(s) changes things and overcomes conflicts and not reasonable argument. The condition for this is that there is enough overlapping between cultures and peoples and that there is enough contact between them; if those conditions are fulfilled the optimistic cosmopolitan picture will start to realize itself. Cosmopolitanism thus is a kind of universalism that usually includes among core virtues tolerance (together with intolerance against actions and practices that are evil), intellectual modesty and fallibilism, curiosity, openness to new things, responsiveness, and pluralism. The rationality of religious commitment exposes exactly the need for such virtues to complement it. Recognizing and being responsive to other is then the basis for a deeper dialogue with others that goes beyond a mere acquaintance with other cultures and traditions out of some very general cosmopolitan curiosity.

Is the above describe divine command ethics framework at all compatible with cosmopolitanism and dialogic universalism? The answer depends on whether it can avoid fundamentalism and absolutism, and on the other hand harbour moderate moral universalism.

DIVINE COMMAND ETHICS BETWEEN FUNDAMENTALISM, ABSOLUTISM AND UNIVERSALISM

Ethical cosmopolitanism is clearly committed to a sort of universalism and a similar presupposition is plausible regarding divine command ethics. MacIntyre, and he is not alone in this, warns us before unjustified universalism and argues that

[t]he notion of escaping from it [i.e. particularities] into a realm of entirely universal maxims which belong to man as such, whether in its eighteenth century Kantian form or in the presentation of some modern analytical philosophies, is an illusion and an illusion with painful consequences. When men and women identify what are in fact their partial and particular causes too easily and too completely with the cause of some universal principle, they usually behave worse than they would otherwise do (MacIntyre, 1981, 221).

To briefly reiterate MacIntyre’s worry; is such universalism in this model at all feasible? In order to answer this, it will prove useful to look at a comprehensive and useful understanding of different kinds or types or universalism. We can differentiate between different types of universalism, namely: (a) *essentialist universalism*: fundamental human nature and human essence enables us to derive universal moral truths, norms, and standards of life; (b) *justificatory universalism*: on the basis of normative content of human reason we can use generally valid forms of cognition and justificatory strategies to justify universally valid moral norms; (c) *moral universalism*: all human beings, independently of race, status, religious belief, etc. are entitled to the equal moral respect or dignity; (d) *legal (juridical) universalism*: even in the absence of essentialist universalism, we must recognize basic human rights to all persons based on the legitimacy of social and legal systems (Benhabib, 2011, 62–64).⁷ Legal universalism presupposes justificatory universalism and the latter presupposes moral universalism (since justificatory universalism presupposes recognition of dialogic freedom of others, which on the level of moral universalism means recognition of equal dialogic respect to others), while between all those there is not a simple relation of constitution, in

⁷ Benhabib uses this framework to defend her approach to human rights based global ethics. First, one should make justification for them and their theoretical foundations more robust and at the same time extend their scope (e.g. in contrast to some other viewpoint, such as the one by Rawls (1999), which limits their scope to the right to life, the right to freedom, the right to property and the right to formal equality) and thus move away from minimalism. Minimalism is on the one hand very appealing position since it places its hopes to manage to get to an overlapping consensus on the core of human rights and basic moral principles, without having to presuppose any particular standing point. Benhabib opts for a different approach and defends a single foundational human right, which is the “right to have rights”, which is a right of every human being to be recognized by others (and to recognize others in turn) as a person entitled to moral respect and legally protected rights in human community (Benhabib, 2011, 59–60) on the basis of a common humanity. Human rights derived from such foundation at the same time determine moral principles that protect the communicative or dialogical freedom of an individual. But human rights are only one domain with which we can relate concerns about a plausible universalism.

the sense that one can also, reversely, derive a set of basic human rights that must be legally recognized out of moral universalism itself.

In order for a moral position to be plausible and avoid essentialism, absolutism, and foundationalism, one can defend moral and justificatory universalism as founded on the theory of dialogue and dialogical freedom. Dialogic justification is based on justification through which we – “you and I, in dialogue, must convince each other of the validity of certain norms” (Benhabib, 2011, 67) and that requires the assumption of respect of dialogic/discursive freedom, on the basis of which one can only see the other as someone who can accept or reject a certain justification. This model thus begins with the notion of the individual as embedded or immersed in a dialogue, in communication and interaction with others. The role of such dialogue is in forming our life ideals, regulating common living together, and resolution of conflicts. Theories of dialogue and argumentation help us to recognize, that moral dialogue is not a simple, one-dimensional phenomena or process, but that it consists of various justificatory and normative structures and burdens of proof (e.g. convincing, revealing, determining information, intending, negotiation, disputing, etc.) and different kinds of arguments (moral, political, pragmatic, strategic, etc.) (Testa, 2012); at the same time also going beyond mere argumentative or discursive sphere.

An overall outlook, which could harbour all the mentioned perplexities is the approach of dialogic universalism, which was originally developed by David Hollenbach (2002). The approach defends an aspiration for a universally valid ethics, which is established through a process of dialogue as a form of solidarity.⁸ This approach is aware that merely collecting universal ethical components of different cultures and traditions does not necessarily lead to the best set of universal values and justification for them.

Another way, as such in no way incompatible, I see it rather as complementary to the first, is to try to find the set of values acceptable as values for every rational person or culture. It is this last group to which Nussbaum's and capability ethics efforts in general belong. [...] There obtain universals of human condition as such that demand cultivation of values that share important universal features in order to make possible flourishing of individuals and societies. All people as such are subjected to some common limitations or problems we must cope with: we will all die, we are all as bodily creatures vulnerable, we all need recognition, etc. Successful coping with these limitations are rational values that are shared by most if not all of us (Žalec, 2008, 55).

One charge that it is often raised against divine command theory is a charge of absolutism and (religious) fundamentalism. But this applies merely to some extreme formulations of divine command theory, which take God's will as a direct basis for moral obligations and conjoin with that usually only revelation in some concrete form as an epistemic origin of our knowledge of these obligations. If we define religious fundamentalism in relation to morality as a stance that takes revelation, sacred text or some other moral authority as an absolute, definite and final form of all (moral) truth, while at the same time not even being willing to consider other views, then we can argue that the divine command theory of morality does not need to fall within such a domain. We can return to the virtues noted above (tolerance, intellectual modesty, fallibilism, curiosity, responsiveness, pluralism, etc.) and complement them with divine command ethics. One suggestion is to point to several possible epistemic routes to moral beliefs and truths one understand as framing the basis of a moral outlook. Recognizing something as a divine command or as being divinely commendable is not a prerequisite for moral knowledge.

The existence of many non-theological ways of apprehending and discovering our obligations might enhance the probability of right conduct for both theist and non-theist; they would each have more ways to discover it, including, of course, non-religious ways. For religious people, a diversity of routes to moral discovery and moral knowledge might reinforce moral conduct (Žalec, 2011, 139).

Hare argues in this very direction that:

there is no conceptual requirement to connect divine command theory with fundamentalism, Christian or Muslim or Jewish. [...] As a meta-ethical theory, divine command theory does not tell us what the commands of God in fact are. But it gives no ground for inferring that these commands will be any less or any more liberal than the prescriptions generated by the various versions of natural law. Having said that, however, it is also true that a theory that has an honoured place for both revelation and reason will find conversation with other traditions easier to sustain (Hare, 2015, 187).

As a consequence of this one can add that “it may be possible not only to indicate how a religious commitment can be combined with a plausible ethical view, but also to bring divine command and secular perspectives

⁸ The view is discussed in-depth by Žalec (2008) and also coupled with ethics of capabilities. Solidarity must be understood in a wider sense, including experiential solidarity since “[o]ur aim ought to be to participate on the experience of the other and we should help other to participate in our intellectual and emotional life too. Intellectual participation is the realization of a genuine dialogue” (Žalec, 2008, 37).

closer together and at the same time facilitate communication and debate in moral matters between religious and non-religious people" (Audi, 2011, 140)

Divine command theory of morality thus can accommodate moral disagreement, since the existence of disagreement is not a decisive argument against moral objectivity, but can be on the other hand a mark of engagement in a genuine moral dialogue in search for the right answers or at least acceptable ones. Another reason to understand divine command ethics as non-fundamentalist is that it is usually formed and accepted in a dialogic stance of the believer which accepts it. In the Christian tradition this means the embodiment of the "call – answer" model, based on an understanding of God as a limitless closeness, which included an experience of this closeness on the side of the believer and a response on her or his side (Petkovšek, 2016). It is the human refusal to accept basic truth about the self that can lead to psychopathologies, violence and non-compassion. "Religious fundamentalism (and the vio-

lence originating from it, e.g. terrorism) is a disturbance on the vertical axis human – God" (Žalec, 2015, 223; cf. Bellinger, 2008), which means that a fundamentalist neglects other dimensions of human life (e.g. social dimension or individual, biographical dimension) and accepts a static – and in this regard non-dialogical and non-open – mode of existence. This is also a reason that e.g. religious traditions like Judaism, Christianity, Islam can be part of the non-absolutist, cosmopolitan ethics.

The above described dialogic universalism is an overall position that arises out of moral universalism (as a thesis about the common humanity and dignity that derives from it) and at the same time providing the space for dialogue and dialogical freedom regarding basic moral principles together with the content of moral obligations that can be subsequently amended with mid-level principles that would contextualize the former. Parts of this dialogic sphere could be occupied by divine command ethics, especially those ones that are related to moral obligations.

ETIKA BOŽJEGA UKAZA, KOZMOPOLITIZEM, FUNDAMENTALIZEM IN DIALOG

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POVZETEK

Prispevek razišče več razsežnosti etike božjega ukaza ter jih poveže z razmisleki o posebni naravi moralne obveznosti, ki vključuje objektivnost in avtoriteto. V nadaljevanju je etika božjega ukaza vzporejana s ključnimi vidiki etičnega kozmopolitizma, s ciljem vzpostaviti skladnost med obema. Naslovljena so vprašanja o racionalnosti verske zavezanosti, prepričljivosti univerzalizma in dialoga v globaliziranem svetu. Ta vprašanja so pomembna za izzive globaliziranega sveta, v katerem vidimo težnje različnih verskih fundamentalizmov in prevlado izbranih kolektivnih identitet. Glavna teza je, da etika božjega ukaza ni zavezana in ne podleže fundamentalizmu ali neutemeljenemu absolutizmu ter da to razkrije ustrezno razumevanje etike božjega ukaza, verske zavezanosti in vrst univerzalizma. Na koncu so izpostavljene nekatere posledice za razpravo o dialogu.

Ključne besede: etika božjega ukaza, moralna obveznost, kozmopolitizem, univerzalizem, fundamentalizem, dialog

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HOSPITALITIES OF THE BODY: ON MATERIALISM AND SPIRITUALITY IN THE PHILOSOPHICAL TRADITIONS OF EUROPE AND ASIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with a crosscultural analysis of the phenomenon of breath in both Western and Eastern contexts. First, it brings to the fore two contemporary examples of an intercultural thought – of François Jullien and Kuang-Ming Wu. It critically approaches the first and shows the ethical relevance of the latter. On this ground, this paper then offers an innovative approach towards thinking of the body, called ethical anatomy of the body. In the second section of the paper, an original ethical platform is offered for the ethics of proximity, based on breath. In the third section, we bring to the fore Luce Irigaray's original philosophy of the breath, also by indicating the relevance of her idea of the coming »Age of the Spirit«.

Keywords: breath, Luce Irigaray, ethical anatomy, hospitality, François Jullien, Kuang-Ming Wu, *prana*, *qi*

LE OSPITALITÀ DEL CORPO: SUL MATERIALISMO E SULLA SPIRITUALITÀ NELLA TRADIZIONE FILOSOFICA EUROPEA ED ASIATICA

SINTESI

L'articolo tratta l'analisi transculturale del fenomeno del respiro nella tradizione filosofica dell'Occidente e dell'Oriente ed inizia con la presentazione di due casi attuali del pensiero interculturale di Jullien François e di Wu Kuang-Ming. I due elementi basilari, l'approccio critico verso il primo e la rilevanza etica del secondo, lasciano spazio nel prosieguo all'importanza etica del corpo, rappresentata con il sintagma anatomia etica del corpo. Nella seconda parte dell'articolo viene presentata la piattaforma innovativa per l'etica della vicinanza, che si basa sul respiro. La terza ed ultima parte è dedicata alla filosofia di Luce Irigaray ed al suo innovativo concetto del respiro quale categoria etica ed antesignana della nuova »Era del respiro« in arrivo.

Parole chiave: respiro, Luce Irigaray, anatomia etica, ospitalità, François Jullien, Kuang-Ming Wu, *prana*, *qi*

TOWARDS AN ETHICAL ANATOMY OF THE BODY

This paper is an attempt to think in a comparative and crosscultural way what I designate as an *ethical anatomy of the body*. It is also an attempt to think the so called “hospitalities of the body” – as perhaps yet not explored but already present ways of thinking within our everyday ethical lives with and towards others – what we in philosophy designate with the problem of intersubjectivity.

Let me begin with two examples from contemporary intercultural philosophy: first with François Jullien’s *Vital Nourishment* and then with Kuang-Ming Wu’s excellent *On Chinese Bodily Thinking: A Cultural Hermeneutics*. François Jullien claims in his *Vital Nourishment (Nourrir sa vie)* that it is high time now for the ideas on breathing, harmony and nourishment to return to philosophy. Has perhaps really come the time for a new philosophy of the breath, we ask ourselves reading his book. Has new philosophy of the body arisen, one being sensitive to others, being hospitable towards the world? What is hospitality? ... But I think that in his attempt unfortunately fails to open up the ethical dimension of breath, for at a certain point of his explanations he quite unexpectedly comes out with explaining Pablo Picasso’s life and work as follows:

Anyone who intends to create an oeuvre should, I think, heed this motto: one’s work requires one not to “waste” one’s breath-energy. To that end, one must voluntarily (ascetically) withdraw from all the ordinary investments among which one’s vitality would normally be dispersed; one must sacrifice those investments – immorally (or “egotistically”), as others may judge – in order to concentrate on the one goal (Jullien 2007, 78ff).

On first view, we may support his claim. But on a more deep ethical level we cannot. There is no place here to discuss ethical temporality and inherent logic of our ethical gestures towards ourselves and towards others, but clearly, for me, or for you, to offer each other a gift of breath, and hospitality/ies of the body, there is *no time* for me to do so. I am always already caught in an ethical paradox: you, in front of me, posit an ethical demand I cannot postpone to some other moment in time. My body is always here, for you, I offer you all my time, all my possessions. It is my firm opinion that Jullien, in this passage, and, as a consequence, perhaps in his entire thought, collides with the very limit of ethics, a limit that he with his philosophy of vitality and breath unfortunately cannot cross. This is what I could not relate to the hospitalities as offered in and by the body towards it/him/herself and towards the living cosmos, in an intersubjective way.

On the other hand, we breathe entirely different air in Kuang-Ming Wu’s beautiful book (1997). Here we find

the entirely different statement, which I find as a most exact presentation of what I describe with the concept of an *ethical anatomy of the body*. In my opinion, no one has perhaps better articulated what takes place in my (bodily-spiritual) interior than this American-Chinese (intercultural) philosopher. In a complete accord with the realisations of Levinas and Irigaray, as I will indicate later – he points at an ethical logic in utter contrast with Jullien’s realisations, that of a radically hospitable *emptying out* of my “inner” bodily space for the other to *inhabit* it. The medium of this action is *qi* or the vital energy of (cosmic) breath. Kuang-Ming Wu’s ethics of breath can thus be set alongside Luce Irigaray’s thought; the two philosophers also share a critical stance towards Hegel’s version of dialectics and the commitment to intercultural hermeneutics or conversation between Western, Indian and Chinese philosophies. Wu advocates the performative character of philosophy. This means that he always operates in concreteness and situational contexts of what he calls *bodily thinking*. The process of accepting the other into the egomania (or megalomania) of the self is in him illustrated by the syntagm *wombing forth*: a metaphor for the uterus also illustrated by the sixth statement of *Dao de jing* by Lao Zi, where he describes the female principle of all ontology. The womb is thus a symbol of void space, an emptied out place within me, and enables a new life-for-the-other: for Wu any intersubjective act (of ethical or any other order) is based on this gesture of motherhood (*wombing motherliness*) which originates in the uterus, yet it is not only a microcosmical or feminised symbol for the opening of the space of the other in my interior, but is a symbol of an universal respect opening up of the mesocosmic space of breath (*qi*), opened between Heaven and Earth. Thus the destruction of the other (i.e., the possibility of or his/her actual death) wombs me forth towards her/him. This means that my *wombing motherliness*, in its compassionate care, offers the most precious gift one has: the gift of hospitality.

Now, what does an *ethical anatomy of the body* mean? First, it relates closely to the topic of hospitality. Hospitality builds upon compassion; both must be understood and felt as a part of a new *material-maternal-matrixial* ethics. According to Derrida (1977, 55) – and this indeed is the secret core of compassion – “one doesn’t know *why one trembles*”. Ancient Greek, Semitic and Sanskrit words for compassion all testify equally for this ethics of compassion: they all relate us to the most intimate bodily phenomena of trembling for/with the other, such as Greek verb *splagkhnízomai* (“to be moved by visceral compassion”), the Hebrew word *rakhamim* (“matrixial compassion”), or the Sanskrit Vedic and Buddhist terms *rdudara* and *anukampa* (“compassionate inside” and “compassionate co-trembling”). All these sacred words testify for the *inside/uterus/womb* as a locus of compassionate feelings, and also as a locus of hospitality. Secondly, the new philosophical

discipline I wish to offer here, thinks of our body as a locus of ethical gestures, springing forth from our eyes (lamentations), hands (gestures, mudras, caress) and skin (Feuerbach; we feel both joy and sorrow through skin), lungs full of air of alterity, and face/visage as a basic ethical phenomenon (Levinas), heart (as a place where *atman* resides) and, finally, womb, uterus and our body as a whole. Thus conceived these all are primarily ethical organs. Needless to say, most of them coincide with the *chakras* and microcosmic bodily systems of Yoga and Tantra (fig. 1).

Needless to say, these body parts/organs also represent almost all of the ancient Indian “senses” (*pranas*) as foremost precursors of all later Indian epistemology (Samkhya-Yoga, Buddhism). In the Vedic texts (see for example *Kaushitaki Upanishad* II.1) there are twelve *pranas*, or fundamental spiritual-bodily vital powers: besides five *pranas* – i.e., breathing, sight, hearing, speech and thinking, there are also others, such as the taste, the body, hands, legs, the sexual organ and intellect (*prajña*) – which all express an ancient representation of the whole micro- and macrocosmic inter-connectedness of the body, the mind and the surrounding World. In addition to singling out and attributing particular meaning to language – or, rather, speech – among the five human “senses” (speech, sight, hearing, intellect, and breath), *breath* is the one particular *prana*, after which all the other senses in the old idiosyncratic Vedic plural *pranah*, which literally means “breaths” or, metaphorically, “vital powers”, follow.¹

Now, to return to our original thesis: in *The Gift of Death* Derrida inaugurated the new philosophical discipline: the *philosophical symptomatology*. In my paper on extreme suffering of migrants in the Mediterranean (“Requiem for Lampedusa”), I have reflected upon Derrida’s thought as follows: We need to come to that “cause closest to our body, that which means that one trembles or weeps rather than doing something else,” as he puts it (Derrida, 1977, 55). As I state in my passage:

Therefore we have an ethical anatomy of the body: one trembles from the outside (skin) to the inside (viscera, bowels) and vice versa; one laments in the eyes (tears) and in the heart (kardia); then, finally, one breathes with lungs full of the wind of alterity (pneuma) in an inspiration that is yet to come (Levinas). Interiority and exteriority, inside and outside: our tears (and their hidden memory of the primeval and all-encompassing cosmic waters) are able to transgress this invisible border between the body and soul, debordering

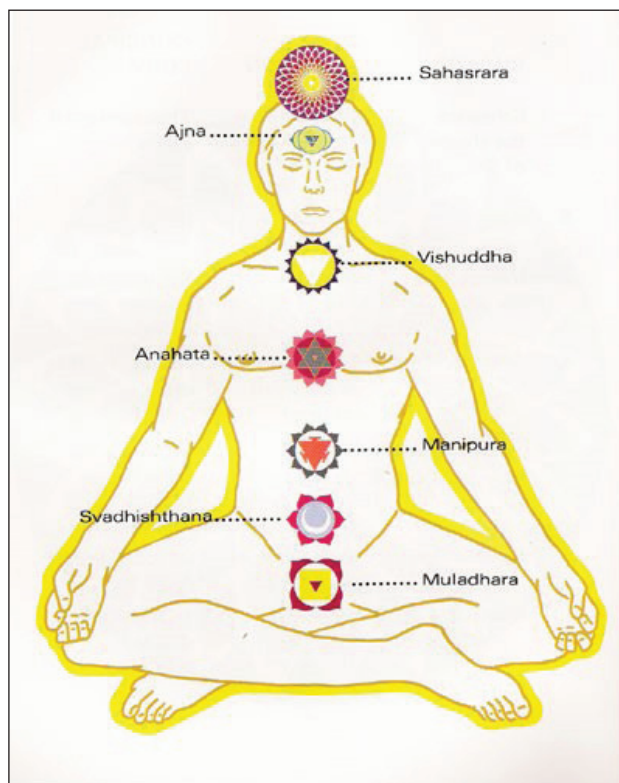


Fig. 1: Chakras (Source: Wikimedia Commons)

them at the very threshold, which is pain, in its most elemental form; lamentation, tears and our sadness – our longest compassion for the pain of mothers, fathers and their children, in the world, full of suffering (Škof, 2015b, 267f.).

BREATH AND ITS ETHICAL RELEVANCE IN THE WORLD

Now, let me turn to breath and its ethical relevance in our world. To be connected with every breath we take denotes our bodily connection with everything and everyone. This process does not contain anything metaphysical; on the contrary, the (new) cosmology, epistemology and ethics are mirrored in it. This is the space of new spiritual energies that feed the impulses, wishes and hopes that guide our actions. Through that, the world of the inter-subjective and the ethics and politics stemming from it, are connected to the most essential aspect of human lives – our breathing in and

¹ Cf. chapter 1 of Gearney’s book for the outline and an overview of the senses as they appear in Chinese thought (Gearney, 2002). See also pp. 9–10 on *qi* and its relation to the body and natural elements. For our concept of ethical anatomy of the body, Gearney’s elaboration on the hearthmind (*xin*: “physical heart”, “mind”; meaning dispositions and intentions of the person) is of special importance (p. 13). Although hearthmind has its own knowledge capacity, it still is considered to be one of the senses. In this way, its role is analogical in its function and position within the body (we may be reminded that *prana* resides in the secret cavity within the heart during the sleep) to the key Indian epistemological element of *prana*.

out and their role within nature and the community culture that are our breath's living spaces. Hence the ethics of breath(ing), as explained in my theory, can be explained as a fundamental characteristic of the newly restored field of intersubjectivity. This growth firstly concerns a person's genuine attitude towards his/her own body and its *ethical anatomy*, as already indicated above. In the West, the move in this direction, which was neglected until Fichte (birth of intersubjectivity in his philosophy, later fully conceptualized in Habermas), Schopenhauer (the body as my first representation, all objectivity originates in our feelings/sensitivity as related to womb, for him), Feuerbach (the importance of skin and organs of the body for ethics),² George Herbert Mead (thinking with sense organs and in particular a "haptic" character of his thought),³ Levinas (the ethical relevance of face and lungs), and Irigaray (the body, touch, ethics of breath, especially in her practice and understanding of Yoga), demands more than just a phenomenological reduction of a hundreds of years of mankind's thinking patterns. We could also include Heidegger into this group of names, namely with the meaning he gives to the *hand* and its gestures, and, of course Derrida with his meditation on eyes and tears, as also already seen above (Kleinberg-Levin, 2010). In this process, the body does not appear as raw matter, or as an opposite to spirit in one of its forms, nor does it take some modern shape of somatics or inter-corporeality; rather, it approaches the old understanding of the world as interconnectedness and interdependence of elements (air or breath, water, fire, and earth) within the entire cosmology of microcosm and macrocosm. Thus, the body is seen as a part of space that breeds ethical gestures – it becomes a part

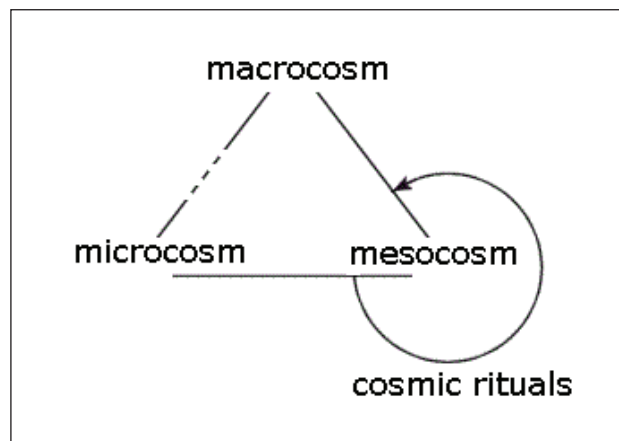


Fig. 2: Cosmic Triade (Škof, 2015a, 195)

of the natural and the spiritual environment that I, fully inspired by ancient Vedic thought, call *mesocosm*.⁴

According to Irigaray (1985), the Western body was immobilised with a fundamental metaphysical-epistemological gesture. In the history of philosophy, the mirror (or, as her most important book's title says, the speculum: *Speculum of the Other Woman*) served mostly as a means of speculation or monological observation of the subject in the mirror of "nature" (as in Rorty's seminal work) or, to take this one step further, as a means of viewing (and appropriating) the Other in the reflection of the subject in that mirror. Philosophy and ethics deserve more, I argue. There is a task waiting to be completed in the future: to become in tune with the process of the new *spiritual-bodily* transformation

2 For Feuerbach (1975, 138) this means to dwell within the body and to communicate through touch with our sensitivity, literally with our *skin* ("Soviel Sinne – soviel Poren, soviel Blößen. Der Leib ist nichts als das poröse Ich"): the new notion of intersubjectivity departs precisely from our sensitivity rather than from rationality. For him, our spiritual essence resides in the *heart*, which is again more (stereotypically) allied with the woman.

3 In his "phenomenology" of gesture Mead ascribes great importance to hand, which also opens interesting possibilities of interpreting him as a "haptic philosopher" (a remark by his student David L. Miller (1982, 22) in the "Introduction" to *The Individual and Social Self*; note also an elaboration of a "hand" in Heidegger – as a gesture, carrying out the bodily felt dimensions of meaning, as David Kleinberg-Levin (2010) asserts). On the other hand, we have Jean-Louis Chrétien, who in his *The Call and the Response* (2004 [1992]) deals precisely with the bodily scheme as already proposed by some interpreters of Mead. Chrétien's epistemological credo ("I never start by saying 'I', I start by being 'thou-ed' by the world" (Chrétien, 2004, 120)), together with his rehabilitation of the touch (and space) is what I find as a most interesting possibility today for extending both Feuerbachian and Meadian concepts of self to contemporary philosophy of intersubjectivity. But Chrétien, in the ethical line of his argument, also mentions a related 'nothingness' of self as a possibility of negating the old Biblical saying "I am, and there is no one besides me" (Isaiah 47:10). Here, both in his concept of touch as well as nothingness of the self, interesting intercultural possibilities open and it is through Watsuji Tetsur 's thought that it would be possible to show the importance of the concept of *aidagara* ("relatedness", "betweenness") understood both as space and touch/contact for the understanding of Mead's philosophy of the body.

4 For the usage of the term "mesocosm" see *Katha Aranyaka*, critical edition with a translation into German and an introduction by M. Witzel (2004, xl, n. 129). Witzel wrote how curious it was that "the term has not been used in this context before". He refers to its first usage in a book on Newar religion authored by Robert I. Levy and Kedar Raj Rajopadhyaya (1990) titled *Mesocosm: Hinduism and the organization of a traditional Newar city of Nepal*. Witzel argues for the reconstruction of the term "mesocosm": within the Vedic magical interpretation of the world, we face different analogies or magical "identifications" between the macrocosmic and microcosmic realities or gods (for example Sun-eye, Wind-breath, Earth-body, Waters-semen, Fire-speech, etc.). This ancient way of thinking uses different "mystic" correlations and equivalents, some obvious (such as between Sun and the eye or Wind and breath) and some more hidden and esoteric (between Moon and mind). But always there exists a nexus or a connection between two beings (in Sanskrit it is called *bandhu* and *upanishad*). See also M. Witzel (1997), "Macrocosm, Mesocosm, and Microcosm: The Persistent Nature of 'Hindu' Beliefs and Symbolic Forms". See on this aspect my *Breath of Proximity* (Škof, 2015a, 4).

of humanity so as to become enlightened enough to hear the voice of the other, to detect his/her signs and gestures that call for a dialogue with him or her or with nature in one of its beautiful incarnations. It should not be forgotten that this is also a task, for us to learn how to ethically respond to the call of another human being or of a non-human species and their breathing, since breathing means staying alive and sensing everything and everyone that is alive around us.

BREATH IN LUCE IRIGARAY'S THOUGHT AND "THE AGE OF THE SPIRIT"

Let me now turn to one of the most innovative philosophers of our age, namely Luce Irigaray. Her thought represents the peak of entire (both hidden and visible) respiratory philosophy of the West, and it is with her critical examination of Heidegger in her book *Forgetting the Air: in Martin Heidegger* (1999) that all started. In Irigaray's thought there are two interconnected features, a *double reserve*, as it were, which can explain her idiosyncratic (and, for many critics, highly problematic) *topography* of other traditions, and her invocation of "East" and "Eastern" in particular: breath and interiority. Breath is arguably one of the most important anthropological and intercultural constants for human beings of the world, carrying rich epistemological and ethical implications across cultures. According to Japanese intercultural philosopher Tadashi Ogawa (1998), breath has an intercultural potential, for "all humanity is aware of this phenomenon" (Ogawa, 1998, 321). For Ogawa, it is *qi*, which as a natural/cosmic phenomenon "'fills in' both an individual body and all that is between heaven and earth" (Ogawa, 1998, 321). As the wind of breathing, *qi* is both expiration and inspiration. But besides its biological (as breath in the body) and cosmic (as wind in the atmosphere) roles, there is also a communal sense of breath. According to Ogawa, and based on notions of mood (*Stimmung*) in Heidegger, or atmosphere (*Atmosphäre*) in Schmitz, there is something between us human beings that makes it possible for us to be in the world and to interact: the atmosphere of love, for example, "appears in the situational eye contact or in the words of a love conversation" (Ogawa, 1998, 328). This approach resonates with breath and breathing in Irigaray: to be able to reground our intersubjective relations in an ethical way, we have to "acknowledge"

(presubjectively, *internally*, as it were, and with all our sensations and in the sense of a proto-logical truth of the world) the atmosphere of breath (interculturally thought as *pneuma*, *prana*, or *qi*), filling the world with an ethical *mood*, capable of transforming "our elemental vital breath into a more subtle breath at the service of loving, of speaking and hearing, of thinking" (Irigaray, 2010, 4).

In this ethico-cosmological sense, and without implying universal equivalence among the variety of cultural interpretations of breath/breathing, we can see that Irigaray's thought is already a vital part of contemporary intercultural philosophy. The task we share is to attune ourselves to hear the voices of the other, to discern the signs and gestures inviting us to begin a dialogue with others in recognition of their differences. This ethical project will not be the privilege of one single culture or tradition but is a common task of humanity. We seem to find ourselves in an era of erosion of our natural and spiritual dwellings. It is thus an urgent task to learn how to respond to the call of the other person, or a nonhuman animal, and the natural world in an ethical way. The classical tradition of Western philosophy from Plato to Hegel, and even in Heidegger, has repressed and obscured breath and this essential ethical link we share with nature and transformed it to a metaphysical thought that suffocated the world of the other. One of Irigaray's merits is to bring the cultivation of breath to the forefront of philosophical analysis through dialogue with Yoga, Buddhism – thus with various Indian teachings of ethical and spiritual respiration. In a beautiful passage of Irigaray:

In my opinion, this corresponds to the third age of our tradition, an age which would permit to reunite it with other traditions and to overcome the opposition between matriarchy and patriarchy, with all possible inversions between the two, which are not enough to open a new epoch of history. [...] From such a point of view, it is not pertinent to define as pagan certain cultures that precede, or do not belong to, the Judeo-Christian culture. In part, we will find in these cultures, the path to enter the third age of Judeo-Christianity, the age of the Spirit. [...] In the third age of the history of Judeo-Christianity, after the age of the world's redemption, thanks to Mary and to Jesus, the task of humanity will be to become itself divine breath (Irigaray, 2004, 167f).⁵

5 In »Ethical gestures toward the other« Irigaray states:

Breathing corresponds to the first autonomous gesture of the living human being. To come into the world supposes inhaling and exhaling by oneself while, in the uterus, the fetus receives oxygen through the mother's blood. In fact, we forget this first gesture of life. No doubt, we breathe on pain of death, but we breathe poorly, and we worry little about our first food of life: air. Breathing in a conscious and free manner is equivalent to taking charge of our life, to cutting the umbilical cord in order to respect and cultivate life for ourselves and for others. As long as we do not breathe in an autonomous way, not only do we live badly but we substitute the surroundings where we live for a placenta. Then we form with others a sort of mass in which each individual has not yet conquered one's personal life but lives on a collective, social and cultural respiration, on an unconscious breathing of a group, beginning with that of the family. Not only does our culture not teach us how to cultivate breathing to assure our existence in an autonomous way, but it does not make known to us that becoming spiritual amounts to transforming our elemental vital breath into a more subtle breath at the service of loving, of speaking and

CONCLUSION

Now, how does this ethical anatomy of the body reflect in our ethical thinking? Which hidden reservoirs of the body have to be recognized in our thinking to be able to enliven ethically the internal spaces of our bodies? In ancient Upanishadic philosophy there is a beautiful passage, explaining the hidden and obscure link between the eye and the heart:

Namely, the mythological person, residing in the left eye, called Virāj (“the shining one”; being the wife of Indra, a god residing in the right eye, who is called “the one who kindles”; in Irigaray this is the place for goddess Kore) is recognizable by ordinary persons as

radiance in an eye of a human person (or a non-human animal) while being alive (and, while breathing), a radiance which slowly disappears in the moment of death. Death comes in the moment when person is not breathing anymore. Virāj thus is a universal metaphor for the primeval experience (both prelinguistic and precognitive) of a *life*, residing in the other person, whether a human or another sentient being. According to Indian teaching, Virāj’s residence during sleep is in the cavity of heart, where *prana* as vital breath, or later, *ātman* (the *self*) also reside (Škof, 2012, xv).

This heart is the sacred place of all ethical cardiology, and as gatherer or the senses and their ethical dispositions, it is the most vital part of our ethical anatomy.

hearing, of thinking. Too often we confuse cultivation and spirituality with the learning of words, of knowledge, of competences. We have forgotten that to be cultivated amounts to being able to breathe, not only in order to survive, but in order to constitute a reserve of breath as a soul that helps us to transform our natural life into a spiritual life. The forgetting of breathing and of cultivating our breath has led to a separation between body and soul. This mistaken division, moreover, became reflected in our conception of the difference between the sexes: woman would be the body of which man would be the spirit. Now without a cultivation of breathing in each one and between them, man and woman cannot reach a human relation (Irigaray, 2010, 3f).

GOSTOLJUBJA TELESA: O MATERIALIZMU IN SPIRITUALNOSTI V FILOZOFSKIH
TRADICIJAH EVROPE IN AZIJE

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POVZETEK

Članek se ukvarja s transkulturno analizo fenomena diha v filozofskih tradicijah Zahoda in Vzhoda. Najprej predstavi dva sodobna primera medkulturne misli, ki se navezuje na sodobno kitajsko filozofijo oziroma njene reiterpretacije – tj. François Julliena ter Kuang-Ming Wuja. Kritično se opredeli do prvega ter pokaže na etično relevantno drugega. Na tej osnovi se članek posveča etični relevanci telesa, kar je poimenovano s sintagmo etična anatomija telesa. Etična anatomija telesa želi človeško telo misliti kot prostor mikrokozmosa, s čimer želimo inavgurirati nove etične geste gostoljubja naproti drugemu. V drugem delu članka je predstavljena inovativna platforma za etiko bližine, ki temelji na dihu. V tretjem, zadnjem delu, se posvečamo filozofiji Luce Irigaray ter njenemu inovativnemu zastavku diha kot etične kategorije ter znanilcu nove prihajajoče »Dobe diha«.

Ključne besede: dih, Luce Irigaray, etična anatomija, gostoljubje, François Jullien, Kuang-Ming Wu, prana, qi

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JAVNI UM, RELIGIJA IN EKSKLUZIVIZEM: RAWLS V LUČI KATOLIŠKE IN ISLAMSKE MISLI

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IZVLEČEK

Članek se ukvarja z vprašanjem demokratične in pravične politične ureditve v vrednotno in nazorsko raznolikih sodobnih družbah s posebnim poudarkom na položaju religije in njenim vključevanjem v javni um oz. diskurz. Namen članka je predstavitev štirih pomembnih relevantnih modelov, ki jih zagovarjajo John Rawls, papež Benedikt XVI., Abdullahi A. An-Na'im ter Martin Breul. Avtor odkriva določene pomanjkljivosti pri prvih treh stališčih (uresničljivost, pravičnost, neizdelanost, nedorečenost, nejasnost) in ugotavlja, da je Breulova inačica zmernega ekskluzivizma najbolj jasen in najustreznejši predlog ter zato najprimernejša smernica za urejanje problema iz glavnega vprašanja članka.

Ključne besede: religija, javni um, javni diskurz, ekskluzivizem, umni pluralizem, John Rawls, papež Benedikt XVI., islam, Martin Breul

LA RAGIONE PUBBLICA, LA RELIGIONE E L'ESCLUSIVISMO: RAWLS NELLA LUCE DEL PENSIERO CATTOLICO E DI QUELLO ISLAMICO

SINTESI

L'articolo tratta la questione dell'assetto politico democratico ed equo nelle società contemporanee caratterizzate dall'eterogeneità ideologica e di valori, con particolare attenzione alla posizione della religione e alla sua integrazione nella ragione o discorso pubblici. Il contributo si propone di esporre quattro modelli rilevanti, sostenuti da John Rawls, papa Benedetto XVI, Abdullahi A. An-Na'im e Martin Breul. L'autore individua diverse carenze nelle prime tre posizioni (effettività, equità, incompiutezza, vaghezza, ambiguità) e osserva che la versione dell'esclusivismo moderato di Breul sia la proposta più chiara e adatta e pertanto la linea guida più appropriata per cercare di risolvere il problema che figura nella questione principale dell'articolo.

Parole chiave: religione, ragione pubblica, discorso pubblico, esclusivismo, pluralismo ragionevole, John Rawls, papa Benedetto XVI, islam, Martin Breul

UVOD

Pričujoči članek ima naslednjo zgradbo. V prvem delu predstavimo primerjavo med modeloma za ureditev vrednotno in nazorsko raznolike družbe, ki ju zagovarjata prvak med liberalnimi filozofi 20. stoletja Johna Rawls in papež Benedikt XVI (V nadaljevanju bomo iz praktičnih razlogov uporabljali krajše ime Benedikt). Ta del obenem predstavlja tudi že Benediktovo kritiko Rawlsovih pogledov. V drugem delu predstavimo kritiko Rawlsa, ki jo je podal ugledni islamski teoretik Abdullahi A. An-Na'im. V tretjem delu predstavimo predlog nemškega filozofa Martina Breula o vlogi verskih prepričan v javnem diskurzu. Zaključimo z ugotovitvijo, da je Breulovo stališče zmernega ekskluzivizma najbolj utemeljeno in primerno kot smernica za umno urejanje diskurza in ravnanja na javnem področju.

Preden nadaljujemo še ena pojasnitev. V članku bomo uporabljali kar nekaj izrazov, ki jih je potrebno razumeti v natančnem pomenu, ki jim ga je dal Rawls: *celovit nauk, javni um, prekrivajoče se soglasje, pridržek, domneva, deklaracija ...* Teh izrazov v tem članku ne moremo pojasnjevati, saj bi to članek razvleklo do nepreglednosti in daleč onstran dovoljenega obsega. Pojasnitev pa danes niti ni več potrebna, saj je Rawls klasik politične filozofije in za mnoge najpomembnejši politični filozof 20. stoletja, tako da so njegovi pojmi že del obveznega pojmovnika političnih filozofov, pa tudi mnogih drugih družboslovcev in humanistov.¹ Ne nazadnje pa namen članka ni podati uvod v Rawlsovo teorijo ali uvesti bralca v Rawlsov pojmovnik. To znanje ta članek v dobršni meri pri bralcu že predpostavlja. Slovenski bralec lahko pojasnitev, iz prve roke, glavnih Rawlsovih pojmov prebere v Rawls, 2011.

O pojmovanju javnega uma pri Rawlsu je odličen članek napisal Charles Larmore (2013). Začel ga je z zelo povednimi stavki:

Za Johna Rawlsa javni um ni samo ena od vrednot med drugimi. Javni um obsega vse različne elemente, ki tvorijo ideal ustavne demokracije, kajti on vodi ‚politični odnos‘ v katerem naj bi bili drug z drugimi kot državljani (Larmore, 2013, 368).

K temu je dodal:

Mi spoštujemo javni um ko naš lastni um uskladimo z umom drugih in si prizadevamo za skupno gledišče pri urejanju pogojev našega političnega življenja (Larmore, 2013, 368).

Javni um v Rawlsovem smislu je javen v treh pogledih:

kot um svobodnih in enakih državljanov je um javnosti; njegov predmet je javno dobro v pogledu vprašanj temeljne politične pravičnosti, vprašanja slednje pa so dveh vrst: ustavni temelji in zadeve osnovne pravičnosti; pa tudi njegova narava in vsebina sta javni, saj sta izraženi v javnem umovanju z družino umnih pojmovanj politične pravice, ki je umno mišljena da bi zadovoljila kriterij recipročnosti (Rawls, 2002b, 133).

Ustavni temelji v Rawlsovem smislu zadevajo vprašanja, katere pravice in svoboščine se lahko vpišejo v ustavo, če predpostavljamo, da lahko ustavo interpretira ustavno sodišče ali kako podobno telo. Zadeve osnovne pravičnosti so povezane s temeljno strukturo družbe in zadevajo vprašanja osnovne ekonomske in socialne pravičnosti in drugih zadev, ki jih ne pokriva ustava (Rawls, 2002b, 133, op. 7).

RAWLS IN PAPEŽ BENEDIKT XVI.

Rawls je v delu *Politični liberalizem* postavil vodilno vprašanje svoje razprave z naslednjimi besedami:

Kako je mogoče da tisti, ki zagovarjajo verski nauk, ki temelji na verski avtoriteti, na primer Cerkvi ali Bibliji, hkrati imajo umno politično pojmovanje, ki podpira pravično demokratično ureditev? (Rawls, 2005,³ xxxvii; od tu naprej PL).

V tem razdelku bomo ovrednotili njegov odgovor na to vprašanje in sicer tako, da ga bomo primerjali z odgovorom na isto vprašanje, ki ga lahko izluščimo iz del papeža Benedikta XVI.²

Za obravnavo Rawlsovega stališča v luči Benediktovega in v primerjavi z njim je kar nekaj dobrih razlogov (Jonkers, 2015, 221–222): 1. Benedikt ni bil zgolj poglavar Katoliške cerkve (v nadaljevanju KC), ampak je tudi izvrsten intelektualec in učenjak; 2. Benedikt je razglasil umno apologijo krščanske vere v sekularnem svetu kot prioritarno nalogo KC. Javno vlogo KC je pojasnjeval v diskusiji z ljudmi izven KC, z nekristjani ter neverniki in torej ni zgolj prepričeval prepričanih. Pri svoji razpravi je uporabljal kolikor se da sekularne razloge in ne primarno teoloških. Zato je metodološko mogoče njegov pristop in stališče primerjati z Rawlsovim. 3. Benediktov pogled predstavlja dobro priložnost, da resno preverimo Rawlsovo trditev, da bi morali umni celoviti nauki sprejeti njegov odgovor na zgoraj navedeno vodilno vprašanje.

Oba, tako Rawls kot Benedikt, izredno cenita umnost in v njej vidita tisto pravo osnovo za primerno urejanje sodobnih družb in sveta. Vendar pa so med njima tudi

¹ Maffettone (2015, vii) je celo zapisal, »da bi lahko dejali, da politični filozofi živijo v Rawlsovi eri«.

² Svoje predstavitev smo oprli predvsem na naslednje njegove tekste, četudi bi lahko navedli še kakšne druge: Pope Benedict XVI, 2006, 2008, 2009; Ratzinger, 2004, 2006a, 2006b.

bistvene razlike. Le-te zadevajo odnos do resnice, presežnosti ter prepričanje o (ne)samozadostnosti človeka in njegovega uma. Medtem ko je Benedikt prepričan, da človek ne more biti umen brez božje pomoči,³ pa je Rawls menil, da je lahko. Temeljna pojma Benediktovega modela sta modrost in resnica, ki sta šele pogoj za pravo umnost, pri Rawlsu pa prva dva pojma nista našla svojega mesta oz. pomena, in se je zadovoljil samo z umnostjo. Lahko bi rekli, da je Rawlsovo stališče glede temelja umnosti imanentistično, Benediktovo pa presežno, transcendentno. Po Benediktu modrost kaže na resnico in šele v luči modrosti je možno videti, zakaj je umnost lahko resnična. Modrost kaže na presežnost, na božje, in je noben človek ne more posedovati, kot je ugotavljal že Platon,⁴ ampak jo ima le Bog oz. bogovi (Platon, 2004). Po Benediktu brez modrosti človek ni zmožen biti usmerjen na kaj drugega kot na svoje lastne egoistične interese, se pravi, da ne more biti pošten in spoštovati druge, kar pa je tako za Rawlsa kot za Benedikta šele prava umnost, in ne gola (instrumentalna) razumnost.⁵ Benedikt v tem smislu torej nima zaupanja v človeka kot samostojnega delovalca, Rawls pa ga, nasprotno, ima. Človek je v pogledu poštenosti in spoštovanja drugega samozadosten. Lahko ugotovimo, da oba misleca poudarjata um, le da je pri Rawlsu s tem mišljena vodoravna razsežnost in zaupanje v človeški um, pri Benediktu pa navpična dimenzija in zaupanje v Logos, ki se razliva v človeški um in ga očiščuje.

Prav tako kot um tudi vera igra osrednjo vlogo pri obeh mislecih. Rawls sprejema Kantovo (1977) opredelitev filozofije kot obrambe umne vere. V PL (172) je zapisal, da njegova politična filozofija sprejema nalogo, ki jo je Kant dodelil filozofiji na splošno in ta naloga je obramba umne vere. Kant je pojem umne vere pojasnil v svojem spisu *Was heißt: sich im Denken orientieren?*. Njegov izraz je *Vernunftglaube*. Umna vera zavzema vmesni položaj med golim mnenjem na eni strani in vedenjem na drugi. Rawls se strinja s Kantom, da je za umnost potreben nek umen smoter, po katerem se naše mišljenje in ravnanje ravnata (Jonkers, 2015, 233).

V tem razdelku nas zanima predvsem Benediktov in Rawlsov pogled na odnos med vero in razumom, na medkulturne in medreligijske odnose in na ustrezen odgovor na dejansko stanje vrednotne, kulturne in verske heterogenosti v svetu. V tem oziru sta temeljnega pomena

Benediktovo stališče, da so celoviti nauki (religiozni in nereligiozni) nosilci modrosti in Rawlsovo zadržanje, da moramo gojiti umni pluralizem. Rawls se ne zavzema za vsakršni pluralizem, ampak zgolj za umni pluralizem. V svojih delih je poskušal podati merila in pogoje zanj. Po Rawlsu je njegov bistveni moment neka vrsta skrajnega ekskluzivizma.⁶ Benedikt pa vsekakor ni pristaš takega ekskluzivizma in poudarja pomen modrosti, ki se nahaja v tradicijskih celovitih naukih. Modrost, ki je v njih, je skupni imenovalac teh tradicij in je lahko osnova mirnega sožitja ter dobrega življenja na splošno v vrednotno in kulturno raznolikih družbah. Benedikt ne zavrača pluralizma in si ga ne prizadeva ukiniti. Po njegovem je kulturni pluralizem najpomembnejše dejstvo sodobne družbe, ki ga mora upoštevati vsak, ki se z njo ukvarja in jo želi izboljšati. Vendar pa Benedikt zavrača agregatni pluralizem, po katerem so posamezne kulture naložene kot opeka ena zraven druge, brez medsebojnega odnosa. Benedikt se zavzema za odnos in dialog med njimi. Lahko rečemo, da se zavzema za odnosno ali dialoško pluralnost. Na splošno so pojmi kot so odnos, interakcija in dialog za Benedikta zelo pomembni. Po njegovem mnenju je potrebno, da pride do vzajemnega očiščevanja in očiščenja med vero in umom (da se očistita od lastnih patologij), pa tudi do vzajemnega očiščenja raznih kultur, tako religioznih kot sekularnih. Tako očiščenje bo omogočilo, da bo na vidno in do vpliva prišla modrost, ki se nahaja v celovitih naukih. Benedikt torej ne trdi, da ima krščanstvo vso resnico in da je samozadostno. Po drugi strani pa zavrača razne »zbirateljske« pristope, kot je na primer svetovni etos, kot nezadostne in abstraktne.⁷ Svetovni etos je za sedaj abstrakcija, saj do spoznanja o resnično skupni modrosti, ki ima lahko resničen pomen z vidika družbe miru in soglasja, pridemo le skozi interakcijo med predstavniki različnih celovitih naukov, ne pa da jemljemo elemente iz enega in drugega nauka, sestavimo nek presek in rečemo, da je to naša vera. Biti moramo ukoreninjeni v tej ali oni partikularni in konkretni tradiciji in iz nje spoznavati skupno modrost, ki nas druži. Neukoreninjeni svetovni etos ali univerzalna modrost sta samo prazni besedi. Benediktovo stališče je torej kljub vsemu, vsaj po svojih implikacijah, vključevalno, inkluzivistično, saj naj bi bila modrost tista, ki je podlaga upravičevanja družbenih ukrepov, modrost, v takšni ali drugačni obliki pa je, vsaj kot jo pojmuje Benedikt, nek

3 Na splošno kristjani verujejo, da se človek ne more sam odrešiti, ampak potrebuje odrešenika.

4 Fajdros, 278d in Simpozij, 204a.

5 Za podrobnejšo obravnavo instrumentalnega razuma, ki ga avtor razlikuje od etičnega razuma in »višjega« razuma (Marion), gl. Klun, 2013, 496–498.

6 Na tem mestu velja opozoriti, da je poznejši Rawls (PL) sam zase uporabljal izraz inkluzivist (Nussbaum, 2015, lok. 664ff). Ekskluzivizem je razumel kot stališče, da razlogi, ki so podani izrecno v izrazih celovitega nauka, ne smejo biti nikoli uvedeni v javni um. Inkluzivist, v Rawlsovem pomenu, pa trdi, da v določenih situacijah državljani lahko predstavijo osnovo njihovih političnih vrednot, ki koreninijo v celovitih naukih, če to storijo na način, s katerim okrepijo ideal javnega uma sam (PL, 247). Kljub temu pa mnogi menijo, da Rawlsovi načini vključevanja celovitih naukov v javni um ne zadoščajo za to, da bi lahko Rawls veljal za inkluzivista. Sami v tem članku uporabljamo izraza *inkluzivizem* in *ekskluzivizem* tako kot Breul (glej začetek spodnjega, četrtega, razdelka o njem) in v tem pomenu je Rawls skrajni ekskluzivist.

7 Podobno kritiko poda Strahovnik (2009), v kateri izpostavi tudi teoretično šibkost in neenotnost takšnih pristopov kot modelov globalne etike.

celovit nauk. Benedikt je zagovornik ideje predpolitičnih temeljev države (Ratzinger, 2006b). Ta ideja oz. stališče implicira, da je za uspešno delovanje demokracije potrebno, da imajo državljani ustrezne kreposti in vrednote, ki so del celovitega nauka.

Po Rawlsu takšno stališče ne zadošča za urejanje sodobnih družb, v katerih so prisotna vrednotno izključujoča stališča (ki so del celovitih naukov). Rawls izhaja iz predpostavke, da vzajemno izključujočih stališč iz liberalne demokratične družbe ni moč izločiti. Lahko pa določimo poštene pogoje družbenega sodelovanja državljanov oz. ljudstev.⁸ Taki pogoji po Rawlsu načelno izključujejo uporabo razlogov na podlagi celovitih naukov (npr. religioznih), saj so ti lahko kvečjemu partikularno sprejemljivi (npr. za predstavnike določene religije). Uporabljajo se lahko le razlogi, ki jih lahko sprejme vsak umni osebek, ne glede na to, kateri celoviti nauk sprejema.⁹ Seveda pa se pri taki zastavitvi pojavi problem, kot opozarja Jonkers (2015, 238), o umnosti smotra, po katerem se orientiramo oz. po tem, kakšen oz. kateri smoter je umen. Da to nikakor ni lahko in dogovorjeno vprašanje kažejo razprave, ki problematizirajo univerzalno veljavnost deklaracije o človekovih pravicah od OZN iz leta 1948. Še na globlji ravni problematičnost takega stališča kaže nesoglasje o tem, ali resnično obstajajo kakšne univerzalne (človeške) vrednote. Umnost Rawlsovega umnega pluralizma je torej sama precej problematizirana in postavljena pod vprašaj. Če je človeški um vrhovna avtoriteta, kar za Rawlsa nedvomno je, se znajdemo v krogu: mi zahtevamo orientacijsko načelo in končni smoter, da očisti religijo in um od njunih »patologij«, po drugi strani pa mora biti umnost samega tega načela (oz. končnega smotra) umno določena, kajti, kot je vztrajal Kant (1977), mi nikoli ne smemo odrekati umu izključne pravice, da je merilo resnice. V taki nezavidljivi situaciji glede (možnosti) čiste umske utemeljitve se nam zdi vnaprejšnje izključevanje nenevtralnih oz. verskih razlogov in prepričanij iz javnega diskurza oz. razprave o skupnih zadevah in ukrepih neutemeljeno in nerealistično. To dvojje poudarjata tako Breul kot tudi An-Na'im in v nadaljevanju bomo najprej bomo predstavili ugovore Rawlsu, ki jih je podal slednji, potem pa bomo predstavili Breulovo stališče zmernega ekskluzivizma, ki se nam zdi najbolj sprejemljivo in obetavno od vseh štirih, ki smo jih predstavili.

Vrnimo se sedaj še za trenutek k pomenu vere in vsebini vere pri Rawlsu in Benediktu. Oba, tako Rawls kot Benedikt, se strinjata, da je za doseganje pravično urejene družbe zelo pomembna vera, vendar pa se razlikujeta po odgovoru na vprašanje v kaj moramo verjeti. Po Benediktu moramo verjeti v Boga oz. tudi če vanj ne verjamemo, moramo ravnati kot da Bog obstaja. Kaj pa

po Rawlsu? Kaj je ekvivalenten kot-da po Rawlsu? Kaj je Rawlsov ideal, po katerem se moramo ravnati, če naj se izognemo golemu zasledovanju lastnih interesov, golemu »živalskemu kraljestvu«? Umna vera je prepričanje o resnici, ki je subjektivno adekvatno, ki pa ga ne moremo objektivno dokazati oz. utemeljiti. Je svetilnik, po katerem se lahko spekulativni mislec orientira pri svoji umni hoji na področju nadčutnega (Kant) (Jonkers 2015, 233). Rawls se strinja s Kantom, da je filozofija apologija umne vere. Toda kaj je vsebina te (Rawlsove) umne vere? V kaj veruje umni vernik? Rawls svojo umno vero definira

kot pokazati koherenco in enotnost uma, tako teoretičnega kot praktičnega, s samim seboj, in tega, kako moramo imeti um za končno prizivno sodišče, ki je edino pristojno, da odloči o vseh vprašanih o obsegu in mejah njegove lastne avtoritete (PL, 101).

Rawls meni, da moramo verjeti v um, da je umno verjeti v um kot vrhovno avtoriteto. Jonkers (2015, op. 49) opozarja, da bi Rawls lahko tu imel v mislih Kantovo stališče, da je um vedno končni temelj resnice. Še več, Rawls istoveti to vero, in vlogo, ki jo pripisuje umu, z »obrambo možnosti pravične ustavne demokratične ureditve« (PL, 101).

Torej imamo pri Rawlsu opraviti s tezo, da je človeška zmožnost za umnost temelj možnosti demokracije, ob pogoju, da se ta možnost prakticira in um spoštuje kot vrhovna avtoriteta. To pa je v osnovi razsvetljenko stališče. Rawls meni, da moramo verjeti v naslednje stvari (oz. da je v njih umno, pametno verjeti): 1. da je pri vseh ljudeh en sam um (enotnost uma); 2. da so ljudje zmožni umnega ravnanja in spoštovanja avtoritete uma; 3. da je um vrhovna avtoriteta; 4. da je (zato) možna ustrezna demokratična ureditev družbe.

Tudi Benedikt misli podobno, s to razliko, da je prepričan, da je um, ki je vrhovna avtoriteta, božji um, ne zgolj človeški um. Človeški um, ki ni razsvetljen oz. očiščen z božjim umom, je gola racionalnost, orodje za doseganje lastnih interesov. Tako Rawls kot Benedikt pri-segata na um, razlikujeta pa se v tem, kaj je za njiju um: za Benedikta je um samo Um in um, ki ga je očistil Um. Rawls pa se je veri v Boga odpovedal, zaradi holokavsta in drugih strahot (Rawls, 2009), in je zato menil, da je umen tisti, ki spoštuje drugega kot enakega, svobodnega in umnega. Umno, po Rawlsu, ni nujno resnično, resničnost je za umnost irelevantna. Kar dela človeka umnega je odnos do drugih ljudi, spoštovanje drugih ljudi kot enakih in svobodnih ter presežnih v smislu dostojanstva vsake osebe.¹⁰ Benedikt se glede spoštovanja z Rawlsom

8 V pričujočem članku se omejujemo na prvo nalogo, saj je rešitev tega problema po Rawlsu potreben pogoj za uresničenje ustreznega sodelovanja med ljudstvi.

9 Tako ekskluzivistično stališče v bistvu zavzema tudi Robert Audi (1998, 2000).

10 Rawls sicer ne uporablja izraza dostojanstvo (*dignity*), ampak uporablja težko prevedljiv izraz *inviolability of human person*. Gre za to, da ima vsaka človeška oseba neko vrednost, ki jo moramo brezpogojno spoštovati. Prevedek *dostojanstvo za inviolability* pa utemeljuje tudi s tem, da ga je predlagala izjemna poznavalka in občudovalka Rawlsovega dela Martha Nussbaum (Nussbaum, 2015).

strinja, vendar pa meni, da spoštovanje drugih ni možno brez ravnanja kot da Bog obstaja in ravnanja v skladu z božjo voljo. Kaj pa je božja volja oz. kako se po njej ravnati, za to pa so nam orientacija velike tradicije. Po Rawlsu so ljudje sposobni dobro urejati družbo brez vere v Boga. Dovolj je, da so umni, to je, da spoštujejo druge. Dovolj je »bog«, ki je spoštovanje drugega. Po Benediktu pa dejansko spoštovanje drugega brez vere v Boga, ali vsaj ravnanja, kot da je Bog, ni mogoče, je kvečjemu iluzija. Ali še natančneje: po Benediktu se je potrebno ravnati po tej ali oni preverjeni tradiciji, če naj presežemo golo sledenje lastnemu interesu. Po Rawlsu pa to načelno ni potrebno, četudi je menil (Nussbaum, 2015), da se običajno umni človek ravna po neki tradiciji. Torej se tudi v pogledu pomena tradicije stališči Benedikta in Rawlsa razlikujeta, dejansko - ali praktično gledano - pa nista tako zelo različni, kot se zdi na prvi pogled.

Jonkers (2015, 233–234) v tej točki ugotavlja veliko podobnost med Rawlsom in Kantom. Pri obeh se umna vera ne nanaša samo na enotnost uma, ampak tudi na možnost njunega končnega smotra, pravične ustavne ureditve (Jonkers, 2015, 233). Tako kot Kant tudi Rawls meni, da končnost uma pomeni, da realnost tega smotra ne more biti dokazana (Jonkers, 2015, 233). Toda z uvedbo tega končnega smotra Rawls vendarle uvaja »metafizični element«, ki kaže onkraj sfere uma (Jonkers, 2015, 233–234). Umna vera ni samo vera v um in njegovo enotnost. Je tudi vera v možnost pravičnega ustavnega režima kot normativnega, orientacijskega smotra uma (n. d., 234). To pa po pomeni, da je, po Rawlsu, umno tisto ravnanje, ki prispeva k uresničitvi pravične ustavne ureditve. Doseganje take ureditve je merilo umnosti.¹¹

Rawls ni mislil, da je prekrivajoče se soglasje načelno omejeno na sekularne razloge. Javni um in sekularni um po Rawlsu nista istovetna.¹² Bistvo njegovega sporočila je, da se moramo glede skupnih zadev razumeti in soglašati na osnovi razlogov, ki jih lahko vsi razumemo in, če izključimo lastni egoizem, lahko razumemo tudi, za kaj so zavezujoči za vse nas. Tu je na delu Kant in njegov kategorični imperativ v obliko vprašanje »Kaj če bi vsi tako delali?«. Vsak, tudi lažnivec, razume, da je nesprejemljivo, če bi vsi vedno lagali; tudi tat razume, da

je nesprejemljivo, da bi vsi samo kradli in nič ustvarjali. Ne more pa vsak razumeti, da je en Bog trojica, da je Jezus »vstal« četudi je bil križan ... Benediktova poanta je, da etična načela lahko vsak razume, vendar, če ne bo vodena z veliko tradicijo, bo večina ljudi za njih slepa, jih ne bo zares razumela, dojela in upoštevala. Tako Benedikt kot Rawls se strinjata, da je končni orientacijski smoter na temeljni ravni nujen za um (Jonkers, 2015, 235). Po Benediktu živeti kot da Bog obstaja služi kot konkretizacija modrosti kot eksistencialne, orientacijske vrste vednosti oz. znanja, ki je skupna osnova za vse ljudi, ki pa obenem dopušča tudi pluralnost (prav tam). Samo če smo pripravljeni pustiti, da nas vodi modrost, lahko postanemo zmožni pristnega dialoga med kulturami in religijami, ki ga danes tako potrebujemo (Pope Benedict, 2006, raz. 16). V Benediktovem primeru je živeti, kot da je Bog, način, da se zagotovi skupna osnova tako za verne kot za neverne in ki omogoča pluralnost med njimi. Krščanskega nauka potemtakem Benedikt ne predstavlja kot celotne resnice, ampak kot spodbudo k resnici, klic k ideji resnice ali modrosti (Pope Benedict, 2008, raz. 11).

Pojavlja se vprašanje, ali dejstvo, da je za um potreben končni smoter, ne ogroža pluralizma. Po Benediktovem mnenju ne. Prepričan je, da je krščanstvo inkluzivistično (Jonkers, 2015, 235). Toda obenem meni, da to ni dober izraz, saj daje vtis, da so lahko ostali celoviti nauki absorbirani v krščanstvo. Kar zagovarja je preobrazba pluralizma v pluralnost in sicer na osnovi dialoga med celovitimi nauki. Dialog pa je mogoč, po Benediktu, ker tradicije niso popolnoma nedostopne druga za drugo. To pa zato ne, ker jih povezuje prepričanje, da je Logos navzoč v vsaki.

Kako je Benediktov pogled na (versko) pluralnost povezan z Rawlsovo idejo umnega pluralizma (Jonkers, 2015, 236ff)? Po Rawlsu so v umnem pluralizmu celoviti nauki sami umni. Po Rawlsu je v družbah, v katerih je umni pluralizem permanentno stanje, umnost primernejši temelj za javno upravičenje kot moralne resnice (PL, 129). S tega stališča pa Benediktovo stališče, ki poudarja pomen modrosti, predstavlja temeljni problem. Po Benediktu je ideja modrosti lahko skupna osnova za vse verske in sekularne tradicije, po Rawlsu pa je ideal uma lahko skupna podlaga za vse umne konsenze.

11 Te ne smemo zamenjevati z golo razumnostjo, ki je instrumentalne narave. Rawls je izrecno ločeval med racionalnim (*rational*) in umnim (*reasonable*). Tako npr. v Rawls (2011, 25) pojasni razliko med umnostjo in racionalnostjo za katero pravi, da jo bo dosledno upošteval. Umnost ima prvino moralnosti, racionalnost pa ne. Tako je denimo za nekega političnega oseba v določeni politični situaciji neko ravnanje racionalno v smislu, da mu prinese več političnih točk, vendar pa to ravnanje ni umno. Nekaj torej lahko ni umno (je neumno), pa je še vedno racionalno. V op. 21 na str. 48 pojasni še pojem intrinzične umnosti.

12 Javni um se po Rawlsu razlikuje od tistega, kar se včasih imenuje sekularni um in sekularne vrednote. Ti niso isto kot javni um. Še posebej ne, če se zavedamo, da Rawls definira sekularni um kot umovanje v pojmi celovitega nereligioznega nauka. Politične vrednote po Rawlsu niso moralni nauki. Moralni nauki so na isti ravni z religijo in prvo filozofijo. Nasprotno pa so liberalna politična načela in vrednote določeni z liberalnimi političnimi pojmovanji pravičnosti in spadajo v kategorijo političnega. (Rawls, 2002a, 143–144) Taka podlaga je omogočala Rawlsu, da je v teku razvoja mehčal svoj ekskluzivizem in po mnenju nekaterih od njega ni prav dosti ostalo. Tako je Burt Dreben (2003, gl. tudi Nussbaum, 2015) njegovo stališče dojel kot tako, za katerega je pomembno le, da so razlogi taki, da jih lahko vsi vpleteni razumejo in sprejmejo. Rawlsova pozicija je po tej interpretaciji izrazito formalistična (še ena vzporednica s Kantom). Sicer pa je Rawls predstavil tri oblike političnega diskurza za vključevanje celovitih naukov v javni diskurz: pridržek (*proviso*), deklaracijo in domnevo (*conjecture*) (Rawls, 2002a, 153–156).

Benedikt je razvil model konvergence, predvsem v debati s Habermasom (Ratzinger 2006b). Njegov problem je, kako premagati goli pluralizem in ga zamenjati z odnosnostjo. Stavi na interakcijo med krščansko vero in zahodnim razumom pa tudi med drugimi, nezahodnimi, tradicijami. Taka interakcija naj bi prinesla očiščenje omenjenih tradicij, njegova posledica pa bo pojavitev oziroma izoblikovanje, izkristaliziranje resnične skupne osnove teh tradicij, ki bo postala učinkovita sila v prid vsemu človeštvu. Z Rawlsovega stališča pa to upanje na rastočo interakcijo med kulturnimi tradicijami, in ideja sovpadanja, ki je njegova podlaga, nista zadostni, saj ne priznavata v polnosti obstoja konfliktnih, a vendarle celovitih naukov kot osnovno dejstvo demokratične družbe.

Tako Benediktovo kot Rawlsovo stališče nas puščata v nekakšni zagati ali »aporiji« (Jonkers, 2015, 238), saj nobena od ponujenih opcij ni ravno obetavna. Ali je interakcija med sekularno racionalnostjo in velikimi religioznimi tradicijami možna v smislu modrosti kot skupne osnove med prvo in slednjimi? Trenutna (pluralistična) situacija ne obeta veliko v tem pogledu. Moderne družbe po eni strani kot svojo nepogrešljivo osnovo, na katero se lahko sklicujemo, potrebujejo ideji človeškega dostojanstva in politične pravičnosti. Po drugi strani pa te iste družbe skorajda niso zmožne doseči, niti v minimalni meri oz. vsebini ne, prekrivajoče se umno soglasje. To še posebno velja na globalni ravni. Jonkers (2015, 238) navaja dva primera, na katera smo opozorili že zgoraj: trenutno kontroverzo o univerzalnosti Splošne deklaracije o človekovih pravicah iz leta 1948 in, na bolj temeljni ravni, o tem, ali res obstajajo univerzalne človeške vrednote. Umnost umnega pluralizma je torej pod velikim vprašajem. Potemtakem sta tako Benediktov kot tudi Rawlsov projekt za doseg pravične oz. poštene družbe v škripcih: v pogledu dialoga med sekularno in versko kulturo in med kulturami na splošno smo trenutno težko optimistični, ta dialog pa je pogoj za to, da bi se izoblikoval skupni imenovalec, na podlagi katerega bi lahko s soglasjem urejali družbo. Po drugi pa se vse bolj postavlja pod vprašaj in krha tudi soglasje glede tistih »univerzalnih« vrednot in načel, ki so bistvene prvine Rawlsovega umnega pluralizma.¹³

RAWLS IN AN-NA'IM

An-Na'imov članek, na podlagi katerega bomo predstavili njegovo kritiko Rawlsa, ima naslov *Islamska politika in nevtralna država*. Na začetku članka pojasni pojem islamske politike. Ta izraz se nanaša na »islamsko razsežnost v politikah raznih skupnosti muslimanov, ne glede na to ali ti tvorijo tako imenovano večino ali

manjšino prebivalstva« (An-Na'im, 2015, 242). Nato poudari, da je po njegovem mnenju vsa(ka) politika seveda specifična in kontekstualna in dodaja, da se izraz islamska politika nanaša na to »kako se islamske vrednote in pojmi uporabljajo v političnih diskurzih, pogajanjih in strategijah lokalnih ali nacionalnih muslimanskih skupnosti v njihovih partikularnih kontekstih« (An-Na'im, 2015, 242).

An-Na'im ne verjame, da obstaja specifična islamska politika, ki je skupna vsem muslimanom, gledano navpično (zgodovinsko) in vodoravno (danes, po vsem svetu). Tako ima na primer islamska politika muslimanov v Indiji več skupnega s »hindujsko politiko« njihovih sosedov kot z islamsko politiko v Senegalu. V odnosu do tega pojmovanja islamske politike An-Na'im razglablja o potrebnosti, možnosti in zaželenosti nevtralne države, pa tudi o pomenu te nevtralnosti. Svoj razmislek An-Na'im začne s predstavitvijo dejstva, da v islamskem obzorju ni mogoče družbe »sterilno« razdeliti na sekularno in versko področje in da politične sfere ni mogoče ločiti od verske v smislu, da se v političnem diskurzu, pogajanjih in strateških premislekih ter razpravah ne bi uporabljali islamski pojmi in vrednote. V islamskem obzorju neke jasne ločnice, razmejitve med sekularnim in religioznim, političnim in religioznim ni mogoče napraviti in potemtakem tudi ni mogoče uresničevati kake (verske) nevtralne politike v smislu urejanja skupnega dobrega.

Iz povedanega izhaja, da v islamskem svetu ni mogoče uresničiti umne ustavne ureditve v Rawlsovem smislu. Vendar pa se na tej osnovi postavljata dve vprašanji: 1. Ali je slabo, da v muslimanskem svetu ni mogoče gojiti nevtralne politike/države, »nevtralne« v Rawlsovem smislu? 2) Ali je Rawlsov model družbe res pošten/pravičen in sploh izvedljiv, ali je družba, ki si jo je zamislil Rawls sploh možna oz. ali lahko sploh (dobro) deluje? An-Na'im odgovor na obe, vzajemno povezani vprašanji, je negativen. Družba, ki bi delovala oz. ki bi bila uspešna in ki bi bila primerek Rawlsovega modela ni možna. Pa tudi če bi bila možna, izključevanje religij, kot ga zagovarja Rawls, ne bi bilo pravično. An-Na'im meni, da je Rawlsova izključitev religij iz javnega uma napačna v več različnih pogledih in še posebno z vidika ustavnih temeljev in vprašanj osnovne pravičnosti na katere se osredotoča Rawls. Za to navaja pet razlogov (An-Na'im, 2015, 262): 1. Nepošteno je zavračati nek diskurz samo zato, ker velja za religioznega, ne glede na to, kar ima dejansko za povedati o zadevnem problemu. 2. To je oblika vnaprejšnje cenzure, ki blokira izvrševanje temeljnih človekovih pravic svobode vere in izražanja in to preden je dokazana kakšna škoda. Taka cenzura ni samo načelno nepravilna, ampak tudi neizvedljiva:

¹³ Nussbaumova (2015) ugotavlja, da je Rawls sam (zmotno) menil, da so le nekatere človekove pravice iz deklaracije OZN iz 1948. leta take, da lahko računajo na splošno sprejetje v smislu, da je za njih temelj v vseh velikih kulturah. Rawls je (po Nussbaumovi zmotno) možnost poštene demokratične ureditve, v kateri je edino mogoč umni pluralizem, omejeval na države, ki jih je preobrazila reformacija, to pa so po njegovem države SZ Evrope in ZDA (ne pa več Avstralija). Nussbaumova opozarja na številno zgodovinsko evidenco, ki nasprotuje temu Rawlsovemu stališču (že nekatere starejše kulture so imele neko vrsto reformacije (v Indiji itd.)).

kako lahko vnaprej vemo katere trditve oziroma zahteve so religiozne, še preden jih dejansko slišimo? 3. Vse državljanje bi morali spodbujati naj se udeležujejo političnih razprav, o vseh problemih in v vseh kontekstih, tako, da bodo čez čas razvili in ohranjali svoj državljanski um. Rawlsova izključitev religij predstavlja temeljno oviro za to. 4. Z izključitvijo religij iz javnega uma jih Rawls obravnava kot da bi bile izolirane in zaprte in ne odprte za notranjo razpravo in kot da bi jih lahko jasno in razločno razdelili na religiozne in sekularne segmente. Tako gledanje pa je/bi bilo po An-Na'imjem mnenju napačna interpretacija islamskega političnega mišljenja, saj se le-to razvija tako preko notranje kot tudi preko zunanje kritike in v zapletenih odnosih z nereligioznim mišljenjem. Rawlsova izključitev religij potemtakem ni v skladu s stvarnostjo tekmujočih racionalnosti znotraj celovitih nauk in omejuje možnosti prepričevanja med verniki. 5. Rawlsovi poskusi, da bi vključil religije v javno razpravo so neustrezni. Četudi Rawls poudarja omejeni doseg ustavnih temeljev in vprašanj osnovne pravičnosti so religije še vedno izključene iz razprave o teh temeljnih političnih vprašanjih in ne glede na mero, v kateri pridržek in domneva po eni strani omogočata vključitev religioznega umovanja v javno razpravo, po drugi strani oba še vedno zahtevata, da je le-to v končni instanci prevedeno v nereligiozne, »javne« izraze, za katere je Rawls menil, da bi mogli biti skupni državljanom.

An-Na'im se zavzema za veliko manjše omejevanje religije kot Rawls. Po njegovem mnenju sta svoboda izražanja religioznih in drugih celovitih razlogov v politiki in svoboda političnega organiziranja z namenom njihovega promoviranja lahko omejeni samo, če kršita ustavne pravice drugih, kot so vzpostavljene z državo in ne še zaradi kakih drugih razlogov, kot je menil Rawls. Če ravnamo tako, kot je, z islamskega gledišča, predlagal An-Na'im, potem po njegovem mnenju lahko zahteve civilnega, ali »javnega«, uma uresničujemo bolj učinkovito (An-Na'im, 2015, 263).

Na koncu članka An-Na'im na kratko opiše prakso tistega, kar sam imenuje »civilni um« v normalnem teku življenja skupnosti, kjerkoli že se le-te nahajajo. Ta praksa je nasprotje njegovi umetni omejenosti na določene zadeve ali uporabe samo v nekaterih, segregiranih funkcijah (5989–91). Njegova glavna poanta oz. namen je pojasnitev izvora in pomena preživetvenih »spretnosti« za ohranitev identitete, načina življenja in družbe na splošno. Najprej ugotavlja, da se v normalnih razmerah otroci socializirajo v družinah, šolah in drugih okoljih da osvojijo, sprejmejo in podpirajo določene vrednote glede družbenih in političnih odnosov in ravnanja. Odrasli oziroma starejši člani družbe niso samo bili socializirani (v te vrednote) na te ali podobne načine, ampak se jih tudi stalno spominja na pomen in (praktično) koristnost teh vrednot. V tem kontekstu An-Na'im govori (An-Na'im, 2015, 263–264) o preživetvenih spretnostih, ki morajo biti prisotne v

vsaki družbi ali skupnosti, če se le-ta želi ohranjati. Med temi vrednotami oziroma krepostmi so na primer verodostojnost oz. biti vreden zaupanja v ekonomskih odnosih z drugimi, spoštovanje dostojanstva drugih ter sprejemanje tako njihove rasne in etnične identitete kot tudi njihovih verskih in političnih prepričanj. To je potrebno zato, ker tudi sami potrebujemo, da drugi spoštujejo naše dostojanstvo, identiteto in prepričanja. To ne pomeni, da je kakšna konkretna družba lahko popolna ali idealna v tem pogledu, morajo pa v vsaki družbi, ki se želi ohraniti, te vrednote oziroma kreposti biti v zadostni meri navzoče in uresničene. Na tej osnovi An-Na'im predstavi svojo »glavno poanto«, ki je, da ne samo, da so »celoviti nauki« v Rawlsovem pomenu tega izraza sestavni del teh procesov, ampak igrajo celo vodilno vlogo v naši socializaciji v te žlahtne vrednote človečnosti, ki jih moramo uresničevati in se za njih zavzemati. Naša izkušnja jasno kaže, da ne moremo nadzorovati in kontrolirati, kakšen diskurz se goji, kdo ga goji in v kakšnem kontekstu. Religija, kultura, družbeni odnosi in dejavnosti, vse to nas pripravlja na zdravo, produktivno in mirno življenje, četudi se včasih zapletemo tudi v patološke, destruktivne in nasilne odnose. Vendar, zaključim svojo razpravo An-Na'im, karkoli že smo, je religija za tiste, ki verujemo, neločljiva prvina tistega, kar smo (naše identitete) oziroma tega, kako živimo (našega načina življenja) (An-Na'im, 2015, 264).

Z besedami o tem, da se ne da razdeliti življenja konkretnih oseb na sekularni in religiozni del itd. se je An-Na'im spet vrnil k začetku svojega članka, kjer je podobne reči poudarjal glede družbene ravni v islamskem obzorju. An-Na'im je v nekaterih svojih ugovorih jasno in tehtno opozoril na pomanjkljivosti Rawlsovega modela, v nekaterih drugih točkah pa je ostal preveč nedorečen in nejasen in bi njegova izvajanja težko uporabili kot podlago za izdelavo jasnih smernic za urejanje odnosov v sodobni vrednotno heterogeni družbi in, v tem sklopu, položaja vere v javnem prostoru, diskurzu in odločanju. Zato bomo v zadnjem delu tega članka predstavili stališče Martina Breula, ki se nam zdi od vseh štirih, ki smo jih predstavili v tem članku, najbolj jasno in utemeljeno. Menimo, da moramo vsako stališče o vlogi verskih prepričanj in razlogov v javnem prostoru oz. diskurzu zavrnil v tistih njihovih momentih, v katerih, ali zaradi katerih, ne dovoljujejo vlog, ki jih kot dovoljene in, še več, kot potrebne in zaželene, navaja Breul. Kot za vsa ostala to velja tudi za Rawlsovo, ki pa je zelo kompleksno. Poleg tega ga je Rawls v teku svoje dolge raziskovalne poti večkrat spremenil in je v določenih pogledih in smislu ostalo nedokončano oz. nedorečeno.

BREULOV ZMERNI EKSKLUZIVIZEM

Eno od osrednjih vprašanj v razpravi o odnosu med religijo in demokratično javnostjo je vprašanje legiti-

mnosti uporabe religioznih prepričanj in argumentov v političnih razpravah. Gre za vprašanje, če so religiozna prepričanja in argumenti dopustni razlogi v javnih diskurzih pluralistične družbe. Ali ni morda moralno sporno, da lahko v javnem diskurzu o upravičenju oz. upravičenosti kolektivno zavezujočih norm podajamo, izrekamo, navajamo itd. religiozna prepričanja kot možne in primerne utemeljitve takšnih norm? Postavlja se vprašanje, ob katerem se naša mnenja zelo razhajajo, ali je uporaba religioznih prepričanj v javnem diskurzu legitimni sestavni del verske svobode in morda celo nepogrešljivi del vitalne demokratične kulture, ali pa s takšnimi javnimi uporabami neka prepričanja (na primer o tem, kakšno življenje je dobro in smiselno), ki so vedno lahko kvečjemu zgolj partikularistično utemeljena, na nedopusten način prenašamo na splošno zavezujoče norme. Martin Breul (2015, 482) prvo stališče imenuje inkluzivizem, drugo pa ekskluzivizem. Drugo stališče postavlja omejitve za religiozna ali druga celovita verovanja in nauke. Očitno je, da neko umno stališče glede tega vprašanja predstavlja ključno smernico za razrešitev ali vsaj ublažitev religiozno političnih konfliktov sodobne družbe.

Breulova teza je, da je v razpravi o dopustnosti religioznih argumentov in prepričanj v javnem diskurzu možno tretje, vmesno stališče. To stališče imenuje zmerni ekskluzivizem (v nadaljevanju ZE) (Breul, 2015, 482). ZE trdi, da je po eni strani nujno potrebno, da vztrajamo pri idealu nevtralnega upravičevanja. Samo tako utemeljene politične norme so legitime, saj jih upravičujejo razlogi, ki jih lahko razumejo in sprejmejo vsi, ki jih določeno vprašanje zadeva. To je ekskluzivistična prvina ZE. Vendar pa to vztrajanje ne implicira nobenih zahtev, da mora religija ostajati zgolj v zasebni sferi, saj so razen utemeljevanja oz. upravičevanja možne še mnoge druge vloge, ki jih religiozna prepričanja lahko opravljajo v javnem diskurzu (zmerni element). Z zavzetjem takega stališča naj bi se po eni strani izognili vnaprejšnjemu in pavšalnemu izključevanju in diskriminiranju religiozne argumentacije na splošno, po drugi strani pa neutemeljenemu gospostvu te ali one svetovno nazorske večine, ki ga omogoča neprečiščeno dopuščanje in sprejemanje religioznih prepričanj in zahtev, ki ni podvrženo nobeni tehtni presoji na podlagi (religiozno nevtralnih) umnih meril.

Breul (2015) je navedel pet funkcij oz. razlogov za tezo, da religiozna prepričanja lahko igrajo legitimno vlogo v javnem diskurzu pluralne in demokratične družbe. Še več, Breul trdi, da so te funkcije za tako družbo nujne. Pri nobeni vlogi ne gre za funkcijo upravičevanja, glede katere se Breul strinja s skrajnimi ekskluzivisti, da je religiozna prepričanja ne morejo opravljati. Ti razlogi oz. vloge so: 1. Religiozna prepričanja lahko igrajo vlogo motivacijskega razloga; 2. Drugi razlog za potrebnost javnega izražanja religioznih prepričanj se nanaša na zadržanost nekaterih glede možnosti prevoda vsebine religioznih prepričanj v nereligiozni, sekularni govor.

Breul izhaja iz pojmovanja, da je javnost kritičen in diskurziven postopek za koordiniranje in organiziranje skupnega ravnanja in življenja. Če je tako, potem religiozna prepričanja ne bi smela biti vnaprej izključena iz javnosti oz. omejena na zasebno področje saj potem sploh ni nobene možnosti oz. priložnosti, da bi preverili dostopnost njihove vsebine in dele, ki so zanimivi za družbeno razpravo, prevedli v splošno sprejemljivo govornico. Zato moramo, če želimo biti na postsekularni ravni, zavrniti »liberalno« zahtevo zasebnosti religije in dopustiti prisotnost religioznih argumentov v javnosti, pri čemer pa se morajo njihovi zagovorniki zavedati epistemske omejenosti teh argumentov (Breul, 2015, 499). 3. Tretji razlog za prisotnost dostopnih religioznih razlogov v javnem diskurzu je upoštevanje manjšin (Breul, 2015, 499–500). Za marsikatero manjšino je pogosto edini način, da pojasnijo svoje pomisleke, ali zadržke, izražanje v religiozni govorici oziroma s pomočjo religiozno obloženih ali utemeljenih ugovorov. Religiozne utemeljitve lahko služijo kot (začetne) namestnice za splošno sprejemljive utemeljitve, v katere se lahko one prevedejo ali ki se lahko kasneje podajo, priobčijo. Razlog za takšno dopustitev po Breulu ni kakšna pokroviteljska zaščita kulturne raznolikosti, ampak želja, da se kolikor mogoče razširi polje demokratične javne razprave, tako v vsebinskem pogledu kot tudi z vidika možnih udeležencev (vključno z manjšinami z obrobja). 4. Religiozni argumenti lahko služijo kot dodatna utemeljitev poleg argumentov, ki temeljijo na splošno sprejemljivih razlogih. Tako se lahko razne diktatorske usmeritve ali pa očitne krivice kritizirajo tudi z religioznih stališč. V takem primeru religiozni argumenti nimajo odločilnega pomena, lahko pa določenemu stališču dajo večjo težo. Izključitev religiozne argumentacije iz javne razprave lahko privede do nastanka javnega prostora, ki ga zasedejo razni skrajneži, ki v javno razpravo brez zadržkov vnašajo lažne religiozne argumente, ki koristijo njihovim interesom. Tako se je v zadnjih letih v ZDA izrazilo povečal vpliv religiozne skrajne desnice in evangelikalskih fundamentalistov v javnosti (Sandel, 2010, 208–269.) 5. V okoljih stabilnega nesoglasja, ki zahtevajo obsežne kompromise, je lahko potrebna navezava na religiozne predstave (Breul, 2015, 501). Vzemimo primer zagovornikov splava in njihovih religioznih nasprotnikov. Ker ne moremo pričakovati dosege kakšnega soglasja o tem vprašanju med njimi, je edina rešitev tega pat položaja dosega nekega kompromisa, s katerim bodo oboji kolikor toliko lahko živeli in ki bo omogočil pomiritev med obema stranema. Če pa želimo doseči tak kompromis, moramo najprej izvedeti, kaj tvori vrednotna merila in pojmovanja konkretnih potencialnih partnerjev za želeni kompromis, da jih bomo v procesu doseganja kompromisa lahko upoštevali. To pa lahko dosežemo le, če tudi religiozna stran lahko v javni razpravi pojasni svoje poglede in če bodo njeni pogledi upoštevani v javnem diskurzu.

Na koncu moramo podati še pojasnitev glede

splošne dostopnosti in splošne sprejemljivosti verskih prepričanj in razlogov kot potrebnih pogojev za uporabo v javnem diskurzu. Ali so verska prepričanja in razlogi javno dostopni? Ali so splošno sprejemljivi? Če ne, ali ni potem upravičen njihov »izgon« iz uporabe v javnem umu. Naše stališče je naslednje: Nedvomno je splošna dostopnost verskih prepričanj in razlogov potreben pogoj za njihovo uporabo v javnem umu. Ta pogoj verska prepričanja oziroma razlogi vsekakor izpolnjujejo. Splošna sprejemljivost pa ni pogoj za vsako funkcioniranje v javnem diskurzu, ampak samo za služenje upravičevanju. Jasno je, da verska prepričanja niso splošno sprejemljiva, zato ne morejo služiti upravičevanju. Vendar pa so, v nasprotju z mnenjem nekaterih, splošno dostopna. To nam razkriva analiza sestava verskih prepričanj, ki jo je opravil Breul prav iz razloga, da bi utemeljil svojo trditev, da verska prepričanja lahko upravičeno opravljajo funkcije v javnem diskurzu, ki jih je navedel.

Glavna poanta njegove epistemološke analize je, da moramo pri verskih prepričanjih ločevati dva dela: vsebinski ali propozicionalni ali kognitivni del, ki je dostopen, in dejni ali regulativni del, ki ni dostopen. Spoznavna dostopnost verskih prepričanj, ki jo omogoča njihov kognitivni ali propozicionalni del, zadošča, da lahko verska prepričanja in razlogi igrajo vloge v javnem diskurzu, ki jih je navedel Breul. Oglejmo si sedaj še malce podrobneje njegovo analizo.

Prvo pojmovno razlikovanje, s katerim Breul začne svojo pojasnitev, in ki poteka v okvirih kantovske teorije praktične umne vere, je razlikovanje med mnenjem <Meinen>, vedenjem <Wissen> in vero <Glauben>. O mnenju govorimo takrat, ko ima nekdo nekaj za resnično, vendar je to golo imetje-za-resnično. Ono ne temelji na nobenih razlogih, ki bi bili zadostni, niti objektivno niti subjektivno, za to prepričanje. Po drugi strani pa je vedenje objektivno gotovo, na spoznavanju avtonomnega uma temelječe imetje-za-resnično. Stavki vere pa niso niti popolnoma neutemeljeni niti niso plod zgolj avtonomnega uma, ampak gre za tretjo obliko spoznanja. Breul navaja odlomek iz Kantove *Kritike čistega uma* (B 855) in na tej podlagi ugotavlja, da vera, razumljena kot praktična umna vera, nikakor ni v nasprotju z umom, ampak je utemeljeno zaupanje (Breul, 2015, 491). Utemeljeno zaupanje sicer ni objektivna gotovost, je pa dostopno za umno utemeljevanje. Na to razlikovanje človeških zmožnosti Breul naveže analizo religiozних prepričanj, ki ima odločilne posledice za vlogo religiozних prepričanj v javnem diskurzu. Med kognitivne prvine vere spadajo vsebinska oziroma materialna prepričanja o svetu in interpretacije znotraj-svetnega dogajanja. Regulativni elementi implicirajo prakso, ki obsega celotno osebo in ki implicira njeno

religiozno zadržanje (Breul, 2015, 492).

V navezavi na Avgušтина lahko materialne vsebine in konkretna intelektualna prepričanja vere označimo kot *fides quae creditur* (vera, ki je verjeta), versko zadržanje pa kot *fides qua creditur* (vera, s katero je verjeto oz. vera, s katero verujemo) (Augustinus, 2001, *De Trinitate* XIII, 2,5). Medtem ko torej *fides quae* vsebuje vsebine vere, se pravi njene elemente, ki se jih da propozicionalno dojeti, pa označuje *fides qua* dej vere, torej praktično izvedbo oz. izvršitev vere (Breul, 2015, 492). *Fides quae* lahko označimo tudi kot ‚doksastično vero‘, ki ima naslednjo osnovno obliko: »Jaz verujem, da p«. *Fides qua* lahko označimo kot »fiduciarno vero«, zaupanjsko vero, vero, ki temelji na zaupanju. Njena osnovna struktura je »Verujem v p«.

V sodobnem izrazoslovju se je uveljavilo analogno razlikovanje med vero <faith> in verovanjem <belief> (Breul, 2015, 492ff).¹⁴ Vera pomeni, da vsako religiozno prepričanje spremlja nek dej vere, to se pravi neka odločitev za vero, ki v svojem nastanku najprej ni razumno utemeljena. Nasprotno pa se *verovanje* nanaša na kognitivno razumevanje propozicionalno zaznamovanih religiozних prepričanj. Tako vera kot verovanje sta bistvena sestavna dela religiozних prepričanj, kar pomeni, da eno brez drugega ne more obstajati, če govorimo o pristnih, avtentičnih religiozних prepričanjih. Važno je, da razlike med tema dvema elementoma religiozних prepričanj ne prenapenjamo do te mere, da enega od teh elementov izoliramo in pojmovno odstranimo iz izvorne epistemične dvojne strukture religiozних prepričanj (Breul, 2015, 492). Če neko prepričanje ni nič drugega kot neko slepo zaupanje, brez vsake materialne vsebine, ni smiselno govoriti o pravem religioznem prepričanju. Prav tako pa ni smiselno religioznega prepričanja reducirati zgolj na golo imetje-za-resnično določenih stvari, ki pa je za praktično življenje nepomembno. Do verskih prepričanj nismo pravični, če jih z reduciramo samo na kognitivne elemente. Zgornja spoznanja lahko razložijo še nekatera dobro znana dejstva: na primer to, da lahko z argumenti komajda kakšnega neverujočega pripravimo do vere ali pa to, da religiozni ljudje kljub temu, da (najprej) ne znajo odgovoriti na kritiko religije, vztrajajo pri svoji veri (Breul, 2015, 493). Prav tako nesmiselna je redukcija stavkov vere na njihove regulativne elemente, saj ti stavki neizogibno vsebujejo določena vsebinska verska prepričanja, ki terjajo vsaj intersubjektivno, t.j. ne zgolj zasebno veljavo.

Iz zgornje analize sestava religiozних prepričanj izhaja, da so ta, vsaj po eni plati (kognitivne prvine), dostopna za diskurzivno obravnavo oziroma razpravo. V nobenem primeru pa ne gre za izjave, ki so za um zaprte ali mu celo nasprotni, ki jih neverujoči, ali drugače verujoči, ne morejo razumeti in o njihovi kognitivni

¹⁴ John Dewey (1962, 20) je razlikoval med *believing in* in *believing that*. Tako lahko na primer po eni strani verjamemo v demokracijo, v razne (druge) ideale itd., po drugi strani pa npr. da je Rim glavno mesto Italije, da se je Prešeren rodil l. 1800 ... Da verjamemo v nekaj zahteva vsebino, ampak ta vsebina ni samo informacija (Hodges, 2001, 68).

vsebini ne morejo preišljati, je razumeti ali dognati. To bi bilo v nasprotju s kognitivno zaznamovanostjo religioznih prepričanj. Po drugi strani pa moramo ugotoviti, da religiozna prepričanja niso identična z avtonomnimi prepričanji uma. Zaradi njihove nereducibilne življenjsko-praktične zakoreninjenosti zahteva to, da

neko religiozno prepričanje postane naše lastno, več kot zgolj kognitivno razumevanje. Lahko rečemo, da religiozna prepričanja lahko popolnoma izpolnijo pogoje intersubjektivne dostopnosti, vendar pa kljub temu, zaradi svoje sestave, ne izpolnjujejo pogoja splošne sprejemljivosti.¹⁵

¹⁵ Breul poda v tem pogledu še zanimiv razmislek o nekaterih Wittgensteinovih (Breul, 2015, 492–93, op. 27) in Habermasovih razsvetljujočih distinkcijah (Breul, 2015, 493, op. 28) vendar se moramo njihovi predstavitvi, zaradi prostorske omejenosti, žal odpovedati.

PUBLIC REASON, RELIGION AND EXCLUSIVISM: RAWLS IN THE LIGHT OF THE CATHOLIC AND ISLAMIC VIEW

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SUMMARY

One of the central questions of the modern societies – which are heterogeneous regarding their values and world views – is the relation between democratic public on one hand and religions – but also other comprehensive doctrines – on the other. It is obvious that some reasonable account about this issue represents the key guideline for resolving and mitigating the conflicts of the modern world. For this reason the author sets himself to a comparative analysis of the models of arranging of this relation proposed by four eminent theoreticians who are representatives of different religions, cultures and world views: John Rawls, Pope Benedict XVI, Islamic scholar Abdullahi A. An-Na'im, and German philosopher Martin Breul. The author discovers certain drawbacks of the first three accounts from the aspect of feasibility, fairness, completeness and clarity. He finds Breul's variant of moderate exclusivism as the most clear and adequate proposal and hence as the most appropriate guideline to the main topical question of the article. Breul claims that, on one hand, it is necessary that we insist on neutral justification of political norms. But the neutral justification doesn't imply any demands that religion must stay just in the private sphere, since there are many other roles which can be, and should be, performed by religious beliefs in the public discourse of democratic societies. In such a way we can avoid, on one hand, the unjustified discrimination of religious argumentation in advance and, on the other hand, the possibility of the non-democratic domination of some world view majority based on the religious or some other comprehensive reasons which are not subjected to any neutral judgement.

Keywords: religion, public reason, public discourse, exclusivism, reasonable pluralism, John Rawls, Pope Benedict XVI, Islam, Martin Breul

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VATTIMO'S KENOTIC INTERPRETATION OF CHRISTIANITY AND ITS RELEVANCE FOR A POSTMODERN DEMOCRACY

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with Vattimo's provocative interpretation of Christianity and its socio-political significance. The first part presents his view on how Christianity contributed to the process of emancipation and to the ideal of democratic society. However, for Vattimo this ideal also coincides with the original idea of communism. The second part thus focuses on Vattimo's interpretation of communism as Christianity's ally, and as an alternative to unauthentic liberal democracies. The third part of the article criticises the nihilist presuppositions of Vattimo's hermeneutics, his one-sided interpretation of Christianity, and his notion of hermeneutic democracy.

Keywords: Vattimo, Christianity, communism, hermeneutics, democracy, weak thought

L'INTERPRETAZIONE CHENOTICA DEL CRISTIANESIMO DI VATTIMO E LA SUA RILEVANZA PER UNA DEMOCRAZIA POSTMODERNA

SINTESI

L'articolo si occupa dell'interpretazione provocatoria del cristianesimo proposta da Vattimo e del suo significato socio-politico. La prima parte presenta la sua visione di come il cristianesimo ha contribuito al processo di emancipazione e all'ideale della società democratica. Comunque, per Vattimo questo ideale coincide anche con l'idea originale del comunismo. Per questo, la seconda parte dell'articolo è dedicata all'interpretazione di Vattimo del comunismo come alleato del cristianesimo e come alternativa alle democrazie liberali non autentiche. La terza parte dell'articolo sviluppa infine una critica dei presupposti nichilistici dell'ermeneutica di Vattimo, della sua interpretazione unilaterale del cristianesimo e della sua concezione di democrazia ermeneutica.

Parole chiave: Vattimo, cristianesimo, comunismo, ermeneutica, democrazia, pensiero debole

Vattimo developed his philosophical thought particularly through a productive appropriation of Nietzsche and Heidegger, and so his book *Belief* (1999 [in Italian 1996]), in which he set himself to the question of faith and Christianity, came as a considerable surprise. Vattimo also did something unexpected with his methodical approach, which tied his treatment of these thematic topics to a personal account and a first person perspective. He later added to his interpretation of Christianity with *After Christianity* (2002), and then again with another important reference to his understanding of religion in a book co-authored by Richard Rorty called *The Future of Religion* (2005). At first glance it seems that Vattimo's interpretation of Christianity is highly sympathetic; contrary to the common view that sees an incompatibility between the absolute claims in religion and democratic political practices, Vattimo speaks in favour of the thesis that modern pluralism and the democratic model of society are a result of Christianity's internal development. For this reason Christianity – naturally, along with an appropriate “hermeneutic” self-understanding – is a positive factor within our socio-political context. However, Vattimo did not just return to Christianity, a part of his personal history, but also to another dimension of his past: his enthusiasm for communism. In 2007 he published the book *Ecce Comu* in Italian, and presented his comprehensive vision of the communist ideal and its meaning for democracy in *Hermeneutic Communism* (2011), co-authored by Santiago Zabala. Thus, Vattimo does not cease to amaze: the hermeneutics which he develops from the thought of Nietzsche and Heidegger finds an ally in both Christianity and communism. And this is more than a mere alliance, since Vattimo is firmly convinced that all of these positions embody a single logic – the logic of “weak thought”, something which smashes every absolutist monopoly of or above the truth and, in opposition to the logic of power, is built upon a sensitivity for that which is powerless and weak, while also striving for the emancipation of the weak in a concrete political context.¹

In this article my first aim is to present Vattimo's interpretation of Christianity and the socio-political significance which he attributes to it. The second part focuses on Vattimo's discovery of the revolutionary vocation of hermeneutics and the political ideal of hermeneutic communism. The third part deals with criticisms of Vattimo's positions: the nihilist presuppositions of his

hermeneutics, his one-sided interpretation of Christianity, and his questionable understanding of hermeneutic democracy.

CHRISTIANITY AS A PROTOTYPE OF BOTH WEAK THOUGHT AND EMANCIPATION

Vattimo's return to Christianity occurred after forming his philosophical position, developed through an intensive dialogue with Nietzsche and Heidegger. Though he summarises this position with the term *hermeneutics*, it is necessary to emphasise that this is a specific type of hermeneutics, one which is considerably removed from classical authorities, such as Gadamer, or Ricoeur. Grondin justifiably differentiates between metaphysical and nihilistic interpretations of hermeneutics (Grondin, 2010, 190), and in Vattimo's case we are dealing with its nihilistic variation. Furthermore, with Vattimo nihilism itself attains a positive connotation (Vattimo, 1988, 19). In accordance with Nietzsche's legacy, nihilism is the necessary process of the unmasking and destruction of metaphysics (Vattimo, 2007b, 405), a process in which seemingly absolute metaphysical values must be exposed as the mere projections of man and of his will to power. However, if Nietzsche persists in his conviction that nihilism, as the *pars destruens*, is not the final step, but that we also need the *pars construens* of a strong man (the overman), who establishes his own, strong truth – wherein Heidegger justifiably does not see an “overcoming”, but rather a “completion” of metaphysics (Heidegger, 1977, 259) – then Vattimo argues not only for the nihilistic destruction of absolute truth and values as a goal in itself, but also for this task to be carried out in perpetuity. He avoids the word *destruction* – or accepts it in the specific sense of Heidegger, who also influenced Derrida's term *deconstruction* (Trebežnik, 2013, 528) – because of that dimension of violence which can be felt in the word itself. Namely, Vattimo understands nihilistic dissolution as an eminently ethical act which is diametrically opposed to the logic of violence and power, and so he prefers the term *weakening*, which strips (annihilates) the power of one who is powerful and potentially violent. Nihilism thus attains an ethical component because it does not allow anything to usurp its power and suppress another person's different way of thinking or belief. “Weak thought” embodies an ethical ideal which Vattimo eventually connects with love or

1 The reception of Vattimo's “weak thought” in Slovenia began in the 90s with the translation of some of his articles that were published in various Slovenian journals (*Nova revija*, *Literatura*, *Tretji dan*, *FNM*). With the monograph on Vattimo by Jan Bednarik (2003), the Slovenian audience received a comprehensive survey of all major themes in Vattimo's philosophy. However, the religious aspects of Vattimo's thought and his interpretation of Christianity were underexposed in that book. The (Christian) journal *Tretji dan*, on the contrary, took up the topic, and Robert Petkovšek, who wrote an introduction to the “weak thought” (Petkovšek, 1998, 72–73), has been largely responsible for an intensified process of translating Vattimo's texts on religion and Christianity in this journal in the years to follow. In 2004, Vattimo's first book on Christianity “*Credere di credere*” (*Belief*) was translated into Slovenian (by Tone Dolgan), with an introductory study by Branko Klun (2004). In contrast to the vivid discussion about Vattimo's view on Christianity, his writings on Communism have not attracted much attention in Slovenia, even if there is a laudatory cover quote of Žižek in the English translation of “Hermeneutic Communism”...

charity (Lat. *caritas*) and which is, at its foundation, defined *per negationem* – as non-violence. Here we can see the basic characteristics of Vattimo's thought: at its beginning, rather than a positive determination, there is a negative moment (the weakening of power) which is then elevated to the highest ethical principle.

Though Vattimo's thought is inspired by Nietzsche, Nietzsche is the first whom he "weakens". Vattimo does not accept Nietzsche's glorification of power, but rather only those insights which are in the function of weakening, or nihilism. Nietzsche weakened the supposedly objective world into a fable, and declared the death of God, who represented the supreme value and ultimate foundation of reality. For Vattimo this represents a final farewell to the old "ontology of actuality" which identified Being with a firm presence; with an objective existence "out there" (Rorty & Vattimo, 2005, 57). According to Vattimo, the weakening of ontology was continued and accomplished by Heidegger, who first reduced Being to understanding (of *Dasein*), and then interpreted it as a "happening" (*Ereignis*) which is beyond man's power and domination. Being becomes an event of understanding, and thereby a language-event, losing its metaphysical basis. Since Being no longer refers to something existing out there, to an independent reality or objective facts, it is nothing but a historically conditioned, radically finite, and thus a "weak" interpretation in language. And since there are no longer any firm truths, but only weak interpretations, the importance of hermeneutics increases. Just as Heidegger spread the concept of metaphysics which, according to him, characterises a specific way of thinking in Western philosophy, for Vattimo hermeneutics is not merely a philosophical discipline of interpreting texts, but rather a way of thinking which is characteristic of our contemporary postmodern times, something we could call the age of hermeneutics. This age is characterised by a radical pluralism of interpretations, and by the fact that there are no longer any *grand narratives* (Lyotard), or a unique rationality. The world has in fact become a narrative or story, or even a stage of various stories (interpretations), and without an external metaphysical measure of truth, all that remains is the patient conversation between various narratives and interpretations.

Vattimo writes that very early on (Vattimo, 1999, 8) he became aware of the parallels between nihilism and the Christian concept of kenosis, or the "abasement" of God. The central concept of Christianity is the incarnation: God, who otherwise transcends the world and is its Creator, became man in Jesus Christ and entered into the (immanence of the) world. This act is described by St. Paul with the word kenosis, which literally means emptying-out, and in a more general sense can also be

explained as the annihilation, or radical weakening, of God's transcendent power. Hegel had already attempted to speculatively comprehend this unheard of truth of Christianity, and he sees the passage of God into negation – up to his death on Good Friday – as the prototype of dialectic logic. Vattimo, who is in many ways inspired by Hegel, but still subjects him to hermeneutical weakening, would agree that God (as a transcendence beyond the world) actually dies.² For all eternity, any transcendent and metaphysical foundation of the world dies, and there remains only the (Holy) Spirit, who lives on as the spirit of the community in the mutual conversations of its members. The death of the "metaphysical God" on Good Friday results in the resurrection of the "hermeneutic God" on Easter Sunday – and from that moment God "lives" as an event in the proclamation of the Christian community. However, while Hegel's fascination lies in the dialectic logic of God's death, Vattimo gives more importance to the message Jesus brings about God; here God is not a powerful and violent force (the powerful God of natural religion), but rather love, which has brought itself down (kenosis) to people and made them his friends. This message brings with it the freedom and emancipation of every human being, and Vattimo draws two conclusions from this idea of kenosis. First, "nihilism" (the self-annihilation of the powerful God) as an act of kenosis is nothing external or opposed to Christianity, but is part of its very essence (Vattimo, 1999, 35). Second, the kenotic descent of God into the world (Lat. *saeculum*) represents the first step of secularisation (Vattimo, 2002, 24). God does not seek to remain within the elevated and detached status of his transcendence, but instead desires his own secularisation; the secularisation of his essence, which is love, to permeate the entire world and not remain limited to religion – even if this dissemination of love comes at the cost of religion in a narrower sense (as a cult) being marginalised. According to Vattimo Christianity is a religion which is prepared to "annul" itself (Vattimo, 2010a, 152) in order to allow secular society to become more ethical and realise the logic of love. Christianity therefore unifies kenosis, nihilism, and secularisation; it abolishes the transcendent God, who rules with power, force, and violence, and proclaims God's love in addition to the Good News of non-violence, all of which make the emancipation of every person possible. For Christianity, instead of making an effort to secure a strong position in society, it is more important for its message of love to be realised in a socio-political context. Here we could also draw a parallel with Hegel, who sees the full realisation of (Christian) religion as coinciding with the substance of the state.

Vattimo finds an ally for his thought in Girard, who helps him understand the relationship between religion

2 Vattimo characterises himself as a "watered-down Hegelian" – that is to say "Hegel without the absolute spirit, without the end of history" (Vattimo, 2010a, 157; Weiss, 2003, 173). Hegel is also an important reference for other contemporary leftist thinkers and their interpretation of Christianity, especially Žižek.

and violence. According to Vattimo God, conceptualised as a supreme being by metaphysics, is directly connected with the image of God from natural religions, as described by Girard. This God is a product of human imprisonment in the cycle of mimetic violence, and a scapegoat mechanism (Petkovšek, 2014, 589; Petkovšek, 2016, 497). Vattimo believes that in metaphysics this corresponds to the construction of a transcendent God through the use of powerful ontological attributes (omnipotence, absoluteness, eternity, transcendence – Vattimo, 1999, 39). In other words, it is about establishing a God distinguished by power, and consequently also by violence. However, Vattimo draws the radical conclusion that every insistence on God's transcendence (in relation to the world, or to man) already includes violence. For Vattimo, if Christianity maintains that God as a transcendent entity truly exists "out there", this is a remnant of the legacy of metaphysics, and must be subjected to nihilistic weakening. Similarly, it is necessary to weaken any other remains of metaphysics in Christianity – especially in the Church as an institution, which fixes Christian doctrine in eternal dogmatic truth, advocates the separation of clerics (and with that a specific transcendence) from lay people, and invokes natural law as a metaphysical basis for its teachings. From Vattimo's perspective, Christianity's deepest vocation is an anti-metaphysical one, since in place of timeless essences it posits a story and history (of salvation). Indeed, according to Vattimo the criticism of metaphysics (as a phenomenon of Greek thought) has its roots in Christianity, something which Protestant thinkers pointed out when exposing the problem of the "Hellenisation" of Christianity. Vattimo appropriates Dilthey's explanation that Christianity represented a deviation from Greek metaphysics, which was directed to the cosmos and to the uncovering of (timeless) natural laws, because it (Christianity) turned to the inner man, to his history, uniqueness, and freedom. It was precisely the emergence of "historical consciousness" (Dilthey, 1990, 253) which we can say was the driving force for the transition from metaphysics (of timeless being) to hermeneutics (the historicity of understanding). If we were to simplify we could describe this transition – the overcoming of nature in the direction of freedom (of the spirit), and the transition from the universal (i.e. the natural) essence of man to the uniqueness of each individual (based in a new understanding of the will) – as an emancipation of the spirit from the shackles of natural necessity. Christianity brought with it that understanding of the person which then became the foundation for the subsequent political project of emancipation and democracy in the West. For this reason Vattimo does not agree with explanations (such as that of Hans Blumenberg (1966)), which describe how the Enlightenment project, with its political ideals, meant a break with Christianity, and that this took place despite and in opposition to Christianity – here secularisation (which derives its meaning

in the Enlightenment precisely from the political practices which limited the Church's power, influence, and property) stands for a process *against* Christianity – but rather that the development of democracy in the West was made possible precisely because of the message brought by Christianity, even though this message often had to assert itself against the structures and positions of the Church (Vattimo, 1999, 53). Here it becomes clear that Vattimo differentiates between Christianity and the Church, relinquishing the latter of its role of official bearer and interpreter of the Christian message. However, Vattimo is also critical of the Enlightenment ideal of reason which represents a new tool of universality after the end of the old realist ontology. A belief in a universal reason, which represents the domination of one unique and "strong" way of thinking (one "logos"), and does not allow for different interpretations, has yet to free itself from metaphysics and the metaphysical will to power. For that reason the rise of hermeneutics (from Schleiermacher through Dilthey, and up to Heidegger), which weakens the totality of modern rationality (something that continues to persist in science) and leads to the radical pluralism of interpretations, represents further development and a key result of the "action of the Christian message" (Vattimo, 2002, 67). The abovementioned representatives of hermeneutics were therefore not merely under the influence of Christianity. Rather, it is this historical development, from strong metaphysics to weak hermeneutics, which forms the very kenotic logic of Christianity. The development of secular history coincides with the history of salvation – the history of western civilisation *is* simultaneously the history of the Christian message at work.

At this point Vattimo's proximity to Hegel is once again apparent, but so is a "weakening" of Hegel's strong metaphysics. Like Hegel, Vattimo ascribes a key role to history: hermeneutics is a process of interpretation from its situation from within history (not from a timeless position), and also the very happening of history itself (Deibl, 2013, 78). Tradition then determines the horizon within which the interpreter finds himself: the freedom of interpretation occurs within historically conditioned possibilities of thought, but it also brings something new, and consequentially influences the future of history. However, Vattimo takes this a step further and believes that a certain logic is present within the development of history – namely the logic of weakening, which in the same way brings with it a kind of teleology of historical development (and its peak, instead of Hegel's absolute, is represented by the dissolution of every absolute claim). The logic of weakening is the logic of an ever increasing influence of the principle of love, something which, in a political sense, means a development in the direction of ever greater freedom, the emancipation of the individual, and a democratic conception of society. To support his thesis that this finality also determines Christianity, Vattimo turns to medieval theologian Joachim of Fiore,

who understood the development of Christianity as a progression through three historical ages (of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit), with the final age of Christianity – the Age of the Holy Spirit, in which authoritative (strong) thought will be overcome and the spirit of freedom will rule – commencing according to Vattimo's view in our contemporary, postmodern times (Vattimo, 2002, 25). Weak hermeneutic Christianity, which is most prevalent today, has coincided with the appearance of social pluralism, in which every individual acquires the right to participate in the democratic process, and to have his or her interpretation respected and included in the political conversation which forms the basis of a democratic state.

FRAMED DEMOCRACY AND HERMENEUTIC COMMUNISM

Vattimo's own history is marked by more than the experience of Christianity. It is also coloured by a proximity to leftist ideals and communism, and in his autobiography he even describes an enthusiasm for Maoism (Vattimo, 2010a, 52). For that reason, from a personal perspective, it is not surprising if, after his return to Christianity, there also follows a "reconversion to communism" (Depoortere, 2010, 210). Together with his student Santiago Zabala he conceives of a view of communism from the perspective of hermeneutics. But, why include the theme of "weak communism" (Vattimo, 2010b, 205) into this analysis of the importance of Christianity for democracy and society? The reason is simple: Vattimo identifies the ideal of postmodern hermeneutic democracy with the ideal of hermeneutic communism. In fact, it seems that the essence of Christianity, communism, and hermeneutics meet at the same point, and that all are connected by the commandment of love, which truly links them together only if and when they renounce and weaken their strong (metaphysical) presuppositions. Genuine democracy reveals itself as a regime of weakness. Additionally, Vattimo will conclude that the ideal of democracy will be a regime of *the weak* – namely of those who Marx called the proletariat, but now have different names, and have in common the fact that they are marginalised, disprivileged, and that their voice in seemingly democratic societies is stifled. It is interesting that in his studies on communism, Vattimo rarely relates it to Christianity. For biographical reasons he distances himself from Italian "catto-comunismo" in *Ecce Comu*, but in *Hermeneutic Communism* Christianity is hardly mentioned at all. The reader gets the impression that Vattimo and Zabala are aiming for a presentation of the timeless essence of communism, which also coincides with the ideal of a genuine democracy.

Vattimo justifies his return to communism with the discovery that hermeneutics embodies a "revolutionary political project" (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 76). Even though hermeneutics and its representatives are often affiliated with a conservative political option, for Vattimo hermeneutics carries within it a progressive political calling which is "opposed to the objective state of affairs" (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 6). Hermeneutics seeks to weaken everything that pretends to be firm, or is held to be true by the established social order. Vattimo differentiates between two possible readings of Heidegger (Vattimo, 2010a, 149), left and right, progressive and conservative, just as two currents have formed for Hegelianism. While it is too early to connect two readings of Heidegger with two interpretations of hermeneutics, as they are characterised by Grondin, the parallels are nevertheless visible. A metaphysical explanation of hermeneutics insists on a transcendent "thing", which gives itself through interpretation and in that way "conserves" itself. The conservative position develops as a response, and consequently as a responsibility to the thing which is giving itself. Conversely, nihilistic hermeneutics denies the thing in question as something transcendentally (objectively) given; the thing that functions as an external measure for interpretation and limits the freedom of the interpreter. For Vattimo, that which conservative hermeneutics calls the thing is none other than an uncritical construction of tradition, and something which must be subjected to nihilistic weakening. Nihilistic hermeneutics is anti-foundational and in a political sense this direction corresponds to the position of anarchism. Vattimo even goes so far as to speak of "the anarchic vein of hermeneutics" (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 79). However, anarchy should not be taken in a negative sense; its mission is in the unmasking of every apparent *arche* while also serving the project of emancipation and liberation. According to Vattimo anarchism is governed by the ideal of non-violence and love for all, especially for those who are weak and distanced from the centres and "origins" (*archai*) of power.

So, what does this mean for concrete political practices? Together with co-author Zabala, Vattimo believes that existing liberal democracies are democratic in appearance only, and that this directly calls for "weakening" and for the establishment of a real (hermeneutic-communist) democracy. Vattimo calls the model of liberal democracy which is prevalent in contemporary societies *framed* democracy, and directly connects this idea with the metaphysical way of thinking.³ A *frame* is a collective name for a given firm structure or system which determines a place and order for all things. The existing democratic system is explained as the only possible (rational) way of organising society, and as an

3 Vattimo productively interprets Heidegger's "Gestell" which we can translate as "frame" (Heidegger, 1994, 23). It represents that essence of metaphysical thinking which continues to persist in our contemporary regime of technology, and which simultaneously presents the "frame" for a liberal understanding of both the state and the concept of democracy which comes as a result from it. Vattimo is therefore striving for an analysis of the metaphysical essence of existing western democracy.

expression of the objective laws of human coexistence. One thing that has been overlooked is that standing behind this “frame” are the interests of power and the logic of violence. For Vattimo and Zabala framed democracy has three essential theoretical features: “the violence of truth, the conservative nature of realism, and the winner’s history” (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 17). The first feature concerns its concept of truth. For Vattimo truth is merely one possible interpretation which, through power, attains the status of “the truth”. Truth in this sense is therefore an interpretation of the powerful (which always includes economic power) and an instrument for domination over other interpretations. For Vattimo, not only is this truth established through violence, but it also uses violence. For that reason Vattimo comes to the conclusion that only a “farewell to truth” (Vattimo, 2011) can make a path to true democracy possible: “the end of truth is the beginning of democracy” (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 23). Once again it is necessary to emphasise that the motive for this “death of truth” (Vattimo, 2010c, 100) is an ethical one – truth brings with it a determination, a concluding constriction, and that brings freedom to a stop. For Vattimo, truth is an obstacle to freedom and emancipation.

The philosophical perspective of realism, the second feature, relies on a transcendent truth of an objective reality and strives to create a faithful description of it. However, these descriptions of reality do not really mirror reality in itself (the “things in themselves”). Rather, they are *impositions* – i.e. they are the interpretations, which our thinking projects onto reality, even though there may be no awareness of this process. Vattimo sees the greatest blindness and danger precisely within the belief that realism expresses objective reality – just as the greatest danger of framed democracy is the belief that it is an objectively founded social system without “realistic” alternatives. In the language of Marxism we could say that this is why it is necessary to first develop the conscience of the proletariat, so that it becomes aware of the unjust relationships in society, and that it does not accept them as objective necessities. Vattimo goes even so far as to explain that the prevailing analytical philosophy (as a form of realism) in liberal democracy represents an ideological superstructure which is based on the real base of capitalism, and on “the metaphysical nature of economics” (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 59).

The third feature of framed democracies is that after the fall of other social models, especially communism, they present themselves as the “winners of history”.⁴ In their interpretation “Communism is often presented as tyrannical and hermeneutics is reduced to pure nihilism” (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 2). Vattimo is speaking of the philosophy of the winners (liberal democracy and the free market), which is an imposed interpretation of

the ruling classes, and strives for conservation of the existing social order, so it discredits communism. However, there are still losers within contemporary society – the weak, and the oppressed – and they are calling for a different interpretation, and demand different rights. Vattimo would not agree with the argument that elections in liberal democracies are that guarantee which makes both political freedom and the competition of different interpretations possible. In reality, decisions are still made within a system which (by means of its power) does not allow for decisions to be made about the system itself (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 57). For that reason it is not possible to expect changes in framed democracies to arise on their own. Instead it is necessary to strive for their weakening, and for a new social ideal.

How then does Vattimo imagine a genuine (hermeneutic) democracy which must transcend our existing framed democracy? This is a society without classes and “without dominion” (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 116). Contrary to framed democracy, in this kind of society the politics of interpretation prevails, without any claims to truth or absoluteness, and in which the voices of the weak can also be heard. In hermeneutic democracy there is a constant weakening of anything and everything possible – since the tendency towards power, certainty, and firm structures is always present on both the social and personal level. On the other hand, a positive consequence of weakening is a never-ending conversation (as a basis for political life) among the members of society, who allow even the weakest members to participate equally in the interpretation and in political decision-making. Vattimo is suspicious of the concept of dialogue, because from Greek philosophy onwards it has presupposed a *logos* which, as an objective truth, represents a transcendent authority for the participants in the dialogue. For Vattimo this kind of *logos* is an unjustified metaphysical assumption. To the contrary, a conversation accepts its weakness and its historical limitations. The only principle which cannot be weakened in a political conversation is openness to a different interpretation, or non-violence (*qua* charity). According to Vattimo, violence is already present in every suspension of the interpretive process, and so a political conversation must allow for the never-ending creativity and productivity of interpretation as a realisation of freedom and emancipation (Webb, 2010, 61).

That kind of society is the goal of hermeneutic communism. Marxist communism must be weakened and purified of its metaphysical elements. It is necessary to renounce “both the ideal of development and also the general call for revolution” (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 3). Soviet communism died because it was powerful and violent. Communism can only be reborn as a weak communism, and Vattimo sees examples of such re-birth

4 Vattimo alludes to Francis Fukuyama’s book (1992) about the end of history as triumph of capitalist liberal democracy (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 116).

in Latin America (Vattimo, 2007a, 116). As paradigmatic examples of weak communism Vattimo mentions Chavez and Morales. Both came to power not with violent revolution, but through elections. However, not so long ago Chavez's successor Maduro lost the vote in Venezuela, and it would be interesting to hear Vattimo's comments on the matter.⁵ It also appears that Vattimo's advocacy of non-violence in real political practices has its limits. Clearly, due to its powerful enemies, the establishment of a new social order cannot take place merely through conversation, and the authors of *Hermeneutic Communism* express understanding if Latin America's communism should violate the rules of parliamentary democracy (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 136). In any case, it is impossible not to feel some disappointment when Vattimo goes from a theoretical argumentation for hermeneutic democracy to practical examples of its realisation – in spite of his own assertion that we are only dealing with hints of the hermeneutic-communist ideal. In the above-mentioned Latin American countries care for the weak is certainly present, but is it being accompanied by a pluralistic society which recognises a multiplicity of interpretations and renounces the logic of power and violence? Or is the weakening of the powerful being converted into a new violence, a new "dictatorship of the proletariat", which is in reality a dictatorship of those who, after coming to positions of power, appropriated the authority to interpret, and who have now become powerful guardians of weakness?

CHRISTIANITY AND DEMOCRACY IN A POSTMODERN CONTEXT

We have already mentioned Grondin (2010), who distinguishes between nihilistic and metaphysical interpretations of hermeneutics. If hermeneutics does not merely mean the necessity of nihilistic negation (as it stands in Vattimo's explanation), but also includes the possibility of a metaphysical position (which in no way seeks to be an imposition), then a hermeneutic interpretation of both Christianity and democracy can be understood in another way. The classical idea of hermeneutics combines both elements: the hermeneutic freedom of the interpreter (*interpretans*) and the givenness of a transcendent meaning (intelligibility, understandability) of the "thing" which is being interpreted (*interpretandum*). The meaning of the thing only gives itself *through* interpretation, so this dependence of meaning on the interpretation does not mean that it (the meaning) is subject to the interpreter, and that the interpreter can create it anyway he wishes, or according to his own freedom. According to Grondin, Gadamer's hermeneutics does not give up the classical notion of truth as *adaequatio* (Grondin, 2005), even though this

adaequatio, or correspondence, is not to be understood in the sense of coarse realism (and a naive concept of the description), which does not take into account the hermeneutic nature of knowledge. For that reason Grondin does not accept Vattimo's explanation that Gadamer's sentence "Being that can be understood is language" (Gadamer, 1990, 478) means the reduction of Being (in)to language, that it therefore brings about a nihilistic weakening of Being, which loses its transcendent status and is merely an event within language. Grondin asks: "But what if in Gadamer's statement, one puts the emphasis on Being itself? Or to put it differently: what if it would be Being itself that would unravel *its* understandability in or through language?" (Grondin, 2007, 211). Grondin also refers to Gadamer's phrase about a "language of the things" (212). If we assume that Being possesses an "understandability" which is anterior or prior to its expression in our language, then we could speak of the metaphysical meaning of Being, which, despite its entrance into language, preserves its transcendence and remains the criterion of truth.

In Vattimo's most recent publications he emphasised that he does not completely reject the truth, and that he also does not understand interpretations with such lightness, so as to deprive Being of all its weight (Vattimo, 2010a, 153–154). However, according to him, that which is a transcendent measure or criterion for our interpretation is nothing more than history. Namely, we constantly find ourselves in a certain historically transmitted paradigm (of understanding) by means of which we interpret facts and distinguish truth from non-truth. This historical tradition has a "weight" and we must take it into account. However, that kind of truth and weight does not alter Vattimo's nihilistic interpretation, as the predominance of history and the denial of any kind of sense which would be independent of time does not allow for an exit from historicism.

The rehabilitation of metaphysics and its connection with hermeneutics, as we can see with Grondin, is of key importance for a mediation between the two mutually exclusive alternatives which form the basis of Vattimo's argument. Vattimo only recognises the metaphysics which builds upon transcendence and violence, and the hermeneutics which renounces any transcendence and accepts only radical weakening. In the case of Christianity this means giving up belief in God as an absolute transcendence. Naturally, Vattimo would say that he too believes in God; not in the kind that exists out there in reality, but rather in the "narrated" God, who is an event (of language) and a result of the Bible. He even goes so far as to say that prayer in his (hermeneutically weakened) belief has a central role; not because some kind of existent God would hear and help him, but because the very act of saying the

5 Most likely Vattimo would form his argument similarly to how he explains the causes of economic poverty in Cuba (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 136): imperialistic capitalism is to blame for everything, as it rules the world with its economic power.

text of a prayer brings comfort and solace (Vattimo et al., 2013, 239). So, is a weak faith, which renounces a powerful belief in an existing (metaphysical) God, truly a faith at all – or in reality, would it be more honest to say with Guarino that it “eviscerates Christian faith of its very meaning” (Guarino, 2009, 157)? Does such a weak faith achieve that existential disposition, without which we cannot understand biblical personalities and their way of existence? Was Jesus merely an enlightened interpreter of Jewish prophetic traditions, or did he actually believe (i.e. trust) God (and not just *in* – the existence of – God) whom he called Father, and whose “ontological” presence he experienced in his life? Christianity did not begin with kenosis, but with a belief in the resurrection. It did not begin with ethics, nor with the commandment of love, but rather with the “metaphysical” event of resurrection, which only in hindsight enabled the understanding of Jesus the man as the Word of God incarnate. Of course, the Christian faith developed into an integral interpretation of man and the world, and through its own historical influence it formed the values of Western civilisation. It cannot be denied that its fundamental message is one of love, and that this message must be “secularised”, i.e. realised in the world. However, the deepest motive of love is religious, and here it is not possible to reduce religious experience to an aesthetic one, as Vattimo subtly does. A belief in a metaphysical foundation – and in Christianity this is in no way the God of natural religions, nor a god of Greek metaphysics, but the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob – is absolutely necessary for Christianity, and rejecting this would not only lead to a weakening, but also to a dissolution of the Christian religion. If Christianity remains merely a story which formed the narrative frame of western civilisation, and if this is even a story of the end of religion in the sense of the death of an “objectively” existing God, and along with him any kind of transcendence – which according to Vattimo falls to Christianity as its mission among all other religions, and in a paradoxical way ensures Christianity of its universal validity – then Vattimo’s optimism regarding the “return of religion” is completely unfounded. The difference between a resurgence of interest in Christianity or *Star Wars* is, in this case, merely a difference in degree, not a difference in principle. Christianity has otherwise had a greater influence on the formation of Western man’s consciousness than the narrative of *Star Wars*, but in this understanding the Christian God is no more metaphysically real than Darth Vader.

We could ask similarly critical questions – though this relates to a completely different phenomenon – concerning Vattimo’s understanding of democracy. Is it not a special kind of violence, if every metaphysical belief within a political context is considered to be potentially dangerous, and demands to be weakened? Is there not

behind this idea a totalitarian tendency for everyone in society to have a weak belief in their own convictions, and for that to be the only way they can participate in the political conversation? Vattimo’s hermeneutic democracy brands every belief in a transcendent and “objective” truth as a form of fundamentalism, and it demands the destruction of all metaphysical convictions, especially those which citizens are not even aware of in (their) apparent democracies. So, what would life be like in the realised ideal of hermeneutic democracy? Let us leave aside the leftist Latin American governments which do not easily serve as inspiration, and ask ourselves how it is even possible to come to political decisions on the basis of an amicable exchange of interpretations. How should a political conversation be carried out when a conflict of interpretations arises? Political decisions usually mean a choosing one option and excluding all others – this process creates realities which are not in accordance with the wishes of a certain portion of the citizen-interpreters. If there is no external measure or positive criteria which could judge between interpretations and allow for a social consensus, then the doors of arbitrary power, and consequently also of violence, are left wide open. The Augustinian *ama et quod vis fac*, which is followed by Vattimo’s imperative of love, cannot remain a pure form, but it also demands that its contents are determined. Kant’s categorical imperative is for just that reason merely a form, as it presupposes the universality of one rationality which serves as a suprahistorical criterion of moral and political activities. Belief in a unique – although communicative – rationality, which connects the plurality of political subjects, is also the basis of Habermas’ political idea, which in its own way continues with Kant’s Enlightenment project and understands itself as post-metaphysical thought. However, Vattimo also accuses Habermas of metaphysics, because his idea still remains tied to transcendence (qua transcendentalism) and has not taken the last step of weakening (Vattimo, 2004, 158). This last step would be none other than the renunciation of every “*arche*” and a positive appropriation of anarchism.

If Vattimo claims that Habermas and Apel’s political thought is grounded “on metaphysical ideals” (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 76), then we are not in bad company if we connect democracy with metaphysics. As a contrast and alternative to Vattimo’s nihilistic and anarchic understanding of democracy we could posit the concept of *metaphysical hermeneutic democracy*. Metaphysical claims, in this context, are always and necessarily bound to hermeneutic mediation. In the background is the belief that there exists a transcendent meaning (even a meaning of the political) – as a universal logos – which represents a super-temporal criterion, though this foundation is only given through historical (hermeneutic) mediation, i.e. through interpretation.⁶ This prevents the

6 For a rehabilitation of metaphysics and the notion of transcendence see Grondin, 2012, 249.

usurping on power on the part of the citizen-interpreter, while also demanding of him an attitude of humility. Believing in metaphysical presuppositions within a political context means believing in the possibility of a transcendent meaning behind political coexistence, and in a transcendent meaning behind every fellow citizen – something which is expressed by the secular idea of the inalienable dignity of every human being. If Christianity believes that every person is an image of God, then this is a belief in a metaphysical foundation. Within Christianity itself this demands hermeneutic mediation; within political pluralism the demand for interpretation is even greater, and requires a special philosophical-secular translation of the religious language, or that which Habermas calls the “philosophical verbalization (Versprachlichung) of the sacred” (Habermas, 2013, 299). A hermeneutic democracy which includes metaphysical beliefs is no less hermeneutic than that which Vattimo requires from the viewpoint of the ethical ideal of non-violence. That is why it still remains tolerant to other interpretations in society. However the basic meeting between interpretations is no longer a conversation, but a dialogue. A hermeneutic democracy understood in this way believes in a transcendent *logos* as a metaphysical basis for *dia-logos*. It believes in a meaning which we cannot master; it can only be uncovered, and not by one person alone. This can only be done together with others, in a patient and possibly never-ending dialogue.

The absence of dialogue is one of the main shortcomings of Vattimo's relationship to Christianity and communism. He does not have a dialogue with them, but just subjects them to weakening. Christianity must renounce its transcendent foundation and can only keep the secular ethical fruits of its labours. A similar weakening is also experienced by communism, which has less problems giving up metaphysical demands, but struggles to identify itself with the role of guarantor of a hermeneutic democracy, which “allows other cultures to suggest different visions of the world” (Vattimo & Zabala, 2011, 138), accepts radical pluralism, and relinquishes the logic of power. Vattimo's weakening goes so far to level the differences between Christianity and communism that at the end both merge to form the joined phenomenon of *Christocommunism*, a reflection of Vattimo's personal experiences and his own “truth”. However, despite this simplification and a peculiar hermeneutic reductionism (Klun, 2007, 176), in the end it would be unfair if we did not also acknowledge the positive contribution of Vattimo's thought. For example, there is the fact that Vattimo devoted his philosophical attention to two phenomena, Christianity and communism, which are in many ways weakened today, subject to numerous prejudices, and, in a political context, often marginalised. For a genuine democracy in the future, it will be important to take into consideration their respective concerns.

VATTIMOVA KENOTIČNA INTERPRETACIJA KRŠČANSTVA IN NJEGOV POMEN ZA POSTMODERNO DEMOKRACIJO

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POVZETEK

Cilj članka je predstaviti Vattimovo interpretacijo krščanstva in družbeno-politični pomen, ki ga slednjemu pripisuje. Članek je razdeljen na tri dele. Z razliko od prevladujočih mnenj, po katerih so absolutne zahteve v religiji nezdržljive z demokratičnimi političnimi praksami, Vattimo zagovarja tezo, da sta moderni pluralizem in demokratični ideal družbe posledica notranjega razvoja krščanstva in da zato krščanstvo predstavlja pozitiven element v družbeno-političnem kontekstu (prvi del). Toda pri Vattimu ne doživi novega ovrednotenja zgolj krščanstvo, temveč tudi komunizem (drugi del). Zdi se, da se bistvo krščanstva, komunizma in hermenevtike srečujejo v skupni točki in da vse povezuje zapoved ljubezni. Vendar je njihovo srečevanje možno šele takrat, ko se odpovedo močnim metafizičnim predpostavkam in se ustrezno »ošibijo«. Pristna demokracija se razodeva kot režim šibkosti, ki ne tolerira zahtev po absolutni resnici in v katerem se slišijo tudi glasovi šibkih. Toda Vattimova nihilistična interpretacija krščanstva in hermenevtične demokracije odpira mnoga vprašanja, s katerimi se ukvarja tretji del članka. Avtor se zavzema za rehabilitacijo metafizike, ki je ne smemo podvreči Vattimovim predsodkom in ki nam omogoča spremenjeno razumevanje krščanstva ter alternativno interpretacijo hermenevtične demokracije.

Ključne besede: Vattimo, krščanstvo, komunizem, hermenevtika, demokracija, šibka misel

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THE SECRET CODE OF GODDESS – UNWRITTEN REGULATIONS AND THE CRITIQUE OF VIOLENT THEOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

The paper presents the question of paradigmatic change of perception of the ultimate reality, God/Goddess as a call for the creation of new collective awareness and the revival of female principle in the religious and secular sphere. This can also be understood as the liberating process which leads to thorough transformation and new forms of human relationship to oneself, to other people and the world. Lack of an empowered, liberated identity, lack of compassion and empathy, and failure to accept the others and the different without prejudice and negative stereotyping in the light of their humanity, consequently leads to intolerance, hatred, fear and fundamentalism. In this context, the hermeneutic key to equivalent acceptance of femininity in the field of the religious and the spiritual, is the ethical maxim which should become a sine qua non condition of the moral code in accepting the other, the different, and is the key to a humane sensibilisation of an individual in order to achieve a better coexistence in a cultural and religious diversity. Understanding religion as a precondition to a moral dialogue is therefore faced with the category of gender which is a sine qua non source of this moral dialogue.

Keywords: Goddess, gender equality, interreligious dialogue, moral dialogue

IL CODICE SEGRETO DI DEA – NORME NON SCRITTE E LA CRITICA DELLA TEOLOGIA VIOLENTA

SINTESI

Il documento presenta la domanda di cambiamento paradigmatico della percezione della realtà ultima, Dio / Dea come una chiamata per la creazione di nuova consapevolezza collettiva e la rinascita del principio femminile nella sfera religiosa e laica. Questa può anche essere intesa come il processo liberatorio che porta alla trasformazione profonda e nuove forme di relazione umana a se stessi, agli altri e al mondo. La mancanza di un potere, l'identità liberata, mancanza di compassione e di empatia, e l'incapacità di accettare gli altri e il diverso, senza pregiudizi e stereotipi negativi alla luce della loro umanità, porta di conseguenza l'intolleranza, l'odio, la paura e il fondamentalismo. In questo contesto, la chiave ermeneutica per l'accettazione equivalente di femminilità nel campo del religioso e spirituale, è la massima etica che dovrebbe diventare una condizione sine qua non del codice morale di accettare l'altro, il diverso, ed è la chiave ad una sensibilizzazione umano di un individuo per ottenere una migliore convivenza nella diversità culturale e religioso. Capire la religione come preconditione per un dialogo morale è quindi di fronte alla categoria del genere, che è una condizione sine qua non fonte di questo dialogo morale.

Parole chiave: Dea, l'uguaglianza di genere, il dialogo interreligioso, il dialogo morale

INTRODUCTION

With the use of the methodology of hermeneutic key of Christian feminist theology, the article draws attention to the importance of the transformation of sexist, male-centred image (monotheistic: Jewish, Christian and Islamic – with a focus on Christianity) of God, which is strongly imprinted in the collective memory of Western humanity. The main target would be to highlight the importance of positive recognition of femininity and consequently of the other in religious and secular sphere through the paradigm of the hidden code of the Goddess. Although the paper is focussed on the urge to recognize the equal importance of women and the feminine in the religious sphere to consequently achieve greater gender equality and real acceptance of the other, the different; this other is meant in a broader sense. It involves genders in plural and opens the floor for new imaginations of wholeness and new embodiments of justice.¹ The present paper emerges from the progressive view that the roles of men and women have mainly been shaped by influences arising from history, culture and society, and that they therefore change as society itself changes. The modern progressive conception and understanding of the gender order is certainly quite significantly related to the socio-cultural paradigm of power and power distribution.

Through the ethics of equal recognition of femininity and equality (parity) of genders in the religious field, the article consequently examines the issue of the importance of active, sincere interreligious dialogue that recognizes and breaks negative stereotypes and prejudices, and raises the level of tolerance, respect and strengthens mutual understanding both in the everyday life of individuals of different religions and spirituality as well as on the hierarchical institutional religious level. Emphasis shall primarily be put on the ethics of interdependence between theological ecofeminism and the function of empowerment through the input of gender equality in the field of spirituality and religion. The latter can be seen as a necessary, ensuing step in the evolution of inter-personal, inter-religious relations.

The main thesis is that the inclusion of female principle² shall be understood as a *sine qua non* condition

of moral dialogue of every religion in the context of cultivating sensibility and acceptance of another, different, and the ethics of non-violence. The contemplation on the true meaning of bringing a positive gender difference and equal acknowledgement of femininity and the others to the religious sphere and to interreligious dialogue can be opened by a symbolic narrative about Abba Macarius or Macarius the Great from Egypt, a Coptic hermit, an ascetic who lived in the 4th century A.D. Abba Macarius or St. Macarius of Egypt tells a story of the time when he was walking across desert and came across a human skull restin in the sand. When St. Macarius poked the skull with a stick and the skull spoke. Macarius asked the skull: “Who are you?” The skull responded: “I was a high priest serving the pagans who had remained in this area. You are Macarius the spirit-bringing. Every time you show your compassion to the damned and pray for them, they feel some consolation”. The Macarius asked him: “What sort of consolation is this and how is hell?” The skull answered: “The fire under us is great as the distance between the sky and the earth; we stay in the middle of the fire from our feet to our head. And it is impossible to see each other face to face, because everybody is tied back to back to the other. Whenever you pray for us, we can partially see the face of the other. This is the consolation” (Apophthegmata Sancti Macarii Aegyptii 38, PG 34:257, C-258A). The dialogue between St. Macarius and the skull can be interpreted as a metaphor for a human’s relationship towards others or towards something different. Keeping in mind Plato’s tragic assertion that a human being is a wolf to another human being or Jean Paul Sartre’s idea that hell is other people³ then we see that the metaphor between St. Macarius and the skull on the contrary expresses the ethics of mutual interdependence and the key ethical imperative on the existence of the fundamental conscience or the belief that a human being is the most fundamental category of humanity: it is the absence not the presence that causes pain and suffering, the absence of others, of different, the absence of both communication and relationships. The sexist, norminative role of man’s domination over women’s subordination, of one gender over other genders could be understood as human being

1 It also opens the floor for the disabled God, described by Nancy L. Eisland (1994).

2 Femininity (feminine principle) and masculinity (masculine principle) are defined here as personality traits and are understood as been mainly shaped by influences arising from history, culture and society, and therefore they change as society itself changes. Although none of the listed personality components is exclusively characteristic of one gender, the masculine forms are more typical of men and the feminine forms of women. Nevertheless, gender stereotypes about masculine and feminine personality traits are still very much present in the everyday world. Personality traits more characteristically masculine can in terms of contents be denoted as agency traits or traits referring to action and thus be related to power. The agency dimension comprises controlling tendencies (e.g., aggressiveness, ambition, dominance, efficiency, leadership behaviour) and independence from other people (independence, self-reliance, self-sufficiency, individualism). Some additional agency attributes refer to personal efficiency (e.g., self-confidence, feeling of superiority, decisiveness) and aspects of personal style (e.g., straightforwardness, adventurousness, perseverance). Personality traits more characteristically feminine can be in terms of contents to which they refer defined as communions. The communion dimension primarily refers to the concern for the well-being of others (devotion, complete dedication to others, desire to appease, willingness to help, kindness, compassion, love of children). Some of the typically feminine traits refer to personal sensitivity and emotional expressivity as well as aspects of personal style (e.g., tender, soft-spoken).

3 The renowned sentence from the existentialist play *Behind Closed Door* (*Hius colos*).

is a wolf to another human being, and the hell described by Sartre.

Male-centred Theology and Loss of Compassion

The concept of male-centred theology comprises the theology which builds on the principle of exclusion rather than inclusion and is based on the mental paradigm of lord vs. servant and most of its theology derives from the logic of domination and superiority of the chosen elite, which is, in all respects, set as the norm: a male, white race, Western culture, one religion (Christianity) over another, a human over nature ... Despite gradual raising of awareness in the light of gender equality and the call for the transformation of the relationship between a human and nature, the male-centred theology of the Roman Catholic Church and other Christian churches in its core remains centered around the norm of masculinity. Each “one-way” theology which builds and operates according to the principle of exclusion of one at the expense of another consequently brings a loss of compassion and sensibility to another. Nevertheless, the theology of male-centred characteristics in its core is deprived of the power of femininity, which is characteristically cable of transmitting life, is open and oriented to another. The logic of domination follows the logic of possession. Theology based on the discriminatory principle of male-centred hierarchical supremacy of the masculinity of God as the almighty lord who has subjugated all human and non-human beings, women and nature, is the theology of violence that helps to create and expand relations of domination and violence. From the perspective of Christian feminist theology, a negative stereotype of a woman as a passive listener and an obedient maid versus a patriarchal image of domineering Christian God as three persons in one God that is distant and dominant towards man and nature, such stereotype is a still very much rooted prejudice within the collective memory of Western human, despite the attempts of awareness regarding gender equality. The tendency for (pre)dominance which is visible in patriarchy and patriarchal hierarchical structure of Christian Churches (especially Roman Catholic) which omits the voice of women and which represents the

majority stake of the Christian communion’s faithful potential, is strongly associated with the negative stereotype of human exploitative, unsympathetic dominance at the expense of nature.⁴ This is the central thesis of theological ecofeminism (Furlan Štante, 2014).

The truth is that the voice of women was considerably silenced throughout history due to marginalization and fringe position in the society that they were determined to in Christianity and its hierarchical system, so is the conceptualization of nature stigmatized with a similar character of inferiority by the patriarchal system. Similarly, as Christianity treated women as scapegoats mainly because of the fear of their power and authority (Furlan, 2006, 65), so has, hand in hand, strengthened the domination of man over nature.

Women were frequently pushed out from the “orderly” social world of decision-making also referring to the prejudice of their “wild nature”, which has become both the major obstacle and an excuse for men to “expulsion” of women from the field of decision-making and public social life. Therefore, their position in society became marginal and limited to their basic function, which is solely the service of providing procreation, thus, giving birth to offspring (Furlan, 2006, 67). The argument that a woman is closer to nature⁵ just because of her ability of procreation has frequently been used as a bias on which the strength of patriarchal power was built, women and nature were consequently stigmatized with instrumentality and inferiority.

A number of feminists (Rosemary Radford Ruether, 2005; Mary Daly, 1985; Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, 1990 ...) criticize Christianity that it supported and expanded “the ideology of male superiority” instead of promoting the tendency for equivalence and gender equality. Reference is made to the fact that the Church has in recent times played the (most) important role in creating and maintaining cultural and social patterns of everyday life, that it was the institutional bearer of religious discerning of the worldly life and, as such, constitutes an inseparable component in the formulation of confidence in the existing regulation of human relationships and the understanding of the relationship between human and nature.

4 The concept of nature in this paper defines human and non-human beings or, in other words, vital life energy that the ancient Greeks conceived of as *zoe*, which simply means a fact of life, common to all living beings. Thus, *zoe* also generally refers to the existence of a living being, while *bios* means to live life in a certain mental manner, thereby, *bios* is, consequently, a moral deed (Tratnik, 2010, 104–105).

5 Some ecofeminists acknowledge that there is some truth to the ideology of women being closer to nature, but recognise in it traces of a skewed and distorted belief pushed by a patriarchy which wants to dominate women as well as nature and sets both in an inferior position. It is this very ideology that, according to them, remains firmly rooted in the essential truth claiming that women are more in harmony with nature, more in tune with their own bodies by virtue of their probity and their ability to bear life. From the pagan ecofeminist viewpoint, women are more in harmony with nature and should therefore strive for a life in tune with nature and Earth, for establishing new environmental ethics and ecological spirituality, and for asserting active ecological life practices. Still, most ecofeminists reject or oppose the hypothesis of women being more connected with nature due to their ability to give birth and engage in motherhood. They understand the concept of affinity between woman and the natural environment as a social construct naturalising women and feminising nature with the purpose of making them look more similar or cognate. At the same time, owing to the social determination of their position in the field of physical and material support of society, women are more exposed to the exploitation of nature and more aware of it (Furlan Štante, 2014, 109–111).

Just as “the sexual domination and subordination of women was maintained from generation to generation in a way that it was understood as something obvious and natural and at the same time explained and justified as the only moral” (Jogan, 1990, 36), so was maintained also the seal of domination of man over nature. Domination over women and nature is (was) justified at the expense of the references to the particular passages from the biblical texts, which are (were) exempt from the context and interpreted in the context of the agenda, which was more relevant to the ethos of the particular time.⁶

This requires the transformation of the mental paradigms and change in the overall consciousness of an individual and, consequently, the entire collective memory of Western society, not only in terminology but also in the paradigm. Therefore, there is a change in consciousness, the consciousness of talking about a female image of the God as a Goddess, which brings a liberation of the entire mankind from under the shackles of one-way entrapments within the discriminatory practice of Christianity. The vital part is the change that we can worship the Christian God as a Goddess, and doing so we do not fall into excommunication or heresy.

It is important to be aware that we can only speak about God and God’s revelation in human language, which is coloured and limited by time and culture in which it develops. In a patriarchal culture where the men are expected to possess the strength, authority and power, God, who is attributed all these properties, can only be a man. Or in the words of feminist criticist Mary Daly: “If God is male, then male is God” (Daly, 1973, 19).

This only consolidated the second-class status of women. Increasingly, more Christian feminist theologians became aware of the fact that God the Father is the most frequent appellation for the divine, and consequently, that the entire structure of the divine-human and human-human relationships is understood in a patriarchal framework (McFague, 1982, 8). Elizabeth Johnson, for instance, in her criticism of the outmoded language about God, which she defines as oppressive and religiously idolatrous (Johnson, 1994, 36), develops an approach which establishes tension concerning the secret of God and the promise of human and cosmic liberation:

Only if the full reality of women as well as men enters into the symbolisation of God along with symbols from the natural world, can the idolatrous fixation on one image be broken and the truth of the mystery of God, in tandem with the liberation of all human beings and the whole earth, emerge for our time (Johnson, 1994, 86).

Theological tradition had, on the one side, emphasised the analogical God/Goddess talk, thus showing that it was aware of the limits of the human language. But on the other side, it underestimated the power of symbolic God/Goddess-talk. Feminist theologians found the answer in symbolic language, the power of which was ignored by tradition. The problem of a patriarchal-tinted language is an area emerging in connection with the question of feminist hermeneutics and the issue of a feminist image of God.

Rosemary Radford Ruether carries on the thought of what needs to be done. She looks for an answer in new sources of religiosity in the sense of rediscovering the lost popular religiosity of women. Ruether rejects the androgyny model with which some feminists, following the trail of Gnosticism, would like to solve the problem. She prefers to talk about a process of double conversion. At the end she writes that humanity can only achieve reconciliation with God if the latter stops being a male God and instead becomes the basis of reciprocity in all creation. The death of God the Father would then destroy the alienated images of male selfishness in the sky, which sacralise any domination and servitude in the world (Radford Ruether, 1983, 58).

Namely, theological tradition has highlighted the analogue language about God and, thus, showed that it recognizes the limitations of human language. Therefore, to take the image of one gender and exclusively through this image and its social features describe God is a completely incorrect and unwise act. In society, a mutual interaction between the patriarchal image of God and the display of male power is consequently reflected. The theological tradition, on the other side, completely underestimated the power of symbolic talk about God. Patriarchalising the image of God therefore becomes and remains a challenge of modern times, while women view this challenge differently. If the image of God is only emphasized by one gender and if this gender becomes the leading group for the whole society, then God shall also obtain the seal of masculinity. The consequence being that a woman can only be *imago Dei*, the image of God through a man and can only enter into dialogue with God through a man. Feminist theologians are well aware of this, and in their search for the image of God they bear in mind St. Augustine’s warning *Deus semper maior – God is always greater than human attempts at understanding*.

At this point, a rhetorical question can be asked, the same question that was symbolically raised by a feminist theologian and a psychologist of religion Naomi R. Goldenberg (1979, 37): What happens if the father images of God become extinct across Western culture?

6 Regarding the question of gender hierarchy in the Bible we see that ambiguity and duality of traditions can be found throughout biblical texts. Two views are in fact present both in the texts of the Old and the New Testament: the patriarchal and the equal. In the past, the Church often chose patriarchal biblical texts and, through them, established and maintained patriarchy, while neglecting the texts that testified on gender equality (Furlan, 2006, 70).



Figure 1: Gaia: Primordial deity of the Earth (Source: Wikipedia)

What happens if the masculine image of God in Western culture dies out, disappears – just as the images of Paleolithic goddesses almost disappeared? Would this consequently bring the disappearance of violence?

Nevertheless, the context of the tendency towards a paradigmatic transformation in relation to femininity of the images of God / Goddess is implicitly oriented to questioning, re-defining and re-evaluating the relationship between humanity and Earth as a self-regulatory living organism (Lovelock, 1991), or nature. Lovelock's hypothesis on Gaia the Goddess significantly influenced the Christian theological ecofeminism in addition to its impact on the female component of the neo-pagan forms of new-age spirituality. The call to the Goddess has consequently developed the formation and strengthening of feminine forms of spirituality, has started to

receive and create its visibility both within traditional religions as well as in new-age matriarchal religions (neo-paganism, wicca, geomancy, the movement of the Goddess ...) In an aspiration to revive femininity of God, the Goddess was symbolically labelled as Her since the purpose of the title, in addition to the descriptive and denoting character, contains the character of appeal. The Goddess thus evokes all the symbolic ideas, values and frameworks that are attributed to femininity, womanliness.

Feminine eco-theology in its foundation brings the ethics of ecological egalitarianism based on the theology of peace and non-violence. Instead of patriarchal androcentrism and matriarchal utopianism, cosmic ecological egalitarianism is placed in the focal position. Unlike androcentric patriarchal theology, which in turn expands the relations of domination and exclusion, ecofeminist theology that focuses around cosmic organic egalitarianism, is the theology of non-violence, peace and hospitality. As such, it calls on all institutionalized religions and spiritual practices to replace the discriminatory paradigm of masculinity of the image of God and the consequent relations which are based on the logic of domination and the theology of searching for "scapegoats" with the logic of hospitality and the inclusive theology of non-violence and peace. The transformation of traditional, patriarchal and androcentric, exclusive Western (Christian) tradition which strengthens such relationships of domination and, consequently, establishes spirituality and the "scapegoat" theology and is thus a key to maintaining ethical consciousness of non-violence and hospitality (Furlan Štante, 2014, 90–92).

Religious symbols, such as the image of God or Goddess, are not only models of divine reality, but they also formulate the models of human life and relationships. Namely, religious symbols give a tone to an individual culture, as they direct and dictate what is right, what is real and important or they even dictate how people should live. Also, along with the rituals, they have a strong influence both on human psychological responses as well as on deep internalized emotions and values based on which we accept or reject certain things that are evaluated as good or bad. The community and the society are integrally linked through and with the symbols. According to the Christian theologian Gordon Kaufman, the recognition that religious symbols significantly co-shape and regulate our understanding of reality leads to over-questioning and a critical assessment of the compatibility of the dominant, traditional symbols with the current, ethical needs. If a discrepancy or a failure of these is discovered, we need to be, as Kaufman says, ready to consider the suitability of use of the respective symbols (Kaufman, 1995, 28). In this respect, it is necessary to assess the adequacy of the respective religious symbols regarding their ability to strengthen the maintenance and cultivation of life on the planet and their impact

on raising and strengthening the human sense and sensibility for the other and for nature.

It is, therefore, necessary to critically analyse the existing religious symbols in the light of their (non)-compliance with respect to the strengthening of the human ethics and ethical challenges of modern times. Through analytical, intellectual approach a critical judgment regarding the appropriateness of certain religious symbols is possible, however, mere common sense is not enough to establish new symbols. Or, according to Paul Tillich: “Symbols cannot be created intentionally”, since they “emerge from the individual’s and collective unconscious and cannot be rooted without being adopted and approved by the dimensions of the unconscious in man” (Tillich, 1957, 43).

According to the process theologian Carol P. Christ, we live in the time of profound transformations of the symbol of religious image of God as the Mother, the Goddess (Christ, 1997, 49). It could be said that we live at a time when a critical mass has been reached, where a symbol of the patriarchal image of God is no longer relevant and is on the way of search and experimentation with new images of the Goddess.

THE MEMORY OF THE GODDESS

In addition to the Cartesian dualistic paradigm that consequently left in Western culture a strong mark of hierarchical binarisms, a male-centred theology (especially) of three monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) which is favoured and enacted ensured the oblivion of the cult of the Goddess ...

“At the very beginning, people prayed to the female Creator of life ... At the dawn of religion, God was a woman. Do you remember? ” (Stone, 1976, 1). Those mythological words by Merlin Stone encouraged many seekers, both male and female, to reflect on the image of God in patriarchal legacy of Western culture. One of them is definitely an archaeologist and a cultural historian Marija Gimbutas and her archaeomythology⁷ with the hypothesis that the “neolithic Europe” or “old Europe” worshiped the Great Goddess that combined one power (which was not divided into good and bad) and, which would connect all into oneness (Gimbutas, 1999, 17). She certainly left a major impact on the Goddess Movement, both on neopagan feminism and Christian feminist theologians, even though the latter are considerably critical of the above stated thesis (Radford Ruether, 2005, 21).

The Goddess was supposed to be the original deity of human (pre) historical reality and only relatively late, at the end of the Neolithic period, was supposedly pushed aside by male religious symbolic figures. The latter was supposed to be associated with spiritual and

historical turning point that meant a change in cultural scheme and that happened at that time. The religion of the Great Goddess was supposedly practiced as long as the ancient societies kept the matriarchal social order. However, matriarchal order did not signify the social dominance of women in terms of analogies with the modern patriarchy, which would result in relations of power. On contrary, it meant the cultural predominance of female values and principles that was reflected as a state of peace, harmony, social and religious equality, closeness to nature ... Matriarchal civilization is, as idealized, described as a kind of “the golden age of humanity” when love represented the main principle of regulating relations among people and between man and nature. This matriarchal period was supposed to end with the arrival of Semitic and Indo-European peoples who destroyed the Civilization of the Goddess, and thus, when male deities were placed on the top of the pantheon, with the attributes of aggression, warfare and domination, and Patriarchate was legalised. Together with this, patriarchal values dominated, such as aggression, violence, and imperialistic possession, domination of men over women, of human over nature, of one religion over another ... Such patriarchal values supposedly helped in maintaining monotheistic religions. (Radford Ruether, 2006, 274–275).

The latter theory is supported by Carol P. Christ, in *Rebirth of the Goddess* (1997), who does not blame the bible for the transition from matriarchal to patriarchal social order and, more specifically, for the end of the period of the Great Goddess and the beginning of patriarchal God, however, she sees the reason for the transformation of the values of the Goddess into the values of warfare and Mediterranean military coloured pantheon, saying: „If we need to find the main culprit for the eradication and the serfdom of the Goddess in the Western world, then it is certainly the responsibility of the Christian rulers whose edicts commanded the deletion of all so-called “pagan religions” (Christ, 1997, 47).

Ecofeminist Christian theologies thus seek to revive the lost images and the symbol of understanding the universe as the body of God (Rosemary Radford Ruether, Sallie McFague). This used to be a typical metaphor (present in various forms) and the focal image of the sensibility of the western (Mediterranean) world, but was replaced by a mechanistic worldview model in the 17th century (Carol Merchant and Vandana Shiva).

CREATION OF NEW COSMOLOGY OF COMPASSION AND RETURN OF THE GODDESS

Carol P. Christ asks in *Rebirth of the Goddess* (1997): “Why women need the Goddess?” The answer

⁷ Marija Gimbutas developed a discipline she called archaeomythology, in which she combined different elements of archaeology, history, comparative linguistics, mythology, folkloristics etc.

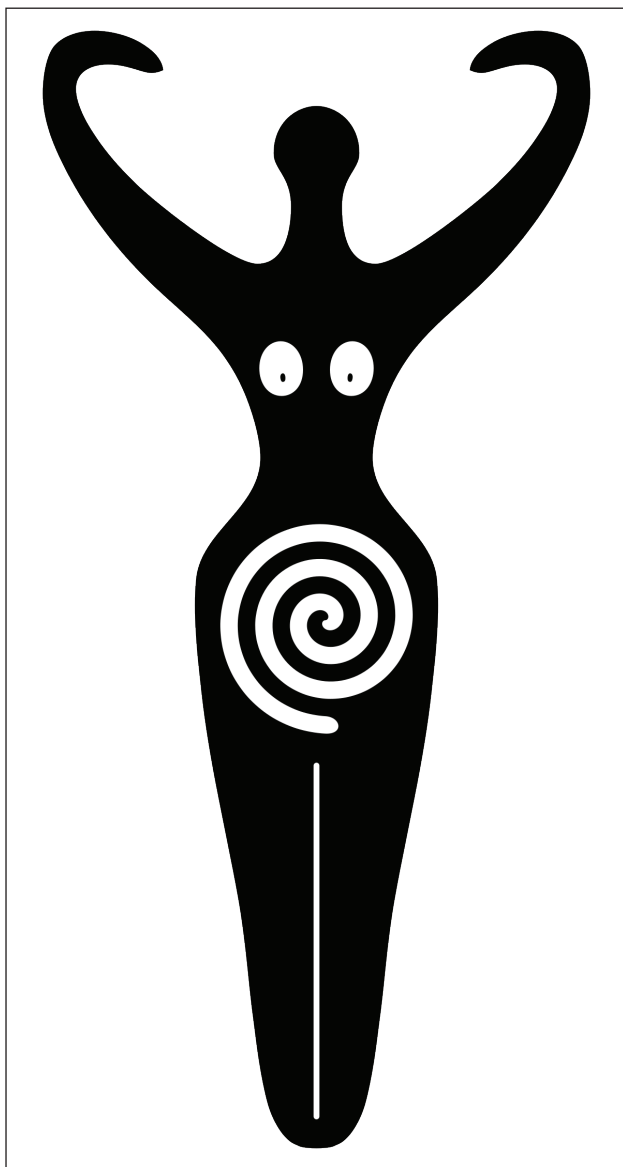


Figure 2: One version of the Spiral Goddess symbol of modern neopaganism (Source: Wikipedia)

to this is found mainly in the meaning of the empowerment of women, which is, in turn, enabled by feminine personification of the Goddess. With this, the fundamental value and the importance of the so-called “return of the Goddess” is recognized, as this is one of the biggest surprises of the 20th century. Feminine personification of the Goddess thus brings the image of feminine power and deep integration of all beings in the network of life, as well as the call to creating peace

on Earth. It brings the inspiration of hope of healing the deep discrepancies between men and women, between man and nature, between God and the world, which have helped in shaping the perception of life of the Western man (Christ, 1997, xiii). The cosmology of the “Goddess, who is back” is understood as the power of embodied love and wisdom that is the foundation of all beings. The Earth is therefore the body of the Goddess. All beings are interconnected and interdependent in the network of life. Nature is alive, conscious and wise. With the help of process theology, Carol P. Christ defines the understanding of the Goddess as panentheistic (all lies in God/Goddess), as the one that extends beyond the polarities of immanence and transcendence, beyond pantheism (all is God) and beyond theism (God is above all). The power of the Goddess is neither omnipotent nor omniscient, as is the case with the theistic God and his alleged transcendental characteristics which is supposed to be over nature and over history. The power of the Goddess through the eyes of process theology, as Christ arguments, is the limited power that works within a limited and changeable world. For herself, therefore, she cannot transform the crises afflicting the world, historical injustices, environmental, ecological destruction, pollution, threats of nuclear disaster ... without the cooperation of the perpetrators and those who are affected with it. Her power is not a compulsory one, but is interdependent – the Goddess is interdependent with us and we are interdependent with her. Her strength is real and our strength becomes bigger and stronger if we cooperate with her (Christ, 1997, 104–107).

We can say that the awareness of the ecological crisis and symbolically put “the call of the Goddess”⁸ are interconnected and interdependent phenomena. A significant impact on environmental awareness and the growth of femininity in the religious field is certainly to be recognized to the new-age movement. In the sixties of the 20th century, namely in the religious sphere, New Age Movements arose, environmental movements and politics, as well as some kind of mixture of both: environmental movements with the ideology of New Age. The “call to nature” expressed dissatisfaction and a general doubt regarding the appropriateness and ethics of the apathetic modern, technocratic, mechanistic society. The emergence and development of New Age movements is inseparably linked with the emergence of the so-called “subjective turn”, which is understood as a turn to oneself, to the individual’s unique experiences with the world (Črnič and Lesjak, 2012).

In this ideological context, the idea of the Earth as a living being or a holistic ecosystem (Gaja) appeared. The impact of the latter can be found both inside different

8 “The Call of the Goddess” in this paper is understood as a symbolic and metaphorical designation for the need for transformation of the mental paradigm of the Western world in terms of feminisation and ethicisation of the world that makes the world humane and, through a process consistent humanization which builds on the ethics of the intrinsic value of an individual and nature, strives for a change in values.

new-age religions as well as within traditional religions and religious feminisms.

In a field where new-age and female spirituality meet, as stated by Tina Ban (2007, 151) who recaps Rosemary Radford Ruether, several spiritual movements appeared, each trying to create a new spiritual, cultural and social balance between female and male. One of the most important among them is the Goddess Movement which occurred in the seventies of the 20th century in North America and in Western Europe. This movement specifically discusses the form of discrimination that has been generated by different religious theologies. It also points to the broader ideological influence that dominated not only religion but also the wider culture for thousands of years. It criticizes specifically the traditional monotheistic theologies that use the male gender as something self-explanatory when interpreting their deities. As recalled by the Goddess Movement, this kind of thinking about the divine is culturally conditioned, and only indirectly touches upon God itself – only as far as a man seeks a contact with God through this pattern and, thus, establishes an intercourse. Therefore, there should be no reason why not putting this pattern into question again and again, and, in the name of gender equality, appropriately changing and repairing it. The patriarchal theology was proposed to be changed with a unique female “theology” based on female perception of the sacred, and a male God should therefore be symbolically replaced by a female Deity, i.e. the Goddess that would represent female religious ideas, values and experience.

The movement of the Goddess is actually one of the forms of modern paganism⁹ which rejects any dogmatic definition and has no precisely defined concept of the Goddess, the Goddess can be legitimately interpreted in a monotheistic, polytheistic, pantheistic or panentheistic way. The most prominent representatives of neo-paganism are certainly wiccanist, psychotherapist and environmental activist Starhawk (Miriam Simos) and Carol P. Christ. Both have contributed significantly to the development of the Goddess movement and to

identifying and discovering pre-Christian images and worshiping female characters of the Goddess. The latter is the subject of research and analysis of numerous Christian feminist theologians (Rosemary Radford Ruether, Anne Primavesi etc.).¹⁰

Creation of a new cosmology of compassion, which could in our context be called eco-cosmology through the women’s perspective, is confronted with the presence of many prejudices and negative gender stereotypes, which hinder and inhibit the change towards which we strive. The seemingly simple change and transformation of patriarchal Christian cosmology, which has placed in its focal point the patriarchal figure of the male God, the (Christian) eco-cosmology of compassion, with a symbolic conception of God as a woman, the Goddess, is anything but simple. In the process of transformation, the integration of the female element in theological language and the image of God/Goddess is facing many fears and legalised historical images from the past. Patriarchal theological language, the definition and the depiction of God as exclusively male is a strong heritage of our collective memory.

The findings and the presence of Christian feminist theology, the movement of the Goddess (Goddess Movement), the revival of the lost folk religiosity of women and women’s pagan cults, theology and the movement of women’s spirituality are crucial both for the reconstruction of the past from the perspective of female perspective as well as in the process of transformation of collective memory and the current media of the religion.

As an alternative to patriarchal comprehension, women’s spirituality movements – inspired by various esoteric, mystical, but mostly pagan traditions – formed a completely different concept of the sacred, which is supposed to be close to a female nature. They believed that in women’s perception the sacred is not transcendent and separate from the world, but immanently integrated in it and as such omnipresent. Since God / Goddess is ubiquitous, in nature, in the body and in the human psyche, he is also accessible and can be experienced in the earthly world and in earthly life. His sanctity can

9 Modern paganism (neopaganism) is an umbrella term to denote a plurality of extremely heterogeneous groups of diverse origin and activities, different practices and traditions which have in common the fact that they understand nature as something sacred and alive, that they take inspiration from the pagan religions of the past. Usually, they are polytheistic, pantheistic and / or duotheistic conceptualisations of God which include in their pantheon both male and female deities. As defined by the religiologist Aleš Črnič, with the concept of Neopaganism we usually denote the contemporary interpretations and revitalizations of pre-Christian religions, for example, modern witchcraft, druidism, neoshamanism ... (Črnič, 2012, 86).

10 Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza pointed out that the Goddess of radical feminist spirituality is not so very different from the God whom Jesus preached and whom he called care, peace, service, and community. By her opinion the traditions about the Goddess and those of the New Testament are conflated in the Catholic community’s cult of Mary. The more the Christian understanding of God was patriarchalized – the more God became the majestic ruler and the stern judge, the more people turned to the figure and cult of Mary. One could almost say that through the dynamics of this development of the gradual patriarchalization of the God image, Mary became the other face, the Christin face, of God. All the New Testament images and attributes which characterize God as loving, life giving, compassionate and caring, as being with people of God are now transferred to the mother of God, who is accessible as was the nonpatriarchal God whom Jesus preached. The cult of Mary thus grew in proportion to the gradual repatriarhalization of the Christian God and of Jesus Christ. The Catholic tradition gives us thus the opportunity to experience the divine reality in the figure of a woman. The Catholic cult of Mary also provides us with a tradition of female language and imagery to speak of the divine, so with the theological language which speaks of the divine reality in female terms and symbols. This tradition encompasses the myth and symbols of the Goddess religion and demonstrates that female language and symbols have a transparency towards God (Schüssler Fiorenza, 1979, 137–139).

be found anywhere, in oneself, in the other, or in nature (Bednarowski, 1992, 167–168).

The female perception of the world is said to have been neglected not only in traditional religions, but also in Cartesian science, which totally de-sacralised the world in which people live. Science views the world as something unconsecrated, something that consists of unconnected pieces which can be manipulated at will without any consequence for the whole. The prevalence of this perception has supposedly turned us into unconnected individuals who approach fellow humans and nature manipulatively. If we perceived the world in the female way, as integral and connected, and ourselves as an inseparable part of the world, we would try to take better care of it and of anyone living in it, asserts female spirituality. Such a vision would help modern people overcome their fears of living alone in an inanimate environment, of living a life that from the cosmic perspective makes no sense. As women's spirituality movements point out, the absence of the female principle in human awareness has much more complex consequences than just those concerning women and their rights. The disregard for female qualities, such as the ability of synthetic thinking, establishing connections, integration and compromise, actually affects the whole society. It is reflected by numerous social problems, discrimination, military conflicts and ecological problems, state women's spirituality movements, which are usually quick to link their theological rhetoric to political topics.

The movements dealing with the women's spirituality or any of its branches – new paganism, spiritual ecology, theology, etc. – usually proceed from the premise that the social and cultural balance between the male and female principles is ruined, and ascribe responsibility for this to the patriarchal system, which has prevailed in most human societies for the last few thousand years. They see their mission as the formation of a new collective awareness that should be able to recognise the problem of discrimination of the female principle and the urgency to establish a new cultural system enabling a balanced co-existence of the two genders and the two cosmic principles. As various authors have ascertained, such movements have been strongly influenced by certain feminist ideas, above all the ideas of the second wave of feminist movements (Bednarowski, 1992; Radford Ruether, 2006).

For this reason, women wanted to create circumstances in which they could satisfy to the full their female religious needs, express their religious imagination and fulfil the female religious potential. For this purpose, they formed various women's spirituality movements, which quickly intertwined with New Age beliefs.

Aspirations for “the call of the Goddess” are therefore the tendencies for re-revival of cosmology of peace, harmony, equality and integration of all living creatures in the network of life. And besides being the ideal of Christian feminist theologians and ecofeminists Rosemary Radford Ruether, Ivone Gebara, Anne Primavesi, Sallie McFague etc., this desire is actually the ideal of the holistic view of the world and many new-age feminist movements.

CONCLUSION

The time in which we live forces us to undertake fundamental reflections and transformations of the sediments of the negative prejudice and discriminatory practices of “the written and unwritten moral codes” in (monotheistic) religions. Religions should *per se* be ethical and moral. The pursuance and the recognition of gender equality and equal recognition of the voice of women and the feminine mode of operation need to become the foundation and the criterion of ethics as well as the written and unwritten rule of the moral codes in the contemporary (monotheistic) religions. In this context, the understanding of religion as a herald of ethics and morality in the sense of responsibility of religious communities for the common good, needs to be subject to the principle of equal recognition of the female principle as a *sine qua non* condition of moral dialogue. It is spirituality and religion which build up on the basis of equivalent recognition of both female and male principles as well as the intrinsic value of genders that is (can be) the foundation for peaceful, dialogical, inclusive, intercultural and inter-religious dialogue and harmony. Intersubjectivity, which exceeds the dialectic of master – servant relationship, is the starting point and the foundation for inter-cultural, inter-religious dialogue, agreement and coexistence. Theology/theology that returns a proportion of femininity to the relation with the Divine, with the face of the Goddess, is the theology of sensuality, compassion and peace. From the perspective of male-centred theology, the latter may seem like an unattainable, illusory ideal, however, a step towards this is absolutely necessary, even more so since we are, among other reasons, forced to do so due to the current challenges of the refugee crisis, which puts an individual in front of the mirror of (in)humanity in the form of social paranoia¹¹ and fear of the others, the different. With the means of negative stereotypes we “actually mirror our own images onto the hated Other” (Vezjak, 2015, 1). By doing so we agree with what is in psychoanalysis known as a mechanism of projection:

11 Although it is surprising how rarely it is mentioned, paranoia is becoming an ever more realistic and stronger psycho-political state of Europe. The refugee crisis with its endless troops of weary men, women and children on their way to a happier future has brought the disappearance of self-evident acts in the perception of the European Union, its identity has been put under question and, for example, the meaning of the Schengen border. It has not produced only the feelings of empathy and solidarity, it also opened the door to the negative psychology of the masses, which cannot be stopped by any borders or barbed wire (Vezjak, 2015, 1).

Ever more aggressively the false beliefs, religious and other prejudices, stereotyping and hatred are entering the minds of people, which leads to the first conflicts and incidents of violence across European cities. To what extent the different forms of intolerance, often in the form of Islamophobic feelings flow into a unifying fear which sees the Islamic world and the incoming refugees as an enemy, and thus results in a permanent suspicious mentality that grows into what Richard Hofstadter once called "the paranoid style"? (Vezjak, 2015, 1).

Lack of an empowered, solid identity, lack of compassion and empathy, and failure to accept the others and the different without prejudice and negative stereotyping in the light of his/her humanity and full of benevolence consequently leads to intolerance, hatred, fear and fundamentalism. In this context, the hermeneutic key to equivalent acceptance of femininity in the field of the religious and the spiritual, is the ethical maxim which should become a *sine qua non* condition of the moral code in accepting the other, the different, and is the key to a humane sensitization of an individual man or woman in order to achieve a better coexistence in a cultural and religious diversity.

SKRITI KODEKS BOGINJE – NENAPISANA PRAVILA IN KRITIKA NASILNE TEOLOGIJE

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POVZETEK

Prispevek s pomočjo metodologije hermenevtičnega ključa krščanske feministične teologije opozori na pomen preobrazbe seksistične, moško-središčne podobe (monoteističnega: judovskega, krščanskega in islamskega – s poudarkom na krščanstvu) Boga, ki je močno vtisnjena v kolektivnem spominu zahodnega človeka. Pod pojmom moškosrediščna teologija je razumljena teologija, ki gradi na principu izključevanja namesto vključevanja, ki temelji na miselni paradigmi gospodar : hlapec in večino svoje teologije izpeljuje iz logike gospostva in večvrednosti izbrane elite, ki jo v vseh ozirih postavlja kot normo: moškega, belo raso, zahodno kulturo, eno religijo (krščanstva) nad drugo, človeka nad naravo... Kljub postopnemu ozaveščanju v luči enakosti spolov ter klica po transformaciji odnosa človeka do narave, moškosrediščna teologija Rimokatoliške cerkve in tudi ostalih krščanskih cerkva, v jedru še vedno ostaja osredinjena na normo moškosti. Za to je potrebna transformacija miselne paradigme in sprememba celotne zavesti posameznika in posledično celotnega kolektivnega spomina zahodne družbe. Ne zgolj terminološko ampak tudi paradigmatko. Inkluzivnost enakovrednega pripoznanja spolov je tako razumljena kot pogoj sine qua non moralnega dialoga sleherne religije v kontekstu kultiviranja senzibilnosti in sprejemanja drugega, drugačnega ter etike nenasilja. Prispevek preko etike enakovredne pripoznanosti femininosti in enakosti spolov na religijskem polju, v okviru vprašanja konceptualiziranja podobe Boga/Boginje, posledično razvija vprašanje pomembnosti aktivnega, iskrenega medverskega dialoga, ki prepozna in razbija negativne stereotipne predstave in predsodke ter dviguje raven strpnosti, spoštovanja in krepi medsebojno razumevanje tako v vsakdanjem življenju posameznikov različnih veroizpovedi in duhovnosti kot tudi na hierarhični institucionalni religijski ravni.

Ključne besede: Boginja, enakost spolov, medreligijski dialog, moralni dialog

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LIK BLAŽENE OZANE KOTORKINJE KAO KULTURALNOMEMORIJSKI KOD

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IZVLEČEK

Tradicionalna zgodba blažene Ozane predstavlja kulturno realnost, a hkrati tudi simbolično sublimacijo temeljnih vrednot na področju Boke Kotarske. Sodobna bralna perspektiva nam ne le nudi vpogled v specifične pesniškega izražanja Kotorskih avtorjev v času baroka, torej času svojega stilskega formiranja, temveč tudi v kulturne dosežke (ne samo literarne) v kontekstu južnoslovanske, mediteranske in evropske literarne dediščine, katerih značilnosti lahko opazujemo z vidika njihove ponovne aktualizacije in potrditve. V tem smislu se kaže potreba po drugačnem pristopu do književnega materiala kot delu nacionalne dediščine, ki ne nosi samo brezčasnih/univerzalnih vrednot, temveč zaradi svojega živega potenciala prispeva tudi k odkritju bogastva pomenov, ki so vključeni v črnogorsko medkulturno in spominsko matrico.

Ključne besede: kulturni spomin, identiteta, semantika, kultura, dediščina

L'IMMAGINE DELLA BEATA OSANNA COME CODICE DI MEMORIA CULTURALE

SINTESI

Con la leggenda sulla Beata Osanna è rappresentata tutta una realtà culturale, ma anche una sublimazione simbolica dei fondamentali valori culturali dello spazio delle Bocche di Cattaro. La prospettiva teorica contemporanea rende possibile non solo l'esame delle specificità dell'espressione poetica dell'area di Cattaro nel Barocco, bensì la contestualizzazione delle opere culturali (non solo letterarie) nell'ambito del patrimonio letterario jugoslavo, mediterraneo, nonché europeo; permettendo l'analisi delle caratteristiche osservate dal punto di vista della loro ritualizzazione e riaffermazione. In questo senso, si articola la necessità di un differente approccio al materiale letterario come costituente del patrimonio nazionale, che non è solo portatore di valori atemporali, bensì contribuisce, grazie alla sua viva potenzialità, anche alla scoperta della ricchezza di significati incorporati nella matrice di memoria interculturale montenegrina.

Parole chiave: memoria culturale, identità, semantica, cultura, patrimonio

UVOD

Književno stvaralaštvo Boke Kotorske je od renesanse ka baroku teklo dvostruko ucrtanim tokovima – s jedne strane, bilo je svjetovno, prigodno (enkomijastičko) i epistolografemsko (pisanje stihovanih poslanica), dok je, sa druge strane, nosilo snažnu teološku i didaktičku oznaku. Posebnu karakteristiku ovog perioda čini obnova poetske erudicije i pojačano interesovanje za pobožnomoralistička pitanja, kao i za neskriveno propagandne umjetničke teme koju nadahnjuju pouke iz kršćanskog života. Pored ugledanja na italijansku i hrvatsku pjesničku baštinu (posebno najbližu dubrovačku), počinju se snažnije ispoljavati i obilježja lokalnog, tipično kotorskog kolorita, koja se prvenstveno odnose na oblikovanje antičke mitološke ostavštine i neomitologizacijskih projekcija, kao i na bogatstvo kulturnih slojeva impregniranih u zidine drevnog grada. Sukladno tome, pored dominirajućeg italijanskog jezika, počinju egzistirati i tekstovi oblikovani na živom kotorskom govornom idiomu (mada će se njegova temeljnija upotreba osjetiti tek u XVII stoljeću), a koji nose snagu kotorskog mentaliteta i specifičnu kulturalnomemorijsku oznaku. Takva:

Izražajnost hrvatskog idioma i zapadnjačka autentičnost njezine kulture upečatljiva je svakom tko posjeti Boku Kotorsku, njezine crkve, salone vlasteoskih i kapetanskih palača, tko prouči njezino graditeljsko, kiparsko, slikarsko i književno blago (Babić, 1997, 317).

Neophodno je istaći da književna produkcija Boke Kotorske predstavlja izuzetno bogato područje interliterarnosti i interkulturalnosti, posebno zato što baštini pisce i djela koji su, izvorno, u vezi sa različitim književnim i kulturalnim tradicijama. Zapravo, u književnoistorijskom i kulturalnopoetičkom kontekstu, ovu književnu ostavštinu neophodno je iščitavati u svijetlu pripadnosti mediteranskom arealu, hrvatskoj književnoj baštini kao i književnosti Crne Gore (Babić, 2016, 13). Vjekovna prisutnost dvooltarskih crkava je samo jedna od specifičnih vrijednosti bokokotorskog prostora (ali i prostora Crnogorskog primorja), koja ikonički upućuje na suživot kultura. A ovo nije bez značaja, „*naročito ako uzmemo u obzir vjerski fanatizam koji bio preovladajuća ideologija u Evropi u srednjem vijeku. Očigledno da su ovdje postojale objektivne pretpostavke za pojavu dvooltarskih crkava. One nijesu samo iskaz vjerske tolerancije potaknute aktima političke vlasti, nego predstavljaju spomenike kulture zajedničkog života naroda s ovog područja*“ (Jovović, 2013, 70). Iz tako postavljene vizure proizilazi da stvaraoci koji obilježavaju baroknu književnu produkciju Kotora, svoja poetička, estetička i noetička opredjeljenja formulišu u skladu sa globalnim idejama vremena u kojemu nastaju i u skladu sa egzistencijalnim osobenostima podneblja kojem pripadaju,

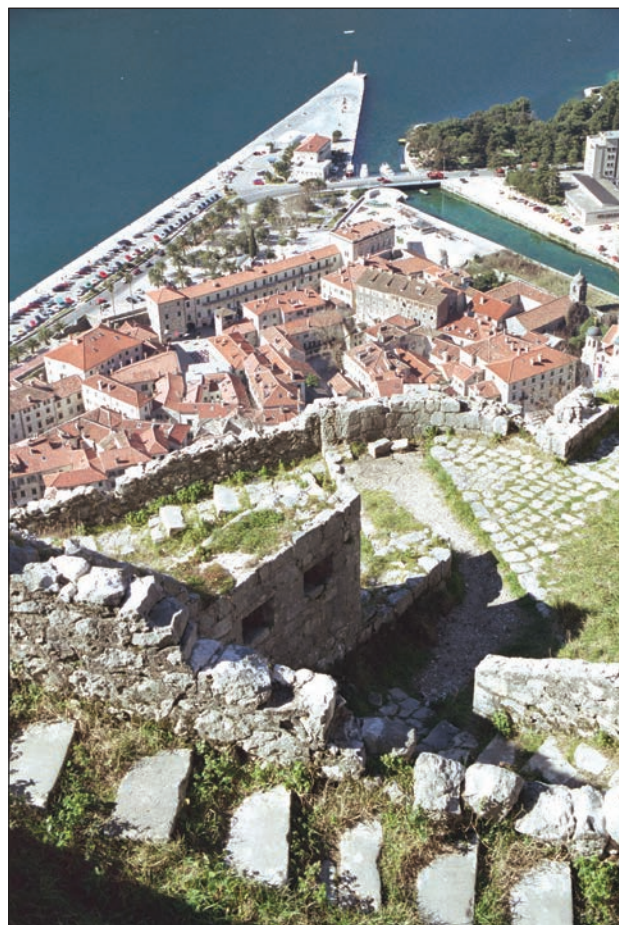


Figure 1: Old town Kotor – panoramic view (Author: Predrag Janković)

na drugoj strani. Nije neobično što u ovakvom kulturnom ambijentu danas, pogledom unatrag, nailazimo na idejni pluralitet koji insistirajući na interakciji književnih tekstova i kulture vodi interferenciji semantički raznovrsnih sadržaja i ukazuje na visok stepen asimilacije različitih kulturnih vrijednosti.

KULTURALNOMEMORIJSKA MATRICA

Barokni zahtjev da se idejnost u umjetničkom djelu otjelotvori kroz svetačke likove, pokazao se produktivnim prvenstveno kroz lik Blažene Ozane; pored Svetog Tripuna još jedne zaštitnice grada Kotora. Njime se reprezentuje čitava jedna kulturna stvarnost, ali i svojevrsna simbolička sublimacija temeljnih kulturnih vrijednosti bokeljskog prostora. Poetička oznaka čitavog razdoblja je heterofunkcionalnost književnih tekstova, uvjetovana raznovrsnošću semiotičkih impulsa koje ti tekstovi asimiliraju i/li projektuju. Upravo zbog toga moramo promišljati o najpodesnijem književnoznanstvenom pristupu, odnosno o književnohistorijskoj

metodologiji kojom bismo obuhvatili sve značajke, ne samo historijske perspektive, već i osvijetlili vrijednosti koje nam pruža pogled unatrag sa pozicije aktualnih promišljanja i istraživanja društvenih datosti. Posebno je lik Blažene Ozane Kotorke (*Beata Osanna da Cattaro*), koji je utemeljen u ovaj prostor kao „najslavniji stanovnik grada Kotora“ (Sbutegea, 2012, 101), bio od samih početaka izuzetno pogodan za oblikovanje različitih diskurzivnih strategija i to zahvaljujući idejnim slojevima koji korespondiraju sa mogućnošću oblikovanja kolektivnih memorijskih predstava, a u skladu sa tim i sa oblikovanjem identiteta prostora. Zapravo, možemo se složiti sa konstatacijom:

Sve što je suštinski oblikovalo mit Ozane Katorske deo je zajedničkog hrišćanskog duha obe konfesije: njen sveti život, milosrdna dela, proročki i isceliteljski dar. U Ozani je pomireno njeno pravoslavno poreklo i katoličanstvo, što je čini jednom od najizrazitijih figura ukupnog ekumenizma. Sem toga, Blažena Ozana u sebi je pomirila pastiricu sa crnogorskog krša i intelektualku iz otmenog Kotora, asketu koji ne pripada svakodnevnom životu ali u njemu, na svoj način, potpuno učestvuje, devicu i strastvenu vizionarku koja govori tačno ono što vidi/misli i u skladu s tim živi, krhko telo i neverovatno snažan duh (Brajović, 2013, 238).

Prvi kotorski pjesnici zaneseni blaženom Ozanom Katorskom, koja već u to vrijeme postaje svojevrsni ideološki, kulturni i književni fenomen, bili su kotorski vlastelini Ivan Bona /Boliris/¹ (čije je djelo *Vita della Beata Osanna da Cattaro* izgubljeno) i Vicko (Vičenco) Bolica Kokoljić, koji je živio krajem XVI i u prvim desetljećima XVII vijeka. Vicko (Vičenco) Bolica Kokoljić je građu za spjev *Život blažene Ozane* najvjerojatnije preuzeo iz teksta koji je na talijanskom jeziku tiskao Serafino Razzi (*Vita della Reverenda Serva di Dio, la Madre Suor Ossana da Cattaro*, Firenze 1595. godine), a Miroslav Pantić navodi da je riječ o ugledanju na svega jednu petinu njegovog sadržaja (od njezinih prvih mističkih vizija Krista do trenutka kada postaje jedna od zazidanih djevoja — *Virgina murata*).²

Ovaj kratki hagiografski spjev pod nazivom *Život blažene Ozane* (188 osmeraca, raspoređenih u katrene), nastao je dvadesetih godina sedamnaestog stoljeća i

prvo je djelo ovog tipa ispjevano na kotorskom narodnom idiomu. Posvećen je Katarini Buća „priuri manastira Svetoga Pavla, reda Svetoga Dominika“, a postoji utemeljeno mišljenje da je pripremano za svečanost (1628) na kojoj su Kotorani namjeravali da je proglase za svetiteljicu. Spjev odlikuje snažan odraz baroknih poetičkih komponenti – kako u pogledu izbora same teme, tako i u idejnom sloju i stilsko-jezičkim osobenostima, pri čemu je očigledno ugledanje na dubrovačku poetsku matricu. Već u uvodnim katrenima *Života blažene Ozane* naznačeno je postojanje različitih kulturoloških oznaka i svojevrsna interferencija u religijskoj ravni:

*Hvala t' budi, dobri Bože,
pokli iskra tve ljubavi,
ku u Ozanu slavnu stavi,
učiniti toli može,*

*Da nevješta Vlahinjica
i djetece nedozrelo,
koe se u tursko rodi selo,
tva s učini nasljednica!³*

Život blažene Ozane dalje opisuje mističke vizije u kojima joj se ukazao Krist, nakon čega je djevojčica odlučila da dođe u Kotor gdje je pristupila manastirskom životu i dala da se živa zazida u manastirskoj ćeliji u kojoj je provela pedeset i dvije godine. Ako na ovaj spjev primijenimo tipologiju fantastičkog diskursa, uvidamo da osnovni materijal čine „sakralne slike i vizije, zasnovane na kodovima jednog religijskog koncepta i religijske imaginacije“ (Damjanov, 1988, 51). Prisustvo onostranog, nadstvarnog, nebesnog, zapravo jedne *više stvarnosti*, preko vlastitih medija, odnosno ovozemaljskih predstavnika, ima za funkciju da prenese odraz i smisao vrhovne (božanske) svemoći, odnosno prenese božansku, svetu poruku, dostupnu samo izabranima. Upravo zbog toga, spoznaja natprirodnog se ovdje opredmećuje kao realitet, koje zahtijeva interferenciju ovog tipa poetske priče sa *projekcijom sakralnog*, omogućavajući međusobno pretakanje kodova. S obzirom na to da prisustvo fantastičkog koda obavezuje čitaoca da svijet književnog teksta doživljava kao stvaran, on tvori interferirajuću ravan u kojoj se racionalno tumačenje ukršta sa shvaćanjem zbivanja kao rezultata nadnaravne (božanske) sile. Današnja perspektiva čitanja teksta (koja ne gubi iz vida da je fantastika obilježje

1 Miroslav Pantić napominje „da je ovaj autor pod tim imenom naznačen, uz dodatak da je iz Kotora (da Cattaro), pod jednim italijanskim sonetom i jednim epigramom na latinskom jeziku, štampanim u Veneciji 1555. godine, dakle još za njegovoga života, u knjizi *Il tempio alla divina Donna Giovanna di Aragona, u kojoj su uglednoj dami imaginarni hram od svojih stihova podigli najplemenitiji duhovi u svim glavnim jezicima sveta*“ (Pantić, 1990, 39). Ali je nedoumicu oko njegovog imena, koja još nije okončana, izazvao italijanski dominikanac Serafino Razzi, u dodatku djela *La storia di Raugia*, nazvavši ga Joannes Bona de Boliris. Od tada, većina književnih istoričara smatra ovog pjesnika za potomka moćne i brojne patricijske porodice Bolica iz Kotora (Pantić, 1990; Kovijanić, 1953, 52–59).

2 U to vrijeme (tačnije 1560. godine) je pri kotorskim crkvama bilo devet zazidanih djevoja koje su poznate pod imenom *virgines muratae* (Luković, 1965, 119; Blehova-Čelebić, 2002, 256).

3 Stihovi navedeni prema studiji Miroslava Pantića (Pantić, 1990). Dostupno na: http://www.rastko.org.rs/rastko-cg/umjetnost/mpantic-xviii/xviii_c.html.



Figure 2: The monastery cell where Blessed Ozana stayed for 52 years (Church of Saint Paul) (Author: Sister Josipa Otahal, Dominican Sisters of the Congregation of the Holy Guardian Angels)

modernističkog diskursa) zahtijeva neprekidnu svijest o tome da je ovakav tip teksta nastajao u vremenu kada se ono što je u njemu prikazano smatralo vjerojatnim i mogućim, nasuprot modernoj čitalačkoj perspektivi u okviru koje koja na ove tektove gleda kao na prostor između čudesnog i natprirodnog. Na drugoj strani, sakralne slike i proročke vizije oblikuju interaktivni kontekst sa hrišćanskim predanjima. A upravo zahvaljujući prisustvu originalno oblikovane fantastičke komponente, koja izvire iz religioznog baroknog misticizma (često izazivanog najstrožijom pokorom i samokažnjavanjem), predanja o Blaženoj Ozani se i svrstavaju u ona djela koja nam mogu ukazati na postojanje izvjesnog otklona od uzora, kako antičkih, tako i italijanskih, pa na kraju i najbližih – dubrovačkih i dalje, dalmatinskih kulturnih i književnih uticaja i doticaja. S tim u vezi, idući tragom Save Damjanova, neophodno je istaći važnost istraživanja fantastičke komponente i fenomena koji, po njegovom mišljenju, predstavljaju „istinsku potrebu, imperative jedne savremenije i modernije književnoistorijske perspektive, koja bi kao relevantne premise podrazumevala aktualizujuću recepciju, osavremenjavanje istorije i oživljavanje tradicije, i koja bi bila zasnovana na otkrivačkoj tenziji, na pokušaju premošćavanja

prostora između minule i današnje književnosti, na adekvatnom poimanju onih vrednosti i pojava koje i sa stanovišta sadašnjosti mogu značiti više od pukog spomenika (a svom vremenu su, možda, donosile određene inovacije, anticipaciju nekih budućih književnih tokova ili neuočen kvalitet)“ (Damjanov 1988, 11).

Bez obzira što je riječ o prepjevu Racijevog teksta (*Vita della Reverenda Serva di Dio, la Madre Suor Osanna da Cattaro dell'ordina di San Domenico*), a koji je, između ostalih izvora, nastao na osnovu hagiografskog spjeva *Beata Osanna da Cattaro* kotorskog vlastelina i Ozaninog savremenika Ivana Bone Bolice, Vicko (Vičenco) Bolica Kokoljić doprinosi oblikovanju sasvim određenog kulturnog kodiranja unutar književnosti pisane maternjim jezikom, čime egzistira kao svojevrsan dokument o postojanju ovog tipa književnog diskursa u poetskom tkanju kotorske barokne stilske formacije. Ono što nas, u tom pravcu najviše interesuje jeste činjenica da je ovdje zastupljena, sa pozicije suvremenih kulturnih promišljanja, nesporno interkulturalna dimenzija teksta.

Izuzetno ugledna Ozana (1463–1565), poznata i kao *sveta Pastirica*, rođena je u siromašnoj crnogorskoj pravoslavnoj porodici iz Lješanske nahije (u selu Relezi, kao Joše/Jovana Đujović, a nakon prelaska u katoličanstvo Katarina Kosić) i prešla je put od neuke pastirice, skromne služavke u kući uglednog vijećnika i suca Aleksandra Buće, do ugledne pripadnice trećeg dominikanskog reda.⁴ Brojna predanja govore o tome da je bila obdarena proročkim darom, proglašena djevicom miriteljicom, anđelom mira i kršćanske ljubavi, imala je proročanske vizije, kao i moć uslišene molitve, te više puta spašavala grad i Kotorane; posjećivali su je i molili za savjet i molitvu mletački providuri, kotorski biskupi, teolozi i upravnici grada. Blažena Ozana je pokazivala istinsku vezanost uz sugrađane i sam Kotor, koja se najintenzivnije zrcalila u spasonosnim molitvama, predskazanjima i savjetima, čime je ljudima pomagala i pred božjom voljom ih zastupala sa ciljem da se izbave od smrti, bolesti (kuga, sljepilo), poplava, od opsade i opasnosti pokoravanja od Turaka.⁵

Uz sve to, ističe se da nikada nije zaboravila na porijeklo, obitelj, saplemenike koji su je zvali *Svetom Odivom* (a taj se naziv u Crnoj Gori, odnosno u njenoj rodnoj Lješanskoj nahiji i danas za nju upotrebljava); da je govorila i molila se ne samo ne samo na talijanskom i latinskom jeziku, već je molitve govorila i svojim mater-

4 *Ordo fratrum praedicatorum* osnovao je u XIII vijeku Sv. Dominic de Guzman. Dominikanske crkve građene su na cijelom Jadranskom primorju, od Istre do Boke i dalje. Dominikanci su u Boku stigli već sredinom XIII i utisnuli snažan pečat na kulturni identitet podneblja. Posebno su se isticali Vincentije (Vicko) Buća i Dominik Buća, teolozi, propovjednici i poete, koji su poticali iz porodice graditelja prvog dominikanskog manastira u ovom gradu, podignutog uz gradske bedeme (Brajović, 2013, 224). Samostani sestara dominikanki postojali su od XIII vijeka u Ninu, Zadru, Splitu, Dubrovniku, Starom Gradu na Hvaru, u Šibeniku i u Kotoru. Katorske sestre dominikanke je okupila u zajednicu upravo blažena Ozana.

5 Nakon zauzimanja Herceg Novog i Risna (1538. godine), Hajrudin Barbarosa je 11. kolovoza 1539. godine, došao pred Kotor sa 70 galija i fusta i 30 000 ljudi. Djevica pokornica Ozana je uvjerala kotorskog providura Ivana Marija Bempa, biskupa Luku Bisantija i sve građane da se ne predaju, da se bore hrabro i da će grad biti spašen. Nakon nekoliko dana borbe, Barbarosa je (21. kolovoza 1539) povukao svoju flotu u Herceg Novi, u kome je ostao do 1687. godine (Luković, 1965, 69–71).

njim jezikom. Brojna su i zapisana svjedočenja o njevoj privrženosti rodu i zavičaju. Zapisi o njoj svjedoče i to da ju je rodbina, ali i njihovi suplemenici često posjećivali, tražili savjet i utjehu (a odlazeći, uzimali su grumen zemlje sa prostora oko njene ćelije kao amajliju).

Predanje o blaženoj Ozani Kotorskoj može se promatrati kao jedinstven tekst, koji u kontekstu suvremenosti ponovo oživljava i otkriva nove smislaone potencijale. Na primjeru ovog predanja vidimo kako „u slučajevima kada imamo posla s tekstovima koji su sačuvali kulturnu aktivnost, oni pokazuju sposobnost akumulacije informacija, to jest sposobnost pamćenja“ (Lotman, 2004, 28). Iz ovakve kulturalnomemorijske matrice se i projektiraju kulturološke poruke univerzalnog smisla. Zato je od velikog značaja istaći i ekumensku dimenziju ovog predanja, jer u dokumentu proglašenja Ozane za beatu – blaženu, navedeno je da je njeno štovanje odobreno ne samo zbog njenog bogougodnog života, već i zbog njenog opredjeljenja da vlastitim primjerom ukaže na mogućnost jedinstva pravoslavnih i katoličkih kršćana.

Kreiranje lika ove izuzetno poštovane *beate*, kako od katolika, tako i od strane pravoslavnih kršćana, predstavlja obuhvatnu oznaku čitavog prostora, zasnivajući se na razumijevanju i prožimanju, sposobnosti za razmjenu i uzajamnu komunikaciju različitih kulturnih kodiranja. Luković ističe da je od važnosti za suvremenost upravo činjenica „da je Ozanu Crkva uzdigla na oltaru u feudalno doba, pored hiljada kotorskih plemkinja, među kojima je neosporno bilo pobožnih i karitativnih žena iz 70 patricijskih kuća“ (Luković, 1965, 100). Ozana je preminula u sedamdeset drugoj godini života, tačnije 27. aprila 1565. godine, a kotorski biskup Luka Bisanti organizovao je, mimo svih tadašnjih običaja, višednevnu pogrebnu ceremoniju i procesiju gradskim ulicama u čast preminule. Njeni očuvani ostaci su do 1807. godine bili čuvani u u crkvi Svetog Pavla (do 1807), kada su preneseni u crkvu Svete Marije Koledate (Santa Maria Collegiata), romaničku crkvu iz 1221. godine, gdje se i danas nalaze.

TEKST KULTURE

O snazi predanja svjedoči i činjenica da se, osim u Boki i Dalmaciji, kult blažene Ozane ili *Ozane Crnogorkinje* još u šesnaestom vijeku raširio po Italiji, Francuskoj, Španjolskoj, Njemačkoj i Ninozemskoj, iako je Vatikan potvrdio o njevoj beatifikaciji izdao tek 1927. godine. A u čast obilježavanja 520 godina od njenog rođenja, na njen blagdan 27. travnja 2013. godine, pokrenut je proces njene kanonizacije.

Jedna suvremena perspektiva čitanja nam omogućuje ne samo uvid u specifičnosti poetskog izraza kotorskog areala u vrijeme barokne stilske formacije, već i stavljanje kulturnih ostvarenja (ne samo književnih) u kontekst južnoslavenske, mediteranske, pa i europske književne ostavštine; čime se ispoljena obilježja mogu posmatrati sa stanovišta njihove re-aktuelizacije i re-afirmacije.



Figure 3: Dominican Sisters of the Congregation of the Holy Guardian Angels in front of the church of St. Mary Collegiata in Kotor (Blessed Ozana Church) (Author: Sister Josipa Otahal, Dominican Sisters of the Congregation of the Holy Guardian Angels)

Upravo, kao da „pred sobom imamo živu sliku organskog uzajamnog delovanja, dijaloga, gde svaki od učesnika transformiše drugog i sam se transformiše pod njegovim uticajem. To nije pasivni prenos, nego živi generator novih poruka“ (Lotman, 2004, 109). U tom pravcu, nameće se potreba za drugačijim pristupom književnom materijalu kao dijelu nacionalne baštine, koji ne samo da nosi vanvremene/svevremene vrijednosti, već zahvaljujući živom potencijalu doprinosi i otkrivanju bogatstva značenja koja su inkorporirana u crnogorsku interkulturalnomemorijsku matricu (svojevrsku *locus memoriae*). Po navođenju njenog prvog biografa, posljednja molitva Ozanina je, na njenu molbu, bila čitana na njenom maternjem jeziku, a ne samo na tada u Kotoru dominirajućem, talijanskom jeziku (up. Luković, 1965, 110–123). Ovaj podatak koji nalazimo kod Lukovića, moguće je objasniti činjenicom da je Vincentije (Vicko) Buća, svećenik u dominikanskom samostanu, magistar gramatike i ispovjednik Blažene Ozane, najvjerovatnije bio i „autor teksta pasije *Muke Gospodina po Ivanu*“ (Brajović, 2013, 224).



Figure 4: The sarcophagus of Blessed Osanna of Kotor by Antun Augustinčić (Source: ALU HAZU, <http://dizbi.hazu.hr/?object=list&mr%5B42806%5D=a&page=4> (27. 04. 2016))

Možemo zaključiti da književnost jeste bitan element kulture, koji doprinosi procesu izgradnje identitetskih obrazaca, zahvaljujući prije svega sposobnosti projektovanja, akumulacije i re/interpretacije nacionalnih predstava, uvjerenja i vjerovanja. Zato nije neobično da se jedan umjetnički lik, koji je, po prirodi stvari, rezultat specifično oblikovane multikulturalne sredine (kakva je kotorska) identificira sa samim prostorom. A lik blažene Ozane Kotorke determinira i prožima čitav jedan prostor kulture, od književnosti, preko religije (kao najrigidnijeg semiotičkog sistema), umjetnosti u svim njenim pojavnim oblicima, ulazi u narodnu svijest i tradiciju, postajući tako – u najširem određenju ono što možemo označiti kao: manifestacija duha. Jer, blažena Ozana predstavljala je, još za života, uzor divljenja i poštovanja ne samo sugrađana, već i svih koji su imali priliku da slušaju o njoj ili privilegiju da sa njom govore. Od vremena života pa do danas ona je predstavljala živo vrelo inspiracije brojnim književnim stvaraocima i umjetnicima, a pominje se i u brojnim istorijskim izvorima i dokumentima. Nadahnuti njenim likom bili su, između ostalih: Dominik Ceci, Kotoranin, u 17. stoljeću ispjevao je pjesmu na narodnom jeziku o Blaženoj Ozani;

Jeronim Kavanjin, Splitsanin, posvećuje joj stihove u 15. pjevanju religioznog epa *Bogatstvo i uboštvo*; splitski dominikanac Vicko Dudan u zbirci svojih himni jednu njoj posvećuje; dr Bernardo Pezzi pominje je u rukopisu *Libro delle Memorie di Cattaro*; Dubrovčanin Serafin Crijević, dominikanac, preveo je na latinski životopis Blažene Ozane pisan na italijanskom od anonimnog savremenika (nalazi se u biblioteci dominikanskog samostana u Dubrovniku); Francesco Maria Appendini, Italijan iz Pijemonta ne zaobilazi je u knjizi: *Memorie spettanti ad alcuni uomini illustri di Cattaro* (Ragusa, 1811); Vjekoslav Klaić, hrvatski historičar, piše o njoj u *Opisu zemalja u kojih obitavaju Hrvati* (Zagreb, 1881); kanonik Ivo Matković napisao *Život blažene Hossane Kotorkinje* (Zagreb, 1888); Reinhard E. Pettermann u knjizi *Führer dursh Dalmatien* (Wien, 1899); Mitar Vukčević, u časopisu *Luča*, početkom XX vijeka; Boško Dumović u listu *Crna Gora* objavio je feljton *Blažena Jovana (Ozana) Kotorka – crtice iz narodnog predanja* (1929); Innocenzo Taurisano piše spis *Beata Osanna da Cattaro*, (Roma, 1929); Don Niko Luković *Život Blažene Ozane Kotorke* (Zagreb, 1928); Ante Šimčik *Blažena Ozana u književnosti* u Almanahu Gospe Lurdske (Za-

greb 1931); Marcus Antonius Van den Oudrin, holandski dominikanac, na holandskom *De Witte Heilige Van Tsrna Gora* (1933). Ove i još opširnije podatke navodi Luković (Luković, 1965, 103–117). Sveta Kongregacija obreda, kako navodi Don Niko Luković, objavila je u Rimu 1927. godine na 460 štampanih strana dokumente o vjekovnom štovanju blažene Ozane (Luković, 1965, 117). U novije vrijeme o njoj su pisali Miloš Milošević, Radoslav Rotković, Jevrem Brković, Balša Brković, Van- da Babić i drugi.

Antun Augustinčić izradio je 1929. godine sarkofag za Ozanino tijelo od posrebrene bronze, koji čini pet bareljefa sa scenama iz predanja o njoj (u Katedrali sv. Tripuna, Kotor). Interesantno je da je upravo na centralnom reljefu djevojka, kojoj se ukazuje vizija razapetog Hrista, prikazana sa crnogorskom kapom, čime je istaknuto njeno porijeklo, a ukupna kompozicija ukazuje na njen nadnacionalni identitet. Veliki crnogorski umjetnik Milo Milunović je u crkvi Rođenja Majke Božje u Prčnju izradio fresku blažene Pastirice (1929). Jednu od najprepoznatljivijih slika Blažene Ozane, koja se nalazi u dominikanskoj crkvi u Dubrovniku, nalikao je Marko Murat (1932). Bronzana vrata, postavljena 1979. godine na crkvi Sv. Marije u Starom gradu Kotoru, na kojima su predstavljene scene iz života Blažene Ozane, izradio je kotorski slikar i skulptor Vasko Lipovac.⁶

ZAKLJUČAK

Sakupljanjem građe, interpretacijom činjenica i događaja, prerađivanjem mnemoničkog materijala, projekcijama dijahronijski promatranih tekstova kulture, dolazi do oblikovanja lika Blažene Ozane Kotorske u vidu snažnog semantičkog jezgra u sistemu crnogorske kolektivne memorije. Ako pođemo od Lotmanove tvrdnje da je za onoga ko ga usvaja, tekst svojevrsna metonimija integralnog značenja koje se rekonstruiše, suočavamo se i sa činjenicom da je „zbir konteksta u kojima dati tekst stiče osmišljenost i koji kao da su na neki način inkorporisani u njega“ (Lotman, 2004, 27) zapravo ono što nazivamo *pamćenjem teksta* i njegovim *smisaonim prostorom*. S obzirom na to da kulturalni pristup književnim ostvarenjima crpi svoja značenja iz uspostavljenih interakcijskih relacija između književnog teksta i kulture, on neminovno teži sinkretizmu i samih identitetskih predstava. Jer, posmatramo li predaju o Blaženoj Ozani „s motrišta pamćenja“ možemo uvidjeti da se ono postavlja „kao mnemotehnička umjetnost *par excellence* jer utemeljuje pamćenje kulture; bilježi pamćenje kulture; ona je čin pamćenja; upisuje se u prostor pamćenja koji se sastoji od tekstova; kreira prostor pamćenja u kojemu se tekstovi-prethodnici preuzimaju preko stupnjeva transformacije“ (Lachmann, 2002, 209). Sukladno tome, kulturalnomemorijsko



Figure 5: Dominican Sister in front of the relics of Blessed Ozana (Author: Sister Josipa Otahal, Dominican Sisters of the Congregation of the Holy Guardian Angels)

promišljanje mora obuhvatiti razmatranja na različitim razinama, od kojih su samo neke: uloga ovog predanja u okvirima formiranja kotorske, ali i šire shvaćene nacionalne tradicije; odnos fikcionalnog diskursa prema nacionalnoj prošlosti; suodnošenje književnosti i kulturalnih konstrukcija nacionalnog identiteta; razmatranje reprezentacijske uloge književnog teksta kao konstitutivnog dijela kulture u cijelosti; problematiku kritičke i historijske književne kanonizacije itd. (Kodrić, 2012).

Kao svjedoci konflikta između ideoloških sfera, posebno ukoliko su izgrađene na klišeima, stereotipima, religioznoj, rasnoj i drugoj netrpeljivosti, moramo više nego ikada voditi računa o tome da je književni tekst moćno sredstvo za ulazak u svijest, kapija mitologizacije, podložna deformacijama i kontekstualno projektiranim zloupotrebama. Raščlanjujući koncepcije identiteta sociologa kao što su Anthony Giddens, Jean-Claude Kaufmann i Manuel Castells, Zeman nudi mogućnost za skiciranje moguće »fenomenologije samoiznalaženja

⁶ O izuzetno bogatoj inspiraciji likom i djelima blažene Ozane u likovnim umjetnostima i muzici, među kojima se navode i za nas danas izgubljena djela, konsultovati brojne navode i opise don Nika Lukovića (Luković, 1965, 119-123).



Figure 6: Blessed Osanna Square in Kotor (Author: Sister Josipa Otahal, Dominican Sisters of the Congregation of the Holy Guardian Angels)

identiteta«, koji bismo produktivno mogli primijeniti upravo na ovo predanje. On ističe da: „Izabirati i oblikovati identitetske figure znači, baš poput Janusa, ne gubiti iz vida zadanost prošlosti, upravljati počecima – ne svih „stvari“, nego onih vlastitih“ (Zeman, 2007, 1027).

Ovo je izravno u relaciji sa shvaćanjem da se idejni prostor jednog diskursa oblikuje kao posljedica povijesnih i geopolitičkih uvjetovanosti, ukazujući na posto-

janje intertekstovne, ali i interkulturalne interferencije, posebno kada imamo u vidu da je riječ o specifičnom i jedinstvenom kulturnom arealu. I danas, kada se *pogledom unatrag* obuhvate semiotičke konstrukcije ovog čudesnog predanja, ali i svih kasnijih književnih, religioznih, povijesnih, likovnih, muzičkih i u najširem smislu društvenih oblikovanja priče o Blaženoj Ozani, možemo konstatirati da raspoložemo modelom arhitekta koji ne propagira asimilaciju jednog značenja drugim, odnosno prevlast jedne semiosfere nad drugom, već da imamo neprekidnu interferenciju semiotičkih jedinica koje govore u prilog transkulturalnosti i kulturno mješovitih identiteta. Zapravo, ako je identitet promjenljiva i fluidna odrednica, zamjena jednog identiteta drugim ne mora nužno da povlači gubitak jednog od njih. Istina, ovakvi primjeri su rijetki, ali su utoliko vrijedniji. Njihov je poseban značaj i u tome što su predstavljeni ne kao odvojeni entiteti, već kao snažno međusobno prožeti i time sposobni da oblikuju našu percepciju sa raznoraznih aspekata. Upravo zbog toga ne smijemo zanemariti činjenicu da književni „tekstovi ne govore o kulturi kojoj pripadaju, već predstavljaju tekstove kulture“ (Greenblatt, 1995, 226). A ti tekstovi kulture oblikuju snažnu kulturalnomemorijsku matricu, odnosno društvene vrijednosti i očekivanja, koje bi s toga motrišta tek trebalo pročitati i vrednovati. Zato su pravilna iščitavanja neophodan pretekst, ali i imperativ u oblikovanju čitavog jednog prostora koji bismo u tom pravcu mogli odrediti sintagmatičnom složenicom *interkulturalnomemorijska perspektiva*.

THE CHARACTER OF THE BLESSED OZANA OF KOTOR AS A CULTURAL MEMORY CODE

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SUMMARY

The authors who marked the Baroque literary production of Kotor, their poetic, aesthetic and noetic commitments formulated in accordance with global ideas of the times in which they arise on one, and according to the characteristics of the existential climate to which they belong, on the other side. It is not unusual that in such a cultural ambience in which to mix the expressiveness of a Croatian idiom and western influence, there is a conceptual plurality, which insists on the interaction between literary texts and culture and leads to interference of various semantic content, indicating a high degree of assimilation of different cultural values. This applies particularly to the traditional story of the Blessed Ozana, known as another protector's town of Kotor, besides St Tryphon. It represents an entire cultural reality, but also a kind of symbolic sublimation of the fundamental cultural values of the area of Boka Kotorska.

*The first poets from Kotor were astonished by Blessed Ozana of Kotor, which had already, for life, become a kind of ideological, cultural and literary phenomenon: the nobleman Ivan Bona / Boliris / (whose work *Vita Della Beata Osanna to Cattaro* was lost) and Vicko (Vicenzo) Bolica Kokoljić (*The Life of Blessed Ozana*). She has been an inspiration to numerous authors since the 16th, and was mentioned in many historical sources and documents. Except in Boka and Dalmatia, the cult of the Blessed Ozana or Ozana Crnogorkinje spread in the sixteenth century to Italy, France, Spain, Germany and the Netherlands, although the Vatican released the confirmation of her beatification only in 1927. In the document, the declaration of Ozana Beat – blessed, it was stated that it is respected granted not only because of the life she had lived – according to the Christian principles, but also because of her commitment to point to the possibility of the unity of the Orthodox and Catholic Christians giving her own example.*

Shaping the character of the Blessed Ozana of Kotor in the form of a strong semantic core in the system of Montenegrin collective memory, the results show that literary texts are not only about the culture they belong to, but that they represent a kind of transmitters of culture which, by their nature, shape the cultural matrix and thereby affect social values and expectations, and their own identity and space.

Keywords: cultural memory, identity, semantics, culture, heritage

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FLOTANTNE ETNIČKE GRUPE U DEMOGRAFSKIM ISTRAŽIVANJIMA – METODOLOŠKI PROBLEMI, PRISTUPI I PRIMERI

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IZVLEČEK

Uporaba subjektivnih kriterijev kot uradnega načela etnične identifikacije srbskega prebivalstva v popisni in vitalni statistiki je omogočila pojav etnične mimikrije in nastanek flotantnih etničnih skupin. Bistvena značilnost flotantnih etničnih skupin je labilnost pri opredeljevanju etničnih značilnosti, ki neposredno vpliva na kakovost dobljenih etno-statističnih podatkov, variabilnost trendov populacijske dinamike in, iz njih izhajajoče, demografske kazalnike. Kvantitativni del raziskovanja v pričujočem članku sloni na rezultatih statistične analize trendov rasti prebivalstva glede na narodno pripadnost v obdobju od leta 1948 do 2011, ki predstavljajo osnovo za ločevanje etničnih skupin glede na raven odstopanja in podobnosti variacij trendov. Kvalitativni del raziskovanja pa je zasnovan na diferenciaciji variabilnosti trendov etničnih skupin glede na vzrok ter na vzpostavitvi podlage za oblikovanje tipologije flotantnosti.

Ključne besede: etnične značilnosti, popis prebivalstva, vitalna statistika, etnična mimikrija, flotantne etnične skupine, variabilnost populacijske dinamike

GRUPPI ETNICI FLUTTUANTI NELLE RICERCHE DEMOGRAFICHE – PROBLEMI METODOLOGICI, APPROCCI E ESEMPI

SINTESI

L'applicazione del criterio soggettivo in qualità di principio ufficiale di identificazione etnica della popolazione in Serbia nella statistica di censimento e quella vitale, ha consentito la comparsa della mimicry etnica e la nascita dei gruppi etnici fluttuanti. La caratteristica principale dei gruppi etnici fluttuanti è la labilità che riguarda soprattutto la dichiarazione degli emblemi etnici, il che influisce immediatamente sulla qualità dei dati etno-statistici ottenuti e, sulla variabilità delle tendenze della dinamica delle popolazioni e degli indicatori demografici che ne risultano. La parte quantitativa della ricerca è basata sui risultati dell'analisi statistica che riguarda le tendenze di crescita della popolazione secondo l'appartenenza nazionale nel periodo 1948-2011. Questi risultati costituiscono la base per la diversificazione tra i gruppi etnici secondo il livello di variazione e la somiglianza tra le variazioni delle tendenze. La parte qualitativa della ricerca è basata sulla differenziazione della variabilità delle tendenze tra i gruppi etnici secondo il campione e sulla costruzione della base per la tipologia di fluttuamento.

Parole chiave: emblemi etnici, censimento della popolazione, statistica vitale, mimicry etnica, gruppi etnici fluttuanti, variabilità della dinamica delle popolazioni

UVOD

Istraživanja stanovništva prema etničkim obeležjima već duže vreme zauzimaju zapaženo mesto u demografiji, a rezultati pokazuju određene relacije između populacionih trendova i etničke strukture. U užem smislu, etnodemografska diferencijacija se zasniva na izraženim disparitetima trendova prirodnog kretanja stanovništva različitih etničkih obeležja. Međutim, trendovi se najčešće izvode na osnovu zvaničnih podataka popisne i vitalne statistike čija upotreba zahteva određeni oprez. Ovo je naročito važno jer su pitanja nacionalnog, jezičkog i verskog identiteta vrlo izražena u javnoj sferi društvenog života, ali i ugrađena u pravni i politički poredak svake države. Strepnja da će se etno-kulturni pluralizam negativno odraziti na etnodemografsku diferencijaciju pojačala je potrebu za kvantitativnim istraživanjima demografskih karakteristika stanovništva prema etničkim obeležjima, ali i za preispitivanjem metodoloških rešenja etnostatističke evidencije, počev od definicija, kategorizacije i statističke klasifikacije, pa sve do načina prikupljanja i objavljivanja podataka. Pitanja suvereniteta, ljudskih prava, diskriminacije, koegzistencije, različitosti u multikulturalnim društvima, kao i nacionalnog, jezičkog i verskog identiteta, obično imaju svoj statistički odraz u rezultatima demografskih istraživanja. Međutim, metodološka rešenja etnostatističke evidencije ostavljaju dovoljno prostora za relativizaciju izvedenih demografskih pokazatelja i trendova jer popisi stanovništva često predstavljaju mnogo više od proste refleksije društvene stvarnosti. Suprotno tome, oni imaju ključnu ulogu u konstrukciji te realnosti, posebno kroz podele stanovništva uvođenjem identitetske kategorizacije na osnovu rasne, etničke, lingvističke ili konfesionalne pripadnosti. To je naročito vidljivo pri demografskim proučavanjima flotantnih etničkih grupa, koje u užem smislu definišemo kao etničke grupe/zajednice/identitete/modalitete¹ čiji pripadnici često menjaju stav pri deklarisanju etničkih obeležja u popisnoj i vitalnoj statistici. Etnostatističkim istraživanjima stanovništva Srbije je utvrđena izražena flotantnost kod nekoliko etničkih grupa u skoro svim popisima sprovedenim u periodu od 1948–2011. godine što neposredno utiče na kvalitet dobijenih podataka, koji u nekim slučajevima nemaju upotrebnu vrednost, a čija nekritička primena može dovesti do potpuno pogrešnih i naučno neosnovanih zaključaka. U ovom radu analizirane su karakteristike populacione dinamike flotantnih etničkih grupa u Srbiji čija statistička varijabilnost zahteva posebne metodološke pristupe u demografskim proučavanjima.

OD POPISNOG PRIOMORDIJALIZMA DO ETNOSTATISTIČKOG DETERMINIZMA

Jedna od najvećih dilema prilikom prikupljanja, obrade i publikovanja etnostatističkih podataka u većini evropskih zemalja je u vezi sa tumačenjem pojma etničkog identiteta. Nacionalna pripadnost i državljanstvo su promenljivi koncepti u zemljama Zapadne Evrope koji često poistovećuju nacionalne i etničke grupe. Principi i preporuke UN za popise iz 1998. godine su u potencirali definicije i kriterijume prema sopstvenom državnom kontekstu, a ne iscrpne spiskove obeležja koja se mogu koristiti za identifikaciju etničke pripadnosti. Državljanstvo i država rođenja su bili preporučeni kao ključna obeležja, a etnička nacionalnost, veroispovest i jezik kao opciona, odnosno dopunska obeležja. Prema aktuelnim međunarodnim preporukama za sprovođenje popisa nedvosmisleno je naglašena subjektivna dimenzija etno-kulturnih obeležja kroz slobodnu izjavu ispitanika, ali i politički senzibilitet manjinskih grupa na diskriminaciju na osnovu etničkog ili religijskog identiteta (United Nations, 2006, 95).

Kategorizacija etničkog identiteta je kroz razne administrativne procedure dobila značaj tek sa nastankom savremenih nacionalnih država. Iz istorijske perspektive, kolektivni identiteti su postojali i ranije ali su često bili fluidni, odnosno nisu nužno bili statični. Sa razvitkom savremenih država, političke elite su činile velike napore da kategorizacijom stanovništva stvore, kako državne, tako i etničke granice. To znači da su zvanične statistike imale značajnu ulogu u procesima partikularizacije stanovništva i stvaranja suverenih naroda (nacija) na osnovu pravnog ili etno-kulturološkog, ili oba kriterijuma (Kertzer, Arel, 2002; Petit, 2013). Etnostatistička kategorizacija se u različitim državama menjala razvijajući nove modalitete u skladu sa političkim i opštim društvenim okolnostima. U kolonizovanim državama je bila izražena kolektivna identifikacija domorodačkog stanovništva kategorijom 'drugi', dok je razvitak rasne kategorizacije najuočljiviji na primeru Sjedinjenih Američkih Država. Tako je u američkim popisima kategorija 'non-white' menjana kategorijama 'Negro', 'Afro American' i 'Black American'. Kategorija 'Spanish speaking residents' zamenjena je kategorijom 'Hispanic Americans', koja je uslovlila kreiranje novog modela 'White non-Hispanic'. Imigranti iz Turske, Irana i Istočne Evrope u švedskoj statistici se determinišu kao 'Non-Nordic'. Kategorija 'Non-Jews' u Izraelu identifikuje Arape različitih veroispovesti, a 'Non-Whites' u SAD determinišu crne i azijske Amerikance (Goldscheider, 2002, 72–73). U Kanadi kategorije zemlja rođenja,

1 Rad se ne bavi identitetskim pitanjima, teorijskim raspravama o shvatanju pojmova *etnicitet*, *etnos*, *narod*, *nacija*, kao ni problemima kategorizacije nacionalnih manjina koje su bile sastavni deo metodoloških rešenja popisne i vitalne statistike od 1948–2011. godine (*etničke manjine*, *nacionalne manjine*, *etničke zajednice*, *narodnosti*, *nacionalne zajednice*). Iz razloga lakšeg razumevanja problema flotantnosti u demografskim istraživanjima, u radu je korišćen pojam *etnička grupa* kao sinonim za sve etno-nacionalne, etno-konfesionalne i etno-kulturne modalitete, bez sugestivne namere određenja njegovog teorijskog, pravnog i političkog značenja.

jezik, religija ili poreklo čine osnovu za određivanje etničkog identiteta.

U statistici Ruske Federacije i bivšeg SSSR-a centralna etnostatistička obeležja su nacionalna pripadnost i maternji jezik. U statističkoj nomenklaturi prema nacionalnosti iz 1989. godine svoje mesto je našlo 128 modaliteta. Prema podacima popisa iz 2002. godine u Ruskoj Federaciji je živelo 182 naroda, odnosno 142 naroda i 40 etničkih grupa, dok je 2010 godine popisano 193 naroda, odnosno 145 naroda i 48 etničkih grupa. Zanimljivo je da se u odgovorima na pitanje o nacionalnoj pripadnosti stanovništva u popisu 2002. godine našlo oko 800 etničkih modaliteta što je bio razlog da se angažuju timovi etnologa. Na primer, u zavisnosti od geografskog razmeštaja, za nacionalnu pripadnost Baškiri dobijali su se odgovori 'Baškirot' ili 'Baškurt', za Tuvance 'Tuva', 'Tiva', 'Tiva-Kidži', za Burjate, 'Burjad', itd. (Population of Russia 2003-2004., 2006). Pitanja o maternjem jeziku su bila prisutna u gotovo svim savremenim popisima od 1897. godine, dok se od 1970. godine postavlja i pitanje o „vladanju jezikom drugih naroda SSSR-a“ (pri čemu je ispitanik u odgovoru mogao navesti samo jedan od jezika), dok je 2010. godine pitanje modifikovano u „vladanje drugim jezicima“.

Etničke i rasne kategorizacije su najizraženije u popisima stanovništva, ali su takođe prisutne i u vitalnoj statistici i drugim tipovima evidencije. Tako je u statističkim obrascima rođenih u Istočnoj Evropi dominantna upotreba obeležja etničke nacionalnosti, u Finskoj i Qubecu maternjeg jezika, a u SAD rasne pripadnosti (Courbage, 1998; Snipp, 1989).

U dokumentima migracione statistike bivšeg SSSR moguće je pronaći podatke o etničkoj pripadnosti migranata, a u Imigracionoj službi SAD početkom XX veka korišćena je lista sa 48 modaliteta rasa ili naroda novih imigranata na Ellis Island (Kertzer, Arel, 2002, 3).

Sa druge strane, u Francuskoj su pitanja o rasnoj i etničkoj pripadnosti odsutna iz popisnih obrazaca, a analitička razlika između rasno zasnovane diskriminacije i rasno zasnovane klasifikacije nije razumljiva (Simon et al., 2015). U Francuskoj je, kao i u većini država Zapadne Evrope, rasa u potpunosti zanemarena kao deskriptivna i neadekvatna statistička kategorija (Coleman, 2012). „Izostanak definicija rase i etničkog porekla, kao i nemoć pred rešavanjem mogućih sukoba između potrebe za prikupljanjem ovih podataka i zaštite ravnopravnosti i poverljivosti podataka, u potpunosti određuju pristup etnostatističkoj evidenciji u evropskim zakonima. Francuska ima restriktivan zakonski okvir o prikupljanju podataka koji otkrivaju rasno ili etničko poreklo i verska uverenja jer se smatraju društveno osetljivim“ (Chopin et al., 2014, 16). Francuski otpor uključivanju etničke i kulturne komponente u popise ima pozadinu u Ustavnom sekularizmu i očuvanju francuskog identiteta. Nacionalnost se u Francuskoj tumači kao građanski ili pravni identitet, blizak državljanstvu,

dok je u Istočnoj Evropi i bivšim sovjetskim državama je više usklađena sa kulturnim identitetom i etničkim poreklom (Blum, 2002).

U zavisnosti od karaktera prikupljenih identitetskih podataka u popisima stanovništva Simon (2007) je izdvojio tri tipa evropskih država: *države centri* u kojima se prikupljaju podaci o zemlji rođenja (EU 15-bez država Severne Evrope i Turska); *države mozaici* u kojima se prikupljaju podaci o nacionalnoj/etničkoj pripadnosti i jeziku (Baltičke države, Centralna i Istočna Evropa i Balkan); *post-migracione, multikulturalne države* u kojima se prikupljaju podaci o etničkoj pripadnosti, religiji i zemlji rođenja roditelja (Ujedinjeno Kraljevstvo, Republika Irska, Holandija, Skandinavske države).

Prikupljanje podataka o etničkim obeležjima stanovništva Srbije ima dugu tradiciju, a pitanje o **nacionalnoj pripadnosti** stanovništva je prvi put postavljeno u popisu Kneževine Srbije 1866. godine (Radovanović, 2005). U svim popisima stanovništva Srbije od polovine XIX veka do danas centralno mesto su imala pitanja o etničkim obeležjima, pri čemu direktno pitanje o nacionalnoj pripadnosti ima kontinuitet u svim sprovedenim popisima posle Drugog svetskog rata. Hronološki posmatrano, od početka XX veka na popise stanovništava Srbije su direktno uticali društveno-politički tokovi, počev od unitarističke ideologije jugoslovenstva koja se refletovala kroz metodologiju prikupljanja i objavljivanja etnostatističkih podataka 1921. i 1931. godine (Radovanović, 2007), preko uspostavljanja tzv. „jugoslovenskog modela socijalizma“ koji je podrazumevao rešavanje otvorenog nacionalnog pitanja konstruisanjem novih nacionalnih modaliteta, preko atmosfere etničkog prebrojavanja i ciljanog etničkog raslojavanja uoči raspada SFR Jugoslavije, pa sve do popisa nakon demokratskih promena koji su bili sprovedeni u uslovima snažne dominacije koncepta tzv. „političke korektnosti“ (Knežević, Radić, 2016, 71).

Podaci o nacionalnoj pripadnosti od 1948. godine su prikupljeni pod uslovima ustavnih načela koja su garantovala potpunu slobodu nacionalnog izjašnjavanja svih građana. „Iako Ustav ne predviđa izričito, sloboda izražavanja nacionalne pripadnosti u sebi sadrži i slobodu izbora nacionalne pripadnosti, pa i slobodu promene nacionalne pripadnosti prema sopstvenom izboru. Drugim rečima, sloboda izražavanja nacionalne pripadnosti prvenstveno podrazumeva individualni odnos prema sopstvenom identitetu“ (Đurić et al., 2014, 15). Ponuđena metodološka rešenja koja su podrazumevala bezuslovnu primenu subjektivnog kriterijuma pri deklarisanju etničkog identiteta imala su nepovoljan uticaj na pouzdanost popisnih rezultata jer su omogućavala vidne oscilacije pojedinih etničkih grupa (Radovanović, 1995; Mrđen, 2002; Knežević, 2011). Dakle, kada govorimo o nacionalnoj strukturi stanovništva Srbije, moramo imati u vidu činjenicu da statistika raspolaze brojem „nacionalno deklariranih“, koji ne mora da odražava i stvarnu etničku pripadnost.

Pored navedenog, etnodemografska istraživanja dodatno otežavaju i česte promene statističkih klasifikacija nacionalnosti kroz uvođenje novih modaliteta,² česte nedoumice oko definisanja naroda, nacionalnih manjina, etničkih grupa (Janjić, 1988; Bufon, 1997; Josipović, 2014), kao i zbirno iskazivanje podataka za određene etničke zajednice. Iz navedenog bi se moglo zaključiti da je skoro svako izjašnjavanje o etničkoj pripadnosti imalo političku konotaciju koja se kvantitativno mogla meriti u popisnim podacima, počev od pokušaja da se na ideološkim osnovama naprave nove etničke konstrukcije, do pokušaja da se tzv. „ustavnim nacionalizmom“ pomire dva suprotstavljena koncepta suvereniteta, teritorijalni i etnonacionalni (Hayden, 1993).

Pitanje o *maternjem jeziku*, kao jednom od ključnih etnokulturnih obeležja, je postavljano u kontinuitetu u svih šest sprovedenih popisa u Kraljevini Srbiji u periodu 1884–1910. godine, u oba međuratna jugoslovenska popisa, a osim u popisu 1948. godine, postavljano je i u svim popisima posle Drugog svetskog rata.³ Iako se u etnodemografskim istraživanjima maternji jezik tretira kao objektivnije obeležje od nacionalne pripadnosti, podaci pokazuju određenu varijabilnost koja je u korelaciji sa promenama statističkih nomenklatura maternjeg jezika, odnosno nacionalnosti.⁴ Nepodudaranja jezičke i nacionalne pripadnosti (alterofonija) javlja se često i kao posledica flotantnog ponašanja određenih etničkih grupa. Zato maternji jezik ne mora uvek da bude dovoljna odrednica za pripadnost nekoj nacionalnoj grupi jer nije retka pojava da više etničkih zajednica istovremeno deklariraju različitu nacionalnu pripadnost i isti maternji jezik (Sentić, Breznik, 1968).⁵

Informacije o *konfesionalnim obeležjima* stanovništva Srbije prikupljane su u gotovo svim popisima stanovništva Srbije do 1910. godine, kao i oba predratna jugoslovenska popisa 1921. i 1931., dok je u periodu socijalističke Jugoslavije pitanje veroispovesti imalo izraženu ideološko-političku konotaciju. Postavljeno je samo 1953. godine, a vraćeno u popis 1991. godine, više u funkciji fundiranja politike etničkog prebrojavanja, nego demokratske prakse slobodnog iskazivanja verske pripadnosti. U zavisnosti od načina na koji se postavlja, pitanje o veroispovesti može imati naglašeni subjektivni karakter, ili može da odražava samo formalnu pripadnost određenoj religiji.⁶ Prema aktuelnim metodološkim rešenjima pitanje o verskoj pripadnosti je otvorenog tipa, a prema članu 43. Ustava Republike Srbije građanin nije dužan da se izjasni. Odgovori su dobijani po subjektivnom kriterijumu, a na osnovu ličnog ubeđenja i shvatanja religije.

Pored popisa stanovništva, u etnodemografskim istraživanjima podjednako važan izvor podataka je vitalna statistika (statistika rađanja, umiranja, sklopljenih i razvedenih brakova). Statistika vitalnih događaja se u Srbiji beleži još od prve polovine XIX veka, ali je distribucija podataka po nacionalnosti dostupna tek od pedesetih godina XX veka. Vitalna statistika u posleratnom periodu je bila podložna metodološkim promenama, naročito 1965–1970. godine, kada je bez objašnjenja obustavljeno prikupljanje i objavljivanje vitalnih događaja po nacionalnosti, što znatno otežava etnodemografska proučavanja iz tog perioda. Ovo je posebno važno za demografska proučavanja onih nacionalnih zajednica kod koji su u tom periodu ostvarile značajne demografske promene (npr. Slovenci u Srbiji).⁷ Osnovni

2 U periodu od 1948–2011. godine statistička klasifikacija stanovništva Srbije prema nacionalnosti je menjana u svim međupopisnim periodima, bilo da se radi o uvođenju novih, ili preimenovanju postojećih modaliteta. Statistička klasifikacija je proširena sa 23 modaliteta iz 1948. godine, na 46 nacionalnih modaliteta 2011. godine (Knežević, Radić, 2016, 72).

3 Definicija maternjeg jezika koja je primenjena u popisu 1953. godine je podrazumevala jezik kojim lice u svom domaćinstvu 'pretežno govori', odnosno jezik koji lice smatra svojim maternjim jezikom. U kasnijim popisima pod maternjim jezikom se podrazumevao jezik kojim je neko lice naučilo da govori u najranijem detinjstvu, odnosno jezik koji lice smatra svojim maternjim ako se u domaćinstvu govori više jezika.

4 U popisu 2002. godine uvedeni su modaliteti bosanskog, cincarskog i kineskog maternjeg jezika, dok je klasifikacija maternjeg jezika 2011. godine proširena sa bunjevačkim, goranskim, jermenskim, crnogorskim, šokačkim i šopskim jezikom.

5 Značajni dispariteti se pojavljuju kod Vlaha i Roma ali su prisutni, u većoj ili manjoj meri, i kod ostalih etničkih zajednica. U popisu 1953. godine, najveća odstupanja su zabeležena kod Vlaha, kojih je prema popisnim rezultatima bilo 28.047, dok je broj stanovnika koji je deklarirao vlaški maternji jezik iznosio 198.861. Prema rezultatima popisa 1991. godine kod Srba, Slovenaca i Crnogoraca nije bilo većih odstupanja, dok je visok stepen alterofonije bio izražen kod flotantnih etničkih grupa. Iste godine kod Jugoslovena se najčešće javlja srpski ili hrvatski maternji jezik, 21% Bugara deklariralo srpski maternji jezik, dok je kod Muslimana podudarnost iznosila svega 33,6% što je bio rezultat masovne deklaracije bošnjačkog jezika koji se tada nije nalazio u statističkoj nomenklaturi jezika pa je bio svrstavan u kategoriju „ostali jezici“. Prema rezultatima popisa iz 2002. godine, visok stepen etnofonije (preko 90%) je bio prisutan kod Srba, Mađara, Slovaka, Albanaca i Bošnjaka, dok je značajna alterofonija bila izražena kod Crnogoraca, Makedonaca, Muslimana i Hrvata. Prema rezultatima popisa 2011. godine, ukupan udeo etnofonije pripadnika 27 analiziranih nacionalnih zajednica iznosio je oko 96%, a alterofonije blizu 4% (Radovanović, 1995, 206; Knežević, 2011, 136-137; Đurić et al., 2014, 149).

6 U jugoslovenskim popisima 1921. i 1931. godine subjektivni kriterijum pri deklarisanju verske pripadnosti stanovništva je imao veoma slab uticaj (udeo građana koji se nisu deklarirali prema veroispovesti iznosio je manje od 1%) pa su dobijeni odgovori predstavljali formalnu pripadnost na osnovu koje se često izvodi etnička struktura stanovništva. U popisu 1953. godine, pitanje o veroispovesti je formulisano kao „odnos prema veri“, uz objašnjenje da lice koje ima određeno versko ubeđenje upisuje veroispovest koju ispoveda, odnosno ako nema, upisuje „bez vere“.

7 Tačnu godinu u kojoj je prvi put više Slovenaca u Srbiji umrlo nego što se rodilo nije moguće utvrditi jer je ondašnja jugoslovenska statistika bez ikakvog objašnjenja obustavila prikupljanje podataka vitalne statistike po nacionalnosti, i na taj način u periodu 1965–1970. godine stvorila 'rupu' u podacima demografske statistike. Ovaj statistički nedostatak onemogućava računanje pokazatelja, i u izvesnoj meri otežava praćenje prirodnog kretanja stanovništva po nacionalnosti, što je od posebne važnosti za Slovence u Srbiji jer je njihov negativan prirodni priraštaj otpočevo upravo u ovom periodu (Knežević, 2012, 181).

nedostatak važeće metodologije registracije i objavljivanja vitalnih događaja po nacionalnosti predstavlja činjenica da su postojeći podaci o natalitetu distribuirani po nacionalnosti majke, što znači da raspolažemo samo brojem rođene dece od nacionalno deklariranih majki. Nacionalna deklaracija majke je subjektivnog karaktera i ne mora odražavati njeno etničko poreklo, dok je evidencija smrtnog događaja pod uticajem izjave izvestioca. Ovo rešenje omogućava pojavu razlike u nacionalnoj deklaraciji pri evidenciji rađanja i smrti iste osobe što je izraženo kod flotantnih etničkih grupa, a posebno kod Roma (Knežević, 2010b, 53).

METODOLOGIJA RADA

Jednu od osnovnih karakteristika današnjeg nacionalnog sastava Republike Srbije čini značajan udeo lica drugih nacionalnosti sa etničkom matricom van Srbije, kao i onih bez matične države. Istorijski događaji u Srbiji u protekla dva veka su obeleženi dinamičnim i vrlo složenim političko-geografskim i prostorno-demografskim procesima koji se nalaze u osnovi današnje etničke strukture, a čiju heterogenost su pokazali su i rezultati popisa stanovništva iz 2011. godine prema kojima su Srbi činili udeo od 83.3%, dok se u okviru ostale 44 etničke grupe deklariralo 12% stanovništva.⁸

Etnička struktura Srbije je formirana pod uticajem brojnih faktora koji se u najširem smislu mogu razvrstati na demografske i nedemografske. Demografski faktori su direktni i podrazumevaju diferencijalne trendove prirodne i migracione komponente populacione dinamike, kao i strukturnih promena stanovništva prema etničkoj pripadnosti. Nedemografski faktori deluju posredno, pri čemu ključnu ulogu ima promena stava pri deklarisanju etničkih obeležja (pre svega nacionalne pripadnosti) usled primene subjektivnog kriterijuma kao zvaničnog principa nacionalne identifikacije u popisnoj i vitalnoj statistici. Drugi važan nedemografski faktor se odnosi na promene metodoloških rešenja zvanične etnostatističke evidencije i statističkih nomenklatura etničkih obeležja. Kao rezultat pomenutih činilaca pojedine etničke grupe su s vremenom povećavale svoj broj i udeo u ukupnom stanovništvu, dok su druge imale stagnirajuće ili negativne trendove. Zato je cilj ovog rada kauzalno istraživanje varijabilnosti demografskih trendova flotantnih etničkih grupa, i objašnjenje relativističkog karaktera etnostatističkih podataka koji se često nekritički koriste pri kreiranju i sprovođenju javnih politika.

Prostorni obuhvat istraživanja je definisan teritorijom Republike Srbije⁹, a vremenski okvir predstavlja period

od 1948–2011. godine. U radu je naglašena upotreba demografskog metoda koji omogućava potpunu hronologiju naučnog zaključivanja i daje mogućnost provere empirijske građe, što nije slučaj u većini društvenih nauka. Zato je demografski metod izrazito upotrebljiv kod kauzalnih istraživanja varijabilnih demografskih pokazatelja, a njegova primena je značajna zato što precizno usmerava istraživača na fazna istraživanja, od prikupljanja, obrade i sređivanja podataka u tzv. 'sirovom' statističkom obliku, preko demografske analize, do faze istraživanja uzročno-posledičnih veza koja u sebi sintetiše sve logičko-misaone procese. Za analizu varijabilnosti flotantnih etničkih grupa u radu su korišćeni statistički metodi standardne devijacije i hijerarhijske klusterske analize na originalnim podacima indeksa rasta stanovništva po nacionalnosti Ward Linkage metodom, pri čemu je sličnost varijacija iskazana modelom kvadratne euklidske distance.

Osnovni izvori etnostatističkih podataka koji su korišćeni u radu su popisi stanovništva i vitalna statistika, a analitički deo rada objašnjava uticaj varijabilnosti obeležja nacionalne pripadnosti stanovništva na kvalitet dobijenih demografskih pokazatelja i njihovih trendova.

REZULTATI ISTRAŽIVANJA

Dinamika stanovništva Srbije posle Drugog svetskog rata ukazuje na izrazite razlike u tempu rasta/pada broja stanovnika prema deklariranoj nacionalnosti što potvrđuje ranije iznetu tezu o neophodnom analitičkom pristupu razmatranja popisnih etnostatističkih podataka (Tabela 1).

Kvantitativni deo istraživanja je iskazan rezultatima koji su dobijeni statističkim analizama popisnih podataka o nacionalnoj pripadnosti stanovništva Srbije u periodu od 1948–2011. godine. Lančani indeks rasta (Tabela 2), rezultati hijerarhijske klaster analize na originalnim podacima indeksa rasta (Grafikon 1; Tabela 3) i standardna devijacija indeksa rasta po nacionalnosti (Tabela 4; Grafikon 2) pokazuju da se u međupopisnim periodima, jasno izdvajaju dva modela promene populacione dinamike.

DISKUSIJA REZULTATA-UZROCI I TIPOVI FLOTANTNOSTI

Na osnovu predstavljenih rezultata kvantitativnih istraživanja varijabilnosti indeksa rasta stanovništva Srbije prema deklariranoj nacionalnoj pripadnosti u periodu 1948–2011, izdvajaju se dva modela dinamike rasta.

⁸ Prema rezultatima popisa stanovništva Republike Srbije iz 2002. godine, Srbi su činili udeo od 82.9%, dok se u okviru 40 nacionalnih ili etničkih zajednica deklariralo 14.7% stanovništva (Etnički mozaik Srbije, 2004; Knežević, 2005, 104).

⁹ Popisni rezultati za 1991., 2002. i 2011. godinu ne obuhvataju prostor AP Kosova i Metohije, dok su za 1991., i 2011. godinu prikazani konačni rezultati popisa u opštinama Bujanovac, Preševo i Medveđa u južnoj Srbiji, bez obzira na nedovoljan obuhvat albanskog stanovništva.

Tabela 1: Stanovništvo Republike Srbije prema nacionalnoj pripadnosti, 1948–2011. (Izvor: Popisi stanovništva Srbije (1948–2011))**Table 1: Population of the Republic of Serbia according to declared nationality, 1948–2011.**

	1948	1953	1961	1971	1981	1991 ¹⁾	2002 ¹⁾	2011 ¹⁾
UKUPNO	6527966	6979154	7642227	8446591	9313677	7759920	7498001	7186862
Srbi	4823730	5152939	5704686	6016811	6182159	6252405	6212838	5988150
Albanci ³⁾	532011	565513	699772	984761	1303032	15406	61647	5809
Aškalije	/	/	/	/	/	/	584	997
Bošnjaci	/	/	/	/	/	/	136087	145278
Bugari	59472	60146	58494	53800	33455	26698	20497	18543
Bunjevci ⁴⁾	/	/	/	/	/	21434	20012	16706
Vlasi	93440	28047	1368	14724	25596	17804	40054	35330
Goranci	/	/	/	/	/	/	4581	7767
Grci ⁵⁾	/	1279	1178	840	757	916	572	725
Egipćani	/	/	/	/	/	433	814	1834
Jevreji ⁵⁾	/	1054	1250	1128	683	1107	1158	787
Jermeni	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	222
Jugosloveni ⁶⁾	/	/	20079	123824	441941	320168	80721	23303
Mađari	433701	441907	449587	430314	390468	343800	293299	253899
Makedonci	17917	27277	36288	42675	48986	45068	25047	22755
Muslimani	17315	81081	93467	154330	215166	180222	19503	22301
Nemci	41460	46228	14533	9086	5302	5172	3901	4064
Romi	52181	58800	9826	49894	110959	94492	108103	147604
Rumuni	63160	59705	59505	57419	53693	42316	34576	29332
Rusi	13329	7829	6984	4746	2761	2473	2588	3247
Rusini ²⁾	22667	23720	25658	20608	19757	18052	15905	14246
Slovaci	73140	75027	77837	76733	73207	66772	59021	52750
Slovenci	20998	20717	19957	15957	12006	8001	5104	4033
Turci	1914	54526	44434	18220	13890	765	522	647
Ukrajinci ²⁾	/	/	/	5643	5520	5042	5354	4903
Hrvati ⁴⁾	169864	173246	196409	184913	149368	97344	70602	57900
Cincari	/	/	/	/	/	/	293	243
Crnogorci	74860	86061	104753	125560	147466	118934	69049	38527
Česi	6760	5948	5133	4149	3225	2675	2211	1824
Šokci ⁴⁾	/	/	/	/	/	1738	717	607
Šopi	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	142
Ostali	9214	7807	7267	6989	17289	7166	7051	9530
Neizjašnjeni	/	/	/	4486	7834	10718	107732	160346
Regionalni	/	/	/	10409	6848	4841	11485	30771
Nepoznato	/	1994	5604	30274	43222	47958	75483	81740

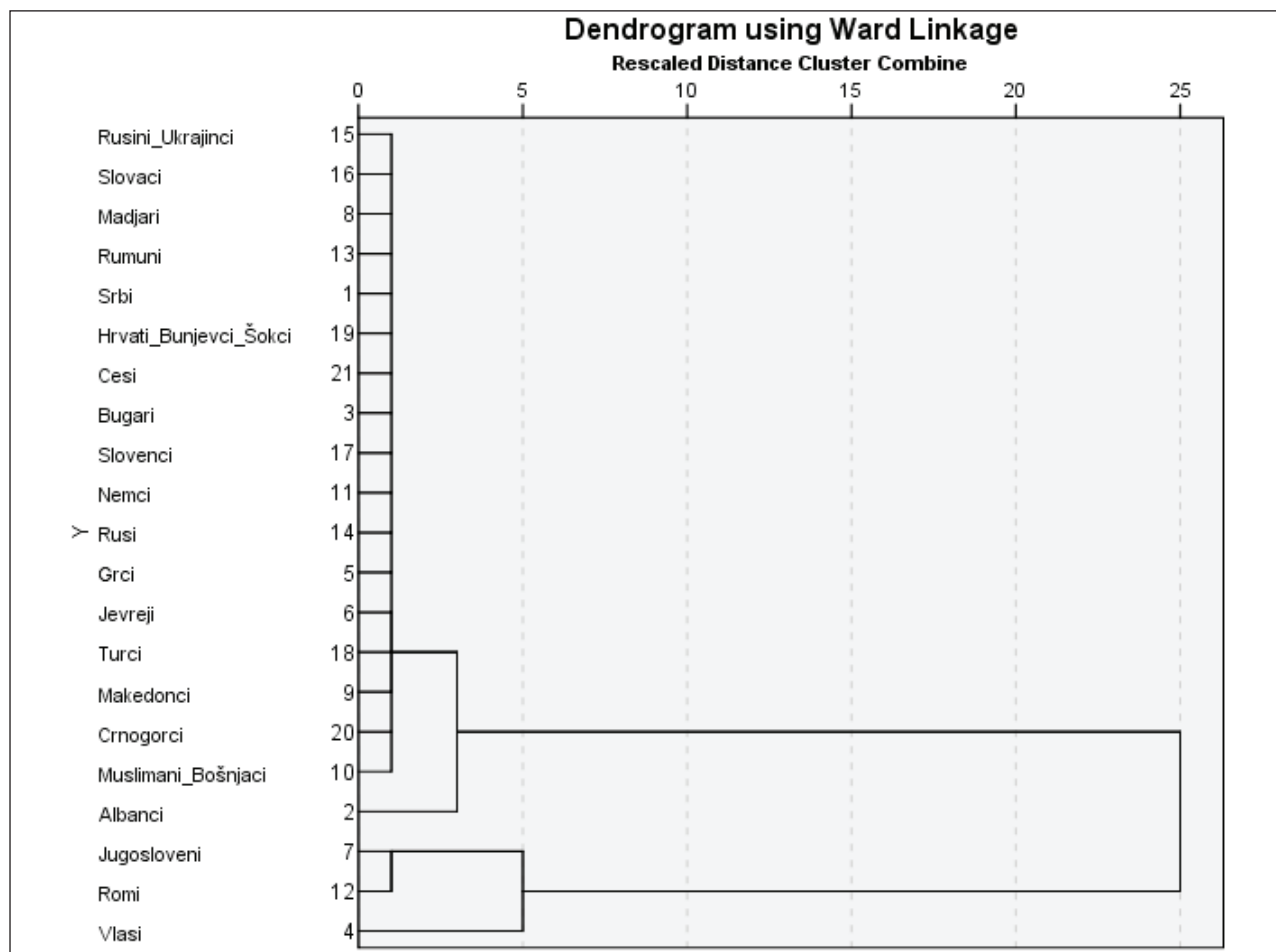
Napomene:

¹⁾ Bez podataka za AP Kosovo i Metohiju;²⁾ Do popisa 1971. godine Ukrajinci i Rusini su prikazivani zbirno;³⁾ 1991. i 2011. godine nepotpun obuhvat albanskog stanovništava u opštinama Preševo, Bujanovac i Medveda;⁴⁾ Do popisa 1991. godine Bunjevci i Šokci su prikazivani zbirno sa Hrvatima;⁵⁾ U popisu 1948. godine u FNR Jugoslaviji popisano je ukupno 6.853 Jevreja i 1.830 Grka koji nisu bili posebno iskazani po republikama već su svrstani u kategoriju ostali;⁶⁾ U popisu 1961. godine modalitet Jugosloven obuhvata građane koji se nisu bliže nacionalno deklarirali ili su deklarirali regionalnu pripadnost.

Tabela 2: Indeks rasta stanovništva Srbije po nacionalnoj pripadnosti, 1948–2011. (Izvor: Proračun na osnovu podataka iz Tabele 1)**Table 2: Growth Index of Serbian population according to declared nationality, 1948–2011.**

	1953/48	1961/53	1971/61	1981/71	1991/81	2002/91	2011/02
UKUPNO	106,9	109,5	110,5	110,3	83,3	96,6	95,9
Srbi	106,8	110,7	105,5	102,7	101,1	99,4	96,4
Albanci	106,3	123,7	140,7	132,3	1,2	400,1	9,4
Aškalije	/	/	/	/	/	/	170,7
Bošnjaci	/	/		/	/	/	106,8
Bugari	101,1	97,3	92,0	62,2	79,8	76,8	90,5
Bunjevci	/	/		/	/	93,4	83,5
Vlasi	30,01	4,9	1076,3	173,8	69,6	225,0	88,2
Goranci	/	/		/	/	/	169,5
Grci	/	92,1	71,3	90,1	121,0	62,4	126,7
Egipćani	/	/	/		/	188,0	225,3
Jevreji	/	118,6	90,2	60,5	162,1	104,7	68,0
Jugosloveni	/	/	616,7	356,9	72,4	25,3	28,9
Mađari	101,9	101,7	95,7	90,7	88,0	85,4	86,6
Makedonci	152,2	133,0	117,6	114,8	92,0	55,6	90,8
Muslimani	468,3	115,3	165,1	139,4	83,8	10,8	114,3
Nemci	111,5	31,4	62,5	58,35	97,5	75,4	104,2
Romi	112,7	16,7	507,8	222,4	85,2	114,4	136,5
Rumuni	94,5	99,7	96,5	93,5	78,8	81,7	84,8
Rusi	58,7	89,2	68,0	58,2	89,6	104,6	125,5
Rusini	104,6	108,2	80,3	95,9	91,4	88,1	89,6
Slovaci	102,6	103,7	98,6	95,4	91,2	88,4	89,4
Slovenci	98,7	96,3	80,0	75,2	66,6	63,8	79,0
Ukrajinci	/	/	/	97,8	91,3	106,2	91,6
Turci	2848,8	81,5	41,0	76,2	5,5	68,2	123,9
Hrvati	102,0	113,4	94,1	80,8	65,2	72,5	82,0
Cincari	/	/		/	/	/	82,9
Crnogorci	115,0	121,7	119,9	117,4	80,7	58,1	55,8
Šokci	/	/	/	/	/	41,3	84,7
Česi	88,0	86,3	80,8	77,7	82,9	82,7	82,5
Muslimani/Bošnjaci	468,3	115,3	165,1	139,4	83,8	86,3	107,7
Rusini/Ukrajinci	104,6	108,2	103,4	95,3	91,4	92,1	90,1
Hrvati/Bunjevci/Šokci	102,0	113,4	94,1	80,8	80,7	75,8	82,3

Napomena: Iz razloga koji su opisani u metodološkim problemima etnostatištke evidencije, za potrebe klsterske analize su izdvojena tri zbirna modaliteta za koje je moguće obezbediti podatke u kontinuitetu.



Grafikon 1: Rezultat hijerarhijske klaster analize metodom Ward Linkage¹⁰ na originalnim podacima indeksa rasta stanovništva Srbije prema nacionalnosti

Figure 1: The result of hierarchical cluster analysis (Ward Linkage method) to the original data of the growth index of the population of Serbia, according to declared nationality

Prvi model karakterišu ravnomerne ili blago varijabilne promene indeksa rasta u oba smera, čija kauzalnost je utemeljena na interpretabilnim demografskim trendovima izvedenim na osnovu podataka popisne i vitalne statistike. Na nisku varijabilnost indeksa rasta Srba, Bugara, Bunjevaca, Mađara, Makedonaca, Rumuna, Rusa, Rusina, Slovenaca, Ukrajinaca, Hrvata, Čeha, uticali su relativna stabilnost pri ispoljavanju nacionalnog identiteta u popisima stanovništva sa jedne,¹¹ i relativno linearni trendovi prirodnog priraštaja i migracija druge strane. Kontinuirano i ravnomerno opadanje

broja stanovnika u posmatranom periodu beležimo kod Slovenaca,¹² Rumuna, Rusa i Čeha, dok polulacionu dinamiku Srba, Makedonca, Mađara, Bugara, Rusina, Slovaka i Hrvata karakterišu prvobitni blagi porast, a zatim opadanje stanovništva do kraja posmatranog perioda (Tabela 2).

Sa druge strane, na osnovu rezultata hijerarhijske klasterne analize i standardne devijacije izdvajaju se etničke zajednice koje karakterišu varijabilni modeli populacione dinamike. Dobijeni rang vrednosti standardne devijacije u odnosu na aritmetičku sredinu indeksa

10 Za merenje sličnosti varijacija je korišćen model kvadratne euklidske distance.

11 Niska varijabilnost i linearni trendovi indeksa rasta navedenih etničkih grupa koji su iskazani u rezultatima istraživanja ne isključuju etničku mimikriju i određenog broja njihovih pripadnika u okolnostima pod kojima su sprovedeni popisi stanovništva, iako se ove grupe ne mogu okarakterisati kao flotantne.

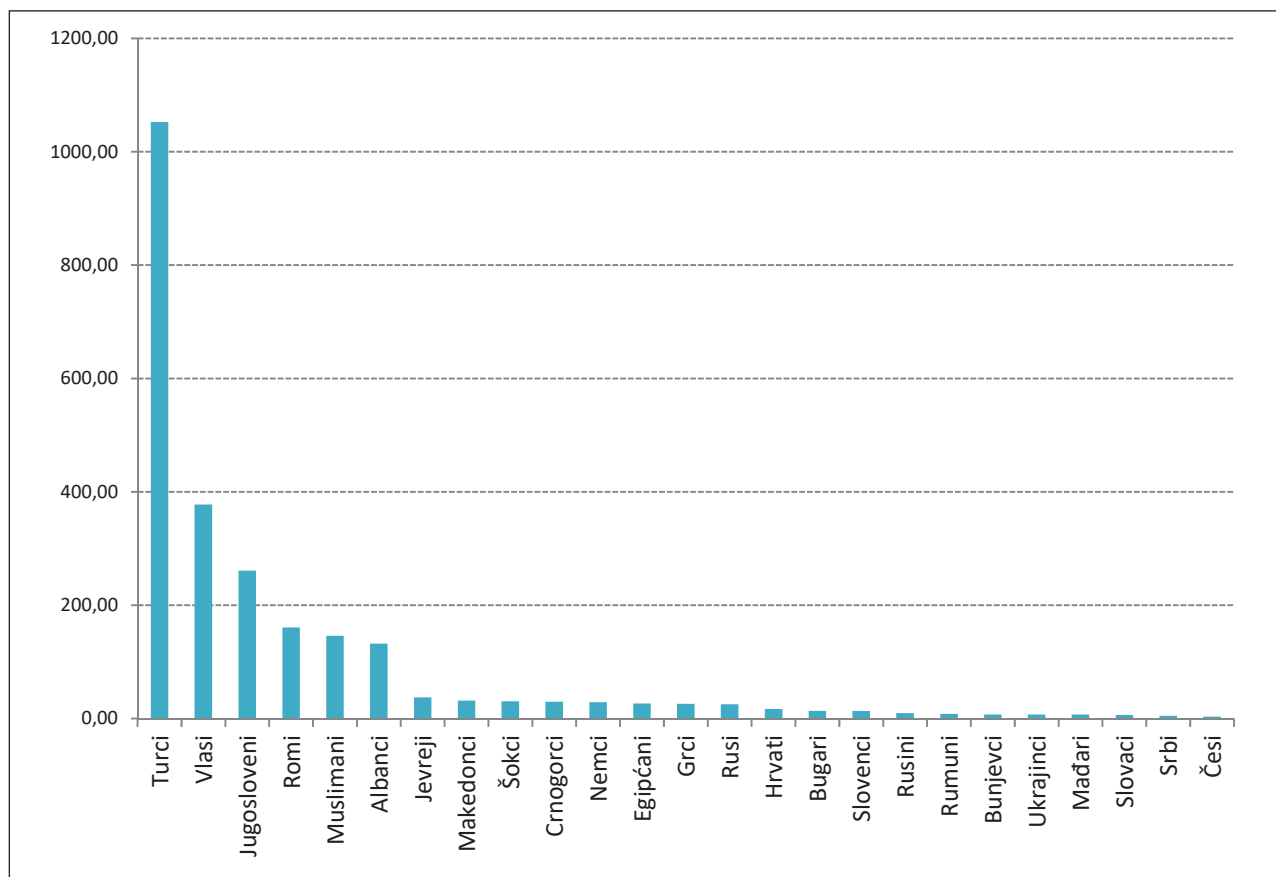
12 Slovenačko stanovništvo u Srbiji je već duže vreme zahvaćeno depopulacijom usled nedovoljnog rađanja, koje im ne obezbeđuje ni prostu reprodukciju, što pokazuju proračuni na osnovu podataka vitalne statistike. Slovenačka populacija u Srbiji je ostvarila negativan prirodni priraštaj već sredinom 60-tih godina, što se podudara sa prvim značajnim padom broja Slovenaca u Srbiji (Knežević, 2012, 181).

Tabela 3: Klsterska pripadnost etničkih grupa prema indeksu rasta u ponuđenim višeklsterskim rešenjima
Table 3: Cluster affiliation of ethnic groups, according to growth index in the multiple choice clusters

	5 klastera	4 klastera	3 klastera	2 klastera
Srbi	1	1	1	1
Albanci	2	2	1	1
Bugari	1	1	1	1
Vlasi	3	3	2	2
Grci	1	1	1	1
Jevreji	1	1	1	1
Jugosloveni	4	4	3	2
Mađari	1	1	1	1
Makedonci	1	1	1	1
Muslimani/Bošnjaci	1	1	1	1
Nemci	1	1	1	1
Romi	5	4	3	2
Rumuni	1	1	1	1
Rusi	1	1	1	1
Rusini/Ukrajinci	1	1	1	1
Slovaci	1	1	1	1
Slovinci	1	1	1	1
Turci	1	1	1	1
Hrvati/Bunjevci/Šokci	1	1	1	1
Crnogorci	1	1	1	1
Česi	1	1	1	1

Tabela 4: Standardna devijacija indeksa rasta po nacionalnosti u periodu 1948–2011.
Table 4: The standard deviation of the growth index by declared nationality, 1948–2011.

	StDev		StDev
UKUPNO	10,3	Grci	25,8
Turci	1052,4	Rusi	25,0
Vlasi	377,6	Hrvati	16,9
Jugosloveni	260,9	Bugari	13,5
Romi	160,7	Slovinci	13,4
Muslimani	145,8	Rusini	9,7
Albanci	132,2	Rumuni	8,1
Jevreji	37,1	Bunjevci	7,0
Makedonci	31,7	Ukrajinci	7,0
Šokci	30,7	Mađari	7,0
Crnogorci	29,8	Slovaci	6,2
Nemci	28,8	Srbi	4,8
Egipćani	26,4	Česi	3,4



Grafikon 2: Standardna devijacija indeksa rasta po nacionalnosti u periodu 1948–2011.

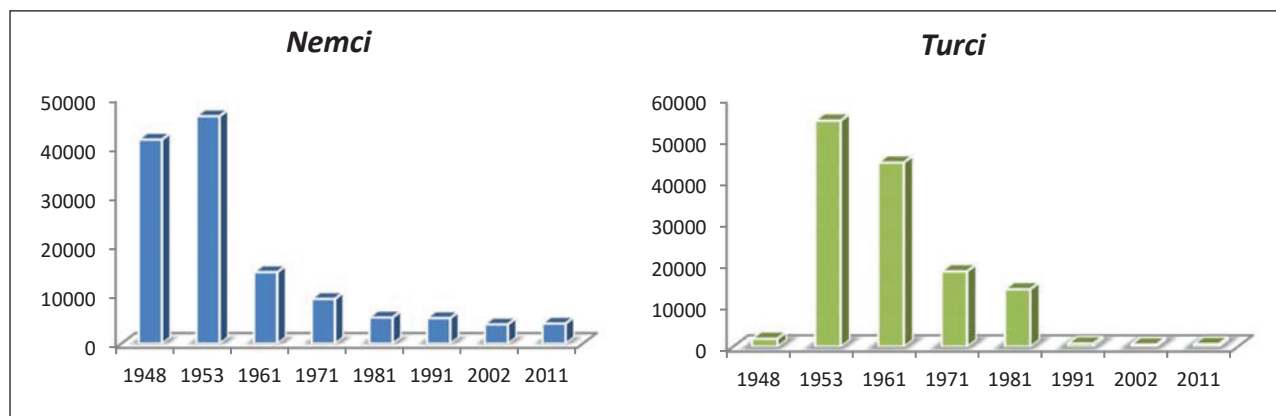
Figure 2: The standard deviation of the growth index by declared nationality, 1948–2011.

rasta za svaku nacionalnost u ukupnom periodu posmatranja izdvaja nekoliko etničkih grupa sa izraženim oscilacijama populacione dinamike (Tabela 4; Grafikon 2). Međutim, bilo bi neosnovano da svakoj statističkoj oscilaciji u populacionoj dinamici pripišemo flotantnost određenoj etničkoj grupi. Iako ponuđena višeklasterska rešenja i vrednosti standardnih devijacija jasno izdvajaju klustere varijabilnih etničkih grupa (Tabele 3 i 4), moramo imati na umu da *opseg varijabilnosti ne može biti osnova za kvalitativno razdvajanje klastera flotantnih etničkih grupa* jer ispunjava samo numrički princip grupisanja. S obzirom da je varijabilnost flotantnih etničkih grupa primarno determinisana promenom stava pri nacionalnom deklarisanju u popisima stanovništva (čiji uzroci se nalaze u širokom spektru socio-kulturnih, po-

litičkih i ekonomskih faktora), neophodno je iz klastera varijabilnih etničkih grupa izdvojiti one čija je varijabilnost mogla biti pod uticajima promena metodoloških rešenja etnostatističke evidencije, izmena statističkih nomenklatura nacionalnosti ili primene međudržavnih sporazuma o preseljavanju stanovništva. Osnovne karakteristike ovog tipa varijabilnosti su predvidljivost i mogućnost rekonstrukcije demografskih trendova.

Tako se, kao rezultat nacionalne politike u posleratnoj socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji, pristupilo *uvođenju novih metodoloških rešenja* u popis stanovništva koja su se neposredno odrazila na dinamiku kretanja Muslimana,¹³ Jugoslovena i regionalno opredeljenih što pokazuju značajne oscilacije indeksa rasta u periodu 1948–1961. godine (Tabela 2).

13 U popisu 1948. godine Muslimani su tretirani kao lica jugoslovenskog porekla „bez vere“, pri čemu su se mogli izjašnjavati kao Srbi-muslimani (87.637), Hrvati-muslimani (444) i neopredeljeni-muslimani (17.315). U popisu 1953. godine ukinuta je kategorija Jugoslovena-muslimana i uvedena kategorija Jugosloven-neopredeljen. Indeks rasta od 468,3 u ovom periodu ukazuje na transfer stanovništva iz prethodne kategorije Jugosloven-musliman, pri čemu intenzitet rasta ukazuje da se 1953. godine među Jugoslovenima-neopredeljenima našao i određeni broj flotantnih etničkih grupa. Poptpunom identifikacijom religioznog sa nacionalnim obeležjem, od 1961. godine odvija se ubrzani proces etničke konsolidacije Muslimana u smislu etničke pripadnosti, odnosno njihove pojave kao naroda (Radovanović, Radovanović, 1998). Uvođenje modaliteta Bošnjak u popis 2002. godine uticalo je na značajno opadanje broja Muslimana čiji je indeks rasta u odnosu na 1991. godinu je iznosio svega 10,8 (Tabela 2).



Grafikon 3: Kretanje broja Nemaca i Turaka u Srbiji, 1948–2011.
Figure 3: The number of declared Germans and Turks in Serbia, 1948–2011.

Izmena statističke nomenklature nacionalnosti u smislu uvođenja novih modaliteta su takode uticale na dinamiku i varijabilnost etničkih grupa koje su do određenog perioda prikazivane zbirno. Tako su od popisa 1971. godine Ukrajinci prikazivani odvojeno od Rusina, od popisa 1991. godine Bunjevci i Šokci odvojeno od Hrvata, dok je uvođenje modaliteta Egipćana, (a od 2002. godine i Aškalija) neznatno uticalo na broj deklariranih Roma, odnosno Albanaca.

Jedan od uzroka varijabilnosti koji je snažno uticao na pokazatelje porasta stanovništva određenih nacionalnosti, a koji nije uslovljen demografskim trendovima ili raznim metodološkim rešenjima popisne statistike, predstavljale su i aktivnosti države koje su bile usmerene na ciljane migracione transfere uvođenjem mogućnosti optiranja. Kao primer se mogu navesti *ugovori o preseljavanju stanovništva između FNR Jugoslavije, Grčke i Turske*, (Ugovor iz 1953. godine iz Ankare, i 1954. godine iz Bleda),¹⁴ kao i protokol između vlada FNR Jugoslavije i SR Nemačke o uzajamnom obaveštavanju o naturalizaciji državljanima dve zemlje iz 1954. godine (stupio na snagu 13. januara 1955. godine)¹⁵ kojim je regulisano

iseljavanje pripadnika nemačke nacionalne manjine i gubitak jugoslovenskog državljanstva (Grafikon 3).

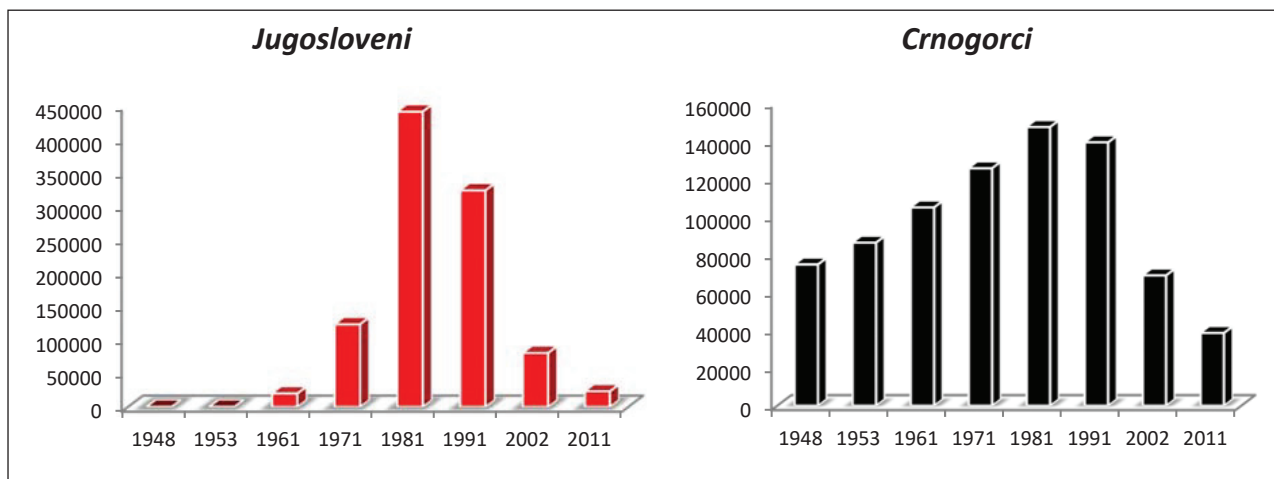
Analiza dinamike stanovništva Srbije prema nacionalnoj pripadnosti pokazuje značajna odstupanja indeksa rasta albanskog stanovništva koja su evidentirana u međupopisnim periodima od 1991–2011. godine. Razlozi varijabilnosti se ne mogu tražiti u flotantnom ponašanju albanskog stanovništva, čija je dinamika u periodu od 1948–1981. godine imala linearan i demografski objašnjiv trend usled visokih vrednosti nataliteta i prirodnog priraštaja. Međutim, albansko stanovništvo u Srbiji je iz političkih razloga bojkotovalo popise 1991. i 2011. godine što se direktno odrazilo na pokazatelja porasta.¹⁶ Dobijeni rezultati pokazuju da je u akcijama bojkota vladala gotovo potpuna disciplina među albanskim stanovništvom, što indirektno svodi pojavu flotantnosti na statistički minimum.

Ideološko-politički pristup nacionalnoj identifikaciji stanovništva u Srbiji je najizraženiji u kretanju broja deklariranih Jugoslovena. U početnim godinama posmatranja promenljivo kretanje broja Jugoslovena je bilo u tesnoj vezi sa uvođenjem Muslimana u statističku nomenklaturu

14 Prema navedenom ugovoru turska ambasada u Beogradu izdavala je dozvole o turskoj nacionalnoj pripadnosti koja se sticala samo na osnovu poznavanja desetak turskih reči, otpusta iz državljanstva Jugoslavije, zahteva za spajanjem porodica (pri čemu su porodice shvatane u najširem smislu) i pripadnosti islamskoj veroispovesti (Pavlović, 2015, 588). Opravdana je hipoteza da je u ovom sporazumu svoju šansu za iseljenje iz Jugoslavije iskoristio daleko veći broj pripadnika etničkih grupa koje u užem smislu nisu imale etničke veze sa Turcima. U prilog tome idu rezultati standardne devijacije (Tabela 4; Grafikon 2) i nagli porast indeksa rasta deklariranih Turaka u Srbiji koji je u međupopisnom periodu 1948–1953. godine iznosio 2.849 (Tabela 2), što ukazuje na masovnu etničku mimikriju muslimanskog stanovništva, pretežno iz oblasti Starog Vlaha i Raške, ali i dela albanskog stanovništva.

15 Ovome je prethodila jedna decenija nastojanja novih jugoslovenskih vlasti da se u posleratnim godinama trajno reši pripadnika nemačke nacionalne manjine kojoj su zakonski uskraćivana osnovna građanska i ljudska prava, iz čega su izuzeti „oni Nemci koji su se borili na strani NOP-a, pomagali ga, ili se za vreme rata nisu deklarirali kao Nemci, kao i Nemci u mešovitim brakovima“ (Janjetović, 2010, 7). Period realizacije pomenutog protokola se poklapa sa značajnim padom broja Nemaca u Srbiji u međupopisnom periodu 1953–1961. godine kada je indeks rasta iznosio 31,4 što ukazuje na varijabilnost čiji uzrok ne može biti objašnjen ni trendom prirodnog kretanja, ni flotantnim ponašanjem Nemaca pri nacionalnoj deklaraciji.

16 1991. godine je u Srbiji popisano ukupno 24.497 Albanaca, od čega 15.406 u Centralnoj Srbiji i Vojvodini. Već 2002. godine u Centralnoj Srbiji i Vojvodini je popisano 61.647 Albanaca čija je najveća koncentracija bila u opštinama Preševo i Bujanovac. Ovaj podatak se smatra relativno pouzdanim jer nije vođena kampanja bojkota popisa usled novih političkih okolnosti koje su podrazumevale, između ostalog, i amnestiju za sve učesnike prethodno izvedene oružane pobune na jugu Srbije. Međutim, popis stanovništava 2011. godine je ponovo bio obeležen bojkotom albanskog stanovništva što se neposredno odrazilo na pokazatelje porasta.



Grafikon 4: Kretanje broja Jugoslovena i Crnogoraca u Srbiji, 1948–2011.

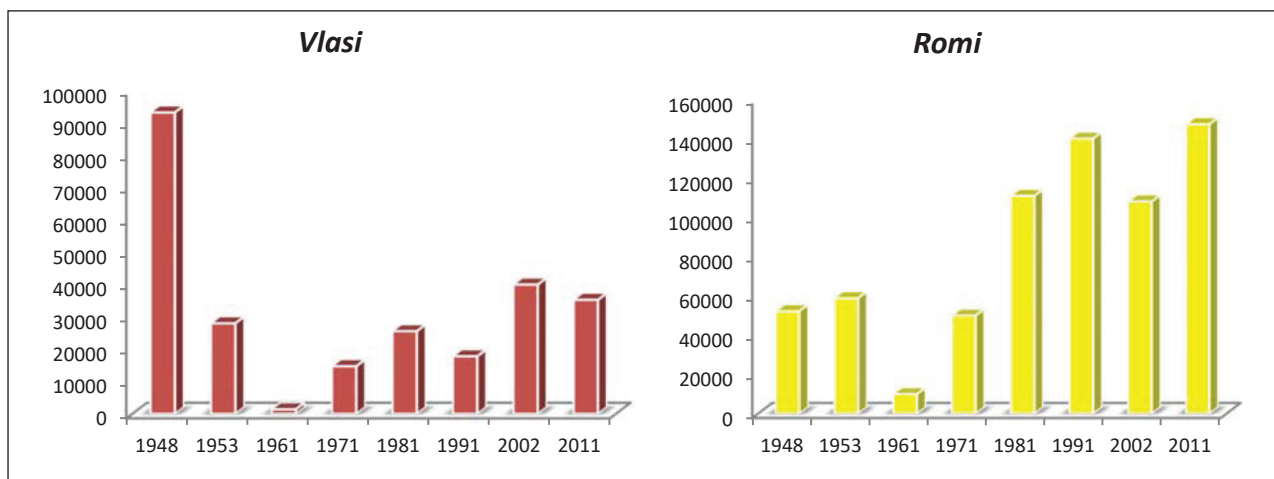
Figure 4: The number of declared Yugoslavs and Montenegrins in Serbia, 1948–2011.

nacionalnosti. Od 1961. godine kategorija Jugosloven skoro potpuno gubi pređašnje etnonacionalno i civilizacijsko značenje, i dobija obeležje flotantne i nedefinisane populacije, na šta upućuje i svrstavanje Jugoslovena u popisima od 1961–1981. godine u kategoriju 'nacionalno neopredeljenih'. Od popisa 1991. godine Jugosloveni se svrstavaju u kategoriju nacionalno 'opredeljenih', uz objašnjenje da će se u redosledu klasifikacije naći iza naroda, a ispred narodnosti, i to bez ikakve bliže odrednice šta se podrazumeva pod pojmom Jugosloven (Radovanović, 1995, 189). Statističke oscilacije broja deklariranih Jugoslovena imaju objašnjenje u promenama metodoloških rešenja popisa, porastu udela etnički heterogenih brakova, ideološkom pristupu nacionalnoj deklaraciji, kao i etničkoj mimikriji u određenim društveno-političkim okolnostima. Međutim ekspanziju Jugoslovena koja je registrovana u popisu 1981. godine treba posmatrati iz šireg društvenog konteksta, pre svega kroz težnju dela mladog stanovništva za nadraštanjem sopstvene nacije i socio-kulturnu identifikaciju sa jugoslovenskom državom, naročito u vreme *new wave* pokreta s kraja 70-ih, i početka 80-ih godina. Navedeni razlozi su mogli uticati na nagli porast broja deklariranih Jugoslovena u Srbiji, čiji je maksimum zabeležen 1981. godine (441.941), dok je prema rezultatima poslednjeg sprovedenog popisa 2011. godine njihov broj bio približan onom iz 1961. godine (Grafikon 4).

Sa druge strane, kretanje broja deklariranih Crnogoraca u Srbiji je do 1991. godine imalo karakteristiku predvidivog linearnog trenda rasta koji je bio u korelaciji sa dinamikom prirodnog i migracionog kretanja. Međutim, rezultati popisa iz 2002. i 2011. godine pokazuju intenzivno opadanje broja Crnogoraca koji se ne može dovesti u vezu ni sa jednom komponentom demografskog razvitka, već isključivo sa promenom stava pri deklarisanju nacionalne pripadnosti koja je uzrokovana

novim političkim okolnostima, pre svega raspadom državne zajednice Srbije i Crne Gore, ali i izraženom, i danas aktuelnom polarizacijom stanovništva Crne Gore u vezi sa tumačenjem sopstvenog etničkog identiteta.

Kada govorimo statističkoj varijabilnosti prema nacionalnoj pripadnosti stanovništva Srbije, centralno mesto zauzimaju Romi i Vlasi, čija dinamika pokazuje kontinuirane nepravilnosti usled učestalih promena stava o nacionalnoj pripadnosti u svim sprovedenim popisima posle Drugog svetskog rata. Primena subjektivnog kriterijuma, kao zvaničnog principa ispoljavanja etničkog identiteta, rezultirala je izraženim oscilacijama broja deklariranih Roma i Vlaha u svim međupopisnim periodima u kojima je nemoguće uspostaviti interpretabilne trendove populacione dinamike. Uzroci flotantnosti romskog i vlašskog stanovništva u Srbiji se razlikuju od ostalih etničkih grupa o kojima smo do sada govorili jer ona nije samo metodološkog karaktera, već proizilazi i iz specifičnih socio-kulturnih matrica Roma i Vlaha, koje su rezultat kompleksnog istorijsko-demografskog razvitka i društvenog konteksta u kome se on odvijao. Varijabilnost ovih grupa u etnostatističkoj evidenciji stanovništva Srbije posle Drugog svetskog rata nikada nije predstavljao *ad hoc* pojavu, već konstantno pravilo etničke mimikrije. Zato je nastojanje demografa, sociologa, antropologa, etnologa, istoričara i ostalih istarživača da, na osnovu podataka popisne i vitalne statistike, objektivno prikažu demografske karakteristike Roma i Vlaha najčešće bez uspeha. Međutim, daleko veći problem nastaje kada se na osnovu takvih rezultata istraživanja izvode zaključci koji predstavljaju integralne delove javnih politika, naročito onih koje definišu pravni i politički položaj ovih etničkih grupa. Prema prikazanim rezultatima hijerarhijske klasterne analize, a u ponuđenim višeklasterskim rešenjima (Tabela 3), već u dvoklasterskom rešenju Romi i Vlasi



Grafikon 5: Kretanje broja Vlaha i Roma u Srbiji, 1948–2011.

Figure 5: The number of declared Vlachs and Roma in Serbia, 1948–2011.

su svrstani u drugi klaster prema varijabilnosti indeksa rasta, dok njihovu dinamiku karakterišu odsustvo bilo kakve pravilnosti, značajne oscilacije u međupopisnim periodima, nepredvidivost dinamike, i nemogućnost uspostavljanja i rekonstrukcije demografskih trendova (Grafikon 5, Tabele 1 i 2).

Iako je zajednička karakteristika vlašskog i romskog stanovništva u Srbiji izrazita labilnost pri nacionalnoj identifikaciji u popisima stanovništva, rezultati dosadašnjih etnodemografskih istraživanja, koji nisu bazirani samo na numeričkoj interpretaciji podataka zvanične statistike, pokazuju da se radi se o dve etničke grupe sa dijametralno suprotnim modelima reproduktivnog ponašanja, kao i izraženom dihotomijom većine demografskih pokazatelja. Romsku populaciju karakterišu visoke vrednosti nataliteta i prirodnog priraštaja, starosna struktura progresivnog tipa, niska prosečna satarost i starost majke pri prvorodenju, a visoka podudarnost očekivanog i ostvarenog broja dece, značajno učešće u reprodukciji mladih žena iz optimalnog fertilnog kontingenta i visoke vrednosti stope ukupnog fertiliteta (Knežević, 2010b; Radovanović, Knežević, 2014).

Sa druge strane Vlasi u Srbiji su suočeni sa dugoročnim opadanjem nataliteta (od kraja XIX veka) i negativnim prirodnim priraštajem od polovine XX veka. Svi demografski pokazatelji vlašskog stanovništva ukazuju na nepovratni proces demografske erozije, počev pokazatelja demografskog starenja (visoke prosečne starosti, indeksa starenja i regresivne starosne strukture), pa do izraženog odlaganja rađanja, prakse tzv. „sistema jednog deteta” i visokog udela žena iz fertilnog kontingenta koje ne učestvuju u reprodukciji, što je rezultiralo stopom ukupnog fertiliteta ispod 1.5, a čija je vrednost u demografskoj teoriji označena kao donja granica mogućnosti rehabilitacije fertiliteta (Knežević, 2013b).

Postoji još nekoliko osobina koje razlikuju ove dve etničke grupe. U smislu etničkog porekla Vlasi i Romi u Srbiji nemaju dodirnih tačaka. U geografskom smislu radi se o dve zajednice sa različitim prostornim razmeštajem. Prostorni razmeštaj Roma je disperzan i teško ga je pratiti jer nigde u Srbiji ne čine homogenu strukturu, već su kao specifično manjinsko stanovništvo razbacani u velikom broju naselja, najčešće u izolovanim delovima (Knežević, 2013a; Sabic et al, 2013). Sa druge strane, preko 99% Vlaha je skoncentrisano na prostoru istočne Srbije, ali prema popisnim podacima ni u jednoj opštini ne čine većinsko stanovništvo. Međutim, pitanje je koji su to faktori koji uslovljavaju zajedničku karakteristiku učestalog etničkog prikrivanja pri etnostatističkoj evidenciji ove dve etničke grupe?

Da su Romi i Vlasi stanovništvo koje se u pogledu smera i karakteristika etničke mimikrije razlikuje od ostalih manjinskih zajednica u Srbiji, potvrđuju rezultati svih popisa stanovništva posle Drugog svetskog rata. Sigurno je da osnovne razloge mimikrije treba tražiti u istorijskim iskustvima i socio-kulturološkim specifičnostima (Promitzer, 2004), ali ne treba zanemariti i činjenicu današnjeg društvenog položaja ovih grupa koji ima i neke zajedničke determinante, pre svega nepovoljnu obrazovnu i socio-ekonomsku strukturu, kao i nedostatak artikulisanih aktivnosti u pravcu ostvarivanja osnovnih građanskih prava kroz osnivanje relevantnih političkih i kulturnih organizacija.

Kada govorimo o Romima, značajan uticaj na flotantnost mogu imati veliko siromaštvo, nedovoljna društvena emancipacija, obostrana etnička distanca, ali i nepostojanje matične države koja bi zaštitila njihove interese. Romi u Srbiji su socijalno najugroženija etnička zajednica, a razmere egzistencijalnih problema sa kojima se suočavaju ne možemo prepoznati iz rezultata popisne statistike. O načinima na koji se ovi faktori

zajedno sa drugim sadržajima romskih etnokulturnih elemenata odražavaju na različite aspekte njihovog života možemo razmišljati samo hipotetički zbog česte sklonosti Roma ka promeni stava pri deklarisanju etničkih obeležja (Knežević, 2013a).

Sa druge strane, pitanje etničkog identiteta vlašskog stanovništva u Srbiji već više od jednog veka dominantna tema akademskih i političkih rasprava u Rumuniji sa tendencijom rumunizacije svih potomaka starobalkanskog romanofonog stanovništva na prostoru od Dunava do Istre na jednoj, i od južnog panonskog oboda do Korinskog zaliva na drugoj strani (Vâlsan, 1996; Zbucnea, 2002; Knežević, 2010a; Toarca, 2012). Tome ide u prilog i uslovljavanje Srbije prilikom dodele statusa kandidata za članstvu u Evropskoj Uniji od strane Rumunije koja je tražila napredak u ostvarivanju prava vlaške nacionalne manjine u istočnoj Srbiji, identifikujući je sa rumunskom nacionalnom manjinom koja je skoncentrisana u jugoistočnom Banatu, a koja u demografskom smislu nema nikakve sličnosti sa Vlasima istočne Srbije.

Flotantnost Vlaha u Srbiji je pojava novijeg datuma jer iz srpske popisne statistike XIX i početka XX veka doznajemo da je stanovništvo rumunskog maternjeg jezika u Kneževini i Kraljevini Srbiji u periodu 1834–1910. godine imalo gotovo stogodišnji linearni trend rasta koji nikada nije značajno oscilirao (izuzev 1900. godine),¹⁷ a relativno pouzdan broj je moguće dobiti i iz popisa 1921. godine. Proces etničke simbioze Vlaha i Srba u istočnoj Srbiji koji se odvijao prema potrebama i shvatanjima stanovništva je neraskidivo povezan sa dugom zajedničkom prošlošću. Medusobno povezivanje stanovništva nije potvrđivano samo rodbinskim vezama već i kroz ostale oblike svakodnevnog života koji su vremenom doprinosili stvaranju posebnog osećanja pripadništva Vlaha srpskoj etničkoj zajednici. Međutim, u to vreme nije bilo flotantnog ponašanja Vlaha o čemu svedoče i podaci tadašnje popisne statistike. Sa druge strane, uzroke flotantnosti Vlaha koja je evidentirana u popisima stanovništva socijalističke Jugoslavije nije moguće u potpunosti objasniti, pri čemu je primena subjektivnog kriterijuma pri deklaraciji etničkih obeležja samo način da Vlasi iskažu distancu prema vlastitom identitetu. Oscilacije u kretanju broja deklariranih Vlaha, kao i izražena alterofonija u korist srpskog jezika odredili su populacionu dinamiku ove zajednice kao izrazito nepravilnu, a rezultate demografskih istraživanja na osnovu podataka zvanične statistike nepouzdanim.

I na kraju treba istaći da metodološki problemi etnodemografskih proučavanja flotantnih etničkih grupa posebno dolaze do izražaja pri usaglašavanju podataka popisne i vitalne statistike na osnovu kojih se izvode demografski pokazatelji i trendovi. Poređenjem poda-

Tabela 5: Prirodni priraštaj (J) i apsolutni porast (R) broja stanovnika izabranih varijabilnih etničkih grupa u Srbiji, 2002–2011 (Izvor: Popis stanovništva Srbije (1948–2011), Demografska statistika (1950–2011))

Table 5: Natural increase (J) and the absolute growth (R) of selected varying ethnic groups in Serbia, 2002–2011.

	J	R
Albanci	7892	-55838
Crnogorci	-2139	-30522
Jugosloveni	383	-57418
Nemci	-812	163
Romi	21301	39501
Vlasi	-525	-4724

taka vitalne statistike o prirodnom priraštaju, i popisne statistike o apsolutnom porastu broja pripadnika izabranih varijabilnih etničkih grupa u Srbiji u poslednjem međupopisnom periodu, dolazimo do zaključka da ne postoji nikakva korelacija između ova dva pokazatelja (Tabela 5). To znači da ovi podaci, iako jedini i službeni, ne mogu činiti osnovu za uspostavljanje naučno utemeljenih demografskih trendova iz kojih bi trebalo izvoditi zaključke, naročito one koji bi direktno uticali različite aspekte pravnog, političkog, kulturnog, odnosno ukupnog društvenog položaja flotantnih etničkih grupa.

ZAKLJUČAK

Demografska proučavanja flotantnih etničkih grupa u Srbiji su u direktnoj vezi sa metodološkim problemima etnostatističke evidencije koji su uticali na kvalitet dobijenih podataka popisne i vitalne statistike o etničkim obeležjima stanovništva. Pojava flotantnih etničkih grupa u Srbiji ima najmanje dve dimenzije, statističko-činjeničnu i kauzalnu. U statističkom smislu, uzrok flotantnosti posmatranih grupa treba tražiti u primeni subjektivnog kriterijuma kao jedinog i zvaničnog principa etničke identifikacije u popisnoj i vitalnoj statistici, koja ostavlja mogućnost svakom licu da na postavljeno pitanje „otvorenog tipa“ (bez ponuđenih i sugestivnih odgovora), slobodno izrazi svoja nacionalna, verska i jezička obeležja, ili da se uopšte ne izjasni. Ovo rešenje je uvek bilo zagarantovano Ustavom, kako u bivšoj Jugoslaviji, tako i u Republici Srbiji, pa su efekti etničke mimikrije dobili nedvosmisleni statistički odraz, posebno u dinamici onih etničkih grupa kod kojih je ona masovna i učestala od popisa do popisa,

17 Prema metodološkim rešenjima popisa 1900. godine, bilo je predviđeno da se pored stanovništva rumunskog maternjeg jezika evidentira i stanovništvo koje se služilo rumunskim i srpskim jezikom što je dovelo do primetnog opadanja u odnosu na broj iz 1895. godine. Tako je prema rezultatima iz 1900. godine ukupan broj stanovnika koji su izjavili rumunski maternji jezik bio 89.873, a bilingvalnog (srpsko-rumunskog) stanovništva 32.556, što je zbirno činilo 19% u ukupnom stanovništvu Kraljevine Srbije (Statistika Kraljevine Srbije, 1900; Knežević, 2013b, 153).

što ih determiniše kao „flotantne”. Druga dimenzija flotantnosti etničkih grupa je usmerena na širi društveni kontekst etničkog prikrivanja koje najčešće predstavlja refleksi određenih okolnosti. Rezultati kvantitativnih istraživanja pokazatelja porasta stanovništva Srbije prema deklarisanom nacionalnosti u periodu 1948–2011. godine jasno grupišu nacionalne zajednice prema varijabilnosti indeksa rasta. Rezultati standardne devijacije indeksa rasta u posmatranom periodu pokazuju visoku varijabilnost kod šest nacionalnih zajednica (Turci, Vlasi, Jugosloveni, Romi, Muslimani i Albanci), dok su izvesna interpretabilna odstupanja prisutna kod Nemaca i Crnogoraca. Rezultati hijerarhijske klusterske analize pokazuju sličnost varijacija između Roma, Vlaha i Jugoslovena već u dvoklusterskom rešenju, dok se u četvrtom klasteru pojavljuju i Albanci. Rezultati koji su dobijeni kvantitativnim statističkim metodama potvrđuju prisustvo statističke varijabilnosti određenih etničkih grupa, ali ne mogu biti jedina osnova za kvalitativna istraživanja flotantnosti. Promene metodoloških rešenja etnostatističke evidencije, međudržavne sporazume o preseljavanju pripadnika određenih etničkih grupa i političku instrumentalizaciju zvanične statistike možemo tretirati kao institucionalno inicirane uzroke varijabilnosti određenih etničkih grupa, čiju populacionu dinamiku karakterišu predvidljivost i mogućnost rekonstrukcije demografskih trendova. Sa

druge strane, flotantnost Vlaha, Roma, Jugoslovena i Crnogoraca može se objasniti kompleksnim uticajem istorijskih, socio-kulturnih, ekonomskih i političkih faktora koji, u zavisnosti od opštih društvenih okolnosti, različito usmeravaju etno-nacionalnu identifikaciju pri statističkoj evidenciji. Osnovne karakteristike ovog tipa flotantnosti su kontinuirana varijabilnost trendova populacione dinamike, nepredvidljivost, dispariteti etničkih obeležja u okviru iste etničke grupe, razlike u deklaraciji etničkih obeležja pri registraciji vitalnih događaja iste osobe, kao i nemogućnost uspostavljanja objašnjivih demografskih trendova usled odsustva korelacije između vrednosti komponenata populacione dinamike i pokazatelja porasta stanovništva. Iako neslaganje „stvarnog” i deklarisanog etničkog identiteta predstavlja centralni problem u etnodemografskim istraživanjima, etnostatistička slika koja je zasnovana na rezultatima popisne i vitalne statistike se mora prihvatiti kao istorijska, politička i demografska realnost, i zvanično utvrđena statistička činjenica. Sa druge strane, prikazani rezultati eksplicitno ukazuju na kvalitativna ograničenja dostupnih podataka o flotantnim etničkim grupama koja moraju biti razmatrana sa određenom distancom, naročito kada se koriste kao osnova za kreiranje javnih politika koje definišu pravni, politički, ekonomski, socio-kulturni i opšti društveni položaj njenih pripadnika.

THE FLOATING ETHNIC GROUPS IN DEMOGRAPHIC RESEARCH –
METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES, APPROACHES AND EXAMPLES

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SUMMARY

Demographic research of the floating ethnic groups in Serbia are directly connected to the methodological problems of ethno-statistical evidence, that affect the quality of the census data, vital statistics and derived demographic trends. The usage of subjective criteria, as a official principle in expression of ethnic identity in census and vital statistics, gave rise to ethnic mimicry and created a floating ethnic groups, characterized by varying trends in population dynamics due to frequent changes in ethnic declaration. According to the results of quantitative research of population growth indicators according to declared nationality at the period 1948–2011, the ethnic groups are clustered by variability trends, that don't have a demographic explanation. The methodological changes of ethno statistical evidence, changes of statistical nomenclature of ethnic characteristics, the interstate agreements of resettling and political instrumentalization of census may cause statistical variability characterized by predictability, and the possibility of reconstruction of demographic trends. On the other side, there are the floating ethnic groups whose ethno-national identification was directed by complex influences of historical-civilization, socio-cultural, economic and political factors. The basic characteristics of this ethnic groups are continuous variability of demographic indicators, unpredictability of trends, disparities of ethnic characteristics within the same ethnic group, and absence of correlation between the components of population dynamics and indicators of population growth, which hinders the formation of explicable demographic trends.

Keywords: ethnic characteristics, census, vital statistics, ethnic mimicry, the floating ethnic groups, the variability in population dynamics

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KAZALO K SLIKAM NA OVITKU

NASLOVNICA: *F.D.V.: Brez naslova – UV tisk na plastično platišče. I wish I were a Futurist, Jenifer Nails, Frankfurt am Main, 2014* (Foto: Jenifer Nails).

Slika 1: *Čakre* (Vir: Wikimedia Commons).

Slika 2: *Zračni posnetek otočja Brionov* (Vir: <https://www.google.hr/search?q=brijuni&biw=1422&bih=766&source=lnms&tbm>).

Slika 3: *Grad Rihemberk, Branik, Nova Gorica* (Vir: Wikimedia Commons).

Slika 4: *Gaja: boginja Zemlje* (Vir: Wikipedia).

Slika 5: *Cerkev Sv. Jurija v Piranu* (Vir: Wikimedia Commons).

Slika 6: *Tromostovje in Prešernov trg, Ljubljana* (Foto: Špela Verovšek).

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FRONT COVER: *F.D.V.: Untitled – direct UV print on plastic wheel rim. I wish I were a Futurist, Jenifer Nails, Frankfurt am Main, 2014* (Photo: Jenifer Nails).

Figure 1: *Chakras* (Source: Wikimedia Commons).

Figure 2: *Aerial footage of Brijuni Islands* (Source: <https://www.google.hr/search?q=brijuni&biw=1422&bih=766&source=lnms&tbm>).

Figure 3: *Rihemberk Castle, Branik, Nova Gorica* (Source: Wikimedia Commons).

Figure 4: *Gaia: Primordial deity of the Earth* (Source: Wikipedia).

Figure 5: *St. George's Parish Church in Piran* (Source: Wikimedia Commons).

Figure 6: *Triple Bridge and Prešeren Square, Ljubljana* (Photo: Špela Verovšek).

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Lenarčič, B. (2010): Omrežna družba, medkulturnost in prekukulturnost. V: Sedmak, M. & E. Ženko (ur.): Razprave o medkulturnosti. Koper, Založba Annales, 245–260.

- Opis članka v **reviji**:

Avtor, (leto izida): Naslov članka. Naslov revije, letnik, številka strani od-do. Primer:

Lazar, I. (2008): Celejski forum in njegov okras. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 19, 2, 349–360.

- Opis **ustnega vira**:

Informator (leto izporočila): Ime in priimek informatorja, leto rojstva, vloga, funkcija ali položaj. Način pričevanja. Oblika in kraj nahajanja zapisa. Primer:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, župnik v Vižinadi. Ustno izporočilo. Zvočni zapis pri avtorju.

- Opis **vira iz internetnih spletnih strani**:

Če je mogoče, internetni vir zabeležimo enako kot članek in dodamo spletni naslov ter v oklepaju datum zadnjega pristopa na to stran:

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf) (15. 9. 2008).

Če avtor ni znan, navedemo nosilca spletne strani, leto objave, naslov in podnaslov besedila, spletni naslov in v oklepaju datum zadnjega pristopa na to stran.

Članki so razvrščeni po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev ter po letu izdaje, v primeru da gre za več citatov istega-istih avtorjev.

12. Kratice v besedilu moramo razrešiti v oklepaju, ko se prvič pojavijo. Članku lahko dodamo tudi seznam uporabljenih kratic.

13. Pri ocenah publikacij navedemo v naslovu prispevka avtorja publikacije, naslov, kraj, založbo, leto izida in število strani (oziroma ustrezen opis iz točke 10).

14. Prvi odtis člankov uredništvo pošlje avtorjem v **korekturo**. Avtorji so dolžni popravljenemu gradivo vrniti v enem tednu.

Širjenje obsega besedila ob korekturah ni dovoljeno. Druge korekture opravi uredništvo.

15. Za dodatna pojasnila v zvezi z objavo člankov je uredništvo na voljo.

UREDNIŠTVO

ISTRUZIONI PER GLI AUTORI

1. La rivista ANNALES (Annali per gli studi istriani e mediterranei, Ser. hist. et soc.) pubblica **articoli scientifici originali e rassegne** dai contenuti sociologici e umanistici relativi allo studio della *storia, cultura e società* dell'Istria e del Mediterraneo. Include inoltre *studi comparativi e interculturali* nonché saggi *metodologici e teorici* pertinenti a questa area geografica.

2. La Redazione accetta articoli in lingua slovena, italiana, croata e inglese. Gli autori devono garantire l'ineccepibilità linguistica dei testi, la Redazione si riserva il diritto di una revisione linguistica.

3. Gli articoli devono essere di lunghezza non superiore alle 48.000 battute senza spazi, ovvero 2 fogli d'autore. Possono venir recapitati all'indirizzo di posta elettronica Annaleszdp@gmail.com oppure su supporto elettronico (CD) per posta ordinaria all'indirizzo della Redazione.

L'autore garantirà l'originalità dell'articolo e si impegnerà a non pubblicarlo altrove.

4. Ogni articolo deve essere corredato da: titolo, eventuale sottotitolo, nome e cognome dell'autore, denominazione ed indirizzo dell'ente di appartenenza o, in alternativa, l'indirizzo di casa, nonché l'eventuale indirizzo di posta elettronica. Tranne sigle e acronimi scrivere in minuscolo.

5. I contributi devono essere corredati da un **riassunto** e da una **sintesi**. Quest'ultima sarà più breve (max. 100 parole) del riassunto (cca 200 parole).

Nella *sintesi* si descriveranno brevemente i metodi e i risultati delle ricerche e anche i motivi che le hanno determinate. La sintesi non conterrà commenti e segnalazioni.

Il *riassunto* riporterà in maniera sintetica i metodi delle ricerche, i motivi che le hanno determinate assieme all'analisi, cioè all'interpretazione, dei risultati raggiunti. Si eviterà di riportare conclusioni omesse nel testo del contributo.

6. Gli autori sono tenuti ad indicare le **parole chiave** adeguate. Sono necessarie anche le **traduzioni in inglese (o sloveno) e italiano** della sintesi, del riassunto, delle parole chiave, delle didascalie, delle fotografie e delle tabelle.

7. L'eventuale **materiale iconografico** (originale) va preparato in formato elettronico (jpeg, tiff) e consegnato in file separati alla definizione di 300 dpi a grandezza desiderata, purché non ecceda i 17x20 cm. Prima della pubblicazione, l'autore provvederà a fornire alla Redazione tutte le autorizzazioni richieste per la riproduzione del materiale iconografico (in virtù della Legge

sui diritti d'autore). Tutte le immagini, tabelle e grafici dovranno essere accompagnati da didascalie e numerati in successione.

8. Le **note a piè di pagina** sono destinate essenzialmente a fini esplicativi e di contenuto.

I **riferimenti bibliografici** richiamano un'altra pubblicazione (articolo). La nota bibliografica, riportata nel testo, deve contenere i seguenti dati: *cognome dell'autore, anno di pubblicazione e, se citiamo un determinato brano del testo, anche le pagine*.

I riferimenti bibliografici completi delle fonti vanno quindi inseriti nel capitolo Fonti e bibliografia (saranno prima indicate le fonti e poi la bibliografia). L'autore indicherà esclusivamente i lavori e le edizioni citati nell'articolo.

Esempio di citazione nel testo:

(Borean, 2010, 325).

Esempio di riferimento alla fonte, senza citazione:

(Borean, 2010).

I dati completi su questa fonte nel capitolo Fonti e bibliografia verranno riportati in questa maniera:

Borean, L. (2010): Collezionisti e opere d'arte tra Venezia, Istria e Dalmazia nel Settecento. *Annales, Ser. hist. sociol.* 20, 2, 323–330.

Se si citano *più lavori dello stesso autore* pubblicati nello stesso anno accanto al cognome va aggiunta una lettera in ordine alfabetico progressivo per distinguere i vari lavori. Ad es.:

(Borean, 2010a) e (Borean, 2010b).

Il riferimento bibliografico può essere parte della nota a piè di pagina e va riportato nello stesso modo come sopra.

Singole opere o vari riferimenti bibliografici in una stessa nota vanno divisi dal punto e virgola. Per es.:

(Borean, 2010a, 37; Verginella, 2008, 37).

9. Le **fonti d'archivio** vengono citate nel testo, *tra parentesi*. Si indicherà: sigla dell'archivio – numero (oppure) sigla del fondo, numero della busta, numero del documento (non il suo titolo). Ad es.:

(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

Nel caso in cui un documento non fosse contraddistinto da un numero, ma solo da un titolo, la fonte d'archivio verrà citata *a piè di pagina*. In questo caso si indicherà: sigla dell'archivio – numero (oppure) sigla del fondo, numero della busta, titolo del documento. Ad es.:

ACS-CPC, 3285, Milanovich Natale. Richiesta della Prefettura di Trieste spedita al Ministero degli Interni del 15 giugno 1940.

Le sigle utilizzate verranno svolte per intero, in ordine alfabetico, nella sezione »Fonti« a fine testo. Ad es.:

ASMI-SLV – Archivio di Stato di Milano (ASMI), f. Senato Lombardo-Veneto (SLV).

10. Nel citare fonti di giornale nel testo andranno indicati il nome del giornale, la data di edizione e le pagine:

(Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009, 26)

Nel caso in cui è noto anche il titolo dell'articolo, l'intera indicazione bibliografica verrà indicata *a piè di pagina*:

Il Corriere della Sera, 18. 5. 2009: Da Mestre all'Archivio segreto del Vaticano, 26.

Nell'elenco Fonti e bibliografia scriviamo il nome del giornale, il luogo di edizione, l'editore ed il periodo di pubblicazione.

Ad es.:

Il Corriere della Sera. Milano, RCS Editoriale Quotidiani, 1876–.

11. Il capitolo **Fonti e bibliografia** è obbligatorio. I dati bibliografici vanno riportati come segue:

- Descrizione di un'opera compiuta:

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo. Luogo di edizione, casa editrice. Per es.:

Darovec, D., Kamin Kajfež, V. & M. Vovk (2010): Tra i monumenti di Isola : guida storico-artistica del patrimonio artistico di Isola. Koper, Edizioni Annales.

Se *gli autori sono più di due*, la citazione è corretta anche nel modo seguente:

(Darovec et al., 2010)

Se indichiamo una parte della pubblicazione, alla citazione vanno aggiunte le pagine di riferimento.

Descrizione di un articolo che compare in un **volume miscelaneo**:

- autore/i del contributo (anno di edizione): Titolo. In: autore/curatore del libro: titolo del libro, casa editrice, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

Povolo, C. (2014): La giusta vendetta. Il furore di un giovane gentiluomo. In: Povolo, C. & A. Fornasin (eds.): Per Furio. Studi in onore di Furio Bianco. Forum, Udine, 179-195.

Descrizione di un articolo in una **pubblicazione periodica – rivista**:

autore/i (anno di edizione): Titolo del contributo. Titolo del periodico, annata, nro. del periodico, pagine (da-a). Per es.:

Cergna, S. (2013): Fluidità di discorso e fluidità di potere: casi d'internamento nell'ospedale psichiatrico di Pola d'Istria tra il 1938 e il 1950. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 23, 2, 475-486.

Descrizione di una **fonte orale**:

informatore (anno della testimonianza): nome e cognome dell'informatore, anno di nascita, ruolo, posizione o stato sociale. Tipo di testimonianza. Forma e luogo di trascrizione della fonte. Per es.:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, parroco a Visinada. Testimonianza orale. Appunti dattiloscritti dell'intervista presso l'archivio personale dell'autore.

Descrizione di una **fonte tratta da pagina internet**:

Se è possibile registriamo la fonte internet come un articolo e aggiungiamo l'indirizzo della pagina web e tra parentesi la data dell'ultimo accesso:

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). (15. 9. 2008). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf)

Se l'autore non è noto, si indichi il webmaster, anno della pubblicazione, titolo ed eventuale sottotitolo del testo, indirizzo web e tra parentesi la data dell'ultimo accesso.

La bibliografia va compilata in ordine alfabetico secondo i cognomi degli autori ed anno di edizione, nel caso in cui ci siano più citazioni riferibili allo stesso autore.

12. Il significato delle **abbreviazioni** va spiegato, tra parentesi, appena queste si presentano nel testo. L'elenco delle abbreviazioni sarà riportato alla fine dell'articolo.

13. Per quanto riguarda le **recensioni**, nel titolo del contributo l'autore deve riportare i dati bibliografici come al punto 10, vale a dire autore, titolo, luogo di edizione, casa editrice, anno di edizione nonché il numero complessivo delle pagine dell'opera recensita.

14. Gli autori ricevono le **prime bozze** di stampa per la revisione. Le bozze corrette vanno quindi rispedito entro una settimana alla Redazione. In questa fase, i testi corretti non possono essere più ampliati. La revisione delle bozze è svolta dalla Redazione.

15. La Redazione rimane a disposizione per eventuali chiarimenti.

LA REDAZIONE

INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

1. The journal ANNALES (*Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies*, Ser. hist et soc.) publishes **original** and **review scientific articles** dealing with social and human topics related to research on *the history, culture and society of Istria and the Mediterranean*, as well as *comparative and intercultural studies* and *methodological and theoretical discussions* related to the above-mentioned fields.

2. The articles submitted can be written in the Slovene, Italian, Croatian or English language. The authors should ensure that their contributions meet acceptable standards of language, while the editorial board has the right to have them language edited.

3. The articles should be no longer than 8,000 words. They can be submitted via e-mail (Annaleszdjp@gmail.com) or regular mail, with the electronic data carrier (CD) sent to the address of the editorial board. Submission of the article implies that it reports original unpublished work and that it will not be published elsewhere.

4. The front page should include the title and subtitle of the article, the author's name and surname, academic titles, affiliation (institutional name and address) or home address, including post code, and e-mail address. Except initials and acronyms type in lowercase.

5. The article should contain the **summary** and the **abstract**, with the former (c. 200 words) being longer than the latter (max. 100 words).

The *abstract* contains a brief description of the aim of the article, methods of work and results. It should contain no comments and recommendations.

The *summary* contains the description of the aim of the article and methods of work and a brief analysis or interpretation of results. It can contain only the information that appears in the text as well.

6. Beneath the abstract, the author should supply appropriate **keywords**, as well as the **English (or Slovene) and Italian translation** of the abstract, summary, keywords, and captions to figures and tables.

7. If possible, the author should also supply (original) **illustrative matter** submitted as separate files (in jpeg or tiff format) and saved at a minimum resolution of 300 dpi per size preferred, with the maximum possible publication size being 17x20 cm. Prior to publication, the author should obtain all necessary authorizations (as stipulated by the Copyright and Related Rights Act) for the publication of the illustrative matter and submit them to the editorial board. All figures, tables and diagrams should be captioned and numbered.

8. **Footnotes** providing additional explanation to the text should be written at *the foot of the page*. **Bibliographic notes** – i.e. references to other articles or publications – should contain the following data: *author, year of publication* and – when citing an extract from another text – *page*. Bibliographic notes appear in the text.

The entire list of sources cited and referred to should be published in the section *Sources and Bibliography* (starting with sources and ending with bibliography). The author should list only the works and editions cited or referred to in their article.

E.g.: Citation in the text:
(Blaće, 2014, 240).

E.g.: Reference in a text:
(Blaće, 2014).

In the section on *bibliography*, citations or references should be listed as follows:

Blaće, A. (2014): Eastern Adriatic Forts in Vincenzo Maria Coronelli's Isolario Mari, Golfi, Isole, Spiaggie, Porti, Citta ... *Annales, Ser hist. sociol.*, 24, 2, 239-252.

If you are listing *several works published by the same author in the same year*, they should be differentiated by adding a lower case letter after the year for each item.

E.g.:
(Blaće, 2014a) and (Blaće, 2014b).

If the bibliographic note appears in the footnote, it should be written in the same way.

If listed in the same footnote, individual works or sources should be separated by a semicolon. E.g.:
(Blaće, 2014, 241; Verginella, 2008, 37).

9. When **citing archival records** *within the parenthesis* in the text, the archive acronym should be listed first, followed by the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and number of the document. E.g.:
(ASMI-SLV, 273, 7r).

If the number of the document can not be specified, the record should be cited *in the footnote*, listing the archive acronym and the record group acronym (or signature), number of the folder, and document title. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4, 31, Note on Interview between Colonel Fišera and Captain Wilkinson on December 16th 1939.

The abbreviations should be explained in the section on sources in the end of the article, with the archival records arranged in an alphabetical order. E.g.:

TNA-HS 4 – The National Archives, London-Kew (TNA), fond Special Operations Executive, series Eastern Europe (HS 4).

10. If referring to **newspaper sources** in the text, you should cite the name of the newspaper, date of publication and page:

If the title of the article is also known, the whole reference should be stated *in the footnote*:

The New York Times, 16. 5. 2009: Two Studies tie Disaster Risk to Urban Growth, 3.

In the list of sources and bibliography the name of the newspaper. Place, publisher, years of publication.

E.g.:

The New York Times. New York, H.J. Raymond & Co., 1857–.

11. The list of **sources and bibliography** is a mandatory part of the article. Bibliographical data should be cited as follows:

- Description of a non-serial publication – a book:

Author (year of publication): Title. Place, Publisher.

E.g.:

Darovec, D., Kamin Kajfež, V. & M. Vovk (2010): Among the monuments of Izola : art history guide to the cultural heritage of Izola. Koper, Annales Press.

If there are *more than two authors*, you can also use et al.:

(Darovec et al., 2010)

If citing an excerpt from a non-serial publication, you should also add the number of page from which the citation is taken after the year.

- Description of an article published in a **non-serial publication** – e.g. an article from a collection of papers:

Author (year of publication): Title of article. In:

Author of publication: Title of publication. Place, Publisher, pages from-to. E.g.:

Muir, E. (2013): The Anthropology of Venice. In: Dursteler, E. (ed.): A Companion to Venetian History. Leiden - Boston, Brill, 487-511.

- Description of an article from a **serial publication**:

Author (year of publication): Title of article. Title of serial publication, yearbook, number, pages from-to. E.g.:

Faričić, J. & L. Mirošević (2014): Artificial Peninsulas and Pseudo-Islands of Croatia. Annales, Ser hist. et sociol., 24, 2, 113-128.

- Description of an **oral source**:

Informant (year of transmission): Name and surname of informant, year of birth, role, function or position. Manner of transmission. Form and place of data storage. E.g.:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, born 1930, priest in Vižinada. Oral history. Audio recording held by the author.

- Description of an **internet source**:

If possible, the internet source should be cited in the same manner as an article. What you should add is the website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis):

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf) (15. 9. 2008).

If the author is unknown, you should cite the organization that set up the website, year of publication, title and subtitle of text, website address and date of last access (with the latter placed within the parenthesis).

If there are more citations by the same author(s), you should list them in the alphabetical order of the authors' surnames and year of publication.

12. The **abbreviations** should *be explained* when they first appear in the *text*. You can also add a *list of their explanations at the end of the article*.

13. The title of a **review article** should contain the following data: author of the publication reviewed, title of publication, address, place, publisher, year of publication and number of pages (or the appropriate description given in Item 10).

14. The authors are sent the **first page proofs**. They should be returned to the editorial board within a week.

It is not allowed to lengthen the text during proof-reading. Second proof-reading is done by the editorial board.

15. For additional information regarding article publication contact the editorial board.

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