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VSEBINA / INDICE GENERALE / CONTENTS

- Nela Bagnovskaya:** Severia as a Historical-Geographic Concept 425
La Severia come concetto storico-geografico
Severija kot zgodovinsko-geografski koncept
- Gaukhar Balgabayeva, Elmira Nauryzbayeva, Utegen Isenov, Aygul Taskuzhina, Aygul Amantayeva & Tolkyn Erisheva:** Peculiarities of Conducting Military Affairs in Ancient Tribes of Kazakhstan 433
Peculiarità dell'istituzione del settore militare nei popoli antichi del Kazakistan
Posebnosti v osnovanju vojaštva pri starodavnih plemenih Kazahstana
- Kabyl Khalykov, Gulnar Maulenova & Rakhimjan Sadigulov:** Trends in the Formation of the Semantic Image of The Capital City (by the Example of Almaty) 441
Tendenze nella formazione dell'immagine semantica di una capitale (sull'esempio di Almaty)
Trendi pri oblikovanju semantične podobe prestolnice (po zgledu Almatyja)
- Elena Isaeva, Alexander Sokolov & Nadejda Tarusina:** Gender and Civic Engagement in Modern Russia 451
Gender and Civic Engagement in Modern Russia
Spol in državljansko udejstvovanje v sodobni Rusiji
- Elena Susimenko & Elena Litvinenko:** Socio-Cultural Factors Contributing to the Formation of the Russian Technical University Students' Bilingual Strategies 469
Fattori socioculturali che contribuiscono alla formazione di strategie bilingui negli studenti dell'Università politecnica russa
Družbeno-kulturni dejavniki, ki prispevajo k oblikovanju dvojezičnih strategij pri študentih Ruske tehniške fakultete
- Nataliya Vasilievna Aniskina & Larisa Vladimirovna Ukhova:** The Axiological World View of a Modern Advertising Consumer 477
La visione assiologica del mondo del consumatore contemporaneo dell'advertising
Aksiološki pogled na svet sodobnega uporabnika oglaševanja
- August Lešnik:** Razumevanje družbenih sprememb ter družbenega in zgodovinskega razvoja v »predzgodovini« sociologije 485
Comprensione dei cambiamenti sociali, nonché dello sviluppo sociale e storico nella "preistoria" della sociologia
Understanding Social Change, as Well as Social and Historical Development in the "Prehistory" of Sociology
- Nenad Jelesijević:** Performativne intervencije v estetskem režimu 505
Gli interventi performativi nel regime estetico
Performative Interventions in the Aesthetic Regime
- Polona Tratnik:** Kreativna ekonomija: mit o ustvarjalnosti, ki prinaša blaginjo in uspeh 517
Economia creativa: il mito della creatività che porta prosperità e successo
Creative Economy: Myth about Creativity, which Assures Prosperity and Success
- Daniela Angelina Jelinčić & Feđa Vukić:** Creative Industries as Carriers of Urban Identity and Drivers of Development: From Directional towards Participative Branding 527
Le industrie creative come artefici dell'identità urbana e motori dello sviluppo: dal branding direzionale a quello partecipativo
Kreativne industrije kot nosilke urbane identitete in gibalno razvoja: od usmerjevalnega k sodelovalnemu znamčenju

- Nina Vodopivec & Alja Adam:** Kreativnost kot poetika nastajanja – razmislek o presejanju dualizmov 537
Creazione come poetica della formazione
Creativity as poetics of becoming
- Marta Lombardi, Sergio Pratali Maffei, Paolo Rosato & Sonja Ifko:** A New Approach to Built Heritage Sustainable Preservation Projects: the Case Study of Vipolže Castle – Goriška Brda, Slovenia 549
Un nuovo approccio al progetto di conservazione sostenibile del patrimonio costruito: Il caso studio del castello di Vipulzano – Collio sloveno
Nov pristop k načrtovanju trajnostne prenove stavbne dediščine: Primer gradu Vipolže v Goriških brdih, Slovenija
- Igor Sapač & Juan P. Maschio:** Školj Castle and its architectural history 565
Castello Školj e la sua storia architettonica
Grad Školj in njegova arhitekturna zgodovina
- Neva Makuc:** Thetris Transnational Church Route: Valorisation of Sacral Cultural Heritage for Fostering Development of Rural Areas 585
Thetris transnational church route: valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale religioso per lo sviluppo delle aree rurali
Thetris transnacionalna cerkvena pot: valorizacija kulturne dediščine za razvoj ruralnih območij
- Nadja Penko Seidl, Damijana Kastelec & Ana Kučan:** Between the Physical and Perceptual: Toponyms in Landscape Typology, Management and Planning 595
Tra il fisico e il percepibile: toponimi nella tipologia paesaggistica, nella gestione e nella progettazione
Med fizičnim in zaznavnim: Toponimi v krajinski tipologiji, upravljanju in planiranju
- Ines Unetič:** Zgodovina nekdanje plemiške palače in njenih vrtov v Valdoltri. Od benediktinskega samostana in samostanskih vrtov do hotela Convent in hotelskih teras v Ankaranu 609
Storia di un palazzo nobile di un tempo e dei suoi giardini a Valdoltra. Dal monastero benedettino e giardini monastici all'hotel Convent e le sue terrazze ad Ancarano
History of the Former Aristocratic Palace and its Gardens at Valdoltra. From the Benedictine Monastery with Monastic Gardens to the Convent Hotel with its Terraces in Ancaran
- Metoda Kemperl:** Il progetto di Lorenzo Martinuzzi per la chiesa parrocchiale a Gonars. Contributo allo studio dell'architettura tardobarocca nel Friuli–Venezia Giulia 625
Martinuzzi's plan for the parish church in Gonars. A contribution to the study of late baroque architecture in the Friuli
Martinuzzijev načrt za župnijsko cerkev v Gonarsu. Prispevek k preučevanju poznobaročne arhitekture v Furlaniji - Julijski krajini
- Boris Dorbić & Elma Temim:** Povijesni pregled razvoja vrtlarstva i krajobraznog uređenja Šibenika i okolice u razdoblju 1945.-1985. godine 637
Rassegna storica dello sviluppo del giardinaggio e dell'arte ambientale di Sebenico e dei suoi dintorni durante il periodo 1945-1985
A Historical Overview of the Development of Gardening and Landscaping in Šibenik and Its Outskirts During the Period from 1945 to 1985
- Jadranka Brkić-Vejmelka, Ana Pejdo & Ante Blaće:** Zadar Islands Growth Prospects – is Tourism Their Driving Force? 651
Prospettiva dello sviluppo delle isole di Zara – può turismo dare la spinta?
Razvojne možnosti zadrskih otokov – ali je turizem njihova gonilna sila
- Kazalo k slikam na ovitku 669
Indice delle foto di copertina
Index to pictures on the cover
- Navodila avtorjem 670
Istruzioni per gli autori 672
Instructions to authors 674

SEVERIA AS A HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHIC CONCEPT

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ABSTRACT

The issue of the formation of three Eastern Slavic people from the single Kievan Rus' is extremely complicated. Special difficulties arise during the determination of the nature of historical-ethnic development in the regions with established ethnic boundaries. Severia is one of such regions. In this paper, the author attempted to reflect the perception of the Severian territory and its population in historical science in different periods.

Keywords: *Severia, historical-ethnic processes, ethnic-cultural distinctiveness, East Slavic unions, localisation of chronicles, Sevryuks*

LA SEVERIA COME CONCETTO STORICO-GEOGRAFICO

SINTESI

La questione della formazione di tre popoli slavi orientali dal singolo stato Rus' di Kiev è estremamente complicata. Difficoltà particolari si verificano nel tentativo di determinare la natura dello sviluppo storico-etnico nelle regioni con confini etnici stabiliti. La Severia è una di tali regioni. Nel presente contributo, l'autrice ha cercato di rispecchiare la percezione del territorio severiano e della sua popolazione nella scienza della storia dei diversi periodi.

Parole chiave: *Severia, processi storico-etnici, individualità etnico-culturale, unioni degli Slavi orientali, localizzazione di cronache, severiani*

INTRODUCTION

Since Ukraine's declaration of independence, new discussion began, including discussion on the issues of forming the Eastern-Slavic nations and the ethnic structure of the Kievan Rus'. A number of sources, which belittle the commonality of origin and close connection of historical destinies of Eastern Slavic nations, attempt to substantiate different alternative variants of the theory of a single Eastern-Slavic ethnic-cultural commonality. The thesis claims that the Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian nationalities began forming long before the formation of the Kievan Rus', while the Ukrainian ethnic group was the dominating one in the Kievan state.

Nowadays, Russia is accused not only of enslaving the freedom-loving Ukrainian people, but also of "stealing" its national history. For example, according Ukrainian Dr. Sc. in History Ya. Dashkevych, Moscow rulers "beginning with Ivan IV (the Terrible) ... understood that one cannot create a great nation and a great empire without a great past. Therefore, they needed to enrich their historical past, and even appropriate other people's past. Hence, Moscow tsars set the task of appropriating the history of the Kievan Rus', its glorious past, and creating the official mythology of the Russian Empire" (Spiritual and contractual documents of great and appanaged princes of the 14th-16th centuries, 1950).

Under these conditions, a comprehensive study of the issue of the Eastern Slavic people's ethnogenesis is extremely relevant, and is of great practical importance.

The formation of three nations – Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian – on the single Old Rus' basis occupies a special place in the history of Eastern Slavic people and is an extremely complicated issue. Special difficulties are associated with the clarification of the nature of historical-ethnic development of the population in the regions, where the ethnic boundaries of the specified nations were formed. One of such regions was Severia – an original region of the Eastern-Slavic world, where due to historical conditions, the ethnic-cultural originality of the population was preserved to the end of the 17th century.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the introduction to "The Tale of Bygone Years", the chronicler describes the settling of Slavic tribes in Eastern Europe. This part of the chronicle mentions "Severs" («севера») as one of the Slavic tribes. In terms of the place of settlement in Eastern-Slavic lands, Severs are called the last ones among other tribes. The chronicler determines the territory of Severs as the lands "... along Desna, Seym and Sula" (The Tale of Bygone Years, 1962, 5). However, the historical-geographical aspect of Severia is little studied. Due to the lack of special works, which would generalise and systematise information about Severian topography, there is no specific opinion regarding its localisation in scientific literature. Various

works determine the territory of the Severian land differently: the lands along the Desna River; interfluves of Sozh and Desna Rivers; Desna-Seym interfluves; Desna River basin and Oka River upper reaches; the region of Putivl and Briansk, etc.

The lack of coordination in localisation of this region is caused by the uncertainty of the "Severian land" concept, which is identified with the settling region of the "Sever", mentioned in chronicles, or with the territory of the Principality of Chernigov in the 11th-13th centuries, or with the Principality of Novgorod-Seversk in the 12th-13th centuries, or with Severia in the 14th-16th centuries.

"The Tale of Bygone Years" provides only the "Sever" ethnonym and its derivatives: "Severo", "Severy", "Severeny", "Severyane" («северо», «северы», «северены», «северяне») (Laurentian chronicle, 1962, 6, 10, 11, 12, 19, 24, 29, 148, 149; Hypatian chronicle, 1962, 5, 8, 9, 10, 14, 17, 21, 135, 136). The latter one is most frequently used in historical literature. However, according to linguistic data, the original text of "The Tale of Bygone Years" in the 12th century did not mention the "Severyane" («северяне») ethnonym – 'an-e was introduced by the authors of much later codes, replacing the forms without suffixes (Hasburgaev, 1979, 208-209). Such forms include the "Sever" («северь») ethnonym. The appearance of the form "Severo" («северо») is associated, according to linguists, with the typical phenomenon of the transition of the –hard sign ending (-ь) to –o (Dnepr – Dnipro, Psl – Pslo, Vorskol – Vorsklo (Днепръ – Дніпро, Пьсьль – Псло, Ворьсколь – Ворскло) (Etymologic dictionary of annalistic geographic names of the Southern Rus', 1985, 153; Solovyeva, 1956, 65).

The Kievan chronicle uses the attributive word-combination "Severian towns" (Hypatian chronicle, 1962, 629). In the Galicia-Volhynia chronicle, in terms of the events of the second half of the 13th century, the northern Dnieper Left-Bank lands are mentioned as "Zadneprovye" (Beyond the Dnieper) (Hypatian chronicle, 1962, 872, 892), while the description of these events that dates back to the end of 16th century uses the name "Severian Russian land beyond the Dnieper" («Северская земля русская за Днестром») (Strykowski, 1846, 248). It is important that the authors of later codes, while modernising, if necessary, the texts of Old Rus' chronicles when they copied them, used the term "Severian land" («Северская земля»), which was not used before. For example, the text of "The Tale of Bygone Years" in the 14th century version reads, "and let the Russian land be divided by the Dnieper: Yaroslav on this side, and Mstislav on the other side" («... и разделиста по Днепр Русьскую землю: Ярослав прия сию сторону, а Мьстислав ону»); a later interpretation: "... and let this land be divided by the Dnieper: one be Kievan land, and other be Severian land" («... и разделиста си землю по Днепр: един Киевскую землю, а другий Северскую землю») (Laurentian chronicle, 1962, 149; The Lvov Chronicle, 1910, 90). There are other similar examples.

According to a number of researchers, the first document to use the term “Severian land” is the oath of loyalty of Prince Fedir Lyubartovich to King Władysław II Jagiełło and Queen Jadwiga, which gave him “the land upon their will named Severia with all towns and all belongings” («землю до своей воли на имя Северскую со всеми городми, со всеми оужитки») in 1393 (The Tale of Bygone Years, 1962, 51; Tretyakov, 1937, 13). During the 14th-18th centuries, sources register a number of related toponymical formations: “Siver”, “Sivera”, “Severshchina”, “Sivershchina”, “Siver land”, “Siver side”, “Siverskaya ukraina”, “Siver country” («Сивер», «Сивера», «Северщина», «Сиверщина», «Сиверская земля», «Сиверская сторона», «Сиверска украина», «Сиверский край») (Archeographic commission, 1841, 113, 201, 350; Supplements. V.1., 257, 260, 294; Velichko, 1864, 97; Rusanova, 1966, 121, 203, 220, 339, 508 et al; Archeographic commission, 1875, V.8, 11, 400; 1878, V. 10., 330; Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1890, 33, 57, 344, 369, 419, 463 et al.; The History of the Kazan Kingdom (The Kazan Chronicler), 1903, 44; Spiritual and contractual documents of great and appanaged princes of the 14th-16th centuries, 1950, 437, 482; Bolotnikov, 1959, 119, 126, 134, 175, 185, 187, 197, 219 et al.; The New Chronicler, 1965, 59, 62, 71, 77; Bevzo, 1970, 112, 121; The Eyewitness Chronicle, 1971, 57, 65, 89, 95, 123, 124, 151, 162; Belarusian-Lithuanian Chronicles, 1980, 166). This toponym is genetically connected with an earlier ethnonym “Sever” («северь»), found in chronicles, and is the result of its transformation into a new onomastic formation.

Most researches, who studied chronicle tribes, set the task of determining their tribal boundaries. Certain historians and authors of works on historical geography of Russia related the entire Dnieper Left-Bank lands to the “Sever” (Barsov, 1885, 147-152; Hrushevsky, 1904, 167-168; Hrushevsky, 1911, 226, 230; Seredonin, 1916, 141-142). The historians, who studied Severia (P.V. Golubovskiy, D.I. Bagaley, V. Lyaskoronskiy, A. Andriashev and V.V. Mavrodin), shared this opinion. In particular, P.V. Golubovskiy supposed that the chronicler mentioned only the central part, the core of the Sever territory, while the entire area of the Sever people was considerably larger (Golubovskiy, 1881, 2). Archaeological excavations of Slavic burial mounds of the 11th-14th centuries, which distinguished complexes of women’s decorations that were peculiar to each Eastern-Slavic tribe, laid the foundation for determining the Severian land boundaries for the abovementioned researchers. Spiral temple rings were acknowledged as such decorations for the Severs. Although A. A. Spitsyn noted the mixed population of the Severian land, when determining the tribal boundaries of the Sever, he proceeded from the established opinion (Spitsyn, 1899, 338-340).

In 1937, the “Soviet Archaeology” journal published two articles on the correlation of archaeological monuments of certain Kievan Rus’ lands and those of

the primary chronicle tribes. P.N. Tretyakov suggested that traditional forms of decoration, in particular, temporal rings of the 10th-11th centuries do not fall within the boundaries of tribal groups, distinguished by A.A. Spitsyn, but correspond to the boundaries of feudal principalities. According to P.N. Tretyakov, the tribal groups did not exist in the 11th-12th centuries, and it is necessary to search for their traces among older antiquities (Tretyakov, 1937; Tretyakov, 1961, 310). A.V. Artsikhovskiy shared A.A. Spitsyn’s opinion (Artsikhovskiy, 1937).

Many studies of the 1950s-1970s continued searching the material culture and funeral rites of individual regions for specific peculiarities, corresponding to the chronicle tribes (temporal rings, signet rings, and ceramics). Archaeology distinguished and studied a number of Eastern-Slavic tribes, including Severians (The Soviet source studies of Kievan Rus’, 1979, 90-91). Modern archaeologists deepen the knowledge of the history and peculiarities of the culture of Eastern-Slavic tribal unions (Grigoryev, 2000).

While considering the issue of Polans’ and Severians’ tribal boundaries, B.A. Rybakov concluded that a significant part of the Dnieper Left-Bank lands in the 8th-10th centuries was occupied by Polans. In his opinion, the area of Severian settling coincides with the boundaries of the Principality of Novgorod-Seversk in the 12th century (middle reaches of the Desna River, upper reaches of the Psel River, middle and upper reaches of the Sula River) (Rybakov, 1947, 81-105). The opinion of B.A. Rybakov regarding the localisation of chronicle Sever was supported by G.F. Solovyeva (Solovyeva, 1956, 141). I.P. Rusanov localises the Sever within narrower boundaries (Rusanova, 1966, Table 18, 19).

Thus, the starting point for determining the Severian territory in terms of studying its history is the evidence of the chronicler that the Sever lands were located “... along Desna, Sula and Seym” («седоша по Десне, и по Суле, и по Семи...»), and archaeological data (Figure 1).

The chronicler is probably correct to locate the territory of Severia along the Desna, Seym and Sula Rivers, i.e. the territory of the tribe that became the centre of the Severian tribal union, gave its name to this union, and later – to the principality. From this perspective, the review and specification of the Sever’s settling boundaries by B.A. Rybakov and other researchers are reasonable. However, the area of the Severian tribal union as a political union was considered significantly greater than the boundaries that were specified by the chronicler, and included different ethnic groups of the population.

The boundaries, which were specified by the chronicler, contain most Roman archaeological monuments that the majority of researchers relate to the “Sever”, mentioned in chronicles (Rybakov, 1947, 94, Figure 4; Berezovets, 1953a, 25-26; Berezovets, 1953b, 28-44; Tretyakov, 1953, 242; Sedov, 1970, 126-134; Sukhobokov, 1975, 146-147; Grigoryev, 2000). Roman antiquities are rarer in the southern and northern lands

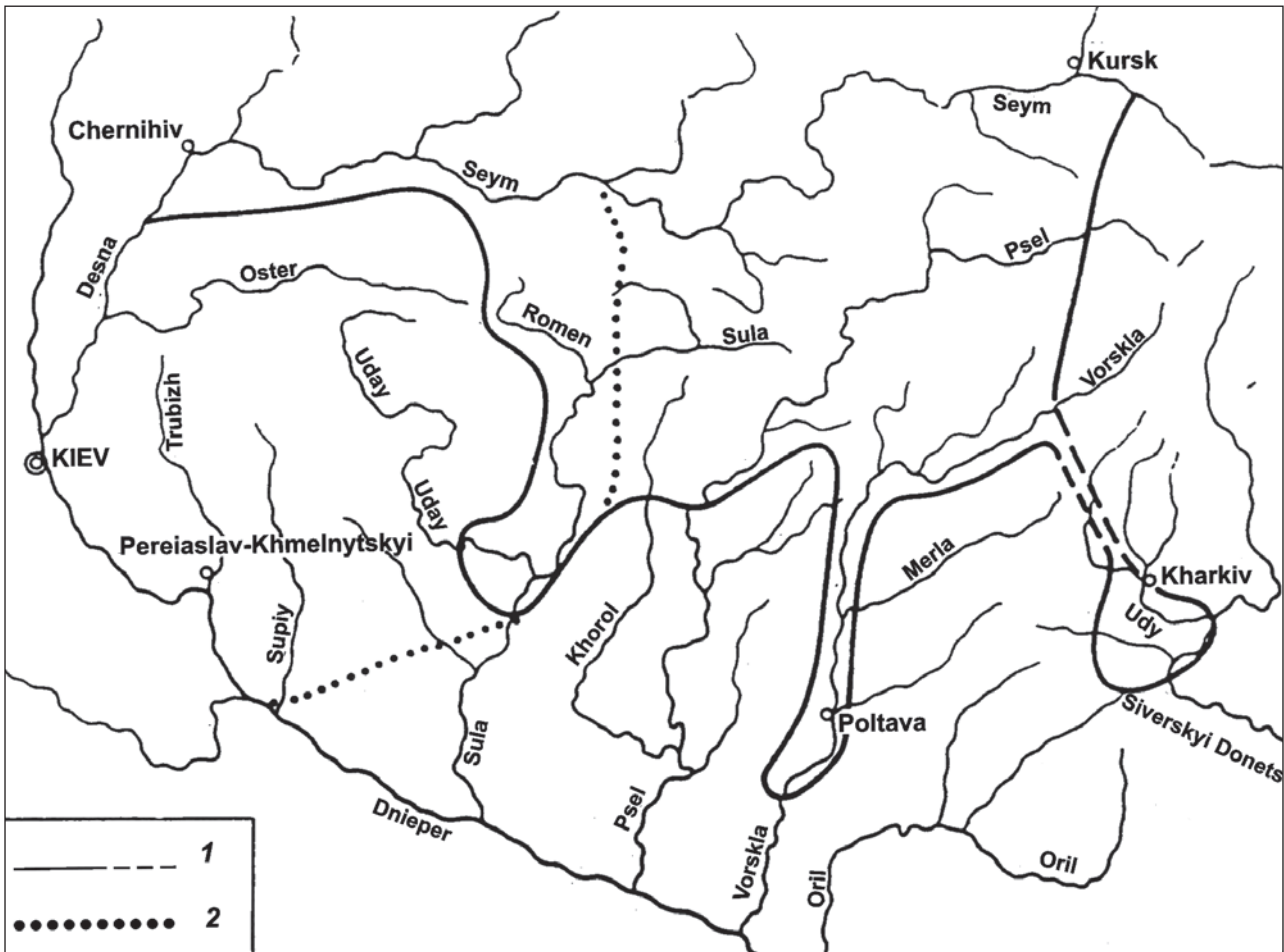


Figure 1: Severia settling in the Dnieper Left-Bank forest-steppes, according to archaeological data (8th-10th centuries)

along the Desna and Sula Rivers. It is obvious that the lands along Desna, Sula and Sula Rivers were the centre of the Severian tribal union. Proceeding from archaeological materials, D.T. Berezovets outlined Severia by approximately the following boundaries: in the North, approximately along the Lyubech – Starodub – Briansk line; in the North-East and East, nor farther than the Briansk – Kursk conditional line; in the South-East Kursk, Novi Sanzhary (lands along the Vorskla River); in the South, Novi Sanzhary – Sary – Lubny. D.T. Berezovets considers the rest of settlements south of Kharkiv the result of the settling of Severians in the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century. D.T. Berezovets keeps the question regarding the western boundary open, suggesting that the interfluvies of the Dnieper and Desna River influenced the course of historical events, associated with the formation of Kievian Rus' (territory of the "Russian land", according to A.N. Nasonov (Nasonov, 2006)), at an early stage. Due to further rapid development of culture, tribal peculiarities of this region disappeared earlier.

In this paper, the territorial concept of Severia is limited by the boundaries, specified above (Figure 2). Afterwards, most of this region joined the ethnic territory of the Ukrainian nation.

The term "Sever" and "Severia", encountered in 14th-17th centuries' sources does not entirely correspond to the "Sever land" of the 8th-10th centuries. At the same time, the region that is distinguished in this paper, where sevryuks are mentioned by 15th-17th centuries' sources (Bagnovskaya, 2002), mostly coincides with the lands, where most Roman monuments were discovered, which evidences the preservation of the ethnic-cultural originality of Severian population to the 18th century.

It is difficult to reconstruct the territorial boundaries of Severia, based on the fragmentary information about it, found in 14th-15th centuries' sources. However, the constancy of this toponymical formation, its active use as official terminology (Platonov, 1937, 3-4), and fact that Severia became part of the Grand Duchy of Moscow allow referring to the method of extrapolation with the use of official material from the 16th-17th centuries,

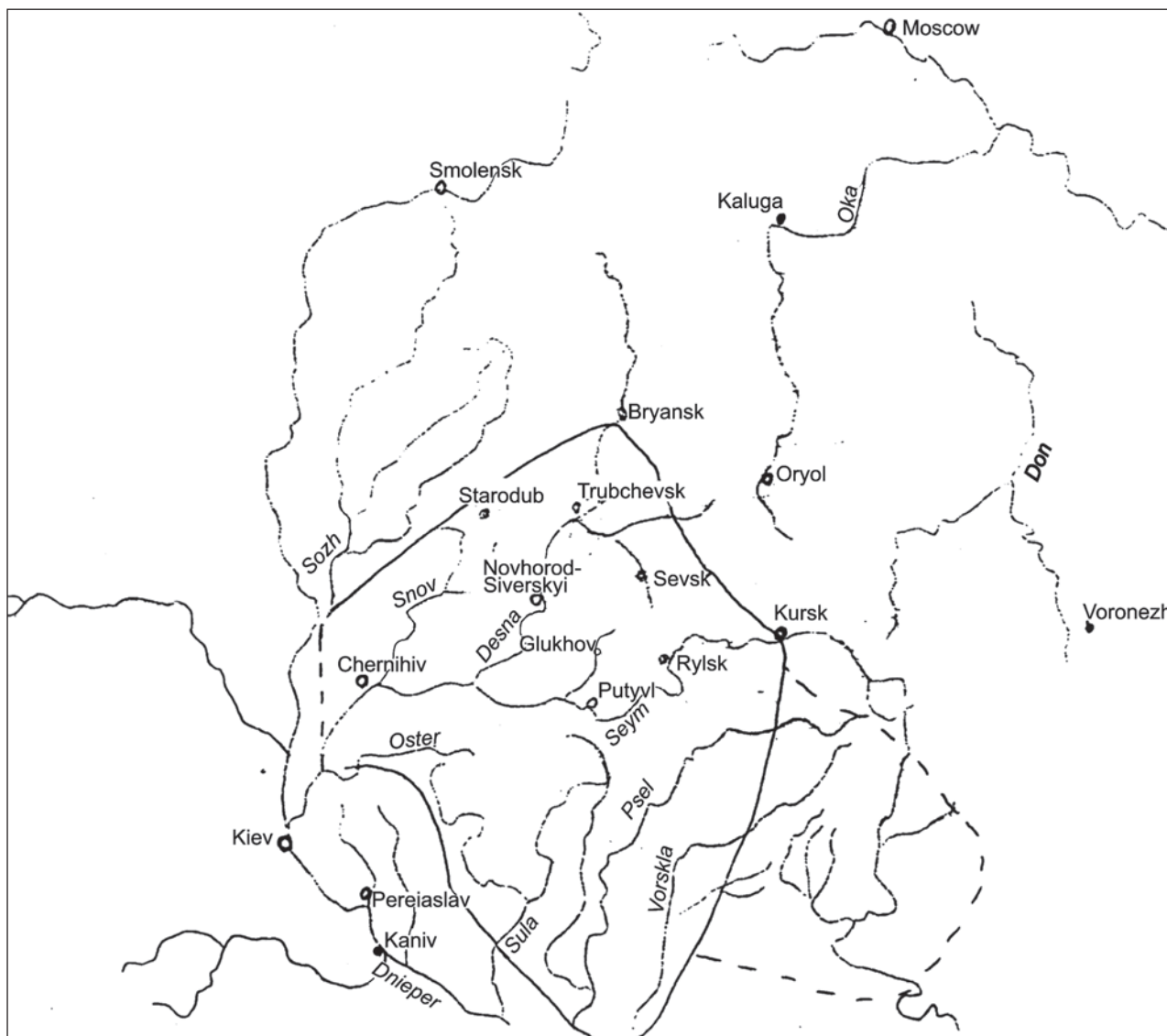


Figure 2: Severia, according to archaeological data (map compiled by the author)

as opposed to the documents of previous centuries. The location of Severia when it was part of the Grand Duchy of Moscow (1503-1618) is outlined by the following points: Bryansk, Gomel, Drokov, Kursk, Mglin, Morivsk, Novgorod-Seversk, Pochep, Putyvl, Radogoshch, Rylysk, Starodub, Trubchevsk, and Chernigov. All they existed in the 14th-15th centuries. This territory covers only part of the Severian ethnic-cultural habitat that is evidenced by archaeological findings of the pre-state and Old Rus' period: apart from lands along the Desna and Sevm Rivers, it also included the basins of Vorskla and Peel Rivers, and the upper reaches of the Sula River.

Thus, the name "Sever" («северъ») related only to the Severian lands, which became part of the Principality of Chernigov during second half of the 11th – the first half of the 13th centuries, and did not include Pereiaslav that

was affected by the consequences of the Mongol invasion and the considerable outflow of population from this territory.

CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, it can be said that the tribes of the pre-state period, described in chronicles, are by themselves complex ethnic-social unions, which formed from several tribes, including tribes of different ethnicities. After becoming part of the Kievan Rus', these tribal unions evolved towards political, socioeconomic, and ethnic consolidation. However, this process was not completed. The Kievan Rus', for a short period, created prerequisites for the formation of a single people, based on closely related groups, but these prerequisites

failed to become effective factors for the establishment of a new ethnic community – the Old Rus' people. Too many circumstances prevented this process from being completed. Affected by the developing feudalisation of the society and the political disintegration of the Kievan Rus' it caused, the historical-ethnic development took a different course – the course of intensification of communal and regional trends. Further development of feudalisation caused the establishment of three big feudal centres, around which the territories of individual principalities were formed. Another period of ethnic consolidation happened at the times of feudal principalities, including the Principality of Chernigov. It spanned most of the territory of the Severian tribal union. The southern regions of Severia were part of the Principality of Pereyaslavl. Territorial bonds of the population assume the leading role in this period. In chronicles, people are more often referred to as Chernigovites, Novgorodites, Kurskites, etc. However, the weak economic relations of that time and the natural economy facilitated the stability of local peculiarities and tribal borders. Probably at that time, the term “Северская земля” (Severia, Sever Land) became a regional phenomenon that reflected the history of the land and extended beyond the political concepts of the Principalities of Chernigov, Novgorod-Seversk, and Pereyaslavl. The lands of the former two partly included the lands of Radimichs and Vyatichis. The lands of the Principality of Pereyaslavl were not ethnically united either – they included the former lands of Severians and Polans. Some Severian settlements along the upper reaches of the Psel, Vorskla, and Siverskiy Donets Rivers ended up within the boundaries of Polovetsian camping grounds. Further consolidation of population in early feudal states was hindered by their intensifying feudal fragmentation and the lack of internal unity of the central regions of principalities and peripheral regions, which often changed hands. The trend of the emergence of two centres (apart from Kyiv) – the Principalities of Galicia-Volhynia and Vladimir-Suzdal – around which the rest of the south-western and north-eastern Rus' lands were grouped, was interrupted by the Mongol invasion.

Even before the Mongol invasion, the Chernigov-Severian land ended up “between” the said centres – their princes strived for gaining a foothold in Kyiv. The Mongol invasion and the subsequent historical situation in Eastern Europe facilitated the conservation of the isolated, “middle” status of Severia between the north-eastern and south-western Kievan Rus' lands, on the one hand, and the steppe nomads, on the other hand. Furthermore, in the 14th century, the Severian lands were contested by two states – the Grand Duchies of Lithuania and Moscow, who laid claim to the heritage of the Kievan Rus'. Severian principalities constantly changed hands. These circumstances also facilitated the conservation of the ethnic-cultural isolation of the Severian population.

As is known, the Mongol invasion did not affect the ethnic composition of the Old Rus' lands, including Severian lands. The population of its southern and south-eastern regions encountered steppe tribes long before that. Certain tribes settled down along the borders of the Chernigov, Severia, Pereyaslavl, and other principalities. After the Mongol invasion, some nomadic groups moved back into the steppes, but part of them, especially seminomadic people, remained at their previous places of dwelling. Some of them even moved northwards, into the forest steppes, due to the relocation of the population from the Pereyaslavl and Chernigov Principalities into the forest regions beyond the Desna River. The fact that the population of the southern regions of Severia dwindled is indisputable, but the statement regarding the complete desertion of these lands is unacceptable.

These conditions revealed the resilience of the historical name of Severia and its population. 15th-17th century sources mention Severia, Severian cities, rivers and dwellers of this land – Sevryuks. Sevryuks are descendants of the ancient, pre-Mongolian population of Severia. According to sources, Sevryuks lived approximately within the territory of the ancient “Sever”. They are not, however, direct descendants of “Sever” people – they are descendants of the Severian population, which underwent long historical development. In the 14th-16th centuries, the Kievan Rus' ceased to exist, as did the Principalities of Chernigov and Pereyaslavl as independent states. People were called Sevryuks, i.e. the dwellers of Severia, rather than Russians or Chernigovites. This was probably a regional name, but closely connected with the history of Severia, and, probably, used in the 14th – first half of 17th centuries as the population's self-designation. The preservation of the “Sevryuks” name to the second half of the 17th century was facilitated by the fact that Severian lands changed hands several times between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (and then the Kingdom of Poland) and the Grand Duchy of Moscow in the 14th-16th centuries. Therefore, it was difficult to develop and affirm a name that was associated with this or that state affiliation (politonym).

Thus, the integrity of the Severian land was determined by its ethnic-cultural unity that was inherited from the Sever people, mentioned in chronicles, rather than by political institutions. Sevryuks were a special group of the Old Rus' population, which preserved its regional isolation in the 14th-16th centuries (in some regions – to the second half of the 17th century). After the end of the 16th century, and, mostly, in the 17th century, the population of former Severia joined the formation of the Ukrainian and Russian nationalities (perhaps, to a certain extent, Belorussian, as well).

SEVERIJA KOT ZGODOVINSKO-GEOGRAFSKI KONCEPT

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POVZETEK

Problem oblikovanja treh vzhodnoslovanskih narodov iz ene same države, Kijevske Rusije, je izjemno zapleten. Posebne težave nastanejo pri opredeljevanju narave zgodovinsko-etničnega razvoja na področjih z uveljavljenimi etničnimi mejami. Eno izmed takšnih področij je Severija. Avtorica je v članku poskušala zrcaliti zgodovinsko pojmovanje severjanskega ozemlja in njegovih prebivalcev v različnih obdobjih.

Celovitost Severije je bila prej posledica njene etnično-kulturne enotnosti, zapuščine severjanskega ljudstva, omenjenega v kronikah, kot pa vplivov političnih institucij. Severjani so bili posebna skupina staroruskega prebivalstva, ki je v obdobju med 14. in 16. stoletjem (v nekaterih predelih do druge polovice 17. stoletja) ostajala regionalno izolirana. S koncem 16. stoletja, povečini pa v 17. stoletju se je prebivalstvo nekdanje Severije vključilo v oblikovanje ukrajinskega in ruskega (do neke mere morda tudi beloruskega) naroda.

Ključne besede: Severija, zgodovinsko-etnični procesi, etnično-kulturna svojstvenost, vzhodnoslovanske skupnosti, lociranje kronik, Severjani



Figure 3: Coat of Arms of Severia. 1672. File:Герб Северной страны 1672 года.gif. From Wikimedia Commons

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PECULIARITIES OF CONDUCTING MILITARY AFFAIRS
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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the genesis of military affairs in the early period of formation of society in Kazakhstan. The paper examines a number of socio-economic factors of the Bronze Age, which influenced the evolution of the military art. Moreover, it describes the military caste of the early nomads and the participation of women in the military and political activities of nomadic groups. The authors conclude that the development of the military art is based on socio-cultural phenomena that occurred in high antiquity and is closely related to the psychological, physiological, and behavioral characteristics of the human species.

Keywords: military affairs of nomads, nomads, military estate, ancient tribes of Kazakhstan

PECULIARITÀ DELL'ISTITUZIONE DEL SETTORE MILITARE
NEI POPOLI ANTICHI DEL KAZAKISTAN

SINTESI

L'articolo analizza la genesi del settore militare nel primo periodo della formazione della società in Kazakistan. Lo studio prende in esame vari fattori socioeconomici risalenti all'età del bronzo che influenzarono l'evoluzione dell'arte militare. Inoltre, descrive la casta militare dei primi nomadi e la partecipazione di donne nelle attività militari e politiche dei gruppi nomadi. Gli autori concludono che lo sviluppo dell'arte militare si basa su fenomeni socioculturali che si verificarono in tarda antichità e sono strettamente connessi con le caratteristiche psicologiche, fisiologiche e comportamentali della specie umana.

Parole chiave: questioni militari dei nomadi, nomadi, tenuta militare, antichi popoli del Kazakistan

INTRODUCTION

The study of the history and the development of armed forces is not only scientifically, but also socially and politically relevant, because the solution to this problem contributes to the scientific patriotic education, and further improvement of military affairs.

The peculiarities of the development of military affairs in the territory of Kazakhstan in ancient times (from ancient times to the fifth century CE) were determined by the following reasons:

Firstly, while studying the military affairs of nomads, an important fact is completely overlooked – the fact that nomadism developed on the basis of its predecessor, the sedentary farming and cattle husbandry economy of the Bronze Age; therefore, the elements of culture, including military affairs, were to a certain extent influenced by the previous period.

Secondly, the so-called “nomadic” economy is characterized as multi-structural; at that, the balance of its various elements and characteristics (cattle breeding, agriculture, handicrafts, nomadic intensity, level of involvement in regional trade, etc.) at different stages of the genesis of nomadism was different, which definitely affected the development of military affairs.

The history of studying the problems, related to the development of nomads’ military affairs is inextricably connected with the general history of nomad studies. In the second half of the 19th century, Russian and Eurasian oriental studies began to develop the military-historical subject in relation to Eurasian nomads; at that, the research objects were the military organization, strategy and tactics of medieval Mongols and their successors (Dienera, 2013). The researchers of this period focused on the relationship between the peculiarities of nomads’ military affairs and the peculiarities of their economy. However, an in-depth analysis of the latter was not carried out, while the studies were superficial, which was caused by a poor source base (Ivanin, 2003).

A significant contribution to the study nomads’ military affairs was made by Valikhanov’s (1985) ethnographic and source-studies works, devoted to specific aspects of military and historical problems. A wide range of materials on the armament of ancient and medieval nomads, and fortification was accumulated. The main written sources were introduced into the scientific use in the same period.

At present, there exists a developed and successfully tested analytical model of weapon-studies researches, which includes the systematization of various weapons types, the typological classification of armaments, the consolidation of the analysis results into a single set of combat equipment, and the reconstruction of the structure of the military organization and the peculiarities of the art of war (Kushkumbayev, 2001). This allowed

systematizing the sets of arms of many Siberian and Central Asian cultures of the Hun-Sarmatian time, tracing the evolution and identifying the regularities of the development of military affairs of Central Asian peoples (MIAA, 2003)¹.

Taking into account the insufficient knowledge of the genesis of military affairs in the territory of Kazakhstan, this paper is the first to consider the military affairs from its very origin in the prehistoric era, in the period of sedentary mixed agriculture and the formation of the nomadic society, which allows identifying the historical origins of many characteristics of weapons, military organization and military art of nomads, which were not predetermined directly by the nomadic lifestyle. This concerns the role of infantry in the early nomad period, the development of fortification art, the widespread occurrence of original weapons of foot soldiers – combat knives, daggers, heavy armor, etc. This approach allows reconsidering the role of external borrowings in the development of the spiritual and material culture of nomads and recognizing its many phenomena as a genetic continuation of the traditions of the previous period of social development from ancient times to the Bronze Age.

RESEARCH METHODS

The main cognitive and research methods used were the historical-comparative method, based on the analytical and inductive approach, and the historical method, which provides for establishing the cause and effect relations and the dynamics of the object under study. In addition, the systems method was used, considering the object of study as a unity of interconnected elements. In this case, we examine military affairs as a system comprised of individual elements, i.e. weapons, military organization, and military art. Each of these elements in turn consists of separate components.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The mechanism of appearance of the military stratum in the ancient society was relatively simple. The accumulation of excess products in the productive economy inevitably led to the possibility of engaging not in production, but in a forced redistribution of accumulated excess products of the neighboring communities (Bichurin, 1998).

The high social significance of the performed function for the protection of the community determined the higher social status of soldiers, compared to commoners. Especially high was the status of the military leader – the chieftain, who managed community resources during frequent military clashes. The appearance of a special group of military professionals laid the founda-

1 MIAA, A. Margulan Institute of Archeology Archive. Report on work of the Central Kazakhstan expedition for 2002. Almaty, 2003.

tion for the establishment of the art of war, as it became possible to continuously and purposefully accumulate and pass on the experience in this field of human activity (Allaniyazov, 1996).

The development of military affairs was closely related to the establishment of potestarian relations, and, subsequently, the state. This period witnessed the distinguishing of a class of people, who managed and coordinated the work of commons. Emerging power relations – subordination, i.e. potestarian relations, inevitably assumed the form military-potestarian ones, since the only support of tribe rulers was the social stratum of soldiers with necessary skills and competence.

This military stratum initially served as internal security, preventing the disintegration of weakly economically-consolidated military-potestarian unions during crises (Akhmetzhan, 1996).

The most important impetus to the further development of military affairs was given by the development of bronze smelting, which led to a qualitative leap in the development of military affairs in the territory of Kazakhstan. The development of bronze casting led to the appearance of new tools and a radical increase in labor productivity, which in turn led to further differentiation of social strata, and the distinguishing of the warrior estate (Kaydarov, 1973).

War and military affairs became one of the main spheres of life in ancient societies. Weapons, being an ethnic feature at the early stages, lost their ethnic distinctness by the early Iron Age. A very important role in this process was played by the Silk Road, which spread items, new scientific ideas and technologies over great distances (Khudyakov, 1980; Akhmetzhan, 2007).

The presence of sedentary and semi-sedentary population in the steppes led to the presence of foot soldiers in Scythians' and Sakas' armies. This is evidenced by ancient sources – works by Herodotus, Lucian, and Quintus Curtius Rufus.

The role of infantry is confirmed by archaeological sources. Another interesting aspect of the social prerequisites for the development of military affairs of nomads is the participation of women in the war. Ancient sources emphasize their role in the Scythian and Sarmatian societies. This is associated with the legends of the Amazons – female warriors, who formed a separate tribe.

According to legends, the tribe lived on the farthest shores of the Euxine Pontus (Black Sea) (Mayor, 2014). Their capital city was Themiscyra. Since childhood, the Amazons were taught to handle the spear, sword, throw darts, and to be skilled riders. The tribe allegedly solved the problem of reproduction as follows: once a year, they met with men from the neighboring tribe, and then they gave all born boys to those men and kept the girls. Hercules confronted the Amazons to take away the magic belt of Hippolyta, their queen, given to her by Ares, the god of war (ninth labor of Hercules). Amazons were on the side of the Trojans in the Trojan War.

The historical basis of the myth about the Amazons is the confrontation with belligerent tribes. It is interesting to analyze the information provided by Herodotus. He talks about the origins and customs of Sauromates' gender equality (if one were to use modern terminology) in their environment. Sauromate women, he says, uphold their ancient traditions: along with their husbands, and even without them, they hunt and ride on horseback, and wear the same clothes as men do. No female could marry before she killed her first enemy, and some died without ever marrying (Historians of Rome, 1969, 110-117).

The significant role of women in the military organization of the steppe is evidenced by materials of burial grounds along the middle reaches of the Don River. An example of this is mound 16 of the Durovka burial ground, which belonged to a woman aged 30-35; the analysis of skeletal remains "gives reason to believe that she was a horse rider (an Amazon)" (Puzikova, 1997). Women's burials in the Ternovoye burial ground "always included weapons, therefore, there is reason to believe that women were involved in the practice of military actions..." In mound 6, horse remains were found among the accompanying inventory of the burial of a young woman aged 20-25. 3 out of 4 times, the investigated mounds were the resting places of young women from relatively wealthy families; in two cases, the women were also armed. The presence of expensive jewelry of Bosphorus production, Greek amphorae with oil or wine,



Mounted Amazon in Scythian costume, on an Attic red-figure vase, c. 420 BCE

Riding Amazone. Side B of an Attic red-figure neck-amphora, ca. 420 BC. By Aison (Hahland); perhaps Shuvalov Painter (Diepolder). File:Amazone Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2342.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

the large size and splendor of the funerary structures “are comparable to the known mounds of military aristocracy”. Referring to this, Gulyaev and Savchenko (1995) also drew attention to the fact that many burials of young women with weapons belonged to the upper strata of the Scythian society. Gulyaev and Savchenko assumed the existence of “certain conscription as lightly armed auxiliary units for certain age and social groups of Scythian women” (Gulyaev and Savchenko, 1995, 87-101).

The social status of “Scythian Amazons” was quite high in most cases. In this sense, an interesting observation is made by F. Balonov: “in Scythian times, funeral carts were mainly associated with buried women (70%) with a special social status” (Balonov, 1984, 16).

At the same time, it is possible to ask whether this was a relic of matriarchy, or the relatively high status of women in military affairs was a phenomenon of different nature.

Arguments in favor of the existence of matriarchy are based on several forms of evidence: information about modern societies, in which a woman provides the basic means of subsistence; information about the societies, in which there was a matrilineal system of inheritance; ancient myths about the rule of women; archaeological evidence that allows interpreting the existence of female deities – heads of pantheons, queens who ruled tribes and states, killings of boys at birth, etc. The reconstruction of the matriarchal stage at the initial step of the primitive society is generally based not on ethnological data, but on the messages of ancient and medieval authors regarding any exotic orders, detached from the general system of social life. Such messages can be divided into three main groups. The first one includes the information about matrilineality or matrilocality, for example, Herodotus’ information about Lycians, Polybius’ information about the Italian Locri, G.-T. Sagara’s information about the Wyandot people, etc. They are in no way equivalent to the evidence of matriarchy. The second one includes reports of equitable, dignified, even honorable positions of women, for example, those of Plutarch about the Celts, of Tacitus about the Germans, etc. They do not prove the existence of matriarchy as the domination of women either. The third one consists of direct references to the fact that men are ruled by women, for example, the records of Sauromates by Scylax, information about Indian Pandaeans by Pliny the Elder, Al-Masudi’s and J.-B Tavernier’s mentioning of the inhabitants of some Indonesian islands. They can be quite reliable, but evidence matriarchy not more than the reign of empresses in Russia or the reign of queens in Western Europe. However, modern anthropological evidence suggests that in most societies, at least those that are known to anthropologists, a certain degree of male dominance existed, irrespective of their kindred organization.

While some anthropologists believe that truly egalitarian societies exist or existed in the past, and all Western experts agree that there are societies, in which

women achieved significant social recognition and authority, nobody, however, described a society, which would publicly acknowledge the power and authority of women that was superior to that of men. Everywhere women were excluded from certain types of important economic and social activities; their social roles as mothers and wives were associated with a smaller set of powers and prerogatives than the men’s social roles of father and brother. Therefore, it is concluded that gender asymmetry is a universal phenomenon of the social life of mankind (Muravieva, n.d.).

As one can see, the participation of women in the military and political activities of nomadic unions was not a “relic” of matriarchal relations, but an entirely new phenomenon, caused by an increase in the social importance of women in the life support system of the nomadic society. Archaeological data show that women had a special status in the priest estate; at that, the priestly functions assumed the “androgyny” of their performer. This is clearly seen from the materials of the Scythian society, where priests were effeminate in appearance and clothing, and the Sauromate society, where women priestesses were granted attributes of masculinity – acinaces and swords. There are commonly known examples of women performing higher military-political and priestly functions – the so-called “empresses” Tomyris and Zarinaea (Gumilyov, 1967).

The military estate of early nomads was heterogeneous in terms of both gender and age. The status of the warrior and his place in the social hierarchy within the military class directly depended on his experience, luck and the number of enemies he killed. As an independent and very important activity of the nomadic society, military affairs of nomads had their patron – the god of war (Kun, 1947).

Ancient authors, by analogy with the Greek pantheon, called him Ares or Areus; his embodiment was an iron sword. The special role and even the deification of the sword is understandable. This weapon type appears among the inhabitants of the Eurasian steppe in the early Iron Age, in the 1st millennium BCE. Its appearance and common use is most likely related to the mass use of metal armor and iron that reduced the weight of the blade.

The swords had two types of blades. The Karasuk-Cimmerian tradition led to the production of lenticular or diamond-shaped in the cross-section blades with parallel edges, gradually converging at the very end of the tip. The Caucasian tradition, commonly found among the Scythians, led to the production of blades converging towards the tip of the handle, i.e., in the form of an elongated triangle.

Acinaces were a type of bladed weapons that was more common than swords. In 7th-6th centuries BCE, they were made primarily of bronze, from the end of 6th century BCE there were iron and bimetallic daggers, and from the 4th century BCE, iron became the only material

used to craft combat daggers. Forms of acinaces were virtually indistinguishable from those of swords, except their length. Many acinaces were found in Kazakhstan, while their original form was the local daggers of the late Bronze Age.

Ways of wearing swords and daggers were diverse. The Scythians had acinaces hanging from a belt on the abdomen, on the right or left side, while the sword was fastened to the belt on the right side. In the east, including Kazakhstan, a common way to wear an acinaces was not only to fasten the sheath to the upper part of the belt, but also to tie its lower part to the leg, with a dagger worn on the right side. However, petroglyphs found in East Kazakhstan show images of soldiers with daggers, attached to the belt on the right side only by their upper part.

It should be noted that swords and daggers with luxurious gold-trimmed hilts and blades were both combat weapons and symbols of power.

The traditional weapon type for the steppe was the battle-axe that was developed on the basis of the late Bronze Age traditions and remained the most power-

ful and effective means of dealing with a heavily armed enemy. At the early stages, until the 7th century BCE, axes were massive, with short blades and hammer-head butts. Over time, people developed lightweight and elegant hatchets, with cleaving rather than bludgeoning functions. Double-edged axes were also found.

Another polearm for close combat was the pick. They were formed in the east of the Eurasian steppe in the 7th century BCE, where the pick rapidly spread across the entire area. Very interesting is the Sagyr petroglyph that shows a battle between foot soldiers armed with picks. It depicts soldiers, hitting each other over the head with picks, which is confirmed by finds in the Gorno-Altaysk burials of Scythian skulls with marks of blows with weapons with a narrow sharp head. Many researchers believe that the Sakas' upgrading of picks is related to the appearance in the eastern Eurasian steppes of such protective armor as a thick helmet, which no other weapon could pierce.

The early Iron Age witnessed a significant reduction in the use of such a common Bronze Age weapon as the mace. The hammer-head butts of axes or picks were generally used to deliver blows. However, the above-mentioned petroglyphs of the Sagyr tract featured an image that depicted the scene of battle between two warriors, armed with clubs on long shafts.

Apart from short-range weapons, nomads commonly used medium-range weapon types – spears and darts. Judging by the finds, the length of the spear was equal to the height of the warrior. Spears had a large tip with a long bearing. A relatively short shaft indicates that the spear was used in both mounted and foot combat. Archaeological finds also discovered tips of darts with a long bearing and a short triangular blade. The accuracy of dart-throwing is reflected by Greek images of a Scythian, depicted hunting a hare with a dart.

Thus, it is obvious that the set of weapons of both foot and mounted warriors of early nomads included both advanced forms of conventional weapons – daggers, spears, axes, battle-axes, and maces, and relatively new types – swords. However, the most common and effective weapon of the nomads was the bow and arrows – the main long-range missile weapon. The “Scythian bow” was often depicted as asymmetrical, with a long upper half. The bow was composite; the upper horn could be crafted separately out of bone, horn or bronze, and decorated with “animal” ornaments. This type of bow was the pinnacle of the development of ranged combat weapons in ancient times, and was widely spread among the peoples of the Near East and Middle East, and Southeastern Europe.

The special type of bow was matched by distinctive arrowheads, which, along with other elements of the “Scythian triad” – the “animal” style and horse bridle, became the “trademark” of the early nomads.

The specific and very convenient “Scythian” form of the case for the bow and arrows was the gorytos – a



Horseman, Pazyryk felt artifact, c. 300 BC. Pazyryk horseman. Circa 300 BCE. Detail from a carpet - 5-4 th s.- in the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg. File:PazyrikHorseman.JPG. From Wikimedia Commons.

quiver that consisted of two compartments – one for the bow and one for the arrows. It was worn on the belt on the left side.

Nomads' armor of the 1st millennium BCE can be divided into several types in terms of their method of armor plating:

1. Plate armor, when the armor plating was performed by sewing on metal, bone, or horn plaque-plates on a soft base, leaving gaps between them for flexibility. A great example of plate armor is the ceremonial dress, found in the Issyk burial mound.
2. Scale armor, when plates were sewn only on the upper part of the soft base, so that the lower part of the upper row of plates covered the lower part of the lower row of plates. This type of armor was common among the Black Sea Scythians. An example of this armor is the armor from Chirik-Rabat.
3. Lamellar armor, when plates were fastened directly to each other without a soft base.
4. Laminar armor, when the armor plating was arranged in long horizontal metal strips, fastened together with cords or straps.

The cut of early nomads' armor was diverse. The most common types were the armor in the form of a poncho that protected the back and chest of the warrior. Another frequently encountered armor was the breastplate with shoulders covered by wide rectangular flaps. This armor type was common among ancient Greeks, but Scythian armor differed in a number of features. For example, the Black Sea Scythians attached long neckpieces to the armor, which covered the upper part of the arms; furthermore, this armor was worn with armored scale skirts or belts with stripes that covered the legs down to the hips and sometimes down to the feet.

One of the most important elements of protective armor were helmets. In the early Scythian period, the most common type was a hemispherical helmet cast in bronze with an edge along the top of the head, a rectangular cut on the back of the head and a deep facial cut in the form of brow ridges that converged into a triangular point at the nose. Most helmets had holes in the side plates and the back part for attaching earpieces, neck-flaps or aventails. Sakas wore similar helmets hoods with thick horizontal pads at the forehead.

The set of protective armor was supplemented with a shield. Most shields were rectangular, but oval shields were found, as well.

An original element of nomads' protective armor was a flexible back-mounted shield with scale armor. It was mounted in a way that did not prevent the rider from using both hands when shooting the bow or slashing out while on horseback, when one hand was used to steer the horse. Such shields were depicted in the petroglyphs of Eastern Kazakhstan.

Based on the above set of weapons, it is possible to reconstruct with a certain degree of confidence the combat tactics of early Eurasian nomads. The battle began with a barrage of arrows fired at the enemy from a great distance. A large reserve of ammunition allowed maintaining this combat phase for a long period of time, while the shape of arrowheads caused significant damage even to armored soldiers. If the enemies failed to withstand the onslaught and fled from the battlefield, they were ridden down by the cavalry that cut down the fleeing soldiers with swords, axes and picks. In this case, the losses of nomads were minimal.

If the opponent was resilient and withstood the barrage of arrows, the nomads, after running out of ammunition, proceeded to the next combat phase – the melee phase.

Both the cavalry and foot soldiers took part in the melee. Since melee weapons for mounted combat were overall imperfect, one can assume that some riders dismounted during the melee. This is why the main melee weapon type in the steppe was not the sword, but the acinaces. This can also explain the existence of massive short spears that are convenient for melee combat. Another factor that limited the possibility of close mounted combat was a poor horse harness, in particular, the absence of a hard saddle with stirrups. Under these circumstances, the warrior was forced either to fight with one hand while holding on to the horse's mane, or to tie himself to the horse, which also limited his actions. In the second case, the transition to hand-to-hand combat was impossible. This method was apparently used by lightly-armed horsemen, who did not participate in the melee. These were the "gimmiri" squads, which attacked settlements for pillaging and retreated without engaging the enemy if faced with heavy resistance.

Thus, revolutionary changes took place in the development of defensive weapons of the inhabitants of Eurasian steppes. In the 1st millennium BCE, peoples of the Eurasian steppe regions rapidly developed defensive armaments, which were equal to and sometimes superior to that of their sedentary neighbors. This was caused by the development of metallurgy, statehood and related military-political activity of the nomads, their familiarity with all the technological skills of military affairs (Kiselev, 1994).

CONCLUSIONS

Concluding the analysis of early nomads' military affairs, it is worth stressing the main characteristics of their development during this period. Firstly, the basis of their genesis was not hunting, but the military affairs of the previous era – the Bronze Age. Secondly, along with the tactics of mass ranged combat, nomad archers introduced the tactics of mounted assault in close order on heavily armed horsemen. The merit of early nomads was not only the spreading of the powerful composite bow, but also a set of heavy armaments for riders, in-

cluding armor for both warrior and horse. Moreover, the elements of the nomads' armaments even surpassed in terms of diversity and quality the weapons of surrounding states of the ancient world.

However, these armaments and effective tactics did not secure the military and political dominance of early nomads over the neighboring nations, which was caused by the specifics of military organization, in particular, the lack of state institutions. While gaining victories in short-term raids and repelling the attacks of Persians and Macedonians, Scythians and Sakas could not organize long-term military operations, while their unions were temporary military alliances between tribes, which fell apart after both defeat and victory.

The research allowed concluding that:

- Aggressive armed actions of early humans were quasi-military, since they were not preconditioned by social reasons;
- Real military activity emerges with the productive economy and is related to the processes of production, protection and redistribution of excess product;

- The transition of the population of Kazakhstan to the nomadic mode of production led to major changes in the military affairs; cavalry appeared in the Scythian-Saka era, but, contrary to popular belief, infantry remained important;
- Military affairs in the Scythian-Saka era remained the prerogative of a special military class; its membership was gained by special rituals; a special layer of spiritual culture appeared, which was associated with the concept of elitism of military activities;
- In the Scythian-Saka period, the phenomenon of gender equality appears in the field of military activity; the spread of warrior women among nomadic societies was not a "relic" of matriarchy, but an entirely new phenomenon, related to the specifics of the nomadic society;
- The emergence of the state caused radical changes in the social structure, reduction of the importance of the military class, and the replacement of its functions for the organization of military activities by state institutions.

POSEBNOSTI V OSNOVANJU VOJAŠTVA PRI STARODAVNIH PLEMENIH KAZAHSTANA

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POVZETEK

Zavedajoč se pomanjkanja podatkov o razvoju vojaštva na ozemlju Kazahstana, avtorji v članku raziskujejo umešnost vojskovanja od njegovih začetkov v prazgodovinski dobi, v času sedentarnega kmetovanja in oblikovanja nomadske družbe. Raziskava vključuje pregled in analizo številnih družbeno-ekonomskih dejavnikov v bronasti dobi, ki so vplivali na nastanek temeljev vojaštva. Članek opisuje tudi vojaški stan zgodnjih nomadov ter soudeležbo žensk v vojaških in političnih aktivnostih nomadskih združenj, v študiji pa so predstavljene še bojne taktike zgodnjih evrazijskih nomadov. Od poglobitvenih kognitivnih in raziskovalnih metod so se avtorji posluževali zgodovinsko-primerjalne metode, ki temelji na analitičnem in induktivnem pristopu, ter zgodovinsko-genetske metode, ki omogoča določanje vzročno-posledičnih odnosov in dinamike obravnavanega predmeta. Avtorji v zaključku ugotavljajo, da je razvoj vojaštva temeljil na družbeno-kulturnih pojavih iz starejših obdobjev zgodovine in je bil tesno povezan s psihološkimi, fiziološkimi in vedenjskimi značilnostmi človeške vrste.

Ključne besede: vojaštvo nomadov, nomadi, vojaški stan, starodavna plemena Kazahstana

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TRENDS IN THE FORMATION OF THE SEMANTIC IMAGE
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ABSTRACT

The urban space of every city is full of cultural symbols that can be found throughout the city in different symbolic places, streets, etc. All these symbols are parts of a specific cultural matrix, which forms the base for the identification and self-identification of the city. Symbolic activities like mythology, religion, ideology, art, film, advertising, and virtual realities are clearly reflected in every big city's image. Despite the fact that the capital of Kazakhstan was transferred from Almaty to Astana, Almaty continues to be the largest city, as well as the scientific and educational, international tourism, high-tech manufacturing, financial and business center of the republic. The semantic image of Almaty was formed by many factors. Some of these factors were dictated by global issues, while others had characteristics that were specifically related to this urban space.

Keywords: capital city, Almaty, semantics, trend, historical narrative, synthetic narrative

TENDENZE NELLA FORMAZIONE DELL'IMMAGINE SEMANTICA DI UNA CAPITALE
(SULL'ESEMPIO DI ALMATY)

SINTESI

Lo spazio urbano di ogni città è colmo di simboli culturali che si possono trovare sparsi in vari posti simbolici, in strade eccetera. Tutti questi simboli compongono una specifica matrice culturale che costituisce la base per l'identificazione e l'auto-identificazione della città. Sebbene la capitale del Kazakistan sia stata trasferita da Almaty ad Astana, Almaty continua ad essere la città più grande, nonché il centro scientifico, d'istruzione, di turismo internazionale, della produzione ad alta tecnologia, finanziario e commerciale della Repubblica. L'immagine semantica di Almaty è venuta a formarsi sotto l'influenza di molti fattori, alcuni dettati da questioni globali, altri specificamente legati allo spazio urbano in questione.

Parole chiave: capitale, Almaty, semantica, tendenze, narrativa storica, narrativa sintetica

INTRODUCTION

The development of the city and its adjacent areas is a complex and multi-layered process, which involves not only architects and urban planners, but also experts in the field of environment, transport, communications, and environmental design. Under the rapid development of urban construction and saturation of the city environment with objects of design (graphics, advertisements, lighting and landscaping, etc.), another serious problem of modern cities appeared – providing urban space with necessary information media and their organization into a coherent structure of the city. The urgent need to streamline the system of visual communication and the randomness of the formed informative space in the city of Almaty determines the relevance of the study.

The hypothesis of this study is that the information function of images, signs and text in the structure of architectural objects influences the formation the city image, and by reflecting the social, ideological, navigational, and commercial tasks of social development, actively changes the image of the city, and forms a new architectural and spatial phenomenon – a visual information and communication field of the city.

METHODS

The methodological basis of the work includes the systems approach and historical-evolution method of detecting regularities in the transformation of the visual information and communication field of the city's architecture in combination with the graphic analytic methods of modelling its space planning characteristics.

The research methods are based on a comprehensive approach to studying the architectural environment of big cities: systematization of information from contemporary and historical sources, correlation, comparative analysis, consultations with leading specialists. The research also uses visual and photometric methods of studying architectural environment, comparative analysis of the internal structure and construction peculiarities of objects of the information and communication field, based on photo images and spreadsheets.

Theoretical and practical results of the study consist in the conduction of an analysis of Almaty's semantic structure, suggestion and testing of the method of semantic analysis of Almaty's development scenarios, suggestion of methods for adjusting the informational content of Almaty's architectural environment.

Studies of the cultural myth of the city (as a generalized image of the populated area at the present level) begin with the activities of the Tartu-Moscow school of semiotics. The comparative analysis of individual myth components of such cultural capitals as Moscow, St. Petersburg, Rome is contained in the works of Lotman (2002), Toporov (1982), Ivanov (1982) and et al.

In the 1980s, architectural scholars conducted semiotic studies, which developed the following areas: "linguistic" interpretation of architectural phenomena (Ikonnikov, 1986, 288), (Lejava, 1987, 19), (Ageev, 2002, 215), (Fedorova, 2005); signs and symbols studies (Glazichev, 1970, 318), (Bokov, 1986, 14-16), (Cassirer, 1996, 234), (Morris, 1983, 412) socio-behavioral approach to the study of the construction of living space (Krashennikov, 2004, 374), (Lync, 1986, 435), (Eco, 1986, 597).

The activities of the International Association for the Semiotics of Space, headed by A. Barabanov, are aimed at solving this important task under modern conditions (Barabanov, 1999, 688). Specific practical developments, aimed at the identification and development of the semantic structure of the urban environment within a certain region, are studied by teachers and students of the Ural State Academy of Architecture and Arts Laboratory of Architectural Semiotics, under the direction of A. Raevsky (Raevsky, 2007, 57), E. Koneva (Koneva, 2003, 235) and others.

The legend is as important a factor in the city semantics as the architectural and artistic style. Interesting urban space is always intriguing, and the distribution of information therein cannot be local (Belyaeva, 1977, 28).

"Communication cannot be successful if you do not know who you are talking to. The listener's biography, his cultural background, sex, age, abilities and style of education have a great impact on the way he perceives information, processes and understands it" (Jan Lorenc et al, 2010).

Modern cities are significantly less recognizable than old ones, since nowadays it is difficult to find a certain recognizable building in each district, which could become a landmark of a specific territory for residents. Since the wayfinding system requires the availability of a landmark, residents of modern cities construct a symbol-sign system, proceeding from the functional properties of specific territories, rather than their non-existent architectural peculiarities. For example, Almaty residents denote certain territories by syntactic expressions, such as "flea market district", "central department store district", etc. If residential areas have original and architecturally specific structures or buildings, in most cases, they become the nucleus for the generation of a code symbol. Sometimes, the artwork on the flanks of buildings (for example, in the "Zhetysu-2" micro-district) are enough to become the symbol of the district and be a basis in the wayfinding system.

"The sense of loss of place, which designers encounter, is not new – it is not too different from the sense of disorientation, which appeared when the cities grew so big that people stopped feeling comfortable and required additional visual means to help them orient in space and bring back the sense of belonging" (Craig Berger, 2005).

In most cities, the informational content of the environment is best shown by public centers. The formati-



Figure 1. Decorative sculpture in Ablai Khan Avenue



Figure 2. "City Center" shopping mall façade in Tole Bi Street

on of public centers as pedestrian streets is historically predetermined. In most cases, the main communication space of any city, the center of its public life is the central business street with small stores. It forms the "face" of the city and concentrates within it almost all the areas of public activities. The informational capacity of the space-planning environment and its elements is important for the creation of the architectural and artistic distinctiveness of city pedestrian spaces. The more diverse the morphology of city spaces, the higher the esthetic qualities of the city environment.

The legend can start developing urban space from any type of content: a historical event, the mission of the city, commercial development, social needs, etc. Any of these facts can give meaning to the urban space (Rozenon, 2006, 101). The city legend is part of the development project of Almaty. The objectives of the General Plan for Almaty city include a set of city-building measures to facilitate the formation of an ecologically safe, secure and socially comfortable environment. The main idea of the architectural and city-building plan is "to preserve and continue forming the current image of Almaty – the Garden City" (Baimagambetov, 2006, 34).

The idea of the city legend originates from the name of the city (Alma-Ata, Almaty). The image of an apple was widely used to create a commonly recognized image of the city and evoke a sense of nostalgia. The best example of such an apple image can be seen in Ablai Khan Avenue, in front of the "Capital Center" housing estate. According to the authors of the sculpture, the apple image should be associated with the name of the city, thus echoing the name of the housing estate (Figure 1). The apple image is also used as a graphic sym-

bol, in printing, and in outdoor advertising (Figure 2). The images of traditional Kazakh symbols also can be attributed to the city legends. The image of the camel that became very popular as a national souvenir is also reflected in the city's symbols (Figure 3). Graphic and easily readable semantic elements of the Golden Man decoration from the Issyk barrow are frequently used in all areas of Kazakhstan contemporary art. In the urban environment, it is used for decorating the sculptures or small architectural shapes (Figure 4). Such elements of traditional Kazakh life as "asyk" (an element of the traditional Kazakh children's game, in which a bone that falls on its edge is considered a lucky sign), (Figure 5) and "zhauyryn" (mutton shoulder) (Figure 6), depicted in the sculptures of Kazakh designer S. Narynov, also became part of the urban semantics.

Modern urbanization inevitably results in the perception of the city as a place of active interaction of its development scenarios.

"In the making of urban places, planners and designers mainly focus on the quality of the physical components of place and often disregard the importance of place meaning and association developed between people and places. A place is seen as the way it is experienced by people who have a strong connection to time, senses and socio-cultural expression" (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981). Meaning is with the perceptual and the psychological aspects of environmental experience (Punter, 1991). In this regard, people associate different meanings to similar places for various reasons. However, changes in the existing physical and activity patterns may erase what is significant and meaningful to them. This implies that place meanings that are em-



Figure 3. Decorative sculpture in Bogenbay Batyr Street



Figure 4. Fountain in front of the "Issyk" restaurant in Bogenbay Batyr Street

bedded in the existing social and cultural setting can be disintegrated as result of unfit physical development" (Norsidah Ujang, 2014).

A consistent approach to the analysis of historical and cultural content is required to highlight the key po-

ints in developing the city image, revealing its potential and the scenarios of its realization. The recreation of historical events, the introduction of their retrospective models into the modern urban space requires an appropriate method, which would consider most spatial, space-planning, and objective elements of the city and interactions between them (Hilgenherst, 1998, 73).

In order to work with the historical-cultural content of the environment, one should speak in distinct structural concepts. The concepts of "myth" and "legend" that were previously used in this text have too many parallel connotations; therefore, the authors suggest introducing the concept of "narrative" as the most suitable term for working with historical events that form a certain text material, which can be interpreted from the perspective of architecture and city-planning (Syrov & Surovtsev, 1998, 367).

In the 1960s, modern esthetics and philosophy almost lost its power, while by the 1970s, the rejection of its dogmas was virtually declared. In 1994, German critic W. Amsonait made the suggestion, that "postmodernism, brought to life by the desperate dullness of functionalism... is only one of the many "animating" actions that express the urge for rediscovering emotional values..." (Amsonait, 1994, 10).

Garrison Keillor offers a different perspective: "In the 1950s, we looked to the future, which we imaged to be rationalized, bright, modern, and then suddenly Modernism died. The past was preserved and reproduced everywhere – historical buildings popped up like weeds, old street lamps, Victorian alleys... the past was copied, quoted, constantly brought to life, until one day the country started looking like it never did, even in the



Figure 5. Decorative sculptures in Jeltoqsan Street

old days. Enough, I tell you. Time to end this. The future is ahead of us, go and live it".¹

When global environment changes place values, place identity weakens. Place meaning determines the socio-cultural value of a place that form self and community identities (Shuhana & Ahmad Bashri, 2002). However, self or group identity can be disintegrated as a result of the loss of elements that reflect the people's identity. It is imperative for placemakers to identify how meanings defined places to users, who in most situations, vary in their socio-cultural characteristics, economic status and length of association (Norsidah Ujang, 2014).

By using the method of historical and city-building analysis, which was developed at the Ural State Academy of Architecture and Arts Laboratory of Architectural Semiotics, headed by E. Koneva, the authors carried out an analysis of the city of Almaty and developed stable narrative constructions of two types: historical and synthetic (Koneva, 2003, 235). With a view to forming the image of the city and evaluating the potential of a concrete narrative, the authors determined the basic principles of their scenarios of urban development and the evaluation of the scenario-forming potential (the content of scenarios and their evaluation is provided in tables 1 and 2).

Historical narratives are messages, stories or texts, related to the events that actually took place in the city's history, supported by evidence (architectural objects that relate to the context of or belong to a particular era that became the scene of certain historic events, etc.). Urban planning scenarios of such historical narratives are based mainly on the idea of preservation or reconstruction of historic buildings, protection of architectural objects and historically important places of the city. The scenario-forming potential of the historical narrative depends on how well it is known to the citizens.

Synthetic narratives are ideas that are actively promoted by administrative bodies and media (often in the form of slogans or policy statements). These narratives are to some extent related to historical events. However, the nature of interpretation of these events can be quite unexpected and often depends on the political, ideological or economic statements of the declared slogan. The scenarios for the development of the city that are based on this form of text cause an intensification of development, the construction of new, modern facilities, improvement of social welfare, and engineering support, i.e. the future-oriented transformation of the urban environment. The scenario-forming potential is less dependent on common knowledge (since such texts generally are known to most citizens, given their large-scale propaganda). The evaluation of the potential of synthetic narrative depends on how well the scenario

coincides with the historical foundation of the city, its long-term development prospects, and the socioeconomic aspects of its realization.

RESULTS

The data, obtained from the analysis of the semantic landscape of Almaty (the data are provided in the tables), show that despite the original purpose of the analysis – to distinguish and explore the most extensive and well-known constructions of the city – there are narratives with a scenario-forming potential that is unimportant for the general urban planning, and narratives, which can form powerful storylines within the city for long periods of time (Ivanova, 2009, 34).

It is now almost impossible to conceive of a nature outside of the frame of culture. This position is alarming to many environmentalists, since it permits the construction of everything as "natural" and excludes the notion of "wilderness". However, the flip side of this argument, which preserves the notion of wilderness through a radical separation of humans and nature, is similarly problematic. Nevertheless, this uncritical ecological naturalism is a position that has dominated within environmental discourse (Ceridwen, 2008).

The analytical approach was used to determine the scenario-forming potential of the selected texts. As a result, two general storylines of the semantic development of Almaty were distinguished. They were conventionally called "Cultural Capital" and "Sports Capital". The image of the "Cultural Capital" can be developed through the interaction between the historical origin of the city – "The Garden City" – and the prospects for the development of its scientific and technological capacity, innovation, transport and logistics systems, environmental infrastructure (see narratives: "Trade and Transportation Center", "Financial Center", "Arts Center"). The image of Almaty as the "Sports Capital" focuses on its geographic location (the foothills and mountains of Trans-Ili Alatau), on the fact that Almaty was a host city during the 2011 Asian Games, and the possibility for developing new types of sports.

This approach makes it possible to develop a new understanding of the problems of developing the area, preserving its historical and cultural content, and incorporating the elements of the past and the future in the present image of the city.

CONCLUSIONS

The research results allow making the following conclusions:

1. The use of archetypal and nature-figurative shapes, signs, and symbols to form the corresponding ideas

¹ The New York Times, 3. 1996: The Next One Hundred Years, 36.

Almaty	Physical infrastructure	Scenario semantics	Scenario of urban development	Evaluation of the scenario-forming potential
Ancient Almaty as a trade center on the Silk Road	Archaeological excavations at the Kuldja tract	Stylization of a medieval settlement – the city of merchants and artisans, the city, representing all types of art and folk art	Construction of a tourist center, which will include the “Verny fortress” museum, (19 th century), fragments of historic buildings of Minor Villages (19 th – early 20 th centuries) and the Ethnographic Open Air Theatre	The scenario has no independent meaning and can be used in combination with the “Homeland of the Golden Man” and “The historical center” scenarios
Homeland of the Golden Man	Archaeological excavations of the Sak’s mound	Focuses on the unique history and culture, associated with it	Construction of the National Historical and Ethnographic Park of the “Sak’s mounds” and development of historical, educational and entertainment functions	This scenario cannot become the dominant one in the formation of a new city image; however, it can be used as a secondary scenario for the story of “Ancient Almaty as a trade center on the Silk Road”
Capital of the State	Old and new administrative buildings	Establishment and nation building, the center of a multi-ethnic culture. The search of the visual image of national identity	Construction of a unique architectural and urban complex, development of national symbols to enhance the informational content of the urban environment	Since the functions of the administrative center of the state were transferred to Astana, this story became less important; however, it can serve as one of the main themes in the development of the “Cultural Capital” scenario
Garden City	Apple orchards in the foothills of Trans-Ili Alatau	Formation of a specific type of natural environment – the “urban nature”. Focus on the need for the development of the citizen-nature relationship	Preservation, reorganization and development of the city parks. Restoration of orchards within the urban area	The scenario has high potential for providing a favorable and safe environment for all residents of the city, and for each individual
Sports Center	“Medeu” high-mountain skating rink, “Shymbulak” mountain-sports base, sports facilities of the Asian Games 2011	Support and improvement of citizens’ health in terms of both individual initiatives and national political objectives	Further development of ski resorts. Designation of main areas for the development of new suitable types of sports and formation of logistics in these areas	The potential of this scenario is especially relevant at the present day due the adoption of the policy of developing sports tourism in Kazakhstan
Mountaineering Center	Peaks of various categories in Trans-Ili Alatau	Support and improvement of the health of citizens and guests of Almaty. The history Kazakh climbers’ victories at international competitions, international promotion of Trans-Ili Alatau nature	Restoration of the logistics infrastructure for further development of mountaineering, establishment of international-standard comfortable service	The scenario has high potential. The story can be implemented as an independent scenario (with a focus on professional sports), but it is more reasonable to develop it in two directions – professional sports and popular sports

Arts Center	International festivals “Voice of Asia”, “Eurasia”, “Stars of Shaken”	Active role of the city in the cultural life of the state and propaganda of the country’s image at the international level	Development of the systems of urban and suburban spaces, focused on the organization of international events	Taking into the consideration the fact that cultural leisure for different parts of the population within the same urban environment should be provided in different ways, the scenario has high potential. The scenario can be used as a secondary one to the “Cultural Capital” main scenario. It is limited as an independent storyline; therefore, its potential is local
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Table 1. Characteristics of historical narratives of Almaty

Almaty	Physical infrastructure	Scenario semantics	Scenario of urban development	Evaluation of the scenario-forming potential
Cultural Capital	Museums, theaters, libraries, unique architectural monuments	Socio-cultural internationalism. Diversity of urban meanings and ways of their expression	The establishment of a creative urban environment by the building new constructions, reconstructing and renovation areas that ceased to be functionally relevant. Support of festivals and competitions in various art branches	The scenario has high potential. Integration of international cultural processes, while maintaining ethnic phenomenology of the location. The development of urban planning approaches that take into account the multi-polarity of interests, multiplicity of scenarios
Historical Center	Sak’s mounds, part of the Silk Road	Focus on unique objects of national history, culture and traditional crafts: jewelry art, ceramics, leather, wood and metal	Preservation and interpretation of historical and cultural monuments, establishment of historical, ethnographic and landscape parks, centers of culture and crafts on their basis; development of programs and infrastructure for regional and international urban tourism	This scenario cannot become the dominant one in the formation of a new city image, since there are places in Kazakhstan that have a more profound history and famous monuments. However, it can be used as a secondary scenario
Trade and Transport Center	International airport, transport networks and their service objects	Improving the connectivity of the settlement structure across the country – Almaty as a connecting point for countries around it, like China, Russia and Central Asian countries. Maintaining the historical role of the city as a transport hub on the Silk Road	Construction of new overpasses, further development of air transportation, reconstruction and expansion of the existing transport junctions (stations, airports, etc.), development of the business infrastructure (hotels, business centers)	The potential of the scenario is average. Unresolved problems, such as poor environmental management and acquisition of territories adjacent to the city due to increased traffic, introduction of new transport technologies and different types of ecological transport (metro, monorail)

Financial Center	Business centers, offices of national and international banks	Focus on the financial capacity of the city, development of banking and its related network of sales agencies	Creation of favorable conditions for the development of the financial sector and the introduction of new technologies in the construction and operation of modern business centers	The scenario has no independent meaning and can be used as a secondary scenario to the "Trade and Transportation Center" scenario
Youth Center	City universities	Training of specialists in promising fields of science and culture. The active behavior of city and out-of-town youth is a high-potential energy, which, if left unattended, may transform into destructive kinetic energy	Development of the system of urban spaces (parks, squares, etc.) targeted at young and avant-garde culture (graffiti, street art, etc.) and urban leisure	The potential of the scenario is average, but it can be used as a secondary scenario. New meanings enrich the structure of urban context. The importance of the scenario in developing culture of the young population is undeniable
Extreme Sports Center	Mountain rivers and lakes, "Shymbulak" mountain-sports base	The active behavior of city and out-of-town youth is a high-potential energy, which, if left unattended, may transform into destructive kinetic energy	The execution of a part of the General Plan of Almaty for the 'Organization and development of tourism and sports within the recreational area of Almaty', developed by the "Gradinform" design agency	The potential of the scenario is average, but it can be used as a secondary scenario to the "Scientific Tourism Center" and "Youth Center" scenarios. It can visually enrich the urban environment with new forms and images
Scientific Tourism Center	Geological monuments in the Trans-Ili Alatau mountains, Maren Lake, artificial floods, seismic landslides in river valleys	Designation of key areas for scientific tourism. Focus on the unique nature of Trans-Ili Alatau, its flora and fauna	The execution of a part of the General Plan of Almaty for the 'Organization and development of tourism and sports within the recreational area of Almaty', developed by the "Gradinform" design agency	The scenario has no independent meaning and can be used as a secondary scenario to the "Mountaineering Center" and "Garden City" scenarios

Table 2. Characteristics of synthetic narratives of Almaty

and emotions allows harmonizing the connections between an individual and the architectural space at the semantic level.

2. The semantic approach to the study of the architectural image is predetermined by communicational and informational essence of architecture. The architectural

image of the city environment is formed by a system of visual signs that reveal in the human consciousness the semantic model of reflection of architectural objects.

3. The informational content becomes one of the main factors in the formation of the urban environment of a large city.

TRENDI PRI OBLIKOVANJU SEMANTIČNE PODOBE PRESTOLNICE (PO ZGLEDU ALMATYJA)

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POVZETEK

Raziskava izhaja iz hipoteze, da informacijska funkcija slik, znakov in besedil v strukturi arhitekturnih objektov vpliva na oblikovanje podobe nekega mesta ter z zrcaljenjem družbenih, ideoloških, navigacijskih in pridobitnih nalog družbenega razvoja tudi aktivno spreminja videz mesta in tvori nov arhitekturni ter prostorski pojav – domeno vizualnih informacij in komunikacij mesta.

Urbani prostor vsakega mesta je poln kulturnih simbolov, ki jih lahko najdemo na različnih simbolnih krajih, ulicah itn. Vsi ti simboli so del specifične kulturne matrice, ki predstavlja osnovo za prepoznavanje mesta in njegovo samoidentifikacijo. Simbolne dejavnosti, kot so mitologija, vera, ideologija, umetnost, film, oglaševanje in virtualne resničnosti, se jasno odražajo v podobi vsakega vlemesta. Semantična sistematizacija in strukturiranje arhitekturnega in informacijskega okolja bosta omogočila posredovanje celovite predstave o arhitekturni podobi največjega kazahstanskega mesta – Almatyja, saj si je iz informacijske vsebine prostora mogoče pravilno in zelo natančno razlagati semantično zgradbo mesta.

Ključne besede: prestolnica, Almaty, semantika, trend, zgodovinska naracija, sintetična naracija

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GENDER AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN MODERN RUSSIA

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the characteristics of civic activism and its gender aspects in modern Russia. The authors have conducted research on trends and components of civil activity in Russian regions (Subjects of the Russian Federation) and Russia in general. The paper analyzes development of new forms of social control of the regional and federal authorities, dialogue mechanisms between the government and representatives of various social movements and groups, planned and existing legislation to ensure that these dialogues are acceptable for performance. The paper analyzes a variety of surveys on current trends of civic engagement in community, studies the gender issue and prospects for development in Russia, and examines the state of public control mechanisms and its regional characteristics.

Keywords: civic engagement, gender, public control, civil society institutes

GENERE E IMPEGNO CIVILE NELLA RUSSIA ODIERNA

SINTESI

L'articolo tratta delle caratteristiche dell'attivismo civico nella Russia dei giorni nostri e di alcuni aspetti di esso legati al genere (gender). Gli autori hanno condotto uno studio sulle tendenze e le componenti delle attività civili nelle singole regioni russe (Soggetti della Federazione Russa) e in Russia in generale. Nel presente contributo viene analizzato lo sviluppo delle nuove forme di controllo sociale delle autorità regionali e federali, i meccanismi di dialogo tra il Governo e i rappresentanti di vari movimenti e gruppi sociali, nonché la legislazione prevista ed esistente per garantire che questi dialoghi siano efficaci per la risoluzione dei problemi. Inoltre, la ricerca prende in esame una serie di indagini sulle tendenze attuali dell'impegno civile nella comunità, studia la questione di genere e le prospettive di sviluppo in Russia, ed esplora le condizioni dei meccanismi di controllo pubblico e le sue caratteristiche regionali.

Parole chiave: impegno civile, genere, controllo pubblico, istituzioni di società civile

INTRODUCTION

According to international assessments conducted over the span of the second decade of the 21st century, indices of various aspects of Russian democracy, including factors of the political activity of citizens and its provision by official institutions; mechanisms of the dialogue between the authorities and society, and forms of public control are wholly inadequate. To a certain extent, the estimates can be disputed, since they are likely to be entirely politically biased, without taking into account the peculiarities of Russian mentality, in promoting European (and west, in general) ideas about the issue of proper content, civil and political rights and freedoms (i.e., one-dimensional position as opposed to a multi-dimensional).

However, the picture of the drift of Russian political and social institutions in their direction of the classical canons of sustainable democracy, unfortunately, does not change. Although sociological and legal “discredit under canvas” do not change, and uniformity of texture and impression do not modify clarity of style, being under constant strengthening authoritarian style of state institutions, legal and factual restrictions on freedom for social groups’ manifestation (critics of religious context of government activity, LGBT community, etc.) have gradually enhanced modern civil society activity of Russian citizens. It affects their immediate vital interests and fundamental ideas of human rights and freedoms. Let us consider characteristics of this process.

Nowadays, research on civic engagement and civic participation in Russia is one of the most pressing issues. The growth of civil activity, its causes, and factors are equally in the loop of political scientists, sociologists and lawyers, which are effectively turning the phenomenon into the question of interdisciplinary research. National legislators, understanding multiple aspects of civic engagement and its ability to be a catalyst for both constructive and destructive phenomena in Russian society, systematically “take moves” to frame civic engagement in certain regulatory frameworks. On the one hand, we can notice civic engagement stimulation through increased funding of socially-oriented nonprofit organizations originated from the federal budget (Presidential grants, subsidies granted by the Ministry of Economic Development of Russia), but, on the other hand, we cannot see new regulations that scarcely affect governing political activity (e.g., the law on rallies, sanctions against political activity of NGOs with overseas funding, etc.). Moreover, Russian legislators have also introduced public control measures, with their focus on a variety of subjects and on the wide scope; thus, volunteering is a prominent example of activity that is strictly regulated.

There seem to be various ways of assessing state regulation, having been originally evolved as a purely public phenomenon. It is a controversial question that

nationalization of such institutions as volunteering will have a positive impact on their development, as a number of NGOs leaders have noted it. It is difficult to assume that these legislative initiatives can lead to the formation of “volunteer-in-law”, and “volunteers outside the law” in Russia, i.e., those who are not supposed to do good works (Isaeva, Sokolov, 2015).

Civic engagement and involvement of the population in addressing their enquiries to municipal authorities significantly correlates with an amount of established and actively operating public associations and nonprofit organizations in a particular area. Growing number of nonprofit organizations may indicate an increase in the level of civic engagement and residents’ readiness for responsibility in solving problematic issues. By creating NGOs, residents plan improvement in social, cultural, economic, among others, aspects of their life on their own. The number of registered NGOs in the regions of Russia, their qualitative characteristics (thematic priorities of activities) and development dynamics can evidence in favor of a large number of problems that exist in the region in a particular sector, or lack of support for civil initiatives from the authorities and local government. Non-profit organizations are concentrating on the vital problems of the society, which is crucial for the formation of civil society. The number of registered NGOs is steadily growing. Government stimulates registration of public associations in case they are socially oriented, that is to say, operate in social sector (Isaeva, Maklashyn, Sokolov & Frolov, 2015).

In this regard, the purpose of the article is to identify trends in development of civic activism in contemporary Russia (in example of Russian Federation regions), and, to determine its gender-specified manifestations.

The study is closely linked with such related categories, as political behavior, political activity, and political participation. Researches by Western, in particular, American political scientists and sociologists are the most extensive theoretical basis for studying the problem of political participation. In foreign literature there can be found a variety of predictions of nature of political participation under different social and political conditions.

The national researchers who studied theoretical aspects of protest are as follows, Irkhin, Y. (1996), Strizoe, A. (1999), Kirichek, A. (2011), Shestopal, E. (2000), Kinsbursky A. and Topalov, M. (2006), Nagaitsev, V., Noyanzina, O. and Goncharova, N. (2011), Trubitsin, D. (2010), Skobelina, N. (2010), among others. Structure, history and evolution of the Internet are described and developed by Bondarenko, T. (2009), Gerasimenko, A. (2006) and Sviridenko, S. (1997) among others.

Organization features of civic activity are studied by Mersyanova, I. and Jacobson, L. (2007), Nikovskaya, L., Yakimets, V. and Molokova, M. (2011), Patrushev, S., and Aivazova, S. (2008).

The theory of social movements, their structure, mechanisms of formation, and peculiarities are consid-

ered by Kostyushev, V. (2009) and Kleman, K. (2007). The problem of modern civic movements is examined by such scholars as Yanitskii, O. (1995), Dyatlov, A. (2008), among others.

Principles of organization development are an important feature of civic activism and social movements. Smorgunov, L. (2001), Morozova, E. and Miroshnichenko, I. (2011), Bykov, I. (2013), Kurochkin, A. (2005), and Ivanov, D. (2002), among others, have studied this problem.

There are a number of foreign researches who have studied different aspects of civic engagement, specifically:

- mechanisms of civic engagement is conducted by David Mansley (2014), Stefania Milan (2013), Rober Rice (2013), Daniel Gillion (2013), Seraphim Seferiades and Hank Johnston (2012);
- new wave of protest activity and protest movement in modern world (Fawaz Gerges (2014), Stefan Kiesbye (2013), Mitchell William John Thomas (2013), Mohammed el-Nawawy and Sahar Khamis (2013), Priya Singh and Kingshuk Chatterjee (2013), among others);
- civic activity features in modern Russia (Feifer, G. (2014), Robertson, G. (2011), Bicheyn, D. and Poliss, A. (2010) and S. Vegren (2013), among others).

In order to reveal peculiarities of civic activity, dynamics of its development, and forms of its implementation, in 2014, there was conducted the experts' survey.

The experts were duly represented by the authorities, members of NGOs, political parties, academic institutions, business, and media, with authorities to amount 36.5% of the sample respondents, representatives of social and political elite (members of NGOs and political parties) - 29%, expert community (business representatives, journalists and representatives of academic environment) - 34.5%, correspondently. The report includes the survey results of experts from 21 regions of Russia, with a limited 10-14 number of experts for each region.

In order to study regional characteristics of public control in the Yaroslavl' region, three studies took place over the span of November – December, 2013, and January-February 2014:

- telephone survey of the Yaroslavl' region population: 639 adults in the sample of Yaroslavl' region residents (statistically representative sample by gender and age, with the standard error of the sample to be 3.9);
- survey of 54 non-profit organizations of the Yaroslavl' region;
- survey of 52 representatives, and local authorities.

For each of these groups a unique questionnaire was developed that allows taking into account the role of each entity in the implementation of every kind of civic activity.

These studies provide empirical data characterizing civic engagement in the Russian Federation, and the introduction of civil control in the Yaroslavl' region.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT: TRENDS, FORMS, FEATURES OF MANIFESTATION

According to some sociologists, modern Russian society is primarily characterized by request for legal and factual (to some extent) equality, legal security, and social justice. Other ideas of democratic "package" (e.g., the right to be elected, independent media, political opposition, and the right for strike, etc.) are less demanded. Deactualization of these aspects of democracy is partly explained by the fact that most Russians do not see any obstacles to free expression of their political or other views (over 80% of respondents evaluate their capabilities in this regard as "good" and "satisfactory"). The slight decline in interest of elective procedures can be explained by not quite pleasant "aftertaste" feelings of the last election campaign, since there is skeptical attitude towards systemic opposition as a part of the ruling elite, and because of alertness to the non-system opposition by its frightening diversity and disunity.

The phenomenon of civic activism is associated with the development of civil society institutions, which have gone through a long process of formation and now appear in various forms. Public movements, non-profit organizations, initiative groups, protest movements, expert public commissions, community committees, and unions can be considered to be present forms of civic engagement. Civic engagement has proved to be manifested in various forms of independent activity of citizens, communities, associations, and networks as realization of their civil rights, solving social problems, which are caused by internal motives and aspirations, being not aimed at profit generating.

Latest factors significantly adjusting the quantity and quality of civic engagement are specific characteristics of the political and economic situation in Russia, and change in "color" of its foreign contacts.

However, none of the aforesaid deactualization processes or difficulties experienced in 2014, and 2015, do not uproot civic activism, and, hopefully, will not be able to eliminate mechanisms of transferring private and community interests into social problems, forcing the authorities to fulfill their direct duties, although these processes are running not speedy.

According to the report on the state of civil society in Russian (2013), the quality of political and social participation of citizens is changing, and becomes more meaningful and socially motivated. Thus, according to WCIOM monitoring studies, the number of those who said that they are participating in political life, not pursuing personal interests, but guided by the ideas and values of the common good - to make a difference in their city, town, country, almost doubled over the span of the

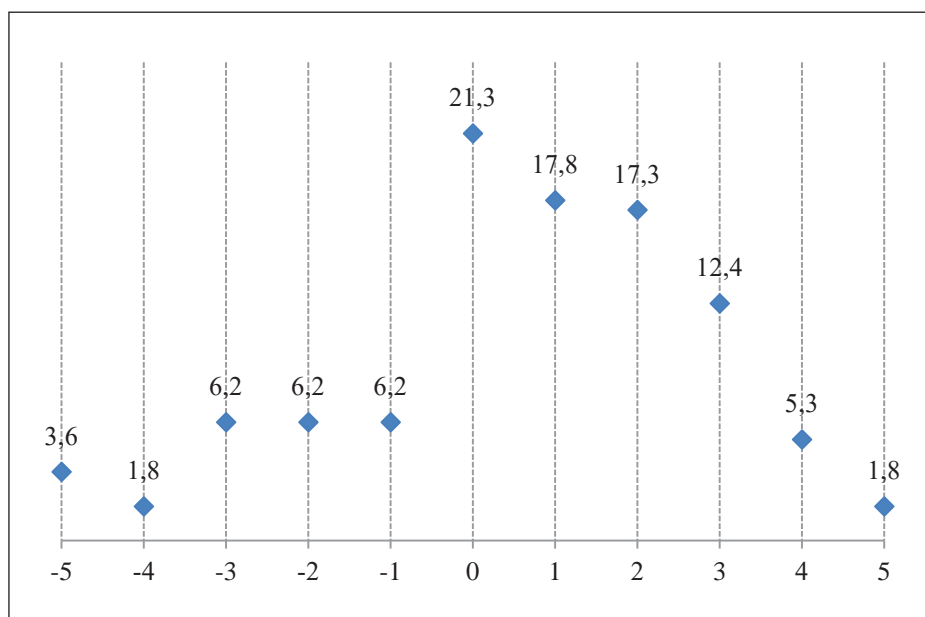


Diagram 1. Dynamics of civic engagement over the span of the past two years in the areas inhabited by the experts (with “-5” - a significant reduction in civil activity, “0” - no change, “5” - growth in civic engagement)

The Subject of the Russian Federation	Expertise
Ulyanovsk region	2,8
Republic of Tatarstan	1,2
Krasnodar region	1,1
Kostroma region	-0,9
Irkutsk region	0,77
The Republic of Dagestan	1,5
Kirov region	1,82
Altay region	0
Republic of Adygea	0,73
Yaroslavl’ region	1,77
Vladimir region	1,42
Republic of Bashkortostan	-1
Nizhnii Novgorod region	-0,22
Voronezh region	1,45
Samara Region	-0,8
Saratov region	0,5
The Republic of Karelia	0
Novosibirsk region	1
Vologda region	1,36
Kaliningrad region	0
Khabarovskii Krai	1

Table 1. Dynamics of civic engagement over the span of the past two years in the areas inhabited by the experts (with “-5” - a significant reduction in civil activity, “0” - no change, “5” - growth in civic engagement)

Manifestation of the growth in civil activity	%
Protest actions (events, sentiments)	32,4%
Organization of a greater number of significant social events, and programs (projects), with a large number of people participating	31,5%
Increasing number of non-governmental organizations and their members (with the youth involved greatly) to monitor the authorities activity	15,3%
Growth in the number and scope of initiative groups (e.g., environmental, anti-corruption, green piece)	14,4%
Growth in civil activity on the Internet	10,8%
Political (electoral) activity	10,8%

Table 2. The Main Manifestations of Civil Activity Growth

past seven years (from 25% to 45) (Report on State of Civil Society in Russian Federation, 2013).

Strengthening the role of Internet technologies becomes an important condition for the development of civic engagement in modern world. Information and communication on the Internet are indicators of effectiveness and development of the society. Despite a number of differences at levels of communication (i.e., subjects, audience), Internet and its Russian segment (i.e., "ru.net"), shows relatively high quantitative development. According to the data of the "Public Opinion" Foundation, 55 million people were online every month in Russia (winter 2012), 57 million - during summer in 2013, and, correspondingly, 59 million users were online on April 1, 2014 (Internet in Russia, 2014).

Thus, the study of civic engagement in Russian regions over the past two years shows that there is a dynamic steady growth in development, in particular, 50% of respondents mentioned the growth in the last one (Diagram 1). Less than a third, on the other hand, noted its decline (in different estimates). At the same time, there is a significant regional differentiation: the trend of civic activity ranges from "2.8" points (Ulyanovsk region) to "-1" (Republic of Bashkortostan), with the "0.77" Russian range (Table 1).

Civic engagement is mainly manifested in form of protests (32.4%), participation in socially substantial public events and programs (31.5%), and increasing number of public organizations and their members, with youth organizations controlled by government and other non-profit organizations (15.3%) included. A significant increase in number and, therefore, influence of environmental, anti-corruption (14.4%), and initiative groups, political (electoral) activity (10.8%), and growth in intensity of civil activity on the Internet (10.8%) are depicted in Table 2.

At the same time, the dynamics of these indicators does not mean constant apparent success, but only shows some positive trends. Two-thirds of the experts pay attention to the fact that initiative and activity of citizens, in general, and in absolute terms have not yet been developed as dominant resources of civil society (see Table 3). We recorded another problem - fragmentation of civil society, and civil society activists (among 44.1% of respondents). Complexity of communication in the civil movement (20.5%) has a lot to contribute to these factors, while contradictory position of authority in respect of institutions (38.9%) contributes to the explicit opposition from these bodies (31%). Poor funding of social movements' actors is also a very significant fac-

	%
Low initiative and activity of citizens	61,1%
Opposition to the government	31,0%
Contradictory actions of the authorities against civil society institutions	38,9%
Difficulty in communication among the civil movement	20,5%
Dissociation of civil society institutions from civil society activists	44,1%
Poor funding	35,8%
Other reasons	0,9%
No problem	1,7%

Table 3. Problems in Civic Activism Development in Contemporary Russia

Civic Associations	%
Official associations, or organizations	34,1
Not duly registered associations of citizens (e.g., local groups, social movements, Internet communities, among others)	28,8
Coalition between duly registered NGOs	4,0
Coalition between not official associations of citizens	5,8
Mixed coalition between duly registered and unofficial associations	16,8
Difficult to answer	10,6

Table 4. Forms of the Most Active Civic Associations

tor. However, there is actually visible direct correlation between all these factors. For example, a significant lack of resources is noticed in the Ulyanovsk region and in the Republic of Bashkortostan, which are at the opposite poles of civic engagement indicators. At the same time, disunity of civil society in both regions is not as deep as, for example, in the Voronezh region, with a high rate of civic engagement (1.45), although significantly less than in the Ulyanovsk region, but much larger than in the mentioned Republic. In some regions, there are systemic complexity. For instance, Yaroslavl' region (activity index is higher than in the Voronezh region) is characterized by disagreement between civil society institutions (76.9% of the experts), and insufficient funding and communication (38.5%).

Legal form of public associations is not the main criterion for choosing means of expressing their position. In contrast, duly registered associations (34.1% of the experts) are proved to be the most active, indicating a rather high degree in institutionalization of civil society, and informal groups with their less significant activity (28.8%). Coalition between groups (16.8%) is less dy-

namic and productive; moreover, often inevitable, because appropriate events or projects can be exceptionally run by official, i.e., duly registered, organizations, or associations (see Table 4).

Experts point out that vector of civic engagement is focused mainly on solving urgent social problems (64.8%), public relations (57.3%), and authorities' decision-making process (54.2%). Encouraging civic engagement (37%) and "nurturing" new leaders (23.8%) can be identified among other objectives. However, experts state that pure enthusiasm of civil society does not guarantee success, hence being without strong influence on authorities' decision-making (55.8%), but, with encouraging citizen participation - 25%. Other specified areas we evaluated in 3 points within a 10-point scale.

Analysis of demand on new forms of civic engagement shows that the most popular short-term, not costly actions are via Internet (21.6%) in form of publications, voting within social networks, and flash mobs (12.4%) (see Table 5). Communication, in these terms, does not have the same intensity varying among regions; in particular, from 2.55 points in the Republic of Adygea to

Forms of Civil Engagement	%
Internet activity	21,6%
Flash mobs	12,4%
Pickets, rallies, protests, unrests	10,3%
Forums, seminars, workshops, lectures, educational programs, «School», etc. (with the youth involved actively)	8,2%
Public discussion of problems through discussion platforms, round tables (including problems with public utilities)	8,2%
Collecting signatures, filing petitions	5,2%
Self-organization of citizens (e.g., to deal with drunk drivers, to clean rivers and forests (with the youth involved actively), etc.)	4,1%
Organizations appealing to the law enforcement agencies and authorities	4,1%
Involvement of creative people with projects on architecture, the design and construction of new buildings, monuments, etc.	4,1%
Volunteer movement	4,1%

Table 5. New Forms of Civic Engagement Appeared in Different Regions (TOP 10)

7.67 points in Ulyanovsk region. Interestingly, the Yaroslavl' region index equals the average Russian level - 5.75 points. Internet is becoming a popular tool for civic engagement not only because of its accessibility, but also because it really affects the decision-making process (49.3% of respondents) by attracting attention of bloggers and media; moreover, it updates social problems (42.4 %), and activates society by a wide range of social groups (31.8%).

Accordingly, traditional forms of activity, such as pickets, are becoming less popular (10.3% of respondents). Among others, less popular are becoming those of new forms of civic engagement which require high costing and special skills for participants to organize, e.g., public discussion platforms, round tables, forums, seminars, workshops, etc. (8.2%). However, with the authorities support, e.g., free legal consulting (but on scheduled special days) conducted by regional offices of the Association of Russian Lawyers, their effectiveness has significantly increased.

CIVIC ACTIVITY AND GENDER

Actual and specific context of civic engagement is a gender perspective, seen as a social construct, which contains the accents femininity, masculinity, and non-conventional sexual orientation. Gender relations are analyzed, respectively, in such social phenomena, as: 1) organized social communication between the governors and gender groups; 2) social communication between gender groups; 3) interaction between the sexes; 4) the ratio between the sexes. Concerning the subject of our research, first two compositions are in our main interest, with the focus on the LGBT community, and civilian, and political activity of women. We will have our deep concern on sociology and jurisprudence features of civic activity and on such specific Russian phenomenon as "agents of influence".

The doctrine of women's representation quoting in political and public positions is always under discussion, having a mixed success. For example, the gender part of the staff of the Supreme Council of the USSR superficially looks optimistic, due to up to 30% of female deputies were involved in convocations running. However, since the real power belonged to the Communist Party (Article 5 of the USSR Constitution, 1936), the gender political horizon essentially changed, thus, gender proportion of the party members was 79.1% male members to 20.9% female, correspondingly, the Central Committee - 97.2 % male to 2.8% female, and the Politbyuro - 100% male, accordingly. The world of politics was male; women were included in the governing bodies only to simulate presence of both sexes. Later, during the adjustment period lasting to the end of the 20th century, the idea of women's quota was "buried" under a bushel of political and economic issues, apparently, more urgent and less harmful for the "downscale half of

humanity". Only in 2003, the State Duma there eventually passed a bill on «State Guarantees of Equal Rights and Freedoms for Men and Women and Equal Opportunities for Their Realization. However, it "hovered for a decade" - the work on it resumed only in 2011. We can assume that it had not happened without influence of actualized gender policy run by the United Nations, and reflected in "UN Women", an international organization established in 2011 (Tarusina & Isaeva, 2014) .

Despite the fact that accents and vectors of gender ideas, and social practices are constantly evolving, with Russian "field to play gender" to be concerned, the basic concepts are quite axiomatic: 1) both equality and inequality have a dual structure, and their interaction neither implies a constant positive sense of the first one, nor negative of the latter; inequality is unjust, as men and women, heterosexuals, and non-traditionalists should have equal rights; 2) in order to reach relative harmony, the government and society are trying to provide additional guarantees, benefits, positive discrimination, and gender neutralization.

However, the analysis of social practices in the context of gender does not allow us to come to clear conclusions with respect to this harmonization. Therefore, on the one hand, civic engagement of women gives definite visible color to life of public institutions. According to statistical data, on the one hand side, proportion between females and males in public and political activity, as well as qualitative aspect of female participation (more conventional than innovative), within the scope of formal and informal associations, projects, and short-term actions, force us to admit that there are contradictory attitudes among the authorities to the problem, and, on the other hand side, there is a significant differentiation of female civic engagement in terms of its vitality, diversity, and success. Its quantity and quality are typical examples of "gender order" in Russian society. Even now, being a male unconditionally prevails in Russian political games. Of course, it can be easily explained by patriarchal context of the history of gender relations, by the fact that, despite having opportunities to compete with men, women tend to be exposed under the rules that men have created, "mimicing" on their (male) territory.

There is an obvious fact that Russian political management remains largely masculine, although, in recent years, women have occupied a number of key positions (e.g., in management of the Federation Council, Central Bank, Chamber of Accounts, three committees of the State Duma, in governing three regions; moreover, the Ombudsman is also female). There are now legislative quotas for women in Russian (for example, in the State Duma the number of female deputies is less than 14%). Despite positive practices in a great number of European countries and United Nations, this idea remains under sluggish debates, and meets resistance. Thus, on the one hand, there should be an increase in Russian women's civic and political participation, in order to optimize ex-

pression and protection of their interests, i.e., family values, parenthood, childhood, elderly social support, etc. On the other hand, as long as gender reliance on power and control is inadequate, forms, funding, and communication of civic engagement of women do not improve.

As we know, increasing role in public and political activity belongs to the public chambers of cities and regions (subjects of the Russian Federation). Membership of women ranges from 20 to 52%. For example, this figure in Public Chamber of Vladimir region is stated to be 52%, in Chechen Republic and Moscow region - 20%, in Yaroslavl' region - 28%, correspondingly. The Federal Public Chamber accounts 21% of female, with 19 women (about 22%) heading Public Chambers among all Russian regions.

Despite the declaration of the principle of equal opportunities for women and men in political activity, enshrined in Article 8 of the Federal Law "On Political Parties", these associations clearly continue to follow the tradition: there are no rules on gender quotas, as well as rules about priority lists of gender party candidates.

Analysis of civil and political positions of Russian men and women allows us to identify a variety of "gender gaps" between them. Therefore, comparing with men, the level of electoral participation of women is slightly higher, ranging from 4 to 10 percent. Women's preparedness to vote in future elections reaches 14%. Interestingly, women are more likely to vote for the ruling party. However, their interest in politics is 1.5fold less, correspondingly. Women are less active (10-12%) in protest against political actions. For example, the gender composition of a mass protest "For Fair Elections" is 40 and 60% respectively. However, in socially orientated non-profit organizations, female factor is significant. Women's representation also dominates in various kinds of commissions and councils on social policy at regional and municipal levels. However, there are also other examples. In the Yaroslavl' region in the association of citizens men occupy visually impaired leading positions.

Promoting ideas about going back to traditional femininity, female destiny theory, complementarity of male and female principles (with significant role belonging to religious organizations), positioning of social support for women as a weaker than men gender (without strategic goal to remove causes of "weakness"), discrediting an image of feminists women impact on the characteristics of women's civic engagement. Nevertheless, studies support the fact that female focus of civic engagement is enhanced and there is hope that patriarchal vector will be gradually overcome.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN THE MAINSTREAM OF LGBT

The second focus of gender presence in the social movements and their gender characteristics are not yet so clear and massive for the Russian social practice,

that is to say, only their "sparks" are visible on the gender field, hinting at the possibility of "flame" ignition of them, however, being extinguished by passive state supervision or legal and factual constraints. Analysts and sociologists, generalizing the LGBT movement from within, point out some of its Russian characteristics. Thus, community substance is not completely structured, it has very blurred group of people whose sexual orientation (behavior, lifestyle) does not fit into the framework of traditional heteronormative model; corresponding movement is attempting to secure the rights of sexual minorities, eliminate heterosexism, heteronormativity, homophobia, and transphobia.

Russian LGBT activism is about 25 years old. At the first stage, it is "happily left the criminal law field", but little has generated systemic research (except Kon works (Kon, 2003) or systemic practices. "Second Wave", at the end of the 90s, is characterized by the Internet activism, as the main activity of the community was focused on forming a network of LGBT discourse. "Third Wave" began over the span of the second half of 2005 – first half of 2006 and manifested more actively in the real, not virtual, world, starting with the design of a gay parade in Moscow, and continuing its implementation in form of non-mass street protests. Formalization and systematization of these forms of activity is relevant only for large Russian cities (e.g., Moscow, St. Petersburg, etc.). In Russian provinces, such activity usually does not exist, or is latent. For example, there are no registered associations of this type among existing 2,500 non-profit organizations in the Yaroslavl' region. The objectives of the formal and informal clubs and associations include activists' education and informing, ideological lobbying and softening positions of authorities, tolerant public opinion formation, opposition to regulatory restrictions, and in the family sphere - promoting the idea of equality in the institution of marriage, parenthood, and adoption. The latter problem is quite far from being solved. However, its positioning emerged from the underground, carrying out little debatable fervor; in the family law doctrine, there are a number of supporters (we have it already mentioned in detail in our 2014-2015 writings).

The legalization of same-sex cohabitation and same-sex marriage at the political level has grown into the serious issue, which defines status of governmental officials, and the direction of the state policy in family regulations. The Heads of countries and applicants for this position can no longer sidestep their attitude to same-sex marriage in the lead of their election campaigns.

Putin's press secretary Dmitry Peskov explained in his speech the point of view of the President of the Russian Federation about the legalization of same-sex marriages. Vladimir Putin believes that, quote, "Russia is not the case for the Netherlands to criticize the way they live, for the way they are, or are not, relevant to sexual minorities. However, this phenomenon is unacceptable

in Russia, because culture, history, multi-faith and multi-ethnicity, foundations of society are in contradictions to these phenomena”, unquote. In his understanding, “this is not freedom”, but the phenomenon is “unacceptable” in Russia (Tihonov, Peskov, 2013). At press conference in Amsterdam while representatives of sexual minorities were protesting against the Russian law on gay propaganda, the Russian leader reminded journalists about the issue of demography, and noted that he could hardly imagine gay marriage, for example, in Chechnya, I quote, “before the victims would be reached”, unquote. President of Belarus Alexander Lukashenko expressed a similar view earlier (Lukashenko, 2013).

Legalization of same-sex marriage is unlikely for our country to be proved, due to the fact that the level of tolerance in Russian society (especially in provinces) to sexual minorities is one of the lowest in Europe. However, current Russian legislation does not specify the prohibition on same-sex cohabitation. In fact, these relations remain outside of legal regulation (Isaeva, 2012).

The position of the certain foreign countries leaders regarding the issue of same-sex unions is diametrically opposed to Russia’s position. For example, during the election campaign in 2008, it was the first time when the gay rights have become one of the central themes of the debate between the two main contenders from the Democratic Party of the United States. Both, Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama have repeatedly appealed to the LGBT community. The problem of the rights of the LGBT community has become one of key issues, in the rhetoric of Barack Obama, and includes the aspects, as follows: protecting gays and lesbians from the sexual crimes; fight against sexual orientation discrimination in employment; legalization of gay marriage and equal rights for married couples (equals homosexuals); rejection of the policy of “do not ask, do not tell”; and finally, more attention to AIDS, in form of providing additional funding for medical research (Vershina, 2008).

The number of countries that have legalized same-sex relationships is expanding, as well as the number of countries that allow adoption of children by homosexual couples. However, it is not obvious if we can trust studies that show that there is no effect on the child’s mind if they were brought up in a gay family (Isaeva & Sochneva, 2012)? A number of American scientists (for example, Professor Lynn Wardle, among others), are writing about the ambiguity of the study results on the effects on the child’s mind that are growing in a homosexual family. There are a lot of questions and comments from the methodological standpoint to this research: small number of control groups and samples, tendentious of sampling, wrong methodological tools, unsubstantiated scientific hypotheses, and ambiguous conclusions. Several studies have identified factors that indicate that children raised in homosexual couples are more prone to homosexual identity, and early in risky sexual behavior (Wardle, 2005; 2010).

TV shows, popular foreign movies, mostly showing same-sex unions in a positive way, make people think about their perception of the phenomenon of contemporary reality. At the same time European and American practice of the same-sex unions legalization is unlikely to be popular in coming years in Russia, despite an active support of the Russian legislation modernization direction (Isaeva, Sochneva, 2012).

The problem of legalization of same-sex marriages that shake up the consciousness of European legislators, is becoming more politically significant in the context of new regulations (made by several countries), aimed at establishing preferences, but has limitations on the public dissemination of same-sex unions “normality” ideas. Securing Russia’s prohibition on homosexuality promotion and ban on same-sex couples adoptions are unlikely to lead to the disappearance of the homosexual phenomenon, but actually shape public opinion as unacceptable phenomenon, and the inadmissibility of “a diversification version of the marriage and family institutions” (Tarusina, 2013).

Politics of same-sex unions’ rejection has become an actual topic for legislation, not only in Russia, but also in several American states, where religious movements are particularly strong. For example, in February 2014, the lower house of the Kansas Parliament vote (72 against 42) for the law adoption, entitling the right for all workers in Kansas not to serve married couples if some features of their relationships are in the contradiction to their religious marriage beliefs. This right extends to civil servants and private business. However, in the case of civil servants, the State must still provide services to a couple, but they will be in need to pick up a government official with less harsh religious beliefs. Private business, in general, can refuse their services, if an employee replacement is related to unjustified costs. Different forms of prohibitions on gay propaganda work in eight out of 50 US states (USA Adopted Antigay Law, 2009).

Legalization of same-sex relationships is a problem for those whose religious beliefs do not accept homosexual unions. This conflict came to court in the United Kingdom in 2009 in *Ladele vs London Borough of Islington*. Lilian Ladel worked as marriages registrar. Since 2005, when the Civil unions law came into force, same-sex unions registration became her duties. Due to religious beliefs, she refused to carry out new duties and was prosecuted by the employer (Lewis & Sargeant, 2011). In this case, the Court sided with the employer, because they did not found unequal treatment on religion grounds, when the employer equally ordered all registrars to comply with the law. New British law allows every church to decide whether they will deal with the same-sex marriages registration or not.

Supporters of same-sex marriage in the United States talk about the inadmissibility of the religious beliefs using the argument of social phenomena to be in a secular state. The legislation on marriages registration cannot be

determined by church rules. Supporters of gay marriage use the case of the second marriage registration, as an illustration of actual state ignoring of religious beliefs. The Catholic Church does not recognize divorce, so consider second marriage illegal respectively. However, none of the American states prohibits marriage re-entry (Spilsbury, 2012).

Registered marriage, both abroad and in Russia, gives spouses certain guarantees and privileges. These include family health insurance, family tax benefits, hereditary rights, and the rights not to testify against a spouse in court, and many others, even the household benefits, for example, and a family ticket to the swimming pool. Same-sex couples insist on their union legalization, not only because they want to demonstrate the legitimacy of their relationship (not temporary, but permanent in nature), but also rely on the statutory benefits for spouses (Andryszewski, 2012). Additional questions that same-sex couples confront to the legislator is the question of adoption (Spilsbury, 2012).

Currently, 17 US states legalized same-sex marriage, and 10 recognize certain types of same-sex unions. Most same-sex couples living in the US, according to the research results, are based in California (92,000), New York (46,000), Texas (43,000), Florida (43,000), and Illinois (23,000). A number of US states have gone further, by allowing same-sex couples to adopt children. Several states allow same-sex partner to adopt a child of the biological parent. This adoption is similar to the adoption of a child in heterosexual family. Only 17 US states and the District of Columbia somehow allow the adoption of children by same-sex couples. Among these 17 states, 12 states (California, Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Vermont, to name) and the District of Columbia allowed same-sex couples to adopt children either by statute or through court cases (Wardle, Nolan, 2011). In five other states (Iowa, Nevada, Oregon, Tennessee, and Washington, to name) jurisprudence and legislation, according to Professor Wardle, will probably come to the same decision. However, thirty-three US states do not allow adoption by same-sex partners or spouses (Wardle, 2010). However, nine states (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Kentucky, Mississippi, Nebraska, Ohio, Utah, and Wisconsin, to name) expressly prohibit the adoption of children by homosexual partners or individually homosexuals at the legislative level. In 23 states (Alaska, Arizona, Delaware, Georgia, Hawaii, Idaho, Kansas, Louisiana, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming, to name), the issue has not yet been resolved at the legislative level and the level of judicial practice, however the traditional rule of the adoption possibility only by opposite-sex partners still exists. In Oklahoma, this issue is likely to be solved, according to Professor

Wardle, negatively (Wardle, 2010). Parents' sexual behavior in most states of America is one of the criteria for determining the most beneficial family for a child by adoption agencies.

The legalization of same-sex unions conceptually affects both legal tenets and moral norms prevailing in society. The population of a particular State, that decide to legally recognize the new concept of family relations, must be prepared to accept homosexual marriage as a mechanism aimed at achieving equality, not as a weapon of destruction of the traditional family institution that is actually very debatable. At the same time, experience shows that policy decisions cannot withstand even massive protest actions of traditional marriage supporters. Protests in Paris in the spring of 2013, against the legalization of gay marriage, did not affect the selected policy. After the 800 thousand people demonstration in Paris, the mayor of the French capital, Bertrand Delanoë, who does not hide his homosexual orientation, said that protesters caused serious damage to the Champs de Mars lawns and estimated damage of 100 thousand euros. He did not rule out that the invoice for that amount would submit to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, since this agency has authorized the rally. In response, opponents of same-sex marriages have sent to Paris officials about nine thousand checks averaging about 10 cents.

We should also note the growing ideological and practical opposition to the variety of civic engagement by both formal and informal religious associations - in a relatively tolerant, and in an aggressive manner. However, it should be stated that religion and its various institutions gain more and more weight in the public space, playing a significant role in shaping public opinion and the people's will, using all forms of public life participation - from Internet activity, training, and pickets to protest actions. Secular and clerical context of civil activities is mutated and crossed.

It is evident that gender is not only a women's issue. This concept is indicated by a set of social norms of human behavior based on gender. According to Pushkareva, N. (1998), there is no unanimity in Western science on the question of whether to treat gender as "the thinking construct", or as just scientific definition, determining the social and cultural function of sex, and distinguishing them from biological functions, or «construct social». The latter case assumed at least four groups of characteristics: biological sex, gender stereotypes, gender role, and sex-rules identity. The notions of "gender display", or "gender system" (as less "abstruse"), are using accordingly. They mean "ideas, institutions, behavior, formal and informal rules, and other social interactions, prescribed in accordance with the sex". In Russian social science, basis of gender – being opposed to the west, where the emphasis is traditionally done on biological, psychological, and cultural differences between the sexes – "is social initially, because an individual, regardless of gender, is born and develops (unless, of

course, it is not “Mougli”) in the society, in a diverse system of social connections and relationships” (Pushkareva, 1998).

Close attention to the gender theme was paid in 1970-1990s, as another round of relevance after the stage of late XIX - early XX century created new areas of research. So, history of women appeared initially as a kind of attempt to “rewrite history” or, from the Davin’s, E., point of view, striving to overcome the almost absolute dominance of the old stories, accompanied by a willingness to replace the common term of «history» (which can be read as «his story», literally: «its history», «history of man») a new term used to describe a different approach to the study of the past, namely the term «her story» (i.e., «its history», «History of a Woman») (Sillaste, 2004). However, gradually, the interpretation of the concept of “gender” has changed in the direction of considering it not in terms of conceptualizing male domination, but as a system of all forms of interaction and “antagonism” of male and female. The study of femininity became impossible without an analysis of masculinity - “women’s history” will inevitably meet with “a history of men” (Pushkareva, 1998).

Social and economic aspects become traditional objects of gender-historical research. Prospect of gender approach to political history research emerged more or less clear, with the history of the marginalization of women and their struggle for political and civil rights and freedoms, the analyst of forms “hidden influence on politics and labeled political behavior of women” (before the actualization of “women’s issue” and Suffrage movement). However, Pushkareva, N. L., considers gender studies in the field of cultural research, the history of mentalities and social consciousness the most promising. The study of masculinity appeared in sociology, gender asymmetry, and in linguistics, etc. (Tarusina, Isaeva, 2013).

Morozova, O., mentioned that women participate in the political life more indirectly than in public - on the optional roles of advisers, aides, speechwriters, press secretaries, and so on (Morozova, 2008). Another model can be an option - a “partnership of professionals”, which contemplates the realization of the idea “there is no sex in politics”. However, this is not so much a positive gender problem neutralization, but “changeling”, that explains very actual unrepresentative situation through formal equality on the basis of different opportunities for men and women in political identity.

Religious context of gender is recent trend (Tarusina, Isaeva, 2013). Semi-official ideological “coalescence” of the church with the state political machine returns Russian society, through Orthodoxy (almost everywhere), and Mohammedanism (in the respective national territories), to the idea of a traditional female destiny, denying woman’s right to control her body, transforming it, in the

case of abortion, in a “killer”, and so on. Moreover, the statement of representative of God only through man-priest does not contribute to modernizing and leveling the gender gap. (Bowing to the Mother of God, in our opinion, can be a kind of compromise between apparent patriarchal way of church government and women religious and the subordinate position (Polenina, Skurko, 2009)). A vivid example of the peculiar relationship between the state and religion was the Supreme Court satisfaction of the Russian Muslim groups claim about the abolition of the Ministry of Interior order, prohibiting citizens to be photographed for a passport in hats, hijab headscarves are also among them¹.

It is obvious that gender issue is blurring in various ways, the reorientation of emphasis or, alternatively, an open preservation of traditional solving approaches – these are not the only social mechanisms of real equality achievement and social gender equity.

PUBLIC CONTROL

Public control and its mechanisms in Russia are currently the most topical aspects of life of civil society, and important factor and indicator of its development, as well as one of the key elements in the formation of feedback from society and government. The legitimacy and the relative simplicity of public control application forms contribute to the involvement of citizens in the exercise of their right to participate in state management, which is supported by Article 32 of the Constitution. This can have a positive influence on their detachment from the specified activity that can be proved by sociological research; reduce the degree of indifference, which is directly related to the growth of distrust in the government, lack of confidence that in fact protects the interests of the people, and not just their own.

In Russia, various dialogue platforms (i.e., public chambers, public councils) are officially secured and have the authority to expertise, to participate in formation of independent evaluation of work of certain institutions. Public oversight committees, e.g., public councils on internal affairs, the penal, among others, are established in majority of Russian regions in order to monitor rights of people for detention. Public hearings on infrastructure development, public utilities, etc. take place at the regional and municipal levels.

The formation of the federal regulatory framework, providing regulation mechanisms for public control, is relatively recent. However, this process is so dynamic that the objects of control in the Russian regions have come to a clear understanding of inevitability, and demand on public inspection, verification, monitoring, and other forms of civic engagement. At the same time, regulatory sources for public control are still extremely small in Russian regions. In 2014, among complex type

1 For instance, under French Law it is prohibited to wear religious symbols in governmental and educational institutions.

acts, only two should be mentioned, i.e., the laws of Perm' Krai and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutiya). Sectorial, specialized acts on public control, for example, in the field of ecology are much more common.

Adopted in 2014, the Federal Law "On Basis of Public Control in the Russian Federation" creates a basic prerequisite for systematization of legal regulation of this type of civic engagement in regions of Russia. Its purpose is to monitor activities of state and local governments, and other organizations that have certain public authority for public inspection, analysis and evaluation of published legal acts. Thus, the list of control subjects appears to be narrowed, comparing to the original project, thus, it excludes citizens and their associations, and non-profit organization. The law preserves the structures that already possess the relevant socio-control power, such as public chambers of all levels (from federal to municipal), community councils, and supervisory commissions. Associations and other non-profit organizations are entitled to act as organizers of public discussion and monitoring. Range of public control forms became also narrow: monitoring, inspection, examination, discussion remained intact, while survey and public report of heads of agencies were excluded from the direct reference. However, as soon as the list is not exhaustive, other forms of control may be used, if they do not conflict with federal law. The subjects of control are entitled to form associations and to undertake joint activities. The implementation of this law is relevant, because in case of mass creation of community councils and various thematic working groups of the Public Chamber, there crossing control initiatives are possible, with their surplus in one area, and lack of in the other.

At the same time, the law is excessively frame, because it does not contain control mechanisms, does not stipulate possibility (that is mentioned in the foreseen draft of the act) for subjects and objects of social control to register in a special electronic resource center. The law is not innovative, because, in fact, it does not contain anything fundamentally different, which is not contained in other similar acts (for example, the Federal Law «On the Public Chamber of the Russian Federation»). Its main achievement is generalization of tasks, forms, subjects and objects of public control, statement of public recognition of the value of this type of civil society activity. However, his vague wording allows regions of the Russian Federation to create original ideas about various compositions of public control in regional

legislation (although, as analysis of legislative practice shows, similar results can be achieved only in a smaller part of regions).

In considering implementation of the civil (public) control in practice, we try to determine readiness of population to take part in civil control of public authorities, and local government; and to identify the most common practice of civilian control, used by NGOs, to determine the attitude of the authorities to such activity.

On April 14, 2014, Public Opinion Foundation published data on assessment of readiness of Russians to unite, and to stand up for their rights (Are Russians Ready to Defend Their Rights? 2014). Despite the low readiness to defend their rights, more than half of Russians (52%) say that they are willing to join the fight for their rights with others. The most active are the young respondents (59%), and urban residents in number of from 50 to 250 thousand of people (61%). Not ready for joint action in this area are 32% of Russians, which are aged people with low incomes, living in cities-millionaires.

47% of respondents believe that people are not ready to defend their rights, while 36% believe that citizens are ready at 18% of abstentions. At the same time, more educated a respondent is, less sure they are about citizens' readiness to defend their rights. 40% of respondents with secondary or elementary education are confident in readiness of citizens, among respondents with secondary special education - 37%, with high education - 28%, correspondingly. Another criterion is locality type of the respondent. Thus, in Moscow, only 22% of Russians are convinced of willingness to defend their rights; in the cities-millionaires - 26%, in cities with populations of 250,000 to 1,000,000 - 32%; in cities with populations less than 250,000, and urban-type settlements, their share - 44%, in rural areas - 39%, correspondingly.

Among 1500 respondents, 52% are willing to join other people in order to defend their rights, 32% - are not ready, 18% - abstained. More often than others, are willing to join: Internet audience (59%), 18-30 years (59%), residents of cities with populations of 50 000 to 250 000 people (61%), residents of the Urals Federal District (64%). Most of others, who are not ready to unite, are inhabitants of the Volga Federal District (38%), with an income of less than 9,000 rubles (40%), people older than 60 years (43%), and residents of cities-millionaires (44%).

	Average
population	3,75
NGO representatives	3,52
government officials	3,70

Table 6. What do you think to what extent civilian control is developed in the Yaroslavl' region? (1 to 10 points)

	%
Yes, personally experienced	26,0
I heard that friends faced with such situation	16,4
I heard of such cases in general	13,8
I never heard of it	34,7
Hard to answer	9,1

Table 7. Have you or your friends ever faced with a situation when there was a need for you to protect legal rights from local or regional authorities? (Population)

As research results demonstrate, the level of civilian control in the Yaroslavl' region is relatively low - survey participants rated it in 3.7 points on average (see Table 6).

In general, a significant number of inhabitants personally experienced situations when they needed to defend their legitimate interests from local and regional authorities (26%). This is mostly the case for rural areas (40% of population), less in Yaroslavl', and small and medium-sized cities in the region (23%), correspondingly. Every second citizen who participated in such practices said that they managed to solve their problems, protect their rights (48%), but, another 24% said that the problem was solved partially. Most of these cases occurred in the housing sector (30%), and health care (11%).

It is noteworthy that 34.7% of the Yaroslavl' region population have never heard of such precedents (Table 7).

Most of the citizens who applied to procedures of public control, achieve their objectives fully, or partially. This indicates that these mechanisms are effective. Therefore, a third of respondents who had not heard of such situations should be aware that there are ways to solve problems.

70% of the population is aware that there is a need for creating citizens association in order to interact with public authorities, 15% - said that there is no need to unite. Willingness to participate in such associations is expressed by more than a half of questioned citizens

(54%). At the same time, during the study no significant differences were found on such socio-demographic categories, as gender, age, and education in the structure of potential participants of these associations.

Most NGO representatives consider participation of public organizations to be necessary in implementation of civil control: 85% chose "yes", and "probably yes." 40% of surveyed organizations have participated in formal types of civilian control. Public hearings (attended by 33% of organizations), public monitoring (24%), public reports of federal and regional executive authorities, municipal authorities (24%), public discussion, and public examination (22%) are the most common forms of civil society participation. Less frequent is participation in public inspection (13%), or public inquiry (7%). Frequency of participation in similar initiatives in most organizations ranges from one to five cases.

Most of organizations that are not involved in monitoring activities of federal and local government do not have any technique for its implementation (26% of organizations). Complexity of civilian control implementation (13%), lack of confidence in the success of civilian control (11%), authority's ignorance to the results of civilian control (9.3%), lack of time, and excessive employment (9.3%), among others, were mentioned as reasons to not participate.

During the research, leaders of NGOs were asked to assess what forms of social control, in their opinion,

Response	Effective (%)	Convenient (%)
Public examination	22,2%	13,0%
Public inspection	14,8%	3,7%
Public monitoring	9,3%	16,7%
Public reports by federal, and regional executive, and municipal authorities	7,4%	13,0%
Public hearing	3,7%	9,3%
Public discussion	3,7%	7,4%
Public inquiry	3,7%	0%
Pard to answer	48,1%	44,4%

Table 8. The most effective and convenient form of civilian control (representatives of NGOs)

Reply	%
Yes	3,7
Rather yes	53,7
Rather no	27,8
No	3,7
Hard to answer	11,1

Table 9. Do you think that the state is ready to develop civil control institutions? (NGOs representatives)

are the most effective (Table 8). Assigned task caused difficulty for the half of the NGO representatives' (48%). Just over 20% of nonprofit organizations managers indicated that the most effective form is public examination, 15% - social verification; and 9% of NGO representatives mentioned public monitoring as the most effective form of civilian control. The most convenient forms of civilian control are believed to be public monitoring (16.7%), public examination (13%), and public reports by federal, and regional executive, and municipal authorities (13.0%).

The lack of information about civilian control is the main problem associated with its implementation. Therefore, there are a large number of abstentions in the evaluation. People do not know how to implement it and in what way it can help. Educational work aims at changing the situation, which includes seminars, training events, and handling useful literature on methods of civilian control.

Most of the surveyed community leaders believe that the state is ready to develop the institutions of civil control - 57.4% (the answers "yes", "probably yes"). The opposite view is held by 30.5% of representatives of the third sector (Table 9).

The vast majority of answers with the prefix "most" indicate uncertainty regarding the development of institutions of civil control. On the one hand, the mood on this issue is more optimistic. On the other, it is not

clear what will be a stimulus to the development of this sphere. Whether political will of public bodies will play the leading role or the initiative will come from the public.

The most common form of civilian control, according to the survey, is public report by federal and regional executive, and municipal authorities. This form is used by 37% of authorities (only 71 times). This form has been rated by the authorities as the most efficient (average - 3.7 points on a scale of 5).

Public hearings are the second most common type of representatives' participation. 31% of the experts noted that this form applied to their activity (the frequency of occurrence - 45 times). Effectiveness of implementation of this form was evaluated slightly above average - 2.8 points. Approximately every tenth expert pointed out that such forms as public examination, public inspection, public monitoring, and public discussion were used in their activities. Experts evaluated the last one very high - 3.1 points, slightly above average. The experts evaluated other forms of civilian control below average.

Every other representative of the government believes that the most beneficial for their activities is a public report (Table 10). Public debate, monitoring, examination are also common among other forms of civilian control. Despite the fact that the public hearing is the second most popular form of public control, only 17% of the authorities consider this form useful for their activities.

Format	%
Public reports by federal and regional executive, and municipal authorities	50,0%
Public discussion	36,5%
Public monitoring	32,7%
Public examination	28,8%
Public hearing	17,3%
Public inspection	5,8%
Public inquiry	5,8%
Other	1,9%
Hard to answer	7,7%

Table 10. What mechanisms of civilian control you consider useful for your activities (Government officials)

	%
Yes, always	34,6
Yes, partially	21,2
Yes, but very rarely	17,3
No, do not take into account	7,7
Hard to answer	19,2

Table 11. Do you take into account the results of civilian control? (Government officials)

Here are given ideas to improve the forms of civil control, which can be distinguished from proposals of the authorities' representatives, quote: "Informing the public about the results of civilian control", "consider the level of education and competence for all possible candidates of public commissions", "an appropriate legal framework, the actual adoption of the regional law on public control", "making personnel decisions based on people's estimation", "monitoring and coordination of investigative journalism on topics related to specific challenges and problems arising in implementation of priority national projects", unquote.

Among the main challenges of realization of civilian control, government officials note the following: the problem of competence of regulatory bodies, low initiative of citizens, "closed bodies - formalism and indifference of officials," no need for the society to engage in civilian control.

56% of the government officials indicated that in general they take into account the results of civilian control (Table 11).

The tools of civilian control will be effective and popular, if their realization will attract competent people. It is important for individuals to be motivated in community service. Mutual interest in the work of all involved parties, the principle of the inadmissibility of "doing for show", and creating a visible activity are also important. Thus, proposed establishment of regulatory foundations of civilian control in order to make this process transparent and open to the public are crucially important.

More than half of experts believe, with varying degrees of confidence, that the government is ready to develop the institution of public control. However, position on the choice of the dominant factors is not determined (whether it is the political will or the public initiative). While it is also clear that consolidation of forms and techniques of civic activity does not give expected result, thus, public hearing on the budget does not involve an explicit public attention, and prompts low demand on law examination. Community Government portal that was created for discussion of strategic documents on regional development, does not raise much interest from civil society activists, that can be explained by inertia, lack of motivation, and lack of relevant practical experience in civic engagement.

CONCLUSIONS

Research on trends and components of civil activity in Russian society has shown that it is directly linked to development of civil society institutions, which have gone through a long process of formation and are currently manifested in various forms. Social movements and non-profit organizations, initiative groups of civil society activists, protest movements, expert public commissions, community committees, and unions perform as forms of civic engagement. It is proved that civil activity can manifest protest that requires changing.

New mechanisms of civic engagement are expanding the boundaries of citizens' initiatives, with the unions and a variety of interactions taking place on the Internet. Civic engagement aims at using more operational relationship in on-line platforms for discussion, with positive results of a number of civil campaigns raising the level of civic responsibility.

Thus, the current stage of civil society development in Russia bears the emergence of new forms of expression and promotion interests of society. The state does not remain on the sidelines, and each year pays more attention to the third sector. The conversion has been done in legislation on NGOs, and in increasing their funding. Revitalization of NGOs, growth of civil movements, development of Internet technology, and state work are few yielding results. Importance of civil society is increasing, as well as the number of people involved in the NGOs activities and civil movements, and qualities of civic participation are becoming very intense.

We can also talk about increasing attention to social initiatives in the country. They are based on already proven effective movements and organizations that are built on the network principle. New mechanisms expand scope of citizens' initiative, where interaction takes place via Internet. Implementation of civic engagement can be implemented through more operational relationship, on-line forums and discussion. Positive results of some civil campaigns raise the level of civic responsibility.

The main difficulty in the existence of associations is connected with the involvement of supporters in relationship between the authorities and publics. If a public organization conducts its activities on an ongoing basis,

they face with a difficult task to explain the importance of its objectives and working methods. Attitude towards them is still not unique in the society.

A key resource for public sector is enthusiastic motivation. Lack of motivation may push public initiatives to naught. The disadvantage of this resource can be linked to the fact that social benefits of activities are difficult to calculate, i.e., express financially. Often, success of an action or campaign is visible only in the medium or long term. This is an obstacle to attract supporters, volunteers, material resources, and sponsors.

Tools of civilian control will be effective and popular, if their implementation attracts competent people. It is also important for individuals to be motivated to influence community service. Taking into account interest of all involved participants, principle of the inadmissibility of “doing for show” and creating a visible activity are also significant. Thus, proposed establishment of normative base of public control will make the process transparent and open to the public.

More conditions for implementation of civic engagement are formed in the present Russia. Revitalization of

NGOs, growth in civil movements, and state work are aimed at the third sector, producing results. Importance of civil society is growing, as well as the number of people that are involved in activities of NGOs, and civil movements. Every year more funding from the federal, regional, and local budgets is allocated on activities of public organizations and movements.

The Russian Federation is currently developing new mechanisms for implementation of civil activity; the quality of the citizens' participation is also changing. Citizens participate in various social processes more meaningfully, they are self-fulfilling themselves, and they get together with like-minded people, and try to improve the society around them.

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SPOL IN DRŽAVLJANSKO UDEJSTVOVANJE V SODOBNI RUSIJI

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POVZETEK

Raziskava o trendih in komponentah državljanske aktivnosti v ruski družbi je pokazala, da je angažiranje neposredno povezano z razvojem institucij civilne družbe, ki so iz dolgega procesa formiranja izšle v različnih oblikah. Družbena gibanja in neprofitne organizacije, skupinske iniciative aktivistov civilne družbe, protestna gibanja, komisije strokovnih javnosti, odbori krajevnih skupnosti in razna združenja delujejo kot oblike državljanskega udejstvovanja. Novi mehanizmi državljanskega angažiranja širijo meje državljanskih pobud, saj se združe(va)nja in paleta interakcij odvijajo na spletu. Cilj državljanskega udejstvovanja je doseči bolje delujoč odnos na spletnih platformah za razprave, ob čemer pozitivni rezultati številnih civilnih akcij dvigujejo raven državljanske odgovornosti. V sedanji fazi razvoja se civilna družba v Rusiji tako sooča s pojavom novih oblik izražanja in spodbujanja družbenih interesov. Med že doseženimi rezultati so oživitev nevladnih organizacij, porast civilnih gibanj, razvoj spletne tehnologije in

državno delo. Pomen civilne družbe se krepi, narašča tudi število ljudi, vključenih v dejavnosti nevladnih organizacij in civilnih gibanj, intenzivnost državljanske soudeležbe postaja zelo velika. Lahko govorimo tudi o naraščajoči pozornosti do družbenih iniciativ v državi.

Ključne besede: državljansko udejstvovanje, spol, nadzor javnosti, institucije civilne družbe

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SOCIO-CULTURAL FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE FORMATION OF THE RUSSIAN TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' BILINGUAL STRATEGIES

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ABSTRACT

The article considers the socio-cultural factors that motivate stable bilingual strategies of the technical university students, necessary for their future career and employment in the new economic and social conditions in Russia. Particular attention is paid to such factors as the intensification of the modern technical university's international activities and the formation of a cultural capital. The students' attitudes towards the priority selection of English language are reviewed, considering instrumental and universal interests. The data cited were obtained from the empirical research conducted among the students of 1-4 courses of study at Platov South-Russian State Polytechnic University (NPI) during 2010-2013.

Key Words: bilingual strategy; motivation; socio-cultural factors; interests; cultural capital; language learning

FATTORI SOCIOCULTURALI CHE CONTRIBUISCONO ALLA FORMAZIONE DI STRATEGIE BILINGUI NEGLI STUDENTI DELL'UNIVERSITÀ POLITECNICA RUSSA

SINTESI

L'articolo considera i fattori socioculturali che negli studenti del politecnico motivano lo sviluppo di strategie bilingui stabili, necessarie per le loro future carriere e occupazione nelle nuove condizioni economiche e sociali in cui la Russia si è ritrovata. Si presta particolare attenzione a fattori come l'intensificazione delle attività internazionali offerte presso questa università politecnica moderna e la formazione del capitale culturale. Vengono esaminati gli atteggiamenti degli studenti nei confronti della scelta prioritaria della lingua inglese, in relazione agli interessi utilitaristici e generali. I dati citati sono stati ricavati da una ricerca empirica condotta tra gli studenti dei corsi di studio I-IV all'Università politecnica statale Platov della Russia meridionale (NPI) negli anni 2010-2013.

Parole chiave: strategia bilingue, motivazione, fattori socioculturali, interessi, capitale culturale, apprendimento delle lingue

INTRODUCTION

The most important socializing institution providing primarily vertical social mobility in modern societies is education. Getting an education is not only a preparation for the implementation of a certain type of professional activity in the future, but also the ability to acquire a kind of a social status, while a diploma of higher education becomes a symbol of a social status, thereby emphasizing the symbolic aspect of education itself.

Over the last decade Russian higher education system is in a state of permanent transformations, caused by changes in the functioning and the development of the society.

One of the priorities is to prepare not only high-skilled professionals, but also a new type of personality possessing creativity, mobility, flexibility, ability to work in teams and not only in local economic systems, but also in multicultural business environments.

Therefore, bilingual strategies acquire a special significance for students, by which we mean a system of social and cultural views of an individual on the use of linguistic knowledge throughout his life, orienting him to the active learning (or exclusion) of a foreign language during the professional knowledge acquisition and guiding his behavior for a long period of time (Susimenko, 2003; 2008).

Realizing the importance of the formation of sustainable bilingual strategies of today's university students aimed at cross-cultural communication and formation of a bilingual person and the need for specialists of technical (engineering) profile having good knowledge of a foreign language in conditions of a market economy in Russia and globalization trends, we conducted an empirical study, which main purpose was to determine the type of bilingual strategies that guide students in the process of secondary socialization at a technical university. The goal has been realized in the course of the following tasks: identifying external motivational factors contributing to the formation of sustainable bilingual strategies; defining the role of the intensification of the international activities of the university as a motivator towards sustainable bilingual strategies; typology of students and their division into groups according to their bilingual strategies defined by their subjective interests. The originality of the study is that it suggests an attempt not just to explore a degree of second language acquisition by the technical university students, but identify the role of bilingual education in the development of future life and career, and enhancing graduates' professional mobility. It was found that during the professional socialization of future engineers bilingual preferences have different value and rank high/low in the prolonged professional expectations of the students.

METHODS

To imagine how external motivational factors contribute to the formation of strong bilingual strategies that

students of the technical universities are guided with when learning a foreign language, we conducted a sociological research based on the method of a survey "in which a sample of respondents drawn from a specific population respond to questions either in an interview or on a questionnaire" (Kornblum, 2008).

To realize our survey a questionnaire was developed consisting of 71 questions. Most of the questions (59) dealing with the motives of learning a foreign language, its value in the hierarchy of university disciplines for a student, review of a foreign language as a status category, its impact on the future professional career include choice by the students of one of the suggested answers (but not more than 3), some of the questions (7) concerning the quality and effectiveness of teaching a foreign language at the university, as well as self-assessment of foreign language acquisition involve a five-point scale for rating by the students, the rest of the questions are just informative (sex, age, department, foreign language, the number of years one has been learning a foreign language for). In total, from 2010 to 2013 1507 students filled in a questionnaire. The analysis of the results allowed us to come to certain conclusions.

Motives of choice and learning a foreign language correlate with motives of getting a higher education, the choice of which is more likely to be related to the sense of duty and certainty, as it is a compulsory subject implying passing relevant credits and examinations, the absence of which makes getting a diploma impossible. However, the number of students who feel "forced" to learn a foreign language is reducing from year to year.

Having determined that the number of students whose bilingual strategies are indifferent is decreasing, it was decided to identify the factors that mostly contribute to the formation of sustainable strategies of bilingual students. The conducted survey analysis has shown that the intensification of the international university activity is the main motive for a sustainable bilingual strategy for 27% of students who aim to participate in student exchange programs (8%), who are eager to participate in international conferences (11%), in international student projects (e.g. business administration game Workshop, held annually by the University of Applied Sciences of Southern Westfalia, Germany, being partner university of Platov South-Russian State Polytechnic University (NPI) (7%), who are planning to defend their master's theses abroad (2%).

The chain "interest-demand-value" has been of a particular interest to the authors. However, we relied on the fact that "interests – are specific social results that benefit a particular individual or a group. Such interests can be perceived and pursued by an individual or a group, as well as be set by the others" (Gardner, 2001). An interest is a conscious motive of activity since an interesting subject becomes a "sphere of objectives" of a student due to some inducement. If interests have led to a specific activity, have become motives for such an

No.	Variants of answers	Total according to the sampling	%	1st course of study	%	4th course of study	%
1	The ability to communicate in an intercultural environment	337	38,1	167	18,9	170	19,2
2	An opportunity to become a bilingual person	70	7,9	52	5,9	18	2
3	The use of new information technologies	229	25,9	110	12,4	119	13,5
4	The ability to understand authentic literature of professional orientation	126	14,2	31	3,5	95	10,7
5	An opportunity to have high academic results in the subject	112	12,7	106	12,0	6	0,7

Table 1: Students' interests in learning English (2013)

activity, one can talk about the motivational process in which a group of motivators or factors that determine human decisions (motivational determinants) is distinguished, including preferences, external social situation, one's own resources (opportunities), internal social situation (the situation in which the individual finds himself at a given time), the condition of the goal achievement, the consequences of one's actions (short-term and long-term ones).

The survey conducted showed that students of technical universities are mostly interested in learning English rather than other foreign languages. The number of such students comprised about 89% of all respondents. There are many reasons for this: historical traditions (the last Russian monarch Nicholas II kept his diaries in English); political and economic expediency, the necessity to develop trade, cultural, technical ties with other countries, willingness to take part in international research and educational projects, conferences, to be accepted into the student exchange programs, to facilitate the use of modern technologies, etc. It should be noted that extrinsic motivation is typical for students who intentionally decide to learn a certain language. Extrinsic motivation is determined by two types of motivation: narrow (instrumental) and universal (a broad, integrated).

It is pleasant to note that, despite the fact that bilingual instrumental strategies still remain dominant, the number of students with bilingual universal strategies increased in comparison with 2010, when their number comprised only 2.1%. That is, there is an increase in the number of students for whom it is important not only to achieve good progress within the academic assessment and use a foreign language in the instrumental context, but also to have an opportunity to become a bilingual person, assuming acquisition of linguacultural, socio-cultural and social competencies in the field of foreign language culture. It should be specified that the survey of the 1st-year-students was conducted in the summer semester as it was useless to poll students in the winter se-

mester when they just started to learn a foreign language at the university. 4th-year-students were surveyed at the beginning of the winter semester, as they had already completed the academic (required) cycle of learning a foreign language at higher school and by their answers we can determine the type of bilingual strategies they pursue.

Young people are quite sensitive to changes in economic situation. The transition to market economy appeared to be a strong extrinsic motivator to acquire the skills enabling students to enhance their social status and the level of income in the future that is directly related to the introduction of the concept of cultural capital by Bourdieu, that may be reached due to family background and its values and by means of education. A. Giddens analyzing his theory underlines that cultural capital is connected with symbolic capital representing "prestige, status and other forms of social honor, which enables those with high status to dominate with lower status". He stresses the possibilities of capital's exchanges leading to the "trade" of cultural capital for economic capital which increases changes to get a well-paid job and "advantage over other applicants". Moreover, according to A. Giddens "those with high social capital may know the right people or move in the right social circles and be able to effectively exchange this social capital for symbolic capital – respect from others and increased social status" (Giddens, 2009).

As for foreign language acquisition, students of technical universities in modern education environment have opportunities to gain rather high level of proficiency in foreign languages attending different courses which are available at universities. Most of them consider foreign language acquisition as a substantial contribution to their cultural capital, which can help them in professional careers in the near future which can be seen in our empirical data. The information shown in Figure 1 was obtained as a result of questioning the students (graduates of 2013) in the period immediately be-

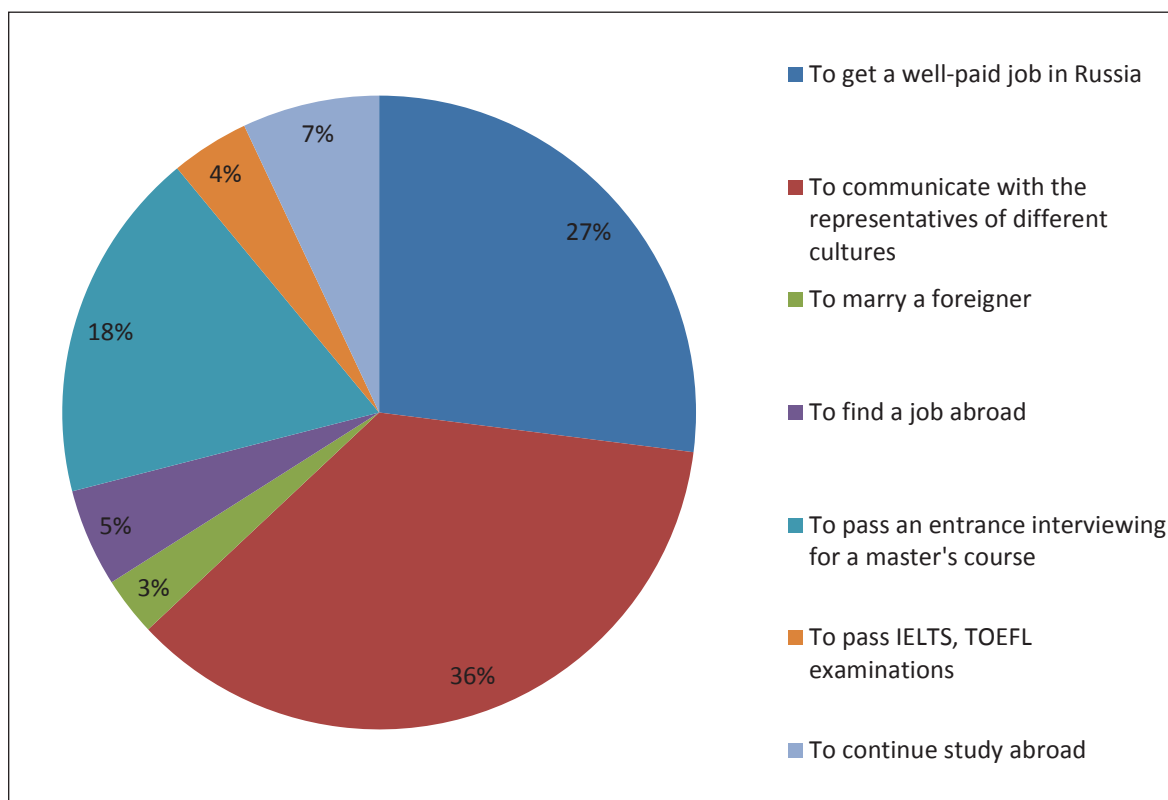


Fig. 1: Intentions of students to use a foreign language after the graduation from the University (final-year undergraduates taking bachelor's course)

fore defending their graduation theses. Those were just the students who indicated “the ability to communicate in an intercultural environment” and “an opportunity to become a bilingual person” as important goals of mastering a foreign language, their total number amounted up to 188 people.

The above data obtained from the fore-mentioned questioning of the 4th-year- students show that they associate bilingual education with an access to social benefits, with an occupational mobility, as in this way they are becoming aware of themselves as part of a particular social community that has an advantage in achieving good things of life (Susimenko, 2006). The desire to be identified with such a community socializes their interests and is an important motivator for learning foreign languages, primarily English (Moore, 2009).

Another motive that promotes the formation of sustainable bilingual strategies is the need for access to quality education that is directly related to the demand for knowledge on the part of society. However, this demand depends on the subjective interests of students, which can be differentiated into three main groups. The first group consists of the students whose second language acquisition serves as a major terminal value. The second group comprises of those students whose second

language acquisition serves as a tool or a possible start-up to further attempts to contact with foreign employers, firms, joint ventures, etc. The third group can be referred to indifferent students who have no certainty of goals and direct orientation, typical of the first two groups.

For the first two groups of students the motivation to learn a foreign language is caused by an individual need to expand one's internal capacities, on the one hand, since different languages make it possible to look at the world through a wide lens, overcoming stereotypes of the stagnant consciousness. On the other hand, the motivation is caused by the socio-cultural situation in the society: it is impossible to talk about a high-quality professional in the modern world who does not speak at least one foreign language, since having good computer skills and speaking English have become necessary qualities of specialists that are in demand in the labor market.

It is also necessary to emphasize that for the first group of students, globalization processes affecting their personal disposition and status characteristics are a significant motivator. In the transition to an information society, a catalyst for which are the processes of globalization, language identity and language competence become one of the governing conditions of social

success. Social identity of a former Soviet student was under the influence of imposing a Newspeak (the Soviet version of the Russian language) and no real motivation for learning foreign languages, which were only used by a small group of Soviet specialists (diplomats, interpreters, representatives of creative professions). In the new socio-economic conditions in Russia, on the one hand, there was a “depressurization” of the Russian language, and, on the other hand, there was a real “boom” in learning foreign languages (especially English). Enhancing motivation for the formation of sustainable bilingual strategies is largely due to the concept of globalization, including the focus on the diversification of education and increase in the competitiveness of a specialist due to the skills beyond the purely professional activities. Students of the first two groups are sensitive to these trends, and include foreign language competence in their professional portfolio, thus demonstrating the focus on a sustainable bilingual strategy.

DISCUSSION AND RESULTS

The process of economic globalization cannot but affect the increasing role of English language in Russian society that correlates with its worldwide spread for over the past 50 years. According to D. Crystal, Russia is in an Expanding Circle of nations where learning English language becomes a priority, emphasizing that modern professionals require qualities like a good knowledge of English language, intelligence, creativity, ability to work with people, stress resistance, persistence in achieving their goals (Crystal, 2003). This opinion coincides with the opinion of the most practicing foreign language teachers who believe that in Russia a foreign language is finally considered as the “non-linguistic university graduates’ tool of professional work in the new economic conditions” (Lesokhina, 1999).

The bilingualism mastering in the context of globalization processes is no less important, which helps to overcome communicative and cultural contradictions for the humanity survival, requiring an existence of a “new humanism”, based on cultural competence and social tolerance of human behavior principles. “Regarding this, we cannot ignore the possibility of bilingual education to act as a method of a modern specialist’s socialization that is able to feel himself adequately in terms of international cooperation and interaction” (Litvinenko, Levchegova, 2006).

Demand for students possessing linguistic and intercultural competence in a foreign language that is actually the key characteristics of a bilingual, is also caused by the expansion of international activities of modern Russian universities undertaking significant efforts to provide students with every opportunity to learn foreign languages. For example, since the mid-90s of the 20th century, many technical Russian universities have introduced a program to obtain an additional education

“Interpreter in the field of professional communication”, that has enabled students to receive the corresponding diploma. However, the demand for foreign language specialists depends not only on the university administrations’ efforts, but primarily on the students’ motivation to master foreign languages.

According to general ideas, “a motive - is not any impulse (understanding as a state) arisen in a human body, but the inner conscious motivation reflecting a person’s willingness to act” (Ilyin, 2000). Motivation in education can influence the way of students’ learning and their attitude to different subjects. According to Ormrod it can have several effects (Ormrod, 2003):

- direct behavior towards particular goals;
- lead to increased effort and energy;
- increase initiation of, and persistence in, activities;
- enhance cognitive processing;
- determine what consequences are reinforcing;
- lead to improved performance.

Thus, as a motive of educational activity all factors that contribute to the manifestation of educational activity are implied, they are needs, interests, attitudes, sense of duty, etc. Hence, the bilingual motivation – is students’ attitude to a foreign language and to the culture of its native-speakers, as well as students’ focus on the acquisition of another language, recognizing the value of being a bilingual. On the basis of the Maslow’s hierarchy of needs, the need for mastering bilingualism should be attributed to the necessity for respect and self-actualization that leads to “self-confidence, confidence in one’s value, strength, abilities and adequacy, feeling of one’s significance and necessity in the world” (Maslow, 2006).

As for motivation connected with acquiring foreign language it is the main element which determines success in learning another language in the classroom setting (Gardner, 2001). As a rule two kinds of motivation are considered as the most significant: intrinsic motivation, which implies that students are personally interested in learning foreign language because they think it is important, or they get some satisfaction from it either moral or instrumental. Extrinsic motivation is associated with external factors such as praise, recognition, or a system of rewards (D rnyei, 2005). Not only social contexts and cultural environments but also socio-economic factors play an important part in influencing foreign language learning outcomes (Kormos, Kiddle, 2013; Muñoz, 2008; Ardasheva, Tong & Tretter, 2012). The division in motivational variables is highlighted between rural students and language learners from provincial and metropolitan areas (Lamb, 2012). Among the factors influencing the levels of motivation in learning foreign languages, teacher’s qualification and resourcing as well as class sizes are also stated (Hu, Gao, 2014).

Formation of bilingual strategies in higher education plays a certain role in the development of social and

cultural identity of future professionals, as an independent dimension of social stratification, the symbol of the position occupied in the status hierarchy, a mark of the appropriate lifestyle. Considering bilingual strategies in this perspective, we relied on the works of Henry Tajfel and John Turner. According to J. Turner, the cognitive system of an individual includes two major subsystems: the personal and social identities. The first one relates to self-determination in terms of physical, intellectual and moral traits of character. The latter one is made up of individual identities and is determined by personal affiliation to different social categories (Turner, 1982).

Analyzing identity as a tool of social orientation of the individual, in the course of which not only Self-image is shaped, but also the image of the group the individual affiliates himself to, H. Tajfel defines the group as a set of individuals who perceive themselves as members of the same social category, share emotional consequences of self-determination and achieve some degree of consistency in the evaluation of the group and their membership in it. (Tajfel, 1979). Identity as a reflexive mechanism of social knowledge is manifested on three levels: the subconscious (W. James, Z. Freud), conscious (E. Erickson, G.H. Mead, Y. Habermas, P. Berger, T. Luckmann) and the level of self-awareness (Charles Cooley, J. Hoffmann, T. Hopf, M. L. Schneider et al.). In this paper, attention is focused on a conscious level and the level of consciousness that allows us to consider identity as a “tool of social orientation” and a result of “the process of socialization on the basis of selection and formation of the life model”.

Currently, all institutions of higher education, including Russian ones, are keen on admission and graduation of the students with the knowledge of foreign languages, especially those possessing not only linguistic, but also linguistic-cultural, socio-cultural and social competences, the presence of which determines the individual's degree of bilingualism. One of the external factors that contribute to active strategies of bilingual students in a technical university is the intensification of the international activities of a particular university that has become one of the most important requirements of the Ministry of Education and Science of the Russian Federation, especially after Russia signed the Bologna declaration (Susimenko, Shcherbakova, 2002).

It should be noted that in the last decade, the universities' international activity, including technical universities, has become a characteristic feature not only for universities, which are located in major cities of Russia, but also for institutions of higher education, which location is associated with a concept of a provincial town. Meanwhile, the “provincial” location does not mean “provincial” educational activities undertaken by the university. For example, the very first technical University in the south of Russia, founded in 1907 at the request of the Don Cossacks (Platov South-Russian State Polytechnic University (NPI)) for more than 100 years

has been successfully training engineers of different specializations, and actively expanding international activity on main directions: scientific and technical cooperation within the framework of partnership relations with foreign universities and research centers; education services provided to the citizens of foreign countries; exchange education of students, postgraduates, young scientists with the support of various funds; arrangement of student practical training abroad, student group exchange during the holidays; professional development of lecturers at foreign universities; participation of the faculty in the international conferences and workshops, organization of conferences with the international participation, relations with foreigners – former students, who graduated from the university.

CONCLUSIONS

External socio-economic and socio-cultural factors shape the intrinsic motivation and bilingual strategies of technical university students in the process of secondary socialization. Despite the fact that secondary socialization processes do not involve a high degree of identification, as an engineering education can be obtained in the course of a very rational, emotionally neutral education, receiving a language education usually involves a high degree of identification with experts in this field (interpreters, diplomats, secretaries) which means achieving at least a coordinative level of bilingualism, when two language systems remain independent. However, quite apparent are the abilities not only to operate with language code, but also to select the channel through which the code is implemented, to take into account situational variables that modify this choice, as well as socio-linguistic rules, which allow a coherent speech and maintain or establish social relations (Bell, 1976.) In this case, the teacher's role as a personality increases, i.e. socializing staff takes role of significant others in relation to the socialized individual.

Awareness of oneself as a future highly skilled professional, who speaks fluent foreign language, the student generates an image of a social world, a part of which is the conception of himself as a constituent of this world, i.e. he forms his social identity (Harish, 2014).

We do not consider bilingual strategies in isolation from other social processes, they are an integral component of professional orientation. Identifying himself with the social group of bilinguals, a man seeks to explain the causes and consequences of his group solidarity, to answer the questions “Why is it my group?” and “What does that mean?” Besides, the state of social identity can be of various degrees of awareness. The more diverse and wider an individual gets into his role, the more he/she is aware of belonging to it and identifies himself with this role.

Thus, the process of students' socialization at the university is mainly caused by internal motivations and

needs, as well as objective life conditions both of students and the university. The behavior line of each student is formed in accordance with his own ideas about his future and the objective circumstances of the real life, aimed at an active or passive integration into a new socioeconomic situation. In modern Russian society social stratification is being developed in which a social position reflects an ability to adapt to these changes. The language training, its level, all together constituting the essence of bilingual strategies of modern students, can be referred to strategies aimed at acquisition of the cultural capital that promotes self-adapting to the market economy conditions, at building a successful career and at integration into global international activities.

The conclusions seem to be of interest in order to improve the efficiency of higher technical education in Russia, as it gives an idea of the part that bilingualism plays as a social-and-communicative component of professional socialization of students of technical universities, which are located out of the "capital cities" of the country (Moscow, St. Peterburg, Novosibirsk). The pro-

posed typology of bilingual student strategies is the basis for introducing changes in the curricula and programs. The administration of the universities face the issues of organizing additional foreign language classes (courses) for students who demonstrate a desire to form sustainable bilingual strategies and improving material and technical base of foreign languages departments. Language teachers also have to develop motivation for mastering a foreign language among students pursuing the "indifferent" strategy, using non-traditional methods of teaching and extracurricular activities. This study may also be of interest to the educators and researchers from the countries that are engaged into the "Expanding Circle" of the spread of English, for the focus of technical universities on training professionals in the field of technology and engineering can leave on the periphery of the educational process the task of formation of bilingual and bi-cultural personalities, which is very essential for a mutually beneficial and non-confrontational coexistence and cooperation between different nations in all spheres of human activity in the modern globalized world.

DRUŽBENO-KULTURNI DEJAVNIKI, KI PRISPEVAJO K OBLIKOVANJU DVOJEZIČNIH STRATEGIJ PRI ŠTUDENTIH RUSKE TEHNIŠKE FAKULTETE

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POVZETEK

Zunanji družbeno-ekonomski in družbeno-kulturni dejavniki sooblikujejo notranjo motivacijo in dvojezične strategije študentov tehniške fakultete v procesu sekundarne socializacije. Čeprav procesi sekundarne socializacije ne zahtevajo visoke stopnje identifikacije, saj je inženirsko izobrazbo moč pridobiti v teku zelo racionalnega in čustveno nevtralnega šolanja, gre pri učenju jezika navadno za močno poistovetenje s strokovnjaki s tega področja (tolmači, diplomati, sekretarji), kar pomeni, da študenti dosežejo vsaj koordinacijsko raven dvojezičnosti, kadar oba jezikovna sistema ostajata ločena. Zavest o samem sebi kot o bodočem visokokvalificiranem poklicnem strokovnjaku, ki tekoče govori tuji jezik, v študentu porodi podobo družbenega sveta, katerega del je predstava o samem sebi kot o sestavnem delu tega sveta – v študentu se tako oblikuje družbeni identiteti. Proces socializacije študentov na fakulteti se povečini sproži pod vplivom notranjih motivacij in potreb, pa tudi objektivnih življenjskih pogojev tako študentov kot fakultete. V sodobni ruski družbi prihaja do družbenega razslojevanja, pri katerem družbeni položaj odseva sposobnost prilagaja-

nja takšnim spremembam. Jezikovno usposabljanje in njegovo raven, ki skupaj predstavljata bistvo dvojezičnih strategij sodobnih študentov, lahko imenujemo strategije za pridobitev kulturnega kapitala, ki omogoča samoprilagajanje razmeram tržne ekonomije, za ustvarjanje uspešne kariere in vključevanje v globalne mednarodne aktivnosti.

Ključne besede: dvojezična strategija, motivacija, družbeno-kulturni dejavniki, interesi, kulturni kapital, učenje jezika

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THE AXIOLOGICAL WORLD VIEW OF A MODERN ADVERTISING CONSUMER

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the tendencies connected with the changes of an axiological world view of the modern person based upon the usage of printed advertisement texts. The research used cognitive linguistics methods, focused on a thematic and conceptual analysis of the advertisements. Advertising is considered as an instrument of effect, which allows the manipulating of values on different levels. Comparing traditional values to the values elicited by advertisements, the authors propose that advertisement suggest the usage of a unique phenomenon called quasivalues, built on giving non-material significance to material objects.

Keywords: advertisement text; axiological world view; material and spiritual values; quasi-values

LA VISIONE ASSIOLOGICA DEL MONDO DEL CONSUMATORE CONTEMPORANEO DELL'ADVERTISING

SINTESI

Lo studio analizza i trend connessi con i cambiamenti della visione assiologica del mondo dell'uomo moderno come conseguenza dell'uso di testi di pubblicità su carta. Nella ricerca sono stati usati metodi di linguistica cognitiva, incentrati su un'analisi tematica e concettuale delle inserzioni pubblicitarie. La pubblicità è considerata come uno strumento di effetto che permette una manipolazione di valori su diversi livelli. In base a un confronto tra i valori tradizionali e quelli trasmessi dalla pubblicità, le autrici sostengono che la pubblicità suggerisce l'uso di un fenomeno unico – i cosiddetti “simil valori”, creati attraverso l'attribuzione di significato non materiale a oggetti materiali.

Parole chiave: testi pubblicitari, visione assiologica del mondo, valori materiali e spirituali, simil valori

INTRODUCTION

The world view of modern man is formed largely under the impact of media communication. According to McQuail (2005), today the media not so much informs people as manipulates their mind and exercises control over it. McQuail argues that media simultaneously present the “window on the world”, a mirror of events, and the filter through which the information flows, the interpreter, who explains the events, and an obstacle, a veil that separates the individual from the event, thereby distorting his perception. Advertisement as part of media communications can be also considered as a specific form of propaganda – system of activity, directed on the formation of views, ideas, and values, affecting the social behavior of people (Ellul, 1973). In other words, advertisement can popularize a certain way of life. At the same time, we should not forget that by appealing to these or other values, advertisers can enhance the effectiveness of their advertisements on the target audience(s) (Ukhova, 2014). The most meaningful values for society are related to human interrelations, personal self-realization, life safety, health, etc. The change of an axiological consumer's world view can result entirely from such an effect. Therefore, it becomes necessary to study the advertising practices from the point of view of the values popularized in them. This task is especially rationale today, as the present period of time was determined by scientists as an axiological revolution or ‘destruction of the value systems existing earlier’ (Serebrennikova et al., 2011, 14).

The significance of values in terms of personal and social development was marked by Kearny (1984), Donaldson (1996), O’Driscoll (1997), Gurevitch and Blumler (2000), and Macionis (2002). Researchers note various aspects of this problem, considering values as an adaptive mechanism (Edgerton, 2000), as a cultural (social) nation’s capital (Fairbanks, 2000; Fukuyama, 2000), as a factor feature of progress (Lindsay, 2000).

However, the role of advertisement is not reduced only to formation of the value system. It is no less important that it allows solving conflict between eternal values and consumer society values appealing to modern humans. In short, by manipulating the values on different levels, the advertisement can have a considerable effect on the consumer, forming a peculiar world view, in which satisfaction of human demands can be equated to achievement of socially meaningful action.

The appeal to the values is most frequently used as a means of argumentation in the advertisement. The important peculiarity of such arguments is that it is impossible to respond unambiguously to the question about their truth or falsity. According to the view of Tertychnyi (2004), this fact is connected with the axiological notions and values themselves not reflecting any empirical quality in the subject. Moreover, the important effect on the truth of evaluation is made by criterion. If it is ab-

sent or the consumer doesn’t know it, then the degree of trust to the axiological judgment can be reduced. As it is shown in practice, the criteria of evaluation in advertisements are rarely stated. However, copywriters found a range of ways, which they can increase trustworthiness, and the persuasiveness of axiological arguments. This is done by using a number of parameters including: references to authority, statistical data or results of study, examples from life or history etc.

As it is known, values are divided into material and spiritual categories. The material values are the subjects of consumption. However, it is important to remember that certain relationships between people and objects promote value on that particular object. Such values serve as the signal of the materialistic nature of a person and his or her social status. In the society of mass culture, material values dominate, and the task of advertisement lies in giving this value to each advertised object (Kasser and Kanner, 2004).

The notion of ‘spiritual values’ in consciousness of the majority of modern society is very indistinct. They are secondary reality, built on the conscious creative human activity. It is interesting that the spiritual values have their own hierarchy; the part of them that doesn’t lose the connection with material values. For example, the subjects of art, design, and fashion, which have official market costs. According to the scientists’ opinion, this group of values due to commercialization was subjected to considerably destruction (Kolokoltseva et al., 2011, 39). In particular, it is evidenced by the price similar subjects often playing roles that are more important for the consumer, than their artistic merit.

Spiritual values are related to the higher values more so than material values. They have no consumption and market character. First, these are moral norms. Namely, they are not connected with material ones. Speaking in the modern vernacular, they can be called virtual. It is impossible to buy, save and physically store them for good. However, as we will see later, they usually try to level the values of first and second types namely in the advertisement. As a result of ‘quasi-value’ appearance built on giving imaginary significance and attraction for achievement of commercial aims to the certain subjects (Serebrennikova et al., 2011, 284). Overall, in the media-advertisement world view, the reduction of representations about the sense of life, dreams, harmony, and happiness appear (Ezhova, 2013, 161). However, in spite of the fact that advertising is used to be accused of the destruction of axiological bases, it still has a positive effect in relation to a whole range of problems. Thus, in particular, the advertisement in certain cases allows solving the problem of social adaptation of elderly people. It “removes social stereotypes related old age to a downturn in life, and towards a new direction of self-realization” (Ezhova, 2013, 160). Moreover, a well-disposed relation is formed to new social groups. For example, fathers, who take care of children; elderly, who aspire to

longevity; women, who combine careers with execution of household duties etc. (Penn and Zalesne, 2007).

RESEARCH METHODS

For detection of values, which an advertisement appeals to, we use the following methodological approaches.

Firstly, the basic means of appeal to values in an advertisement are evaluative lexical units. Traditionally, the evaluations are divided into *absolute*, representing the phenomenon as *good* or *bad*, *excellent*, *disgraceful* etc., *relative*, sorting the subject as *better*, *worse*, *more or less beautiful* etc., *external*, characterizing the subject from the point of view of its significance as a means or an instrument of achieving an aim, and *internal*, considering the subject compared to others (Ivin, 1970, 24–35). The classification of estimations, developed by Arutyunova (1988), is the most generally accepted, according to which there exist general estimations, *good – bad*, and private estimations, which form three groups: 1) *sensor estimations*, connected with sensory experience, including sensor-taste or hedonistic estimation, and *psychological estimations*, subdivided into intellectual and emotional divisions; 2) *sublimated estimations*, including aesthetic, based upon synthesis of sensory, psychological, and ethical factors, which satisfy moral feelings; 3) *rationalistic estimations*, connected with practical human activity and practical experience, including utilitarian, normative and teleological estimations (Baron et al., 2007).

Analysis of the evaluative lexical units allowed the detecting of system coordinates of the axiological world view in advertisements, and determining what is *good* and what is *bad* regarding a specific advertisement. The usage of evaluative lexical units is directed for the separation of these or other properties of the advertisement object. In this case, the estimations are offered as standards that allow appeal to the inner person, their demands, customs, traditions, fashion, etc.

Secondly, as a rule, the positive axiological images, notions and words relating to the basic values of society are used for indicating the subject value of an advert. All these objects are connected with the most important human demands, motives, and stereotypes. For detection of values in this case, it is necessary to use the methods of cognitive linguistics, directed on the analysis of concepts used in the advertisement. Particularly, the analysis of such concepts as health, a healthy lifestyle, success, beauty, family, love etc. is very important.

Thirdly, the usage of the figurative means which are built on the interaction of verbal and visual components of the advertisement text plays an important role in creation of quasi-values (Ukhova, 2014).

Fourthly, while analyzing the values in the advertisements, particularly upon the Russian examples, it is necessary to use such meaningful information resourc-

es, as linguistic dictionaries and National corpus of the Russian language. The usage of these materials allows, on the one part, studying the traditional content of these or other concepts-values (owing to the analysis of the dictionaries of different types), and on the other part – pointing out the changes in their structure (owing to the comparison of these dictionaries with the practical usage of values in the texts of different styles).

Thus, the used methods for studying an axiological world view, represented in the advertisement, can be called complex, taking into account both verbal and non-verbal components of advertisement texts.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The analysis of advertisement texts shows that it is possible to speak about three basic tendencies of transformation of the axiological viewpoint under the effect of advertising.

The first tendency is connected with *implementation of new values*, or those new to modern culture, and the enrichment of content of already existing values. Aggressiveness, for example, relates to a number of such values. Traditionally, the words *aggression* and *aggressive* were perceived in Russian culture as words with negative connotations. Nevertheless, in advertising, they are often used for creation of the ideal image. For example, both the advertising of automobiles and advertising of perfumes call for males to be imprudent, insolent and aggressive. In all appearances, such a change of estimation became possible due to the correlation of this quality with manhood and masculinity. However, in advertisements addressed to female audiences, it is possible to meet similar concepts.

The concept of 'fast paced life' is in many respects connected with 'aggressiveness.' Such advertisements call us to live 'quicker', in particular, with the development of new habits. One such example was recently used by a network of coffee houses, called Double U Coffee. This coffee brand suggested that people often want to 'double' themselves, or be in two places at the same time. Therefore, consumers were offered to drink coffee not at a table, but while on the move. Such active behavior is a new norm in city life. It is attractive to the social market, engaging the active, energetic and young.

It is obvious that implementation of the values described above could not affect the rethinking of what should be considered to be success. In spite of the fact that in advertising of commodities, this concept prevails (Aniskina, 2014a), it is possible to separate the general features of a *successful human*. This is a person of modernity, young, or at least, aspiring to seem and look this way, sexual, free, and focused on tomorrow.

The success of the consumer can't be tied, first of all, to the ownership of a successful product: *Do not believe a person, who says that success is something intangible. Success can be seen, heard and felt. <...> Choose*

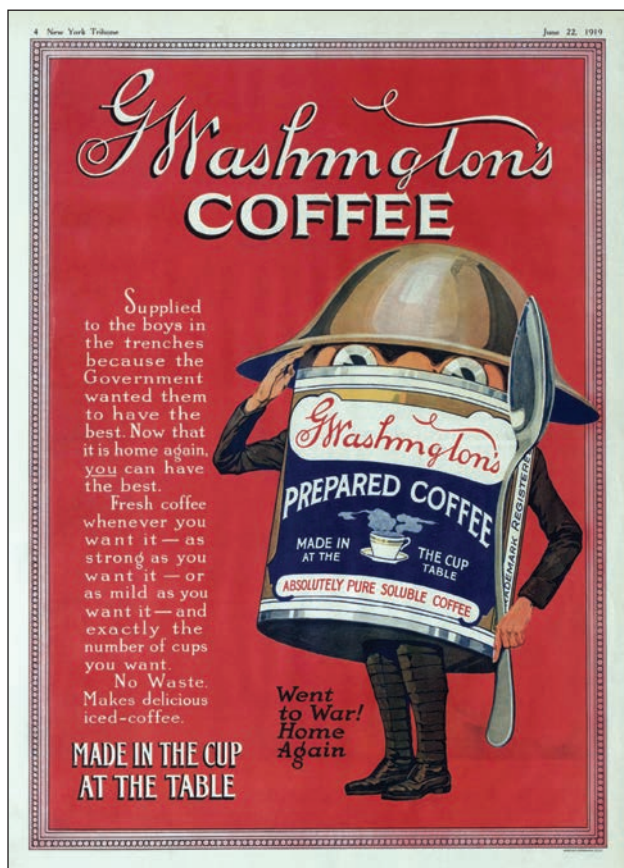


Figure 1: Washington's Coffee ad in rotogravure from the New York Tribune. File:Washington Coffee New York Tribune.JPG. From Wikimedia Commons.

a Toyota Camry and you will feel that success speaks to you in one language; All successful people do it. In the morning. Vedomosti. Business Newspaper; secondly, to the interaction with a successful producer: Cosmetic company MIRRA LUX, with 6 years of successful work in the Russian market. We invite you for mutually beneficial cooperation; PR-PREMIER: a wide specter of services, including unique information technologies. We work for your success.

It is interesting that the structure of 'success' notion in the advertisements does not include such characteristics, as *rich*, in the traditional sense. From the point of the advertisements' view, a rich person is not that one, who has a lot or earns a lot, but one who spends a lot. The illogicality of such consumer behavior, to spend more, than you can afford, is explained very convincingly from a psychological point of view: *As you deserve it!*

The analysis of advertising texts shows that in the structure of success concept, the following changes take place, in comparison with traditional statements, fixed in the language consciousness:

- the important thing is not what the person does, but what he consumes,

- luck doesn't play an important role in the achievement of success, as everyone can have luck: the advertised goods are accessible to all,
- the dominating role is played not by achieving results, but their evaluation by the society,
- not the action, but human is successful himself.

The considerable change happened under effect of the advertisement and in the structure of the 'health' concept. In particular, the scientists marked that there appeared to be new direction in native medicines – medicine for healthy people (Il'inoва, 2011, 39). However, the argument for advertising the concept 'health' can be deemed as more important, as it supports the axiological senses. Such advertisements often appeal to family values, calling to take care not only of oneself, but of relatives as well: '*A family pool is the center of a nice domestic experience. It provides a constant feeling of festiveness, and confidence in the health of relatives*'. These words, reflecting the relationship to health, show its meaning, using positive emotions, are used in the as an active part of the advert. However, in the opinion of experts, these notions are appealing to the sub consciousness. The advertisement convinces consumers that to be healthy is not only pleasant, but also advantageous too: '*The pool was bought – health was strengthened – the labor capacity increased – the wages increased – it is now possible to buy a second car*'. The preceding advertisements are for swimming pool equipment; '*Our future depends on our health*;' from an advertisement for a dental clinic.

The advertisement's discourse supports the concept with such notions as quality of life. '*Quality of life is determined not only by how we get dressed and where we live, but how we are also treated*;' from an advertisement for vitamins. Reputation is also supported; *healthy people have a healthy reputation*.

It may also be claimed that many advertisement texts are focused on the formation of active strategies affecting the behavior of consumers, based upon careful attention to their health. This is contrary the passive behavior, which is traditional for Russian culture. In Russian national culture, the practice of caring for oneself is not well developed. Undoubtedly, it can be considered a positive result, if the advertisement would not substitute the notion of being healthy, with the purchase of 'miraculous medicinal products', which promise to treat ailments without the help of doctors.

The second tendency lies in creation of new *combined values*. In particular, the relation between 'honesty and benefit' comes from the substitution of relationship between 'honesty and unselfishness' (Ezhova, 2013). Namely, this idea is put into a basis of series of advertisement video clips of Alfa-bank, convincing consumers that 'it is beneficial to be honest'.

In the advertisement of alcohol drinks, the appeal to the values of a healthy way of life is often used, in spite of seemingly full incompatibility with the notions

of alcohol and health (Aniskina, 2014b). Obviously, the connection between alcoholic drinking and the principles of correct nutrition are not usually in line. Therefore, producers, as a rule, choose other objectives: sport trainings, active tourism, outdoor recreation, etc. Thus, in the advertisement of Kedrovitsa Vodka, the typical consumer is depicted as a person, who likes to see picturesque landscapes, spends time outdoors, breath fresh air, and prefer active recreation. In short, having a healthy way of life, which partly includes the use of the advertised product. In the advertisement of Five Lakes Vodka, drinking vodka is equated with washing in magical lakes, assumingly assisting in health improvement.

In some cases, the appeal to healthy way of life takes place through 'the call' to do sports. However, the recipe of sports evening in this case can look, for example, in such a way:

Sports evening recipe

Step 1. Wait for the most important match.

Step 2. Support it with the noisiest cheers and chants

Step 3. Add the noble taste of White Horse.

The analysis of 150 texts suggests that advertising for strong alcohol drinks that appeal to values of a healthy way of life appears make up 30% of all of this category's adverts. Therefore, it can be said that this is one of the most typical advertisement means for this commodity category. Other values, to which the advertisement of strong alcohol appeals, include values of human relationships, like love and friendship, appearing 38% of the time, and self-realization, appearing 24%. Here there appear combinations of values, 'love – friendship – alcohol' and 'self-realization – alcohol'.

Obviously, drinking alcohol contradicts the norms of a healthy way of life. However, in the advertisement of strong alcoholic drinks the indication on their recreational effect is still used. For example, in 2010, the Samara Company PJSC Direct Line placed a vodka advertisement on the Internet, which used such expressions as *enhances digestion; helps chills by warming the throat well*.

Finally, the third tendency in the change of the axiological world view under effect of advertisement lies in *substitution of the values, in the advertisement*. This happens when explicitly expressed appeal to any value does not correspond to the real content of the text.

Thus, for example, the consumer frequently hopes to acquire *ecologically clean* products, like *high-quality water*, along with other products from ecologically clean regions. These blurbs became ordinary in some advertisements. However, the formulation of a 'ecologically clean product' can mislead a consumer, as there are no regulated requirements, meaning that such words can be used by any producer and it is almost impossible to detect false information.

However, the substitution of values can take place without assistance of similar indistinct formulas. For example, in the advertisement of the cigarette brand Kiss,

an inscription to the photo of young woman states: *'I like everything new, **tasty and round!***' Obviously, the advertised cigarettes are called as *tasty and round*, which can be seen as comparable to sweets, to readers of the magazine.

One more typical example is the statement *It is bad to count calories*. This idea is frequently used in advertisements for biologically active supplements and food products for losing weight: *It is addressed to those people, who want to have healthy way of life, and want to **eat correctly and deliciously at that, not torturing oneself by counting of calories***. In this phrase, the following semantic presuppositions are expressed. First, the right nutrition usually can be tasteless. Secondly, counting calories, for example, following quantity and quality of the food eaten, is torturing yourself in vain.

After Russian president V.V. Putin called on Russian citizens to lead healthy way of life, advertisements began to appeal more frequently to such values, as B nutrition, active way of life and sport. As a result new video clips appeared, built on the identification of these notions. For example, not long ago, before the beginning of Olympics in Sochi, there appeared an advertisement campaign for toilet cleaner Sanfor. In this ad, the process of lavatory pan cleaning was compared to sport training: a famous biathlon player 'shot' mud and bacteria, using the bottle of the advertised product as the bullets. The brand Lacoste offered its own concept of sport training. This advertisement that promoted clothes of the spring/summer 2014 collection by informing the consumers that love is also sport competition in some respects.

Numerous examples of the substitution of 'health' with other notions exist. The usage of such ways of advertising is an indication of the ecological nature of a product which can completely lead to the appearance of the illusion of usefulness of the advertised product. At least this can aid the transform of alcohol and health from mutually exclusive notions into mutually complementary ones. Such an effect on the axiological world view is especially dangerous, because it is supported by the advertisement of other commodities. In this area, substitution of notions also takes place. Fishing, as a type of active outdoor recreation, is substituted by going into a store. Touristic trips are compared to moving pages of a magazine around. Sport training supposedly should only take place when wearing stylish sport clothes. On the other part, the danger of inclusion of alcoholic ideas in the 'health' concept structure also lies in the readiness of Russians to justify the application of strong drinks in a whole range of life situations.

The peculiarity of this tendency lies in that although we determined a substitution of values, this advertisement perhaps doesn't mislead anyone. However, it is no less dangerous and offers excuses for those who understand the importance of so-called healthy way of life.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus, the analysis of advertisement texts showed that the advertisements really have a considerable effect on changing the values of the world view. This is displayed primarily by the fact that advertising transforms the content of the individual values and their relationships. Of course, one cannot speak about the exceptional impact of advertising on this process, but its role is quite significant, due to the persistence and high repetition of the same commercial. Modern advertising is not only the interpreter, but also, more importantly, the integrator and even creators of value meanings. Appealing to the traditional human values, the advertisement changes their content and hierarchy. It establishes synonymous relationship between objects (things), that is, objects of the material world, and subjective knowledge of the individual, his categories of consciousness.

The advertisement implements the value-based arguments through axiological lexicon; positive and negative value-based images; concepts and words that are related (in the minds of the speakers) with the basic values accepted in society; imagery means (especially metaphors and comparisons).

The authors identified the following key trends in the axiological world view under the impact of advertising:

- a advertising implements the values earlier unknown for a culture into the consumers' consciousness and enriches/changes traditional values. These values include aggressiveness, initiative, success, health, life tempo (compare the traditional Russian proverb "Slow and steady wins the race" and others);
- b advertising creates new combinations of values, which can unite other values, which earlier were considered mutually excluding, for example, honesty – profit, alcohol – health, alcohol – sport, alcohol

– self-realization, family – profit, economy - high-rolling and so on.

- c advertising substitutes true values by false ones, offering new options for people, who don't follow the rules/traditions/norms. For example, instead of members of the family, advertising can offer computer, furniture or a new set of sheets; active lifestyle in advertising is equated to shopping; taking care of the beloved is replaced by buying new things for them. Advertising offers a huge number of possible answers to the question "What is important in life?", Suggesting that a pint is more important than the birth of a son (beer ads) and watching TV is more important than communication with relatives (advertising satellite TV). The pronounced violation of traditional values draws attention to such commercials, and phrases said by advertising characters are often transformed into speech clichés. This is demonstrated, for example, by their use with a view to create demotivators and other internet memes. Because of similar changes, advertisements create quasi-values, giving non-material significance to advertised objects.

Thus, today one cannot be limited in the statement that the set of values, replicable by advertising is filtered in accordance with its pragmatic goals and ideology of the consumer society. Modern advertising uses almost all the values, including those that can be referred to the eternal, spiritual values, modifying their content and thereby manipulating public consciousness. Not by chance, in this regard advertising uses figurative means implemented both verbally and visually, as the image-based "package" facilitates the introduction of new value-based senses into the individual consciousness.

At the same time, the authors consider it advisable that the comprehensive study of advertising impact on the representatives of different target groups be carried out. Hence, these are the prospects of further studies.

AKSIOLOŠKI POGLED NA SVET SODOBNEGA UPORABNIKA OGLAŠEVANJA

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POVZETEK

Osnovni namen študije je bil preučiti trende, povezane s spremembami aksiološkega svetovnega nazora pri sodobnem človeku, ki izhajajo iz rabe besedil tiskanih oglasov. V raziskavi sta avtorici uporabili metode kognitivnega jezikoslovja, s katerimi sta se osredotočili na tematsko in konceptualno analizo oglasov. Obravnavali sta zlasti vrednote, kot so zdravje, zdrav življenjski slog, uspeh, lepota, družina in ljubezen. Analiza oglaševalskih besedil je pokazala, da oglasi občutno vplivajo na spremembe vrednot v posameznikovem pogledu na svet. Lahko govorimo o treh osnovnih trendih spreminjanja aksiološkega stališča, ki jih povzročata oglaševanje: prvi je povezan z uresničevanjem novih vrednot, drugi z ustvarjanjem drugačnih, kombiniranih vrednot in tretji z zamenjavo vrednot v oglasih. Na podlagi primerjave med tradicionalnimi vrednotami in vrednotami, na katere napeljujejo oglasi, sta avtorici prišli do zaključka, da oglasi zagovarjajo prakso edinstvenega pojava t. i. kvazivrednot, ki temelji na pripisovanju nematerialnega pomena materialnim predmetom. V članku dokazujeta, da sodobno oglaševanje ne igra zgolj vloge tolmača, pač pa, kar je pomembnejše, vlogo povezovalca in celo ustvarjalca pomenov vrednot.

Ključne besede: oglaševalsko besedilo, aksiološki pogled na svet, materialne in duhovne vrednote, kvazivrednote

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RAZUMEVANJE DRUŽBENIH SPREMENB TER DRUŽBENEGA IN ZGODOVINSKEGA RAZVOJA V »PREDZGODOVINI« SOCIOLOGIJE

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IZVLEČEK

V članku izhajamo iz podmene, da lahko govorimo o nastanku sociologije kot samostojne znanstvene discipline (v prvi tretjini 19. stoletja) zgolj formalno, to je s stališča klasifikacije znanosti, pred tem o »predzgodovini« sociologije. Potrebo po novi »znanosti o družbi« so njeni ustanovitelji utemeljevali (tudi spričo epohalnih družbenih sprememb ob koncu 18. in v začetku 19. stoletja) z argumentom, da filozofija (zgodovine) in družboslovne vede, v prvi vrsti zgodovinarji, resda ponujajo parcialne poglede na družbeni red in njegov razvoj, hkrati pa ne dajejo splošnega, globalnega vpogleda v zakone delovanja in razvoja človeške družbe kot celote. V prispevku se osredotočamo na obravnavo miselnih tokov, ki so bili takrat v filozofiji in družboslovju najbolj razširjeni, priznani in veljavni; le-ti so zagotovo odločilno vplivali na teoretično in metodološko vsebino sociologije ob njenem nastanku ter posledično (s svojim izročilom) tvorijo »predzgodovino« sociologije.

Ključne besede: zgodovinarji, filozofija zgodovine, predzgodovina sociologije, družbene spremembe, zgodovinski razvoj, zgodovina družbene misli, zgodovina politične misli

COMPRESIONE DEI CAMBIAMENTI SOCIALI, NONCHÉ DELLO SVILUPPO SOCIALE E STORICO NELLA "PREISTORIA" DELLA SOCIOLOGIA

SINTESI

Il contributo parte dalla premessa che si possa parlare della nascita della sociologia come disciplina scientifica indipendente (nel primo terzo dell'Ottocento) solo formalmente, ossia, in termini di classificazione delle scienze, e prima di allora di una "preistoria" della sociologia. I fondatori di questa nuova "scienza della società" giustificavano (anche di fronte ai cambiamenti sociali epocali avvenuti alla fine del Settecento e agli inizi dell'Ottocento) l'esigenza di essa con l'argomento che la filosofia (della storia) e le scienze sociali, la storiografia in particolare, fornivano solo una vista parziale dell'ordine sociale e del suo sviluppo, non riuscendo a offrire una visione generale, globale delle leggi del funzionamento ed evoluzione della società umana nel suo insieme. Il contributo s'incanta sullo studio delle correnti di pensiero più ampiamente riconosciute e valide nella filosofia e nelle scienze sociali del tempo; queste hanno sicuramente avuto un impatto decisivo sui contenuti teorici e metodologici della sociologia al momento della sua nascita e, di conseguenza (attraverso la loro tradizione), formano la "preistoria" della sociologia.

Parole chiave: storiografia, filosofia della storia, preistoria della sociologia, cambiamenti sociali, sviluppo storico, storia del pensiero sociale, storia del pensiero politico

UVOD

Sociologija se je resda pojavila kot samostojna znanstvena disciplina 'šele' v prvi tretjini 19. stoletja, vendar razmišljanjem o družbi – njeni organizaciji, odnosih in spremembah v njej ter še posebej o njenem razvoju – lahko sledimo daleč v preteklost, predvsem v tiste kulture in civilizacije starega veka, pri katerih se je ohranilo vsaj nekaj pisnih virov (Barnes, 1966). Posledično govorimo o nastanku sociologije in njeni umestitvi v panteon znanosti zgolj formalno, to je s stališča klasifikacije znanosti,¹ pred tem o »predzgodovini« sociologije, kajti sociološke probleme in sociološki način zastavljanja vprašanj srečujemo na vsej razvojni poti znanstvene misli, vse od grške antike naprej.² Teoretična in metodološka vprašanja 'kasnejše' sociologije so se oblikovala in zorela predvsem v okviru (socialne) filozofije ter v posameznih družbenih vedah, zlasti v ekonomiji, državoslovju, pravoslovju, zgodovini.

Potrebo po novi »znanosti o družbi« so njeni ustanovitelji³ utemeljevali z argumentom, da filozofija (zgodovine) in družboslovne vede, v prvi vrsti zgodovinopisje, resda ponujajo parcialne poglede na družbeni red in njegov razvoj, hkrati pa ne dajejo splošnega, globalnega vpogleda v zakone delovanja in razvoja človeške družbe kot celote. Prednostna naloga sociologije kot nove znanosti naj bi bilo potemtakem odkrivanje zakonov/zakonitosti družbenega in zgodovinskega razvoja; še več, s svojimi znanstvenimi ugotovitvami naj bi poleg razlage razvoja družbe v preteklosti in sedanjosti omogočala tudi napovedovanje prihodnjega družbenega razvoja; v tem pogledu naj bi bila še posebno koristna/uporabna veda, saj naj bi opravljala vlogo »vodnice« za reorganizacijo družbe v prihodnosti.⁴

Misel o družbenih spremembah, o družbenem/zgodovinskem⁵ razvoju, o njegovih zakonih/zakonitostih, pa tudi smereh tega razvoja seveda ni bila nova; prisotna je bila tako v *antičnem* kot v *srednjeveškem* in *novoveškem* zgodovinopisju, pa tudi v vseh razvojnih

obdobjih filozofije in še posebej v *filozofiji zgodovine*. Praviloma je vsako obdobje glede teh vprašanj ponujalo različne, pa tudi nasprotujoče si poglede, odgovore in razumevanja. Tej problematiki bomo tudi namenili osrednjo pozornost v pričujočem prispevku.

ANTIKA IN SREDNJI VEK

Splošna ugotovitev je, da v antičnem obdobju še niso poznali zgodovinskega pojmovanja v današnjem pomenu besede; le-to zahteva, da vidimo v posameznih zgodovinskih pojavih samo stopnjo in del večjega procesa; ta proces ima lahko različne oblike, vendar predstavlja zmeraj organski razvojni potek z začetkom, odločilnimi vrhovi in koncem. Stari Grki v zgodovinskem življenju večinoma niso videli razvojnega dogajanja; v zgodovini še niso poskušali odkrivati smisla in cilja, pa tudi ne družbenega napredka in napredovanja, nasprotno: vsaka sprememba je Grkom pomenila propadanje in nazadovanje, zato so menili, da je treba vso pozornost posvetiti ohranitvi tradicije (nasploh so imela razmišljanja o družbi tedaj bolj konservativno in tradicionalno usmeritev). Na socialna in politična dogajanja so gledali s stališča narave, ki jim je bila večna in nespremenljiva v svojem osnovnem poteku. Prav tako je bila pri Grkih prisotna statičnost filozofskih razmišljanj o (idealni) državi⁶ pogojena s statičnim življenjem, zasnovanem na poljedelstvu in na ponavljajoči se rutini. Sicer so menili, da se pojavljajo v naravi spremembe, toda te potekajo v sklenjenih krogih, tako da se vračajo v svoje izhodišče, npr. tok letnih časov; zato se v naravi vse ponavlja. Skladno s tem so pojmovali tudi družbeno zgodovino in človeka; le-ta je bil predvsem del narave in njenih procesov: tako kot nastane iz narave, se vanjo tudi vrne.

Herodot (490–425 pr. n. št.) in Tukidid (~455–399 pr. n. št.) sta bila med prvimi, ki sta se spraševala in razmišljala o vzrokih in gibalnih družbenega dogajanja. Herodot je ozadje in vzroke spopadov med Heleni in »barbari« (»tujci«, negrško govoreči ljudje) sprva iskal

1 Znanost, kot jo poznamo in pojmuje danes, se je porodila v obdobju renesanse. Najprej se je osamosvajalo področje naravoslovja, medtem ko se je drugo veliko znanstveno področje, družboslovje, še naprej razvijalo v okviru filozofije. Družbene znanosti/vede so zelo raznovrstne in so postale samostojne znanstvene discipline mnogo kasneje (npr. sociologija v 19. stoletju). Nadaljnji razvoj je pripeljal do različnih delitev družbenih znanosti: na teoretske, posploševalne (npr. sociologija) in singularizajoče (npr. zgodovina); na generalne, obče in specialne, posebne; na indikativne in normative; na fundamentalne, temeljne in aplikativne itn. Posledično so te delitve postopoma vodile do današnjih razvejanj na naravoslovne (eksaktne, tehniške, medicinske, agrarne), družboslovne in humanistične znanosti ter znanosti o umetnosti. V naši razpravi bomo sledili prvotni delitvi znanosti na dve veliki veji, na naravoslovje in družboslovje, tako kot so jo pojmovali in razumeli v obdobju o katerem je govora.

2 Prve analize družbenih pojavov in procesov so naredili grški filozofi iz obdobja po Sokratu (470–399 pr. n. št.).

3 Auguste Comte, Saint-Simonov tajnik, je leta 1838 – v 4. zvezku svojega dela *Tečaj pozitivne filozofije (Cours de philosophie positive, I–VI, Paris 1830–1842)* – prvi poimenoval *sociologijo* (v prvih treh zvezkih uporablja termin »socialna fizika«) za »znanost o družbi«, medtem ko za utemeljitelja sodobne sociologije velja Claude-Henri Saint-Simon. V svojem delu *Le Socialisme* je Émile Durkheim zapisal: »[Saint-Simon] ni samo naredil načrt za novo znanost [sociologijo], marveč ga je poskušal tudi uresničiti« (nav. po: Gurvitch, 1966, 43). Kot raziskovalni in študijski predmet se je sociologija začela uveljavljati na univerzah v devetdesetih letih 19. stoletja, najprej v ZDA in Franciji; največji razmah je dosegla po 2. svetovni vojni, ko se je tudi razvejila v posebne sociologije.

4 Comte je mislil na prispevek sociologije k stabiliziranju družbe kot celote (po socialnopolitičnih revolucijah), pa tudi k napredku, pojmovanem kot izpopolnjevanje trdnosti in reda (Comte, 1989); potemtakem naj bi bila sociologija nekakšen instrument varovanja družbenega miru in ohranjanja temeljev družbene ureditve/rede.

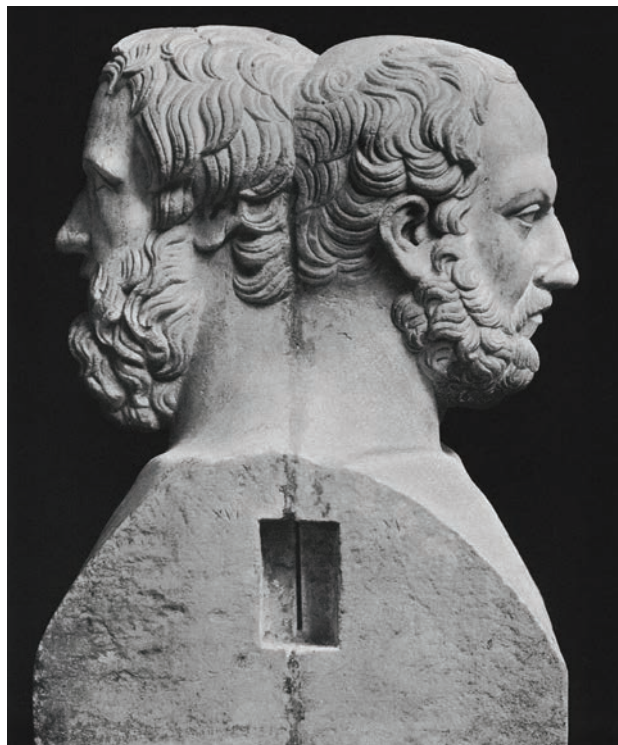
5 »Vsako družbeno dogajanje je hkrati zgodovinsko dogajanje in narobe« (Goldmann, 1958, 7).

6 Ne samo za Platona (*Država*, 1995; *Zakoni*, 1982), tudi za Aristotela je bila stabilnost najboljše merilo popolne države (*Politika*, 1998).

v volji bogov,⁷ v mitološkem ozadju,⁸ kasneje pa jih je našel v antagonizmu (akcija – reakcija) med nepodjarmljenimi in podjarmljenimi ljudstvi. Njegove *Zgodbe (Historiai)* v 9. knjigah (Herodot, 2003)⁹ so prvo klasično zgodovinsko delo ter primer pripovedujočega, deskriptivnega zgodovinopisja, ki mu je prineslo naslov »oče zgodovine« (Cicero). Tukidid pa si je s svojim delom in pristopom, ki je v metodološkem pogledu – v primerjavi s Herodotovo prevladujočo (subjektivno) pripovedno komponento – pomenil pravo revolucijo za razvoj zgodovinopisja,¹⁰ prislužil naziv »oče politične zgodovine«. V delu *Peloponeška vojna*¹¹ (Thucydides/Tukidides, 1958), ki velja za prvo zgodovinsko monografijo, je postavil temelj pragmatičnemu, poučnemu zgodovinopisju, ki bo prevladovalo vse do 18. stoletja. Zgodovino je pojmoval izključno v človeškem okviru in ni nikdar iskal pojasnila v nadnaravnih pojavih, saj je bil prepričan, da je mogoče iz značaja in dejanj glavnih akterjev izluščiti vzroke dogodkov; v tem kontekstu se je posvečal psihološki analizi njihovih značajev.¹²

Približno tri stoletja kasneje je Polibij,¹³ najpomembnejši zgodovinopisec helenističnega obdobja, v svoji univerzalni zgodovini – pod vplivom stoičnega nauka o usodi¹⁴ – sistematično iskal vzroke za razvoj in propad ljudstev (»nič verjetnega ali neverjetnega se ne more zgoditi brez vzroka«)¹⁵ ter razlagal zgodovinsko dogajanje z bojem posameznikov in/ali celih ljudstev zoper moč usode.¹⁶ Pri Polibiju je vojna orodje, s katerim Tihe spreminja svetovno ureditev (Momigliano, 1988, 52); to prepričanje v moč usode postane odslej stalnica v antičnem zgodovinopisju.

Medtem ko v antiki še ni mogoče govoriti o filozofiji zgodovine v pravem pomenu besede, najdemo zanjo



Slika 1: Herodot in Tukidid (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli). File:Herodot und Thukydides.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

prve zamatke v srednjem veku. T. i. *mistično-teološki pogled* na zgodovinski razvoj, po katerem se izraža v zgodovini skrivnostna božja volja, je dobil svojo siste-

7 *Deus ex machina* (bog iz stroja) – v antičnih gledaliških delih so bogovi razpletali nerazrešljive, brezupne situacije; za prikazovanje tega so uporabljali določene naprave (stroje). Nasploh so vzroke za spremembe, kolikor so o njih razmišljali oziroma jih opazovali, iskali v nadnaravnih silah.

8 Sicer je že predsokratski filozof Ksenofan (~565–473 pr. n. št.) zavrnil mitološki pogled na svet, ko je ugotavljal, da v mitologiji nastopajo preveč ljudem podobni bogovi, kar po njegovem mnenju nikakor ni v skladu s samim pojmom boga: »[...] kajti, da si bog, pomeni, da si najmočnejši. Ko bi bili med mnogimi bogovi eni močnejši, drugi šibkejši, bi ne bili več bogovi [...]« (Sovrè, 1988, 68). Nesporno je, da so (bili) miti sestavni del zgodovinopisja, ki nenazadnje vsebujejo tudi določene nepogrešljive informacije o preteklosti (Vernant, 1986; Mali, 2003).

9 To delo so kmalu po objavi sprejeli kot novo obliko književnosti. Pred Herodotom so obstajali letopisi in epi, ki so ohranjali znanje o preteklosti. Herodot je bil prvi, ki ni samo zapisoval preteklost ampak jo je obravnaval kot filozofski problem, oziroma kot raziskovalni projekt, ki prinaša znanje človeškega obnašanja.

10 V ospredje svojega pisanja je postavil novo vodilo – resnico, pisati o tem, »kar se je dejansko zgodilo«, poročati o tem, »kar je bilo resnično povedano«, s čim večjo mero objektivnosti in kolikor mogoče natančno.

11 Tukidid zaključuje, da je do Peloponeške vojne prišlo zaradi ambicij Aten, da postanejo 'svetovno' cesarstvo.

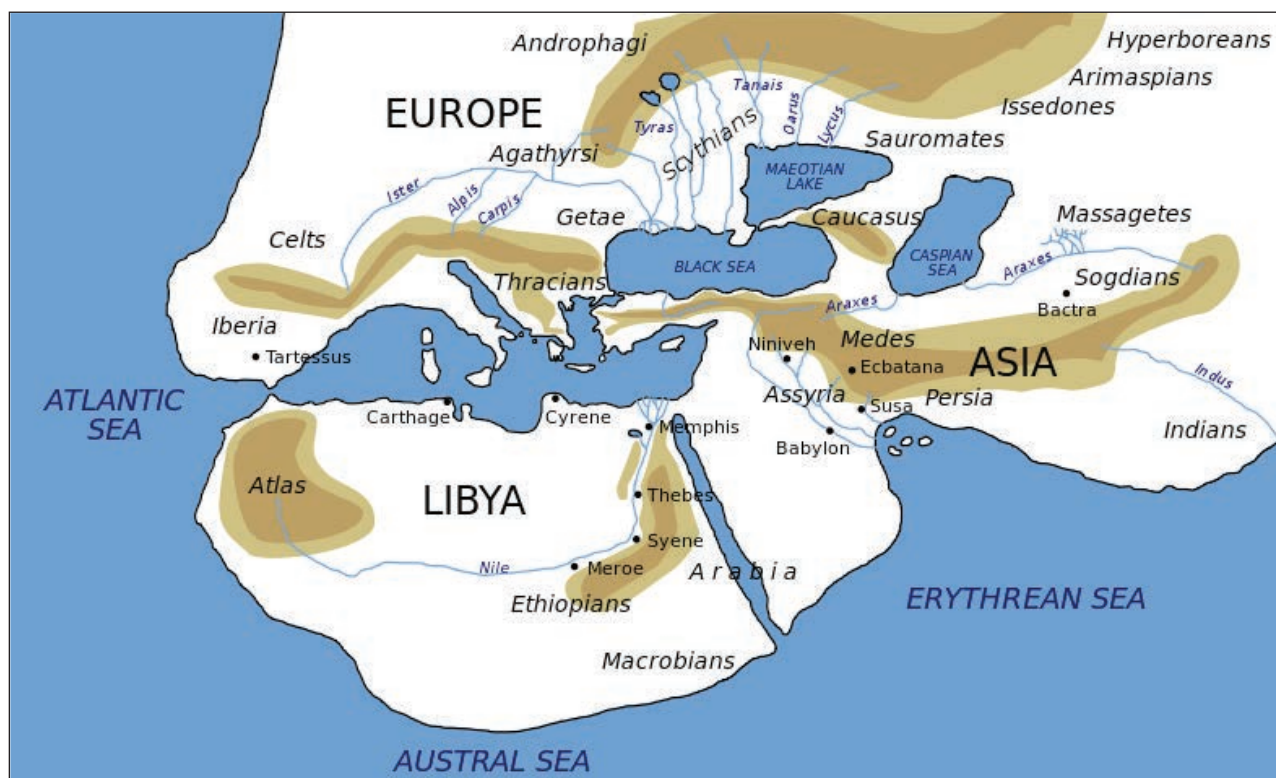
12 V pragmatični koncepciji se je še više povzpел grški zgodovinar Plutarh/Plutarchus (~46–125) v svojem velikem delu *Vzporedni življenjepisi (Bioi parallēloī)*. Njegovi življenjepisi, čeprav premalo kritični, so nedvomno dragocen vir za antiko. Plutarh noče biti 'zgodovinar', temveč moralist. Ne zanimajo ga toliko sintetični pregledi zgodovinskih dogajanj Grčije in Rima (verjel je v združljivost Rima kot vladarja in Grčije kot učiteljice), temveč predvsem etično in psihološko pomembne osebe. V slov. prevodu: *Življenje velikih Rimljanov* (2000); *Življenje velikih Grkov* (2003); *Aleksander Veliki* (1973); *Vzporedni življenjepisi*, I–III (2004, 2008, 2014) idr.

13 Polibij (200–118 pr. n. št.), velja ob Herodotu in Tukididu za enega najpomembnejših (staro)grških zgodovinopiscev nasploh; leta 167 je bil poslan kot politični interniranec v Rim. Tu je napisal *Občo zgodovino* o razširitvi rimske oblasti po Sredozemlju v 40 knjigah (Polibios, 1964): v celoti je ohranjenih le prvih pet, od drugih le odlomki in citati.

14 »Usoda (Tihe/Týche/, Fortuna) zapoveduje ljudem in ne ljudje usodi« (Polibij).

15 »Zgodovina bi postala samo zabava, pa nobena znanost, če se iz nje vzamejo vprašanja, zaradi katerega vzroka in na kakšen način ter čemu je bilo kakšno dejanje izvršeno« (Polibij).

16 »Tihe je usmerila skoraj vse dogodke ekumene proti eni točki (Polibij misli na uveljavljanje rimske oblasti v Sredozemlju) in jih pustila razvijati se neizogibno proti enemu in istemu cilju«.



Slika 2: Podoba Zemlje v Herodotovih Zgodbah (World Map of Herodotus). File:Herodotus world map-en.svg. From Wikimedia Commons.

matično obliko po uveljavljenju krščanstva, potem ko je le-to v človeškem mišljenju s svojimi verskimi nauki povezal ves človeški razvoj, od začetka do konca sveta, v celoto.¹⁷ Potek zgodovine naj bi potemtakem določil bog; njen smisel in cilj sta torej zunaj same zgodovine. Na tej osnovi je krščanski nauk razlagal zgodovino sicer teološko, vendar že z zametki zgodovinsko razvojnega pojmovanja. Krščansko obliko mistično-teološkega pogleda na zgodovino je utemeljil Avrelij Avguštin¹⁸ v delu *O božji državi* (*De civitate Dei*, napisano 413–426); le-ta velja za prvi prikaz zgodovinskega razvoja družbe oziroma univerzalne svetovne zgodovine: »Od boga ne izvira le vsa oblast, marveč tudi ves zgodovinski razvoj«. Po njegovem mnenju je zgodovina smiselno dogajanje, ki vodi k vnaprej določenemu cilju; vsi dogodki imajo svoj višji pomen; sila, ki usmerja zgodovino, je božja previdnost; o vsem odloča božja volja; bog kaznuje mogočne narode s tem, da povzroči njihov propad itn. (Luthar et al., 2006, 400–406). Avguštinova razlaga zgodovinskega razvoja je veljala skozi ves srednji vek.

Preobrat je nastal šele z renesanso: »Iz rokopisov, rešenih ob padcu Bizanca, iz antičnih kipov, izkopanih v razvalinah Rima, je pred očmi strmečega Zapada vstal nov svet – svet grške antike; pred njegovimi svetlimi liki so izginile pošastne prikazni srednjega veka; v Italiji se je umetnost, ki je bila videti kot odsev klasične antike, povzpela do neslutnih višin, ki pozneje niso bile nikdar več dosežene. V Italiji, Franciji, Nemčiji je nastala nova, prva moderna literatura; Anglija in Španija sta doživeli kmalu nato klasično dobo svoje literature. Podrte so bile pregraje starega "orbis terrarum" (zemeljskega kroga), pravzaprav je bila Zemlja šele tedaj odkrita, položene so bile osnove za kasnejšo svetovno trgovino in za prehod rokodelstva v manufakturo, ki je bila izhodišče za moderno veleindustrijo. Strta je bila duhovna diktatura Cerkev; germanski narodi so jo povečini kar zavrgli in sprejeli protestantizem, pri romanskih narodih pa se je vedno bolj in bolj širilo vedro svobodomiselstvo – prevzeto od Arabcev in hranjeno od novo odkrite grške filozofije –, ki je pripravljalo nastop materializma 18. stoletja. Bil je to največji progresivni prevrat, ki ga je

17 Krščanstvo je svoj nauk o svetovnem dogajanju naslonilo na izročilo židovske mitologije, zapisano v bibliji; zgodovina naj bi se začela z božjim stvarjenjem sveta, končala pa s poslednjo sodbo.

18 Avguštin iz Hipona (354–430), teoretik zgodnjega krščanstva, je poskušal razložiti vso dotedanjo zgodovino z »idejo razvoja« in ga zaradi tega lahko štejemo za začetnika kasnejše filozofije zgodovine.



Slika 3: Naslovna stran Tukididove Peloponeške vojne v 8. knjigah (London, 1629). File:Houghton STC 24058 (B) - Thucydides.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

dotlej doživelo človeštvo, čas, ki je potreboval velikane in jih tudi rodil, velikane misli, strasti in značaja, mnogostranosti in učenosti» (Engels, 1975, 79–80).

PRVE ANTITEZE SHOLASTIČNI SLIKI ZGODOVINE

V obdobju renesanse in humanizma¹⁹ (Garin, 1993; Horkheimer, Adorno, 2002; Burke, 2004) so sicer postopoma začeli opuščati religiozne/sholastične predstave o zgodovinskem razvoju (postopna sekularizacija zgodovine),²⁰ vendar so prve filozofske razlage zgodovine v modernem pomenu besede začele nastajati šele po letu 1700, tj. z *racionalistično* presojo zgodovinskega razvoja.²¹

Vzpodbuda za veliki miselni prevrat, ki se je zgodil v zgodovinopisju 18. stoletja, ni prišla iz takratnih mistično-teoloških spoznanj o družbi in njenem razvoju, marveč iz napredka naravoslovja, katerega astronomska in fizikalna odkritja – od Nikolaja Kopernika (1473–1543) do Isaaca Newtona (1642–1727) – pomenijo najpomembnejši duhovni prevrat 17. stoletja (Koyré, 1988). Čim bolj je ugotavljanje fizikalnih zakonov odstranjevalo pojasnjevanje pojavov z božjim poseganjem v vsakdanje življenje in dovoljevalo mehanistično razlago po splošnih zakonih materialnega sveta, tem bolj se je postavljalo vprašanje podobnega prevrata tudi v preučevanju človeške družbe v preteklosti in sedanjosti. Zato pa je bilo treba postaviti preučevanje človeške preteklosti na mnogo širšo osnovo: tj. pomenilo zajeti poleg politične in vojaške zgodovine še mnoge druge oblike človekovega življenja in udejstvovanja.²²

Avtor prvega poskusa takega razširjanja in ugotovitve zakonitosti razvoja v človeški družbi je bil Giambattista Vico (1668–1744),²³ katerega delo *Načela nove znanosti (Principi di una scienza nuova, 1725)* velja za začetek splošne teorije o družbi; v njem je predstavil

koncept zgodovinskega razvoja in dogajanja s stališča *ciklične teorije* (Vico, 1997). Poznali so jo že najstarejši grški filozofi (naravno so razlagali z idejo o vračanju: svet se po milijonih let vrne v prvotno stanje in svetovni potek teče spet po isti ciklični poti), pa tudi Polibij: »Tako prehajajo državne ureditve iz ene oblike v drugo in tak je naravni red, ki se mu prilagajajo oblike države, zamenjujejo ena drugo in se vračajo k svojemu začetku. Kdor je te stvari dobro razumel, se bo mogoče zmotil v časovnih napovedih, ko govori o bodočnosti države. Ne bo pa pogršil pri ocenjevanju vsakokratnega stanja njene rasti, propada ali sprememb, ki jo čakajo [...]. Kdor lahko poveže začetek omenjenega razvoja z njegovim koncem, utegne že sedaj povedati, kaj se bo zgodilo v bodočnosti« (Polibios, 1964, 354, 374).

To ciklično teorijo je Vico prenesel z naravnega na zgodovinsko področje; na njej je zgradil svoje pojmovanje »naravnih« zakonov, ki uravnavajo človeški razvoj. Po njegovem mnenju je zgodovina vsakega ljudstva celota zase, vendar pa razvoj vseh ljudstev poteka skozi enaka obdobja (doba bogov, doba junakov, človeška doba). Sosledje teh obdobj pomeni hkrati napredovanje iz barbarstva v kulturo in civilizacijo; tej sledita razpad in dekadence. Ta proces se v zgodovini pri različnih ljudstvih in v različnih okoljih stalno ponavlja, vendar na zmeraj višji ravni; ima torej ciklično obliko in izključuje možnost neprestanega linearnega napredovanja. Pomen Vicovega dela je vsaj dvojen: prvič, da je sistematično izrazil idejo o zgodovinskem razvoju družbe (bil je predhodnik *historizma*, preučevanja in razumevanja stvari in pojavov s stališča zgodovinskega razvoja in dogajanja), idejo, ki je postala odslej osrednja vsebina teoretične družbene misli; in drugič, da je vpeljal tisto metodološko novost (*idiografski pristop*),²⁴ ki bo v naslednjih stoletjih prispevala k uveljavitvi razlikovanja med *naravo*

19 Humanizem je znanstveno, duhovno gibanje, ki se je ob koncu fevdalizma postavilo po robu sholastiki in cerkvenemu monopolu ter je hotelo na podlagi antičnega duha, ki ga je črpalo iz spisov grških in rimskih klasikov, oblikovati 'novega' človeka. Humanisti so dajali prednost razmišljanjem o resničnem človeku (*studia humana*) pred razmišljanji o problemih onostranstva (*studia divina*).

20 *Sekularizacija zgodovine* je v humanističnem pojmovanju odprla stvarnejši pristop k obravnavanju zgodovinskih dejstev, hkrati pa je tlakovala metodološko pot v sistematično zgodovinsko kritiko virov ter v sistematičen pretres vrednosti le-teh – vprašanje ponarejenih dokumentov/falzifikatov, na katere se je opirala takratna papeška oblast, npr. *Konstantinova darovnica* (Valla, 2009); le-to so razvili v 17. stoletju *eruditi* in *antikvarji* (Bloch, 1996, 92–99).

21 Prvi resnični korak v razvoju zgodovine kot znanosti je prispeval 'nizozemski' filozof Baruch de Spinoza (1632–1677) v delu *Teološko-politična razprava* (Spinoza, 2003), ki ni le filozofsko, marveč tudi historično kritično delo (zlasti do biblije). Spinozova pojmovanje boga je že popolnoma neantropomorfnost, saj mu je odvzel skoraj vse človeške lastnosti, tako da je ostal samo še abstrakcija, v kateri je zajeta resničnost z vsemi svojimi stvarnimi, pa tudi samo možnimi pojavi in oblikami. Za življenje je Spinoza veljal za enega najnevarnejših mislecev, češ da zanikuje krščanski nauk; pa tudi sicer se je zdel najbližji ateizmu in materializmu (vplival je na razvoj francoskega materializma 18. stoletja).

22 Z vidika *pragmatičnega* zgodovinopisja, ki je prevladovalo v zgodovinopisju vse do 18. stol. (*racionalizma*), je na preteklost mogoče gledati kot na zbirko »primerov« za poznejše čase le tedaj, če se temeljni elementi življenja (gospodarstvo, družbena ureditev itd.) ne menjujejo ali vsaj v bistvu ne spreminjajo. In v resnici je vladalo vsesplošno prepričanje, da so to v življenju stalnice, ki pri zgodovinarju niti ne zaslužijo pozornosti prav zaradi tega, ker se ne spreminjajo. Prav tu je bila teoretična podlaga omejevanja zanimanja zgodovinarjev le na vojaške in politične dogodke – na to, kar je v svetu spremenljivega. To napačno prepričanje o stalnosti vseh splošnih družbenih elementov je vzrok druge lastnosti pri pragmatični razlagi zgodovine: vse, kar se je zgodilo v teku človeškega razvoja, se je zgodilo po razumskem, zavestnem, načrtnem delu vodilnih ljudi (Grafenauer, 1960, 43–44).

23 G. Vico je bil kot filozof tudi strokovnjak za kulturno zgodovino in pravo (nanj so vplivala dela H. Grotiusa); velja za predhodnika kulturne antropologije in etnologije (Vico, 1994; Bednarik, 1997).

24 Z *idiografskim* pristopom (s spoznavanjem posebnega v občem) je Vico raziskovalno pozornost v družboslovju usmeril tudi na preučevanje individualnih, posebnih in enkratnih dogajanj v okviru posameznih zgodovinskih dob. Tako sta novoveško znanost zaznamovala – v *me-*

kot spontanim, samoraslim svetom in *družbo* kot zgodovinskim, kulturnim, po ljudeh proizvedenim, simbolnim svetom. S tem je Vico (tako kot kasneje Hegel) opozarjal na to, da narave nismo ustvarili mi, zgodovina pa je nenehno nastajajoči proizvod naših lastnih, zavestnih in vendar nezavednih, načrtovanih in vendar spontanih delovanj.²⁵ Ena izmed najpomembnejših posledic uveljavitve takšnega razlikovanja je metodološka: med (*naravoslovnimi*) znanostmi in raziskovanjem čisto človeškega (*humanitas*); odtlej se uveljavlja načelna razlika dveh metodoloških orientacij: *idiografska* in *nomotetična*.

S svojim prehodom od teologije k filozofiji zgodovine je Vico sprožil odločilni proces sekularizacije zgodovino-pisja. Po dobrem tisočletju je prav on prvi sistematično zagovarjal stališče, da je človek gospodar vere in ne njen služabnik; svoje stališče pa je črpal iz prepričanja, da je človek s preoblikovanjem osnovnih institucij (vera, poroka in pogreb) sposoben preoblikovati svoje družbeno okolje (Luthar et al., 2006, 447). S svojimi deli in stališči je Vico trasiral pot moderni filozofiji zgodovine.

KONSTITUIRANJE FILOZOFIJE ZGODOVINE

Za nadaljnji razvoj zgodovino-pisja ni bila toliko pomembna Vicova ciklična teorija o človeškem razvoju (značilen izraz humanistične koncepcije zgodovine), marveč veliko bolj razširjenje nalog zgodovino-pisja in poskus ugotovitve lastne zakonitosti zgodovinskega razvoja. Pri tem Vicove ideje niso imele neposrednega učinka na takratno zgodovino-pisje,²⁶ temveč na razsvetljenstvo 18. stoletja, ki se je tesneje povežalo s stvarnim družbenim življenjem (Hadživuković, 2005a), in še posebej na vplivna filozofa, Charlesa Montesquieuja (1689–1755) ter Voltaira (Françoise-Marie Arouet, 1694–1778); prvi se je ukvarjal zlasti z raziskovanjem vpliva zemljepisnih okoliščin na zgodovino (Vranicki, 2001, 179–183; Hadživuković, 2005b), medtem ko je drugi zahteval, da naj bo težišče zgodovino-pisja na preučevanju zgodovine civilizacije in kulture. Voltairova dela (*Stoletje Ludvika XIV.*, 1751; *Razprava o splošni zgodovini, običajih in razumu narodov*, 1756 idr.) predstavljajo že prva zgodovinska dela, ki so se poleg političnega razvoja ukvarjala še z drugimi vprašanji, kot so običaji, zakonodaja, trgovina, finance, poljedelstvo, prebivalstvo, geografske, klimatske, kulturne idr. zna-



Slika 4: Kip Tihe iz Antiohije (*The Tyche of Antioch*) v Vatikanskem muzeju. File:Tyche Antioch Vatican Inv2672.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

čilnosti ljudstev.²⁷ Voltaire jih praviloma obravnava in prikazuje izolirano, brez notranje povezave, vendar z namenom, da pokaže na postopni razvoj človeštva, ki mu velja za temeljni zakon zgodovinskega razvoja. S takimi prijemi se je resda odločno uprl mistično-teološki razlagi zgodovinskega razvoja (z ne/posrednim poseganjem enega ali več nadnaravnih dejavnikov vanj), hkrati pa jo je – kot razsvetljenec in deist²⁸ – iskal izključno v

todološkem pogledu – dva filozofa: Vico z *idiografskim* in René Descartes/Renatus Cartesius (1596–1650) z *nomotetičnim* pristopom (Descartes, 2007), s pomočjo katerega odkrivamo (prek dedukcije) univerzalne, splošne/obče zakonitosti v naravnem dogajanju (naravoslovje).

25 G. Vico velja za dediča tistih mislecev, ki so že v antiki in v dobi renesanse razlikovali med »spoznavanjem narave in spoznavanjem tega, kar smo sami ustvarili« (politične institucije, pravo, kot tudi umetniška dela idr.).

26 Podobno kot v času njegovega življenja so ga vse do zadnjih desetletij 20. stoletja veliko bolje kot zgodovinarji znali ceniti filozofi (priznavali so ga za predhodnika moderne filozofije zgodovine), teologi in pravniki, konec 19. stoletja pa tudi sociologi (Luthar, 1993). S svojo ciklično teorijo je Vico vplival mdr. na Nietzschejevo »večno vračanje enakega«, tj. volja do moči (Nietzsche, 2004) in na Spenglerjev sistem organskih ciklov (Spengler, 2009).

27 Voltairju so se v 19. stoletju poklonili z vzdevkom »oče modernega zgodovino-pisja«.

28 Razsvetljenci so bili večinoma pripadniki deizma (deus/bog), kot so imenovali poseben religiozen nazor, ki je bil v skladu z razsvetljensko vero v človeški razum. Deizem je bil torej posebna oblika razumske ali naravne religije, utemeljena na mehanističnem pojmovanju resničnosti. Zgodovino so razlagali kot projekt/proces, ki ima jasno razvidno smer oziroma zaželeni cilj (triada: Razum – Narava – Človek).



Slika 5: Hrbtina stran (lesorez) Avguštinovega dela *De civitate dei* (Basel, 1515). File: *Augustinus De civitate dei Basel 1515 Titel-Rückseite (Isny).jpg*. From Wikimedia Commons.

ideološki sferi, v svetu idej (Vranicki, 2001, 184–190). Voltairovo prepričanje, da bo v zgodovini navsezadnje zmagal človeški razum, kar je bilo v skladu z glavnimi idejami razsvetljenstva, je imelo nadaljevanje v nemški klasični filozofiji. Le-ta je bila še posebej pomembna za razvoj nemškega zgodovinopisja v 19. stoletju, s prehodom na *eruditsko-genetično* smer z dvema glavnima variantama: *idealističnim historizmom* in *pozitivizmom*.

Vse do konca 18. stoletja je bil nauk o družbi/zgodovini in njenem gibanju tudi sestavni del filozofije,²⁹ še posebej *filozofije zgodovine* 18. in začetka 19. stoletja.³⁰ Slednja je kot posebna filozofska panoga razpravljala o tem, kaj je pravzaprav človeška zgodovina, kaj je smisel zgodovinskih dogajanj, če tak smisel sploh obstaja, in če ne, kaj je tedaj bistvo zgodovine. Zato se je spraševala o tem, kam zgodovinski razvoj pelje, kaj je njegov cilj in katere sile ga gibljejo. Zlasti jo je zanimalo, ali se v zgodovinskem dogajanju uveljavlja napredek (*progres*)³¹ ali ne (*regres*)³². Poleg tega se je ukvarjala z vprašanjem, katera plast resničnosti je v gibanju zgodovine prvotna in odločilna – materialna (prirodna, gospodarska, socialna, politična) ali duhovna (ideološko-kulturna).³³

Čeprav se Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) ni obširneje ukvarjal s filozofijo zgodovine, je položil temelj za novo zgodovinsko paradigmo.³⁴ Z njim je uresničil razsvetljensko težnjo dokazati možnost človeškega napredka in izpopolnjevanja, hkrati pa je Rousseaujevo teorijo o propadu človeka v civilizaciji (Vranicki, 2001, 190–201) nadomestil z bolj optimističnim nazorom zgodovinskega razvoja. Kant si je človeško zgodovino zamislil kot načrt, po katerem se v zgodovinskih dogajanjih uveljavlja napredek in izpopolnitev človeštva kot vrste, ki iz živalskega pristanja polagoma, s pomočjo razuma, napreduje h kulturi. V zgodovini se uresničuje skriti

29 Vsi veliki filozofi 17. in 18. stoletja – Descartes, Hobbes, Locke, Spinoza, Leibniz, francoski materialisti (Lamettrie, Diderot, Holbach, Helvétius), pripadniki nemške klasične filozofije (Wolf, Fichte, Kant, Schelling, Hegel) idr. – so posredovali v okviru svojih filozofskih sistemov tudi teoretične poglede na družbo in njeno gibanje skozi čas, s katerimi so ne/posredno vplivali tudi na tok zgodovinopisja. Zaradi te usmeritve je prišlo tudi do formiranja filozofije zgodovine kot posebne filozofske panoge; ime »filozofija zgodovine« je prvi uporabil Voltaire, leta 1754 (Vranicki, 2001, 20).

30 *Filozofija zgodovine* lahko po pravici štejemo – če jo motrimo z njene problemske strani – za neposredno predhodnico poznejše splošne teorije o družbi, tj. »obče sociologije«.

31 Francoski matematik, politik, filozof, enciklopedist Antoine-Nicolas de Condorcet (1743–1794) je v delu *Zgodovinski oris razvoja človeškega uma* (1794) izrazil optimistično prepričanje v progresivni razvoj človeštva; poglavitno gibalno družbenega napredka je videl v razvoju znanosti, kjer se neprestano porajajo nove ideje. V nasprotju z Vicoovo ciklično teorijo, je racionalist Condorcet zagovarjal teorijo o linearnem, neprestanem *progresu* človeštva v »zlati vek«, skladno s takratno samozavestjo zmagovitega meščanstva na ekonomskem in političnem področju (Vranicki, 2001, 224–244).

32 Rousseaujev nauk o človeškem razvoju se loči od (Condorcetovega) nauka o neprestanem napredovanju v tem, da ga postavlja pravzaprav na glavo: zgodovina mu je postopno propadanje človeka. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) iz svoje teorije ni izvedel sklepa, da se mora človek vrniti nazaj k naravi in zavreči vso civilizacijo, odpraviti zasebno lastnino in uveljaviti prvotno naravno stanje. Kaj takega je po njegovem mnenju nemogoče, zato pa se je treba kolikor mogoče približati naravnemu idealnemu stanju. Izhod je videl v postavitvi demokratične družbe in države na osnovi *družbene pogodbe* (Rousseau, 2001).

33 O vseh teh področjih zgodovinskega razvoja danes razpravljajo tudi posamezne empirične znanosti, predvsem obča zgodovina s svojimi posebnimi vejami in sociologija. Vendar se obe ustavljata pri raziskavi konkretnih zgodovinskih obdobij, družbenih struktur, ki so jih oblikovale, in posebnih, za vsako dobo drugačnih zakonov in sil, ki so jih gibale. Filozofiji zgodovine ostane predvsem razmišljanje o najsplošnejših značilnostih in zakonih zgodovinskega razvoja, veljavnih za vsa obdobja; brez njih tudi ni mogoče razmeti konkretnih pojavov zgodovinskega dogajanja, ki jih raziskujejo empirične znanosti. Vrh je filozofija zgodovine dosegla v 19. stoletju, s Heglom (*dialektični idealizem*) in Marxom (*dialektični materializem*).

34 Kant ločuje dva tipa zgodovine: *empirično* in *racionalno* zgodovino; prva mu pomeni zgolj deskripcijo dejstev in dogodkov, medtem ko je naloga druge urediti kaotično preteklost v vrsto miselnih vzorcev, kar seveda ni preprosto (Kant, 2006).

načrt narave, ki želi s človekom doseči idealno stanje. To stanje se bo, po Kantovem prepričanju, do kraja uresničilo z nastankom idealne države, tj. družbe, v kateri se bodo lahko do kraja razvile vse prirojene človeške sposobnosti; cilj zgodovine sta torej razum in svoboda. Kantove ideje zgodovinskega razvoja, ki jih je razložil zlasti v delu *Ideja k obči zgodovini s kozmopolitskega gledišča* (1784), so že za njegovega življenja imele velik učinek, tako da govorimo o Kantovi kopernikanski revoluciji,³⁵ ki je temeljito spremenila pogled na zgodovino. S trditvijo, da naše spoznavne zmožnosti določajo predmete in ne obratno, je namreč odprl pot do spoznanja, da ljudje nis(m)o igralci vnaprej določenih vlog, temveč ustvarjalci svojega sveta.

Izhajajoč iz Kantovega pojmovanja zgodovine in idej francoskega racionalizma je poskušal Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), nemški književnik in filozof (zgodovine), logično sistemizirati ves razvoj človeštva in tudi predhodno zgodovino narave, tj. sončnega sistema, Zemlje, rastlinskega in živalskega sveta; zgodovino človeštva je videl kot nadaljevanje zgodovine narave, medtem ko je pojem kulture pri njem že vključeval tudi vse oblike gospodarske dejavnosti. Zgodovina mu pomeni napredek človeštva po razumnem načrtu. Svet potemtakem ni nekaj statičnega, ampak je dinamičen, neprestano se gibajoč organizem; zakon tega gibanja je napredovanje od nižjega k višjemu. V tem napredovanju imajo svojo posebno vlogo vsa ljudstva, narodi in kulture;³⁶ v vsaki se uresniči posebna stran človeškega uma in ustvarjanja, vse skupaj pa sestavljajo zakladnico človeškega duha. Cilj zgodovinskega razvoja je prava človečnost (*humaniteta*). Herderjevo pojmovanje zgodovine je bilo za nadaljnji razvoj zgodovinopisja še posebej pomembno v tistem delu, v katerem je zastopal stališče, da je človeštvo pisana skupina posameznih narodov, pri katerih ni mogoče urejati šeg, prava in umetnosti po načelih večnega razuma, marveč se mora vse to pri vsakem posebej razvijati »genetično« in »organsko«, v skladu z njegovim »značajem«; s tega stališča se mora tudi spoznavati in ocenjevati njegova preteklost (Herder, 1995). Tu se sicer že skriva absolutiziranje narodnega značaja, ki ga je v prvi polovici 19. stoletja tako kultiviralo *romantično zgodovinopisje* (Luthar et al., 2006, 477–497), toda za razvoj zgodovinopisja je mnogo pomembnejše, da pomenijo te Herderjeve ideje, ki sta jih prevzela in dalje razvijala Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832) in



Slika 6: Naslovna stran Vicovega dela *Principi di Scienza Nuova* (Napoli, 1744). File: *Vico La scienza nuova.gif*. From Wikimedia Commons.

Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), prelom z *racionalističnim* presojanjem zgodovinskega razvoja in zahtevo po njegovem razumevanju. S tem je bil šele izpolnjen pogoj za resnični prelom med *pragmatičnim zgodovinopisjem*³⁷ in za *genetično zgodovinopisje*³⁸ bistvenim historičnim načinom mišljenja – *historizmom*.³⁹

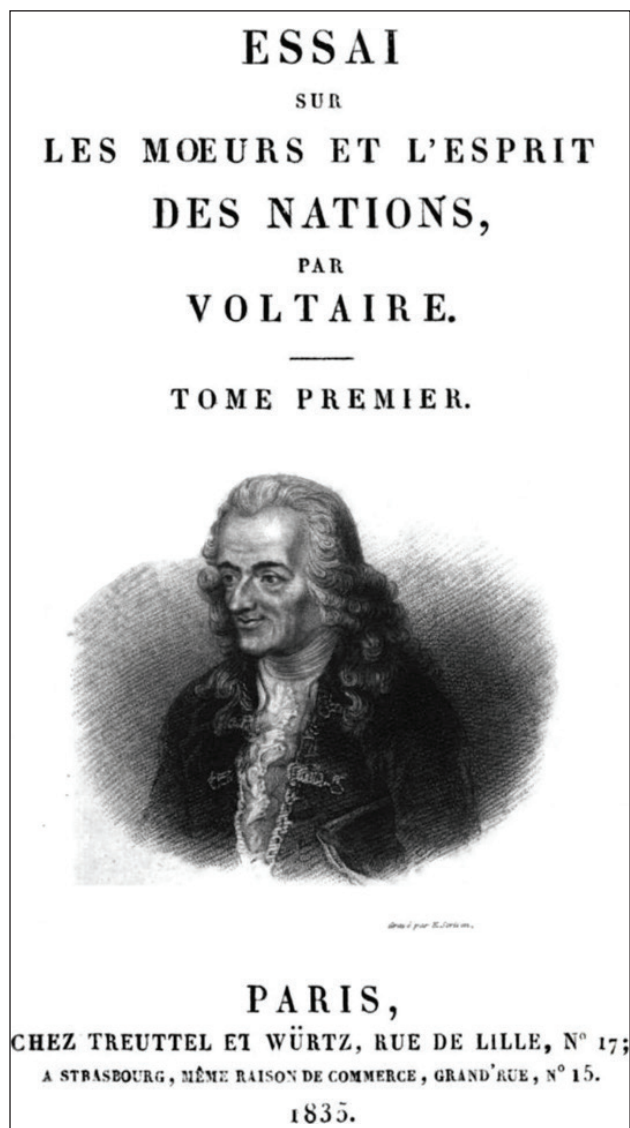
35 Metafora za ključna odkritja človeštva, in ne zgolj za Kopernikovo odkritje heliocentričnega sistema.

36 Herder je za kulturo zapisal: »Nič ni bolj nedoločnega kot ta beseda, in nič bolj zavajajočega kot njena uporaba, ki bi veljala za vse narode in vsa obdobja«. Romantično videnje, za katero je bistven prav Herderjev prispevek, se je pod vplivom srečevanja z drugimi kulturami zoperstavilo etnocentričnemu evropskemu enačenju kulture s civilizacijo. Herder je tako predlagal uporabo množinskega samostalnika kulture, ki bi označeval spremenljive tvorbe različnih narodov in dob, pa tudi družbenih in ekonomskih skupin znotraj naroda (Vidmar Horvat, 2004, 3).

37 Pragmatično in deskriptivno zgodovinopisje tvori – z vidika metodološkega pristopa – prvo, predznanstveno stopnjo v razvoju zgodovinske vede.

38 Genetično (razvojno) zgodovinopisje označuje drugo stopnjo v razvoju zgodovinske vede; nastalo je s spojitvijo historične kritike in historizma.

39 *Historizem* je spoznanje, da je treba raziskovati in ocenjevati vse pojave človekovega življenja, dela in mišljenja le v okviru določenega časa in prostora, torej v smislu zgodovinskega relativizma (zgodovinskega mišljenja), ne pa z uporabo ideoloških absolutnih meril, vzvi-



Slika 7: Naslovna stran Voltairovega dela *Essais sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations*, 1756 (Paris, Chez Treuttel et Würtz, 1835).... File:VoltaireEssayMorals.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

Takšen napor za univerzalno koncepcijo zgodovine v idealistični obliki je še na višjem teoretskem nivoju ohranjen v Heglovem filozofskem sistemu. Heglova filozofija zgodovine izhaja iz načel absolutnega idealizma. Po Heglu zgodovina človeštva odseva razvoj absolutne ideje, predvsem njene tretje faze, tj. duha, ki se pojavi z nastankom človeka.⁴⁰ V svetovni zgodovini se torej realizira svetovni duh. Zgodovino sveta je razumel kot razvojni proces oziroma kot napredek zavesti o svobodi. Vendar ne k svobodi ljudi kot posameznikov, ampak k svobodi absolutne ideje, ki se realizira v človekovem življenju. Zgodovina po Heglu torej ni niz naključnih dogodkov, ampak je smotrni proces. V zgodovini vlada um, zgodovinska dogajanja so potemtakem nekaj razumnega (Hegel, 1999).

NOVE ZGODOVINSKE RAZREDNE ANTITEZE

Splošna ugotovitev doslej povedanega je naslednja: skupno vsem tem antičnim, srednjeveškim in novoveškimi mislecem je, da so družbeni/zgodovinski razvoj razlagali z učinkovanjem religioznih, socialnih, političnih in kulturnih idej, kar pomeni, da so ga obravnavali z metafizično idealističnih pozicij; v zgodovini niso videli procesa, ki bi potekal iz notranje nujnosti, stopnjujoč se po zakonih, skritih v sami zgodovini.

Medtem ko je bilo nemško zgodovinopisje meščanske dobe teoretsko-filozofsko usmerjeno pretežno na literarno in politično zgodovino, je francosko in angleško zgodovinopisje že naredilo korak naprej, saj se je usmerilo k zgodovini industrije in trgovine (ekonomski zgodovini) ter se odmaknilo od izključno prevladujočih okvirov politične zgodovine. Sam potek francoske revolucije konec 18. stoletja je opozoril zgodovinarje tudi na vlogo ljudskih množic v zgodovinskem procesu. Marx in Engels v *Nemški ideologiji* (1971) dajeta oceno, da so angleški in francoski zgodovinarji naredili prve poskuse, da bi dali zgodovinopisju materialistično osnovo, saj so prvi napisali zgodovino meščanske družbe, trgovine in industrije; pri njih so že znane teorije *razrednega boja* (le-ta je poglobljena vsebina zgodovine in gibalno vsega družbenopolitičnega dogajanja),⁴¹ klasifikacija zgodovinskih obdobj, ideja napredka, ideje o zakonitosti zgodovinskega dogajanja idr. Vse naštetu je

šenih nad zgodovinskim dogajanjem. To je bila pot do sedanjega pojmovanja, da je zgodovina veda o spremembah človeka v prostoru in času v najširšem smislu besede, tj. z vsem okvirom njegovega življenja.

40 Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), oče moderne dialektike, je razložil gibanje kot napredovanje nižjega k višjemu. Celotna resničnost, ki zajema vse oblike in stopnje v razvoju sveta, od najbolj materialnih do čisto subjektivnih, se po Heglovem mnenju giblje skozi troje stopenj, ki so obenem samó stopnje v razvoju ideje. Prva stopnja, iz katere resničnost tudi izvira, je čista ideja ali pojem sam po sebi; na tej stopnji je absolutna ideja še čisto abstraktna, zunaj časa in prostora, brez odnosa s čimerkoli razen sama s sabo. Druga stopnja v razvoju resničnosti je narava, zunanji svet ali materialna resničnost. Nastala je tako, da se je absolutna ideja spremenila v svoje nasprotje in se sama sebi 'odtujila'. Iz abstraktnosti je prešla v konkretnost; iz čiste ideje zunaj časa in prostora je nastala narava v času in prostoru. Tretja stopnja nastane takrat, ko se iz narave razvije svet človekove duševnosti, družbe in kulture. V tem svetu se razvije nova, višja enota prvotne ideje in narave. Ta enota je hkrati idejna in materialna resničnost, obenem pa več kot samó oboje: ideja in narava, čas in prostor pa tudi spoznanje, ki sega čez okvire časa in prostora. Hegel je to enoto imenoval "duh" (subjektivni, objektivni, absolutni duh); ta mu je sinteza in hkrati negacija negacije. Človek, družba in kultura so torej najvišja stopnja v gibanju resničnosti (Hegel, 1967).

41 Npr. François Guizot (1787–1874), francoski državnik in zgodovinar, je v svoji *Zgodovini evropske civilizacije* (1828) že prišel do popolšitve, da se je Evropa rodila iz boja družbenih razredov.

odločilno pripomoglo k nastanku *sociološkega zgodovinospisja*, katerega glavna preokupacija je bila razrešitev vprašanja kavzalnosti (vzročnosti) zgodovinskega/družbenega razvoja. Šele z njim je dobilo večje zanimanje zgodovinarjev za ekonomski, družbeni in kulturni napredek, ki so ga vzpodbudili zlasti dogodki francoske revolucije, tudi svojo teoretično utemeljitev.⁴²

Karl Marx (1818–1883) in Friedrich Engels (1820–1895) sta svojo (kasneje poimenovano *marksistično*) filozofijo zgodovine, tj. materialistično pojmovanje človeka, družbe in zgodovine (*historični materializem*), zasnovala na tezi, da temelj zgodovinskega razvoja ni niti teološko pojmovana božja previdnost niti Heglova absolutna ideja, prav tako pa tudi ne religiozne, socialne ali moralne ideje, ki jih izpovedujejo ljudje v določenem zgodovinskem obdobju. Ta temelj je lahko le samo stvarno življenje ljudi, kot ga tvorijo materialni procesi njihovega obstoja. To je treba dojeti kot temelj celotne zgodovine, pišeta v *Nemški ideologiji*, nato pa razložiti iz tega državno in pravno ureditev ter različne teoretične produkte in oblike zavesti, kot so religija, filozofija, morala itn., zasledovati proces njihovega nastajanja na različnih stopnjah ter na koncu prikazati vse to v njihovi celotni povezanosti (*totaliteti*), in v medsebojnem učinkovanju njegovih različnih stvari: »V družbeni produkciji svojega življenja stopajo ljudje v določene, nujne, od njihove volje neodvisne odnose – produkcijske odnose, ki ustrezajo določeni razvojni stopnji njihovih materialnih produktivnih sil. Celota teh produkcijskih odnosov sestavlja ekonomsko strukturo družbe, realno osnovo, ki se na njej dviga pravna in politična vrhnja stavba in ki ji ustrezajo določene oblike družbene zavesti. Način produkcije materialnega življenja določa socialni, politični in duhovni proces življenja nasploh. Ne določa zavest ljudi njihove biti,⁴³ temveč narobe, njihova družbena bit določa njihovo zavest« (Marx, 1968, 105). Seveda pa brez dosežene teoretske in empirične ravni tedanjega zgodovinospisja (tj. induktivnega, empiričnega raziskovanja družbenih pojavov) tudi univerzalna materialistična koncepcija zgodovine, kot sta jo postavila Marx in Engels, ne bi bila mogoča.

TEORETIČNI TOKOVI V DRUŽBENI IN POLITIČNI MISLI 17. IN 18. STOLETJA

Pomen vseh teh idej o družbeni spremembah ter družbenem/zgodovinskem razvoju, o njegovih zakonitostih in o smereh tega razvoja je nedvomno tudi ta, da so pripravljale osamosvojitve sociologije v samostojno znanstveno vedo. Vendar ideje družbenega razvoja niso obstajale le v okviru *filozofije (zgodovine)* in *zgodovinospisja*, pač pa so se razvijale tudi v okviru dru-



Slika 8: Immanuel Kant je razlikoval dva tipa zgodovine: empirično in racionalno. File:Kant foto.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

gih, posebnih družbenih ved, ki so s svojimi doktrinami (ekonomskimi, političnimi, pravnimi, antropološkimi, etnološkimi idr.) odigrale pomembno vlogo pri razvoju družboslovnih teorij (Barnes, Becker, 1961; Goričar, 1969), še posebej teoretskih in metodoloških modelov. Poglejmo nekaj ključnih:

- **ekonomska znanost** (Norčič, 2000) je s francosko fiziokratno ekonomsko šolo (F. Quesnay⁴⁴, J. Turgot idr.) med drugim učila, da obvladujejo družbeno, politično

42 Prav gotovo je na mestu trditev, da je francoska revolucija razdala svojo praktično energijo z ekonomsko in politično emancipacijo meščanstva, svojo teoretično energijo pa z ustanovitvijo *sociologije*.

43 Za dialektični materializem (marksistično filozofijo) je *bit* materija.

44 François Quesnay (1694–1774) je s svojim ekonomskim sistemom postal utemeljitelj fiziokratizma in začetnik moderne politične ekonomije. V najpomembnejšem delu *Ekonomski pregled* (1758) je objavil prvi poskus analize reprodukcije celotnega družbenega kapitala oz.



Slika 9: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, oče moderne dialektike. File:GeorgWilhelmFriedrichHegel.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

in gospodarsko dogajanje prav takšni zakoni, kakršne so ugotovili I. Newton (1642–1727) in njegovi nasledniki v fizičnem svetu (mehanični monizem). Jacques Turgot (1727–1781) je v svojih predavanjih na pariški

Sorboni že razvijal pomembno misel o kontinuiranosti zgodovinskega razvoja, o tem, da je ta razvoj usmerjen progresivno, to je k zmeraj boljšim in popolnejšim družbenim stanjem, kakor tudi o tem, da so različne stopnje zgodovinskega razvoja med seboj vzročno povezane; v tem kontekstu se je zavzemal tudi za ustanovitev eksaktne znanosti o družbi. Za razliko od mehničnega monizma fiziokratov, ki so družbene zakonitosti preprosto enačili s fizikalnimi (mehanskimi) zakonitostmi, so predstavniki *angleške klasične politične ekonomije* (Adam Smith,⁴⁵ David Ricardo⁴⁶) šteli za poglavitno gibalno družbenega dogajanja t. i. »človekovo (ekonomsko) naravo«. K pripadnikom klasične angleške politične ekonomije prištevamo tudi Thomasa Malthusa, avtorja (pesimistične) populacijske teorije,⁴⁷ ki jo je razložil v delu *Esej o načelih rasti prebivalstva* (1798);

- v **političnih doktrinah** (Alatri, 1980; Maier, Rausch & Denzer, 1998) so razprave o »omejevanju oblasti« pomembno vplivale tudi na nastanek *politične sociologije*, kot vede o politični moči v družbi (Duverger, 2001). Že v obdobju poznega srednjega veka je Marsilij Padovanski (~1275–1342) razvil za tisti čas smelo in pomembno misel o *suverenosti ljudstva*. Družbeno polje je koncipiral kot avtonomno *civilno sfero*, utemeljeno na enakopravnosti državljanov. V sklepnem delu svojega dela *Defensor pacis* (»Zaščitnik miru«, 1324) je zapisal: »Edini človeški zakonodajalec naj bo skupnost državljanov ali pa njih boljši del«. Država je po Marsiliju potemtakem skupnost svobodnih državljanov, kar ne bi bila, če bi izdajal zakone le en sam človek ali pa samo nekateri (Škamperle, 1996; Jurca, 2004). Sredi 15. stoletja je angleški pravnik in teoretik John Fortescue (1394–1476) v svojem delu *De laudibus legum Angliae* (O pohvalah zakonov Anglije, napisano 1470 in prvič tiskano 1714)⁴⁸ poudaril prednost porotnega sodstva, pravnega stanu in *omejene monarhije* v Angliji. Z definicijo, da »kralj dobi mandat za svojo oblast od ljudstva«, je Fortescue opredelil razliko med *absolutno* in *ustavno* monarhijo. Tako se je postopoma vse bolj uveljavljala misel, da naj vlada državi *objektivno pravo* (ustava in zakoni), in ne neka samovoljna oseba. Podobno misel je izrekel nekoliko kasneje Thomas Smith (1513–1577) v delu *De Republica Anglorum* (napisano med 1562 in

krožnega gibanja le-tega v celoti; gre za model zaključenega gospodarskega krogotoka (blago – storitve – denar), posnet po človeškem krvnem obtoku (s tem je v ekonomijo vnesel metodo naravoslovnih ved). Odklanjal je pragmatičnost merkantilistov in kakršno koli državno poseganje v gospodarstvo. Njegovo geslo »laissez faire, laissez passer« je bila ena od glavnih premis pri nastanku ekonomskega liberalizma (Rosanvallon, 1998).

45 A. Smith (1723–1790) je svoje ekonomske poglede razvil v delu *Raziskovanje narave in vzrokov bogastva narodov*, 1776 (Smith, 2010). V preučevanju vprašanja o delitvi dela je nakazal dve vrsti te delitve, družbeno in manufakturno (notranjo delitev dela); slednjo je štel za pomembno gibalno naraščanja človekove produktivnosti.

46 D. Ricardo (1772–1823) je v delu *Načela politične ekonomije in obdavčenja* do kraja razvil delovno teorijo vrednosti; delo je hkrati prvo ekonomsko besedilo, v katerem je bila uporabljena metoda abstrakcije in posploševanja, zato velja za največji dosežek klasične ekonomske misli (Ricardo, 1962).

47 T. Malthus (1776–1834) je izhajal iz naslednje trditve: medtem ko število prebivalstva narašča po geometrijski stopnji, je mogoče povečevati proizvodnjo hrane kvečjemu po aritmetični stopnji; posledica tega nesorazmerja bo zmeraj večje pomanjkanje hrane (vzrok za revščino in propad družbe). V tem kontekstu je videl v vojnah, epidemijah in lakoti pozitivne ovire za prekomerno naraščanje prebivalstva.

48 To je bila prva zgodovina konstitucionalnega (ustavnega) prava.

1565, prvič tiskano 1583), kjer pravi, da »predstavlja parlament vsakega Angleža, bodisi da je v njem navzoč sam ali le po zastopniku, in je privolitev parlamenta privolitev vsakogar«. Približno v istem času je iznesel pomembne poglede na *ljudsko suverenost* nizozemski pravnik nemškega rodu Johannes Althusius⁴⁹ v svojem delu *Politica methodice digesta (Sistematično razložena politika, 1603)*. Po njegovem prepričanju temelji suverenost na dveh osnovnih elementih: *pogodbi*⁵⁰ in *oblasti*. Drugi element izvira iz prvega: ljudstvo je s pogodbo preneslo po svojih posebnih pooblaščenih, *eforih* (svet, zbor), suverenost na državnega poglavarja, in prav zato tudi nadzoruje poglavarja države pri izvrševanju oblasti po svojih pooblaščenih. S tem ko se je Althusius postavil na stališče ljudske suverenosti in da je državo izvajal iz volje podložnikov, državljanov, je dobila tudi ideja o individualnih pravicah in svoboščinah človeka novo vsebino. Pravice človeka so s tem prenehale biti zgolj subjektivni privatnopravni zahtevki zoper državo in so postale *politične pravice*: pravicam človeka so se tako pridružile še *pravice državljana* (Hunt, 2015). Meščanstvo se ne bori več le za nekaj bolj ali manj široko področje individualnega uveljavljanja znotraj fevdalne države, temveč hoče samo postati nosilec državne oblasti, samo hoče postati država. Drugi veliki Nizozemec humanist in pravnik Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) pa je v svojem delu *De iure belli ac pacis (O pravo v vojni in miru, 1625)* razvil racionalistično teorijo o *naravnem pravu*⁵¹ ter s tem izvedel, na področju prava, ločitev med onostranstvom in tostranstvom. Grotius poudarja, da je človek sposoben sam, brez božje pomoči, spoznavati to, kar je dobro in prav, pa tudi, da je zaradi svobodne volje sposoben uresničiti to, kar je spoznal za dobro in prav. Vsi ti misleci so s svojimi smelimi idejami posredno vplivali na vsebino ustavnih dokumentov, ki so nastajali od 17. stoletja dalje (Lešnik, 2000), hkrati pa utirali pot novoveški filozofiji (racionalizmu, empirizmu in razsvetljenstvu).

Tudi v *političnih doktrinah* 18. stoletja se pojavljajo nekateri elementi splošne teorije o družbi. Na tem mestu velja spomniti na Charlesa Montesquieuja in njegovo teorijo o delitvi oblasti (*O duhu zakonov, 1748*).⁵² Ko je preučeval vzroke, zaradi katerih nastajajo različne oblike vladavine in politične ureditve, je Montesquieu prišel do zaključka o tesni odvisnosti teh oblik od naravnih okoliščin, pa tudi, da je značaj ljudstev odvisen od klimatskih razmer, v katerih ljudje živijo (zato ga prištevajo tudi med začetnike geografske šole v sociologiji). Pomembne misli k razvoju sociološke teorije



Slika 10: Karl Marx in Friedrich Engels, utemeljitelja materialistične koncepcije zgodovine. File:Marx and Engels.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

je prispeval škotski teoretik politične misli Adam Ferguson (1723–1816) v delu *Esej o zgodovini civilne družbe* (1767); v njem je že nakazal periodizacijo zgodovinskega razvoja družbe (divjaštvo, barbarstvo in civilizacija), tedaj natanko tako, kakor je pozneje porazdelil poglobitve etape družbenega razvoja ameriški etnolog, antropolog in sociolog Lewis Morgan (1818–1881). Ferguson je tudi eden prvih družboslovcev, ki so teoretično zastavili problem družbene delitve dela. S spoznanjem, da so posamezna področja družbenega življenja med seboj povezana in pogojena, je postavil temelje t. i. *teoriji družbenega dogajanja*. Družbo je Ferguson smatral za organski pojav, obravnaval jo je zgodovinsko, v določenem smislu pa tudi psihološko; v metodološkem pogledu pa je že opozarjal na pomen empirične analize družbenih pojavov. V svoji družboslovni teoriji je Ferguson poudarjal dinamične elemente družbe, zlasti idejo o tekmovanju in konfliktu. Zaradi tega ga šteje Ludwig Gumplowicz (1838–1909), najdoslednejši predstavnik *konfliktne teorije* v sociologiji, za prvega velikega glasnika ideje o boju med posameznimi družbenimi skupinami kot poglobitvem gibal družbenega razvoja.

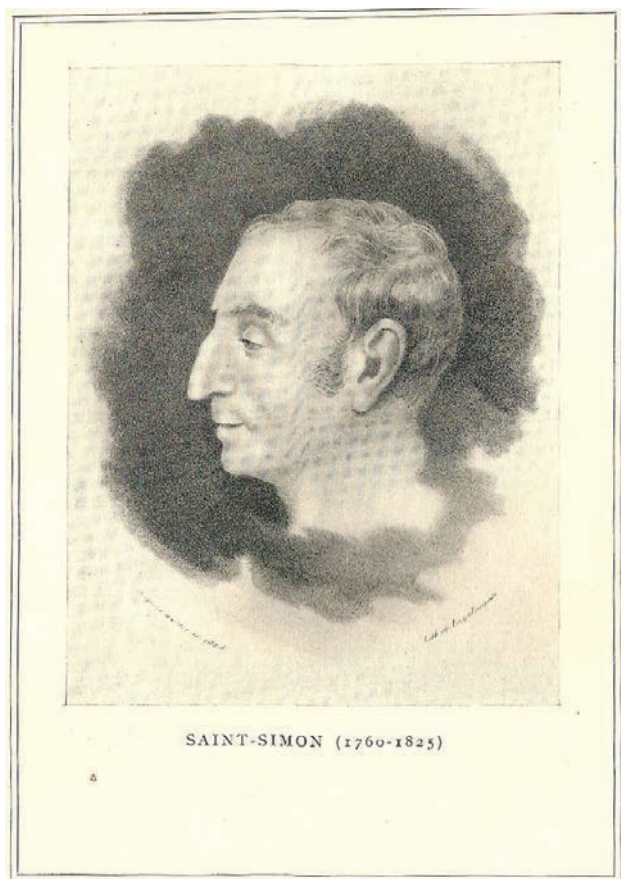
Politično misel v obdobju *romantike* so zaznamovali filozofi Schelling, Herder in Fichte ter še posebej politič-

49 J. Althusius (1557–1638) velja, po svojih naukih o državi in družbi, za enega predhodnikov ideje o *modernej demokraciji*.

50 Misel o *družbeni pogodbi* kot pogodbi o združenju, ki jo sklepa ljudstvo med seboj in s katero prenaša oblast na vladarja, je razvil najprej Althusius, dosledno in do kraja pa jo je utemeljil Rousseau (2001).

51 V zahodnoevropskem fevdalizmu je imela ideja o naravnem pravu, tako kot vsa ideologija tega razdobja sploh, povsem teološki pomen. Naravno pravo so izvajali od boga, ki da usmerja vsa razumna bitja k njihovemu končnemu cilju.

52 Montesquieu je prepričljivo utemeljeval nevarnost zlorabe oblasti za državljansko svobodo ter terjal omejeno in deljeno oblast. V tem smislu je vzpostavil logično zvezo med državljansko svobodo in načelom zakonitega izvrševanja oblasti. Mnogi sociološki avtorji ga štejejo za začetnika *politične sociologije*.



Slika 11: Saint-Simon, Claude Henri de Rouvroy, francoski teoretik družbe. File:Saint-Simon-A01.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

na misleca Edmund Burke (1729–1797), utemeljitelj *liberalnega konservatizma*, in Thomas Paine/Payne (1737–1809). Burke se je v svoji kritiki zoperstavil racionalistični politični misli svojih sodobnikov ter utemeljeval, da do ustanovitve vladavin ni prišlo iz razumskih razlogov, temveč zaradi zgodovinskega dogajanja. Družbo je štel Burke za organsko (telesno) celovitost, hkrati pa ni priznaval evolucijskega, razvojnega pogleda na družbeno dogajanje; nasprotno, v tem pogledu je videl predvsem napore, da se obranijo in ohranijo obstoječe institucije. V tem kontekstu je tudi kritiziral stališča (Rousseaujeve)

teorije o družbeni pogodbi, ki opravičujejo revolucije, pa tudi samo francosko revolucijo (Burke, 1989). Slednje je bolj razumljivo, če imamo v vidu, da se je buržoazno demokratična preobrazba angleške/britanske družbe že izvršila in je bila njena buržoazija – za razliko od preostale (fevdalnoabsolutistične) Evrope – trdno na oblasti. V nasprotju z Burkejem je bil Paine, kot privrženec razsvetljenstva, vnet zagovornik ideje francoske revolucije. Trdil je, da je človek po naravi družbeno bitje, in to tako zaradi svojega instinkta kot tudi potrebe, da je družbeno aktiven. Paine je, kot zagovornik teorije o družbeni pogodbi, utemeljeval le-to s prepričanjem, da je človek slab, zaradi česar je moralo priti do države in politične oblasti, sicer bi neurejeno, neorganizirano življenje v družbi postalo neznosno. Prednost družbene pogodbe/kontrakta je videl predvsem v tem, da se ljudje z njo niso odrekli svojim naravnim pravicam;⁵³ nasprotno, s pogodbo so pridobili še nove, politične pravice. Državo je smatral za umetno tvorbo in za nujno zlo. Menil je, da so za posameznika pomembnejši od države družbeni odnosi, navade, sodelovanje med ljudmi, družbene institucije idr. V svojih političnih pogledih je bil Paine oster nasprotnik monarhije – v razpravi *Rights of Man*, 1792 (*Pravice človeka*, 1988) je zahteval ukinitve britanske monarhije; bil je vnet zagovornik demokratične republike in suverenosti ljudstva; hkrati se je zavzemal za takšne ustavne določbe, ki bi družbeno manjšino varovale pred morebitno absolutistično vladavino večine. Skupna zasluga »romantikov« za poznejši razvoj družbene misli je bila v tem, da so zavračali racionalistične ideje razsvetljencev, ki so povsem intelektualistično razlagali nastanek družbe in države kot tvorbe zavestnega premisleka in izbiranja; v nasprotju z njihovimi pogledi so se postavili na stališče, da so družbene institucije, država, politična oblast, religija itn.: nastale med organskim družbenim razvojem. S takšnim razmišljanjem so »romantiki« odpirali probleme, s katerimi so se ukvarjale poznejše sociološke teorije;

- v **pravni znanosti** (Vilfan, 1998) je v dobi romantike prevladovala *zgodovinsko pravna šola*⁵⁴ s spoznanjem, da se pravo v času spreminja, se razvija, in da je pri različnih narodih različno. Te različnosti so se sicer že prej zavedali (npr. Montesquieu), novost pa je bila v razlagi razvoja in razločkov. Pripadniki omenjene šole so preučevali zgodovinski razvoj prava v okviru posameznih držav ter videli v pravu organsko tvorbo ljudske (narodne) kulture. Njena zasluga je bila spoznanje o dinamičnosti pravnega razvoja,⁵⁵ njena hiba v prevelikem poudarku na etničnih razlikovanjih v zvezi z narodnim

53 Teorija o naravnih pravicah stoji na stališču, da se človek rodi svoboden in s prirojenimi pravicami in svoboščinami, ki so obstajale pred državo, zato jih ta ne more dati in tudi ne odvzeti.

54 Njen ustanovitelj je bil nemški pravnik Friedrich Karl von Savigny (1779–1861). Po svoji miselnosti je bila šola del gibanja romantike, zato se je tesno povezala z nacionalnimi gibanji v prvi polovici 19. stoletja.

55 Širše proučevanje pravnih pojavov nujno odpira vprašanja o razmerjih med pravnimi sistemi in celoto odnosov v določenih globalnih družbah. Motenje pravnih norm zadene ob številne družbene procese, ki posredno vplivajo na pravno sfero. Iskanju skupnih značilnosti družbenih odnosov/procesov se je posvetila obča sociologija in še posebej sociologija prava kot ena izmed posebnih sociologij (Žun, 2014).

duhom kot glavnem gibalbu pravnega razvoja (rimski *individualizem*, germanski *kolektivni duh*, južnoslovska *družinska skupnost – zadruha*), kar je v skrajni konsekvenci vodilo do povezovanja njenih nauk z nacionalističnimi in celo rasističnimi tendencami;

- v 18. stoletju se oblikuje tudi **antropologija** (Južnič, 1987). Za ustanovitelja t. i. fizične antropologije velja Johann Blumenbach (1752–1840), ki je začel s primerjalnim preučevanjem anatomskih in fizioloških značilnosti človeškega telesa, zlasti lobanje. Nadaljnji razvoj sta zaznamovala Anders Retzius (1796–1860) s preučevanjem t. i. cefaličnega indeksa (tj. razmerja med širino lobanje in njeno dolžino, izraženo v procentih) in Jean Lamarck (1744–1829) z idejo o razvoju živih vrst in tudi človeka, ki jo je kasneje teoretično utemeljil Charles Darwin (1809–1882) v svoji *evolucijski* teoriji (1951; 2009). Sicer pa je že Carl Linné (1707–1778) v svojo sistematično klasifikacijo živih bitij vnesel tudi človeka (*Homo sapiens*); prišel ga je k družini primatov ter hkrati razvrstil človeštvo po barvi kože na štiri vrste/rase: belo, rumeno, rdečo in črno;

- **primerjalna etnografija/etnologija** je z bogatim empiričnim gradivom, še bolj kot fizična antropologija, doprinesla k poznejšemu razvoju teoretske sociologije, še posebno, ker je s svoje strani navrgla idejo o zgodovinskem razvoju človeka, družbenih strukturah, institucij in kultur (Balandier, 1966; Lévi-Strauss, 1994; Čarni, 2012). Ne gre namreč spregledati, da so evropski raziskovalci v t. i. obdobju evropeizacije že relativno dobro poznali mnoga ljudstva z različnimi družbenimi ureditvami v Aziji, Afriki in Ameriki, od visoko civiliziranih pa do najbolj primitivnih ljudstev (Škerlj, 1962);

- in ne nazadnje velja opozoriti še na delež začetnikov **socialne antropologije** (gl. Južnič, 1978; Radcliffe-Brown, 1994; Gellner, 1999) pri utemeljevanju ideje o družbenem razvoju: Christoph Meinersa (1747–1810), Gustava Klemma (1802–1867) idr. Vrednost Meinersovih raziskav je bila v tem, da ni sistematično (empirično) preučeval le telesnih razlik, marveč tudi razlike družbene ureditve pri različnih ljudstvih; v tem kontekstu je že preučeval oblike vladavine, pravne sisteme, izobraževalne procese, družbeni položaj žensk, navade ipd. Klemm pa je preučeval različne kulture, ki jih je pojmoval kot celoto običajev, religij, spretnosti, znanosti in umetnosti ter zasebnega in javnega življenja v miru in vojni. Na podlagi empiričnih raziskav je npr. učil, da se je kultura razvijala od divjaštva prek »uglajenosti« k svobodi in da ustrezajo vsaki stopnji tega razvoja posebne značilnosti vsakokratnih družbenih odnosov kot strukturnih sestavin.⁵⁶



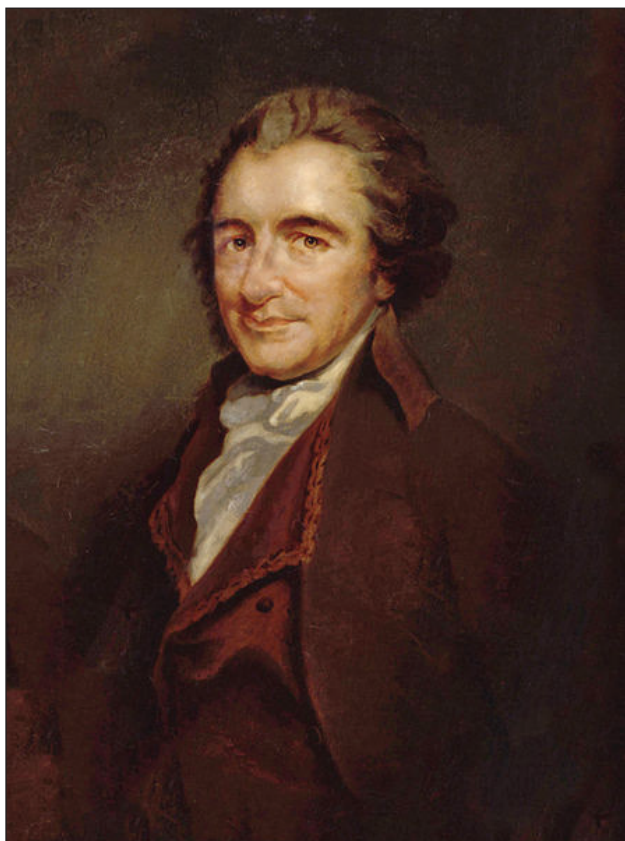
Slika 12: Auguste Comte je s »sociologijo« poimenoval znanost o družbi. File:Auguste Comte2.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

ZAKLJUČEK

Vsi zgoraj navedeni miselni tokovi, ki so bili takrat v filozofiji in družboslovju najbolj razširjeni, priznani in veljavni, so odločilno vplivali na teoretično in metodološko vsebino sociologije ob njenem nastanku ter posledično (s svojim izročilom) tvorijo »predzgodovino« sociologije. Vendar je pri osamosvajanju sociologije kot znanosti potrebno imeti v vidu – poleg obravnavane epistemološke (spoznavnoteoretične) in metodološke pogojenosti sociologije po razvoju drugih znanosti⁵⁷ – še drugi vzrok za njen nastanek, tj. takratno družbeno krizo, ki jo je bilo treba pojasnjevati in razreševati z racionalnimi sredstvi. Zagotovo so epohalne družbe-

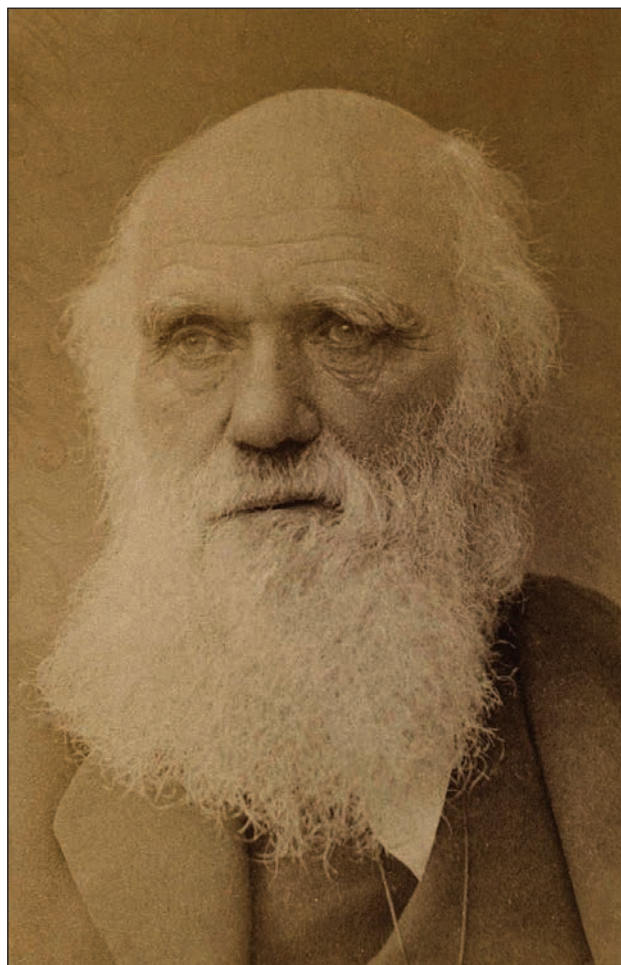
56 Etnologija in antropologija sta pomembno vplivali na razvoj sociologije, tako z nudenjem obilice gradiva o družbah/kulturah (od najbolj primitivnih do najbolj razvitih), kot tudi z ustvarjanjem pogojev za komparativne raziskave, ki jih je med prvimi opravljal v sociologiji Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), eden od utemeljiteljev sociologije. Etnologija je bila pomembna tudi zato, ker je posredovala sociologiji metode opazovanja sestavljenih družbenih tvorb in sredstva, kako priti do celovitih študij/monografij (Mercier, 1966).

57 Ob razpravi, ali ima ta ali druga vrsta raziskovanja značaj znanosti, se navadno pretresata dve vprašanji: prvič, ali more s svojo posebno tehniko dela pravilno ugotavljati dejstva, ki jih raziskuje, in drugič, ali more ta dejstva tudi vzročno razložiti. In prav iskanje odgovorov na vprašanje vzročnosti v zgodovinskem razvoju je bilo ključno za nastanek *sociološkega zgodovinopisja*.



Slika 13: Portret Thomasa Paine (1792), zagovornika družbene pogodbe. File:Thomas Paine rev1.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

ne spremembe ob koncu 18. in v začetku 19. stoletja (zlom *ancien régime*, rojstvo konstitucionalizma, procesi industrializacije, deagrarnizacije, migracije, urbanizacije, modernizacije, razredne stratifikacije idr.), ki so jih povzročila in pospešila družbena gibanja⁵⁸ in revolucije (ameriška protikolonialna, francoska buržoazna, angleška industrijska), soustvarile objektivne pogoje za osamosvojitve »znanosti o družbi« v samostojno znanstveno disciplino, sociologijo. Zgodovinarji sociologije v splošnem soglašajo, da je treba pripisati utemeljitev (znanstvene) sociologije trem mislecem 19. stoletja: Saint-Simonu, Augustu Comtu in Karlu Marxu. Ti trije so prvi povezali raziskovanje družbenih pojavov s sodobnim znanstvenim mišljenjem, obenem pa so postavili prve teorije o razvoju moderne družbe, ki temeljijo na



Slika 14: Fotografija Charlesa Darwina (okoli 1881), utemeljitelja evolucijske teorije. File:Charles Darwin by Barraud c1881-crop.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

zgodovinskem preučevanju pretekle in sodobne družbe. Skupno jim je bilo, da so se vsi trije zanimali za družbene spremembe, in da so si prizadevali za praktično uporabo svojih (družbenih) spoznanj; ravno zato so se povezali s socializmom.⁵⁹ S to problematiko pa že prehajamo iz »predzgodovine« v zgodovino sociologije, natančneje, v zgodnjo dobo sociološke misli, katere glavna preokupacija je bila razvozlati – z znanstveni prijemi – nerešeno vprašanje zakonov, po katerih se giblje zgodovina človeške družbe. Ideja zakonov zgodovine/družbe je bila v zgodnji sociologiji, v primerjavi s ponu-

58 Nemški ekonomist in sociolog Lorenz von Stein (1815–1890) je med prvimi uvedel kategorijo »družbena gibanja« v širšo družboslovno rabo, potem ko je objavil leta 1850 v Leipzigu odmevno delo *Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in Frankreich: von 1789 bis auf unsere Tage*, I–III /Zgodovina družbenih gibanj v Franciji, 1789–1850 (angl. prev.: Stein, 1964).

59 Saint-Simon (1760–1825) je znani predstavnik utopičnega socializma (Brglez-Pagon, 1979, 223–279), A. Comte (1798–1857) si je prislužil naziv socialistični »odpadnik« oz. konservativni reformator (Fiamengo, 1987, 105), Marx pa velja za utemeljitelja znanstvenega socializma.

jenimi koncepti filozofije (zgodovine), zgodovinopisja in drugih družbenih znanosti – ki smo jih predstavili v predzgodovini sociologije – nekaj povsem drugega. Ne samo, da se je ta sociološka ideja razlikovala po zavračanju dotedanjšega metafizičnega razumevanja zakonov

kot esencialne povezanosti bistva, ki ga lahko odkrijemo na osnovi razmišljanja, pač pa tudi po tem, da je prevzemala sodobni naravoslovno-znanstveni koncept zakona kot induktivnega posploševanja, ki temelji na opazovanju in eksperimentu.

UNDERSTANDING SOCIAL CHANGE, AS WELL AS SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE “PREHISTORY” OF SOCIOLOGY

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SUMMARY

The article proceeds from the premise that we can speak about the emergence of sociology and its placement in the pantheon of science (in the first third of the 19th century) only formally; i.e., in terms of the classification of sciences, and prior to that, about a “historical background” of sociology – for social problems and sociological methods of asking questions regarding them have existed throughout the development of scientific thought, from Greek antiquity on. Theoretical and methodological issues of the “later” sociology formed and matured primarily in the context of (social) philosophy and individual social sciences, particularly economics, political science, jurisprudence and history.

The founders of this new “science of society” substantiated the need for it with the argument that philosophy, the philosophy of history, and the social sciences – historiography in particular – offered but partial views of the social order and its development, failing to provide a general, global insight into the laws of functioning and of the evolution of human society as a whole. The priority of sociology as a new science was therefore to explore the laws of social and historical development; moreover, based on its scientific findings, sociology was determined to provide an explanation of the development of society in the past and present, as well as to anticipate the course of social development in the future. Certainly, thought dealing with social change, with social/historical evolution and its laws and directions, was not new; it had been applied in classical, medieval and modern historiographies, as well as in philosophy in all periods of its development, and particularly in the history of philosophy. As a rule, each period provided different, even contrasting views, answers and understandings of these issues. However, the ideas of social development existed not only in the context of philosophy (of history) and historiography, but also took shape in the framework of other, special social sciences whose doctrines (economic, political, juridical, anthropological, ethnological, etc.) played important roles in the development of social science theories, and of theoretical and methodological models in particular.

The currents of thought dealt with in the paper, those that were most widely recognised and valid in the philosophy and social sciences of the time, definitely had a decisive impact on the theoretical and methodological contents of sociology at the time of its emergence and have, consequently (through its tradition), accumulated into “the historical background” of sociology. However, when discussing sociology’s gaining its independence as a science, it is important to keep in mind – in addition to the epistemological (gnosiological) and methodological conditioning of sociology following the development of other sciences, dealt with herein – the other reason for its emergence, the epochal social changes in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, which had to be explained and solved by rational means.

Keywords: historiography, philosophy of history, prehistory of sociology, social change, historical development, history of social thought, history of political thought

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PERFORMATIVNE INTERVENCIJE V ESTETSKEM REŽIMU

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IZVLEČEK

Kako se umetnost politizira ali pade v pasti estetizacije, ki vodijo v depolitizacijo? Odgovore iščemo med preišljevanjem dveh provokativnih performansov, Tapisoniranega vnebovzetja in Gorečega križa. Primera umeščamo v širši družbeni kontekst, ki ga zaznamuje estetski režim identifikacije podob in radikalno skrčen prostor govora. Govor, sklicujoč se na teoretske nastavke J. Rancièra, razumemo kot temeljni pogoj politike oziroma kot utelešenje politike v specifičnem prostoru skupnega; govor(jenje) je učinek transestetskega aparata performansa, ki kritično intervenira v situacije, da bi na ravni geste prelomil z obstoječim.

Ključne besede: performans, govor, kritična umetnina, obstoječe, estetizacija, transestetsko, politizacija estetskega, prelom

GLI INTERVENTI PERFORMATIVI NEL REGIME ESTETICO

SINTESI

Come l'arte viene politicizzata, o come cade nelle trappole dell'estetizzazione che conducono nella depolitizzazione? Cerchiamo le risposte riflettendo su due performance provocatorie, L'Assunzione rivestita con moquette e La Santa Croce infiammata. Con il presente contributo collochiamo i due esempi nel più ampio contesto sociale caratterizzato dal regime estetico dell'identificazione delle immagini e dallo spazio del discorso rigorosamente ridotto. Riferendoci al concetto teorico di J. Rancièr, il discorso viene concepito come la condizione fondamentale della politica, cioè come l'incorporamento della politica nello specifico spazio comune; il discorso è l'effetto dell'apparecchio transestetico della performance che interviene criticamente nelle situazioni perché al livello gestuale rompa con l'esistente.

Parole chiave: la performance, il discorso, l'arte critica, l'esistente, l'estetizzazione, transestetico, la politicizzazione dell'estetico, la rottura

Kakšni so politično-emancipatorni pomen, vloga in percepcija (umetniškega) performansa v prostoru skupnega? Kako se umetnost politizira in/ali pade v pasti estetizacije, ki vodijo v depolitizacijo? Odgovore iščemo med premišljevanjem dveh performansov, *Tapisonirane-ga vnebovzetja* in *Gorečega križa*, ki sta se odvila pred dobrim desetletjem in bila zaznana predvsem kot umetniški provokaciji. Primera hkrati poskušamo umestiti v širši družbeni kontekst, ki ga zaznamuje estetski režim identifikacije podob in radikalno skrčen prostor govora. Govor, sklicujoč se v nadaljevanju predvsem na Jacquesa Rancièra, razumemo kot temeljni pogoj politike oziroma kot utelešenje politike v specifičnem prostoru skupnega. Pri tem izhajamo iz paradigme *kritične umetnine*, ki sem jo že utemeljeval v širšem kontekstu simbolnega kapitala; izhajajoč iz rancièrovskega razumevanja politike kot rekonfiguracije delitve čutnega, ki določi skupno neke skupnosti, je kritična umetnina namreč specifični način politizacije, saj njen protagonist s performativnim dejanjem lahko vpelje nove subjekte in objekte ter hkrati naredi vidno tisto, kar do tedaj ni bilo vidno oziroma slišno, kar je bilo prej zgolj hrup (Jelesijević, 2012). Pri tem se sklicujemo na podmeno, da se politika

[...] vzpostavi v trenutku, ko si tisti, ki 'nimajo' časa, ta nujno potrebni čas vzamejo, zato, da bi se lahko vzpostavili kot prebivalci nekega skupnega prostora in da bi pokazali, da njihova usta zares oddajajo govor, ki izjavlja skupno, in ki se ga ne da zvesti na glasove, ki signalizirajo bolečino. (Rancière, 2009, 25)

Protagonist kritične umetnine oziroma kritičnega umetniškega dejanja ali situacije je v tej konstelaciji lahko kdor koli, saj odpade potreba po statusu razlike:

vsak od nas je umetnik, če udejanja dvoje – ne zadovolji se samo s tem, da je rokodelec, ampak hoče vsako delo spremeniti v sredstvo izražanja; ne zadovolji se samo s tem, da čuti, ampak poskuša to deliti. Umetnik potrebuje enakost, kakor razlagalec potrebuje neenakost. [...] Tako torej lahko sanjamo o družbi emancipiranih, ki bi bila družba umetnikov. (Rancière, 2005a, 69–70)

Beseda *deliti* tu implicira nujnost socializacije, kolektivizacije, organizacije, vzajemnosti, izmenjave, pretoka, rotacije vlog – torej nujnost konteksta skupnosti, v katerem umetnica deluje kot politični subjekt. Odnos med politiko in estetiko je tako posledično prav v načinu, na katerega prakse in forme vidnosti umetnosti posegajo v delitev čutnega, kolikor jo rekonfigurirajo oziroma prerazporejajo čase in prostore, subjekte in objekte, skupno in posamezno (Rancière, 2009a, 25). Obenem izhajamo iz predpostavke, da

[p]olitika in umetnost ne predstavljata dveh ločenih in stalnih dejanskosti, o katerih bi se morali

vprašati ali morata biti povezani ali ne. Vsaka od njiju predstavlja pogojno dejanskost, ki obstaja ali ne, v odvisnosti od specifične delitve čutnega. (Rancière, 2004a, 3)

ESTETSKI REŽIM: UMETNOST, KI TO NI

Po Jacquesu Rancièru je, v okviru tistega, kar imenujemo umetnost, znotraj zahodne tradicije mogoče razlikovati tri glavne režime identifikacije podob: etični režim, poetični oziroma reprezentativni režim in estetski režim.

V prvem, etičnem režimu umetnost ni identificirana kot takšna, temveč je zgolj vključena v vprašanje podob. Podobe kot specifična entiteta so tu objekt dvojnega vprašanja: vprašanja njihovega porekla (in posledično, resnične vsebine) in vprašanja njihovega konca ali namena, smisla, rab, v katerih se nahajajo, in učinkov, ki jih proizvajajo. Sem lahko vštujemo Platonov pogled, ki ne priznava obstoja umetnosti, temveč zgolj (uporabnih) umetnosti kot načinov delanja in izdelovanja. V tem režimu gre za poznavanje načinov, prek katerih oblika bivanja podob vpliva na *ethos* kot obliko bivanja posameznikov in skupnosti. To vprašanje prepreči »umetnosti«, da bi se individualizirala kot takšna.

Drugi, poetični oziroma reprezentativni režim prelomi z etičnim režimom podob tako, da raje identificira substanco umetnosti – ali, bolje, umetnosti (množinska oblika besede) – v paru *poiēsis/mimēsis*. Ta režim je poetičen, ker utemljuje umetnosti (fine umetnosti) znotraj klasifikacije načinov delovanja in ustvarjanja ter, posledično, definira ustrezne načine delovanja in izdelovanja, pa tudi sredstva določanja posnemanja. Hkrati je reprezentativen, ker pomeni označbo reprezentacije ali mizezisa, ki organizira te načine delovanja, izdelovanja, videnja in razsojanja (ocenjevanja).

Tretji, estetski režim identifikacije podob je nasprotje reprezentativnega režima. Tu se identifikacija umetnosti ne pojavlja kot delitev med načini delovanja in izdelovanja, temveč temelji na posebni čutni obliki bivanja, ki je lastna umetniškemu izdelkom. Beseda estetski se ne nanaša na teorijo čutnega, okusa in užitka, temveč izključno na specifičen način bivanja (biti) vsega, kar sodi na področje umetnosti oziroma v obliko bivanja objektov umetnosti. V tem režimu se umetniški pojavi določajo na podlagi njihove posvečenosti specifičnemu režimu čutnega, ki je iztrgan iz svojih običajnih vezi in naseljen s heterogeno močjo, močjo oblike misli, ki je sama sebi postala tuja: izdelek istoveten nečemu, kar ni izdelano, znanje pretvorjeno v ne-znanje, *logos* enak *patosu*, namen nenamerne-ga. Estetski režim umetnosti (množinska oblika besede umetnost) je režim, ki natanko identificira umetnost v singularnem in jo osvobaja vsakršne specifične vloge, vsake hierarhije umetnosti (množinska oblika besede umetnost), teme in žanrov. Zaradi tega mora uničiti mimetično pregrado, ki ločuje načine delovanja in izdelovanja, značilne za umetnost, od ostalih načinov delovanja in izdelovanja

(ustvarjanja), pregrado, ki loči njegova pravila od ustvoja družbenih opravil. Estetski režim si tako prizadeva za absolutno singularnost umetnosti in hkrati uničuje vsako pragmatično določilo, ki bi to singularnost izločilo; istočasno vzpostavlja avtonomijo umetnosti in istovetnost njenih form z oblikami, ki jih življenje uporablja, da bi se oblikovalo. Estetski režim umetnosti je, z drugimi besedami, resnično ime za tisto, kar označujemo z nestanovitno označbo »modernost«. Njegova osnovna značilnost je v tem, da je odpravil vzročno posledični odnos med vsebino in načinom predstavitve. (Rancière, 2004b, 20–27)

V estetskem režimu je umetnost umetnost, kolikor je nekaj drugega kot umetnost (Rancière, 2002, 137). Vendar se ta režim ne začne z odločitvijo: sprožiti umetniški vdor v realno oziroma umetniški prelom. Začne se z namerom, da bi ponovno interpretirali, kaj umetnost naredi za umetnost ali pa le, kaj umetnost naredi. Estetski režim umetnosti je tako neki nov režim, ki vzpostavi odnos s preteklostjo; ne zagovarja revolucije, temveč nov način življenja med besedami, podobami in blagom. Vendar je ta drugačna, »estetska revolucija« proizvedla novo idejo o politični revoluciji, kot materialni realizaciji splošnega humanizma, ki še vedno obstoji zgolj kot ideja. (Rancière, 2004b, 20–27)

Estetska revolucija je predhodnica tehnološke revolucije, po drugi strani pa je predvsem zastavek spoštovanja, ki ga zahteva splošno mesto. Navadno/običajno postane lepo, kot sled resnice. To se zgodi, ko je iztrgano iz lastne očitnosti z namenom postati hieroglif oziroma mitološka ali fantazmagorična figura. Fantazmagorična razsežnost resnice, ki sodi v estetski režim umetnosti, je odigrala ključno vlogo pri ustvarjanju kritične paradigme humanističnih in družboslovnih znanosti. Marksistična teorija fetišizma je najbolj izstopajoča priča tega dejstva: blaga morajo biti osvobojena svojih trivialnih pojavnosti in pretvorjena v fantazmagorične objekte, da bi se jih obravnavalo kot izraz družbenih protislovij (Rancière, 2004b, 31–34). Rancière v tej zvezi ugotavlja, da realno mora biti fikcionizirano, če ga želimo misliti. Politika in umetnost kot obliki znanja ustvarjata »fikcije«, ki so tako rekoč materialne prerazporeditve znakov in podob oziroma odnosov med tistim, kar je videno, in onim, kar je povedano, med kar-je-narejeno in kar-bi-lahko-bilo-narejeno (Rancière, 2004b, 35–41). Pri tem gre umetnosti vedno za delo, v smislu produkcije v skupnem:

Podmena umetnosti je delo, saj delo uveljavlja njen princip: preobrazbo čutne snovi v samopredstavitev skupnosti. (Rancière, 2004b, 44)

Toda Rancièrova teza je, da univerzalno politično učinkuje le v singularni formi. V tej zvezi je zanj enakost vnaprejšnja podmena, ni torej nek temeljni princip, neko ontološko načelo, temveč pogoj, ki deluje le takrat, ko se ga prakticira, v dejanju. Politika, posledično, ne temelji na enakosti v smislu poskusov njenih utemeljitev na neki splošni človeški značilnosti kot sta jezik ali strah. Enakost je dejansko nujni pogoj/stanje, ki omogoča misliti politiko, vendar ni politična sama po sebi. Zaznavamo jo v mnogih okoliščinah, ki niso same po sebi politične, denimo vsakič, ko dve sogovornici lahko razumeta druga drugo. Enakost generira politiko le takrat, ko je ta vtakana v specifično obliko posamičnega primera disenza¹:

[Disenz]² pomeni organizacijo čutnega, v kateri ni niti realnosti, ki bi bila skrita za videzi, niti enega samega režima prezentacije in interpretacije danega, ki bi vsem vsiljeval svojo očitnost. (Rancière, 2010, 32)

Umetnost, kot jo poznamo v estetskem režimu, predstavlja uveljavitev določene enakosti, ki, po Rancièru, temelji na razkroju hierarhičnega sistema lepih (finih) umetnosti. To pa še ne pomeni, da lahko enačimo pojme enakosti, politične enakosti in estetske enakosti. Tako na primer demokracija pisane besede ali enakost, razumljena kot univerzalna izmenljivost blaga še ne pomeni demokracije kot politične forme. Prav tako nam Rancière enakosti ne predlaga v pomenu konceptualne kategorije za umetnost, temveč preprosto izpostavlja estetsko enakost kot nek zaznamek, ki nam omogoča na novo misliti določene majave kategorije umetnostne modernosti.

Glede tako imenovane angažiranosti umetnika/umetnice in umetnosti je Rancière mnenja, da je umetnik/umetnica sicer lahko angažiran(a), vendar se sprašuje, kaj pomeni izjava, da je tudi (njegova/njena) umetnost angažirana, ker angažiranost, tako meni, ni kategorija umetnosti. To pa zanj, in s tem se strinjamo, ne pomeni, da je umetnost apolitična. Pomeni, da *ima estetika sebi lastno politiko*, ali svojo meta-politiko.³ Rancière pravzaprav vidi osnovni problem v dejstvu, da ne obstaja merilo, s

1 Disenz [*le dissensus*] je eden ključnih Rancièrovih pojmov, ki ne pomeni nestrinjanja z nekim osebnim interesom ali mnenjem, temveč je to politični proces, ki se upira pravnemu dejanju in ustvarja razpoko v redu čutnega tako, da uveljavljenemu okviru zaznave, mišljenja in dejanj nasproti postavi »nesprejemljivo«, to je politični subjekt. Čutno v izrazu *red čutnega* se ne nanaša na nekaj, kar kaže na dober občutek ali sodbo, temveč na *aisthēton* ali »zmožnost biti«, kot jo dojemajo čuti.

2 Prevajalka knjige Suzana Koncut se je sicer odločila za izraz diskonsenz.

3 Meta-politika [*la méta-politique*] je še en značilno Rancièrov pojem, ena izmed treh temeljnih oblik politične filozofije, ki izhaja iz Marxove kritike vrzeli med sumljivo, navidezno pravičnostjo oziroma predstavnitvom, in globoke resnice družbene realnosti. Meta-politika tako niha med dvema skrajnostma: zanikanjem ideoloških utvar para-politike in pozivom k skupnostnemu utelešenju družbene resnice, ki je precej podobna arhi-politiki. Arhi-politika [*l'archi-politique*] pomeni regulacijo aktivnosti individualnih državljanov na podlagi njihove vloge v organizaciji skupnostnega telesa na način, da ima vsakdo določeno mesto in pripisano vlogo. Demokratična konfiguracija politike je v tem primeru nadomeščena s policijskim redom živega *nomosa*, ki zapolnjuje celotno skupnost in preprečuje vsakršen vdor v družbeno zgradbo.

pomočjo katerega bi vzpostavili ustrezno povezavo med politiko estetike in estetiko politike. A to dejstvo nima opravka s prepričanostjo mainstreamovskega pogleda, da se umetnosti in politike ne sme mešati druge z drugo (tudi in zlasti takrat, ko se ju umetno povezuje za potrebe reku-peracije obstoječega⁴), saj sta ti v vsakem primeru pomešani. Politika ima svojo estetiko in estetika svojo politiko. Politika se – in tako tudi njeno estetsko –, kot že uvodoma omenjeno, vedno določi z določenim preoblikovanjem porazdelitve čutnega oziroma s ponovno razporeditvijo, z rekonfiguriranjem danih oblik zaznave. Politika umetniških del se posledično izrablja do najširših razsežnosti, na globalen in razpršen način, v prerazporeditvi svetov izkustva, na katerih slonita policijski⁵ konsenz ali politični disenz (Rancière 2004b, 52–65).

Pierre Bourdieu pa po neki drugi poti vpelje ločnico med dvema umetnostma:

Vznik umetniškega dela kot blaga in pojav posebne kategorije proizvajalcev simbolnih dobrin, namenjenih trgu, sta do neke mere pripravila teren za čisto teorijo umetnosti, to je umetnosti kot umetnosti. Prišlo je do razcepa na umetnost-kot-blago in umetnost-kot-čisti-označevalec, na podlagi čisto simbolnega prizadevanja za čisto simbolno prilastitev, za golo zadovoljitev, ki se je ne da zvesti na enostavno materialno posedovanje. (Bourdieu, 1993, 114)

Kritična umetnina preči to dejansko shizofreno situacijo v estetskem režimu na način, da v sebi odpravi obe omenjeni označbi, da ju izvrže. Njenemu protagonistu to lahko uspe z artikulacijo misli, telesa in stališč do obstoječega, ob hkratnem zavedanju pomena in konteksta skupnega (prostora) kot prostora, kjer je politika edino mogoča. Pri tem pa je pomembno opozoriti na izrazito izpostavljenost kritike prežeči nevarnosti nevtralizacije in/ali kriminalizacije. Primeri del Marcela Duchampa in Andyja Warhola ponazarjajo različne razsežnosti (nevtralizirane) kritičnosti in ponujajo nastavke za refleksijo fenomena nevtralizacije. Duchamp spodkopa estetsko razsežnost/vrednost umetnosti, vpete v kontekst obstoječega, tako da jo razvrednoti, a hkrati tudi »demokratizira« s tem, da ji odvzame smisel razlike, jo iztrga iz ekskluzivnosti, oziroma jo predrugači s ponavljanjem in premestitvijo konteksta – *ready-made*, ki ga vpelje, je sopomenka za repliko, kopijo, industrijo, serijski proizvodni proces, a tudi aluzija na benjaminovsko umetniško delo, ki ga je možno reproducirati. Warhol pa po svoje poudari breziz-

hodnost položaja slehernika v okovih potrošništva na način, da povzdigne ponavljanje – kot dizajn, fetiš, blago, reprodukcijo, ponatis – v navidezni hedonistični (a hkrati izrazito patološki) užitek v iluziji raja, v veleblagovnici-zaporu, v muzeju-izložbi; pravzaprav razkrije absurd poblagovljenja umetnosti (in istočasne pospešene estetizacije potrošniških predmetov, blagovnega fetišizma), ki potemtakem zgolj še služi kapitalistični produkciji oziroma reprodukciji neenakosti. Prav zlitje poblagovljenja umetnosti in estetizacije kapitalističnega blaga je predstavljalo pomembno podlago tudi za vrsto Duchampovih posegov v samo jedro umetnostnega sistema. Umetnost kot nekaj drugega kot umetnost in avtonomija (umetnosti), ki ni nekaj drugega kot življenje, sta tako ključna pogoja za prelom z obstoječim.

POLITIZACIJA ESTETSKEGA: KRITIČNA UMETNINA

Naš namen ob teh postavljenih iztočnicah ni ostra zamejitev med kritično umetnino na eni in nekritično na drugi strani; ne gre torej za potrebo po vzpostavitvi neke etimološke determinante niti dihotomije. Večplastni primeri, kot so Duchampova dela, in celo tisti izrazito dvoumni, kot so Warholova, vsebujejo namreč določene performativne elemente, za katere lahko rečemo, da naslavljajo in zavzemajo prostor kot prostor potencialne politične emancipacije. A predvsem nas zanimajo prakse, ki delujejo, se vzpostavljajo in vplivajo onkraj same čutno-zaznavne razsežnosti svojih performansov. Ta kriterij dejansko sledi predpostavki, da je politično paradigma odprtega – da pomeni situacijo, v kateri je omogočen vstop komur koli (Gauthier, 2004). Zanimajo nas prakse, ki se v večji meri približujejo tej situaciji, jo spodbujajo in afirmirajo.

Umetnik mora živeti kot umetnik, da bi bil umetnik, bi bila parafraza misli Jeana-Paula Sartra: ni dovolj, da si rojen kot buržuj, tudi živeti moraš kot buržuj; umetnica torej mora sprejeti in prakticirati določene vedenjske in simbolne vzorce, ki jih narekuje specifično polje, ki mu pripada. Politična emancipacija protagonistk in protagonistov kritične umetnine, kot subjektov, ki v interlokuciji štejejo, je odvisna od tega, ali »so« ali »niso«, ali govorijo ali zgolj oddajajo hrup – »gre za to, [...] da vidimo predmet, ki ga označujejo, kot vidni predmet konflikta« (Rancière, 2005b, 67) –, kot v primeru delavcev iz *Noči proletariata* (Rancière, 1981), ki so si prilastili jezik buržoazije, da bi lahko uveljavili svojo pravico do skupnega, kolektivnega, univerzalnega, ozi-

4 Namesto že udomačenih izrazov (neo)liberalizem, (neo)liberalni kapitalizem ali neoliberalno stanje se v prispevku raje držimo izraza *obstoječe*, s katerim želimo široko zajeti sodobne, obstoječe družbene okoliščine, utemeljene na zatiranju in izkoriščanju oziroma neenakosti, ne da bi jim pri tem pripisali preozko določenega označevalca.

5 Rancière z besedo *policijski* (oziroma z izrazoma policijski konsenz in policijski red) definira neki organizacijski sistem koordinat, ki zagotavlja razporeditev čutnega ali zakona, ki deli skupnost na skupine, družbene pozicije in funkcije. Ta zakon implicitno razdeli tiste, ki so udeleženi od onih, ki so izključeni in potemtakem predpostavljajo apriorno estetsko delitev med vidnim in nevidnim, slišnim in neslišnim, izgovorljivim in neizgovorljivim (Rancière, 2001).

roma, da bi se vzpostavili kot enaki. Pomen govor(jenj) in njegov potencial opolnomočenja je prepoznala tudi Peggy Kornegger:

Ko govorimo, se spreminjamo in s spreminjanjem preobražamo sebe, hkrati pa tudi prihodnost. (Kornegger, 1975, 17)

Z drugimi besedami, kritični umetniki gre vselej za artikulirani govor v imenu izstopa iz zamejenega področja upravljanja z umetnostjo, v imenu odklonitve menedžerske paradigme obstoječega oziroma zavrnitve obstoječih hierarhij; gre ji za kritiko politične ekonomije umetnosti kot trgovskega artikla (Jelesijević, 2005), a tudi za afirmacijo nehierarhičnih, horizontalnih praks, tako v procesu lastne produkcije (izogibanje obstoječi umetnostni institucionalni paradigmi, ki afirmira ime, zvezdnitvo, umetnika in umetnino kot blagovno znamko, produkt, blago), kot tudi v boju za vidnost onkraj ustaljenih postopkov, kanonov, klasifikacij in standardizacij. Kritično tako ne pomeni nujno politično v svoji vsebini, tematiki in aktualnosti, temveč predvsem v načinih produkcije, ki jim je inherentno iztrganje iz institucionalne paradigme oziroma umetnostnega sistema.

Kritična umetnina v kontekstu obstoječega pričakovano povzroča konflikt. Pri tem ne gre za vprašanje možnosti sožitja z uzakonjeno »kulturno politiko« oziroma legalistično agendo kulturne industrije, temveč za iznajdbo poti in načinov, kako zarezati v obstoječe s *transestetiskim* aparatom – to je z organizacijo posegov, intervencij, vplivov v prostore, se pravi, specifičnega (meta-)govor(jenj) artikularnega v performansu, oziroma z vzpostavitvijo situacij, onkraj zamejenosti v discipline in kanone. Kritični intervenciji je tako tudi inherentno vprašanje grajenja in reinvencije resnične avtonomije ustvarjalnosti onkraj hegemonističnega mita o že uveljavljeni avtonomiji umetnosti.⁶ Pojem kritična umetnina tako zajame vso neskončno mnogoterost možnih performativnih dejanj, ki omogočajo oziroma spodbujajo (pogoje za) emancipatorne procese.

Kritična umetnina je torej hkrati posledica, smoter in instrument nekega dejanja politične subjektivacije, ki rekonfigurira skupnostno razporeditev čutnega; v svoji

občasni oziroma ponavljajoči se pojavnosti je imanentna demokraciji; in obratno, demokracija kot naključni proces, ki prerazporeja koordinate sistema čutnega – ne da bi bila zmožna zagotavljati popolno odstranitev družbenih neenakosti, ki so inherentne policijskemu redu –, je ponotranjena v kritični umetnini. Njena političnost se začne takrat, ko zavzame in javno oznanj določeno stališče v političnem navzkrižju. Politično navzkrižje (spor) izhaja iz napetosti med strukturiranim družbenim telesom, v katerem ima vsak njegov del neko določeno mesto (družbeni red kot že omenjeni policijski konsenz) in »deležem brez deleža« [*le compte des incomptés*] (Rancière, 2001) – kot pojasni Rancière, je to del družbe brez določenega mesta znotraj le-te, ali tisti del, ki se upira nekemu vnaprej določenemu podrejenemu položaju –, ki zamaja ta red v imenu praznega načela univerzalnosti. Identifikacija »deleža brez deleža« z univerzalnim je bistvena gesta politizacije, ki jo zaznavamo pri vseh emancipatornih prelomih, od francoske revolucije prek študentskega gibanja leta 1968, do alterglobalističnega gibanja – od protestov v Seattlu leta 1999 do njihovih današnjih nadaljevanj. V tem smislu sta politika in demokracija sopomenki, saj je glavni cilj antipolitike dejanska depolitizacija. Političnost umetnosti bi potemtakem lahko mislili glede na njen odnos do »deleža brez deleža« in tudi kot realizacijo (upodobitev, uprizoritev, performativ) tega premisleka. Kritična umetnina tako pomeni dejanje politizacije, hkrati pa tudi politizacijo estetskega: pomeni transestetiko. Kdor zagovarja kritično umetnost, tako posledično zagovarja boj, saj je v obstoječem »delež brez deleža« zatiran skozi sistematično izključevanje, resnična politika pa se, po Rancièreu, vedno vzpostavi s krivico. Zygmunt Bauman tako govori o izključenosti, ki je dedinja tradicionalnega kapitalističnega izkoriščanja:

Izkoriščanje kot 'problem kapitalizma', ta najbolj prostaška in eksplozivna lastnost kapitalistične ekonomije, se danes po vsem svetu preobrača v izključenost. Izključenost, in ne toliko izkoriščanje, o katerem je pred 150 leti govoril Marx, je danes podlaga za najbolj očitne primere družbene polarizacije, naraščajočo neenakost in vse večjo bedo, revščino in ponižanje. (Bauman, 2008, 42)

6 Grožnje domnevno že uveljavljeni avtonomiji po Bourdieuju izhajajo iz dejstva, da svet umetnosti in svet denarja vse bolj prenikata drug v drugega. S tem ima v mislih mecenstva in povezave med podjetji ali bankami in kulturnimi proizvajalci, pa tudi vstop sponzorjev v univerzitetno raziskovanje in njegovo podrejenost podjetništvu. Te razmere, v katerih ima ekonomija oziroma kapital premoč in vpliv na potek umetnostnega in znanstvenega raziskovanja, se odražajo v avtoritarnem nadzoru nad sredstvi produkcije, distribucije in instancami potrjevanja. Proizvajalci, ki so že tako povezani s kulturnimi birokracijami, so čedalje bolj prisiljeni oziroma pristajajo na sprejetje norm, ki jih postavljajo »trg« (dobičkonosni interesi) in oglaševalci. »Avantgardna proizvodnja« tako vedno bolj povzema logiko komercialne in se s tem tudi izniči. V tej zvezi Bourdieu predlaga tudi kritično analizo državnega mecenstva (javnih subvencij, davčnih olajšav), ki navidezno omogoča, da se prejemniki izogonejo pritiskom trga – bodisi s priznanjem bodisi z mehanizmom komisij, »krajev negativne kooptacije, ki najpogosteje pripelje do prave normalizacije raziskovanja, naj je znanstveno ali umetnostno« (Bourdieu, 2003, 152–153). Ob tem predlogu pa se je treba zavedati problematičnosti poskusov reformizma, saj je koncept avtonomije dostikrat narobe razumljen – kot da bi spontano izhajal iz ureditve države blaginje, ki ji je inherentna težnja k rekuperaciji obstoječega, s čimer samega sebe postavlja v protislovje s svojim smislom.

Boj pa pomeni prelomiti z veljavnimi pravili, tako kot ustvariti (in torej tudi odkriti) vselej pomeni prelomiti pravilo; upoštevanje pravila je gola rutina, še več istega – ne pa ustvarjalno dejanje (Bauman, 2002, 261). *Prelomiti pravilo* v ustvarjanju in skozenj pomeni specifično prakso umetnosti upora. Obenem pomeni veliko tveganje, saj je uporna drža pravzaprav

[d]okončna odločenost, da bomo ostali 'nesocializirani'; privolitev v to, da se bomo integrirali s stanjem neintegritanosti; odpor – pogosto boleč in mučen [...] – zoper vseobsežni pritisk prostora, naj bo star ali nov; odločna obramba pravice do izrekanja sodb in izbir; privzemanje ambivalentnosti ali klicanje ambivalentnosti k življenju – to so, bi lahko dejali, konstitutivne poteze 'begunstva'. Bodite pozorni: vse se nanašajo na držo in življenjsko strategijo, bolj na duhovno kakor na telesno mobilnost. (Bauman, 2002, 262–263)

Begunstvo je tako eksistenčna paradigma kritične umetnine, dela z obrobja, ki je del igre na meji in se z mejo tudi igra, ker gre po »tretji poti«, ker posreduje med umetnostjo, ki sama sebe ukinja, da bi postala življenje, in umetnostjo, ki se gre politiko, pod pogojem, da se sploh ne gre politike. Ta pot je omogočena z odsotnostjo (zavračanjem) ločnic med umetnostjo in neumetnostjo, med visoko in nizko umetnostjo, med umetnostjo in blagom (Rancière, 2004a, 7). Za kritično umetnino so ključni prav ti mejni prehodi, saj ji (z)možnost prehajanja mej – a tudi ustvarjanja le-teh – omogoča uspešnejši spopad z (oblastniško) klasifikacijo, ker ji je, naj ponovimo, imanentna zavrnitev zapovedanih klasifikacij, ki pomeni (pogoj za) emancipatorno dejanje:

Najsi gre za iskanje umetnosti ali emancipacije skozenjo, je prizorišče isto. Na tem prizorišču se mora umetnost odcepiti od teritorija estetizirane-ga življenja in potegniti novo mejno črto, ki je ne bo možno prečkati. (Rancière, 2002, 147)

EKSKURZ V PROBLEME AVTONOMIJE, PROKRISTINACIJE IN NEVTRALIZACIJE

Avtonomna, »resnično demokratična družba« je za Corneliusa Castoriadis »družba, ki se sprašuje o vsem, kar je vnaprej dano, in poleg tega omogoča ustvarjanje novih pomenov« (Castoriadis v Bauman, 2002, 267). Če si umetnost želi biti resnično avtonomna, potem je ravno tovrstna avtonomija pogoj *sine qua non* kritične umetnosti. Če mora sociologija, po Bourdieuju, »razodeti strukturne vzroke, ki jih očitna znamenja in pogovori razkrivajo le tako, da jih prikrivajo« (Bourdieu v Bauman,

2002, 269), velja enako načelo za kritično umetnost, pa čeprav so mišljenje na dolgi rok, kot predpogoj kritičnosti, še bolj pa dolgotrajne zavezanosti in dolžnosti, res videti nesmiselni v potrošniško naravnem sistemu, kjer smo vsi domnevno naprodaj in vsi kupujemo, kjer smo hkrati kupci in blago (Bauman, 2008, 65, 87); zavest o nekompatibilnosti možnosti mišljenja s potrošništvom kot načinom biti je zato ena temeljnih premis kritičnega protagonista, ki se nujno odraža v njegovi kritični umetnini. Razodeti strukturne vzroke pomeni zavrniti igro po pravih obstoječega – ravno to je naloga kritične umetnosti, ki je tudi »najbolj neusmiljeno kaznovan zločin«; kazen je najpogosteje ekonomska (Bauman, 2002, 234).

Kritična umetnost je tako izpostavljena nenehnemu nevarnemu, smrtonosnemu tveganju. Primere njene samoukinitve je treba ugledati tudi v tej luči, kot neizogibno posledico sistemskega terorja, ki njene protagonistke kaznuje predvsem s pomočjo svojega pretkanega ekonomskega instrumentarija, ob tem, da jih (hkrati) praviloma perverzno nevtralizira z v nedoločeno prihodnost preloženim »priznanjem«. Sprevrženi afirmativni mehanizem preloženega »priznavanja« izhaja iz »zlorabe časa v času« in gre z roko v roki z ekonomskimi sredstvi prisile; tako imenovana prokrastinacija je postala sama sebi cilj:

Pro-krastinirati pomeni nekaj umestiti med stvari, ki pripadajo jutrišnjemu, [i] pomeni manipulirati z možnostmi prezence stvari tako, da njeno pripadajočo sedanost zavlačujemo, odlašamo in prelagamo na pozneje, jo držimo na distanci in odlagamo njeno nemudnost. Prokrastinacija kot kulturna praksa je dosegla priznanje s prihodom moderne. Njen novi pomen in etična pomembnost sta rezultat nove pomenskosti časa, časa, ki ima zgodovino, časa, ki je zgodovina. (Bauman, 2002, 197)

Sinergija kulturne prakse prokrastinacije in ekonomskega instrumentarija obstoječega tako omogoča učinkovito nevtralizacijo potencialno kritične umetnosti oziroma delujočih kritičnih praks, ali, z drugimi besedami, rekuperacijo represije (Bureau of Public Secrets, 1981) v spektakel. Obrambo pred tovrstnim kulturno-ekonomskim terorjem, v obliki upora kot procesa, pa tudi samoukinitve lahko razumemo kot imunsko reakcijo kritičnih protagonistov in protagonistk, kot proces samoopolnočenja oziroma politične emancipacije.

DRUŽBENI KONTEKST: DVE PLATI ISTE IDEOLOŠKE PODSTATI

Primeri, o katerih bomo govorili v nadaljevanju, sta specifična, artikulirana kritika institucije cerkve⁷, ki v

⁷ Beseda cerkev se v nadaljevanju besedila nanaša na to institucijo v njenem najširšem pomenu – kot katero koli organizirano konfiguracijo postopkov in pravil, utemeljenih na religijskih postulatih, kot institucijo in idejo –, torej ne zgolj v povezavi z določeno religijsko shizmo.

projektih umetnikov in umetnic v Sloveniji sicer ni prav pogosta. Oba primera⁸ sta pustila nekaj vidnih sledi, predvsem v obliki povzročenih polemik, javnih objav in nekaj analiz, ki so potekale večinoma izven galerijskega konteksta oziroma konteksta umetnostnega sistema. Vzroke za tovrstne prakse najbrž velja iskati v potrebi umetnikov in umetnic po refleksiji odnosa med cerkvijo in državo, ki izhaja vsaj iz čedalje večje medijske navzočnosti, finančnega in ideološkega vpliva cerkve na različnih družbenih področjih, ki se je (načeloma) povečeval⁹ s prehodom družbe iz socialistično kapitalistične v neoliberalno kapitalistično ureditev. Na opaznejšo aktivnost cerkve v zadnjih dveh desetletjih, ki je pred drugo svetovno vojno sicer imela precej vplivno vlogo na območju današnje Slovenije, je v veliki meri vplivalo njeno bogatenje in posledična krepitev njene institucionalne moči v obdobju tako imenovane denacionalizacije družbene lastnine v devetdesetih letih preteklega stoletja, ko ji je bila vrnjena večina njenega nekdanjega nepremičninskega premoženja kljub precej množičnemu nasprotovanju prebivalstva¹⁰; čedalje premožnejša cerkev se je na tej podlagi spustila v številne bančniške, delničarske, medijske, telekomunikacijske in korporativne finančne posle, ki so se pogosto izšli v banalne sodne groteske in »javne škandale«¹¹.

Nekateri umetniki in umetnice, ki jim je (bil) blizu aktivistični način razmišljanja, so se odločili odgovoriti na določene vidike ogrožanja domnevno zagotovljene sekularnosti države, tako s strani cerkve kot tudi s strani državnega aparata, zlasti v luči pasivnosti in dozdevne neinformiranosti javnosti glede te problematike. »Skrajna meja razločitve v smislu sodelovanja [med državo in verskimi skupnostmi], ki se je ne sme prekoračiti, je neposredno državno financiranje verskih storitev. Novi zakon [o verskih skupnostih] je izbrisal prav to mejo, z določili o klerikalnih kot državnih uslužbencih itd.« (Dragoš v Babič, 2007, 87). Čeprav smo se dotaknili tudi pravnega vidika problema, se pri tem razmisleku ne želimo ujeti v legalistično past niti v črno-beli pogled – češ, cerkev je na eni, država na drugi strani, med njima pa poteka specifični simbolni in pravni boj za dosego

nekih ozkih interesov –, temveč se predvsem zavedamo koncepta države kot implicitno totalitarne ureditve družbe, utemeljene na izkoriščanju in zatiranju (revnih, drugih, izključenih ...), ki ju upravičuje utrjeni pravni red (»vladavina prava«, »pravna država«), kjer se država polasti odločanja, kaj je pravično v skladu z veljavnim legalizmom, ki ga (neo)liberalizem še posebej poudari ter tudi razprši na globalno raven. Tako v tej obravnavi na cerkev ne gledamo fatalistično – denimo kot na vir marsikaterega »zla« (kot to na primer pogosto počne tako imenovana leva politična, medijska in kulturniška opcija), temveč jo razumemo kot enega izmed korporativno in dobičkonosno naravnanih akterjev na prizorišču obstoječega, oziroma kot dejavnika, ki trguje s pojmom vere (ga sprevača, institucionalizira) in ki se mu, v skladu s svojo pragmatično tehnologijo vladanja, prilagaja tudi sama država oziroma njeni posamični ideološki aparati. Cerkev in (njeno modernistično naslednico) državo tako razumemo kot dve plati iste ideološke podstati. Posledično pri v nadaljevanju obravnavanih umetniških projektih želimo uzreti več kot zgolj ozko naravnano uporniški poseg zoper cerkev kot tarčo napada in premisliti širše, večpomenske vplive njenih intervencij v pogojih skrčenega prostora govora, saj kritičnost nikoli ne more imeti enoznačne podstati, če želi uveljaviti svoj emancipatorni potencial.

Pod drobnogled smo vzeli performansa *Tapisonirano vnebovzetje* in *Goreči križ*, ki se, kot bomo videli, kljub mnogim kontekstualnim podobnostim med seboj razlikujeta glede na njuno (zgodovinsko) pozicioniranje v odnosu do umetnostnega sistema in posledično ujetost v njegov mehanizem *estetizacije upora* (Jelesijević, 2015). Tovrstne akcije so bile zaznane kot proizvodjalke učinka »moralne panike« (Milohnič, 2009, 153)¹² – kar sovпада s »pogosto tezo katoliških cerkvenih govorcev o pomanjkljivi moralnosti ateistov« (Smrke, 2005, 658) –, ki je, kot medializiran ideološki nastavek obstoječega, zagotovo pomembna manifestacija posledic storjenih provokativnih dejanj, vendar nas bolj kot javnomnenska in moralno determinirana perspektiva pogleda na okoliščine dogodkov tukaj zanima razsežnost njunega

8 Pozornost si vsekakor zasluži tudi primer naslovnice glasbenega albuma *Bitchcraft* skupine Strelnikoff, ki je bila sporna zaradi priredbe upodobitve t. i. brezjanske Marije Pomagaj (slika iz leta 1814 je delo kranjskega slikarja Leopolda Layerja), ki v naročju namesto Jezusa drži podgano, vendar ga zaradi omejitve naše primerjalne analize na performativne oblike tokrat ne obravnavamo (<http://sl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bitchcraft>, 26. 1. 2015: Bitchcraft).

9 Tega sicer ne moremo z gotovostjo trditi, saj po eni strani velja, da število vernikov vztrajno upada (Dragoš v Babič, 2007, 74), po drugi pa je kljub temu opazen porast predvsem finančne moči največje izmed obstoječih cerkvenih institucij. Morda je tudi to eden izmed dokazov, da absolutno število ni nujen odraz neke simbolne moči. Gre pa predvsem za ideološko zlizanost liberalne oblasti s cerkvijo v kontekstu »spoštovanja različnosti« in ohranjanja dojemanja civilizacije z vidika krščanskih vrednot, kar je le oblika kapitalске naveze oziroma spoja med klerikalizmom in kapitalom, ki v socializmu – vsaj na ideološki ravni – ni bil tako jasno viden.

10 Dnevnikova anketa o vračanju gozdov Cerki in tujim veleposestnikom (Dnevnik, 22. 3. 1997, <http://www.sta.si/vest.php?s=s&t=0&id=268163>, 29. 1. 2015).

11 Pri kabelskem operaterju T-2, ki je bil v lasti cerkve, so denimo bile na voljo televizijske pornografske vsebine, kar je dvignilo nemalo »medijskega prahu« (<http://www.rtvlo.si/slovenija/tehdnik-pornografija-pri-t-2-ostaja/81901>, 11. 2. 2015: Tednik: pornografija pri T-2 ostaja).

12 Aldo Milohnič se pri tem sklicuje na Gregorja Bulca, ki je pripisal ta učinek že omenjeni aferi Strelnikoff in ga opisuje tako: »Moralne panike [...] pogosto rekontekstualizirajo ustaljene položaje zaščitnikov morale in njihovih nasprotnikov ter [...] ponujajo nova diskurzivna orodja za uveljavitev partikularnih interesov moči.« (Bulc, 2003, 264)

emancipatornega potenciala, v tej zvezi pa predvsem odnos med sproženo provokacijo in naknadnim učinkom estetizacije.

TAPISONIRANO VNEBOVZETJE: ESTETIKA DIREKTNE AKCIJE

Tapisonirano vnebovzetje je bila akcija s preprosto zastavljeno praktično nalogo: začasno utišati cerkvene zvonove na razglednem stolpu cerkve v mestnem središču Kopra. Akterjem performans, ki se je odvil 15. avgusta 2003, je dejansko šlo za kritiko cerkve v specifičnem urbanem kontekstu, kot bomo videli tudi neposredno iz njihove izjave. Protagonisti akcije – sodelavci Društva za aktivno razvijanje odprte kulture in družbe ROV iz Železnikov in Društva prijateljev zmernega napredka iz Kopra – so namreč v javnosti želeli problematizirati vprašanje o tem, katera zakonska določila omogočajo cerkvam pravico do zvonjenja iz njihovih zvonikov, ki sicer v številnih primerih lahko pomeni premočan (ali pa odvečen) hrup v širši urbani okolici. Tako se je glasila njihova izjava, ki tudi pojasnjuje način izvedbe oziroma potek akcije: »Kulturni društvi [...] sta [...] na vrhu razglednega stolpa sredi starega mestnega jedra Capodistrie ob 18. uri in 30 minut izvedla performans. Z narezanim tapisonom, z vrvico, z avstrijskim selotejpom, s poljedelsko tančico ter s hokejsko rokavico je mehko teroristični moški kvintet nepričakovano učinkovito, tik pred svečano mašo, za dvajset ur utišal vseh sedem delujočih zvonov. Pokazali smo, da je utišanje preglasnih koprskih zvonov rešljivo tehnično vprašanje, povedati pa smo hoteli, da je klerikalizem slovenski temeljni ekoproblem.«¹³ Slabo leto po izvedeni akciji je društvo ROV doživelo represivni finančni ukrep s strani sveta občine Železniki, ki mu je odvzelo sofinanciranje dejavnosti iz občinskega proračuna, češ da je z izvedeno akcijo škodilo ugledu občine. Društvo se je odzvalo s tožbo¹⁴, v kateri se je sklicevalo na svobodo izražanja in umetniškega delovanja (Milohnič, 2005).

Tapisonirano vnebovzetje je primer umetniško-aktivističnega posega v potencialno skupni prostor, je primer performans, izvedenega onkraj ustaljenih in zaželenih mej umetniškega estetskega, z metodo direktne akcije. Ali je gesta utišanja zvonov, če se sklicujemo na Duchampovo prisposodobno, enako estetska kot poljubna slikarska gesta? Ali pa je manj ali celo nič estetska zato, ker je prestopila mejo umetniškega, kot generično performativno, ki po svoje ukinja umetnost zavoljo njene politizacije? Če nam Marcel Duchamp v svojem delu *Why not sneeze, Rose Selavy?* (1921) zgolj nakazuje ptico, ki je v kletki ni, torej nek abstrahirani objekt prezentacije, ki se prezentira ravno s svojo odsotnostjo, ter hkrati ironizira kubistično reprezentacijo kot zapoved tedanjega časa, imamo v primeru *Tapisoniranega vnebovzetja* opravek z

estetiko *ready-made* objektov – zvonov –, ki jih akterji v nekem načrtno izbranem časovnem obdobju (na dan cerkvenega praznika, Marijinega vnebovzetja) spravlja jo ob njihovo običajno funkcijo. Zvonovi sicer ostanejo na svojih mestih, vendar se, podobno kot Duchampovi *ready-made* objekti razstavljeni na razstavah, znajdejo v absurdni situaciji, ki bi jo lahko opisali kot odvečnost; ker so bili zvonovi oviti z mehкими materiali in je njihov ustaljeni zvok zvonjenja zaradi tega umanjkal, so bili postali začasno odvečni. Vprašanje »Zakaj ne kihnihi?«, ki je del naslova Duchampove kletke z navideznimi sladkornimi kockami (dejansko gre za kocke iz belega marmornja), nakazuje možnost, da neka povsem običajna, vendar premišljena spremenjena reč nenadoma eksplodira, se razleti in raztrešči v prostor, ki jo obdaja, v vseh svojih pomenih (Mink, 2000, 8). V nasprotju s tem je »eksplozija« koprskih zvonov (oziroma, v prenesenem pomenu in v skladu z izjavo protagonistov, širjenje klerikalizma, ali pa vsaj glasnega zvonjenja) z intervencijo utišanja bila začasno onemogočena. Gesta umetniške intervencije, ki ne samo, da ni zgolj zastavljala vprašanj, temveč je svoj predlog za reševanje nekega problema uveljavila povsem operativno, je bila estetska, kolikor je bila politična, kolikor je, rečeno skupaj z Rancièreom, politika lahko estetizirana (politika – in njeno estetsko – se vedno določi z določenim preoblikovanjem porazdelitve čutnega).

GOREČI KRIŽ: ANESTEZIRANI MILITANTNI UČINEK

O minimalističnem performansu *Goreči križ*¹⁵, ki sta ga izvedla Dean Verzel in Goran Bertok v Strunjanu leta 2002, so mediji precej pisali, teoretske objave pa so bile redkejšje (Vovk, 2006). Umetnika sta akcijo izvedla na način, da sta, pogojno povedano, zažgala betonski spomenik v obliki križa, tako imenovani strunjanski križ, in ga fotografirala med gorenjem. Spomenika pri tem nista poškodovala, saj sta ga predhodno skrbno zaščitila z zaščitnimi materiali. S tem dejanjem sta posegla predvsem v simbolni pomen objekta – križ kot prepoznavni znak krščanstva in tudi njegove cerkve. Fotografsko dokumentiranje zažiga je tako proizvedlo upodobitve, ki so posredno omogočile, da je iz (mikro) dogodka nastal njegov medializiran (makro) podaljšek.

Fascinacija z gorenjem križa je zanimiva, po eni strani z vidika njegove skrunitve (križ je po krščanski legendi pravzaprav bil mučilna naprava, potreba po ohranitvi njegove ekskluzivne nedotakljivosti tako po svoje preseneča, čeprav je hkrati povsem razumljiva potreba po simbolnemu varovanju svetosti ključnega simbola), po drugi pa z vidika ustvarjalnih uprizoritev in upodobitev križa v plamenih, ki lahko podajajo širok spekter izjav – od nestrinjanja s krščansko dogmo, prek ritualnih navezav na misticizme, do pop-kulturnih spektakelskih

13 <http://kid-pina.si/~mkc/klarinet/nagajamo/vnebovzetje/glavna.htm>, 10. 6. 2006. Zadnji stavek so poudarili pisci izjave.

14 Delo, 9. 10. 2004: Zaradi zvonov ob denarna sredstva.

15 Znan tudi kot *Sveti križ*.

vložkov, banalnih v svoji samozadostnosti. Ker gre v primeru *Gorečega križa* za zavestno dejanje sodobnih umetnikov, se ob njem spet zastavlja značilno vprašanje, ali je umetnost zgolj zastavljala vprašanja, ne da bi ponujala odgovorov. Zdi se, da je šlo v prvi vrsti za artikulirano zavzetje stališča do konkretne problematike, četudi bolj znotraj kakor zunaj okvira umetnostnega sistema. Izjava enega od umetnikov¹⁶ sicer govori o provokativnem, aktivističnem in mišljenjskem ozadju performansa, podobno kot v primeru *Tapisoniranega vnebovzetja*, hkrati pa je pomenljivo dejstvo, da je bil križ tekom zažiga tehnično zaščiten pred morebitnimi poškodbami. V tem zaščitniškem, civiliziranem dejanju umetnikov je zaznati anesteziranje militantnega učinka (sicer povsem razumljivo z vidika samozaščite izvajalcev); to je performans na neki simbolni ravni dejansko odmaknilo od radikalnejšega posega v realno, ki se ga sicer poslužujejo nekateri protagonisti uničevanja simbolnih objektov in kanoniziranih umetniških del.¹⁷

Performans je, po drugi strani, pomenljiv z vidika učinka – pretežno represivne reakcije uradnih struktur, ki se je izšla v kazenski pregon umetnikov, ki sta se morala zagovarjati dvakrat, zaradi obtožbe poškodovanja spomenika kulturnega pomena in zaradi obtožbe žaljenja verskih čustev, a sta ju koprsko in piransko sodišče obakrat oprostila. Čeprav sta bila umetnika osvobojena obdolžitev, nam že uspešno sprožen sodni proces med drugim govori o krhki stopnji (domnevno zagotovljene) avtonomije umetnosti in liberalnosti oziroma pragu tolerance države do kritičnih umetniških dejanj. Pomemben vidik performansa je tudi dejstvo, da ga je umetnostna institucionalna srenja sčasoma posvojila, arhivirala in »zavarovala« pred napadi tistega dela »javnosti«, ki tovrstnega umetniškega početja »ni razumel«.

MED PROVOKACIJO IN ESTETIZACIJO: H GESTI PRELOMA

Drugače kot v primeru *Gorečega križa* se tovrstna posvojitev oziroma rekuperacija simbolnega dejanja

v primeru *Tapisoniranega vnebovzetja* ni zgodila – tu predvsem mislimo na ne vključitev primera v galerijske predstavitve, vsaj sodeč po nam dostopnih podatkih. Zdi se, da je za vstop na umetnostni teritorij vendarle bil nujen »bolj resen« status umetnika (v tem primeru umetnika, ki se gre aktivizma), saj (zgolj) vloga aktivista ni zadostovala. Dve fotografiji gorečega križa sta namreč bili razstavljeni na mednarodni skupinski razstavi *Shock and Show* v Trstu¹⁸. Namen te razstave performansov, videov, slik, fotografij, instalacij in skulptur je bil prikaz tendence provokacije, ki se jo kot metode umetniškega ustvarjanja poslužujejo nekateri umetniki in umetnice. Podoba gorečega križa je bila tudi na uličnem plakatu za promocijo razstave ter tako postala njen »zaščitni znak«. Performativni potencial *znaka* – gorečega križa – v pomenu resničnega elementa gledališča oziroma scenskega elementa, ki označuje »ponavljanje kot realno gibanje v nasprotju z reprezentacijo kot lažnim gibanjem abstraktnega« (Deleuze, 2011, 68), se je tako predrugčil v reprezentativni idiom, ki se s svojo neperformativno govorico (nevede) potaplja v idiomatiko spektakla. Oziroma, dinamična intervencija v prostoru (akcija, ki povzroči neponovljivo dejanje gorenja) je bila, po tehnološkem »prenosu« v statično obliko (fotografija, ki se jo lahko pomnoži oziroma reproducira), predstavljena na razstavi, v nekem novem prostorskem kontekstu. Kljub tej očitni razsežnosti poskusa reprezentacije, ki nazadnje proizvede učinek nevtralizacije izhodiščno provokativne umetniško-aktivistične izjave, pa ne moremo reči, da v primeru *Gorečega križa* ni prišlo do trka med umetnostjo in politiko, ki je v prvem primeru sicer bil nekoliko pristnejši, saj se je odvil v neki neposrednejši, manj posredovani (reprezentirani) obliki. Gre pravzaprav za razliko v intenziteti in kvaliteti reprezentacije trkov, kar se kaže skozi drugačno estetizacijo *Gorečega križa* v primerjavi s *Tapisoniranim vnebovzetjem*, estetizacijo, ki jo niti sama avtorja prvega, sodeč po njuni izjavi¹⁹, ne skrivata. K temu je treba le pripomniti, da je bil *Goreči križ* sicer prevladujoče posredovan (dokumentiran, uzgodovinj), v manjši meri

16 »[K]oprski kriminalisti so zoper umetnika že teden po dogodku vložili kazensko ovadbo zaradi suma storitve kaznivega dejanja poškodovanja ali uničenja stvari posebnega kulturnega pomena. [...] Grozi jima do pet let zapor. [...] Bertok: 'Sam s križem nimam nič. Še krščen nisem. Vprašanje pa je, kaj ima on z menoj. Navsezadnje cerkveno zvonjenje poslušam vsak dan, saj je Slovenija prepredena s cerkvami. Čeprav je vera stvar intimne, cerkev s tem, ko zvonijo, sporoča svoja religiozna dejanja po vsem mestu. [...] Gre za spopad med predstavama rimskokatoliške cerkve in laične družbe. Uradna slovenska RKC govori o rekatolizaciji oz. o reevangelizaciji dežele. Moj odgovor je oz. jaz govorim o repoganizaciji te dežele. [...] Tukaj je omejevana seveda umetnost. Cerkev želi pač uveljavljati svoj monopol nad razlago sveta.'« (Mladina, 6. 8. 2002: Verska čustva in goreči križ, 54–55)

17 Le dva primera. Napad na Duchampovo *Fontano* s pomočjo kladiva je na razstavi o dadaizmu v pariškem Centre Pompidou leta 2006 izvedel performer Pierre Pinocelli. Zaradi dejanja, s katerim je delu povzročil manjšo poškodbo, so umetnika aretirali, kasneje pa je ta izjavil, da je bil napad performativno umetniško delo, ki bi ga Duchamp gotovo spoštoval. Performer Aleksander Brener je leta 1997 z zelenim sprejem narisal znak za ameriški dolar čez sliko Kazimirja Maleviča *Beli suprematizem* (1922–1927), v amsterdamskem muzeju Stedelijk. Zaradi dejanja, ki ga je sodišče opredelilo kot poškodovanje tuje lastnine, je bil obsojen na desetmesečno zaporno kazen. Na sodišču se je branil z izjavo: »Križ je simbol trpljenja, dolarski znak pa simbol trgovine in blaga. Ideje Jezusa Krista so na človekoljubnem terenu bolj pomembne kakor ideje denarja. S svojim dejanjem nisem nasprotoval sliki, temveč sem stopil v dialog z Malevičem.« (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Brener, 15. 3. 2015)

18 5.–31. 7. 2002; kustosinja razstave: Maria Campitelli.

19 »[K]ot trdita umetnika, njun cilj ni bila provokacija zaradi provokacije, temveč to, kar se je zgodilo pred nekaj dnevi v Trstu. Razstava kakovostnih izdelkov z estetsko vrednostjo.« (Mladina, 6. 8. 2002: Verska čustva in goreči križ, 54–55)

pa akcijski, živi performans, najbrž tudi zaradi tehničnih in prostorskih izzivov zakotne lokacije, na kateri je bil izveden, medtem ko je pri *Vnebovzetju* sicer šlo tudi za posredovanje – skozi medije, ki je posredno napihnilo kriminalizacijo primera –, a je performans tudi (in zlasti) brez tega dejansko učinkoval v realnem času-prostoru, se pravi, tudi brez upodobitve za potrebe naknadne medializacije in reprezentacije.

Na tem mestu bomo poskušali povleči vzporednico med našima primeroma in Rancièrovim tolmačenjem infiltracije članov tandema *The Yes Men*²⁰ v odbore volilne kampanje Geoga Busha leta 2004. Poseg tandema v kampanjo je namreč po eni strani bil popoln uspeh, ker sta performerja pretentala svoje nasprotnike, hkrati pa popoln neuspeh, ker je akcija ostala povsem neopazna (Rancière, 2005c, 4). V resnici je bila opazna le zunaj situacije, v katero se je vpisovala – drugod razstavljena kot umetniški performans. Tudi primer *Goreči križ* je postal (širše) opazen šele takrat, ko je bil razstavljen – tako neposredno, v galerijah, kot tudi posredno, v medijih in sodiščih. Ob tem se moramo zavedati dejstva, da je ravno s posredovanjem tovrstnega razstavljanja bil zagotovljen določen sporočilni učinek izvirne akcije. *Tapisonirano vnebovzetje* pa ni potrebovalo (želelo?) naknadnega galerijskega posredovanja oziroma reprezentacije²¹, saj je sproti doseglo takojšen (sicer kratkotrajen), a močan simbolni in hkrati dejanski učinek.

Če se z govorjenjem spreminjamo in s spreminjanjem preobražamo sebe, in če je, po Rancièru, artikuliranje govora ključno za prehod iz paradigme rjoveče živali, oziroma vzpostavitev politične situacije, je manko emancipatornega govora ključni sindrom obstoječega. Emancipatorni govor je odrinjen na obrobje (družbe) spektakla, ki s takšnimi in drugačnimi dražljaji pretentava, preoblikuje in usmerja naše čutno. K prerazporeditvi čutnega v pomenu vzpostavitve govora kot pogoja za politiko (sredi

in onkraj obstoječega policijskega reda) lahko prispeva tudi kritični (umetniški) performans kot transestetsko dejanje/gesta/intervencija v estetskem režimu.

Obravnavana performans sta se vsak po svoje ne le umestila v probleme, temveč sta jih poskušala aktivno odpreti, komentirati in reflektirati oziroma jih postaviti na raven komunikacije z aparatom simbolov in simbolnih dejanj. Oba sta delovala avtonomno predvsem v pomenu avtonomije izkustva, ne pa umetniškega dela, oziroma, kolikor nista bila umetniški deli (Rancière, 2002, 136). Oba sta potekala z zastavitvijo fizičnih teles njunih protagonistov, kar jima daje težo utelešenja ideje, koncepta, predvsem pa politične situacije v specifičnem prostoru. Pri *Tapisoniranem vnebovzetju* se ta prostor izkaže za prostor skupnega v njegovem pristnejšem pomenu, saj se za razliko od *Gorečega križa* performans kvečjemu izogne perpetuaciji estetizacije izvedenega dejanja prek običajnih mehanizmov razstavljanja oziroma reprezentacije umetniškega dela. Ne glede na to razliko na ravni reprezentacije, ki predvsem govori o nenehno prežečih nevarnostih estetizacije upora prek mehčalnih mehanizmov kulturne industrije, oba primera v svojih zastavkah in dejanjih utelešata in demonstrirata potencial ustvarjalnosti, ki se iztrga iz dominantne umetnostne paradigme, oziroma izpričujeta moč odločitve ustvarjalca, da v svojem protagonizmu premika meje dojemanja umetnosti s tem, da izpostavi njeno dvoumnost, jo politizira in tako prispeva k rahljanju njene instrumentalizacije in institucionalizacije. Povezava med provokacijo, ki sta jo sprožila performans, in njuno estetizacijo, ki poteka po institucionaliziranih kanalih, le potrjuje nju in tudi učinek transestetske intervencije – specifičnega, emancipatornega govora, ki ga neposredno (onkraj paradigme reprezentacije) izvaja ustvarjalno, misleče telo v prostoru političnega –; intervencije, ki na ravni geste dejansko prelomi z obstoječim.

20 Tandem *The Yes Men* (Andy Bichlbaum in Mike Bonanno) komentatorji navadno uvrščajo v kategorijo, označeno z nespretnim izrazom *culture jamming*, s katerim se želi povzeti organizirane poskuse motenja ustaljenih tokov kulture poglobitnega toka, ki jih prakticirajo aktivistične in umetniške skupine, posamezniki ter emancipatorna družbena gibanja. Tandem izhaja iz predpostavk, dokazov in lastnega prepričanja, da korporacije in vladne organizacije delujejo neetično in netransparentno. Prizadeva si čim večkrat opozarjati na probleme, ki jih vidi kot pomembna družbena vprašanja, razgrniti skrite resnice in izpostaviti korporativne in koruptivne neresnice. To počne s pomočjo različnih subverzivnih prijemov, kot je tudi lažno predstavljanje, svojo prakso pa imenuje »korekcija identitete«; delno jo je dokumentiral v filmih *The Yes Men* in *The Yes Men Fix the World* (<http://theyesmen.org/>, 27. 1. 2015).

21 Zavedamo se, kot že zapisano, da je bilo prisotno medijsko posredovanje izvedene akcije (podana izjava njenih protagonistov).

PERFORMATIVE INTERVENTIONS IN THE AESTHETIC REGIME

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SUMMARY

While reflecting on politicisation of aesthetic and aestheticisation of emancipatory potential of art that could lead to its depoliticisation, we discuss two contemporary art performances from Slovenia—Carpeted Assumption (Koper, 2003) and The Burning Cross (Strunjan, 2002). We are indeed interested in practices that act, set up and influence in the aesthetic regime of identification of images, beyond sensory-perceptual dimension of their performances. That criterion follows the premise that the political is a paradigm of the open—that it means a situation in which is enabled entry to whomsoever. We show that the examples converge to, encourage and affirm such situation. Therefore they place themselves into a wider social context of radically shrank space of speech; referring to J. Rancière we understand speech as a fundamental condition of politics, i.e. embodiment of politics in a specific space of common. The connection between provocation initiated by the performances and their aestheticisation through institutional channels confirms an urge and also effect of critical performative interventions in aesthetic regime. The effect of transaesthetic apparatus of performance that critically intervenes into situations is—at the level of gesture—a rupture with the existing.

Keywords: performance, speech, critical artwork, the existing, aestheticisation, transaesthetic, politicisation of aesthetic, rupture

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KREATIVNA EKONOMIJA: MIT O USTVARJALNOSTI, KI PRINAŠA BLAGINJO IN USPEH

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IZVLEČEK

Avtorica v članku preišče sodobne interpretacije kreativne ekonomije (UNESCO, Evropska komisija, Caves, Howkins). Kreativna ekonomija kot pomemben sektor sodobnega gospodarstva, ki obsega vse ustvarjalne in z njimi povezane poklice, se kaže kot področje neskončnih možnosti za vsakogar. Članek je osnovan na problemu, da so v koncept kreativne ekonomije zaobjete vse ustvarjalne aktivnosti, tudi umetnosti, s tem pa je uzurpirano področje ustvarjalnosti nasploh. Avtorica pokaže na sorodnosti med razlagami kreativnih ekonomij in umetnosti ter preizpraša razumevanje ustvarjalnih praks (ki se pred modernostjo niso razumele kot umetnost) v antiki, predmodernosti ter nato v kontekstu kapitalistične družbe. Tu še zlasti poudari romantično osnovano razumevanje, ki utemeljuje uporniški oziroma kritični značaj umetnosti in ki je še prisoten kot ena ključnih potez sodobne umetnosti. V tej točki avtorica utemeljuje svojo tezo, skozi katero po eni strani zagovarja specifičnost umetniških praks, ki spodbujajo h kritičnemu mišljenju, po drugi strani pa tu najde bistveni učinek kreativnih ekonomij: s spodbujanjem uporabe ustvarjalnosti za koristne in dobičkonosne namene uspeh kreativnih industrij skrepeni v zaporo kritičnega mišljenja.

Ključne besede: Kreativna ekonomija, kreativne industrije, kulturna industrija, umetnost, moderna umetnost, kritično mišljenje, družbeno angažirana umetnost, ustvarjalnost

ECONOMIA CREATIVA: IL MITO DELLA CREATIVITÀ CHE PORTA PROSPERITÀ E SUCCESSO

SINTESI

Nel contributo vengono esaminate le interpretazioni moderne dell'economia creativa (UNESCO, Commissione europea, Caves, Howkins). L'economia creativa come un settore importante delle economie moderne, che comprende tutte le professioni creative e affini, è vista come un'area di infinite possibilità per tutti. Il contributo parte dal problema che il concetto dell'economia creativa comprende tutte le attività creative, anche l'arte, usurpando in questo modo il campo della creatività in generale. In seguito, l'autrice indica le affinità tra le interpretazioni dell'economia creativa e quelle dell'arte, e mette in discussione la lettura delle pratiche creative (che prima dell'epoca moderna non erano intese come arte) nell'antichità, premodernità e quindi nel contesto della società capitalista. Qui si evidenzia in particolare l'interpretazione romantica che giustifica il carattere ribelle o critico dell'arte, presente come uno dei tratti fondamentali dell'arte moderna. È proprio su questo punto che l'autrice impernia la sua tesi, attraverso la quale, da un lato, difende le specificità delle pratiche artistiche che promuovono il pensiero critico, mentre dall'altro identifica in esso l'effetto essenziale dell'economia creativa: con la promozione dell'utilizzo della creatività per scopi utili e lucrosi il successo delle industrie creative si irrigidisce in un arresto del pensiero critico.

Parole chiave: economia creativa, industrie creative, industria culturale, arte, arte moderna, pensiero critico, arte socialmente impegnata, creatività

Kot razlaga britanska vlada, je kreativna ekonomija pojem, ki obsega tako kreativne industrije kot tudi druge ustvarjalne poklice onstran kreativnih industrij (Ministrstvo za kulturo, medije in šport VB, 2014, 5). Kreativna ekonomija je pomemben gospodarski sektor sodobne družbe. Statistika kaže, da je bilo v Veliki Britaniji v tem sektorju leta 2012 zaposlenih 8,5 odstotka prebivalstva. Kreativna ekonomija pokriva poklice na področjih: oglaševanje in marketing; arhitektura; obrti; oblikovanje: produktno, grafično in modno oblikovanje; film, televizija, video, radio in fotografija; informacijske tehnologije (IT), programski in računalniški servis; objavljanje; muzeji, galerije in knjižnice; glasba, uprizoritvene in vizualne umetnosti. Če med poklice kreativnih industrij s področja oglaševanja in marketinga na primer sodijo odnosi z javnostjo in komunikacijske aktivnosti, oglaševalske agencije in medijske reprezentacije, pa kreativna ekonomija kot širši pojem poleg naštetih na tem področju zajema tudi še oglaševalske in prodajne direktorje ter z marketingom povezane strokovnjake.

Vendar so kreativne industrije nekaj, z definiranjem česar imajo pravzaprav težave vsi, ki jih poskušajo razlagati. Rosamund Davies in Gauti Sigthorsson ugotavljata, da kulturne industrije ne obstajajo kot enotna kategorija, zato jih obravnavata kot dežnik, ki pokriva številne aktivnosti, proizvode in servisne dejavnosti (Davies, Sigthorsson, 2013, 1). V svojem poročilu o kreativni ekonomiji Združeni narodi zapišejo, da sta za razumevanje tega, kaj obsega in kako deluje kreativna ekonomija v razvijajočih se in v razvitih deželah, ključna dva koncepta: kulturne industrije in kreativne industrije (UNDP, 2010, 3). Ob tem tudi Združeni narodi ugotavljajo, da je definiranje kreativnih industrij v akademski literaturi in političnih krogih dokaj nedosledno, zlasti v odnosu do vzporednega koncepta, kulturnih industrij. Včasih se med tema konceptoma poudarja razlike, včasih pa sta uporabljana kot sinonima. Kulturna ekonomika ali ekonomija kulture je koncept, ki ga politiki in akademiki uporabljajo, kadar se ukvarjajo z ekonomskimi vidiki kulturne politike (UNDP, 2010, 5). Leta 2010 je Evropska komisija podala delovno definicijo kulturnih in kreativnih industrij v *Zeleni knjigi – Izkoriščanje potenciala kulturnih in kreativnih industrij*: »'Kulturne industrije' so tiste industrije, ki proizvajajo in distribuirajo dobrine ali storitve, ki imajo takrat, ko se razvijejo, posebni atribut, uporabo in namen, ki uteleša ali posreduje kulturno izražanje, ne glede na komercialno vrednost, ki jo lahko imajo. Poleg tradicionalnih umetnostnih področij (scenske umetnosti, likovne umetnosti, kulturna dediščina – z javnim sektorjem vred) zajemajo tudi film, DVD in video, televizijo in radio, videoigre, nove medije, glasbo, knjige in tisk. Ta koncept je definiran v odnosu do kulturnih izražanj iz Konvencije o varstvu in spodbujanju raznolikosti kulturnih izražanj UNESCO iz leta 2005. 'Kreativne industrije' so tiste industrije, ki uporabljajo kulturo kot vložek in imajo kulturno razsežnost, čeprav so njihovi rezultati po večini funkcionalni. Te industrije

zajemajo arhitekturo in oblikovanje, ki kreativne elemente vključujeta v širše procese, in podsektorje, kot so grafično in modno oblikovanje ali oglaševanje.« (Evropska komisija, 2010, 5)

Na eni strani neenotnost v definiranju področij in na drugi strani časovni okvir, ki naj ga pripišemo pojavu kreativnih in tudi kulturnih industrij, sta povezana z resnimi vprašanji, ki zadevajo tako nalogo in funkcijo umetnosti kot tudi vključitev novih tehnologij v kulturno sfero. Ustvarjanje predmetov z izrazno, simbolno in hkrati uporabno vrednostjo je staro kot človeštvo; menjava teh predmetov je neke vrste ekonomija. Izraz kulturna industrija se je uveljavil s frankfurtsko šolo sredi štiridesetih let dvajsetega stoletja, ko sta Max Horkheimer in Theodor W. Adorno v spisu »Kulturna industrija« kritično analizirala, kako v medijih, ki jih je moč množično distribuirati, prihaja do brezsrčne usmeritve v industrijsko proizvodnjo »kulturnih« proizvodov, ki potrošnikom namesto kvalitetnih vsebin dostavljajo šund: »Filmom in radiu se ni treba več izdajati za umetnost. Resnico, da niso nič drugega kot posel, uporabljajo kot ideologijo, s katero legitimirajo šund, ki ga namerno izdelujejo. Sebe imenujejo industrija in objavljene številke dohodkov njihovih generalnih direktorjev pobijajo vsak dvom o družbeni nujnosti končnih izdelkov.« (Horkheimer, Adorno, 2006, 134) Čeprav Združeni narodi sledijo izrazu kulturna industrija pri frankfurtski šoli, kjer so prikazani pesimistični vidiki odnosov med kulturo in kapitalističnimi podjetji, pri katerih še danes nekateri vztrajajo, zlasti v kontekstu debate o grožnji globalne kulturne homogenizacije. Vendar pa so v šestdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja številni analitiki pričeli prepoznati, da proces poblagovljenja ne vodi vedno in nujno v degeneracijo kulturnega izraza, navajajo Združeni narodi. Tako so v osemdesetih letih številni akademiki in politiki pripoznali kulturno industrijo kot pozitivno označbo, ki se nanaša na kulturno proizvodnjo in potrošnjo, ki ima v svojem jedru simbolni oziroma izrazni element (UNESCO, UNDP, 2013, 23). V osemdesetih letih je kulturno industrijo globalno promoviral tudi UNESCO ter s terminom zaobjel široko paleto polj, kot so glasba, vizualna umetnost, tiskovine, filmske in televizijska proizvodnja. Pri tem območje delovanje ni omejeno le na tehnološko intenzivno proizvodnjo, temveč zajema tudi obrti, saj ima velik del kulturne proizvodnje v razvijajočih se deželah takšen značaj. Tako lahko kulturne industrije pomenijo tudi investiranje v tradicionalne podeželske obrti, s čimer lahko lokalni proizvajalci kulturnih proizvodov ustvarijo družinski prihodek, še zlasti če so druge prihodkovne možnosti omejene. Takšni proizvodi imajo pomembno ekonomsko, pa tudi družbeno in kulturno vrednost (UNESCO, UNDP, 2013, 23). Pri UNESCO se kot kulturne industrije pojmuje tiste industrije, ki »kombinirajo ustvarjanje, proizvodnjo in komercializacijo vsebin, ki so neotipljive in kulturne po svoji naravi. Te vsebine so običajno zavarovane z avtorskimi pravicami in lahko prevzamejo obliko dobrin

oziroma storitev.« (UNDPT, 2010, 5) Za UNESCO je pomemben aspekt kulturnih industrij še ta, da so osrednje pri promoviranju in ohranjanju kulturne raznolikosti in zagotavljanju demokratičnega dostopa do kulture.

Takšno široko pojmovanje kulturnih industrij pokriva tako tisto, kar smo skozi modernost poimenovali umetnost, kot tudi tisto, kar imenujemo umetnostne obrti ali uporabne umetnosti. Za Aristotela sta oboje, tisto, kar danes razumemo kot umetnost, in tisto, kar razumemo kot obrt, zaobsežena v terminu *techné*, ki pokriva tudi medicino. *Techné* pomeni zvičajnost uma, ki je sposoben prelisčiti naravo v svoj prid. Pogosto se *techné* prevaja kot rokodelstvo. Posnemanje kot rokodelstvo se razvije iz ročne spretnosti, ki je vezana na posnemanje narave – kot posnemanje stvarnice roke. Za Aristotela je pomembno posnemanje navad matere Narave, zato se je potrebno šolati pri Naravi. Šele po dolgem šolanju ob modelu lahko pride do preseganja modela in tako je *techné* oplemenitenje ideala. Posnemanje šele po dolgem razvojnem procesu postane vredno, da ga imenujemo *techné*, kot ustvarjanje z resnično idejo. Umetnost se je kot gr. *mimesis* (lat. *imitatio*) razumela od antične Grčije (Platon), a *mimesis* ni vezan le na vidno posnemanje pojavnosti stvarnosti, temveč tudi na posnemanje dejanj, misli, oseb, čustev, občutkov (kot na primer v tragediji) oziroma pri Aristotelu na posnemanje zakonitosti narave (podobno kot v renesansi), pri Platonu pa je *mimesis* razumljen ožje – npr. slikarstvo posnema svet stvari (slike posnemajo predmete, predmeti pa idealne oblike). Iz antičnega razumevanja umetnosti kot večšine oziroma tehnike še do romantike vztraja razumevanje, da je umetnost vezana na večšinskost in pravila. V modernem sporu moderni – stari predstavlja tisto plat, ki se veže na akademskost in ki ji moderni nasprotujejo. Do renesanse pa poznamo dve obliki, ki kažeta razliko med »svobodnimi umetnostmi« in obrtni: »artes liberales« (svobodne oblike, ki niso vezane na materialno prisotnost) in »artes vulgares« (ki vključujejo tudi telesno silo). Med slednje sodita slikarstvo in kiparstvo, ne pa tudi poezija. V renesansi se ti veji umetnosti spojita. Arhitektura pa še do danes ohranja nihanje med umetnostjo in obrtjo.

V osemnajstem stoletju (1746) je Charles Batteux naštel sedem lepих umetnosti: arhitekturo, ples, glasbo, retoriko, slikarstvo, poezijo in kiparstvo.¹ Batteux oznani, da je vse umetnosti speljal na eno samo načelo – to je »posnemanje narave«. Batteux raztegne pojem narave, umetnost pa naj bo po njegovem naravna zlasti v tem smislu, da ne pači navadnega človeškega čustva (Everett Gilbert, Kuhn, 1967, 258–259). Prav tako v osemnajstem stoletju Denis Diderot, ki tudi napiše prispevek za enciklopedijo, in sicer o lepem (fr. beau), v svoji estetski

teoriji še utrdi nazor, da mora umetnost, da je naravna, ustrezati našim čustvom. Sicer pa se tako Batteux kot Diderot sklicujeta na geslo »posnemanje narave«, češ: narava nikoli ne stori ničesar narobe. Kmalu po Batteuxovi opredelitvi sta odpadli dve zvrsti – petje in poezija (ki so ju obravnavali posebej kot »belles lettres«), v devetnajstem stoletju sta odpadla glasba in ples, tako da so naziv »beaux arts« ohranili le še arhitektura, slikarstvo in kiparstvo, tako pa je tudi akademija lepих umetnosti poučevala samo še te tri zvrsti. Konec devetnajstega stoletja se je za tri vrste lepих umetnosti (arhitekturo, slikarstvo in kiparstvo) uporabljajal preprosto le še izraz umetnost. Batteux je napravil še pomemben enačaj med slikarstvom in poezijo, kar je ostalo pomembno tudi kasneje, ko umetnost ni več sodila v območje »besedilnosti«. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing je v osemnajstem stoletju nekoliko za Batteuxom v nemščini poimenoval arhitekturo, slikarstvo in kiparstvo za »die bildende Künste« (upodabljaljoče umetnosti), in sicer z obrazložitvijo, da poezija govori o vidnem in nevidnem, slikarstvo pa izraža samo tisto, kar je vidno in pri tem upošteva načelo lepote – zato je najprimernejše za upodabljanje lepих oblik v lepих držah.² Različne in spreminjaljoče se rabe izraza umetnost zgovorno pričajo o razumevanju narave umetnosti v določenem času in okolju. Današnji slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika izraz umetnost poleg zgolj večšinske spretnosti definira kot »dejavnost, katere namen je ustvarjanje, oblikovanje del estetske vrednosti«. (SAZU, ZRC SAZU, 1996) V sodobnem oxfordskem slovarju je termin art razložen kot »veščje ustvarjanje lepих vidnih oblik« (Burgin, 2005, 2).

Za razumevanje pojenja imperativa večšinskosti, ki umetnost približuje obrti, je pravzaprav bistveno poudariti proces avtonomizacije umetnosti. Avtonomija umetnosti pa je povezana tudi z modernim pojmovanjem umetnosti in s statusom, ki ga ima umetnost v moderni dobi.

Z zatonom versko zaznamovane romanike se srečamo z visokosrednjeveškim denarnim in tržnim gospodarstvom, ob tem pa z razvojem meščanstva. S spremembami življenjskih razmer se spremeni tudi umetnost. Čeprav se že v dvanajstem stoletju srečamo z obrtništvom in trgovstvom in se že takoj pojavi prva stopnja odmikanja proizvodnje od neposredne porabe, kar posledično pomeni tudi umetnikovo oddaljitev od interesenta, pa v tem času še ne gre za pravo blagovnost proizvodov.

V dobi renesanse se umetnik pomembno preusmeri od praktične naloge (kot pomočnik, učitelj, propagandist ipd.) k zavesti subjektivnosti. Umetnik se zave svojega osebnega razumevanja stvari in pogledov nanje. V petnajstem stoletju prične meščanstvo v večjem številu

1 *Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe*. Nekateri Batteuxove formulacije so bile leta 1751 vključene v *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisoné des Sciences, des Arts, et des Métiers*.

2 Nem. das Bild je sicer slika, bilden pa pomeni tvoriti, sestavljati, nastajati, graditi, ustvariti, pa tudi podobno kot gestalten: oblikovati, izoblikovati, upodobiti, upodabljati. Bildend pomeni tudi izobrazujoč.

naročati slike za zasebne namene, kar pomeni, da lahko večje število slik odtlej zasledimo tudi v hišah bogatih meščanov in ne le v palačah in gradovih vladarjev ter plemičev. Arnold Hauser pa opozarja na preokretno točko v zgodovini umetnosti, in sicer na nastop poznavalca in zbiralca, ki ne preobrazijo samo umetnostnega trga, temveč sočasno premakne umetnikove cilje in njegovo vlogo v življenju družbe (Hauser, 1980, 238–239). Če je bil prej umetnostni trg zaznamovan predvsem s povpraševanjem in manj s ponudbo, je zdaj iz naročnika nastal kupec, iz umetnostnega uporabnika ljubitelj, poznavalec in zbiratelj, torej moderni umetnostni interesent, ki ni več naročal po potrebi, temveč je kupil ponujeno. Rokodelsko usmerjeni izdelovalec umetnostnih predmetov pa se je preobrazil v umetnika, ki se je vse bolj neovirano s proizvodnjo na zalogo oddaljeval od občinstva.

Umetnost se je vse bolj osamosvajala od vsakdanje rabe, umetnik je pričel ustvarjati za svobodni trg, a umetnika se je mislilo kot rokodelca, umetnost pa kot umetno obrt še vse do petnajstega stoletja; pojmovanje se je spremenilo šele s tem, ko je človek odkril samostojnost visoke, neuporabne umetnosti. Povpraševalec po umetnosti je zdaj razvil pojem umetnosti brez posebnega smotra, ki pa skrbi za popolno obliko – ta nauk je bil že močno blizu nauku larpurlartizma, razlaga Hauser (Hauser, 1980, 238–239, 240). Umetnost torej v modernem pojmovanju, ki korenini v pričetkih meščanske družbe in v svobodnem tržišču, pomeni posebno, avtonomno sfero, ki nima neposrednega praktičnega pomena. Šele s tem se lahko prične govoriti o umetnosti, ki je ne angažira (vzame v službo) nihče (drug) od zunaj, temveč je notranje vezana, je samostojni poklic. Takšna neodvisna in na tak način svobodna sfera postane umetnost v moderni dobi prek procesa avtonomizacije.

Mesto je izpodrinilo dvor kot nosilca kulture, umetnost pa postane vse bolj človeška in je vse manj namenjena izražanju moči in veličine, namesto tega je prej lepa in prijetna – bila naj bi privlačna in naj bi zbujala ugodje; v takšnem smislu vidi vlogo umetnosti meščanstvo v zahodni kapitalistični družbi. Po drugi strani pa ne smemo spregledati dejstva, da je vzpon umetnosti kot družbene panoge omogočilo šele meščanstvo, ki ji je zagotovilo družbeni ugled. Plemstvu je umetnost pomenila zgolj pripomoček za reprezentanco, bila je propagandno sredstvo, okrask in razvedrilo, meščanstvo pa jo je pričelo vrednotiti kot bistvo duhovnih dobrin, vir zadoščenja in tolažbe. Javnost se preobrazila, umetnost se pospešeno veže na zbirateljstvo in podporništvo. Spremembe, ki so se zgodile v zvezi z umetnostjo predvsem v osemnajstem stoletju, ključno zaznamujejo umetnost in njeno vlogo ter pomen v družbi po tem. Oziroma kot dokazuje Raymond Williams, sta umetnost in kultura v osemnajstem stoletju šele dobili svoj moderen pomen sfere, ki je odcepljena od reprodukcije družbenega življenja. Če je bila »umetnost« prej katerakoli človeška večšina, pa umetnost zdaj postane določena

skupina večšin, to je imaginacijskih in ustvarjalnih. Iz večine je postala neke vrste institucija, niz aktivnosti določene vrste (Williams, 1983, xv–xvi).

Zanimivo je, da se v osemnajstem stoletju umetnost vzpostavi kot kulturna dejavnost, ki proizvaja kulturne proizvode s takšnimi značilnostmi, kot jih leta 2010 Združeni narodi prepoznajo v proizvodih kreativnih in kulturnih industrij. Kulturni proizvodi in storitve, kot so umetniška dela, glasbeni nastopi, literatura, film, televizijski programi in video igre, imajo po definiciji Združenih narodov vsi naslednje značilnosti: 1.) njihova proizvodnja zahteva vložek človeške kreativnosti, 2.) so nosilci simbolnih sporočil tistim, ki jih uporabljajo, kar pomeni, da so več kot zgolj koristni, v toliko, kolikor dodatno služijo nekaterim višjim, komunikativnim ciljem, in 3.) vsebujejo, vsaj potencialno, neko intelektualno lastnino, ki jo gre pripisati posamezniku ali skupini, ki proizvede blago ali storitev. Alternativno oziroma dodatno pa lahko kulturne dobrine in storitve definiramo z vrsto vednosti, ki jo vsebujejo ali generirajo. Z drugimi besedami, lahko bi rekli, da imajo te dobrine in storitve še neko dodatno kulturno vrednost poleg komercialne vrednosti, ki pa ne more biti popolnoma izmerljiva v monetarnih terminih (UNDP, 2010, 4–5).

Tudi poudarjanje dvojne narave proizvodov kreativnih in kulturnih industrij – kulturne oziroma kreativne in ekonomske, privede nazaj na pojem umetnosti, kot se je vzpostavil v osemnajstem stoletju. Odločilni obrat v zvezi s kapitalskim načinom produkcije in s tem povezanim svobodnim tržiščem, ki zaznamuje tudi umetnost, lahko lociramo konec sedemnajstega in v začetek osemnajstega stoletja. Z vidika svobodnega tržišča tudi kulturni izdelki dobijo status blaga.

Nadalje nas pojem ustvarjalnosti ali kreativnosti kot tisto določilo, ki naj bi veljalo tako za umetnost kot za kreativne in kulturne industrije, ne pripelje daleč v smislu opredeljevanja ali razlikovanja teh pojmov, saj se skozi čas in tudi pri različnih razlagah kreativnih in kulturnih industrij srečamo z različnimi definicijami ustvarjalnosti. Združeni narodi podajajo definicijo umetniške in drugih ustvarjalnosti. Umetniška ustvarjalnost vključuje domišljijo in zmožnost generiranja izvirnih idej in novih načinov interpretiranja sveta, izraženih v besedilu, zvoku in sliki. Znanstvena ustvarjalnost vključuje radovednost in reševanje problemov, ekonomska ustvarjalnost je dinamični proces, ki vodi k inovaciji in tehnologiji, podjetnim praksam, marketingu itd. in je tesno povezana s pridobivanjem konkurenčnih prednosti v ekonomiji (UNDP, 2010, 3).

Še več kot to, da se pojmi kulturne in kreativne industrije ter umetnost lahko pokrivajo, umetnost je sama že zajeta v konceptu kulturnih oziroma celo kreativnih industrij. Pri poklicih kreativnih industrij v Veliki Britaniji politika celo statistično meri stopnjo ustvarjalnosti – med temi ima umetniško ustvarjanje najvišji odstotek ustvarjalnosti (91,5 %), muzejske aktivnosti pa najnižjo (22,5 %) (Ministrstvo za kulturo, medije in šport VB,

2014, 27). Adorno in Horkheimer bi, tako kot sta kulturno industrijo, tudi sodobne kreativne industrije, pa tudi spremljajoči diskurz o kreativni ekonomiji razumela v kontekstu razsvetljenstva, saj se tu mora vse ukloniti preračunljivosti in koristnosti, kar zahteva razsvetljenstvo (Horkheimer, Adorno, 2006, 20).

Če mislimo umetnika, kot je slikar, kot ustvarjalca kreativnih industrij, je v tem primeru njegovo delovanje drugačno od zgolj umetniškega zlasti po povečani stopnji preračunljivosti in koristnosti. Richard Caves razmišlja tudi o takšnih tradicionalnih poklicih, kot je slikarski, z vidika kreativnih industrij, kar v tem primeru pomeni razglabljanje o vprašanju, kako »zagotavljati ustvarjalne preproste dobrine« in vizualnega umetnika, ki mu grozi preusmeritev v drugi poklic ali životarjenje v svojem poklicu. Caves pravzaprav predlaga ekonomsko vajeništvo umetnikov. Spodbuja k usposabljanju za boljše sodelovanje s prodajalcem njegovih del in dobro pripravljene-mu posredovanju informacij o svojih ustvarjalnih delih končnim kupcem (Caves, 2000, 21). V skladu s Cavesovim priporočilom umetnik ostaja v svojem poklicu in še naprej ustvarja skladno s svojim ustvarjalnim vzgibom ter pri tem proizvede umetniško delo kot blago, le še usposobiti se mora za boljšega prodajalca, kot se mora tudi njegov galerist. Vloga komunikacije oz. uspešno posredovanje želenega sporočila je torej ključno za uspeh ustvarjalca, ki se meri z uspešnostjo prodaje njegovih del.

Z vidika poblagovljenosti ni bistvene razlike med umetnostjo, kot se je vzpostavila v moderni dobi, in proizvodi kulturnih in kreativnih industrij, saj gre v obeh primerih za proizvodnjo proizvodov (ali storitev), ki so prodajljivi, čeprav je temeljni motiv pri kulturnih in kreativnih industrijah tržni uspeh, medtem ko pri moderni umetnosti temu vendar naj ne bi bilo tako. Da bi lahko razumeli, v čem so bistvene razlike, je potrebno osvetliti še ideološke plati obravnavanih fenomenov. Meščanska družba umetnosti prinese svobodo ustvarjanja v smislu ločitve umetniške proizvodnje od naročnika in tako pomeni ideološko neodvisnost. S svobodo proizvodnje umetnost stopi na tržišče v formatih umetniških del, ki postanejo manjši in omogočajo prenosljivost ter tako podpirajo poblagovljenost umetnosti. Umetnik se na tržišču sooči s težko dilemo, kateremu cilju naj dejansko sledi: prodajnosti in s tem morda ugodnemu življenju ali pa zgolj preživetju ali pa višjim, estetskim ciljem, reševanju umetnostnih vprašanj, izrazu oziroma iskanju resnice v umetnosti. Z romantiko umetniška svoboda dobi nove razsežnosti, ki pridejo še zlasti do izraza v umetniško zgodovinskih avantgardah v začetku dvajsetega stoletja, ko je umetnost morda najbolj svobodna in junaška, a ko tudi preneha biti povsem avtonomna, saj prične slediti drugim interesom, zlasti političnim.

Za razumevanje vloge in pojmovanja umetnosti v modernosti zato ne sme biti brez pomena tudi revolucio-

narno družbeno dogajanje v Evropi. Konec sedemnajste, osemnajsto in devetnajsto stoletje zaznamujejo revolucije (1688 v Londonu, 1789 v Parizu, 1848 v Nemčiji). Umetnostni izraz revolucionarnega duha pa se zares izrazi z umetnostnim slogom romantike, ki jo je revolucija šele pripravljala. Šele z romantiko se zares srečamo s takšno paradigmo, ki zaznamuje umetnost še v dvajsetem stoletju. Romantik je prvi ustvarjal umetnost zase in za umetnike. Zdaj pride do radikalnega esteticizma pri občinstvu, na drugi strani pa postane umetnikov odnos do občinstva sovražen. Duhovna svoboda ni več posebna pravica genija, temveč pravica slehernega posameznika. Z romantiko se pojavi tudi spoznanje, da je vsaka osebna izpoved edinstvena, neprimerljiva in nenadomestljiva; vsaka nosi v sebi svoja merila in pravila. Za umetnost je bilo to izjemno spoznanje in velik dosežek revolucije. Umetnost zdaj zmaga nad brezpogojnimi avtoritetami, izročili in konvencijami – to je posledica revolucije in romantičnega duha. V umetnosti je čas, ki nastopi po rojstvu romantičnega duha, čas moderne umetnosti. Zanj je pravzaprav ves čas značilna paradoksalna pozicija: po eni strani se srečamo z bojem med svobodnjaško naravnano umetnostjo in meščansko družbo, po drugi strani pa je moderna umetnost v svojem bistvu dejansko meščanska. Po mnenju Hauserja je romantika celo najznačilnejše meščansko umetnostno gibanje, kajti je tista smer, ki je obračunala s konvencijami klasicizma in dvorske izumetničenosti ter z izbranim vedenjem. Romantika je določila mesto meščana za samoumevno človekovo merilo (Hauser, 1980, 263). In romantika je zares postala vsesplošen zahodni pojav. Moderni Zahod je bil z vso svojo umetnostjo in literaturo romantično-meščanski. Obenem pa meščanu sovražen.

Romantično osnovo ima odklanjanje meščanskih norm, ki se je v celotnem načinu življenja in tudi v izražanih načelih delovanja izrazilo pri literatih in umetnikih (najizraziteje pri boemih) v devetnajstem stoletju, ko umetniki že z vojaškim tonom poudarjajo avantgardnost svojega ustvarjalnega delovanja.³ Najbolj izrazilo se nasproti meščanski kulturi postavijo zgodovinske avantgarde, zlasti dadaizem v prvi polovici dvajsetega stoletja. Zato za dadaiste ni pomembna tržna uporabnost njihovih izdelkov, pa tudi ne njihova primernost za kontemplativno poglavljanje. Tej so se izogibali z načelnim onečaščanjem svojega materiala – na svoje slike so lepili gumbce in vozovnice, njihove pesmi pa so le »besedna solata«, vsebujejo obscene obrate in vsakršne jezikovne odpadke, piše Walter Benjamin (Benjamin, 1998, 171), eden najvidnejših predstavnikov frankfurtske šole. »Zares so dadaistične manifestacije vehementno zavračale meščanske norme, saj je umetnina postala prostor škandala. Zadovoljiti je moralo [op. avtorice: so morale] predvsem eno zahtevo: zbuditi javno zgražanje.« (Benjamin, 1998, 172) Benjamin verjame, da so

3 Avantgarda v literarno umetniškem kontekstu neposredno izhaja iz jezika revolucionarnih politik, in sicer prvič najdemo sklicevanje na avantgardo v spisih Olinde Rodriguesa, tesnega prijatelja Saint Simona (Calinescu, 1987, 101).

nove oblike, ki so se pojavile s tehničnim reproduciranjem (še zlasti film), prostor za ideologije – in imajo zmožnost, da mobilizirajo množice. Te nove tehnične medije na eni strani uporablja kapitalizem, na drugi fašizem, na tretji pa komunizem. Tisto polje, v okviru katerega (naj) se dogaja mobilizacija s strani komunizma, je pravzaprav »umetniška« avangarda, pri čemer je njena politična funkcija očitno pomembnejša od »zgolj« umetniške. Zato bi lahko rekli, da Benjamin avangarde niti ne razume kot umetnost – avangarda tukaj še zdaleč ni umetnost v smislu avtonomne sfere; pa tudi Benjaminovo skorajšnje enačenje futurizma in fašizma ter komunizma in avangarde, kot si jo sam zamišlja, pove, da je zanj »prava umetnost« (ki to pravzaprav sploh ni več) kot avangardna pravzaprav politična propaganda. »Umetniška« avangarda je v službi politične ideologije ali pa je njeno pojavljanje zares samo izraz, še več – instrument ideologije, ki v propagandne in mobilizacijske namene s pridom uporablja nove tehnične medije. V tem smislu pa se Benjaminov pogled ne razlikuje dosti od pogleda Geoga Lukácsa, ki tudi zahteva politizacijo umetnosti, zlasti literature, in sicer posredovanje marksističnih idej prek realizma.

V prostoru bivše Jugoslavije je zapuščina umetniških zgodovinskih avangard izjemnega pomena, zlasti zato, ker utemeljuje povezavo med umetnostjo in politiko. Na tej osnovi je bil ustanovljen kolektiv Neue Slowenische Kunst in tudi pri sodobnih umetnikih (Marko Peljhan, Dragan Živadinov) najdemo neposredne reference na ruski futurizem. Poleg tega je v času po drugi svetovni vojni v kontekstu Jugoslavije zahodni marksizem veljal za glavno intelektualno referenco. Z razmahom novih medijev, ki sovпада s pojavom globalizacije v pozni fazi kapitalizma, v devetdesetih letih obenem prihaja do kritičnega razmisleka in do spodbud k strategijam taktičnega delovanja znotraj vse bolj nadzorovane družbe. S tem je v vzponu medijski aktivizem oziroma se razvijajo t. i. taktični mediji. Geert Lovink, ki je skupaj z Davidom Garcio leta 1997 napisal manifest taktičnih medijev in ki kot primer taktično medijskega delovanja navaja prav delo Marka Peljhana, razlaga: »Izraz taktični mediji se je pojavil po padcu berlinskega zidu kot oznaka za prepoved medijskega aktivizma, povezoval pa je tradicionalno politično in tehnološko podprto umetniško delovanje. V zgodnjih devetdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja smo bili priča močno okrepljeni zavesti o vprašanih družbenega spola, strmemu porastu medijske industrije in vse cenejši opremi tipa naredi sam. S tem se je med aktivisti, programerji, teoretiki, kuratorji in umetniki oblikovala nova zavest. Mediji niso bili več le orodje za boj, ampak virtualna okolja z nenehno `spreminjajočimi se` parametri. To so bila zlata leta taktičnih medijev, odprtih za estetska vprašanja in preizkušanje alternativnih načinov pripovedovanja zgodb.« (Lovink, 2009, 31) Slovenski

umetnostni kritik Igor Zabel našteje nekaj odporniških strategij, ki so lahko uporabljene v umetnosti in jih najde pri Marku Peljhanu: 1. razkrivanje spregledanih in skrivnih mehanizmov, ki jih moč uporablja za družbeni nadzor in discipliniranje, 2. odkrivanje alternativnih rab obstoječih mehanizmov in tehnologij, 3. iskanje in razvijanje alternativnih modelov ekonomskega, socialnega in političnega ravnanja in 4. iskanje možnosti za paralelne (včasih le začasne) skupnosti oziroma družbene skupine (Zabel, 2006, 191–192). Zabel poudari dva ključna koncepta odporniških strategij – avtonomijo (v smislu »začasnih avtonomnih con«, kot jih razlaga Hakim Bay) in invencijo. Tem kriterijem ustreza Peljhanov projekt *Macrolab*, avtonomna platforma za raziskovanje migracijskih, telekomunikacijskih in meteoroloških signalov iz okolja, ki omogoča neodvisno trimesečno bivanje skupini raziskovalcev, za kar je Peljhan razvijal čistilne sisteme in sisteme za gojenje hrane, razvil pa je tudi od svetovnega spleta neodvisen komunikacijski sistem (*Insular Technologies*).

S to kratko osvetlitvijo usmeritev umetnosti na osnovi romantične paradigme k avangardnosti, ki ima svoje sodobno nadaljevanje v taktičnih medijih, smo prikazali, kako pomembna je bila in je za umetniško delovanje ideološkost. Vendar ideološkost, lahko celo neposredna političnost, v obravnavanih umetniških aktivnostih ne podpira meščanskosti in praviloma ni v službi vladajoče ideologije, temveč zavzema odporniško držo do hegemonskih sil. Torej si prizadeva k družbeni angažiranosti in ideološko nagovarja občinstvo, a to počne avtonomno, ne za nekoga drugega, za neko zunanjo silo moči, ki bi takšno ustvarjalno delovanje zgolj zaposlila.

Za avangardo in taktične medije kot dediča zgodovinske avangarde je torej ideološki vidik delovanja ključnega pomena, vendar ni v službi vladajočih družbeno ekonomskih sil. Ekonomski vidik je za te umetnosti povsem nepomemben oziroma je morebitna prodajnost artefaktov v osnovi nezdržljiva z uporniško naravo delovanja in bi celo lahko vzpostavila dvom o ideološki čistosti takšne umetnosti, ki je na delu razkrivanja in kritike vladajočih sil ter manipulacijskih mehanizmov. Prav nasprotno se dogaja v kulturni industriji. V svoji analizi tega fenomena sta Adorno in Horkheimer izpostavila dva smotra kulturne industrije: ekonomski in ideološki. Oba se najuspešneje dosegata prek sredstva zabave oziroma obljube kratkočasje.

V štiridesetih letih v ZDA poslovni interesi oblikujejo proizvodnjo množične kulture, pa tudi žanrske standarde. Velike korporacije sledijo zapovedim množične proizvodnje izdelkov za trg; kar pa je za kritično teorijo družbe pri tem še zlasti pomembno, je to, da se ob tem ne prodaja zgolj stvari, temveč vrednote, ideologijo oziroma mitologije⁴ in življenjske stile. Osrednja naloga, ki si jo zadajo pripadniki frankfurtske šole, je opraviti

4 Roland Barthes je sodobne mite vsakdana, ki se kažejo kot naravno stanje, dejansko pa gre za stereotipne vzorce, ki so kulturno in zgodovinsko pogojeni, poimenoval mitologije (Barthes, 1957).

analizo uporabe sredstev množične komunikacije kot orodja ideološke propagande. Kot razložita Horkheimer in Adorno, je kulturna industrija celo osrednja značilnost kapitalističnega sistema. Za kulturno industrijo je značilna standardizacija izdelkov, ki naj bi izhajala iz potreb potrošnikov. Adorno in Horkheimer pa pravita: »Dejansko se enovitost sistema čedalje tesneje zapira v krog manipulacije in povratno učinkujoče potrebe.« (Horkheimer, Adorno, 2006, 134) Kulturna industrija naj bi stregla okusu in potrebam svojih odjemalcev, vendar pa prav ona okuse in potrebe tudi ustvarja. Uporabniki kulturne industrije so poenoteni, razlike so avtomatizirane in propagirane – za vsakogar je nekaj predvideno, nihče se ne more izmakniti. Izdelki so si bolj ali manj podobni, izpostavljane razlike pa služijo videzu konkurence in možnosti izbire. Adorno in Horkheimer pravita, da ne gre za usihanje slogotvorne moči v zahodnem svetu, kajti kulturna industrija porogljivo uresničuje pojem enotne kulture s svojo stereotipizacijo in imitacijo ter je pravzaprav le še slog. Kulturna industrija je po njenem prepričanju tako določujoča za posameznika v svetu, ki ga obvladuje, da pravita: »Ves svet gre skozi filter kulturne industrije.« (Horkheimer, Adorno, 2006, 139) To pomeni, da gledalec, ki stopi iz kina, ulico zaznava kot nadaljevanje pravkar končanega filma, pa tudi, da modeli, ki jih prezentira kulturna industrija, določajo najintimnejše reakcije ljudi (Horkheimer, Adorno, 2006, 179). Pomemben je še element zabave, kajti kulturna industrija naj bi kratkočasila, vendar pa kratkočasje skrepeni v dolgočasje. S svojimi mehanizmi kulturna industrija svoje potrošnike vedno znova in v vseh vidikih prevara. Osvoboditev, ki jo obljublja zabava kot meščansko-razsvetljsko načelo, kot pravita pisca, pomeni osvoboditev od misli in osrednji učinek kulturne industrije je poneumljanje. Tako kulturna industrija ljudi ogoljufa za tisto, kar obljublja razsvetljenstvo – svobodo in razum. Adorno in Horkheimer pravita: »Bojuje se proti sovragu, ki je že premagan, proti mislečemu subjektu.« (Horkheimer, Adorno, 2006, 161)

Če se kulturna industrija bori proti mislečemu subjektu, pa je za taktične medije pomembno ravno spodbujanje h kritičnemu mišljenju. Ne nazadnje tradicija zahodnega marksizma, kritična teorija družbe, za taktične medije v prostoru bivše Jugoslavije pomeni osnovo. V luči te tradicije gre brati tudi še sodobnejše projekte, kot je *Humalga* Špele Petrič in Robertine Šebjanič – stvaritev hibrida med algo in človekom, ki omogoča boljše preživetvene možnosti v ekstremnih okoljskih pogojih za človeka, in sicer s spremenjenim reproduktivnim ciklom. Tudi *Maya YogHurt*, fermentiran napitek, narejen iz človeške mlečne kisline, omogoča boljše preživetvene možnosti za človeka v času globalnega pomanjkanja hrane.

Za angažirano sodobno umetnost je ideološko angažiranje pomembno, a v smislu družbenega angažmaja,

opozarjanja na aktualna družbena vprašanja in probleme, ekonomski vidik je pogosto tudi nezdržljiv s samo obliko izvedbe projekta (*Humalga* in *Maya YogHurt* bi v neposredni obliki težko našla kupca), vidik zabave pa običajno ni prisoten (ena redkih izjem je delovanje Saša Sedlačka, ki je praviloma hudomušno, vendar tudi zelo resno govori o problemih revščine, odpadkov in podobno). Hudomušne ali, morebiti prodajne ali ne, takšnih praks sodobne umetnosti, ki se kritično angažirajo v smeri, ki je drugačna od dominantnega mišljenja, se kratkotalo ne da strniti pod dežnik kreativnih ekonomij.

Za kreativne industrije velja ravno nasprotno. Skladne so z dominantno ideologijo in jo tudi posredujejo. Element zabave je lahko tisti, ki njihovo dominantno-hegemonsko pozicijo prikriva in z igranjem na čustva občinstvo še toliko lažje privaja do konformizma in poma pri utrjevanju dominantne ideologije. Pri kreativnih industrijah se sicer element zabave ne poudarja posebej, saj je polje široko in mnogovrstno, a nedvomno je prisoten na področjih, ki so že sama namenjena zabavi, kot so videoigre, video, televizija, film, modno oblikovanje itd. Kreativne industrije so bolj ali manj namenjene zabavi, v kolikor pa so to podporni proizvodi in storitve za druge smotre (npr. pri oglaševanju za ekonomske ali politične, pri muzejih, galerijah in knjižnicah za izobraževalne itd.), pa je moment zabavnosti lahko tisti, ki jih dela uspešne. Na primer, danes muzeji sledijo trendu uvajanja računalniških simulatorjev resničnosti kot sredstev, ki zaradi svojih zabavnih aspektov pritegnejo sodobnika in ga tako muzeji lahko lažje nagovorijo.

Če mislimo takšne primere kreativnih industrij, ki so izrazito podprte s sodobnimi tehnologijami in odražajo sodobno povezovanje številnih disciplin v kompleksnih projektih, kjer je prisotna ustvarjalnost, a se sledi različnim ciljem, kot v zgornjem primeru vzpostavitev sodobnega tehnološkega vmesnika za izobraževalne namene sodelujejo umetniki, oblikovalci, računalniški programerji, kustosi in podjetniki, potem lahko razumemo, zakaj se o kreativnih industrijah misli kot o mlajšem pojavu, ki nas spremlja šele kakih dvajset let in ki ima lahko tudi zelo družbeno dobrodošle učinke.⁵

Sicer pa za pravi izvor sodobnih kreativnih industrij veljajo osemdeseta leta dvajsetega stoletja v Veliki Britaniji, ko je Margaret Thatcher posredno spodbudila kreativne industrije, da postanejo pogumnejše in bolj ustvarjalne ter verjetno najboljše na svetu (Theaker, 2013). Kot predsednica vlade je sprejela vrsto nezaželenih ukrepov, s katerimi je reševala gospodarstvo – ukinjala je državne subvencije, privatizirala je osrednjo britansko naftno družbo, telekomunikacijska in transportna podjetja, zmanjšala je proračun za socialno politiko, izobraževanje in varstvo okolja. Pri tem je zelo dobro izkoriščala kreativne industrije, saj ji je že pot do oblasti pomagala doseči ustvarjalna agencija (Saatchi & Saatchi) z uspe-

5 Leta 2011 je Ministrstvo za kulturo RS izdalo brošuro, v kateri predstavlja področje in politike ter instrumente pomoči ministrstva (Ministrstvo za kulturo RS, 2011).

šno kampanjo leta 1978. Potem je v osemdesetih letih s svojo vlado iskala agencije, ki so promovirale in prodajale ambiciozne družbene in ekonomske spremembe: s področja zdravstva, v zvezi z obsežno privatizacijo in finančnim uravnavanjem. Njen triumf je ilustriral pravo moč kreativne misli (Theaker, 2013).

S tem se je pravzaprav v praksi potrdilo to, pred čemer so svarili humanisti. Sistematično razgradnjo delovanja reprezentacije zlasti v oglaševalskih vizualnih podobah je dvajset let pred nastopom Thatcherjeve opravil Roland Barthes, ki je prav s temi semiološkimi analizami⁶ predstavljal ključen vpliv na birminghamsko šolo kulturnih študijev v sedemdesetih letih, ko šolo vodi Stuart Hall. Barthes pokaže, kako vizualne podobe posredujejo ideologijo, četudi ta ni na prvi pogled razvidna, in sicer prek konotirajočih označevalcev, ki se nanašajo na sprejemnikova predhodna kulturno posredovana vedenja. Kulturni študiji, področje, ki je vzpostavljeno ravno v Veliki Britaniji, na tej sledi analizirajo hegemonski diskurz v javnih medijih, kot je televizija, in možna konformna (dominantno-hegemonika) in opozicijska branja (Hall, 1993). Študije humanistov niso bile uporabne le za kritično branje reprezentacij različnih vrst, temveč so se njihovi izsledki lahko uporabili tudi za doseganje uspešne ideološke propagande, in so tako, kot smo pokazali, tudi kreativne industrije našle svojo pravo osmislitev.

Kreativne industrije danes razlagajo, usmerjajo in spodbujajo vladajoče politike. S tem se vzpostavi nevarnost za ideološko neodvisnost ustvarjalnih praks in tako za obstoj kritičnega mišljenja. Kajti dogaja se, kot sta v štiridesetih letih opazala Adorno in Horkheimer: »Ne pounu se več noben izraz, ki si ne prizadeva za sporazum z vladajočimi miselnimi usmeritvami.« (Horkheimer, Ador-

no, 2006, 10) Razsvetljenstvo se ob vsakem duhovnem odporu, na katerega naleti, samo še okrepi. »Razsvetljenstvo je totalitarno.« (Horkheimer, Adorno, 2006, 20) Če zmagovito mišljenje »stopi iz svojega kritičnega elementa in postane golo sredstvo v službi obstoječega, potem proti svoji volji pripomore k preobrazbi pozitivnega, ki si ga je izbralo, v negativno, razdiralno.« (Horkheimer, Adorno, 2006, 10) Tako prihaja do samouničenja razsvetljenstva. K svojemu spisu »Kulturna industrija« Adorno in Horkheimer zapišeta, da ta »kaže regresijo razsvetljenstva na primeru ideologije, ki najde svoj merodajni izraz v filmu in na radiu. Razsvetljenstvo je pri tem predvsem v preračunavanju učinka in tehnike izdelovanja in širjenja: po svoji pravi vsebini se ideologija izčrpava v malikovanju obstoječega in moči, ki nadzoruje tehniko.« (Horkheimer, Adorno, 2006, 14) In če je razsvetljenstvo kot napredujoče mišljenje zasledovalo cilj, da ljudem odvzame strah in jih postavi za gospodarje ter si za svoj program zastavilo odčaranje sveta, zdaj razsvetljenstvo samo zapada v mitologijo (Horkheimer, Adorno, 2006, 11). Statistični izračuni in natančne informacije, pa tudi »spolirana zabavnost«, česar so polni spisi o kreativnih industrijah in kreativni ekonomiji, nas prepričujejo, da se ta sektor danes kaže kot naravna priložnost sodobnikov za aktivni vstop v svet neskončnih priložnosti za »iztiskanje svojih idej«⁷ v denar.⁸ Kreativna ekonomija obljublja blaginjo in uspeh, ki sta dosegljiva prek enakih možnosti na globalnem nivoju. S tem se kreativna ekonomija kaže kot sodobna inačica ameriškega sna, kot ga je leta 1931 definirjal James Truslow Adams: »to so sanje o deželi, v kateri naj bi bilo življenje boljše in bogatejše ter polnejše za vse, s priložnostjo za vsakogar«, ne glede na družbeni položaj in okoliščine rojstva (Truslow Adams, 1931).

6 Najdemo jih v več delih – poleg že omenjenih *Mitologij v Elementih semiologije*, v spisu »Retorika podob« in drugih spisih.

7 Namerno namigujemo na idejo v latinsko ameriškem prostoru in na Karibih prevladujočega koncepta »oranžna ekonomija«, ki se uporablja po Felipe Buitrago Restrepu in Ivánu Duque Márquezu za kreativno ekonomijo po analogiji iztiskanja pomaranč v sok. Publikacija tudi lepo demonstrira našete karakteristike (statistični izračuni, natančne informacije, spolirana zabavnost reprezentacij) (Buitrago Restrepo, Duque Márquez, 2013).

8 Kot kreativne ekonomije eksplicitno razlaga avtor večkrat ponatisnjene uspešnice (Howkins, 2001).

CREATIVE ECONOMY: MYTH ABOUT CREATIVITY, WHICH ASSURES PROSPERITY AND SUCCESS

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SUMMARY

In the article the author discusses the actual phenomenon of creative economy with the subfield creative industries and the related concept cultural industries. In the 1940s of the 20th century the authors of Frankfurt school critically analyzed the swing of cultural industry and comprehended it as a means for making people apathetic in critical thinking. In this paper the author acknowledges that today the field of creative economy, which is being stimulated by the governing policies, functions in a similar fashion. To compare creative industries with art the author unfolds the comprehension of art throughout the history and discusses the premises such as the handicraft, creativity, profitability, commodification of products and services and the ideological positioning. The latter in particular has a crucial role in art, which inherits the romantic revolutionarity and is to be understood as the agent of critical thinking. The creative economy on the contrary presents what it inherited from art as a cultural good that is offered for consumer purposes. Into its system the creative economy eagerly absorbs everything that could be possibly explained in reference to creativity. By doing that it promises a dream of prosperity and success for everyone.

Keywords: Creative economy, creative industries, cultural industry, art, modern art, critical thinking, socially critical art, creativity.

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CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AS CARRIERS OF URBAN IDENTITY AND DRIVERS OF DEVELOPMENT: FROM DIRECTIONAL TOWARDS PARTICIPATIVE BRANDING

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ABSTRACT

The severe recession in 2008-2009 seriously undermined growth, employment and quality of life. It called for a more effective global governance system as well as new resources for local development. Since creative industries showed to be more resilient to external shocks, many decision makers invested in them to be the drivers of urban regeneration as well as of city branding. Western cities proved to be leaders in these processes, transitional ones often trying to copy them. The aim of this article is to propose a new methodology of creating the so called "identity system" of a community. The mentioned methodology has been applied in the research of the identity of the Croatian cities Zadar and Zagreb and the results are presented in the article. They serve as a starting point in the proposal of the necessary steps in the city identification and consequently its regeneration based on creative industries.

Keywords: cultural/creative industries, creative cities, urban development, branding, identity

LE INDUSTRIE CREATIVE COME ARTEFICI DELL'IDENTITÀ URBANA E MOTORI DELLO SVILUPPO: DAL BRANDING DIREZIONALE A QUELLO PARTECIPATIVO

SINTESI

La grave recessione nel periodo 2008-2009 ha seriamente intaccato la crescita, l'occupazione e la qualità della vita, sollecitando un sistema di governance globale più efficace e nuove risorse per lo sviluppo locale. Poiché le industrie creative si sono rivelate più resistenti a shock esterni, molti decision maker hanno investito in esse perché potessero diventare motori della rigenerazione urbana e del city branding. Le città occidentali hanno dimostrato di essere i leader in questi processi, e quelle di transizione spesso hanno cercato di copiarle. Lo scopo di questo contributo è proporre una nuova metodologia di generazione dei cosiddetti "sistemi d'identità" di una comunità, che è stata usata nella ricerca d'identità delle città croate di Zara e Zagabria. I risultati sono presentati nel contributo e servono come punto di partenza nel proporre le misure da adottare nel processo dell'identificazione di una città e, di conseguenza, della sua rigenerazione basata sulle industrie creative.

Parole chiave: industrie culturali e creative, città creative, sviluppo urbano, branding, identità

INTRODUCTION

The world economy faced the most severe recession in 70 years in 2008-2009, which seriously undermined growth, employment and quality of life. The crisis provoked a reality check calling for a more effective global governance system in which emerging countries are no longer outsiders. As global demand sharply contracted in the most advanced countries, the fast-growing developing nations performed relatively better, surviving the crisis with less damage. South-South regional trade and investments have been vital to mitigating the effects of the global recession. While the traditional manufacturing industries were seriously hit, the more knowledge-based creative sectors were more resilient to external shocks. In 2008, despite the 12 per cent decline in global trade, world trade of creative goods and services continued its expansion, reaching \$592 billion and reflecting an annual growth rate of 14 per cent during the period 2002-2008. This reconfirms that the creative industries have been one of the most dynamic sectors of the world economy throughout this decade (UNDP/UNCTAD, 2010, XX).

In many advanced economies, the creative economy is now recognized as a leading sector in generating economic growth, employment and trade. In Europe, the creative economy generated a turnover of €654 billion in 2003, increasing 12 per cent faster than the overall economy (KEA, 2006). At present, it is estimated that the cultural and creative industries contribute to around 2.6 per cent of the total GDP of the European Union (UNDP/UNCTAD, 2010, 28).

In the United Kingdom in 2007 the creative industries accounted for 6.2 per cent of the economy, measured as value added; during the period 1997-2007 creative output grew at 5 per cent annually as compared to 3 per cent growth for the rest of the UK economy, and its exports of services by the creative industries represented 4.5 per cent of all goods and services exported (DCMS, 2010). In Germany in 2008, total turnover of the culture and creative industries was estimated at €132 billion, contributing €63 billion towards value added, representing 2.5 per cent of national turnover and of the gross domestic product (GDP). There are about 238,000 enterprises in the sector, accounting for 7.4 per cent of all German enterprises (Ministry of Economics and Technology, Germany, 2009). In Italy, the cultural and creative industries accounted for over 9 per cent of the national GDP and employed over 2.5 million people in 2004 (Napoletano, according to Santagata, 2009¹). High scores of creative economy are also shown in the USA, Canada and Australia.

In the regional context of the Southeast Europe, creative industries are still developing. Several levels of changes have been going on simultaneously in the

countries in transition such as democratisation, globalisation, consequences caused by the war (in Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Croatia) as well as the impact of EU integration process. Regardless of the specific context of each of the Southeast European countries, they all share the same problems: small markets, production in small series, huge impact of international creative industries, problems of distribution of creative industries goods. In the context of transition, the volume of cultural activities and creation is growing, and the production is dynamically changed and diversified. These trends are connected to the development and advancement of new technologies, with the recently formed and still modest cultural entrepreneurship, small-sized cultural industries and visible increase of the investment of public means in culture throughout the years (Švob-Đokić, 2010). In this context, it should be pointed out that the creative industries often incorporate also sectors which do not share 'industrial' characteristics in its type of production (Primorac, 2007). In Southeast European countries, cultural diversification prevails on local levels, not because it is less exposed to global influences but since the type of cultural production is still mainly in the area of arts and crafts, and not industrial (Švob-Đokić, 2002).

In Croatia, statistical monitoring of creative economy is deficient, but it can be estimated that they account to 2 per cent of GDP (Švob-Đokić, 2008). Although, it does not seem important in the economic sense, it is a relevant incentive to the cultural sector which mainly depends on public financing. Besides, the impact of creative industries on cultural transformations, different consumption patterns and habits should neither be neglected nor should their strength in creating the image of a certain territory, especially through tourism.

CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND IDENTITY

More than other types of production, the cultural industries are involved in the making and circulating of products that have influence on understanding of the world (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Although any cultural product or expression, be it historical or contemporary, is a carrier of the author's/bearer's identity, cultural/creative industries' products are rather easily recognisable and perceived in our contemporary societal environment and thus associated with a certain territory or identity. We perceive them as carriers of cultural diversity for which they are especially nourished in recent times. They contribute strongly to our sense of who we are, of what it means to be a woman or a man, an African or an Arab, a Canadian or a New Yorker, straight or gay (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, 3).

Although often they have their physical form, the real bearers of identity represented by cultural/creative industries' products are of an intangible nature, as the

1 Giorgio Napoletano, 31 December 2007, quoted in Santagata (2009).

identity itself. They can be represented by visual, audio, tactile, even olfactory elements which carry some kind of content. The content itself is actually an expression of a symbolic meaning. Due to the relatively easy identification of the audience/consumers with the contemporary products/expressions of cultural/creative industries, they became important players in the so called symbolic or cultural/creative, definitely modern economy. In this way, cultural/creative industries have become a place where to look for branding. In this way, many cultural products associated with certain territory, intentionally or unintentionally, have become recognisable labels of that territory, bearing its cultural identity. Although intangible, the content of the cultural/creative industries' products has become a very tangible and concrete feature of identity commercialisation. 'Living on thin air', as some authors call it (Leadbeater, 2000; Hesmondhalgh, 2007) found its fertile soil in the knowledge economy.

One might say that also other types of cultural expression, such as heritage is also a bearer of cultural identity of a certain territory and can have a great potential in promoting one's own identity, which is unquestionable. Moreover, it is documented by the great interest of tourists coming to visit heritage destinations. Still, it is often the case for the great nations while the smaller ones have to do additional effort as to attract visitors based on their less recognisable heritage identity. In such cases, again, cultural heritage management offers an array of marketing, presentation and interpretation techniques which make use of power cultural/creative industries have on a contemporary consumer, in order to create awareness of one's own cultural identity, to educate, or to engage in an economic activity. Cultural industries have this power to influence people, they use varied ways in which they manage the work of symbol creators and they have a significant role in bringing about more general industrial, social and cultural change (Hesmondhalgh, 2007, 25).

On the other side of intellectual spectrum and consulting practice, a vivid debate had started and project management initiatives followed from 1990's onwards considering the identity issues under the guise of "place branding" and similar concepts (Kavartzis, 2008). It is certainly true that economic and ideological change from the late 1980's on had influenced rethinking of identity values, identity policies and practices, as established at the beginning of industrial modernization and the rise of modern nation states. On the other hand, the collapse of the Eastern block has caused the start of many new identity programmes considering the symbolic establishment of newly created states in Central and South Europe and Balkans. Most of these tendencies were brought to life following the doctrine of directional branding, as elaborated throughout the 1980's and on (Olins, 1999). This doctrine follows the concept of twofold activity: application of product and service branding methods on societies and its hierarchies, or ex-

tending the concept of tourist destination management to the level of symbolic program. On both levels the basic concept was to accentuate the specific society as corporation and extend its performances towards "competitive identity" (Anholt, 2003). Basic output in identity project rationale, its management evaluation and outreach were placed within the social elite, seen as responsible for the identity issues as they are responsible for policy making.

But the uprising of the newly formed nation-states was followed by the new configuration of EC and EU policies which fostered cities and regions as new actors, and within this new state of affairs, different issues arose considering the responsibility for identity issues as a social fact. Economic and cultural importance of regions and the cities within the New Europe was obvious throughout the former Eastern bloc countries too. The issue of political and cultural participation was pushed forward and it is still an unresolved one.

This fact can be used also in the case of Croatia. Its recent accession to the European Union focused additional attention to this country and possibly brings an exceptional opportunity for its promotion towards the other state members. Zagreb, as the capital and Croatia's largest cultural centre, in this sense, has an especially important role. At the same time, this integration presents a potential threat for losing one's own identity while also opening the question of the difficulties in Croatian/Zagreb positioning in the unity of diversity. As to overcome this issue, it is necessary to choose several key elements of the Zagreb identity which will systematise the so far relatively homogeneous (Vukić, 2010), but also unrecognisable city identity for its own citizens, which will then serve as an element in the city promotion. The promotion itself is the most visible through tourism, but also through other sectors so as the city can position itself as an important factor of European culture and tourism (Jelinčić, Žuvela, 2010, 8).

CREATIVE INDUSTRIES AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Cities have, since their beginnings, always been showing their clear capacities for cultural production in the sense of art, ideas, styles and ways of life as well as for stimulating the development of economic innovation and growth (Scott, 2000, according to Evans, 2001). Yet, culture is also a powerful means of controlling cities. As a source of images and memories, it symbolizes 'who belongs' in specific places. As a set of architectural themes, it plays a leading role in urban redevelopment strategies based on historic preservation or local 'heritage'. With the disappearance of local manufacturing industries and periodic crises in government and finance, culture is more and more the business of cities – the basis of their tourist attractions and their unique, competitive edge. The growth of cultural consumption (of art, food, fashion, music, tourism) and the industries that

cater to it fuels the city's symbolic economy, its visible ability to produce both symbols and space (Zukin, 2008, 1-2).

Mass production which followed the industrial revolution brought about the circumstances and threats of the so called cultural imperialism from the West, presented in the form of Hollywood film production export. Cultural imperialism, with some help of globalisation trends and cultural markets unification, caused reactions in national cultural policies where cultural protectionism takes over. Cultural protectionism is the key element for the creation of a unique national and/or local cultural brand; the paradox is that the cultural brand is confirmed and valued by the export and commodity exchange, therefore by realisation of the economic and symbolic power according to the place of making. Using this method, some national brands have achieved planetary popularity such as Italian shoes, Japanese high technologies, German machines, Scandinavian product design, French fashion, British contemporary art, etc. (Jelinčić, Žuvela, 2010, 8).

Cities have a constant cultural orientation which exists and functions relatively independently in respect to demographic changes and fluctuations as well as numerous social processes which have been taking place in them. In this sense, it can be said that cities have their own cultural character which transcends the accepted representations of the city as seen by its own population as well as the cultural presentations by its cultural institutions and organisations (Lee, 1997). Therefore, local cultural character must be taken into consideration in the process of strategic development of the city since attempts to create a new or to manipulate the existing cultural character of a city are flawed or result in the creation of a superficial culture which can even become a threat to a real creative potential (Jelinčić, Žuvela, 2010, 8).

Therefore, the direct application of the cultural/creative economy is seen in the development of the so called creative city. The term encompasses urban complexes in which different cultural activities are integral component of the economic and social functioning of the city. They are based on a strong social and cultural infrastructure, they have high concentration of creative employment and are attractive for investment. The concept has been introduced by Charles Landry who defines them as ecosystems in which cultural and symbolic values act as catalysts serving the general development (Landry, 2000).

Why should cities support the development of cultural/creative industries? The answer to this question is not and cannot be unique since no city is the same: it depends on general aims of development policy of a certain city. 'Creativity' has recently been a top subject although its pragmatic meaning is not easy to catch. Despite that, many cities have introduced creative industries in their development policies proving it worth such as Amsterdam, Barcelona, Berlin, Birmingham,

Newcastle and Gateshead, Oslo, Stockholm, Vilnius, etc. Also, some city districts proved that their investment in cultural urban regeneration paid off such as for example the London's East End; Helsinki's Arabianranta; Subtopia micro cluster in the Stockholm's district Botkyrka; the Warsaw Praga Poludnie; Poblenou in Barcelona, etc. Some of them had success with branding based on cultural/creative industries: Newcastle used its music celebrities (The Animals, Brian Johnson from AC/DC, Neil Tennant from Pet Shop Boys, Bryan Ferry); Copenhagen focused on Hans Christian Andersen and Little Mermaid; Liverpool used the popularity of the Beatles; the UK focused on a number of cultural industries' brands from Daniel Craig, J. K. Rowling, David Bowie, Kate Moss, Alexander McQueen, Jamie Oliver to Zaha Hadid and Anish Kapoor; Helsinki used its architect and designer Alvar Aalto (Jelinčić, Žuvela & Polić, 2012, 11).

On the other hand, we also witness opposite examples of the dying cities in which the existing economic activities are constantly diminishing, the population declining, the age and educational structure of population is deteriorating, and local economic structures are weakening. Such cities cannot be characterized as creative centres and they lose their competitive position. We may pose a question why these cities cannot become creative centres and why they cannot attract talent and technology. Specifically, three reasons for that can be detected: complacency, commonsense and culture (tradition) (3C). There are cities whose citizens just do not want to be creative or are not ready to invest in their education but believe that all the learning is reduced to experience and common sense which, actually, has negative impacts on the formation of human capital. And the final culprit is linked to intolerance: in some cities, traditional values, beliefs and behavioural norms are rooted which prevent the openness of the city to others (Molnar, 2011, 37).

Therefore, despite good practice examples, positioning of the whole city towards culture as a means of urban regeneration is a big decision for the city government. Many of them often just do not believe that culture can be a powerful means for urban regeneration but, if it is linked to tourism, as a relatively strong economic resource, their confidence grows (Jelinčić, 2011, 61). But to proceed in that direction, it is necessary to choose the right elements of city identification. There have been discussions whether tourist identity is functional enough to embrace the city identity as a whole, and include all of the actors who are building up to the particular values of a particular city (Momaas, 2002, 34-35). The criticism of "capuccino and croissant" identity schemes which apply promotional lure to the very life in the city is questionable more so, as the technological means allow each and every actor in the society (be it a city or a region) to express its own ideas on the collective identity. Therefore traditional "top-down" identity

making, applied as standard procedure in nation-states, is today questioned by “bottom-up” approach, which favours participation and systemic method in identity policies for the regions and cities.

IDENTITY OF A CITY AS A FACTOR FOR DEVELOPMENT

Although, nowadays it is thought that the world is flat, meaning that thanks to the advances in technology, one can do his/her job regardless of the place (s)he lives, cities and urban areas are still the most interesting places to live in. Today, the share of world's population living in cities stands at more than 50 per cent (Florida, 2008). Cities are still the generators of creativity, innovation and economic growth, therefore, they compete in attracting smart people.

In the minds of consumers, culture is in different ways a metaphor for personality, and people make conclusions on the inner qualities of the nations according to its cultural achievements (Anholt, 2009, 94). In this way, culture seems to be a perfect means for expressing the pulse of a nation or a city. On the other hand, identity as a research subject has often been talked about in a negative way since it is extremely difficult to catch its tangible nature due to its multiplicity, fluidity and changing nature so it practically offers no possibilities for exact measurement one could rely on. At the same time, we have seen numerous examples of cities which achieved greater visibility and general development based on their identity. In such cases, the identity itself was the product or, as Kotler says “places are, indeed, products, whose identities and values must be designed and marketed” (Kotler, 1993, 11).

Often, however, smaller cities tend to copy successful models not bearing in mind that in most of the cases it is just not possible to transfer them to another territory. Different identities as well as different environment do not always respond in the same way, therefore, copy-pasting or constructing new identities usually results with failures. Being successful really means making “sense of a place” (Murray, 2001) since striving to apply someone else's models would often mean the imposition of foreign identities. We are who we are, the city is what it is, its places are common to it and not to anyone else, so there is no need (nor success) in comparing city's peculiarities with the ones of the others.

Still, as already mentioned, it is extremely difficult to work with identities since, first of all, their features are of intangible nature. Besides, people as individuals can have multiple identities and often, it is not easy to prioritise them. Over and above, there are different groups living in a town or a city with their own lifestyles while the city itself is actually a sum of these identities. Most of the cities have problems in identifying one or a few elements which would be their building brick in achieving international visibility and thus be the generator

of economic regeneration. This is where creativity takes over. Landry, Greenhalgh and Murray propose shifting perspective as to “view the city through someone else's eyes” (Murray, 2001, 67) or to shift emphasis “from ‘housing’ to ‘habitat’” (Murray, 2001, 69). As one of the main features of the creativity is the application of other views, it can be the main tool in the city development. Applying it, it is much easier to deal with the different, changing and many identities of the city. Therefore, designing identities, as in the Kotler's notion, may produce a negative tone if meant as designing from scratch or copy-pasting others' examples. Rather, the city identity is researched and dug within the city itself, its places, inhabitants, atmosphere, the environment, and then creatively applied to the city as a whole.

What makes the identity of the city? It is certainly the material aspect seen in its buildings, parks, roads, rivers, bridges, municipal infrastructure, etc. At the same time it's also the atmosphere or something that is in the air but what feels like a certain feature of the certain city alone. It can be the romanticism of Paris, multiculturalism of New York, *laissez faire* of some Mediterranean cities, openness of Austin, business atmosphere of Milan but most of all it's the people who create the identity of a city. Therefore, copying foreign models of city branding to a certain place would result as an unnatural, artificial design of people's lives within it since people contribute the most to what the city itself really is. They are the creators of the identity of the city since they are the ones who built its material aspect as well as they contribute to its intangible sense of a place.

Traditional approach to identity making was derived out of political system in which a group of people by means of democratic elections, delegates to a smaller group of people a power to make policies and bring forward the solutions to collective making. But already in some of innovative concepts within such a approach there are hints of problems signalling a need for re-thinking some levels of identity programmes. Following this line of thinking it was argued that the negative perceptions of the city could be efficiently resolved by collective actions by all actors only (Truemann, Cook & Cornelius, 2008, 34-35). Furthermore, just afore the economic crisis in 2008 (which confirmed such a theory stance strongly), it was demonstrated that connecting the city identity with economic pragmatism and political ideologies only could not be a sustainable strategy (Gertner, 2007, 5-6). Two new factors are recognized as crucial in the reconfiguration of economy and identity: cultural and social participation. With two issues to be addressed within theory and consulting practice: the issue of self-perception of cultural heritage connected to the vision of development and the issue of participation in collective identity. These issues become evident throughout the EU and across the bordering countries, including the former candidate and now full member such as Croatia.

Many foreign and some Croatian cities¹ have successfully researched and agreed upon individual elements of cultural identification which in practice results with the basis for international promotion through the city visibility. Zagreb has tried for several times to find strong elements of its own identity system (brand) but in practice, it did not find a fertile soil in a wider visibility. It also results in an insufficient recognition of typical cultural and cultural tourism products. Although in a tourist sense, Zagreb is the most visited Croatian continental destination, it is not competitive enough in relation to other tourist markets which base their supply on cultural products. At the same time, it does not mean that there are no quality products, especially in the field of cultural/creative industries, but they need to be identified as typical Zagreb cultural products with the potential for wider consumption on a tourism market, in the media environment, public diplomacy and for the investment in cultural entrepreneurship (Jelinčić, Žuvela, 2010, 8-9).

One of the reasons for Zagreb's inefficiency in cultural branding is the relatively low rate of cultural entrepreneurship development despite the high concentration of creative firms in Zagreb. The other one is certainly the unsystematic use of elements of cultural identification as well as the use of wrong methodologies in cultural identification research and application. And the final one is the lack of more inclusive "bottom-up" identity initiatives within the traditional directional approach in making of place brands.

COMMUNICATION OF URBAN IDENTITY – TOWARDS A NEW METHODOLOGY OF CREATING AN IDENTITY SYSTEM OF A COMMUNITY

Cities in transitional nation states are submitted to the complex changes, from ideological and economic to symbolic ones, these being the symptoms of the local transition. The city of Zadar is a heritage city on the Adriatic coast with as much as 80.000 inhabitants, with historic monuments from Roman period on, and is an important tourist destination, as a city-break point of interest and with a number of neighbouring resorts. Tourism is a vital part of economic picture of Zadar and its international image is largely based upon its touristic attraction. However, although most of its inhabitants build up their welfare on tourist activities, their identification with communication elements launched by city authorities and tourist office is less than average. The research conducted in Zadar in 2006 was based on 500 participants using the method of questionnaires. When asked on key cultural values of the city of Zadar, most participants (63%) pointed to personifications of recent independence war rather than cultural monuments (32%). The majority of the participants opted for sports sector

(52%), and only as low as 21% pointed to tourist identity symbols when asked to identify the symbol which represents the city. On the other hand, younger population expressed a clear lack of alternative cultural productions within the overall cultural activities connected to tourism. Ageing population expressed emotional disconnection in regard to elements of identity (logo, slogan) of the city as a tourist destination. Furthermore, field research in the city centre and around neighbouring resorts had showed the lack of comprehensive policy of physical space articulation in terms of participation and harmonization of personal and collective identity. This is due to still unresolved legal problems of the ownership of the land and real estate within the context of contemporary Croatia. Therefore in Zadar as a tourist destination, there is no articulated and shared communication policy in city space and its surroundings, which contradicts to beautiful images shown in tourist brochures (Vukić, 2006).

The City of Zagreb is the Croatian capital which has around 900.000 inhabitants including its suburban areas. It is a city of rich cultural heritage, mostly from the period of industrial modernization, from the times of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The research on the city identity and its self-perception within the internal public comprised field research, semiotic analysis of communication elements which visualize the city name and, finally, a poll questioning 800 people of various age, but in a balanced dispersion around city areas. It was conducted during 2009/2010. When asked on key identity elements of the city of Zagreb, more than 50% of participants identified religious elements and figures, 26% identified river Sava and the Medvednica mountain and least have seen sports and new architecture as key factors in city's image. When asked what the most important value of the city of Zagreb is, almost identical share in answers was set to cultural values (32,71%) and to the fact that it is an independent Croatian city (32,12%) and to sports (17,06%) and natural beauties (18,11%), on the other hand. When asked to match the image of the city to an imaginary person, more participants (27,53%) visualized Zagreb as "old and ugly" than 26,00% of inhabitants that saw it as "mature and wise". And finally, less than half of the participants (46,53%) was completely satisfied with living conditions in the city, 32,24% is mostly satisfied and 21,41 is clearly not satisfied. Field research showed that there is no articulated and comprehensive policy in visual communication of the city's name, while at the formal and semiotic level, it depends upon the subject of communication and its interests, either public or private. Furthermore, as in so many other cities in Croatia, there is no evident semantic connection between communication by the city's authorities and its tourist office. Finally, within communication for tourist purposes, only as little as 5% of the city area (historic centre) is covered with some kind of presentation, with

2 Edinburgh, Salzburg, Vienna, Barcelona, Prague, Dubrovnik.

the sole exemption of presentation of new building of Museum of contemporary Arts³, but presented without the context of the new part of the city, i.e. without urban context as identity factor (Vukić, 2010).

In both Croatian cities, there are evident gaps on several levels of community life: the gap among the tourist promotion visual image and situation in the real urban space, the gap among the perception offered to tourists and guests and self-perception of inhabitants, the gap among public and private interests in physical space, and the semantic gap of personal interests in communication of collective identity (city's name). These gaps point to symptoms of insufficient participation within the general idea on values and non existing consensus on identity of the city.

If this is a symptom of culture in transitional post-socialist countries, a comparative insight to the issue of participation in cultural identity on a national level could be found in a report on research in Serbia (Stevanović, 2014). Marking a confrontation between traditional/national and newly forming international/EU/American identity, this research points to a few interesting conclusions. First, there is no specific feeling of fear from other identities connected to the place of living, being urban, suburban or rural. Second, most of negative feelings towards other identities are placed among economic difficulties of population. Third, there is a clear attitude that it is not the politics but mass media that brings to a confrontation of traditional/national and new/international cultural identity. Therefore, future research on identity in transitional contexts should comprise more in-depth survey of the means and paths or creation of identity values and exchange between personal and collective identity, with special focus on blending of real situations with values channeled by media products.

So, the issue of participation is underestimated, i.e. participation by actors in the collective is not achieved in a way that each and every actor feels and knows that also the collective values (s)he believes in are included. The result is mostly unregulated, sometimes ugly and inefficient expression of identity values which contradict the ones put in public and media by way of directional approach (Vukić, 2006, 2010).

The way to solve these unproductive gaps should be reached since the lack of personal participation and existing public practices seriously undermine efforts to create lasting identity projects. To ease the process of participation and open up the floor to general public to express its values, a new strategy should be applied. This strategy should comprise twofold tactics: preparatory research process should carry out more in-depth analysis of cultural heritage from the contemporary interpretative point of view, as to create foundations for its sustainable use within the identity projects. Then, a comparative research of visual semantics of the city's

name in public sphere has to be carried out, as to define the common and separate points in communication, which denominate various interests in public sphere. Finally a survey of public opinion on identity values has to be carried out across the city area. These research elements should finally create an identity map, a territorial list of values seen as identity potentials, for building future projects. These potentials have to be seen as a system, in which every value does a semantic work and connects with others in a layered message, complex as city and life itself. Furthermore, a semantic frame of city's name should be created for this identity system, and within this frame, every citizen could intervene, following the basic rules outlined by the city authority. In this way every citizen could express his/her interests, values and opinions, while the variety should function as a multitude of uniqueness. In this way traditional directive approach to place branding could be replaced by more participative strategy. As it is the argument in contemporary critical insights, the placebranding methodologies mostly vary between quantitative and qualitative research (Chung Sing, Marafa, 2013, 244-245), but the real life situations, individual identities, small stakeholders' interests and cultural potentials are often lost within statistical averages, numbers and expert opinions. Therefore a more comprehensive method is lacking, with an integrated approach to communal values as carriers of urban identity. Addressing culture today means moreover understanding diversity of life in urban context.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Creative industries have proved to be an effective tool to be utilised in the city branding as well as in the overall urban development. Still, the decision to invest in creative industries by the local government is often a tough one. The culprits are numerous: it is extremely difficult to prove the feasibility of the creative city development investment since practically no exact numbers exist. Research in the field of creative industries often relies only on mapping studies, estimates and good practice examples which often cannot be transferred to the Southeast European soil. This is mainly due to the inconsistent statistical measurements (especially in the National Classification of Activities) which prevent serious research to be performed. The statistical growth of the creative industries disguises the fact that many of those working there are either self-employed or dependent upon temporary project-based contracts, and the employment statistics are complicated by the complex definition of cultural work (Bilton, 2011, XIX). It is difficult to measure employment in the creative industries, because many apparently 'creative' occupations lie outside the so-called creative industries, and many 'non-

3 Located outside the city centre.

-creative' jobs exist inside the creative industries (Bilton, 2011, 161).

Another issue which sometimes prevents investment in creative industries as resources for urban development lies in the difficulties connected to copy-pasting of the good practice examples. Not every foreign example can be transferred to any environment and this is why every city should develop its own methodologies for its own identification based on the creative industries which will then serve in the overall urban development.

As a part of global transition, people-citizens are submitted to radical change in ways of construction and expressing the identity, through technological means and social networks. Therefore, traditional directional, one-way approach to create one sign and one value to define a whole complexity of life and values in a city is often of no use, and a lack of citizens' identification with such communication programs is evident (Vukić, 2013).

So, if creative industry is a possible new way to economic and social welfare, is it not required that a concept of participative culture is embraced as a key element of creativity itself - developing the potential of each and every individual to create within the framework of the collective effort? Within such a concept a whole new approach to identity making is required, the approach which should enable each individual to contribute to the collective framework of values. To achieve such an approach, several steps are needed as a prerequisite:

- a change in identity design method from the directional "top-down" to the participative "bottom-up";
- more comprehensive identity research methods which should evaluate cultural heritage from

contemporary interpretation perspective and do the mapping of contemporary identity values as a potential for development;

- the abandonment of the traditional "one slogan - one logo" approach and the establishment of the "identity system" approach.

Changes⁴ which we witness in a today's world have huge impacts on how we produce, express, interpret, even consume culture. We know that creative excellence in the arts, media and entertainment industries can be used as a powerful symbol of the creativity and dynamism of the economy as a whole (Bilton, 2011, 160). Still, we are not prepared for it which is mainly visible in the local and national cultural policies that do not correspond to the new environment. Creativity is difficult; it is difficult to be defined, to be measured, to be relied upon for the economic development. Still, it is extremely powerful in stimulating changes in societies, organizations and in changing directions in management, not to mention positive changes it brings to individuals. It strongly influences our own identities as well as identities of smaller or larger groups of societies which can lead to the creative city development. Although identity can hardly be imposed top-down, the participative processes of the city branding leading to the urban development would capitalise from public policies (culture, economy, urban planning, tourism, education etc.) which accommodate the development based on symbolic values. This, however, requires paradigm changes within public policy frameworks. Policy makers, in this case, need to be creative even innovative as to generate new forms of policy discourse and governmental practice that reshape the institutional spaces and discursive practices within particular policy domains (Flew, 2012, 182).

4 Technological development, budget constraints, broadening definitions of culture, globalisation, growing interest in content industries, innovation policies, information abundance, copyright policies, etc. (Flew, 2012).

KREATIVNE INDUSTRIJE KOT NOSILKE URBANE IDENTITETE IN GIBALO RAZVOJA:
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POVZETEK

Huda recesija v letih 2008 in 2009 je močno oslabila ekonomsko rast, zaposlovanje in kvaliteto življenja. Narekovala je razvoj učinkovitejšega sistema globalnega upravljanja kot tudi nove oblike lokalnega razvoja in sredstev zanj. Ker se je pokazalo, da so kreativne industrije odpornejše proti zunanjim pretresom, je veliko nosilcev odločanja usmerilo vlaganja vanje z namenom, da bi postale gonilo oživljanja in znamčenja mest. Ustvarjalni sektor je nosilec sodobne kulturne identitete določenega območja in v kreativni ekonomiji zaseda pomembno vlogo. Veliko zahodnih mest se je izkazalo za vodilne v tem procesu, tranzicijska pa so jih pogosto skušala posnemati. Cilj prispevka je ponuditi novo metodologijo ustvarjanja tako imenovanega »sistema identitete« skupnosti, ki se bo prilagodila določenemu območju, ne pa imitirala tuje vzorce. Omenjeno metodologijo smo uporabili pri raziskovanju identitete dveh hrvaških mest, Zagreba in Zadra. Pokazala je na očitne razkorake in vrzeli na več ravneh skupnostnega življenja: na neskladje med vizualno podobo turističnega oglaševanja in stvarnim urbanim prostorom, na razkorak med sliko mesta, ki je ponujena gostom in turistom, ter tem, kako sebe in svoje mesto vidijo njegovi prebivalci, na razhajanja med javnimi in zasebnimi interesi v fizičnem prostoru ter na semantično vrzel zasebnih interesov pri posredovanju kolektivne identitete. Takšna neskladja in pomanjkljivosti kažejo na simptom nezadostnega udejstvovanja in sodelovanja pri splošnem konceptu zastavljenih vrednot ter na pomanjkanje konsenza glede identitete mesta.

Hkrati pa lahko služijo kot izhodišče pri predlaganju ukrepov, ki bi jih bilo treba izvesti v procesu identifikacije mesta in posledično njegovega oživljanja, zasnovanega na kreativnih industrijah. V prispevku je tako predstavljen nov pristop h krajevemu znamčenju, bistvo katerega je nadomeščanje tradicionalnega pristopa od vrha navzdol z bolj participativnimi strategijami. Poleg tega predlagamo metode celovitejšega raziskovanja identitete, ki kulturno dediščino vrednotijo z vidika sodobne interpretacije. Prispevek zaokroži temo s kritiko tradicionalnega pristopa »en slogan – en logotip«, ki ga nadomesti s pristopom preko »sistema identitete«. Slednji zahteva tudi spremembo paradigem v okviru javnih politik. Da bi bilo znamčenje in oživljanje mest uspešno, morajo biti oblikovalci politik ustvarjalni pri sprejemanju novih oblik politik in prakse, s katerimi je mogoče doseči cilje t. i. urbane regeneracije, zagotoviti stabilnost ustvarjalnega sektorja, meščane pa vključiti v procese soodločanja o razvoju njihovega mesta.

Ključne besede: kulturne in kreativne industrije, kreativna mesta, urbani razvoj, znamčenje, identiteta

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KREATIVNOST KOT POETIKA NASTAJANJA – RAZMISLEK O PRESEGANJU DUALIZMOV

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IZVLEČEK

Avtorici se v članku ukvarjata z vprašanjem, kako oblikovati prostor kreativnega mišljenja oz. prostor za kreativnost, ki bi presegle bipolarnosti evropskega humanizma ter dualistične precepcije stvarnosti, ki se vzpostavlja skozi delitev na objekte in subjekte, na aktivno in pasivno oz. naravo in kulturo ter um in telo. Razpravo o kreativnem mišljenju oz. zamišljanju povežeta z vpogledom v mitski svet, z redefiniranjem telesnega, spiritualnega, sklicujeta se na razmerje med jezikom in realnostjo, na govorico simbolov, metafor in analogij. Ob tem spregovorita o učenju, posredno tudi o izobraževanju. V razmišljanju se gibata na območju antropološkega diskurza, za analizo problematike pa uporabita filozofska izhodišča in feministično teorijo.

Ključne besede: kreativno zamišljanje, gibanje, telesno, spol, spiritualno, jezik in realnost

CREAZIONE COME POETICA DELLA FORMAZIONE

SINTESI

Nel presente articolo le autrici si interrogano sulle possibilità di formazione di uno spazio di pensiero creativo ovvero di uno spazio creativo in grado di trascendere le bipolarità dell'umanesimo europeo e le percezioni dualistiche della realtà fondate sulla distinzione tra oggetto e soggetto, tra attivo e passivo ovvero tra natura e cultura e tra corpo e spirito. La riflessione sul pensiero creativo e sull'immaginare è posta in relazione con la dimensione del mito, con una ridefinizione di corporale e spirituale che si appella altresì al rapporto tra linguaggio e realtà, al linguaggio dei simboli, delle metafore, delle analogie. Attraverso questi temi le autrici pervengono alla questione dell'apprendimento e, in modo indiretto, a quella dell'educazione. La riflessione si dipana seguendo il filo del discorso antropologico, mentre le analisi si avvalgono di strumenti attinenti alla filosofia e alla teoria femminista.

Parole chiave: pensiero creativo ossia immaginare, movimento, corpo, spirito, linguaggio e realtà

UVOD

*ker resnično dihati pomeni molčati,
se zliti z vlažnim zrakom, hoditi po dolgih ulicah,
medtemačnimi hišami, občutiti polnjenje predpone
z vtisi ... (Alja Adam, Mokri lasje)¹*

Kreativnost je v današnjem času pogosto uporabljena beseda. V okviru neoliberalne paradigme o ekonomski učinkovitosti se poziv h kreativnosti utemeljuje s klici po novi subjektiviteti po modelu iznajdljivega, svobodnega, avtonomnega, samoodgovornega Jaza. Kreativno preoblikovanje posameznikov in njihovih življenj diktirajo ekonomske doktrine in politični dokumenti, predelave za potrebe osebnega znamčenja (personal branding) na trgu delovne sile učijo spletni portali, učbeniki, tečajji, o kreativnem kreiranju naših življenj pa knjižice samopomoči oz. new age ideologije. Potrošniška, kapitalistična logika zahteva od posameznika ter posameznice, da neprestano proizvajata družbeno zelene produkte, kopičita dobrine in se osebno prilagajata različnim situacijam, pri tem pa se sklicuje na kreativnost, ki naj bi predstavljala prostor njunega svobodnega izražanja. Kreativnost se tako povezuje s potrebo po zadovoljevanju želja, po uresničevanju natančno določenih ciljev, ki se stalno odmikajo in transformirajo v nove oblike – tako deluje po principu »praznjenja« in se vzpostavlja kot negativna oblika »želje«².

Kot izhodiščne misli navajava besede slikarja Paul Kleeja, ki je izpostavil, da je za kreativnost osrednjega pomena proces ustvarjanja in ne forma samega produkta oz. njegov končen videz. Kreativnost je proces, ki ni vezan na cilj. »Forma je konec, je smrt, ustvarjanje forme pa je gibanje, je akcija« (Klee v Ingold, 2010, 2). Podobno razmišlja antropolog Tim Ingold: »umetnost — kot ena od oblik kreativnosti — namreč ne reproducira že ustaljenih modelov, ki bi obstajale kot podobe v našem umu ali kot objekti v svetu, temveč združuje ustvarjalne sile in tokove« (Ingold, 2010, 8). Le ti šele omogočijo nastanek samih oblik oz. modelov.

Po definiciji antičnega filozofa Aristotela je ustvarjanje združevanje forme (morphe) z materijo (hyle), pri čemer je težišče zanimanja usmerjeno k produktu, medtem, ko ostaja proces oblikovanja forme drugotnega pomena. Ingold ugotavlja, da se je Aristotelova hilemorfična definicija kreativnosti, ki je izrazito neuravnotežena,

ustalila znotraj zahodne miselnosti. Številni interpreti namreč kreativnost (npr. John Liep) obravnavajo prav na tak način, v smislu forme, končanega produkta ter ne procesa. Materija je v teh obravnavah pasiven element, zgolj sredstvo za doseg cilja. Omenjene razlage se ne osredotočajo na relacije med kreativnimi subjekti, ne zanimajo jih interakcije oz. razmerja povezana z izmenjavo znanja in kroženjem ustvarjalnih energij, temveč zgolj rezultat samega procesa³. Na tak način ostaja koncept zaznamovan z dualističnim percipiranjem stvarnosti, ki se vzpostavlja skozi delitev na objekte in subjekte, na aktivno/pasivno oz. naravo/kulturo.

V nadaljevanju bova poskušali obrazložiti, zakaj dualistično razmejevanje med zunanjim in notranjim, družbenim in osebnim in/ali kulturnim in naravnim okoljem, ki je zaznamovalo t. i. zahodno humanistično miselnost, zavira prosto *gibanje ustvarjalnih tokov*, ki jim *sledijo* posamezniki/posameznice in zakaj *slediti*, ne pomeni isto kot (re)producirati. Predvsem pa, zakaj kreativnost, ki se osredotoča na ustvarjanje produktov, ostaja dislocirana od polja odnosov, prostora, kjer se vzpostavljajo vezi med ljudmi.

Zanimalo naju bo, če je možno stopiti izven dihotomij narava/kultura, objekt/subjekt, um/telo, bipolarnega mišljenja, na katerem temelji evropski humanizem. Kako oblikovati prostor kreativnega zamišljenja (prostor za kreativnost), ki bi presešlo bipolarnosti? Odgovor na to bova iskali tudi v obravnavi koncepta »dihanja«, ki ga uvaja feministična teoretičarka Luce Irigaray. Po avtorici dihanje – razume ga v kontekstu hindujske filozofske tradicije – omogoča spiritualizacijo telesa in rahlja meje med umom in telesom ter med notranjim in zunanjim. »Dihanje« bova v drugem delu članka povezali s kreativnostjo kot procesom, ki omogoča interakcijo med subjekti.

Koncept kreativnosti bova poskušali vpeti v samo strukturo pričujočega besedila, tako skozi preplet »glasov« različnih avtorjev/avtoric kot tudi v prepletu najinih, »pisočih« glasov. Ob tem ponekod namerno puščava odprta vprašanja, s katerimi želiva sprožiti nadaljnjo znanstveno diskusijo – zato tudi ne podajava ultimativnih odgovorov in zaključkov.

Razpravo o kreativnosti tako torej »odpirava« v smeri kreativnega mišljenja oz. zamišljanja, povezali pa jo bova tudi z učenjem, zato posredno spregovoriva tudi o vprašanju izobraževanja. Pri obravnavni vsebin se

1 Pesem je del širšega sklopa oz. cikla pesmi z istim naslovom (Literatura, 2013).

2 Po mnenju G. Deleuzea (in Guattarija) je tradicionalna logika želje »napačna že od prvega Platonovega filozofskega koraka« (Deleuze, Guattari, 2004, 28). V trenutku, ko je bila želja pozicionirana na mesto pridobivanja, je postala idealističen (dialektičen, nihilističen) koncept, ki nas je pripeljal do tega, da gledamo nanjo kot na primarni manko – kot manko pravega realnega objekta. Vendar pa po mnenju omenjenih avtorjev želja ne izraža manka znotraj subjekta, temveč je »družbena organizacija« tista, ki želji krati njeno objektivno eksistenco. Manko in njegove korelacije s subjektom so kreirani, načrtovani in organizirani znotraj in skozi družbeno produkcijo. Že v zgodovini so umetniki vedeli, da je želja revolucionarna po svoji esenci, saj ustvarja tokove, ki se gibljejo izven predpisanih norm (Deleuze v Adam, 2009, 12).

3 Linearna, ciljno usmerjena, falocentrična miselnost je obremenjena s kopičenjem rezultatov in produkcijo ultimativnih resnic, pri tem pa pozablja na medosebne relacije, ne osredotoča se na odnose med enakovrednimi subjekti, temveč utrjuje relacijo dominanten subjekt / izkoriščen objekt.

bova posluževali interdisciplinarnega pristopa – gibali se bova na območju antropološkega diskurza, za analizo konceptov pa bova uporabili filozofska izhodišča in feministično teoretski pristop.

BIPOLARNOSTI IN NAČINI NJIHOVEGA PRESEGANJA

Razprava o kreativnosti v antropologiji se je sklicevala na vsakdanje prakse, na polje kreativnega v vsakdanjem življenju in je zato večinoma ostala vezana na področje kulturne kreativnosti. Bila je opredeljena v okvirih specifično človeškega načina angažiranja s svetom (McLean, 2009, 214). Ne glede na različne definicije naj bi bili kreativni (zgolj) ljudje. Sklicevanje na naravo je ostalo v razpravah v okvirih kulturne reprezentacije, konceptualno in analitično drugače zasnovano od materialne realnosti. In to kljub dokazovanju številnih antropologov, da ločnice med naravo in kulturo večina družb izven zahodnega sveta ne pozna.

Za razumevanje odnosa med materialno realnostjo in njeno reprezentacijo je potrebno pogledati v širši kontekst branja kulturne razlike v antropologiji. Osrednja pozornost je namreč – kljub številnim metodološkim refleksijam – ostajala na poročanju o kulturni in družbeni različnosti, o kulturno organizirani družbeni realnosti, o reprezentacijah in odnosih, manj pa se je posvečala vprašanju epistemoloških ozadij takšnih organizacij. Z branjem antropoloških tekstov zvemo več o kulturnih reprezentacijah staroselcev kot pa o njihovi vednosti. Ločnica med »pravo« realnostjo in (kulturno) reprezentacijo se torej v takšnih obravnavah kaže kot nekaj jasnega in neprehodnega.

Antropologi⁴ so ob metodoloških pretresih prevpraševali neko drugo ločnico, ki je bolj neposredno odpirala pot kreativnemu eksperimentiranju. Osrednja pozornost se je namreč v raziskovanju sčasoma od informatorjev kot vira informacij preusmerila k raziskovalcu, etnografu. Opazovalec, ki beleži obnašanje, v antropologiji sicer že pred tem ni veljal zgolj za nedolžnega dokumentalista, s preusmeritvijo pa so antropološke razprave v osemdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja še posebej izpostavljale načine samo-vpisovanja raziskovalcev v besedila. Razmišljanja gre umestiti v širši družbeno miselni kontekst postmodernistične kritike, ob bok pozivom po refleksiji in razvoju različnih oblik eksperimentiranja z opozorili o lastni pozicioniranosti. Razprave so zamajale načine, kako misliti razmerja med subjektom in objektom, a vendar izven bipolarnosti niso zmogle poseči.

Čeprav je kritiko dihotomij utemeljevalo več avtoric ter avtorjev, je antropolog Tim Ingold v svojem članku *Bringing Things to Life: Creative Entanglements in a World of Materials* (2010) vprašanje direktno povezal s kreativnostjo. Kreativnost je opredelil kot relacijsko (odnosnostno) aktivnost, kar pa ne gre razumeti kot neko dejavnost posameznika temveč sestavni del življenjskega procesa, ki zajema celotno polje odnosov med ljudmi in njihovim okoljem – v katerem ni prostora za hierarhično razmerje objekt/subjekt.

Ingold namreč zagovarja, da je svet sestavljen iz stvari in ne objektov. O objektih bi lahko govorili zgolj tedaj, ko »stvari« izvzamemo iz procesa življenja oz. iz narave. Medtem ko je objekt že narejen produkt, fait accompli, stvar zajame potek oz. preplet različnih dogajanj (po Heideggerju). Drevo potemtakem ni objekt, saj zajema srečanje raznolikih niti življenja; v njem domujejo številni mikroorganizmi, na njem gnezdijo ptice, drevo odgovarja vetru s svojim gibanjem, je dejansko drevo v zraku, kot je kamen, ki se kotali po rečni strugi, vedno stvar širšega sestava. Naseliti se v realnosti pomeni pridružiti se procesu formacije. Gibanje je pri tem temeljno. Gibanje stvari oživi, poleg drevesa in kamna je tako tudi na primer z zmajem v zraku, ki se prav tako odziva na veter, v uporabi zraka in v gibanju zmaj zaplava po zraku. Ni več objekt, temveč stvar v gibanju, prav tako riba v vodi ali ptič v letu. Tudi človek, ki želi zgolj opazovati, je vedno sestavni del širšega okolja, nikoli zgolj pasiven opazovalec, vedno soudeleženelec. Stvari v naravi določa interakcija z drugimi oblikami bivanja in procesi, ki se odvijajo sočasno. Po nebu potujoč oblak ni objekt, temveč nebo-v-transformaciji, nikoli enako, v neprestanem predrugačenju svojih oblik (Ingold, 2010, 4–5). Ingold poudarja, da materialni svet ni pasivna substanca, ki bi jo gnetel in formiral človek, temveč je kakor človeški organizem podvržen procesom, giblje se znotraj različnih tokov in nima neke končne oblike, površine – ta je namreč v nenehni interakciji z drugimi »površinami«. Človeka zato, kot izpostavlja Ingold, ne moremo ločevati od narave. Delitev »na znotraj« in »na zunaj«, tu povzema po Deleuzu, nima pomena, saj se eno zliva z drugim v ustvarjalnem procesu (Deleuze, 2004, 35).

Po Hallamu in Ingoldu lahko antropologija prispeva k razpravam okoli ustvarjalnosti tudi v tem, da prevprašuje polarnost med izumom (novoumom) in konvencijo (tradicijo). V zgodovini je bila inovacija vezana na izum, na produkcijo novih, ustvarjalnih idej ali predmetov, medtem ko je bila kreativnost kot proces, ki obuja tradicijo, enačena z improvizacijo. Vendar pa razlika med impro-

4 Ob tem se sklicujeva na refleksiven oz. literarni preobrat v antropologiji v 80. letih dvajsetega stoletja (predvsem na razmišljanja Clifforda Geertza in Georgea Marcusa). Seveda temu niso sledili prav vsi antropologi, je pa preobrat zaznamoval razvoj različnih antropoloških tradicij v nadaljevanju. Clifford Geertz (*Writing Cultures*, 1973), ki je antropološko pisanje označil za fikcijo, je opozoril, da etnograf oz. antropolog nikoli ni objektivni opazovalec, njegovo (oz. njeno) percepcijo in pisanje oblikuje njegova (oz. njena) kulturna, osebna, intelektualna dediščina, retorika in zgodovinski čas. V takšnih redefiniranih okvirih so se v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih pričele pojavljati »eksperimentalne« študije, ki so odpirala nova poglavja v antropološki in etnografski literaturi: vprašanja o estetiki, etiki in retoriki pisanja, vprašanja o avtorstvu (Clifford, Marcus, 1986).

vizacijo in inovacijo ni v tem, da prva utrjuje konvencionalno razmišljanje, druga pa z njim prekinja, temveč v tem, da se improvizacija veže na proces, inovacija pa na sam produkt (Ingold, Hallam, 2007, 2). Inovacija je v okviru tehnoloških dejavnosti in industrije v zgodovini zavzemala osrednje mesto kreativnega vidika in kot taka utrjevala »maskulino percepcijo kreativnosti«.⁵

Tim Ingold poskuša s konceptom improvizacijske kreativnosti zajeti proces prepletanja različnih percepcij časa in vsebin, ki pripadajo različnim prostorskim razsežnostim. Zanj improvizirati pomeni vstopati v interakcijo z svetom, ki nas obkroža oz. loviti signale iz okolja in se nanje tudi odzivati. Ustvarjalni individuum sledi tokovom in silam stvari, a slediti ne pomeni reproducirati. Beseda reprodukcija namreč vsebuje »ponovitev«, slediti pa pomeni krožiti (Ingold, 2010, 3). Kot bova izpostavili v nadaljevanju, kroženje in ciklično dojemanje življenjskih procesov in minljivosti, kjer individualna smrt ni končen cilj, temveč zgolj del širšega, kozmičnega procesa, je osrednje gibanje rituala in mitoloških zgodb.

Kako (torej) razumeti poziv Tima Ingolda k širšem razumevanju kreativnosti, ko s kreativnostjo ne zajamemo zgolj sposobnosti oz. talenta posameznika in kreacijo končnih produktov temveč širši proces interakcij, razmerij in odnosov med ljudmi ter njihovem okoljem?

MITSKO RAZUMEVANJE SVETA

Antropolog Stuart McLean poskuša na zgornjo dilemo odgovoriti skozi mite⁶. V mitih niso kreativni zgolj ljudje oz. živa bitja, temveč je kreativna vsa narava kot tudi neživi svet. Narava in kultura soobstajata, človeška bitja vstopajo v odnose z živalmi, rastlinami, skalami, živi in neživi svet se tesno prepletata. Ker je poudarek prav na odnosih, kreativnost ni omejena na človeka ali nadnaravne sile oz. na posamezna telesa, temveč je relacijski proces, ki zajema odnose med različnimi živimi in neživimi telesi. V mitičnem svetu sodobnih neevropskih družb se prepletajo različne percepcije časa, preteklost neprestano vstopa v sedanost, zato ni prav nič

nenavadno v mitih srečati naše prednike. Sedanost je namreč tu prav zaradi njih, zaradi uspešne metamorfoze preteklosti. Moč kreacije in transformacije, ki je zaznamovala izvor v različnih sodobnih andskih, amazonskih, avstralskih ali melanezijskih kozmologijah, se je na nek način obdržala do danes. Imajo jo nekatere živali, rastline in tudi ljudje (magi in šamani). Le ti imajo dostop do metamorfoznega potenciala, udeležujejo ga v ritualih in v ustnih tradicijah skozi moč izgovorjenih besed. Miti izpostavljajo fluidnost, meje med bitji in oblikami so zabrisane, v neprestanem preoblikovanju. Mitični svet (izven zahodnih epistemologij⁷) je svet nenehne spreminjanja oblik in substanc, je svet, kjer je moč srečati »skozi zrak drseče leteče kanuje« (McLean, 2009, 217). Metamorfoza je ključnega pomena in ima zato v zgodbah o izvoru oz. nastanku osrednjo vlogo.

Če za trenutek skočiva iz antropoloških študij primerov sodobnih družb v območje raziskovanja antične mitologije, ugotoviva, da so metamorfoze kot akt prestopanja identitetnih pozicij osrednjega pomena tudi znotraj antičnih kozmologij. V antičnih mitoloških interpretacijah o izvoru sveta je kozmično jajce, iz katerega se porodi bog ljubezni, enačeno s celovitostjo zemlje, ki spaja in razdvaja meje med različnimi aspekti dvojnosti (npr. noč/tema, moški/ženska, duhovno/telesno). Kljub izpostavljeni dvojni percepciji je bilo človeško telo razumljeno kot celota, ki se širi prek dvojnosti v mnogoterost oblik. Na to kaže razumevanje boga ljubezni, ki je znotraj antične mitologije znan kot Fanes, Metis, Eros, Dioniz itn. Za božanstva je namreč značilno, da stalno spreminjajo svojo podobo, enkrat so prikazana kot pol žival/pol človek, drugič kot ženska in/ali moški, tretjič kot brezspolna entiteta⁸. Skozi nomadsko gibanje med različnimi nasprotji, med življenjem in smrtjo, nočjo in svetlobo, moškim in žensko božanski liki utrjujejo razdaljo med različnimi perspektivami in odpirajo prostor za »mnoštvo oblik«, ki ni determiniran z dvojnostjo – osrednjega pomena pri tem je telesne transmutacija in metamorfoza (Adam, 2009, 178).

Stuart McLean v svojem razmisleku o mitih izpostavi dimenzijo materialnega, osredotoči se na organizacijo

5 Alja Adam v članku *Koncept kreativnosti, neenakost spolov in pozicija inovatorok v Sloveniji* (Teorija in praksa, 3–4, 2013) utemelji, zakaj definicija kreativnosti, ki se veže na relacijo inovacija/tehnologija ni primerna za koncipiranje ženske pozicije ter spregovori o Ingoldovem pojmu »kreativna improvizacija« kot o epistemološkemu modelu skozi katerega je mogoče na pozitiven, odprt in ustvarjalni način na novo interpretirati spolne vloge in odnose med spoli.

6 McLean se sklicuje na različna antropološka dognanja, na konkretne etnografije številnih antropologov skozi zgodovino. Na tem mestu na povzemava le teh v celoti, prav tako ne problematizirava »mitskega«, želiva se namreč osredotočiti na vsebine, ki jih izpostavi tudi McLean, kako kreativnosti misliti kot proces interakcij živega in neživega sveta.

7 Kljub temu da v prispevku stremiva k preseganju bipolarnosti, govoriva o zahodnih in staroselskih epistemologijah oz. kozmologijah. Ne gre za to, da bi želeli reproducirati razlike oz. dihotomije, izpostavljava pa zgodovinsko zaznamovano geopolitiko produkcije znanja in vednosti v Evropi, ki jo vera v univerzalno znanost spregleda še danes. Zavedava se, da je problematičen tudi termin staroselski, ki teži k enotnemu razlik med različnimi kozmologijami in družbami, kolektivizira raznolike poglede in tradicije, izkušnje imperializma ter kolonializma. V prispevku ne problematizirava teh razlik, izpostavljava namreč poglede in vednosti, ki jih je krščansko ter razsvetljensko zasnovana znanost kategorizirala kot Druge. Kolonialne konstrukcije obravnava v kritiki epistemske privilegiranosti krščanske, kantovske, racionalne in liberalno zasnovane razsvetljenske tradicije kolonialne in imperialne vednosti, v okviru postkolonialne in antropološke kritike ter študij staroselskih vednosti (indigenous in aboriginal studies).

8 Patriarhalna tradicija zameji njihovo podobo oz. jo reducira. Na njihovo mesto stopi Zeus, ki zasede najvišji prestol na antičnem Olimpu.

materialnega procesa. Njegova kritika je usmerjena proti obravnavi narave zgolj kot kulturne reprezentacije in poziva k predrugačenju pogleda na razmerje med kulturo in naravo, med materialno realnostjo in njeno reprezentacijo (McLean, 2009).

Kartezijansko dualistično mišljenje je poleg razkola med naravo in kulturo, subjektom in objektom, umom in telesom, vnesla tudi razcep na jezik in realnost. Ideja zahodnega humanizma je, da jezik reprezentira realnost, jo opisuje. Paradigma bipolarnosti namreč prinaša predpostavko, da obstaja realen svet, a vendar izven subjekt(iv)nega dožemanja. Model reprezentacij predpostavlja obstoj neodvisne realnosti, realnosti per se, ki pa je ni mogoče zaobjeti (Andreotti, Ahenakew & Cooper, 2011, 225). Po McLeanu je bipolarnost mišljenja moč preči s tem, da procese materialnega nastajanja (kreativne) ne obravnavamo ločeno od oblikovanja pripovedi, njegovo osrednje vprašanje je zato, kako povezati med materialnostjo in zgodbami (2009). Da bi lažje razumeli, kaj dejansko s tem misli, moramo najprej pogledati, na kakšen način obravnavamo mite v širšem družbenem okolju, kakšne pomene jim pripisujemo, kako jih razumemo v kontekstu produkcije vednosti.

Miti o izvoru in nastanku sveta so se namreč iz antropoloških študijskih kabinetov⁹ preselili v splošne knjižnice na police pravljic in legend, poleg literature za otroke. Staroselski in postkolonialni avtorji so opozorili, da je s takšno (infantilno) kategorizacijo mitov in legend prihajalo do razvrednotenja staroselskih¹⁰ filozofij. Kritično so komentirali uporabo termina mit (oz njegov pomen) za njihove zgodbe in metafore o nastanku sveta. Opozarjali so na problematično razločevanje med mitom in dejstvom ter mitom in zgodovino. Takšna nasprotja so (pogosto) diskreditirala ustne tradicije, vednosti, ki temeljijo na drugače zasnovanih idejah realnosti (Allen, 1986 v Andreotti, Ahenakew & Cooper, 2011, 222) in hkrati zastirajo pogled na mitološko vpletenost zahodnih akademskih znanosti, prepletenost krščanske mitologije s temelji modernega sekularizma.

Razločevanje med mitom in realnostjo, med mitom in vedenjem temelji na epistemologiji zahodnega humanizma, veri v univerzalno, krajevno nedoločeno in razteleseno resnico (Mignolo 2007, 2008). Metanaraciji moderne in krščanstva nista okupirali zgolj načina mišljenja temveč tudi zamišljanja fenomenov, izkušenj, prostora in časa, definirala sta polje vidnega ter nevidnega. Ne gre namreč le za razklanost med raznolikimi domenami, za vprašanje bipolarnosti (narava/kultura, objektivno/subjektivno), temveč za dualistično logiko mišljenja in zamišljanja, ki definira družbeno realnost

po principu ali ali (belo/črno, na tej ali oni strani) in ni zmožna misliti v okviru in/in, ene in druge strani (Sousa Santos, 2007).

Staroselske kozmologije so v nasprotju z zahodnim humanizmom pluriverzalne oz. multi epistemske (Mignolo, 2007). Kar pomeni, da lahko prinašajo kontradiktornosti, zajamejo nasprotujoče pomene, ki se postavljajo v napetosti, ne da bi težile k dialektični sintezi oz. odrešenju (Andreotti, Ahenakew & Cooper, 2011, 221). Vedno več avtorjev v sodobnem času izpostavlja meje kognitivnih spoznaj ter umskega mišljenja. Neuspeh dualizma oz. manko dualističnega mišljenja vnaša razliko med umskim kognitivnim spoznanjem ter telesnim, spiritualnim, razliko med utelešenim spoznanjem (kognicija) in utelešenim znanjem. Ne glede na različna razumevanja in poimenovanja (o katerem bo govora v nadaljevanju) je avtorjem skupno eksperimentiranje, s katerim želijo zajeti preplet telesnega, izkustvenega, miselnega, čustvenega, polja afektov, čustev, neizrekljivega oz. neverbalno artikuliranega.

TELO IN USTVARJALNI TOKOVI

V zahodnem humanizmu je bila želja po umskem spoznanju usmerjena k reprodukciji univerzalnih resnic, kot sva nakazali že zgoraj, sočasno pa prežeta z željo po posedovanju opazovanega objekta – kar pripelje do dokončne razgradnje in uničenja objekta. Umska akcija je tako zreducirana na »plezanje po vertikalnem drevesu znanja«¹¹, pri čemer ima osrednjo funkcijo pogled, ki kontrolira oz. nadzoruje pokrajine pod seboj, izključeni pa so čutni sensorji, dotik, ki bi omogočil spoj z horizontalno ravnjo. V trenutku, ko znanost ali umetnost vso svojo pozornost usmeri h kreaciji univerzalnih resnic, izrine elemente samega življenja iz svojega optičnega polja oz. se ne briga več za korenine drevesa, nasprotno, jih uniči. V tem smislu racionalistična percepcija »videti pomeni vedeti«¹² zavrača obstoj telesa kot čutnega, večpomenskega medija – kot bova razložili v nadaljevanju.

Zato meniva, da kreativnosti, ki jo enačimo s preizkušanjem novih situacij, ne moremo ločevati od naših teles, ki se vzpostavljajo in gibljejo v stiku z drugimi telesi. Deleuze trdi, da telo ni uniformirana, determinirana struktura, temveč premikajoča se intenziteta, ki je pod svojo površino vedno v stanju kreacije.¹³ Na telo se vpisujejo informacije iz zunanjega sveta, tako da deluje v interakciji z drugimi telesi skozi cirkulacijo in prekinitiv tokov – ta povezava je možna zgolj, če so telesa priključena drug na drugega (npr. usta, ki prestrežejo tok

9 V antropologiji je prav tako, saj so miti večinoma obravnavani kot sestavni del verovanja in ne mišljenja, znanja oz. vednosti.

10 Glej op. 7.

11 Rosi Braidotti pravi, da se vertikalno drevo se razlikuje od rizomatičnih korenin, ki se širijo na vse strani (Braidotti, 2002).

12 Bahovec, 2004, 19. Avtorica pravi, da je dialektiko pogleda mogoče zapostavi v temeljnem premiku, od »videti« je »vedeti« do »videti«, ki je »vladati«. »Od čiste vednosti do čiste oblasti.«

13 Avtor uvede koncept telesa, ki ga poimenuje »telo brez organov«. Telo brez organov deluje svobodno in kakofonično neodvisno od ojdipske strukture (Deleuze, 2004).

mleka). Telo torej ni projekcija obstoječega biološkega organizma, ki ima determinirano obliko, temveč spremenljiva entiteta, »brez fiksne podobe«. Tudi Elizabeth Grosz, tako kot Deleuze in McLean (četudi v navezavi na mitološki kontekst), zavrne obstoj »pravega« materialnega telesa na eni strani in njegovo kulturno, zgodovinsko reprezentacijo na drugi.¹⁴ Avtorico zanimajo telesa, ki so kulturno in spolno specifična ter kot kulturni produkti spremenljiva in mobilna, telesa, ki niso neaktivna, temveč delujejo in reagirajo na vse, kar je novo, presenetljivo, nepredvidljivo (Grosz, 1994).

Avtorica meni, da če je um povezan s telesom, vsaj z enim delom telesa, in če se telesa zaradi medsebojnega razlikovanja (spolnega, rasnega idr.) ne morejo inkorporirati v en sam univerzalni model, potem forme subjektivitete ne morejo biti generalizirane¹⁵. Telesnost potemtakem ne sme biti več asociirana z enim spolom (ali raso); temveč mora biti prikazana kot prostor za različnost in nehomogenost, polje družbene, politične, kulturne in geografske inskripcije. Zato pa je treba preučiti relacijo med ontološkostjo, biologijo oziroma organskimi procesi in kulturnimi intervencijami, transformacijami in produkcijami. Opoziciji um/telo sta bili že v preteklosti povezani s številnimi drugimi opozicijskimi pari, na primer.: razum/strast, zunaj/noter, javno/politično, površina/globina, resničnost/dozdevek, forma/materija, transcendenca/imanenca in moški/ženska. Od Descarta naprej ni um samo dislociran od teles in narave, temveč je tudi odstranjen od neposrednega stika z »drugimi telesi« znotraj družbeno-kulturnih sfer (Grosz, 1994, 7). To pa zato, ker morajo ostati »druga telesa« nevidna, ker je izključitev duše iz narave, evakuacija »uma« iz sveta prvi pogoj za uveljavitev znanosti kot vodilnega principa. Telo – katerega idealni model je na zahodu belo, mlado, moško telo – je potrebno znova teoretizirati v navezavi na um, zato da bi razumeli njegovo vpletenost v produkcijo znanja¹⁶, v način reprezentacije, kulturne produkcije in družbeno-ekonomske izmenjave. Telesa po eni strani ne moremo preprosto razumeti kot ahistorično entiteto oziroma naravni objekt, po drugi strani pa moramo vedeti, da telo ni zgolj polje vpisa družbeno-simbolnih kod, temveč je tudi produkt, neposredni pokazatelj, da je narava sama del družbene konstitucije (ibid., 8).

PRIPOVEDOVANJE ZGODB – GOVORICA SIMBOLOV IN METAFOR

V zgornjih dveh poglavjih sva poskušali pokazati, da redefinicija telesa in vpeljava mitskega sveta v polje kreativnega, omogoča vzpostavitev prostora, kjer je možna

interakcija med različnimi subjekti oz. različnimi oblikami subjektivnosti, ki jih ni mogoče opredeljevati skozi shemo bipolarnosti. V nadaljevanju naju bo zanimalo, kako prestopiti meje dualističnega mišljenja skozi širše, kompleksnejše razumevanje samega jezika. V ospredje analize bova postavili govorico simbolov, metafor in analogij – za omenjeno govorico je namreč značilno, da nam omogoča, da delimo, širimo in krepimo eksplicitne reprezentacije nemih vsebin (Buffalo, 1990; Cajette, 2000; Andreotti, Ahenakew & Cooper, 2011). V središču razprav, ki se ukvarjajo z omenjeno problematiko, je vprašanje, kako konceptualizirati razmerje med jezikom, vednostjo in realnostjo.

Jezik v staroselskih konceptualizacijah ne opisuje realnosti, temveč je simbolni kod realnosti. Le ta je neprestano v gibanju, kar omogoča nastanek številnih interpretacij (Garrouste, 1999 v Andreotti, Ahenakew & Cooper, 2011, 225). Vsaka med njimi neposredno učinkuje v realnost, dejansko vzpostavlja novo realnost. Dobra pripovedovalka oz. pripovedovalec znata preko metafor vzpostaviti stik s spiritualnim svetom. S pripovedovanjem sestavljata vzorce, kreirata razpoloženja, vzpostavljata številne fizične ter miselne spremembe. Metafore zajamejo presečišče percepcij, čustev, duhovnega in fizičnega telesa, so sredstvo, ki prinašajo dimenzije spiritualnega in nezavednega. Različni načini pripovedovanja kreirajo različne realnosti. Bistvo je torej v kontekstu, ko se le ta spremeni, se spremeni pripoved in s tem tudi učinek, se pravi, spremeni se realnost.

Slednje se ujema z idejo Tima Ingolda o sledenju, gibanju in ustvarjanju: ponavljanje potemtakem ni zgolj repetitivna, glede na kontekst je tudi učinek drug, v tem smislu vedno pomeni nekaj novega. Miti in zgodbe, tudi znanstvene, vsi načini osmišljanja sveta imajo materialno moč, delujejo s svojo dinamiko in potencialom spreminjanja okolja, naših percepcij in našega zamišljanja sveta (kot tudi nas samih).¹⁷ Povedano drugače: naša imaginacija deluje transformativno in ima moč usmerjenega delovanja (McLean, 2009, 225).

Zgoraj omenjena misel opozarja, da pripovedovanje zgodb učinkuje na realnost. Ne glede na to s kakšnim učinkom zgodbe vendar posegajo v svet in ga spreminjajo. Zato jih ne smejo zreducirati zgolj na reprezentacije in jih razumeti kot kulturno posredovane podobe materialnega sveta. S takšnim pogledom namreč sami vnašamo ločnico med naravo in kulturo, reproduciramo dihotomijo (McLean, 2009).

Razlika med racionalističnim in metaforičnim umom (Cajet, 2000) je prav pri zamišljanju sveta. V staroselski misli opisovanje oz. zamišljanje sveta že pomeni poseganje vanj. Jezik je torej intervencija v realnost in ne nje-

14 Zato je nujna reinterpretacija binarnega odnosa med naravo in kulturo.

15 Avtorica meni, da se mora feminizem izogibati tako dualizmu kot tudi monizmu (Grosz, 1994).

16 Ibid., 20. Grosz pravi, da so znanja tako kot druge forme družbene produkcije vsaj delno zaznamovana s spolno pozicijo tistih, ki ta znanja proizvajajo in uporabljajo (Grosz, 1994).

17 Te moči nimajo zgolj miti, temveč tudi t. i. družbene resnice, zgodovinske naracije ali v današnjem času vseprisotne ekonomske »resnice«. Razlage in predikcije dejansko kreirajo nove realnosti.

na upodobitev. Pueblo filozof Gregory Cajet je izvorno moč metaforičnega uma utemeljil v zgodbah kolektivno nezavednega. Simbolni kod zajame več čutov. Tako zamišljena realnost prinaša drugače konceptualizirano resnico, kjer resnica ni absolutna, niti ne fiksna. Medtem ko zahodnjak išče po fizičnem polju, obseden z redom in kontrolo, se staroselske filozofije gibajo po metafizičnem polju (Ermine, 1995 v Andreotti, Ahenakew & Cooper, 2011, 225), sprejemajo omejitev človeškega razumevanja, svoj obstoj povezujejo s silami, ki so izven dosega človeškega razuma.

Za nekoga, ki je bil socializiran v zahodnem humanizmu, opozarja Jacqui Alexander, je ena najtežjih nalog spopadanje s spiritualnim, z nejasnostjo in nedoločeno bivanjem, intimno povezanega s svetom nevidnega. Zaradi paradigme »mišljenja kot vednosti« se je težko vživljati v sistem, kjer vedenje izhaja iz bivanja in ne iz jezika. Zato je pomembno, kako – in o tem bo več rečenega v naslednjem poglavju, obravnavamo spiritualne prakse. Po Alexander spiritualnih praks ne bi smeli obravnavati zgolj v smislu kulturne dediščine temveč kot epistemologijo svetega oz. ceremonije. To pomeni, da prakse dojamemo kot realne (2005).

Pri holističnem razumevanju fenomenov, procesov in pojavov je izpostavljena medsebojno povezanost oz. odvisnost živega ter neživega sveta. V ospredju ni posameznik, niti skupina, temveč odnos (in to je po Ingoldu tudi temeljno pri kreativnosti). Spiritualnost zajame odnose, medsebojno prepletenost kozmosa in sveta.

Logika staroselskega mišljenja je mobilna, preklaplja med različnimi razumevanji in znanji, med realnim svetom ter svetim (Cajete, 2000, 210–211). Številni staroselski avtorji pri tem izpostavljajo problematiko nevednosti oz. našega odnosa do nevednosti. Vprašanje je, ali in kako raziskujemo področje neznanega? Ohranjamo odnos do nevednosti ali težimo k umiku v cono znanega in fiksnega? Staroselski kritiki pozivajo k osredotočenju na polje nevednega, k uporabi metafor in zgodb pri izobraževanju.¹⁸ Z metaforami je možno vzpostavljati čustvene odnose, pri učenju angažirati intuicijo. Profesorica Vanessa Andreotti opozarja, da moramo v kurikulum sprejeti staroselska znanja in načine vedenja, metafore, podobe, simbole. Ob tem se sklicuje na številne staroselske avtorje, ki izpostavljajo, da je ključno spodbujati kreativnost učencev pri učenju različnih vednosti, nariacij in mitologij. V tem primeru gre za drugačen način izobraževanja, šolskega sistema in pouka oz. učenja: učenci sestavljajo posamezne dele zgodb oz. pripovedi po svoje, sami iščejo rdeče niti in oblikujejo povezave oz. simbolne interpretacije. Le te sicer temeljijo na temeljnih metaforah in s tem na kolektivno skupnem prostoru. A bistvo tega početja ni v iskanju enega in edinega

fiksnega pomena, temveč v odkrivanju več pomenov in perspektiv.¹⁹ Takšen način izobraževanja torej zahteva veliko odprtega prostora, razprav, iskanja različnih pomenov, raziskovanje možnega in s tem spodbujanja h kreativnosti. Preoblikovanje šolskega sistema oz. sistema izobraževanja je torej ključen korak naprej pri številnih razmišljanjih o kreativnosti: šole bi morale spodbujati procese drugačnosti pri posamezniku in med njimi, potencialne različnih (kulturnih) okolij, iz katerih prihajajo posamezniki in ne težiti k ukalupljenju posameznikov v predpisane univerzalne normativne modele.

Staroselska znanja izpostavljajo problem homogenizacije in stereotipizacije zahodnega humanizma, prinašajo različne pomena in so več perspektivna. Vsaka perspektiva pomeni novo realnost. Pomembno pa je, da to vprašanje ne obravnavamo kot kulturni relativizem, saj gre za drugačno konceptualizacijo realnosti (Viveiros de Castro, 2012).²⁰ Navidezno nasprotni logiki univerzalizma in relativizma vendar prinašata enak pogled na realnost: pri univerzalizmu je le ta ena in edina medtem ko pri kulturnem relativizmu gre za več različnih pogledov a prav tako na eno, vnaprej dan realnost.

Družbena in relacijska ontologija staroselskih kultur Amerik prinaša način vedenja, ki je drugačen od objektivističnih epistemologij naturalistične ontologije modernizma in retorike zahodne znanosti.

Staroselske kozmologije ne izhajajo iz Narave kulturnih percepcij, temveč predpostavljajo več dimenzionalno in transformativni univerzum raznolikih subjektov in oseb, ki razumevajo realnost iz različnih zornih kotov. Vsak zorni kot dejansko pomeni novo realnost, zorni kot namreč zajame bivanjskost samo. Perspektiva ni reprezentacija, zato ker reprezentacija ni del uma in duha, temveč je zorni kot lociran v telesu. Sposobnost pridobivanja zornega kota zajema sposobnost in specifike telesnega (maske pri ritualu zato pomeni transformacijo v telo druge oblike, bivajočega).

Perspektiva je torej bivanjskost sama, kar ne zajame le vprašanje epistemologije temveč tudi ontologije (Viveiros de Castro, 2012).

DIHANJE IN IMPROVIZACIJA

Omenili sva, da spiritualnost zajema odnose oz. prepletenost kozmosa s svetovi znotraj katerih se gibljejo ustvarjalni tokovi, ki krožijo in prehajajo drug v drugega. Prepletenost sveta s kozmosom je možna takrat, ko so vanjo vključene različne plasti bivanja, različni aspekti, ki se med seboj dopolnjujejo in ustvarjajo nove povezave ter vzorce. A zgodovina kaže na to, da je racionalistični subjekt svojo dominantno pozicijo utrjeval prav skozi izključevanje, zatiranje in posiljevanje; tako

¹⁸ Več o tem gl. že citirano poglavje Andreotti, Ahenakew, Cooper, 2011.

¹⁹ Poleg že citiranega poglavja, ki ga je Vanessa Andreotti objavila skupaj s Ahenakew, Cooper, 2011, gl. tudi Andreotti, 2011, 2012.

²⁰ Perspektiva ne pomeni pogleda kot ga razumemo znotraj politik multikulturalizma (kot mozaika različnih pogledov iste realnosti), temveč izhaja iz polja epistemološkega pluralizma. Več o tem gl. v članku o amazonskem perspektivizmu Viveiros de Castro, 2012.

kot je v grški mitologiji Uran kot predstavnik duhovnega, nebeškega aspekta, posilil mati Zemljo in na tak način zadušil njeno lastno dihanje, je tudi racionalistični subjekt pretrgal vez med naravo in kulturo.

Razmerje med naravo in kulturo je tesno vezano na razmerje moški/ženska kar sva nakazali že v poglavju *Telo in ustvarjalni tokovi*. Ženska kot tista, ki je vržena v svet narave (v nasprotju z moškim, ki poseeblja duhovne aspekte), nima dostopa do božanskega principa, ki je vezan na ženske simbolne like in odnose med samimi ženskami.²¹ V predpatriarhalnih kulturah se dvojnost moških in ženskih božanstev spaja v mnogotero ali biseksualno strukturo – nebo in zemlja še nista ločena, temveč delujeta kot celota. Ženska je bila prek enačenja z zemljo in telesom konstruirana kot »Drugi« kulture, kot zanimiv objekt, ki ga je treba raziskati, podrediti, udomačiti in po potrebi eliminirati. Kot objekt moške želje, ki je skozi zgodovino, v najrazličnejših tekstih, tako literarnih kot tudi znanstvenih, zelo pogosto predmet moškega zanimanja, postane ženska moškemu zrcalo za njegovo lastno možatost. Virginia Woolf je zapisala, da so moški dolga leta uporabljali ženske kot magična ogledala, ki odsevajo podobo moškega v dvakratni naravni velikosti (Adam, 2009, 104). Moški, ki v zgodovini zaseda pozicijo mislečega in kreativnega subjekta, torej sestopa iz narave in se postavi nasproti (ženskega) telesa. Prav zaradi tega morajo ženske razviti svojo avtonomnost in svojo lastno pozicijo samorazumevanja, iz katere bodo lahko izzvale moško znanje in moške paradigme, v katerih je njeno telo prezrto. Žensko telo²² in ženska subjektivnost, ki se vzpostavlja skozi »mnoštvo identitet«²³, morata biti artikulirana v svoji podobnosti in različnosti od moških teles in identitet.

Prepoznavanje različnosti in sprejemanje le-te predstavlja temelj duhovnega oz. etičnega principa, ki presega znanstvena dognanja in formulacije, ki so obremenjena z dualistično (redukcionalistično) percepcijo stvarnosti. Tim Ingold pravi, da o kreativnosti ne moremo govoriti v svetu, kjer se nebo in zemlja ne združujeta in ni mogoča pozicija »biti v svetu« (po Heideggerju) oz. kjer ni mogoče prostovoljno prepletanje med elementi. Tako kot drevo določa njegov odziv na veter, človeka določa interakcija z okoljem in drugimi ljudmi, ki niso »isto« kot on, temveč »drugo« od njega samega.

Razvoj duhovnega aspekta v zahodni tradiciji je vezan na religiozne tekste, znotraj katerih je telesnost omejena na reprodukcijo, medtem, ko je božanski aspekt dvignjen nad snovno življenje.²⁴ (Luce Irigaray, 2002, 15). V nasprotju z zahodno tradicijo pa se v ne-

katerih hindujskih filozofsko-religioznih diskurzih, npr. tantrizmu obravnava telo kot božanski prostor, tempelj božanskega, ki omogoča harmonijo z univerzumom. Luce Irigaray vidi edino rešitev za prestopanje binarnih ločnic med telesom in umom v spiritualizaciji telesa, ki je možna skozi ozaveščanje najbolj nomadskega procesa znotraj telesa – to je dihanje. Dihanje je skupno tako moškim, kot tudi ženskam, torej vsem ljudem, ne glede na spol in kulturno izročilo. Pri svoji konceptualizaciji se Irigaray sklicuje na jogijsko prasko, pri kateri je osrednjega pomena prav dihanje oz. kontrola nad dihom. Praktikant/praktikantka joge prevzame kontrolo nad dihom z namenom, da bi umiril/umirila notranje miselne vrtnice, vstopil/vstopila v stanje meditacije in dosegel/dosegla zlitje s kozmosom.

V zahodni tradiciji ločujemo med dvema vrstama dihanja, prvo je bližje naravi in spada v domeno simbolične matere, druge je bližje kulturnemu očetu, med njima pa je brezno in to ne omogoča pretoka. »Patriarhalna tradicija je zamenjala življenje z *govorjenjem*, ki mu ni mar za dihanje, kar se kaže v urbanizaciji, onesnaževanju, vojnah, tudi tistih ideoloških, ki nagovarjajo posameznika zgolj v odnosu do družbe in ne v odnosu do kozmosa« (Irigaray, 2002, 49). Vstopiti v duhovni proces pomeni preobraziti dihanje na bolj subtilno raven, ki je v službi srca. Dihanje je prva avtonomna gesta v človekovem življenju, priti v življenje, pomeni »zajeti sapo«, zadihati (dojenček, ki prvič zajame zrak, vstopi v življenje). Sčasoma pozabimo na to prvo gesto in se ne ukvarjamo dosti z zrakom, ki nas obkroža (z našo prvo hrano). V hindujski tradiciji je dihanje ekvivalentno življenju, ker vodi k drugemu (vnovičnemu) rojstvu.²⁵

Zrak, ki nas obkroža je skupen vsem, ne glede na spol, raso, seksualno usmerjenost ali religiozno pripadnost, je prostor, v katerem se gibljemo in živimo. Dih, ki kroži skozi naše nosnice, pljuča, srce in organe, se vrača nazaj v okolje, skozi izdih, torej ciklično potuje skozi telo, na tak način pa nam omogoča, da tudi sami postanemo »dih«, da sprejmemo *ontološko razsežnost našega bivanja* (Irigaray, 2002).

Z ozaveščanjem pomena samega dihanja in obravnavo diha kot povezovalnega elementa, ki združuje ljudi in naravo, je torej možen sestop k subtilnejši obravnavi odnosov in različnosti med ljudmi, možen je sestop v proces kreativnosti, kjer se ustvarjalni tokovi prosto gibljejo. Dihanje lahko razumemo kot metaforo za kroženje in prepletanje ustvarjalnih tokov. Znotraj tega prepleta je možna vzpostavitev etičnih odnosov, ki presejajo hierarhična razmerja in formacije. Človekova

21 Luce Irigaray je mnenja, da je odstranitev ženskega božanskega principa namerno kreirana in načrtovana s strani patriarhata.

22 Specifičnost teles je treba razumeti v njihovi historični in ne biološki konkretnosti.

23 Znotraj feministične teorije namreč ne govorimo o enotnem modelu subjektivitete. Ženska subjektiviteta se vzpostavlja skozi »mnoštvo različnih glasov« (Braidotti, 2002), ne smemo namreč prezreti dejstva, da se ženske med seboj razlikujemo – tako po seksualni usmeritvi, glede na generacijo, razred, etnično, nacionalnost pripadnost, idr.

24 Božanski aspekt je vezan na filozofske in religiozne tekste, ki jih zaznamuje forma abstraktnega, odsotnega boga (Irigaray, 2002).

25 Tudi v zahodni tradiciji je pomemben »dih« (bog je ustvaril človeka skozi dih) oz. »sveti duh«. Irigaray pravi, da je duh najpomembnejša dimenzija krščanstva – vsi grehi so namreč lahko odpušteni, razen tistih, ki so narejeni zoper svetega duha (Irigaray, 2002, 76).

ustvarjalnost je neizpodbitno povezana z njegovim okoljem iz katerega črpa informacije, sočasno pa vanj vlaga lastne impulze in ga s tem spreminja ter preoblikuje. Tako kot vdihujemo in izdihujemo zrak, tako tudi sprejemamo in dajemo v svet svoje zamisli in ideje. Pri tem pa ne moremo ločevati med notranjim in zunanjim, med objektom in subjektom. Ko dihamo, smo v interakciji s svetom in sami »predstavljamo svet«, smo »pljuča sveta« in z vsako svojo ustvarjalno gesto posegamo v samo strukturo bivanja oz. ta posega v nas same. Kot kroži dih, krožijo tudi ustvarjalne sile – te se srečujejo med seboj, se dotikajo, stikajo in tkejo nove strukture. Prav v tem prepletu pa vidiva samo bistvo kreativnosti. Bistvo kreativnosti je torej tkanje novih struktur, ki odpirajo prostor improvizaciji. Dihanje je metafora za kroženje in prepletanje ustvarjalnih tokov, kot tudi metafora za samo kreativnost oziroma za proces, ki se udejanja znotraj prostora improvizacije. Ustvarjati namreč pomeni preizkušati nove situacije, improvizirati, se učiti, vstopati v proces interakcije, vzpostavljati odnose. Odnose pa vzpostavljamo tako, da si »delimo zrak«, da si ga ne prisvajamo, da dopuščamo kreativnim tokovom, da se gibljejo izven hierarhičnih postavitev.

Sočasno pa je potrebno kreativnim tokovom omogočiti, da krožijo, da niso omejeni s ciljem, s končnim produktom. Ingold, ki uvaja koncept improvizacijske kreativnosti, pravi, da je omenjen koncept povezan s horizontalno ravno, zato namesto usmerjenosti k doseganju končnih ciljev (ustvarjanje dokončnih resnic, produktov), spodbuja povezovanje idej oz. interakcijo med posameznikom/posameznico in okoljem.

Ingold kritizira teoretike, ki pravijo, da je bolj kot sam proces kreacije, pomemben produkt, ki prekaša konvencionalne rešitve. Med njimi je tudi sodobni antropolog Liep, ki postavi ostro ločnico med kreativnostjo in improvizacijo in slednji razume kot del vsakdanjega delovanja, ki lahko vsebuje določene elemente kreativnosti, sočasno pa opozarja, da improvizacije ne bi smeli enačiti s »pravo« kreativnostjo – inovacijo. Vse tisto kar ni inovativno se po Liepu namreč povezuje s imitacijo, kopiranjem že obstoječih elementov oz. vzorcev. V nasprotju z njim Ingold izpostavi, da je improvizacija »kulturni imperativ« in pripada svetu, ki je nenehno v nastajanju, medtem, ko je inovacija zgolj manifestacija samega izida in predstavlja formulo, ki je na novo izdelana – zato pa ne more predstavljati celotnega spektra kreativnega procesa.« To enosmerno branje, je simptom modernosti, ki išče v kreativnosti moč, ki ni vezana na oblikovanje odnosa med posameznikom in svetom, temveč bolj na osvoboditev vezi, ki so pripete na tradicijo« (Hallam, Ingold 2007, 2). Tukaj se zastavlja vprašanje, če lahko kreativni posameznik/posameznica

resnično popolnoma ubeži že obstoječim elementom, ki jih družba reproducira ali pa mora tudi njegova neprilagojenost ostati del širšega družbenega konteksta pomenov, ker drugače izgubi simbolično v rednost. Črpanje elementov iz obstoječih form ne pomeni pasivno sprejemanje tradicije, temveč prav nasprotno, gre za aktivno regeneracijo in oživitev preteklih oblik. Ljudje namreč sproti ustvarjamo kulturo tako, da spontano odgovarjamo na življenjske situacije, pri svojem početju pa stalno improviziramo, prav zaradi tega, ker se srečujemo z vrednotami in konvencijami, ki niso vselej v skladu z našimi notranjimi zahtevami in pričakovanji. »Konvencionalno je lahko nekonvencionalno, prav tako kot je spreminjanje lahko del tradicionalnega/tradicije« (Hallam, Ingold, 2007, 6). Pojem »improvizacijska kreativnost« torej zaobjema akt kreativnosti v procesu, ki ni usmerjen k cilju in ne napoveduje jasnega izida, kot pravi Ingold: »Improvizacija ne napoveduje presenečenj, preprosto zato, ker si niti ne prizadeva napovedovati« (Hallam, Ingold, 2006, 18).

ZAKLJUČEK

Znotraj pričujočega članka sva poskušali razmišljati o kreativnosti izven dualističnih modelov, ki se že več stoletji zažirajo v percepcijo zahodne miselnosti. Razmerje med naravo in kulturo oz. med telesom in umom sva umestili v širši kontekst razumevanja spolne razlike ter v polje, kjer se srečata evropska (zahodna) kultura in staroselska miselnost, ki s svojo večplastno obravnavo jezika, simbolov in stvarnosti razkrinkava in spodnaša enosmerno delovanje racionalističnega subjekta, ki zaradi obremenjenosti s produkcijo objektivnih, ultimativnih resnic in kopičenjem produktov, ostaja dislociran od svoji »ontoloških korenin« in »binglja z nogami v zraku«²⁶. A najin namen ni povzdigovati oz. drugotiti staroselske kozmologije, logike mišljenja oz. bivanja. Verjameva pa, da nam lahko vpogled v kulturno drugačnost, v drugačno zasnovane epistemo in onto-logije odpira razmišljanja, načine zamišljanja in možnost imaginacije v zahodnih intelektualnih tradicijah.²⁷ Gre za to, da lahko ti imaginariji prinašajo nove vpoglede in bogatijo evropske intelektualne tradicije.

V pričujočem članku sva pokazali, da nam staroselska kozmologija skozi redefinicijo povezave med govornico spiritualnega in telesnega ponuja prostor za preoblikovanje kreativnega zamišljanja. V ospredje namreč postavlja transformativno moč same imaginacije, pri kateri ne gre za golo transcendenco, temveč za vstop v območje stvarnosti – imaginacija ima tako moč usmerjenega delovanja in učinkuje na samo materialnost. Po McLeanu je bipolarnost mišljenja moč preči s

26 Luce Irigaray (2002) pravi, da znanstveniki, ki zavračajo pomembnost vsebin, ki se vežejo na vprašanje, kako izboljšati odnose med ljudmi, niso v stiku z življenjem, temveč so odtrgani od svoje »kozmoške zemeljskosti«.

27 Ob tem se sklicujeva na kritiko kot na primer v prispevku že omenjenih Walter Mignola ter Eduarda Viveiros de Castra, kot tudi Ghassan Hage z razmislekom o prispevku kritične antropološke misli pri oblikovanju radikalne politike in političnega imaginarija (Hage, 2012).

tem, da procese materialnega nastajanja (kreacije) zaznavamo povsod, tudi v zgodbah, v govorici in drugih dimenzijah (2009, 235). Staroselski in postkolonialni avtorji po eni strani odpirajo razpravo o politični ekonomiji produkcije znanja, po drugi odpirajo vpogled na drugačne povezave med jezikom, vednosti, metafiziko in realnostjo. Njihovi pozivi kličejo k soočanju različnih oblik vednosti, k ohranjanju napetosti med pomeni, v kritiki neprestanega iskanja dialektične sinteze poudarjajo proces. V izobraževanje je treba vpeljati staroselske zgodbe, njihove kozmologije in metode učenja, povezati govorico s simboli, metaforami, podobami, telesnim, z afekti. Takšno učenje prinaša drugačne načine mišljenja, zamišljanja, občutenja, ustvarja nove povezave in odpira prostore kreativnosti, ki so neločljivo vezani na improvizacijo. »Improvizacijske kreativnosti« ne smemo enačiti z inovacijo, s končnim produktom (kot zatrjuje Ingold in Hallam), temveč jo moramo obravnavati kot proces, kot obliko učenja in pridobivanja znanja.

Ingold in McLean, ki kreativnost postavita v polje odnosov, enakovrednih relacij med ljudmi, spregovorita o ustvarjalnem prostoru, kjer se naravno okolje prepleta s kulturnim oz. kjer ločnice med naravo in kulturo niso več strogo določene. Ustvarjalni akt pripada svetu, ki je

v »stalnem procesu kreacije«, kjer so med seboj povezani različni aspekti bivanja in ustvarjalna energija kroži med subjekti.

Omenjeno obravnavno sva v zadnjem poglavju na novo definirali skozi vzpostavitev relacije med konceptom dihanja oz. skozi jogijsko razumevanja telesa kot »templja«, ki omogoča spiritualno izkušnjo duha, in kreativnostjo. Zrak kot prva in osnovna hrana človeka je tisti, ki poganja organizem in omogoča kroženje ustvarjalnih tokov ter sil, ki prehajajo skozi telo. Z vsakim vdihom in izdihom ustvarjamo interakcijo z okoljem, zato je pomembno, da se zavemo ontološke razsežnosti dihanja in da si ne prilaščamo zraka, ki nas obkroža. Tako kot kroži zrak, krožijo tudi kreativni tokovi, ki skozi medsebojno interakcijo ustvarjajo nove strukture – bistvena pri tem pa je improvizacija.

Kreativnost kot proces nedokončanega odkrivanja ne zgolj zunanega temveč tudi notranjega sveta oz. prehajanja med njima tako zajame odprtost do megle nega polja potencialnega izven in znotraj subjekta. Po maorski kozmologiji je učenje — proizvajanje vednosti zamišljeno kot proces tkanja, kjer vednost nastopa kot energija in ne končni proizvod. Kreativnost v tem smislu ni kulturna poetika temveč poetika nastajanja (McLean, 2009, 215).

CREATIVITY AS POETICS OF BECOMING

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SUMMARY

The article aims towards thinking about creativity outside the dualisms inside/outside, social/personal, culture/nature on which European humanism is based. By using an interdisciplinary approach the authors refer to diverse methodological aspects from anthropology and philosophy to feminist theory.

The first part of the article deals with the nature/culture divide. By referring to anthropologists Tim Ingold and Stuart Mclean, the authors argue for imagining creativity as an intertwinement, where the nature culture boundary is not fixed. Ingold's concept on improvisational creativities claims for imagining creativity as a process without particular end or goal in mind. Such claims are quite on the contrary with traditional explanations which equate creativity with a product or an end result.

The second part of the article, deals with the body/mind matrix, drawing on the concept of gender differences and indigenous knowledge. Indigenous cosmologies point to the spiritual and bodily creative reimagining, emphasizing the multilayered language of symbols, its power, which questions one sided directionality of the rational subject that overloads the concept of creativity.

The last part brings forth the concept of breathing, used by Luce Irigaray. She refers to Eastern perception of reality, where body is inseparably connected with spiritual aspects of being.

The emphasis in the article is on thinking about creativity as a process of creating, based on interrelations and intertwinements between people and different environments. At the same time, the article calls for relating creativity with learning and education.

Keywords: creative thinking (imagining), creative flows, body, spiritual, language and reality

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A NEW APPROACH TO BUILT HERITAGE SUSTAINABLE PRESERVATION PROJECTS: THE CASE STUDY OF VIPOLŽE CASTLE – GORIŠKA BRDA, SLOVENIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to present a multidisciplinary approach to sustainable preservation practice of the built heritage. It is based on interesting features of the Historic Building protocol by GBC Italia and the Villas project experience: the first is a LEED rating system of sustainability in renovation actions; the second is a research programme on Venetian Villas where a group of economists developed an evaluation method for the assessment of vocationality and sustainability of re-use projects. In both cases was detected the problem of adequate incorporating the cultural heritage values in sustainable preservation processes, what brought to new researches presented here.

Keywords: sustainability, re-use and preservation, built heritage, multiple criteria evaluation, Vipolže castle

UN NUOVO APPROCCIO AL PROGETTO DI CONSERVAZIONE SOSTENIBILE DEL PATRIMONIO COSTRUITO: IL CASO STUDIO DEL CASTELLO DI VIPULZANO – COLLIO SLOVENO

SINTESI

L'articolo vuole illustrare un approccio multidisciplinare alla conservazione sostenibile del patrimonio costruito. Si basa sugli spunti interessanti del protocollo Historic Building di GBC Italia e sull'esperienza del progetto Villas: il primo fa parte dei sistemi LEED e valuta la sostenibilità nell'ambito delle ristrutturazioni; il secondo è un programma di ricerca condotto sulle Ville Venete che ha visto un gruppo di economisti sviluppare un metodo di valutazione della vocationalità e della sostenibilità nei progetti di riuso. In entrambi i casi è stata riscontrata una certa difficoltà nel considerare adeguatamente gli aspetti legati al patrimonio culturale nei processi di conservazione sostenibile, comportando quindi delle nuove ricerche qui presentate.

Parole chiave: sostenibilità, riuso e conservazione, patrimonio costruito, valutazione multicriteriale, castello di Vipulzano

INTRODUCTION

Sustainability has lately become a crucial topic in various circumstances: from worldwide political debates on future development to the different research programmes. However it has been generally noticed that greater prominence has been given to the environmental component, whereas other sustainability aspects – such as the social, cultural and economical – have often been neglected (McKenzie, 2004). The same can be remarked in architectural field in reference to recent development in technologies, materials and normative standards. The present article will focus on the sustainability problem with regard to the re-use and preservation practice of architectural heritage in general: i.e. buildings of any function and either legally protected or not. As a way of »recycling« the existing built legacy it is already a sustainable activity and will become more and more important in the future due to land scarcity and the increasing amount of degrading constructions and areas.

However in order to plan sustainable interventions all the socio-cultural, economic and environmental factors should be considered simultaneously, but these are often overlooked due to the difficulty of assessment or to the lack of proper methods and devices. In fact, most of the existing literature and practices investigate sustainability-aspects mainly on a theoretical basis, providing suggestions for developing adequate policies rather than offering practical tools for managing concrete actions.

The new approach presented in this paper aims to be an operational tool that could help both designers and decision makers in managing sustainable choices during the preservation/re-use process of an architectural object. The general structure and operative principles shown through the early case study of the Vipolže Castle from the Slovenian Brda¹ - gives an idea of the whole approach.

SUSTAINABILITY AS A COMPLEX PROBLEM

So far most of the researches have tried to investigate the sustainability problem looking for eco-friendly behaviour and green solutions to our needs, often spreading new, advanced technologies that help our eco-

system. However, according to recent studies, there is a misunderstanding or better, a too-narrowed view of the sustainability issue, which should not focus only on the environmental sphere of the problem. In fact, the widely accepted definition proposed by the Brundtland Commission in 1987 affirms that a sustainable development is a 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987, 41). The vagueness of the cited sentence has been well criticised by Jacobs², who blames it for accomplishing private interests rather than social justice. On the other hand its indefiniteness can be explained as an attempt of including also other disciplines that concern the social, cultural, environmental, technical and economic interpretation of sustainability. According to McKenzie 'sustainability is now a broad multi-focal agenda' that 'calls for interdisciplinary input and a cohesive view of interrelation of nature, society and economy' (McKenzie, 2004, 1, 5). A similar opinion emerges from the definition proposed by the University of South Australia: 'Sustainability—including sustainable environments, sustainable societies and sustainable economies. This priority would mean attention *inter alia* to issues relating to water use, renewable energy, democratic citizenship, social justice, equity, impact of globalised economies on work and triple bottom line³ approaches' (McKenzie, 2004, 11); and is again confirmed in Fraser Basin's Council's Charter⁴ and reports 'consideration of social, economic and environmental dimensions, examining the interconnections and integration among these dimensions, and a long-term perspective that does not give preferential treatment to current generations at the expense of future generations' (FBC, 2011, 3).

ENVIRONMENTAL, SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY

As generally accepted, three sustainability categories can be identified: the common environmental sustainability, the social and the economic one. The first arises from the definition of sustainability proposed by IUCN (International Union for Conservation of Nature), UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme) and WWF (World Wide Fund For Nature) in 1991: 'improving the

1 Collio (it.) or Brda (slo.) is a cross-border region well known for premium-quality winemaking and touristically fascinating due to its hill country, dotted with small villages and vineyards.

2 'The vagueness of the definition (...) allows business and "development" interests (and their government supporters to claim that they are in favour of sustainable development when actually they are the perpetrators of unsustainability.' Jacobs, M. (1999): Sustainable development: a contested concept. In: Dobson, A. (ed), Fairness and futurity: essays on environmental sustainability and social justice. Oxford University Press, Oxford. Cited in McKenzie, 2004.

3 Elkington defined it as a simultaneous condition of sufficiency of all three aspect: 'We need to bear in mind that it is not possible to achieve a desired level of ecological or social or economic sustainability (separately), without achieving at least a basic level of all three forms of sustainability, simultaneously.' Elkington, J. (1999): Triple bottom line revolution: reporting for the third millennium. Australian CPA, vol. 69, p. 75. Cited in McKenzie, 2004, 6.

4 The Charter defines sustainability as 'Living and managing activities in a way that balances social, economic, environmental and institutional considerations to meet our needs and those of future generations.' (FBC, 2009, 5)

BUILDING'S ID				
GENERAL INFORMATION OF THE BUILDING				
ANAGRAPHIC	NAME:	Villa/Castle Vipolže		
	CURRENT PROPERTY:	Republic of Slovenia		
	MANAGER AUTHORITY/SITE MANAGER:	Ministry of Education, Science, Culture and Sports		
	TPOLOGY:	isolated villa		
	STYLE:	late renaissance, Friulian villa type with Venetian baroque decoration		
	YEAR/PERIOD OF CONSTRUCTION:	ca. 1750 (origins: 11 th Century)		
	AUTHOR/DESIGNER:	unknown		
	ORIGINAL USE/FUNTION:	hunter's cottage		
	ACTUAL USE/FUNCTION:	multicultural centre		
	CONSERVATION STATUS:	restored (June 2014)		
LOCATION	NATION:	Slovenija (SLO)		
	MUNICIPALITY:	Brda		
	CITY/TOWN/LOCALITY:	Vipolže		
	ZIP CODE:	5212		
	ADDRESS & CIVIC N°:	Vipolže, 29		
	COORDINATES:	387061,7; 93007,0 (y; x)		
	ALTITUDE MSL [m]	106,4		
	CLIMATIC ZONE [GG]:			
CADASTRAL DATA	CADASTRAL MUNICIPALITY:	2287 - VIPOLŽE		
	CADASTRAL MAP/OBJECT N°:	211 (house)		
	PARCEL/CAD. UNIT:	529; 530; 531; 532/1		
NUMERICAL DATA - site	LOT AREA [m ²]:	6469		
	COVERED AREA [m ²]:	810		
	UNCOVERED AREA [m ²]:	5659		
	BUILT AREA [m ²]:	3907,59		
NUMERICAL DATA - building	N° OF STOREYS ABOVE GROUND:	3		
	N° OF STOREYS UNDERGROUND:	1		
	TOTAL STOREY N°:	4		
	PLANT AREA [m ²]:	905,88		
	AVERAGE HEIGHT [m]	15		
	TOTAL NET AREA [m ²]:	2102,71		
	TOTAL VOLUME [m ³]:	13588,20		
TOWN PLAN/LOCAL STRATEGIC PLAN	ZONE:	B - special zone		
	SPECIFICATIONS:	VIP-BT 1		
	NOTES:	touristic purpose		
	PROTECTION & RESTRICTIONS:	LEGALLY PROTECTED:	yes; cultural heritage	
	NORMATIVE REFERENCE:	Ur.l. RS, št. 81/99-3867, 55/2002-2687		
	FROM DATE/YEAR:	2002		
	OTHER RESTRICTIONS:	NO		
NOTES:	OTHER INFORMATION:	value: 75.245,75 Eur		
BRIEF HISTORY				
	PERIOD	USE & FUNCTION	PROPERTY	MODIFICATIONS
	11 th Century	hunter's cottage and stables	count family from Gorizia (Ita)	\
	Middle Ages - 16 th Century	representative villa	families Herberstein (1311), Della Torre (1460)	around 1510 was already in poor conservation status and was sometime later therefore totally rebuilt by Thurn (della Torre) family
	16 th - 20 th Century	summer villa	Venetian Republic; noble family Attems (XVIII), Teuffenbach (1912)	1 st half of the 16 th Century: renovation in Venetian Villas' style after it had been partially damaged; end of 17th Century (before or after fire) was renovated again
	WWI	military hospital	\	partially destroyed by a bomb
	1948	\	\	hit by fire
	50s	\	\	roof reconstruction; ring beam added
	post-war period	occasional dance-floor	\	external area is temporarily converted into a dancefloor in summertime; basement is also used by local cultural associations and groups
	June 2014	\	Republic of Slovenia	restoration; beginning of 2015 will open a multicultural centre

Figure 1: Phase 1 – knowing the object: building's ID - part 1: General information and history: overview of the first part of the building's ID – here completed with data concerning the Vipolže castle – reporting general and historical information

Slika 1: Faza 1 – spoznavanje arhitekture: osebna izkaznica (ID) stavbe – 1. del: Splošne informacije in zgodovinski podatki: splošni pregled prvega dela ID stavbe – izpolnjene s podatki o gradu Vipolže – kjer so navedene nekatere splošne in zgodovinske informacije

Figura 1: Fase 1 – conoscere il manufatto: carta d'identità (CI) dell'edificio – parte I: Informazioni generali e note storiche: prospetto generale della prima parte della CI dell'edificio – qui completata con le informazioni relative al castello di Vipulzano – dove sono riportati alcuni dati generali e storici

quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting eco-systems', when the concept of intragenerational and intergenerational equity were first referred to the environment and renewable resources (Melià, 2010, 13; IUCN, UNEP, WWF, 1991, 10).

On the other hand a lot has been written by McKenzie on social sustainability. In his reserach paper it is defined as a 'life-enhancing condition within communities, and a process within communities that can achieve that condition' and it includes equity of access to key

services and between generations, cultural relations and integration, political participation, transmitting awareness of social sustainability, sense of community responsibility and collective identification (McKenzie, 2004, 14-15). Nevertheless, referring to the preservation and re-use practice social sustainability has a slightly different meaning and should rather consider the following aspects: public involvement in the decision process, public usability and benefit derived from an area, collective values and attachment of a community to a building or a site that should be respected and possibly implemented⁵. Community identity is often ignored when talking about cultural heritage (Vitiello, 2012, 68), even if the concept of “heritage” is strictly connected to people’s perception and identification of values – aesthetic or other. Therefore the present study has combined the cultural and social component into a single category, the “socio-cultural sustainability”.

A serious risk that may occur during the preservation and re-use process of a building is that it may lose its characterising qualities due to an incompatible new use or an unsustainable cost of restoration and maintenance (Galli, Lioce, 2006, 124). An effective economic reuse could guarantee economic feasibility and an “active preservation” of the object through minimal impact on the original asset (Dallavalle et al., 2006, 55). As a consequence, the economic sustainability deals with the problem of using available resources to their best advantage, promoting an efficient and responsible use, likely to provide long-term benefits for the community.

THE METHODOLOGY

The methodology presented is a whole procedure that guides the user through the planning of a sustainable project of re-use, as well as recovery, refurbishment or preservation of a building and its site. As an operative method it is provided with an evaluation model that offers a rational support to its users – i.e. designers and decision makers – in priority and alternative assessment when planning sustainable interventions. Since possible actions, that are more prone to one rather than an other sustainability-aspect – are often in conflict, the aim of this tool is to make the user aware of these contrasts, so that he will responsibly choose which aspect should be privileged. The choice will be definitely in accordance with his own sensitivity, but it could be supported by the evaluation method’s results, which assess a weighted »sustain-

ability performance« on the basis of other experts’ rating. The user could therefore base his final opinion on a set of alternative scenarios-projects he has previously tested.

The present approach is based on the study of two other experiences that have been appreciated for their inclusive vision of the sustainability problem and scientific approach. The first is the protocol HB (Historic Building) that GBC Italia⁶ has been developing since April 2012 and will be probably launched in the first semester of 2015⁷. As part of the LEED (Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design) rating systems HB is a holistic approach to certification based on a flexible model that assesses the energetical and environmental performance of a historic building only in reference to possible actions (Rugginenti and Franchini, 2010, 43-44). Its checklist has offered some interesting inputs – e.g. public use of covered and external area; structural and anti-seismic safety; reversibility of some interventions; construction site management; transport facilities; green technologies and materials; low heat island effect; rational use of water supplies; renewable energy; waste management; material and resource re-use etc. – in the criteria and option-list for the project’s sustainability evaluation.

On the other hand, the evaluation model at the base of the method’s structure is derived from the Villas project⁸ (2006), where a group of economists have built an assessment tool on the case study of Venetian Villas. It is a MC analysis (multi-criteria) derived from the MAVT (multi-attribute value theory) that has been applied to evaluate the sustainable reuse of historical homes and their »vocationality«, i.e. the economic feasibility in reference to different kinds of use: residential, office, hotel (Giove, 2006; Dallavalle et al., 2006a, 2006b). Even if less recent the reliability of this rational method has so far been proved through its adaptation to different situations⁹.

STRUCTURE OF THE METHOD

In order to cover the whole re-use/preservation process, the proposed new methodology is divided into three parts: in the first one - »knowing the object« - the user is asked to gather some data about the building and the area, finding out their potentialities and values, that should next be considered in the project. Concretely, a sort of building’s ID must be filled, which collects general information and limitation, a brief history including modifications and other interventions (Figure 1) and

5 Similar factors are at the base of the COBACHREM Model (Community-Based Cultural Heritage Resources Management) reported by Susan O. Keitumetse (Keitumetse, 2014).

6 Green Building Council Italia is an association which is working on LEED protocols and rating systems in agreement with USGBC (US Green Building Council) and GBCI (Green Building Certification Institute). More available at: <http://www.gbccitalia.org/page/show/it-sistemi-lead-e-gbc?locale=it>.

7 As Vitiello observes evaluation techniques that support a »green« design process by looking beyond the energetical performance are continually evolving (Vitiello, 2012, 73).

8 The project Villas is part of the Community initiative INTERREG III B (2000-2006) CADSES 3B074.

9 E.g.: Venice Arsenal (Giove et al., 2011), former industrial buildings (Ferretti et al., 2013) etc.

CONTEXT QUALITY		
LANDSCAPE QUALITY/FRAME	urban context natural context	to the North: small town of Vipolže formed by traditional isolated 2/3-storey houses, plastered walls, 2 or more roof slopes covered with roof tiles situated on a hill among vineyards has a great view of the rural surroundings
SITE QUALITY	character of the lot and adjacent land; historical asset	historical situation: in front of the building there used to be a meadow and later a garden with a baroque water well, behind an orchard; currently: surrounded by vineyards and trees - there are some centuries-old cypresses that are among the oldest in Slovenia; the entrance is abandoned
ECONOMICAL CONTEXT	historic or urban centre / commercial / touristic / business / production/industrial site / agricultural / natural and recreational context	touristic and agriculture: fine wine-production
AVAILABLE SERVICES	hotel, recreation, commercial, food service etc.	B&B, agritourism
ACCESSIBILITY	main infrastructural connections, transport facilities	local road
SOCIAL VALUE		
HERITAGE AWARENESS	community's perceiving of the object as a cultural / natural / other type of heritage	
HISTORIC/TRADITIONAL VALUE	association with important people / events / ideas; evidence of local / regional / national history	strategical base in Middle Age, residence of main noble families from this region (business centre of the feudal system), evidence of Venetian influence
COLLECTIVE ATTACHMENT VALUE	perceived meanings by a community in relation to political / national / cultural sentiment; source of cultural identity or emotional link derived from use	in the last decades the building and its site have been used for traditional dancing performances and meetings by local people and associations
SPIRITUAL VALUE	intangible values and meanings related to community beliefs, religion, spiritual practice and sentiment	\
ARCHITECTURAL QUALITY		
AESTHETIC VALUE	visual and non visual aspects derived from compositional and attractive qualities: massing, proportions, unity and context integration, colour, texture, material, spaces and views, craftsmanship and execution quality (detailing); picturesqueness	The exterior seems closed and massive, there is a Venetian compartment of the facade by means of paired windows interrupted by chimneys. Only their pyramidal crowning element give a sense of verticality to the building. Groundfloor windows are protected with iron grating, whereas the ones in the attic are little squares, according to Friulian tradition. There is a central little stair leading to a stone portal, replicated in the piano nobile with a baroque pediment interrupted by a vase.
STYLISTIC/TRADITIONAL VALUE	decorative elements (exterior and interior)	classic window/door stone-framing, pyramidal chimneys with sphere, moulding, tower quoin, balcony and balustrade
RARITY VALUE	principal characteristics of a particular class / period of style / tradition;	Friulian villa with late-renaissance and Venetian Villas' influence; type: castle-villa
AUTHOR VALUE	demonstrates uncommon / rare / endangered aspects or it is a special case	is the only renaissance villa in the countryside in the region of Nova Gorica
TYPOLOGICAL/DESIGN VALUE	association with life / work of an important person / group of architects/designers	\
TECHNICAL VALUE	significant plant form / planning scheme / concept; appreciation in press; awards and nominations; innovative or derived aspects (from important examples)	The building is an example of a castle-villa: it is a countryside representative residence of a noble family as well as a defense fort; it's plan has a rectangular form with two lower rhomboidal towers that have been added to the sides. The facade follows late-renaissance compartment with the central axe marked by an entrance portal of stone and a collapsed balustrated balcony at the piano nobile. This can be accessed by means of a two-flighted vaulted stair at each ending, whereas the atrium has a square plant covered with an umbrella vault. The first floor has a central chamber and other rooms served by a long corridor. The cellar is a single big vaulted room connected to upper floors and directly to the outside.
	presence of particular materials and construction systems, technology and techniques (traditional / historic / innovative / unique)	The building's construction materials and systems are traditional, no innovative aspect can be observed. It has stone-masonry walls, finished with plaster (almost absent externally) and whitewash (inside). Wooden floors and roof structure covered with roof tiles. In some cases floorings are mixed or have been replaced - wood, tiles, asphalt.
PRESERVATION DIRECTIVE		
Summarize directive and restrictions from the authority in charge for the object's preservation.	Building's external appearance must be maintained: all decorative elements must be preserved as well as the roof and its inclination. Damaged and irrecoverable elements must be reproduced in accordance to existing models. Infilled windows shall not be re-opened. The balustrade on the balcony must be rebuilt similarly to the one of Rabatta Palace in Gorizia. Inside: stone-portals, vaults and plant grid must be preserved; groundfloor: the aisle must be recreated; first floor: central room must be rebuilt with missing walls. Flooring from groundfloor must be maintained; the one on the staircase must be re-established according to existing model; first floor: asphalt must be removed and replace with approved flooring; underground: asphalt removed and replaced according to new function. Staircase: vaults must be rebuilt; right tower: floor reconstruction; first floor: beam-ceiling reconstruction. Preliminary investigation must be carried out (material composition, mortars etc.)	

Figure 2: Phase 1 – knowing the object: building's ID - part 1: Qualities and values: Table following Figure 1 reporting context and architectural qualities, social values and a summary of the preservation directive.

Slika 2: Faza 1 – spoznavanje arhitekture: osebna izkaznica (ID) stavbe – 1. del: Kakovost in vrednote: Nadaljevalne tabele iz Slike 1; tu so opisane kvaliteta konteksta in arhitekture, družbene vrednote ter povzetek smernic iz konservatorskega programa.

Figura 2: Fase 1 – conoscere il manufatto: carta d'identità (CI) dell'edificio – parte I: Qualità e valori: Continuazione della tabella di Figura 1 con elencate le qualità del contesto e dell'architettura, i valori sociali e un riassunto delle direttive per la conservazione del bene.

BUILDING SPECIFICATIONS - ELEMENTAL CLASSIFICATION				
MAJOR GROUP ELEMENTS	GROUP ELEMENTS	DESCRIPTION	MATERIALS	CONSERVATION STATUS - DIAGNOSIS
A SUBSTRUCTURE	A01 Foundations	stone foundations in flysch sandstone and part in limestone	flysch sandstone limestone	\
	A03 Basement walls	massive stone masonry wide from 70 to 130 cm with good quality mortar	flysch sandstone lime mortar	basement walls are very humid due to rainwater drainage in proximity of external basement walls
B SUPERSTRUCTURE (load-bearing)	B02 External Walls	stone masonry and lime mortar, widths: BASEMENT: central building 170-175 cm; east tower 150 cm; west tower 120 cm; GROUND FLOOR: central b. north 144, south 93-113 cm, lateral 135 cm; east tower 120-135; west tower 120 cm; FIRST FLOOR: central b.: north 115 cm, south 93-113 cm, lateral 110 cm; east tower: 80-120 cm; west tower: 97; MEZZANINE: central b.: north 92 cm, south 93-113 cm, lateral 85 cm.	flysch sandstone lime mortar	lower part of walls are solid and well constructed with bigger blocks, no gaps in mortar were found; whereas in higher levels some walls are partially filled with bricks, frequent gaps in mortar; external surfaces are exposed to atmospheric agents due to lack of plaster layer
	B03 Internal Walls	stone masonry and lime mortar, widths: BASEMENT: 170-175 cm; GROUND FLOOR: 135 cm (central b.-towers), 107-110 cm (corridor-hall), 70-74 cm (between rooms), 46 cm (corridor); FIRST FLOOR: 110-116 cm (central b.-towers), 80-100 cm (corridor-rooms), 62-65 cm (between rooms), 46 cm (corridor); MEZZANINE: 65 cm (corridor-room).	flysch sandstone lime mortar	two transverse walls in first floor have been demolished
	B04 Upper floors	above basement level there is a stone vault (flysch sandstone blocks) supported by longitudinal walls (no horizontal tie bar)	flysch sandstone	good
	B05 Roof	above ground floor there are various brick vaults (umbrella, groin, dome)	brick mortar	no major cracks or subsidence; vaults above southern corridors and stairs are in poor condition (subsidence/collapse); floor above first level is missing
	B07 External stairs	dual- (or more) pitched roof, wooden roof truss	timber ?	in good status, ring beam was added in the 50s
C PARTITION & CLOSURE	B07 External stairs	S-E stairs in RC	concrete	original stone stairs have been replaced
	B08 Internal stairs	stone stairs	limestone	good
	B09 Projections	balcony	\	collapsed
	C01 Interior partitions	bricks and mortar, widths: GROUND FLOOR: 12-13 cm (corridor), 15 cm (east tower); FIRST FLOOR: 18 cm (east tower).	brick mortar	most of these are infill walls, whereas others are new partitions in the southern corridor
	C02 Internal doors	doors are generally wide 103-124 cm and high ca. 205 cm	\	4/25 are filled in (all on ground floor)
D FINISHES	C03 External doors	doors are generally single or double-leafed wide 120-172 cm and high about 330 cm	wood	1/9 is filled in; at least 4 are totally missing
	C04 Windows	wooden frame	wood glass; (bricks)	many windows have been filled in with brickwalls
	D01 External wall finishes	external plaster	\	is almost entirely missing
	D02 Internal wall finishes	internal plaster	lime plaster	generally good
	D04 Floor finishes	original ones are brick or stone floorings, in some rooms have been replaced with asphalt or finished with concrete	brick limestone asphalt; concrete	almost half of original floorings have been replaced with asphalt or concrete
E DECORATIVE ELEMENTS	D06 Roof finishes	roof tiles	brick	recently restored
	D07 Doorstep	stone blocks	limestone	good
	E01 External wall decoration	towers' quoins of stone blocks	limestone	good
	E03 External window & door framing	stone blocks	limestone	some are damaged
	E04 Internal window & door framing	stone blocks	limestone	\
F SERVICES & CONVEYING SYSTEMS	E05 Roof decoration	pyramidal stone chimneys with spherical crowning element	limestone ?	3/4; one collapsed, 2/3 spheres are missing; elements are not properly anchored
	E06 Balustrade and parapets	under-roof moulding balcony parapet	limestone Repen	limited portions are damaged missing
	F01 Drainage	rainwater is directly dispersed into ground near basement walls	\	see: A03
	F02 Plumbing	sanitary waste management is unknown	\	\
	F03 Heating	fireplaces have been removed	\	removed
G SITE EQUIPMENT	F04 Ventilating & A/C	\	\	\
	F05 Electrical installations	wiring is visible on external facades	\	obsolete
	F10 Protective installation	\	\	\
	G01 Site enclosure	\	\	\
G02 Site paving (hard landscaping)	\	\	\	
G03 Soft landscaping	\	\	\	
G04 Site services (public utilities)	electricity, water	\	\	

Figure 3: Phase 1 – knowing the object: building's ID – part 2: Building specification – Elemental classification: overview of the following part of the knowing phase that investigates technical and technological features of the building, by specifying construction elements, materials, techniques and preservation status. The card reports information of the Vipolže castle before its restoration, as described in the documentation attached to the realized project.

Slika 3: Faza 1 - spoznavanje arhitekture: osebna izkaznica (ID) stavbe – 2. del: Podrobnejši opis stavbe – klasifikacija gradbenih delov: splošen pregled drugega dela iz faze spoznavanja, ki analizira tehnično in tehnološko plat stavbe preko klasifikacije njenih gradbenih delov, materialov, tehnik in ohranjenosti. Kartica navaja podatke grada Vipolže pred restavratorskim posegom in v skladu z dokumentacijo, ki je priložena izvršenemu načrtu.

Figura 3: Fase 1 – conoscere il manufatto: CI dell'edificio – parte II: Specifiche dell'edificio – classificazione degli elementi costruttivi: prospetto generale della seconda parte della fase conoscitiva che analizza gli aspetti tecnici e tecnologici dell'edificio attraverso la classificazione degli elementi costruttivi, materiali costitutivi, tecniche costruttive e stato di conservazione. La scheda riporta i dati del castello di Vipulzano prima del restauro, come desunti dalla documentazione allegata al progetto realizzato.

MACRO-CATEGORY	CATEGORY	ASPECT	OPTIONS & ALTERNATIVE	
SOCIO-CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY	COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT	public involvement in the decision process	fulfillment of current needs	
		increase of values	respect of people's values ²	
		public use & usability ^{1,2}	future potential beliefs & rituals	
		social benefit compliance	heritage awareness ²	
	CULTURAL HERITAGE	safety & normative		covered area ¹
				external area ¹
			socialisation facilities ¹	
			employment	
			social purpose / mission	
			accessibility	
			acoustic safety	
			fire resistance	
			sanitary safety	
			structural & anti-seismic safety ¹	
low invasivity ²	typological scheme ²			
	structures ²			
	finishing & decorative elements ^{1,2}			
	technological systems ²			
reversibility ^{1,2}	structures ^{1,2}			
	finishing & protection ^{1,2}			
	interior partition ¹			
	decorative elements ²			
	technological systems ²			
material compatibility ¹	structures			
	interior partition			
	finishing & protection ¹			
	decorative elements			
recognizability*	new elements (structure/partition)*			
	gap filling / reconstructions (dec.el.)*			

Figure 4: Phase 3 – Tree structure of the sustainability parameters (part 1): the table shows the hierarchical organisation of the sustainability parameters from the macro-category to the options/alternative level.

Slika 4: Faza 3 – Prikaz drevesne strukture trajnostnih parametrov (1. del): na tabeli je prikazana hierarhična uređitev trajnostnih parametrov od makrokategorij do nivoja izbir/alternativ.

Figura 4: Fase 3 – Struttura ad albero dei parametri della sostenibilità (1a parte): la tabella mostra l'organizzazione gerarchica dei parametri della sostenibilità dalle macro-categorie al livello delle opzioni/alternative.

finally a section for social appraisal, context and architectural qualities (Figure 2). A second part reports the elemental classification of the construction with system and material specifications in addition to the conservation status description (Figure 3).

The other two steps are characterised by the above mentioned evaluation procedure that correlates existing parameters and project choices to a set of sustainability criteria. In particular, the second phase – the »vocationality analysis« – is focusing on the identification of a compatible use. Villas' model will be here improved with missing functional types, in order to be applicable to a wider range of buildings, meaning also that it will have to be completely reset. Whereas the last part – the »sustainability analysis« – shows a preliminary project's performance through a scoring (non-monetary) system grounded in both user's and experts' opinion. A previous presented research has brought to a listing of the sustainability criteria that are here grouped in a tree structure merging into three macro-categories: socio-cultural, ecological-environmental and economic-financial sustainability.

THE SUSTAINABILITY ANALYSIS AND PARAMETERS

As just said the sustainability tree is formed by three main sustainability categories that are then divided into categories, aspects (or objectives), options & alternatives and in some cases have also the sub-options/possible actions specification. This level directly influences the evaluation only in the invasivity and transport facilities aspects, where some further information are needed in order to obtain the entry's output value. Otherwise it just offers some suggestions regarding possible intervention or a list of options that may be considered when assessing a certain option & alternative element.

Most of the evaluation procedure is carried out on the options & alternative level, where the user is asked to fill the input column with a value that may give a quantitative or qualitative information about a specific component. The entered score is then automatically elaborated as described in the following section. The elements listed here represent the criteria or alternatives by means of which the project may satisfy a certain sustainability aspect. For instance »coating« and »internal

insulation» are options of the »thermal insulation of the building envelope« aspect.

The aspect level is probably the most interesting part since it defines all the main sustainability objectives that a re-use or preservation proposal should try to achieve. These parameters have been defined on the basis of the two mentioned studies and personal opinion, but also on a preliminary research of the evaluation parameters of modern architectural heritage, for some of the appreciation qualities have been turned into features that a sustainable project should respect. Finally these aspects have been grouped into categories in order to provide an organised structure of the model (Figures 4, 5).

The socio-cultural sustainability is a combination of the community engagement and cultural heritage category (Figure 4). The first one focuses on the public participation in the decision process of a project as already remarked in the Agenda 21 plan; secondly on the increase of values and social benefit that may derive from the new proposal in reference to heritage awareness, employment etc; as last on the possibility for the public to use building's and site's spaces. On the other hand the cultural heritage deals with conservative issues: the first part sums up safety and normative compliance in reference to accessibility, acoustic, fire resistance, sanitary and anti-seismic standards, whereas the second part assesses project's invasivity, intervention reversibility and material compatibility in reference to major group elements¹⁰.

In the ecological-environmental sustainability (Figure 5) following project's performances are assessed: energetical efficiency, ecological impact, environmental quality and construction site management. The first aspect consists of thermal insulation of the building envelope, solar/wind shading alternatives, advantages from solar supply, rational use of water and plant efficiency, which includes the option regarding renewable resources and an overall evaluation of the systems' efficiency. The ecological impact estimates the use of green technologies and materials as well as the heat island effect, whereas the acoustic and luminous pollution are introduced under the environmental quality menu, for they also consider indoor comfort. In addition to these two there are also aspects concerning valorisation of external green areas and transport facilities that favour alternative ecological transportation. As last, the construction site management evaluates the executive phase of the project, where pollution should be reduced, resource usage limited and waste management optimised.

Finally the economic-financial sustainability investigates resource inputs derived from reclamation, purchase and transformation cost and examines the risk, financiability, profitability, maintenance and management aspect of the project.

THE EVALUATION MODEL

The evaluation tool from part II and III follows Villas' MAVT-model, a particular kind of the MCDA (Multiple Criteria Decision Analysis) – 'a valuable and increasingly widely-used tool to aid Decision making in the domain of sustainability assessment and urban and territorial planning, where a complex and inter-connected range of environmental, social and economic issues must be taken into consideration and where objectives are often competing, making trade-offs unavoidable' (Ferretti et al., 2014, 2).

The MAVT adopted has a tree structure which means that each sustainability macro-category from the third step of the methodology splits into categories, then aspects (or objectives) and options & alternatives (Fig. 6). Each option/alternative (a) can obtain a particular value which represents its performance and can be measured or directly expressed by the user. In the sustainability analysis the user fills the INPUT columns (v(a)) according to the following options:

- YES/NO that correspond to 1 / 0
- YES/PARTIALLY/NO respectively 1 / 0,5 / 0
- GREAT/SOME/MINOR usually 1 / 0,5 / 0
- MUCH/SOME/LITTLE usually 1 / 0,5 / 0
- PERCENTAGE INPUT is normalized into a number between 0-1
- NUMBER in reference to a specific unit of measure, which is then turned into a value between 0-1.

In some cases the "value" automatically provided by the model differs from the table above according to a specific function value of an alternative, which processes the input data in order to reflect the importance of the obtained performance. For instance, a little improvement of a certain quality may be far more appreciable than the achievement of its optimum and is therefore represented by a non linear function.

So obtained values are then aggregated into a single score by means of the additive model:

$$V(c) = \sum w_i \cdot V_i(a_i) \quad // \quad V(c) = w_1 \cdot V_1(a_1) + w_2 \cdot V_2(a_2) + w_{12} \cdot V_{12}$$

where $V(c)$ is the overall value of the criteria/objective, $V_i(a_i)$ is the alternative's performance as calculated by the system in the previous paragraph and w_i is a weight as defined in NAM (Non-Additive Measures) methods. NAM is, according to Giove et al. one of the most complete and mathematically well-founded MAVT approaches that allows to consider interactions among criteria assigning a suitable weight to every possible coalition of the state of the criteria (Giove et al., 2011).

The numerical value of NAM are obtained by means of a questionnaire submitted to a panel of experts who are asked to express a judgements between 0 and 100

¹⁰ Group of functional constructive elements such as structures, interior partition, finishing, decorative elements, technological systems etc. in addition to the typological scheme.

MACRO-CATEGORY	CATEGORY	ASPECT	OPTIONS & ALTERNATIVE
ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY	ENERGETICAL EFFICIENCY	thermal insulation of the building envelope	coating internal insulation
		solar (wind) shading	natural barrier ¹ architectural elements
		advantages from solar supply	passive components thermal inertia optimisation of natural lighting
		plant efficiency	energy production from renewable resources ¹ distribution emission control / regulation presence of regenerators
	ECOLOGICAL IMPACT	rational use of water supplies ¹	reduction of water amount for external use ¹ reduction of water amount for other uses
		green technologies & materials ¹	reuse of existing building material & finishing ¹ certification of origin & low embodied energy building materials or low toxicity ¹ bio-based or recycled material ¹ or future reuse and recyclability local origin / transport ¹ durability & maintenance
		low heat island effect ¹	roofing ¹ external paving ¹
	ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY	low acoustic pollution	indoor to outdoor noise limitation plant/system noise limitation
		low luminous pollution ¹	automatic lighting systems ¹ external limitations ¹
		valorisation of external green areas	reclamation of degraded areas ¹ historical or local rearrangement ¹ hanging garden / green roof ¹ ground permeability
		transport facilities ¹	public transport ¹ bicycle facilities ¹ parking facilities ¹
	CONSTRUCTION SITE MANAGEMENT ¹	resource usage ¹	water ¹ energy ¹ ground ¹
pollution reduction ¹		luminous pollution ¹ acoustic pollution	
waste optimisation ¹		waste management ¹	
reclamation cost			
ECONOMIC SUSTAINABILITY	RESOURCE INPUT	purchase cost transformation cost effects on circulation ² effects on territory ²	
	BENEFIT ON CONTEXT		economic benefits from project on local community ² spread of new economic activities ² increase of economic value of close buildings ²
	RISK ² FINANCIABILITY ² PROFITABILITY ²		
	MAINTENANCE & MANAGEMENT ²	programmed maintenance plan ¹	

Figure 5: Phase 3 – Tree structure of the sustainability parameters (part 2): follows Figure 4
 Slika 5: Faza 3 – Prikaz drevesne strukture trajnostnih parametrov (2. del): nadaljevanje Slike 4
 Figura 5: Fase 3 – Struttura ad albero dei parametri della sostenibilità (2a parte): segue Fig. 4

for every edge – that is a hypothetical scenario formed by a combination of only worst and optimal situation for every alternative¹¹ pertaining to a certain criteria/objective (Giove et al., 2011). In the present model such values have been derived from the ones used in the Villas

project or have been assigned by the authors.

Unlike the Villas model, the present method is not ascending the tree structure by applying the NAM function to each node of it until a final indicator is synthesized, but it will entrust the priority ranking of the objec-

11 Given the fact that n parameters have 2^n possible combinations, which need to be assessed, it is recommended that parameters are not greater than 5 or 6, otherwise the expert won't be able to express an opinion (Giove et al., 2011).

MACRO-CATEGORY	CATEGORY	ASPECT	ASPECT edge score	OPTIONS & ALTERNATIVES	U.M.	SCORE	INPUT evaluation	VALUE	SUB-OPTIONS POSSIBLE ACTIONS	U.M.	SCORE	INPUT AMOUNT	VALUE	
SOCIO-CULTURAL SUSTAINABILITY	COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT	PUBLIC INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION PROCESS	0,75	fulfillment of current needs	Y/P/N	1/0,5/0	0,5	0,50						
				respect of people's values	Y/P/N	1/0,5/0	1	1,00						
		INCREASE OF VALUES	0,85	future potential beliefs & rituals	Y/N	1/0	0	0,00						
				heritage awareness	M/S/L	1/0,5/0	1	1,00						
		PUBLIC USE & USABILITY	0,93	covered area*	%	0-100	75	0,75						
				external area*	%	0-100	100	1,00						
				socialisation facilities	Y/N	1/0	1	1,00						
	SOCIAL BENEFIT	0,22	employment	n	0-n	5	0,37							
			social purpose / mission	Y/N	1/0	0	0,00							
	CULTURAL HERITAGE	LOW INVASIVITY**	0,93	typological scheme**	legibility of the original scheme	Y/P/N	1/0,5/0	1,00	1,00					
					restoration of original asset	Y/P/N	1/0,5/0	1,00	1,00					
					functional coherence with the historic use	G/S/M	1/0,5/0	0,50	0,50					
				structures**	distribution modification	M/S/G	1/0,5/0	1,00	1,00					
					structural substitutions	M/S/G	1/0,5/0	0,50	0,50					
					new additions	F/S/M	1/0,5/0	0,50	0,50					
				finishing & decorative elements**	low-invasive instability treatment	Y/P/N	1/0,5/0	1,00	1,00					
					preservation of recoverable finishings & decorative el.	Y/N	1/0	1,00	1,00					
					substitution of added layers with finishings similar to original ones	Y/N	1/0	1,00	1,00					
					low-invasive degradation solutions	Y/P/N	1/0,5/0	1,00	1,00					
				technological systems**	indoor/outdoor visual impact	M/S/G	1/0,5/0	1,00	1,00					
compaction and use of existing technical spaces					Y/P/N	1/0,5/0	1,00	1,00						



 the output value is a decimal number directly turned from the percentage input
 the output value is a function value

Figure 6: Phase 3 – Extract from the sustainability analysis of case study Vipolže: the table extract shows part of the socio-cultural sustainability grid. The input data provided by the user are marked with yellow colour (columns “INPUT evaluation” and “INPUT amount”), whereas the framed columns report the value output as calculated by the model. The “ASPECT edge score” is the synthesized indicator of the options/alternative performance (“VALUE” column) and expresses the final score obtained in a specific sustainability aspect.

Slika 6: Faza 3 – Izvleček iz analize trajnosti na primeru v Vipolžah: razpredelnica ponazarja del ocenjevalne tabele iz področja družbeno-kulturne trajnosti. Podatke, ki jih mora uporabnik vnesti so označeni z rumeno barvo (stolpca “INPUT evaluation” in “INPUT amount”), medtem ko so v uokvirjenih stolpcih vrednosti, ki jih model avtomatično izračuna. T.i. “ASPECT edge score” je sintetična ocena, ki izhaja iz točkovanja na nivoju options/alternative (stolpec “VALUE”) in izraža končno vsoto, ki jo je načrt dosegel glede na določen trajnostni vidik.

Figura 6: Fase 3 – Estratto dall’analisi della sostenibilità del caso studio di Vipulzano: l’estratto di tabella mostra parte della griglia relativa alla sostenibilità socio-culturale. I dati immessi dall’utente sono individuati dalla colonna gialla (colonne “INPUT evaluation” e “INPUT amount”), mentre le colonne contornate in rosso riportano i valori calcolati dal modello. Lo “aspect edge score” è l’indicatore sintetico delle prestazioni riferite alle opzioni/alternative (colonna “VALUE”) ed esprimono il punteggio finale ottenuto in uno specifico ambito della sostenibilità.

tives/aspects to the user himself. In fact, the user could define the weight of each aspect in reference to his own

sensitivity and to the case he’s facing. This operation should be done before starting the sustainability assess-

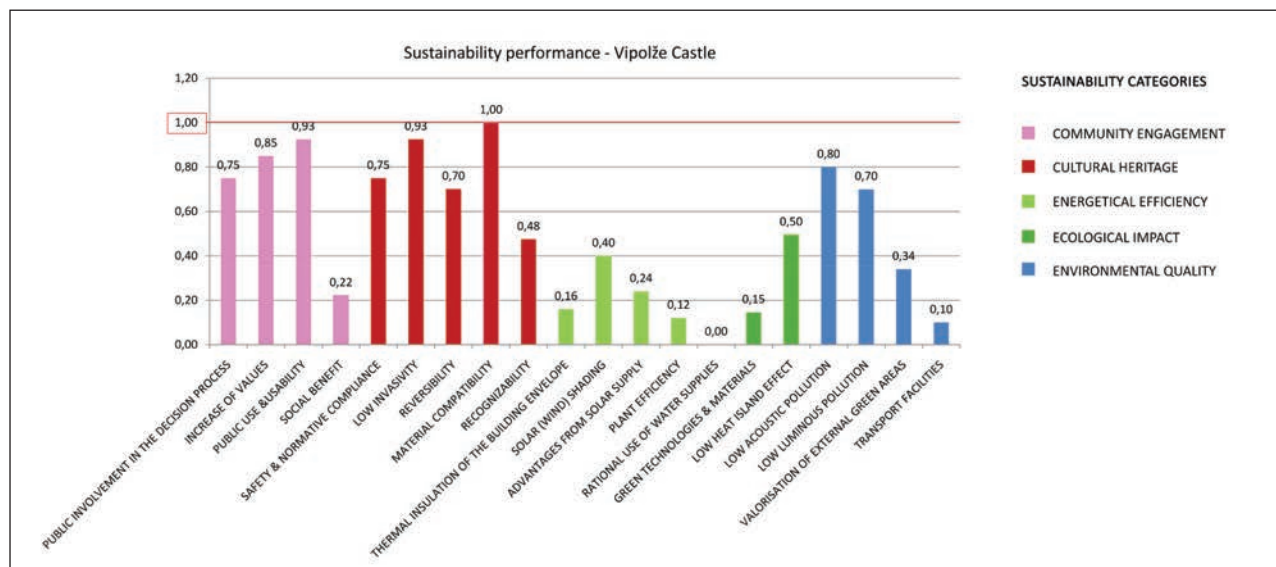


Figure 7: Phase 3 – Diagram of the sustainability performance of the Vipolže castle preservation project: the chart summarizes the scoring obtained by the Vipolže project in each sustainability aspect reported on the ordinate axis, grouped in sustainability categories according to their colour. The assessed performance is easily comparable with its maximum/ideal score equal to 1,00.

Slika 7: Faza 3 – Diagram trajnostnega nivoja konservatorskega načrta za grad Vipolže: diagram prikazuje točke, ki jih je projekt za Vipolže dosegel v posamezni trajnostni kategoriji. Le-te so navedene na abscisi in zbrane v skupine na podlagi barve. Izračunane vrednosti se zlahka primerja z najvišjimi možnimi/idealnimi vrednostmi, ki veljajo 1,00.

Figura 7: Fase 3 – Grafico delle prestazioni di sostenibilità del progetto di conservazione del castello di Vipulzano: il grafico riassume i punteggi ottenuti dal progetto di Vipulzano in ogni aspetto sostenibile riportato in ascisse, raggruppato in categorie di sostenibilità in base al colore. Le prestazioni calcolate sono facilmente confrontabili con i valori massimi/ideali pari a 1,00.

ment of the preliminary project, so that at the end the user would be able to compare the obtained result with his priority ranking.

RESULTS

The above described methodology represents a whole procedure that guides the user through a responsible planning activity starting by understanding the object he's dealing with – an essential phase for a correct approach to the following decisional phases, where a new purpose should be defined first and then a series of intervention choices must be programmed. Right in these two delicate moments the evaluation model intervenes as a support for the decision maker who can rationally make his decisions by comparing potential scenarios with an ideal (though impossible) situation.

The methodology is primarily meant to be used during the planning phase (*in itinere*), but it might also be a support in the alternative-choice *ex-post*, comparing the performance of different projects. However, the follow-

ing paragraphs comment an ex-post study application that has been tested on an already completed intervention mainly to verify the reliability and the performance of the proposed method.

CASE STUDY: VIPOLŽE CASTLE

The villa has probably been erected on a previous medieval castle of Gorizia's counts by the Thurn family who owned it in the XVIth Century¹². It is set on the top of a hill among vineyards of the renowned Brda region, with the main facade pointed towards the small village of Vipolže to the North. According to the typological classification by Seražin it is a Friulian villa with late-renaissance and Venetian influence that have been added in later renovations (Seražin, 2006). Though it is also considered a castle-villa for its rectangular plan with a rather little rhomboidal tower on each side. The four-storey building has a big vaulted cellar and three levels above ground, that are served by two staircases at the endings and a rear corridor leading to the chambers. Construc-

12 The construction date has not yet been defined: Dr. Nace Šumi dates the villa at the beginning of the 16th Century, Christoph Ulmer after 1520 and a recent study of its stylistic characters postpones it to the second half of the 17th Century (ZVKDS - OE NG, Mozetič, 2003).

tion materials and systems are traditional: stone masonry walls, wooden floors and roof structure and brick vaults of various forms. The closed and massive appearance of the exterior is refined by the rhythm of the openings classically framed by stone elements, the balcony and its balustrade above the entrance portal, towers' quoin, the continuous under-roof moulding and the characteristic pyramidal chimneys crowned with a sphere of stone (Seražin, 2006; ZVKDS - EO NG, ITEO, 2006).

The building has so far undergone many modifications due to change of use and property or to war damages. Finally it had fallen into disrepair even if it was occasionally used by local communities until the last renovation and structural-reinforcement project. The planning phase started in 2003 - as dated on technical drawings - with no specification on the building's new use. Later in 2006 a feasibility analysis showed that a multicultural centre would be the most suitable option. The building has been completed in June 2014 according to the identified purpose, which should be operative from spring 2015¹³ (Figure 8).

The project documentation stored by ZVKDS OE NG (Zavod za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije – Območna Enota Nova Gorica) aims to bring the building back to its original image and solve major issues such as drainage system and structural integrity. The typological scheme has been re-established by removing later partition, adding missing elements as two walls at the first level and the floor above them and substituting vaults with subsidence problems. Structural performance has been enhanced by means of reinforced concrete slabs and lime injections. Finishings and decorative elements have been restored preserving original pieces, improving their anchoring system, reconstructing irrecoverable parts with similar elements and replacing non original floorings with traditional surfaces.

The sustainability analysis of this intervention shows a good performance in the socio-cultural category and a middle-low scoring in the ecological-environmental sphere (Figure 7). Due to missing information the third field – economic-financial sustainability – and some other parameters regarding the construction site management or the aspect »green technologies and materials« have not been defined.

In particular, as shown in figure 7, »the community engagement« area has a very good rating (0,75 to 0,93/1,00) thanks to the public usability of most spaces and the respect of community's values through the choice of a function that can strengthen local traditions and culture as well as increase heritage awareness. On

the other hand there is a less encouraging performance in social benefit for the project is not part of a social programme nor it suggests a significant number of new employment positions. However the model has not considered possible positive effects on local economies that could be added to the social-benefit parameters. Great attention has been paid to normative compliance even if the accessibility criterion penalises the aspect's score (0,75/1,00) with its limitation to the visitability feature¹⁴. The present study case has also suggested some new sub-options in the »low invasivity« aspect: restoration of original asset, substitution of added layers with traditional finishing, quantity of new structural additions has raised the project's rating from 0,83 to 0,88/1,00. Despite this it has also pointed out the necessity of introducing a new aspect among the cultural heritage subcategories – the »recognizability¹⁵« of both added structural elements/partitions and integrated decorative apparatus. Even if the material compatibility has an excellent rating, the reversibility performance gets to 0,70/1,00 due to the anti-seismic reinforcement actions (Figure 7).

The energetical efficiency is overall mediocre because of insufficient thermal insulation and lack of energy production from renewable resources – which brings the »plant efficiency« value down to 0,12/1,00. In this case it would be probably better if this option was an individual aspect rather than a specification of the above mentioned parameter.

Finally the »environmental quality« area obtains a good performance in reference to luminous and acoustic pollution limitation, but a bad rating in transport facilities and valorisation of external green areas. Both aspects aim for »green« solutions, that are missed by the study case because of the limited quantity of permeable ground and the particular accessibility¹⁶.

DISCUSSION

Despite the fact that this method testing mainly aimed to verify if the selected parameters were sufficient to evaluate the sustainability performance of different projects/cases, the interesting observation derived by this trial demonstrate how each study case is also able to refine the model bringing out new points of view and potentialities.

In fact, the model application to the above described case immediately revealed through a low scoring the project's weak points – aspects that have been neglected, intentionally or not – as for instance the thermal performance of the building. In addition to this it also suggested

13 http://www.brda.si/znamenitosti/kulturne_znamenitosti/2012051414554311/Vila%20Vipol%C5%BEE/.

14 Available documentation does not reveal any specific features. An exterior visit has demonstrated the existence of reserved parking places and ramps leading to the main entrance, but the outward appearance suggested no internal lifts. Therefore the proposed rating is referred to the "visitability" condition.

15 That is the legibility of integrations and reconstructions.

16 The site is served only by a local road, no bus stops have been noticed. The accessibility condition itself favours use of private cars, whereas environmental amenity indirectly promotes bicycles.



Figure 8: North facade of the Vipolže Castle after its restoration, January 2015 (photo: Marta Lombardi)
Slika 8: Severna fasada Gradu Vipolže po restavratorskem posegu, januarja 2015 (foto: Marta Lombardi)
Figura 8: Facciata nord del Castello di Vipulzano dopo il restauro, gennaio 2015 (foto: Marta Lombardi)

some improvements of the method that could be obtained through the re-arrangement and integration of the parameters or by introducing new specification and features. For example, minimum target values could be added in order to guarantee a minimum standard of sustainability performance; furthermore, some qualitative evaluation (i.e.: 1/0,5/0) could be turned into more detailed quantitative values for a more accurate assessment.

Nevertheless, the Vipolže study case revealed also some gaps in the evaluation model as for instance the situation of indeterminateness, i.e. the impossibility of expressing a value for a criterion, which is not yet acceptable. Since the assessment grid must be fully completed, in order to reduce the influence on the result to the minimum, the user should put in a value equal to 1,00. However, a Boolean function applied to the existence condition of each parameter could adequately solve the problem and add the possibility of tailoring the model to each case – an option that is also present in the GBC HB model.

CONCLUSIONS

It is now generally accepted that sustainability is a complex problem, which can be divided into three sub-categories: the social and cultural component, the ecological – environmental and the economic sustainability, that also involves financial aspects. These fields are often overlooked, especially when referring to architectural practice and perhaps it happens due to the lack of suitable project-management tools. For this reason the methodology presented in this paper tries to offer a possible solution to planning sustainable re-use and/or preservation projects. This new approach is meant to be used by designers and decision makers during the design process. Based on the previous experiences of the GBC HB Protocol and the Villas project it has enhanced into a three-step procedure supported by a multiple criteria evaluation model.

The ex post application on Vipolže Castle, presented in the last part of the paper, has been useful to outline

the model's structure and its elements: the building's IDs from the knowing phase have been arranged on the basis of the case examined, whereas in the third part some new sustainability parameters have been added and others re-organised. Moreover the test has also suggested an integration of the model with minimum standards and a Boolean operator, which could indeed prevent the problem of indeterminate records and simultaneously improve the method's flexibility.

Finally, the methodology could certainly be refined through further application of the method on different

case studies, where a cyclical testing would lead to a more and more complete approach.

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NOV PRISTOP K NAČRTOVANJU TRAJNOSTNE PRENOVE STAVBNE DEDIŠČINE: PRIMER GRADU VIPOLŽE V GORIŠKIH BRDIH, SLOVENIJA

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POVZETEK

Trajnost je glavni pristop k razvoju sodobne družbe. Kljub temu pa v konkretni praksi primanjkuje ustreznih pripomočkov, ki bi lahko vodili do učinkovitih posegov.

Prvi del članka proučuje pojem trajnosti, ki ga lahko razstavimo na tri različne problematike: na družbeno-kulturno komponento, na okoljski ter ekonomski vidik. Prav na teh kategorijah je osnovana sledeča metodologija, ki vodi uporabnika – naj bo to projektant ali odločujoča oseba – do trajnostnega načrta prenove preko postopka v treh korakih: prva faza je namenjena spoznavanju objekta in njegovega območja, nato sledi analiza "nagnjenosti", ki opredeli najustreznejšo novo namembnost in nazadnje še analiza trajnosti, s katero lahko preverimo dosežke predlaganega projekta na posameznih trajnostnih področjih v razmerju s hierarhično urejenimi parametri.

Članek predstavi in obrazloži glavno strukturo, trajnostne parametre in multikriterialni model evalvacijskega postopka. V zadnjem delu pa kritično komentira metodologijo, ki je bila testirana ex-post na primeru Grada Vipolže, utrjene vile iz Goriških Brd v Sloveniji. S preizkusom se je struktura modela še dodatno izostrila, tako da je pridobila nove parametre ali drugače uredila obstoječe; poleg tega je test tudi pokazal, kako bi lahko nove funkcije privedle do bolj fleksibilne metodologije.

Ključne besede: trajnost, prenova in ohranjanje, stavbna dediščina, multi-kriterialna evalvacija, grad Vipolže

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FBC – Fraser Basin Council
 GBC – Green Building Council
 HB – Historic Building
 ID – Identity card (it.: CI – carta d'identità)
 IUCN – International Union for Conservation of Nature
 LEED – Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design
 MAVT – Multi-Attribute Value Theory
 MC – Multi-Criteria
 MCDA – Multi Criteria Decision Approach
 NAM – Non-Additive Measures
 UNEP – United Nations Environment Programme
 WCED – World Commission on Environment and Development
 WWF – World Wide Fund For Nature
 ZVKDS OE NG – Zavod za Varstvo Kulturne Dediščine Slovenije Območna Enota Nova Gorica

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ŠKOLJ CASTLE AND ITS ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

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ABSTRACT

On one of the highest rocky ledges above the Reka River, just a few kilometers from Famlje Village and near Škocjan Caves, Školj Castle is today one of the less known castles in Slovenia. For more than a century the castle is abandoned. Until the 19th century it was among the most interesting castles in Carniola because of its picturesque location and architectural design. In this article we present the results of the last architectural history research, based on study of written archive sources, literature, image sources and castle ruins. The results show the castle's importance, that it could be possible and would be necessary to preserve and to restore his remains.

Keywords: Školj, Neukhoffell, Neukofell, Noviscoglio, castle, Rauber, Ravbar, Neuhaus, Rossetti, Dekleva, Johann Weichard Valvasor, Louis François Cassas, Park Škocjanske jame, Architectural conservation, architectural history

CASTELLO ŠKOLJ E LA SUA STORIA ARCHITETTONICA

SINTESI

Su una delle più alte sporgenze rocciose sopra il fiume Timavo, a solo un paio di chilometri del villaggio Famlje e anche dalle Grotte di San Canziano, il castello di Noviscoglio è oggi uno dei castelli meno conosciuti della Slovenia. Il castello è stato abbandonato per più di un secolo. Fino al XIX secolo, il castello si trovava tra i castelli più interessanti della Carniola a causa della sua pittoreschi dintorni e la sua architettura. In questo articolo, presentiamo i risultati dell'ultima ricerca architettonica e storica, basata sullo studio di fonti scritte d'archivio, letteratura, pitture ed immagini e anche sulle stesse rovine dell'castello. I risultati dimostrano l'importanza di questo castello, e la necessità e anche possibilità di preservare e ripristinare le sue rovine.

Parole chiave: Školj, Neukhoffell, Neukofell, Noviscoglio, castello, Rauber, Ravbar, Neuhaus, Rossetti, Dekleva, Johann Weichard Valvasor, Louis François Cassas, Park Škocjanske jame, restauro dei monumenti architettonici, storia dell'architettura

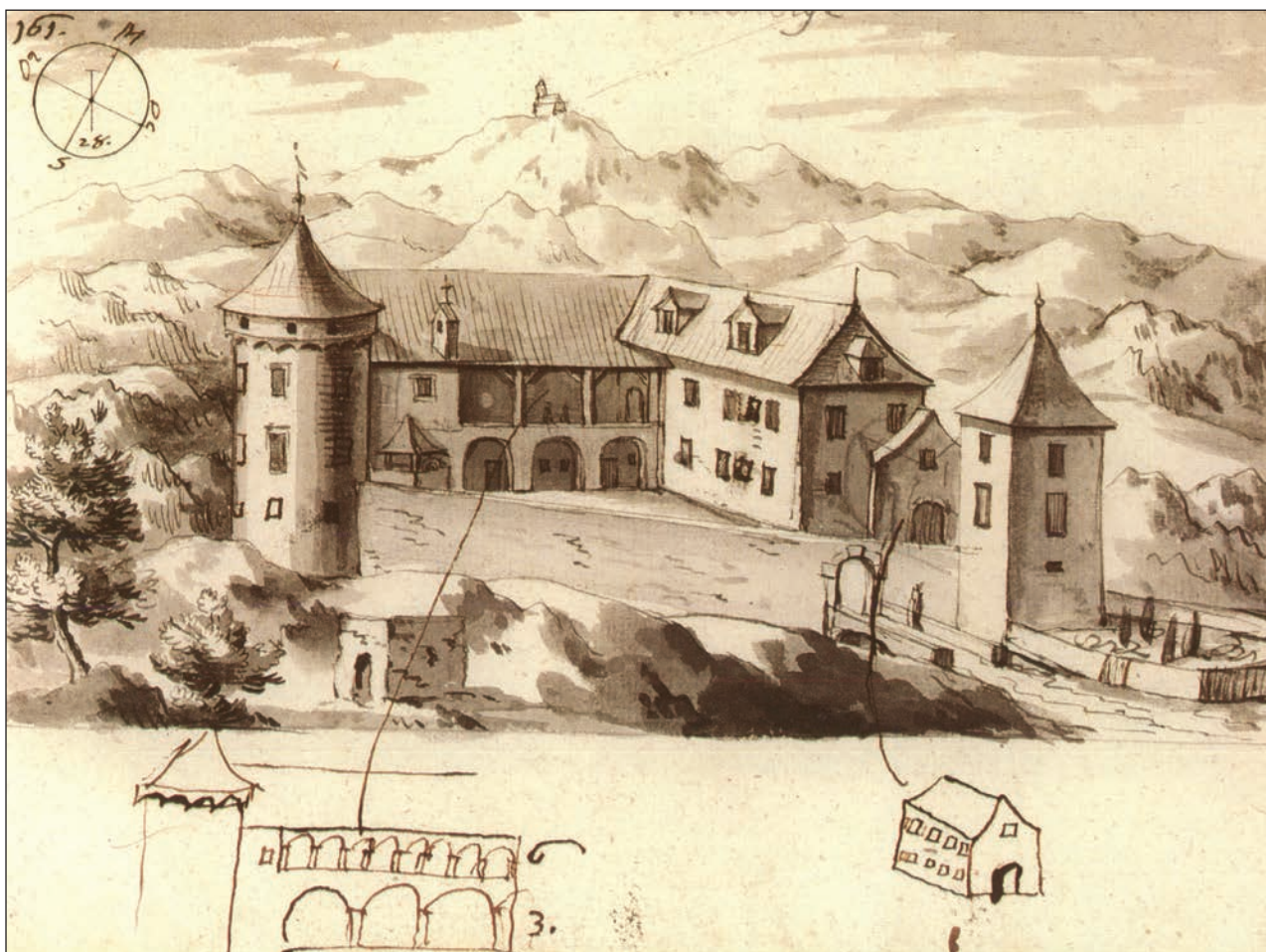


Figure 1: Školj's first depiction, view from north side, made approximately around 1678. Taken from Valvasor's sketches book (Valvasor, 2001, 184)

Slika 1: Prva upodobitev gradu Školj s severne strani okoli leta 1678 v Valvasorjevi skicni knjigi (Valvasor, 2001, 184)

Built on one of the highest cliffs of Reka's River canyon, just a few kilometres from Famlje Village and inside the limits that define Škocjan Park's region we find Školj Castle, one of the less known castles in Slovenia (cf. Vodopivec et al., 2015). For more than a century, the castle has been abandoned and left to his own luck in middle of a wild context, exposed to unfavourable factors, while at the same time the population density in the area has considerably decreased. Until the 19th century it was one of the most interesting castles in Carniola. Školj's oldest depiction appears in Johann Weichard Valvasor's greatest work: *Die Ehre deß Herzogthums Crain (The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola)*, more precisely at the

end of the 17th century; unlike most of the other castles, Školj has the privilege to be depicted not in one but in two engraving depictions, fact that tells us that in some way the castle caught Valvasor's attention. Maybe because he was a very close friend to its owner Giovanni Francesco Rossetti or just maybe for its unique strategical context.¹ Valvasor indicates that its German, Italian and Carniolan names come from its singular location over sharp rocks, which in Carniolan language are named »školji«.² In the following lines, he writes that on one side of the castle there was a small plain covered with rocks and on the other there is a »horribly deep abyss« where it flows Reka's water, from where after a quarter

1 Its first depiction approximately from 1678, drawn with ink is preserved at the Metropolitan Library in Zagreb. This reproduction has been published in the book: Valvasor, 2001, 184-185. The book contains the first field sketches that later and with more production became Valvasor's famous engravings published in *Topography of the Duchy of Carniola* (Valvasor, 1679, 161-162), and *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola* (Valvasor, 1689, XI, 402-403; Valvasor, 2009-2014, XI, 402-403).

2 Within various sources and literature the castle is also known as Neukhoffell, Neuhof, Novoscoglio, Noviscoglio, Na školu, Naskoli and Školj.

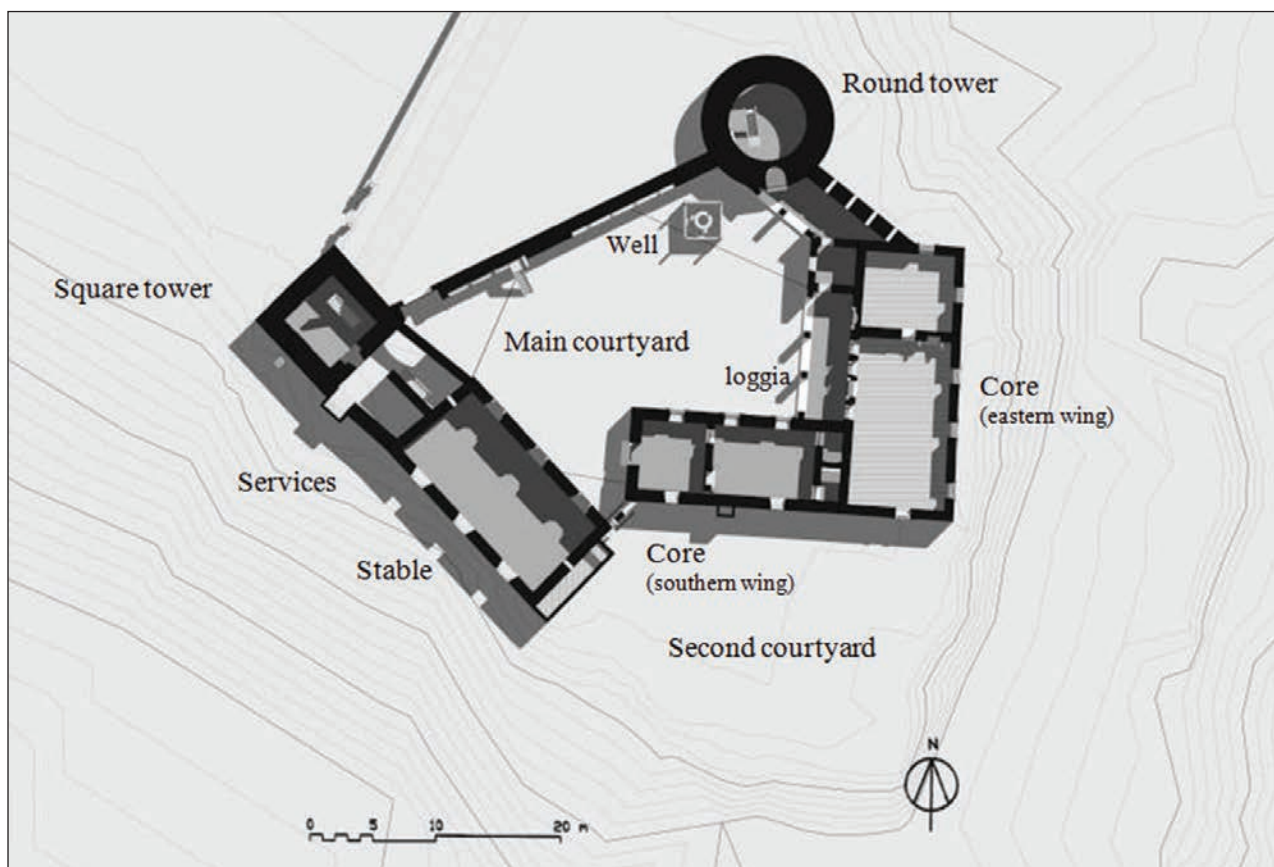


Figure 2: Školj's Ground floor with possible rooms demarked (J. P. Maschio)

Slika 2: Tloris pritličja gradu Školj z označenimi posameznimi stavbnimi deli (J. P. Maschio)

of hour disappears inside a cliff at Škocjan Village and then it changes its name to Timav River (Valvasor, 1689, XI, 403; Valvasor, 2009-2014, XI, 403). At the end of the 18th century, the French artist Louis François Cassas portrayed it in one his aquarelles.³ Later in 1802, Joseph Lavallée made a reproduction of Cassas' watercolors using engraving techniques and published them in the book *Voyage pittoresque et historique de L'Istrie et de la Dalmatie* (Lavallée, 1802). In this book, Školj is placed among Predjama Castle and other remarkable attractions. At the end of the 19th century, Školj was totally unoccupied, in ruins and almost forgotten. On a drawing made by G. De Franceschi before 1895, we can see that the castle had already suffered an advanced degradation process (Caprin, 1895, 138). During the 20th century we could barely find a paragraph about Školj. Among them the most important are in the books *I cas-*

telli del Carso medioevale and *Reka Timav* (Foscan, Vecchiet, 1985, 62; Foscan, 1990, 153). In 2007 the castle for the first time was comprehensively presented by Igor Sapač in a book about castles along Reka River (Sapač, 2007, 158-171). In 2012, it began a new investigation when Juan Pablo Eugenio Maschio wrote about Školj Castle in his final thesis and also offered a possible restoration project while finishing his studies at Trieste's faculty of Architecture – Facoltà di architettura, Università degli studi di Trieste (Maschio, 2013). Later he began Projekt Feniks – Gradovi se prebujajo, in which he performs a deeper research by searching and compiling each piece of information, local stories, blueprints, old depictions, archaeological findings and under the codename FKS01-ŠK he achieves to create a precise 3d reconstruction model of the castle.⁴ The collected information allows an exactly reconstruction of the whole

3 Louis François Cassas' watercolor (1782) shows Školj Castle from Reka's River canyon in a romantic way. The original is at Victoria & Albert Museum in London. It was published in the book: Kečkemet, 1978. In 1839 Johann Wilhelm Kraus reproduced Cassas' depiction with a similar depiction named *Das Schloss Novoscoglio am Ruecca Thale*. This depiction is preserved in Eesti Kunstimuseum in Tallinn, Estonia.

4 In 2013 Projekt Feniks published the first 3d reconstruction images of the castle. In 2015, after three years of investigation, finally presents Školj's final images to the people at Famlje Village.



Figure 3: 3d study comparison between the original castle and its remainings (J.P. Maschio)
Slika 3: Tridimenzionalni prikaz razvalin gradu Školj z nakazanimi porušenimi deli (J. P. Maschio)

complex, as it was before its gradual collapse in the 19th century. In this article we'd like to present the results of this architectural research.

Nowadays and maybe with a couple of trees more, the site still looks as Valvasor and Cassas depicted it. Školj remains are still standing stunningly on its cliff, while Reka's River powerfully flows through the canyon towards Škocjan Caves abyss. There are only 2 accesses to the castle, one of them is a small dirt road heading from Brežec pri Divači Village (northwest) and the other is a dirt road that comes from Famlje Village and leads through the Famlje Forest. As we approach to Školj, the road already conserves its old stone pavement covered with dirt and grass. On one side of the road is still standing a protection wall against Burja wind and on the other we can find the old blackberries trees planted by them. The road ends in front of the castle's gate, where despite the leafy vines we can still recognize both Školj's famous towers. Once upon a time, these towers gave the castle its identity, today they just are the echo of its golden days. On the northeast, the round tower had three floors, it was the tallest and the most dominant volume in the whole complex. Crowned by defensive corbels, that had machicolations between them and a wooden roof covered with barrel roof tiles. Cassas draw-

ing shows that the castle had its crown and its wooden roof as well until the end of 18th century. On the ground floor the walls are 1,85 m thick and still could be seen three old Renaissance firing loopholes that confirm that both towers have been built during the 16th century. The other floors were illuminated by rectangular windows well protected with iron bars. These windows had simple stone frames, crowned with ornamental chapiters.⁵ After Školj was abandoned, the local people took these elements and used them to build or to decorate their homes. Each floor's structure was a simple structure made with wooden beams, connected by wooden stairs. The square tower was more modest, originally it had three floors like the round tower, but lately his height was reduced by demolishing one floor. Today there are only his 1,3 m thick ground floor walls preserved. Unlike the round tower, the square tower had only one Renaissance firing loophole and a secret one beside the main entrance which it looks just like a small hole in the wall. Between both towers there is the curtain wall with three firing loopholes. There are some traces exactly in the middle of the wall that show the older access gate, symmetrically situated between the firing loopholes; later it has been walled and cancelled. Beside the traces of the first gate and below the central loopholes, there are

5 Sample pictures: CM Trieste; INDOK; ZVKDS OE Nova Gorica.



Figure 4: Školj's eastern façade and Reka's canyon, taken around 1890. (CGEB, Trieste, 058-036)
Slika 4: Razvaljena vzhodna grajska fasada z dolino Reke okoli leta 1890 (CGEB, Trieste, 058-036)

holes that supported a wooden drawbridge. On its Renaissance phase the castle had a protective moat. Once we pass through the gate we access to the main courtyard. Beside the round tower the castle had a cistern; nowadays there is just a hole, surrounded by a bigger oval hole, dugged and reinforced with a stone wall two decades ago. The cistern's inner stones and its well are preserved in the courtyard of "pri Čemparjevih" house in Dolnje Vreme. It has been brought there by the Dekleva family in the late 19th century, as part of a marriage dowry (Svetina, 1992, 211-212). The cistern's "crown" has engraved probably its date of construction: 1569.⁶ Valvasor's depiction shows that the cistern was covered with a wooden structure.

The main courtyard was surrounded by three buildings with different sizes and heights. The main core was

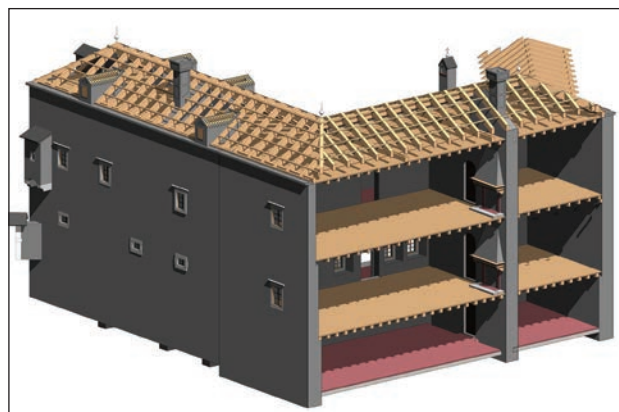
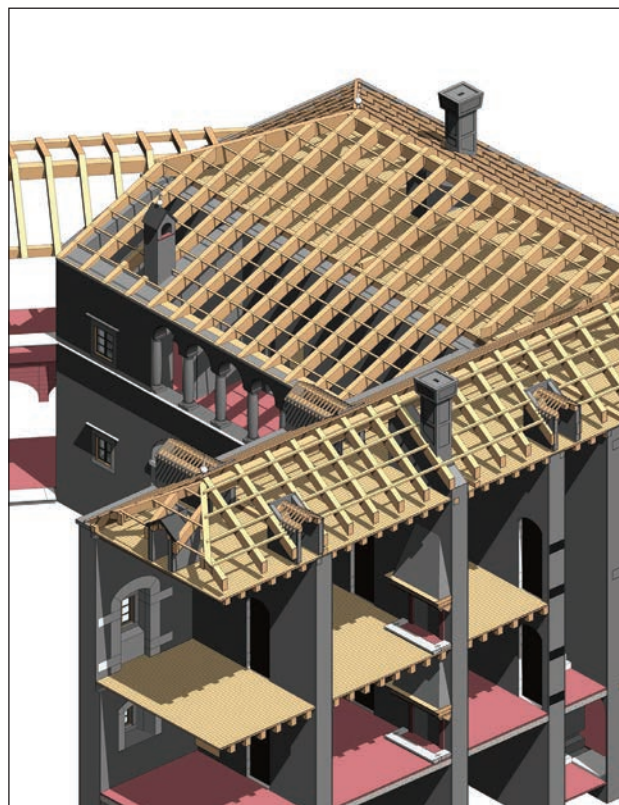


Figure 5 and 6: 3d structural study of southern and eastern wings in the 18th century (J.P. Maschio)
Sliki 5 in 6: Tridimenzionalni strukturni prikaz južnega in vzhodnega trakta v 18. stoletju (J. P. Maschio)

Školj's biggest section and it had two wings; on the eastern and southern side. In this representative part of the complex were the living rooms of the castle owners and the castle chapel. The eastern and southern façade are relatively well preserved.

⁶ The engraved date is very difficult to read. Juan P. Maschio managed to discover it during his investigations in 2013. We can find the same type of well at the nearby Prem Castle. At Švarcenek Castle there was an similar well with Petazzi's coat of arms; today it is in Sežana. A similar well is also preserved in Tomaj (Kosovelova domačija).

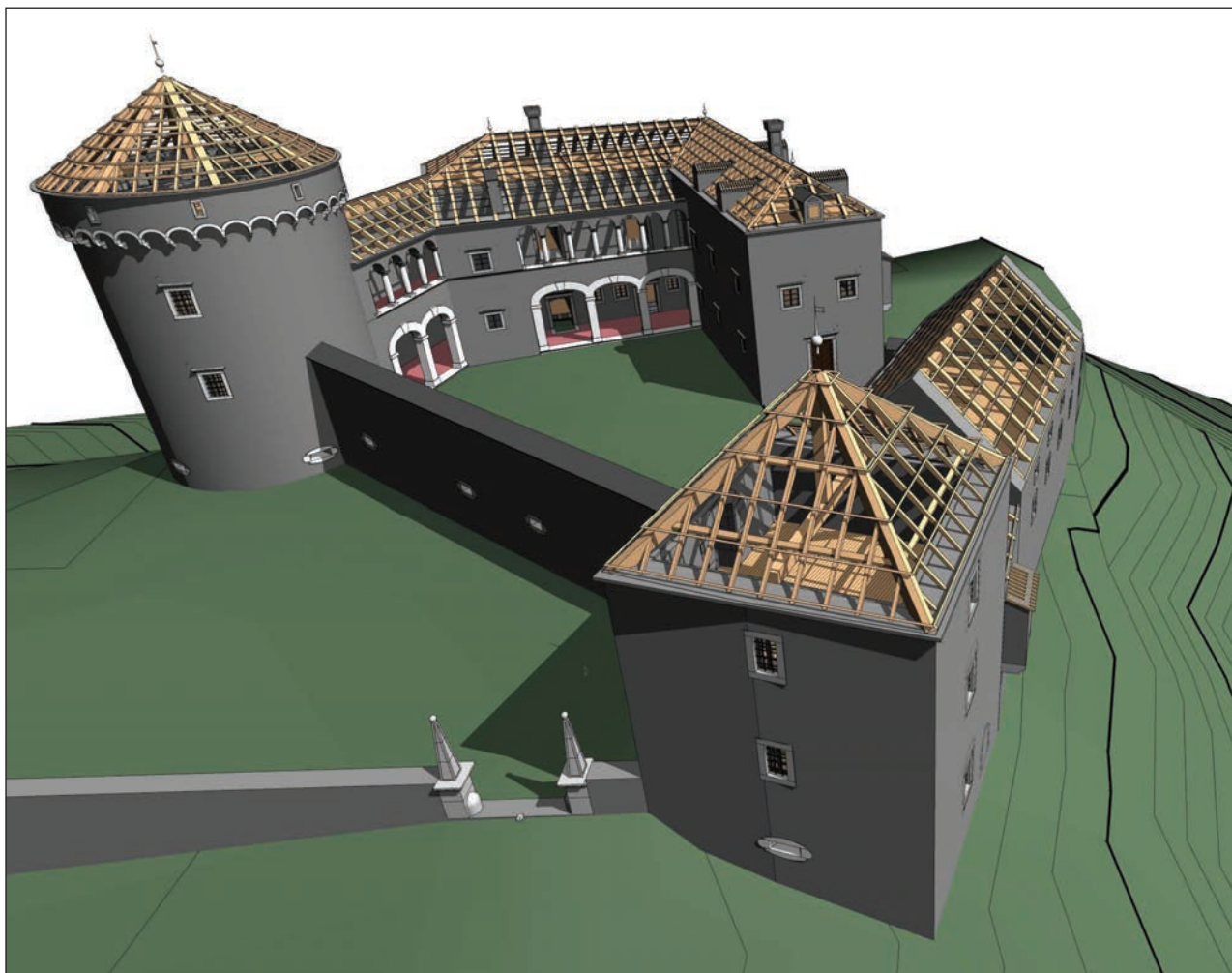


Figure 7: 3d structural roof study of the whole castle complex in the 18th century (J.P. Maschio)
Slika 7: Tridimenzionalni strukturni prikaz grajskega ostrešja v 18. stoletju (J. P. Maschio)

On the southern façade is still possible to see walled windows and remains one of the last corbels that supported the toilet. The main access to the southern wing was in its west façade. The eastern wing had three floors, which were supported by several stone corbels. The wooden beams and the wooden floor disappeared but there is still a small beam piece conserved inside of one of the remaining walls. The mortar used to build this wing has an outstanding performance and is compact and solid. The used lime is of an excellent quality and it was mixed with an exact combination of fine sand. There are no pieces of clay masonry used to level the stones all like floor tiles or roof tiles within the joints. The ground floor of the eastern wing was forty centimetres lower than the main courtyard and it could be accessed through a loggia with three stone arches, which are nowadays preserved only in their foundations. The

floors could be reached through stone stairs; their remains are preserved at the junction between the eastern and southern wing. This stairs were the only connection between the eastern and the southern wing and ended in a wide loggia with arcades and columns on the courtyard-side of the eastern wing. On the western side of the courtyard, at the edge of Reka's canyon, there was a stud or horse stable. It was a small volume, with only a few and small windows, two floors and a straw-thatched roof. The ground floor of this building was a shelter for farm animals and horses, the first floor has been used for saving the grain.⁷ It had accesses from both sides, through the northern access it was connected with the main courtyard and through the southern access with the south or second courtyard. Above the entrance on the well preserved south façade there are two rectangular windows with stone frames. Between the stable and

⁷ Beside Reka River, Školj had its own watermill.



Figure 8: Školj's ruins with the round and square tower around 1900. (CGEB, Trieste, 083-004)
Slika 8: Razvaline gradu Školj z okroglim in oglatim stolpom okoli leta 1900 (CGEB, Trieste, 083-004)



Figures 9 and 10: Školj's cistern's "crown", conserved in »pri Čemparjevih« house's courtyard in Dolnje Vreme and its engraved year 1569 (J.P. Maschio 2013)

Sliki 9 in 10: Krona cisterne z gradu Školj na dvorišču hiše »pri Čemparjevih« v Dolnjih Vremah in vklesana letnica 1569 na njej (J. P. Maschio, 2013)

the square tower there was a small service place that connected both volumes. Valvasor's depiction shows a small object supported with corbels. Between the stable and the southern wing of the castle there is a small door that still connects both courtyards. The southern or second courtyard had never been enclosed by walls until the 20th century, as it shows Casas. It seems that the

painter took the liberty to depict a tall curtain wall, with big medieval merlons to beautify the picture and to give Školj a romantic aspect. Neither Valvasor nor De Franceschi show this enclosure wall. The same was probably built by the one of the last owners, Marjan Vitez, on his intention to demark his property and maybe because he intended to reconstruct Casas' romantic image to give



Figure 11: Školj's eastern façade in the 18th century. Hypothetical reconstruction (J.P. Maschio)
Slika 11: Vzhodna fasada gradu Školj v 18. stoletju. Poskus rekonstrukcije (J. P. Maschio)



Figure 12: Školj's southern and western façades in the 18th century. Hypothetical reconstruction (J.P. Maschio)
Slika 12: Južna in zahodna stran gradu Školj v 18. stoletju. Poskus rekonstrukcije (J. P. Maschio)



Figure 13: Hypothetical reconstruction of both towers during their construction process (J.P. Maschio)
Slika 13: Grajska stolpa med gradnjo. Poskus rekonstrukcije (J. P. Maschio)

the castle a medieval aspect.⁸ We could confirm this because the mortar used is based on modern cement and between the stones we found pieces of modern French roof tiles.

It is difficult to determine exactly when Školj Castle was built. It is not mentioned in medieval written sources.⁹ The main medieval castles in the area were

Švarcenek, Prem, Novi grad, Senožeče, Devin, Karstberk, Postojna and Rašpor.¹⁰ The location of Školj Castle was from the 12th century until the first half of the 16th century part of the Senožeče Dominion. This dominion was till 1399 possessed by the Lords of Duino, after that till 1472 by the Walsee family and finally by the Habsburg family (Kos, 1954, 51, 202; Sapač, 2005, 130-132;

⁸ On his intention to beautify the image, Casas has not only added elements to the depiction, but he also wanted to magnify Školj's size by drawing smaller windows and also increasing the number of windows.

⁹ Some authors uncritically wrote about Školj's medieval origins (cf. Foscan, Vecchiet, 1985, 62; Foscan, 1990, 153; Štupar Šumi, 1996, 377; Jakič, 1997, 329). There are no proofs for these statements. Some authors based their theory of the origin of the medieval castle on a latin inscription on the stone panel above the portal of Our lady of Mercy's gothic chapel in Lokev Village; they interpreted the inscription as: ANNO DOMINI MCCCCXXVI HOC OPUS FECIT EIERL ERHARDUS IV VOM SCOLCUM ADIUTORIO VICINORUM (In the year of our Lord 1426, this work has been executed by Erhard IV from Školj with the help of the local people) (Kjuder, 1959, 17). Newer investigations explained the true meaning of the inscription, refuting the previous study. Aldo Messina has translated it and exposed a different meaning: *Anno d(omi)ni M cccc xx vi / hoc opus fecit fieri er / hardus cwe(r)g(ene)ci / in hono(rem) / S(an)c(t)or(um) om(n) i(um) cu(m) adiutorio / vicinor(um)*. Finally the inscription's meaning would be, that Erhard from Švarcenek constructed in 1426 the chapel with help of the local people (Messina, 2003, 206–207; Peskar, 2005, 172, 220–222). Božo Premrl also solved the inscription but in a different version: *Anno D(omi)ni MCCCCXXVI. / hoc opus fecit fieri Er- /hardus Swebzel in hono(rem) / S(an)c(t)or(um) o(mn) i(u)m cu(m) adiutorio / vicinor(um)*. According to Premrl the chapel was built by Erhard Swebzel. The inscription does not offer more information about who was Erhard (Premrl, 2007, 60). In any case, Erhard cannot be related with Školj Castle.

¹⁰ For more information about the history of medieval castles in this region: Kos, 2005.



Figure 14: Školj's Southern façade in the 18th century. Hypothetical reconstruction (J.P. Maschio)
Slika 14: Južna fasada gradu Školj v 18. stoletju. Poskus rekonstrukcije (J. P. Maschio)

Bajt, Vidic, 2011, 68-69, 98).¹¹ On the other side of Reka River was the Švarcenek Dominion, whose medieval owners were the Counts of Gorizia. We could deduce that there wasn't any bigger building on this site before the 15th century and that the fortified phase of Školj with its towers was raised in the 16th century. It could probably have existed a smaller non fortified mansion during the late medieval age and it could have been property of Senožeče Dominion. We could speculate about an older construction, that has been destroyed by the earthquake in 1511 or maybe it has been damaged during the Turkish invasions, but there is no evidence. Till today we couldn't find any medieval written source or masonry structure.

Johann Weichard Valvasor mentions an older fortress at the location of the castle. This building served as a shelter for the local people and their most valuable possessions when the enemies attacked the region (Valvasor, 1689, XI, 404; Valvasor, 2009-2014, XI, 404). It is unlikely that this fortress really stood on the loca-

tion of the Školj Castle, because in a radius of less than two kilometres, there are two potential ruins that could have been this fortress. The first is Stari grad (Old castle), situated just above Famlje Village; it was a primitive fortress-settlement built between the late bronze age and the beginning of the iron age.¹² The second is Tabor Škoflje – a medieval fortress, situated above Škoflje Village on top of Tabor Hill.¹³ Was Školj once upon a time a »tabor«¹⁴ as well? We should ask different questions to answer this mystery: why there is no older masonry structure or some trace that could tell us about material recycling? If a tabor is used to be an enclosed fortress, why there are no traces of older foundations? If there was just a tower, why there are no traces strategically built on the cliff's most prominent edge as we could see with different tabors such as Povir, Podpeč among others?

If we look Valvasor's depictions or if we look at the ruins, the main core looks like an perfect "L" building from the same period, but if we make focus on the

11 From 1370 until 1430 belonged the southern part of the Senožeče Dominion to the Counts of Celje who had at that time also the Postojna Dominion (Bajt, Vidic, 2011, 74, 88).

12 Register nepremične kulturne dediščine Republike Slovenije: EŠD 7270, Famlje - Arheološko območje Stari grad.

13 Register nepremične kulturne dediščine Republike Slovenije: EŠD 7314, Škoflje - Arheološko najdišče Tabor.

14 Tabor (fortified camp) is a relatively common element in Slovene place names and refers to a fortified area, usually on a hilltop but sometimes also narrow valleys or cliffs with caves, where the population could withdraw to shelter from Ottoman raids. This kind of fortification began to appear in the last third of the 15th century, most of them have been built in the first half of the 16th century (cf. Sapač, 2011; Sapač, 2012, 113–149).



Figure 15: Školj's Northern façade with both Renaissance towers from the 16th century. Hypothetical reconstruction (J.P. Maschio)

Slika 15: Severna stran gradu z renesančnima stolpoma iz 16. stoletja. Poskus rekonstrukcije (J. P. Maschio)

blueprints, we could appreciate that both wings seem not to be correctly connected one to the other and it can be divided in two different segments. The eastern wing has a perfect orientation respecting to the solar path, this could be another factor that confirms this as the oldest part of the castle and that it has been built before the southern wing. Although both wings have the same height they are different, their width and length are not equal, and the walls in the eastern wing do not join perpendicularly as they do in the southern wing. If we pay attention to the connection between them, we can see that the stairs are the only connective element. If we compare the floor levels in both wings, we could appreciate that there is a big difference between them, so we are talking about two different constructions. Analyzing the materials used in the construction, we can see that the stones used in the ground floor of the southern wing are similar to those used in the eastern wing. The ground floor has smaller and even more irregular stones, we can also find a lot of small pieces of brick and roof tiles that served to fill the gaps between the stones. Before we wrote that in the eastern wing there are no pieces of brick, roof tiles, so we can clearly dif-

ference both parts and date them separately along the time. The mortar used to build this floor has a really poor quality, this could be confirmed also because of the southern wing advanced state of ruin. In the eastern wing there are extension stones that served as a connection in the joint between both wings. This reveals a clear intention of joining both parts since the beginning, so this could be interpreted as both wings were built during the same period, but the difference of materials between floors in the southern wing, show that the first floor was built later. So it is probable that the ground floor of the southern section was built as a service area and later they completed the wing by building the first floor.¹⁵ The southern wing was completed before the loggia on the courtyard-side of the eastern wing was erected. This loggia no longer exists; it connected both wings, the stairs and the round tower. On the north side of the loggia was a small chapel.¹⁶ According to Valvasor's depiction the chapel was on the first floor. It was a squared room which could be accessed through two doors; one headed to the loggia and the other to the round tower. The chapel was lighted up by a small window which faced west direction and it was oriented to the main courtyard.

¹⁵ The same constructive process it could be seen at Prem Castle (Sapač, 2007, 128). A similar example is Orehek Castle near Postojna; on the main core there are extension stones that were never used to complete an expansion.

¹⁶ The chapel is in written sources mentioned in 1694 and 1782 (Höfler, 2001, 188).

The chapel's altar was on the east side and it had a small statue of St. Anthony the Abbot.¹⁷

Valvasor wrote that Školj once belonged to the Rauber von Plankenstein family and that they renewed the castle, but that later they have exchanged it for another castle with the Neuhaus family. He also wrote that later they have further improved the castle, transforming it into a beautiful noble residence (Valvasor, 1689, XI, 404; Valvasor, 2009-2014, XI, 404). On the basis of the studied architectural features and on Valvasor's statements it is possible to make two hypotheses.

The first hypothesis assumes that the castle was completely built under Renaissance architecture period in the 16th century. Based on Boris Golec's recent studies about the Rauber family it is possible to conclude that the Renaissance castle was built by Cosma Rauber (Kozma Ravbar), Johann Weichard Valvasor's great-grandfather and reconstructor of the Krumperk Castle near Domžale. The first Raubers who wore the nobility title »von Plankenstein und Carlstetten«, were the brothers Leonhart and Nicolaus, they were invested with this predicate, which came from two of their properties in Lower Austria, in 1516 by the emperor Maximilian I. In the middle of the 16th century Leonhart's grandson, Wolf Dietrich Rauber died and with him this branch of the family. His cousin Cosma started to use »von Plankenstein und Carlstetten« title unofficially. Later, on the 3rd of December 1562, the emperor Ferdinand I gave Cosma the privilege to use his cousin's coat of arms. At the beginning Cosma lived in Krajevč Castle in Dolenjska Region and in Krumperk Castle as well. In 1513 his grandfather Balthasar Rauber had Krumperk castle among his properties, he also owned Kravjek Castle since 1478. Balthasar's son, Friedrich Rauber, married Katarina Lamberg in 1524 and they had two sons, Cosma and Adam. Unfortunately it is mentioned that Katarina became a widow already before 1529 but she stayed in Krumperk. Valvasor's great-grandfather Cosma Rauber was born around 1525. Later, when he lost his father, Georg Lamberg from Črnelo Castle, one of his mother's relatives, became his protector and in 1547 he also organized his wedding. Cosma was a very powerful and influential man in Carniola. Among other he was the provincial administrator of Carniola, counselor of the emperor Ferdinand and the archduke Karl as well. In his last years he lived in Krumperk, where he built a new renaissance castle between 1575 and 1580, exactly on the same site where once stood an old medieval mansion.¹⁸ He is buried in the parish church in Dob near Domžale among his first and second wives (Golec, 2013, 234-237). Based on Valvasor's report about the Rauber von

Plankenstein family and the renaissance architectural features it is possible to conclude, that Školj Castle was built by Cosma Rauber in the middle of 16th century; Školj was created as a fortified center of the new Školj Dominion, which was formed with the independence of the southern part of the Senožeče Dominion; this was from the first half of the 16th century to the end of the 16th century owned by the Lamberg family.¹⁹ The formation of the new Školj Dominion was certainly connected with important familial ties between Lamberg and Rauber families or more exactly between Georg Lamberg and Cosma Rauber. We may suppose, that Cosma Rauber began to build Školj Castle after his first wedding in 1547 and that he transferred it after the death of his second wife, Salome Neuhaus. According to Valvasor's report, it seems that he transferred the (unfinished?) castle to his second wife's relatives, the family Neuhaus around 1569 when Neuhaus are mentioned to be owners of Školj.²⁰ It seems that Cosma Rauber built a new residence at Krumperk which was closer to the provincial capital as a substitute for Školj along the seventies of the 16th century.

The second hypothesis assumes that the core's eastern wing was built before the 16th century as a late medieval mansion. According to Valvasor's report it could be possible that the Rauber member he names, was Nicolaus Rauber von Plankenstein und Carlstetten († 1482), one of both brothers who were the first to use the predicate. He was Trieste's captain and governor from 1473 to 1483 when his son Kaspar Rauber assumed his position. The Rauber family was very powerful in this region during the second half of the 15th century, they owned a lot of properties in the area and they governed with cruelty following Frederik III orders. Rauber family owned among other properties the Kleinhäusel Castle (Mali grad) in Planina and around 1460 Nicolaus Rauber reconstructed this castle (Sapač, 2005, 68-78). According to local stories which have been passing from generation to generation on each village in the area, compiled by Jasna Majda Peršolja in the book *Škocjanski kaplanci*, most of the stories that narrate about Školj's owners, tell that Rauber lord was very cruel and heartless. He used to steal people's belongings and he used inhuman methods to show his authority such as to bury alive people in a cave near the castle (Peršolja, 2006, 108-114). It seems that these descriptions are closer to Nicolaus' features and behaviour rather than Kozma's moods. This hypothesis is not based only on local stories but it is also based in the investigation of the materials used in the different wings of the castle, their progressive collapse stages and the constructive differences.

17 The sculpture is still preserved on the left altar in Sv. Kancijan Church at the nearby Škocjan Village. When the chapel's roof collapsed, the statue mysteriously survived; the local villagers considered a miracle, so they took with the priest's approval the old statue to Sv. Kancijan Church at Škocjan (Peršolja, 2006, 108, 109, 114).

18 Regarding Krumperk Castle: Stopar, 1997, 100-102.

19 Regarding Lamberg family and Senožeče: Smole, 1982, 438; Dolenc, 1994, 21; Sapač, 2005, 132.

20 In 1569 Andre von Neuhaus zu Neukhoff is mentioned (Jakič, 1997, 329).



Figure 16: The main courtyard with the arcaded loggia in front of the eastern wing at the end of the 17th century. Hypothetical reconstruction (J.P. Maschio)

Slika 16: Glavno grajsko dvorišče z arkadno galerijo pred vzhodnim traktom konec 17. stoletja. Poskus rekonstrukcije (J. P. Maschio)

No clay elements could be found at all within the stone joints on the eastern wing. Roof tiles, floor tiles elements were often used to level and to fill the gaps between the stones during the 16th and 17th centuries, this produces inhomogeneous walls that exposed to weather conditions are more likely to collapse faster than older constructions. According to this theory, Školj's southern wing was built during the 16th century as an extension of the older mansion, dividing the site in two different parts, creating a new Renaissance enclosed courtyard. It could have been influenced by the near Prem Castle and its style. If we study Prem's evolution and if we compare it with the different constructive stages, we could see that at the beginning Prem also had a single rectangular wing core and that later the core was expanded with a perpendicular wing. Although Prem was built earlier and it is bigger than Školj Castle, it could have been a possible influence in Školj's evolution. Later the Rauber family fortified Školj with its characteristic towers, the moat and the curtain wall.

The Renaissance Školj Castle was definitely erected before 1569, when Andre von Neuhaus zu Neukhoffl

is mentioned and when the dated stone crown of its cistern was made. At that time it's both towers and the curtain wall were already standing. According to Valvasor's report it could be possible that the Neuhaus family built the southern wing and that they so expanded the older eastern wing. The Neuhaus family owned the castle one century. After the death of Johann Wilhelm Neuhaus († 1668) in 1669 Giovanni Battista De Leo, an important patrician from Trieste, very well-known lawyer and captain of that area, bought Školj and other important properties, and rented the castle to Andre Daniel Mordax (Smole, 1982, 317).²¹ Around 1675 Giovanni Francesco Rossetti († 1711) bought the castle and began to transform it into a comfortable residence. He was the owner of Školj at the time when Valvasor has written *The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*. At that time Giovanni Francesco Rossetti was also the owner of the nearby manors Škulje near Postojna and Roženek in the upper Vipava valley (Sapač, 2005, 165-169; Sapač, 2008, 58-72).

Valvasor's depiction shows that Giovanni Francesco Rossetti has started to renew the whole castle around

²¹ This information contradicts Valvasor's report; he mentions that baron Rossetti already was its owner since 1669 (Valvasor, 1689, XI, 403–404; Valvasor, 2009-2014, XI, 403). Valvasor does not mention other owners rather than Raubers, Neuhaus and Rossettias. Probably the Neuhaus family after selling Školj kept a part of land in this area, in fact, they were still owners of Strane manor beside Reka River until the 18th century (Smole, 1982, 463-464; Sapač, 2007, 150-151).



Figure 17: Pyramidal obelisks in front of the main gate in the 18th century. Hypothetical reconstruction (J.P. Maschio)

Slika 17: Piramidasta obeliska pred glavnim grajskim portalom v 18. stoletju. Poskus rekonstrukcije (J. P. Maschio)

1675. This renovation had its peak in 1678 when Valvasor was preparing *The Topography of the Modern Duchy of Carniola*. Školj's first sketches, show the apparently renewal plan before it was concluded (cf. Mislej, 1981, 32). Valvasor's sketches show a wooden structure in the corridor that connected both wings. On Trost's final engravings, it could still be seen the defensive moat, but a small stone bridge has replaced the original wooden drawbridge, and the wooden structure in the corridor has been replaced with a renaissance loggia. The southern wing got a new courtyard façade with bigger windows and renaissance chapters above the windows' frames.²²

When Giovanni Francesco Rossetti died in 1711 without descendants, inherited the castle his nephew Giovanni Marco Antonio Rossetti and after him in 1748 passed the castle to his son Karl Leopold (Carlo Leopoldo) Rossetti († 1784) (Smole, 1982, 317; Sapač, 2008, 58-72). Probably between 1711 and 1784 the castle re-

ceived its last retouches. The moat disappeared and so the old stone bridge, instead they fill the moat with dirt and they plant the famous blackberries trees that still could be seen at the entrance of the complex. In front of the squared tower it could be seen which maybe it could be a part of the moat still or maybe are the remains of an old garden.²³ Later the Rossetti family build a protective wall against burja wind and they paved the road that leads from Famlje to Školj. They also modify its surroundings and they plant a Baroque garden outside the complex's new walls.²⁴ The protective walls had 2 main accesses demarked with small iron gates, with pyramidal obelisks on each side and one small access with stairs.²⁵ Casas' watercolour shows that before 1782 they have probably changed the main core's and the round tower's roof slopes and maybe on this final intervention they reduce the square tower's height by demolishing its second floor.

In 1784 inherited the castle Bernhard Anton Maria Vincenz Freiherr von Rossetti zu Roseneck, Karl Leopold's son and governor of Trieste (Smole, 1982, 317; Sapač, 2008, 58-72). The military map of the last third of the 18th century, marks the castle as still solidly built (Rajšp, 1997, 144, sek. 210). In 1809 Bernhard Rossetti sold Školj together with the manors Razdrto, Orehek and Roženek and Šilentabor castle ruins to Matija Dolenc, the owner of the post services of the Notranjska Region and Sežana Town. Soon after the surveying for the cadastre made by Emperor of Austria Francis I orders in 1822, for lack of maintenance the castle loosed its baroque garden (SI AS 176/A/A28/g/A05). The land registry records of 1825 wrote that the castle was still nicely preserved. In 1829 the castle was published for sale.²⁶ In 1834 Matija Dolenc sold Školj to his son Anton Dolenc, owner of Razdrto's post services. The same year Anton Dolenc sold Školj Castle and Razdrto Manor to his brother Leopold Dolenc (Smole, 1982, 317). The lack of information makes difficult to tell if Matija Dolenc or his sons have restored Školj as they have restored Roženek Manor (Sapač, 2008, 70).

After the end of feudalism in the Austrian Empire in 1848, as most of other traditional feudal symbols in the Slovenian lands and for the lack of money for maintaining the castles, Školj began rapidly to deteriorate. Immediately after the first half of the 19th century, the castle is abandoned and its destiny left to nature's actions. The surrounding area also faced the same fate and soon its population considerably decreased (cf. Postojnsko okrajno glavarstvo, 1889, 144). This last period is as dark as the history of Školj's first years; we don't know if its owner died without leaving any inheritors nor testa-

22 Compare old photographs of Školj in: CGEB Trieste; CM Trieste.

23 Compare Valvasor's engravings.

24 Nowadays we could still see its rectangular trace.

25 The stairs could still be seen in the ruins.

26 Intelligenzblatt zur Laibacher Zeitung, 6. 10. 1829, 547 (<http://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:doc-P3IDOB7U>).



Figure 18: Školj's core, round and square tower from northeastern side, 1909 (CMSA, Trieste, F 003902)
Slika 18: Školi z razvalinami grajskega jedra in obema stolpoma iz severovzhodne strani leta 1909 (CMSA, Trieste, F 003902)

ment. An article in the *Blätter aus Krain* newspaper is probably the first document to register the sad destiny of the castle in the second half of the 19th century. It describes how farmers used the castle as a stable for cattle or shelter for animals. The only part not used it was the squared tower which still conserved its roof.²⁷ Several times Školj has been published for sale, especially in the *Blätter aus Krain* and *Laibacher Zeitung* newspapers. After being in sale for a longer time, in 1885 Janez Dekleva from Vremški Britof buys the castle. According to the local stories, the last Dolenc left the castle as a gift to Famlje Village, but as he didn't leave any testament and most of the people could neither read nor write except for Dekleva, who eventually acquired the property. In 1891, his son Maks Dekleva buys the property (cf. Žiberna, 1981, 50; Smole, 1982, 317; Zakrajšek, 1990; Foscan, 1990, 153; Svetina, 1992, 211-212). In the last

quarter of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century Školj ruins served as a quarry from where local people used to take its most valued objects and stones. Only a few shaped stones were found in the ruins, most of them were used to wall up old windows and after a long time they fell from their place, or they just were buried. The depiction by G. De Franceschi in Giuseppe Caprin's book *Alpi Giulie*, printed in 1895, shows the castle's advanced state of degradation; the core has lost its roof and the southeastern angle has disappeared as well as the connective wing between the eastern wing and the round tower. The round tower has also lost the roof and even its defensive crown, for nor corbels can be seen; they may have been taken by local people to use them in their houses. Most of the southern wing was conserved until the roof floor.²⁸ The stable still had its thatch roof.²⁹ A similar thatch roof could be

27 *Blätter aus Krain*. Beilage zur *Laibacher Zeitung*, 24. 10. 1863, 167 (<http://www.dlib.si/details/URN:NBN:SI:doc-ZRLQP1OF>).

28 The ruins of Školj Castle at the beginning of the 20th century are well documented on photos of unknown authors, discovered by Juan P. Maschio during his investigations in Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte di Trieste (CM; Fototeca) and Commissione Grotte Eugenio Boegan (CGEB), Trieste (Catasto fotografico). Civici Musei di Storia ed Arte: Noviscoglio visto da Nord-Est in 1909 (CMSA_F_003902); Noviscoglio visto da Nord-Est (CMSA_F_006829); Noviscoglio visto da Sud-Est (CMSA_F_006828); Noviscoglio visto da Nord-Est (CMSA_F_005590). Catasto fotografico della Commissione Grotte Eugenio Boegan: NOVISCOGLIO PRESSO S. CANZIANO, 1900 (Album: 083, Foto: 012); S. CANZIANO - NOVISCOGLIO, 1900 (Album: 083, Foto: 004); S. CANZIANO - NOVISCOGLIO, 1900 (Album: 083, Foto: 003); S. CANZIANO - NOVISCOGLIO, 1900 (Album: 067, Foto: 013); S. CANZIANO - NOVISCOGLIO, 1890? (Album: 058, Foto: 036).

29 The stable conserved its roof till the second world war, as it shows a picture on a postcard from that time: Postcard with the inscription CAVE AUREMIANE – Rovina Novi Scoglio, dated 25. 11. 1940 (Collector: Božidar Premrl).



Figure 19: Školj ruins from southeastern side around 1900 (CGEB, Trieste, 083-003)

Slika 19: Razvaline gradu z jugovzhodne strani okoli leta 1900 (CGEB, Trieste, 083-003)



Figure 20: Školj ruins from northwestern side around 1900 (CGEB, Trieste, 067-013)

Slika 20: Razvaline gradu s severozahodne strani okoli leta 1900 (CGEB, Trieste, 067-013)

found in Jakopinov skedenj (Jakopin's barn) in Škocjan (Belingar, 2001, 28-31).³⁰ After the collapse of its roof in the first half of the 20th century, the stable began its degradation process as the rest of the surrounding buildings in the complex. The only object that conserved its roof until the seventies of the 20th century was the square tower (cf. Kunaver, 1966, 12; Krajevni leksikon Slovenije, 1968, 311).

After ninety-nine years the Dekleva family sells Školj in 1984 to Marijan Vitez from Divača, who later moved to Medvode (cf. Žiberna, 1981, 50; Zakrajšek,



Figure 21: Renaissance stove tile fragment from Školj Castle (Sabina Pugelj, 2012)

Slika 21: Ostanek renesančne figuralne pečnice z gradu Školj (Sabina Pugelj, 2012)

1990; Foscan, 1990, 153; Svetina, 1992, 211-212). He buys the castle with the intention of reconstructing the building and to transform it into a restaurant. He builds a small cottage in the main courtyard with the idea of saving his tools but also to have a small place to spend the night while working. This is the only building erected in 20th century inside the whole complex. He also reconstructed a part of the square tower walls and plastered parts of them with concrete. In different parts of the castle he made repairs with cement. We can deduce that he raised the low exterior wall in the second courtyard. Marijan Vitez died in 1995 of a heart attack and thereafter his daughter Tadeja Vitez inherits the castle (cf. Jakič, 1997, 329). Because of its importance, from 1996 the castle is protected by the law inside the Park Škocjanske jame (Škocjan Caves Park) and it is considered as cultural heritage.³¹ Together with other cultural heritage in the area of Škocjan Caves Park it received the highest cultural monument status. Nevertheless, during the last years Školj has considerably deteriorated. After 2006 important parts of the south

³⁰ Jakopin's barn it is very similar to Školj's stable. It was built before 1819 and it has been reconstructed in 1999 by Park Škocjanske jame. Nowadays it is one of the most important buildings inside the Park for it is one of the last barns well conserved in the area.

³¹ Zakon o regijskem parku Škocjanske jame (ZRPSJ), Uradni list Republike Slovenije, št. 57/96, 19. 10. 1996.

façade have collapsed.³² Until 2015 important parts of both towers have been lost forever. There are a lot of critical parts that just with the strong wind might fall. The last walls of the southern and eastern wing are in very critical conditions. It is still possible to preserve and restore Školj's remains. The collected information allows an exactly reconstruction of the whole complex,

as it was before its progressive collapse since the 19th century. With a professional supervised restoration it could be possible to recover this significant cultural point, in order to preserve the memory of Rauber, Neuhaus and Rossetti families and to also create an interesting tourist spot among the Škocjan Caves Park's offerings.

32 In the same year Katja Muren and her husband intended to buy the castle and they started to clean the whole complex, but at the end they couldn't afford the price given to the site. They found many interesting old pieces between the ruins; among others pieces of renaissance stove tiles and a perfume bottle's cap. In 2012 Sabina Pugelj in the ruins found another interesting piece of a renaissance stove tile. Together with Darja Kranjc, they began to search among Park Škocjanske jame's properties and they found more elements within park's archive such as a door from the castle, its key and its old door frame. They also informed that some of the castle's window frames are preserved in Matavun Village.

GRAD ŠKOLJ IN NJEGOVA ARHITEKTURNA ZGODOVINA

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POVZETEK

Na visokem prepadnem skalnem pomolu nad sotesko reke Reke pri Famljah v bližini Škocjanskih jam postavljene grad Školj danes sodi med manj znane gradove v Sloveniji. Že več kakor eno stoletje je opuščene in razvaljene. Do 19. stoletja je zaradi slikovite lege in razgibane stavbne zasnove spadal med najzanimivejše grajske stavbe dežele Kranjske. V tem članku želimo predstaviti rezultate več let trajajočih arhitekturnozgodovinskih raziskav, izvedenih na podlagi študija pisnih virov, slikovnih virov, razpoložljive literature in materialnih ostankov, ki pomen gradu kažejo v novi luči in ga uvrščajo med pomembnejše spomenike grajske dediščine v Sloveniji. Grad z dvema stolpoma in tremi stavbnimi trakti je dal zelo verjetno v drugi tretjini 16. stoletja zgraditi vplivni plemič Kozma Rauber, praded Janeza Vajkarda Valvasorja in graditelj velikega renesančnega dvorca Krumperk pri Domžalah. Morda so v renesančno zasnovo vključili ostanke starejšega dvora iz poznega srednjega veka. Pozneje so renesančno stavbno zasnovo le malo spreminjali in je prvotno podobo ohranila do propada v 19. stoletju. Stavbna zasnova je zanimiva kot svojevrsten kompromis med srednjeveško tradicijo in novimi renesančnimi arhitekturnimi usmeritvami. Kaže kako je ideja utrjenega srednjeveškega višinskega gradu v renesančni preobleki preživela še po koncu srednjega veka v 16. stoletju in dokazuje, da so višinski gradovi z raznoličnimi stavbnimi deli in heterogeno zasnovo tudi še v 16. stoletju plemstvu še vedno ustrezali kot reprezentativna oblika gosposkega sedeža. Zaradi posebnega pomena so ostanki gradu od leta 1996 v sklopu regijskega parka Škocjanske jame zakonsko varovani kot nepremična kulturna dediščina. Z njihovo strokovno izpeljano sanacijo in obnovo bi znova dobili pomembno krajinsko dominantno in obudili spomin na plemiške rodovine Rauber, Neuhaus in Rossetti, pridobili pa bi tudi turistično atrakcijo, ki bi ponudbo Škocjanskih jam mogla dopoljevati podobno kakor grad Jama v Predjami zaokrožuje turistično ponudbo Postojnske jame.

Ključne besede: Školj, Neukhoffell, Neukofell, Noviscoglio, grad, Rauber, Ravbar, Neuhaus, Rossetti, Dekleva, Janez Vajkard Valvasor, Louis François Casas, Park Škocjanske jame, konservatorstvo, arhitekturna zgodovina

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THETRIS TRANSNATIONAL CHURCH ROUTE: VALORISATION OF SACRAL CULTURAL HERITAGE FOR FOSTERING DEVELOPMENT OF RURAL AREAS

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ABSTRACT

Valorisation of sacral cultural heritage can contribute to development of European peripheral rural areas. Good practices and pilot actions studied within the project THETRIS – THEMatic Transnational church Route development with the Involvement of local Society (Central Europe programme 2007–2013) and development of the THETRIS Transnational Church Route, which connects 64 shrines from different Central European areas, demonstrate how it is possible to implement efficient solutions for successful valorisation of cultural heritage sites, even those located in rural areas, encouraging development of these areas. Cultural routes, which raise awareness of a common European cultural heritage, can represent an important tool to achieve this purpose.

Keywords: cultural route, cultural heritage, valorisation, rural areas, European Union

THETRIS TRANSNATIONAL CHURCH ROUTE: VALORIZZAZIONE DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE RELIGIOSO PER LO SVILUPPO DELLE AREE RURALI

SINTESI

La valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale religioso può contribuire allo sviluppo delle aree rurali e periferiche d'Europa. Le buone prassi e le azioni pilota studiate nell'ambito del progetto THETRIS – THEMatic Transnational church Route development with the Involvement of local Society (programma Europa Centrale 2007-2013) e l'ideazione dell'itinerario religioso transnazionale THETRIS, che collega 64 edifici religiosi di varie regioni dell'Europa Centrale, dimostrano che sia possibile implementare soluzioni efficaci per una buona valorizzazione del patrimonio culturale delle aree rurali, incoraggiando lo sviluppo delle stesse. Un mezzo importante per raggiungere questo scopo sono gli itinerari culturali, i quali contribuiscono all'apprezzamento di un comune patrimonio europeo.

Parole chiave: itinerario culturale, patrimonio culturale, valorizzazione, aree rurali, Unione Europea

INTRODUCTION

Rural areas are facing significant social, economic, demographic, environmental and other problems, such as depopulation, lack of financial resources and innovations, a peripheral position, lack of employment opportunities and high quality services, and the like. In order to foster development of rural areas, it is essential to identify specific resources of an area. The combination of cultural heritage, nature, high-quality local products and social networks should represent an important factor for development of peripheral areas. Cultural heritage plays an important role in this process, because it can be the main driver of sustainable socio-economic and cultural development of many European rural areas.¹ Alongside economy, environment, and society, diversity of local cultures and lifestyles is recognised as the fourth pillar of sustainable development (Jacoby, Cooper, 2012, 1227-1236). The UNESCO document *The Power of Culture for Development* pointed out in 2010 that »culture, in all its dimensions, is a fundamental component of sustainable development. As a sector of activity, through tangible and intangible heritage, creative industries and various forms of artistic expressions, culture is a powerful contributor to economic development, social stability and environmental protection« (UNESCO, 2010, 2).

EUROPEAN UNION'S PERCEPTION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE AS A DEVELOPMENT DRIVER

Over the last decades, the European Union has focused more and more on cultural heritage as a development driver. Preservation of cultural heritage at a European level became more important after the Second World War. After the War the consciousness of the importance of a more efficient preservation of cultural heritage through international cooperation raised. The European Cultural Convention, signed in Paris in 1954, underlined the importance of preserving common European cultural heritage. In the 1960s and 1970s, the notion of cultural heritage, which was used for the first time in the 1969, won recognition. Moreover, in the 1970s, the notion of cultural heritage expanded to encompass all cultural elements of the environment that people appreciate and would like to preserve for future generations (Fakin Bajec, 2011, 61-70; Berti, 2012, 36).

Since the adoption of the *European Agenda for Culture* in 2007, cultural heritage has been a priority for culture plans developed by the Council of European Union (Council of EU 2014b). In 2014, the Council pointed out that cultural heritage consists of resources, inherited from the past, which give »great value to society from a cultural, environmental, social and economic point of view and thus their sustainable management constitutes

a strategic choice for the 21st century« (Council of EU, 2014a). The Council also stressed that »cultural heritage has an important economic impact, including an integral part in cultural and creative sectors, because it:

a) constitutes a powerful driving force of inclusive local and regional development and creates considerable externalities, in particular through enhancement of sustainable cultural tourism;

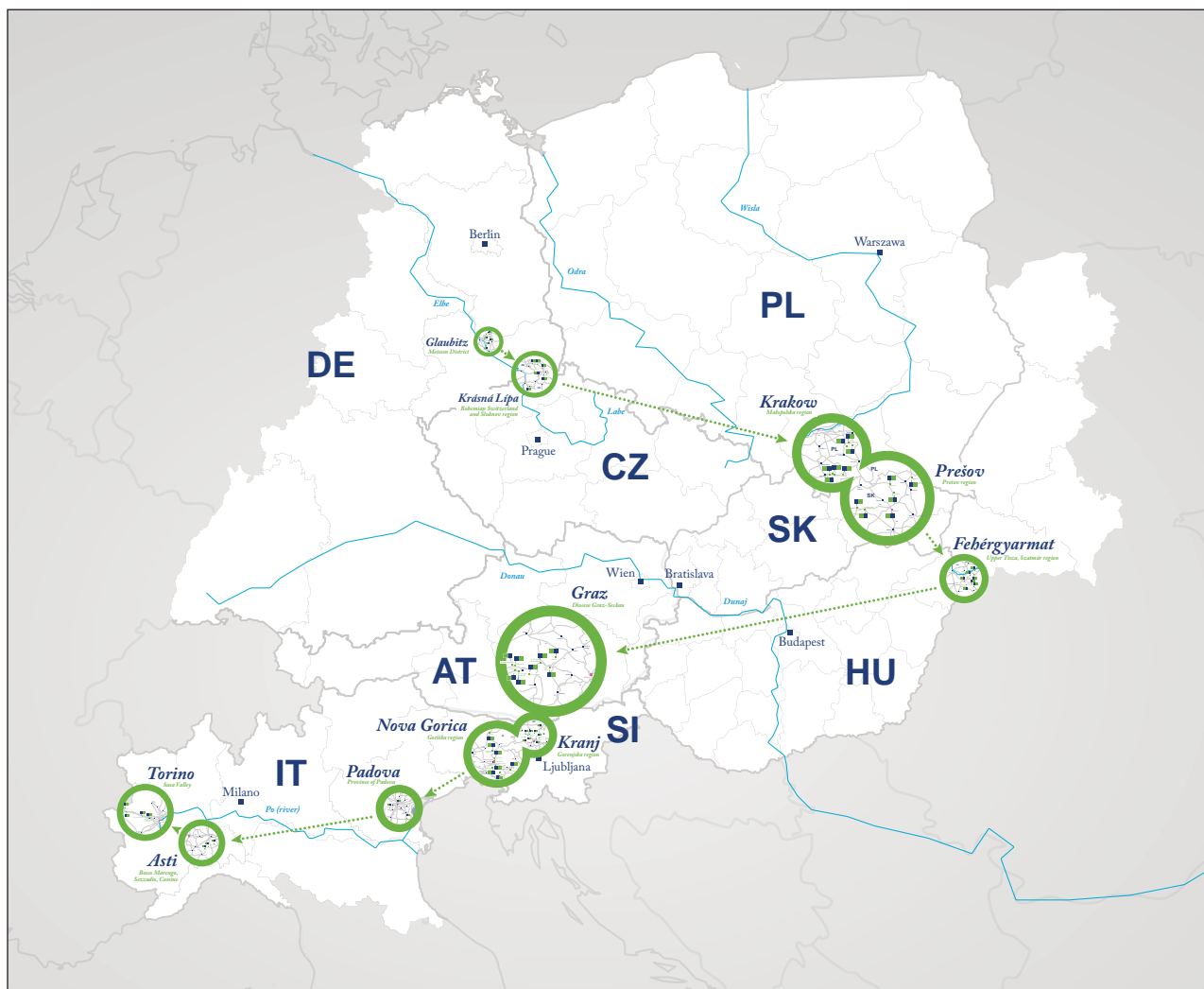
b) supports sustainable rural and urban development and regeneration as illustrated by initiatives of many European regions and cities;

c) generates diverse types of employment« (Council of EU, 2014a).

Although cultural heritage policies increasingly consider interrelation between cultural heritage and economic development, and the possible impact of cultural heritage on economy, inclusion of cultural heritage in the economic cycle still represents an important challenge. This issue is closely linked with valorisation of cultural heritage, a process of selecting values that are ascribed to a cultural heritage site. An efficient valorisation represents an additional value of a cultural heritage site. It is important to consider that valorisation has different meanings for various stakeholders. Caretakers and administrators of cultural heritage sites understand valorisation as renovation, economists as exploitation, and scholars specialized in cultural heritage as realization of the potentials of cultural heritage, which is often connected with an extensive synchronic and diachronic usage of cultural heritage (Cicerchia, 2012, 59-61).

In the process of valorisation that is understood as development of potentials of cultural heritage sites, cultural routes have become very important. In 1987, the Council of Europe launched the Cultural Routes programme in order to »demonstrate, by means of a journey through space and time, how the heritage of the different countries and cultures of Europe contributes to a shared cultural heritage«. In 2010, the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe reached the Enlarged Partial Agreement on Cultural Routes in order to contribute to the preservation of cultural heritage through theme-based routes and promote closer cooperation between countries in their development. In 1987, the Santiago De Compostela Pilgrim Routes (the Way of Saint James), which connect Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain and Switzerland, were the first routes that were incorporated into the programme The Council of Europe Cultural Routes. Today, the programme includes 29 cultural routes which link countries inside and outside the European Union, such as the Viking Routes (established in 1993), The European Route of Jewish Heritage (2004), Via Habsburg (2014), etc. Some of them are connected with religious cultural heritage and often also with pilgrimage tradition, for

¹ Culture plays an important role in development of initiatives and achievement of development objectives: for more information on this issue see Bajec, 2014.



THETRIS Transnational Church Route (http://www.thetris.eu/?page_id=183, 20. 4. 2015)

example the Via Francigena (1994), the Saint Martin of Tours Route (2005), the Cluniac Sites in Europe (2005), the European Route of Cistercian abbeys (2010), and the Route of Saint Olav Ways (2010).² It should be pointed out that visitors of pilgrimage routes are often non-religious people of all ages (serenity seekers, appreciators of culture and nature, etc.), increasingly those under the age of 30 (Smith, Puczko, 2013, 133-154).

The Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe raise awareness of a common European cultural heritage, contribute to its preservation, and stimulate intercultural dialogue, innovation creativity of small and medium enterprises, sustainable development and cultural tourism, etc. Cultural routes facilitate the discovery of a common European background through experiencing different regions in spite of physical and cultural barriers. Cultural

routes awarded by the Council of Europe are a communication tool and a mechanism for enforcing the European identity, proving that despite great variety there is still a common European cultural heritage. The Council would like to valorise the fact that European history has been marked, for centuries, by travelling and meeting (Beltramo, 2013, 15-17; Berti, 2012, 19-23). Cultural motives were as a matter of fact at the origin of travelling already in the Middle Ages, when Christians and Muslims used to travel long distances to visit holy places (Geremia, 2014, 1316; Kosi, 1998, 100-114). Moreover, it is also important to emphasise the importance of cultural routes for the economy. A study on the economic impact of the European Cultural Routes on the innovation and competitiveness of small and medium-sized enterprises shows that the 'renaissance of pilgrimages'

² More information on these cultural routes is available on the web page: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/cultureheritage/culture/routes/default_en.asp (3/4/2015).

has encouraged setting up accommodation facilities, which contributes to the (local) development of rural areas, thereby creating a 'social economy' linked to a social, supportive and ethical tourism (Khovanova-Rubicondo, s.d., 17).

THETRIS TRANSNATIONAL CHURCH ROUTE AND VALORISATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE SITES

Beside the above-mentioned cultural routes supported by the Council of Europe, many other cultural routes reflect a remarkable variety of European cultural heritage. In Slovenia only, there are numerous thematic routes and trails dedicated to various aspects of natural and cultural heritage, which are based on sacral cultural heritage and connect the Slovenian territory with different European regions: for example, the above-mentioned Saint Martin of Tours Route, which connects Szombathely in Hungary, Slovenian and Italian shrines with Tours in France,³ and the Mary's Pilgrimage Route, connecting Częstochowa in Poland, Levoča in Slovakia, Mariazell in Austria, Ptujška Gora and Svete gore above Bistrica ob Sotli in Slovenia and Marija Bistrica in Croatia.⁴ Some of these routes are based on the ancient pilgrimage tradition, like the Way of Saint James, which is linked to Santiago de Compostela. In Slovenia, the main course of this route goes from the Croatian border near Obrežje through Ljubljana to Trieste. There are also other branches of this route, for example from Ljubljana through the Gorenjska region to Austria or Italy and from the Hungarian border to central Slovenia. The route is becoming more and more popular and is promoted by the association *Društvo prijateljev poti Sv. Jakoba v Sloveniji*, which strives for the revival of the pilgrimage tradition in Slovenia.⁵

There is also the THETRIS Transnational Church Route, which brings about greater recognisability and valorisation of sacral cultural heritage of Central Europe. It was developed during the international project THETRIS - *THEmatic Transnational church Route development with the Involvement of local Society*, implemented through the Central Europe Programme 2007-2013, co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund between 2012 and 2014. The project studied the potentials of sacral cultural heritage in rural areas in order to foster complex development of these areas. The focus of the project led by the Association of Municipalities of the Upper-Tisza area in Hungary was sustainable preservation and valorisation of cultural heritage sites, by developing a transnational church route, elaborating joint strategies and testing innovative solutions. The project enabled a deep examination of the

problematics and potentials of cultural heritage in rural areas through the elaboration and the study of numerous documents (regional and transnational SWOT analyses, a collection of good practices, a policy recommendation to the European Union, regional and transnational sustainability plans, regional and transnational transferability plans, transferability tools for church management, etc.). Project partners discussed the problematics among themselves and with regional working group members, various stakeholders and experts, not only on project meetings and consultations, but also on various pilot seminars, where implemented innovative solutions were presented, project meetings, peer-review meetings and on a transferability training.⁶

The THETRIS Transnational Church Route involves the Szatmár Region in Hungary, the Prešov Region in the Slovak Republic, the Šluknov Region and the Bohemian Switzerland Region in the Czech Republic, the Małopolska Region in Poland, the Piedmont and the Veneto Regions in Italy, the Meissen District in Germany, the Styria Region in Austria, and the Goriška and the Gorenjska Regions in Slovenia. The 64 shrines of the Route indicate the noteworthy character of the European history and the variety of its cultural heritage as the included shrines differ from one another in many aspects, for example the aspects of art-historical and architectural styles, building material, the period of their origin, etc. Moreover, they differ according to the denominations they belong to. Most of them belong to the Roman Catholic Church. There are also some monuments of the Lutheran Church in the Meissen District in Germany (for example Seußlitz castle church) and the Szatmár Region in Hungary (for example the church of Kölcse) and some monuments of the Reformed (for example the church in Fehérgyarmat) and the Greek-Catholic Churches in Hungary (for example the church of the Birth of Mother in Csegöld). Some churches are listed as UNESCO Cultural Heritage Sites (for example the St. Leonard's church in Lipnica Murowana in the Małopolska region). Nonetheless, all the shrines included in the Route are significant works of art which often harbour precious sculptures, paintings, glassware and other craftwork or other important material remains, such as famous relics. The Route includes small shrines as well as magnificent basilicas and monastery complexes (for example the abbey of Seckau in Styria, the monastery of Sveta gora in the Goriška region, and the abbey Novalesa in Piedmont). Some of the shrines stand out for their ancient character, rich pilgrimage tradition which goes all the way back to the early medieval period, and their integration into historical events and processes which marked European history (Transnational church route, 2014). The pre-

3 More information about the Saint Martin of Tours Route: Oršanič, 2014.

4 More information about the Mary's Pilgrimage Route is available on: <http://marijina-romarska-pot.si/eng/> (9/6/2015).

5 Rigler, Rigler, 2010. About the association: <http://www.jakobova-pot.si/>.

6 More information about the project is available on the web page: http://www.thetris.eu/?page_id=267 (20/4/2015).

served sacral cultural heritage included in the THETRIS Transnational Church Route bears witness to crucial historical events, long-term historical structures and different religious denominations that marked the church history and turbulent past of the European continent. It also testifies to the artists, patrons and spiritual shepherds who, in their mission, went beyond the regions' and countries' borders, the intertwining and acquisition of art-historical styles and religious practices, and the pilgrimage as a way of learning about the neighbouring and far-away countries and their inhabitants, etc. All in all, it bears testimony to various features which have connected the European territory for many centuries (Makuc, 2014b, 1). Povolo commented on the European cultural heritage by pointing out that »when an entire series of facts regarding the birth and development of a specific European culture from the Middle Ages onwards, one characterized by a mixture of cosmopolitanism and pluralism, is taken into consideration, it enables us to identify an authentic 'cultural heritage' still at work today in a social and political fabric of the vast territory whose common reference point is the European Union« (Povolo, 2013, 489). The heterogeneous nature of the shrines of the THETRIS Transnational Church Route bears witness to the complexity of the cultural heritage of Central Europe, since »the powerful mix of pluralism and unity is a fact that distinguishes European history« (Povolo, 2013, 482).

Despite the richness of cultural heritage, attractiveness of landscape and local environment, many of these regions have problems regarding preservation and valorisation of sacral cultural heritage, more precisely with weak cultural management, lack of public-private cooperation and local entrepreneurship culture, poor marketing strategies, lack of investments in research and innovation, and difficulties in obtaining funding for heritage preservation (shortage of public funding for architectural heritage preservation). Moreover, there are other weaknesses connected with the socio-economic context, such as high unemployment rate, low number of well-qualified labour force, low quality standard of tourist services, difficulties in perceiving the above-mentioned rural areas as attractive for tourists, etc. (THETRIS Transnational SWOT Analysis, 2013). Economic value on the one side and cultural value on the other represent an important issue in connection with decision-making regarding heritage. Some heritage sites can have important cultural value, but low economic value, while some others have the opposite problem. In such cases, we are faced with a question of how much economic value individuals and the society are prepared to leave off for protection of a certain level of cultural heritage (Thorsby, 2012, 56-58). In addition, it is important to point out great disparities between the regions. Some regions, for example Styria, do not have particular problems with restoration of shrines, while this represents a burning issue in some other regions. At the turn of the 1960s and



Statue of St. Francis, Sveta gora, Goriška region, Slovenia (Photo: Petra Kolenc)

1970s, a lot of shrines in the southern part of the Bohemian Switzerland were extensively devastated and the government let them fall into ruin; in 1989, however, a change occurred and the churches have gradually been reconstructed since (THETRIS Bohemian Switzerland Regional Analysis, 2013, 8-18).

Having taken all these problems into consideration, the THETRIS project studied different ways of how sacral cultural heritage could contribute to sustainable development of rural areas, because shrines often have a great artistic and historic value and are usually the centre of rural communities and their cultural life. The project also enabled the realisation of *Policy recommendation to the European Union on preservation and valorisation of cultural heritage*, which focused also on economic potentials of cultural heritage (See Makuc, 2014a). In order to produce optimal economic returns and integrate economic and cultural values of cultural heritage, an efficient and remunerative set of policy instruments and fiscal mechanisms should be developed and implemented (Thorsby, 2012, 45-72). This can also ensure preservation of cultural heritage sites in the time when many European countries are facing lack of public funds for maintenance, promotion and efficient management of cultural heritage sites. Moreover, an attempt at economic self-sufficiency of a site should be taken into account already in the process of decision-making

about renovation, restoration, preservation and valorisation of a cultural heritage site. Decision makers and involved stakeholders should pay more attention to this important issue, as it can contribute actively to sustainable development of a site.

Beside fiscal incentives, which could encourage inclusion of the private sector in preservation and better valorisation of cultural heritage, cultural heritage sites in rural areas and local communities the sites are located in could also be included in the economic cycle through better development of public-private partnership and high-quality, sustainable cultural tourism. The European Union is aware of the importance of the tourism sector for economic growth, employment, better quality of life and reinforcement of Europe's image in the world. Europe is the world's first tourist destination and the tourism sector has many opportunities. European institutions pointed out that because of global competition »Europe must offer high-quality, sustainable tourism, playing on its comparative advantages, in particular the diversity of its countryside and extraordinary cultural wealth« (European Commission, 2010).

In order to stimulate development of rural areas (especially to reach a higher employment rate, increase the level of services, stimulate regional and local economies, generate better rural living standards and prevent permanent migration), preserve cultural and natural heritage, and balance the tourist flow in the European Union, decision-makers should pay more attention to successful development of sustainable cultural tourism in rural areas. Cultural tourism, one of the fastest-growing sectors of the world economy in the last years, should assume an important role in the process of mitigating development disparities between urban and rural areas. Well-organized cultural tourism in rural areas could provide inhabitants with access to cultural events and different forms of entertainment and increase the number and level of services that would otherwise not even exist or would not manage to subsist due to an insufficient demand given the small number of inhabitants (Cicerchia, 2012, 28-86). Cultural tourism in Europe privileges certain cultural cities, thereby causing problems regarding sustainability, pollution and too often also a simplified interpretation of these places. On the other hand, there are a lot of rural areas with rich and unique cultural heritage that are overlooked. The main cultural destinations should function as anchor sites to lead the flow of visitors to less overloaded rural cultural destinations, whose sustainability should needless to say be taken into consideration. Moreover, strengthening links between tangible and intangible cultural heritage is also recommended (THETRIS Review Report, Graz-Seckau, 2013, 7-11; THETRIS Regional SWOT Analysis, Małopolska Region, 2013, 5).

Development and management of cultural tourism should be led in accordance with the needs of the local population and the sustainability of the site and its

region. The needs of local communities and the expectations of cultural tourists should be taken into consideration by means of responsible marketing in order to prevent the so-called "tourismification" or "disneyfication" of cultural heritage sites (Vegheş, Dugulan, Popescu, 2012, 1015-1024). Instead of marketing activities targeted on the wider public, more structured approaches and direct links with target groups are recommended, respecting sustainable development of the sites and local communities.

Within the THETRIS project, a lot of good practices were studied. For example, the pilgrimage centre on Sveta gora in the Goriška region has been enriched with a special spiritual and educational centre, led by Sisters of Charity of Saint Francis of Assisi, providing psychotherapy for couples and families (either religious or not) and also special programs for children and young people. Sveta gora is also a destination of cultural tourism, where one can attend cultural events, such as concerts and exhibitions, and visit the Marian Museum, a souvenir shop, a restaurant, etc. (THETRIS Good Practice Collection, 2013, 51-52).

Some good practices propose good solutions for better valorisation of sacral cultural heritage through marketing of local products that join tradition with innovation. For example, in the complex of the Benedictine Abbey in Praglia (Province of Padua), which houses a congress centre, a guesthouse for pilgrims, an antique library, an international acclaimed workshop for book restoration, etc., an ancient spice book was discovered during archival research and the recipes from this book were adapted to serve present-day needs in order to make and sell new products (THETRIS Good Practice Collection, 2013, 61-62).

Some good practices studied within the project stem from the organisation of events that strengthened the bonds between cultural heritage sites, the tourism sector and local inhabitants. One such event is the medieval historical festival organised every September in the village of Cassine (Piedmont Region) in order to valorise the cultural heritage of the Franciscan monumental complex. One of the most important aspect of this event is that it is organised by a public-private partnership (including not only the active participation of the Piedmont Region and the Province of Alessandria, but also different bank foundations, involving local inhabitants and entrepreneurs, associations and non-profit organisations (THETRIS Transferability training, 2014; THETRIS Good Practice Collection, 2013, 37-39).

The above-mentioned practices improve involvement of local inhabitants and the private sector in the process of valorisation of cultural heritage sites. In the decision-making process connected with the valorisation of a cultural heritage site or a destination, the close linkage between tangible and intangible cultural heritage should be valorised in order to develop strategies that can integrate different values of a rural area. Tan-

gible and intangible heritage elements are important symbols of personal or collective identification and evidence of social and economic improvement (Bajec, 2014, 152-155).

It is therefore important to consider goals of different groups that provide successful valorisation of cultural heritage. A network of stakeholders is diverse and consists of different actors involved in the management of available resources of cultural heritage. Some groups of stakeholders are more influential than others. In this framework, local inhabitants are the main and the most important stakeholders because the existing resources of cultural heritage are incorporated in the functioning of their communities. Other important stakeholders are entrepreneurs, representatives of cultural industries, local non-governmental organisations, educational institutions, visitors and tourists. In order to achieve successful and effective management of cultural heritage in the framework of stimulating socio-economic development, it is very important for these interdependent groups to interact and work together (Góral, 2014, 46-48). For this reason, development of improved systems of governance among different stakeholders was suggested (THETRIS Regional SWOT Analysis, Susa Valley, 2013, 9).

Within the THETRIS project, seven pilot actions were implemented between May 2013 and February 2014, which could be transferred to other regions. Two pilot actions focused on the development of cultural tourism infrastructure in the Upper-Tisza Area. In the Freestate of Saxony, a pilot action was implemented setting up a sustainable network that connected stakeholders from the church and the tourism sector. Another pilot action fo-

cused on the revitalisation of the ancient Novalesa Abbey and the elaboration of a new governance model based on the use of social media in the Piedmont Region. In the Małopolska Region, the action of upskilling various stakeholders involved in sacral heritage management was realized. Furthermore, it is important to stress the importance of the innovative IT solutions of the pilot action 'IT solutions for youth involvement in sacral heritage management', realized by Diocese Graz-Seckau (in the Styria Region). The innovative result of this pilot action was a smartphone application with a game (treasure hunt) in which one has to discover regional cultural heritage sites. It represents a high-quality IT-tool developed by experts from different fields (information science, history, pedagogy, etc.). The tool was created in collaboration with the church authorities, the friars, the private sector and the researchers. The purpose of the application is not only an entertaining way of learning about regional cultural heritage and history, but also a stimulation to visit the churches and explore them in a different and a more enjoyable way. In the long run, this pilot action could also bring economic advantages to the region, as the tourist offer of local stakeholders could be included in the smartphone application (THETRIS Transnational tool, 2014, 5-68; THETRIS Pilot seminar, 2014).

The practices and actions studied within the THETRIS project demonstrate that it is possible to implement efficient solutions for successful valorisation of cultural heritage sites, even those located in peripheral rural areas, which encourage development of these areas. The theme-based cultural routes represent an important tool to achieve development of rural areas.

THETRIS TRANSNACIONALNA CERKVENA POT: VALORIZACIJA KULTURNE DEDIŠČINE
ZA RAZVOJ RURALNIH OBMOČIJ

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POVZETEK

Mnoga evropska ruralna območja se danes soočajo s številnimi družbenimi, gospodarskimi, demografskimi in drugimi težavami, a pomembno vlogo pri njihovem razreševanju lahko odigra kulturna dediščina teh pogosto perifernih območij. Evropska unija posveča vedno več pozornosti ne le kulturni dediščini, ampak tudi njenim ekonomskim potencialom. To je tesno povezano s širšim vprašanjem valorizacije kulturne dediščine. V tem okviru pridobivajo vedno bolj na pomenu tematske kulturne poti. Svet Evrope neposredno podpira 29 kulturnih poti, ki ozaveščajo o skupni evropski kulturni dediščini. Poleg le-teh pa obstajajo še druge kulturne poti, ki prav tako odražajo raznoliko in bogato evropsko kulturno dediščino. Ena izmed teh je THETRIS transnacionalna cerkvena pot, ki povezuje 64 med seboj zelo različnih sakralnih objektov Srednje Evrope. Pot je bila definirana v okviru projekta THETRIS - THEMatic Transnational church Route development with the Involvement of local Society, ki sta ga med letoma 2012 in 2014 finančno podprla Evropska Unija in Evropski sklad za regionalni razvoj (program Srednja Evropa 2007-2013). Projekt je med drugim omogočil preučitev mnogih dobrih praks ohranjanja in valorizacije sakralne kulturne dediščine ter implementacijo določenih pilotnih akcij, ki dokazujejo, da so lahko tematske kulturne poti pomembno sredstvo za boljšo valorizacijo kulturne dediščine in razvoj podeželja.

Ključne besede: kulturna pot, kulturne dediščina, valorizacija, podeželje, Evropska unija

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BETWEEN THE PHYSICAL AND PERCEPTUAL: TOPONYMS IN LANDSCAPE
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this article is to search for the connection between the physical environment and the way people understand and perceive that environment. We believe that this relationship could be better understood through the research of toponyms. The research focused on field names, while they provide the most detailed knowledge about cultural landscape. We collected field name data from different sources, prepared field name maps, overlaid them with spatial data and finally, clustered them into groups of similarities. The results show that areas, described by field names have a unique landscape character and could be used as basic typological units.

Keywords: landscape, field names, landscape characteristics, landscape typology, landscape planning, landscape management

TRA IL FISICO E IL PERCEPIBILE: TOPONIMI NELLA TIPOLOGIA PAESAGGISTICA,
NELLA GESTIONE E NELLA PROGETTAZIONE

SINTESI

Lo scopo di quest'articolo è cercare il collegamento tra l'ambiente fisico e il modo in cui le persone intendono e percepiscono quest'ambiente. Presupponiamo che questo rapporto sia più facile da capire attraverso ricerche di toponimi. La nostra ricerca si concentra su nomi di luogo, poiché essi forniscono le informazioni più dettagliate delle caratteristiche del paesaggio culturale. Abbiamo raccolto i nomi di luogo da fonti diverse e così realizzato carte geografiche che abbiamo ricoperto con dati spaziali e infine abbiamo classificato i nomi in gruppi in base alle loro somiglianze. I risultati hanno mostrato che le aree determinate secondo i nomi di luogo hanno un unico carattere paesaggistico e possono essere usate come unità tipologiche di base.

Parole chiave: paesaggio, nomi di luogo, caratteristiche paesaggistiche, tipologia paesaggistica, progetti paesaggistici, gestione di paesaggi

INTRODUCTION

Landscape is an elusive phenomenon. Ingold starts its definition by first telling what landscape is not: “*It is not ‘land’; it is not ‘nature’; and it is not ‘space’.*” Land is quantitative and homogeneous, while landscape is qualitative and heterogeneous; the order of nature is explicate, while the order of landscape is implicate, and, last but not least; with space, meanings are attached to the world, while with the landscape, they are gathered from it (Ingold, 1993, 153-155). When discussing about landscape, we should consider its visible and tangible, but also its perceptual and cognitive aspect. Although landscapes are in the first place characterized by physical features, it is the way people perceive these features that creates landscape. Every landscape is multi-layered from different perspectives: historical, geographical and perceptible. From historical point of view, landscape is a palimpsest, where traces of the past could be observed underneath contemporary structures. From geographical point of view, climate, geology, topography, hydrology and land cover, altogether combined into a unique phenomenon, constitute landscape. And, last but not least, a significant part of every landscape is the way people understand, interpret and use their living environment.

Although at least from human’s point of view landscapes seem permanent, they are in continuous process of change and re-creation. “*What we have is what we had before, (admittedly uneven) uncertainty, dynamism and change,*” write Hoggart and Paniagua (2001, 56). Despite that, landscape changes have become an important issue in the last few decades. The main reasons for concern are the pace and the extent of changes. An-trop (2005) emphasizes, that for centuries changes were local, gradual, and thus landscapes were experienced as stable. They had distinct character and identity. Nowadays landscape structures can be wiped away completely, rejecting hundreds or even thousands years of history. Kizos et al. (2010) write about ‘space of flows’ – global processes and pressures that affect landscapes and often undermine their characteristic structure. As a response to that, the interest for ‘space of place’ – regional characteristics and local qualities has increased. Mitchell (2013) describes the transition of traditional rural landscape into its consumptive state as ‘creative destruction’ and introduces the concept of ‘creative enhancement’ as an alternative - the latest resulting in (contemporary) multi-functional landscape.

The majority of cultural landscapes are a side-product of agriculture and two contemporary trends in agriculture are seen as a threat for what we call ‘traditional cultural landscape’: intensification on one side and abandonment on the other. The first trend results in landscapes, often described as highly productive, but at the same time monotonous and uniform, with lack of diversity and void of meaning. In the second case, nature is conquering back what man had taken from it cen-

turies ago. Environmental problems, loss of landscape heterogeneity, biodiversity, and, last but not least, loss of *genius loci*, or sense of place, are the main issues that result from the aforementioned trends. As a response to that, calls to control, manage and guide the processes of change have emerged on regional, national, and international levels. European landscape convention – the first document dedicated solely to landscapes, and at the same time to all landscapes, aims towards protection, management and planning of landscapes – not just those that are designated as beautiful and exceptional, but also the ordinary, everyday and even degraded landscapes.

At the beginning of the 21st century a great deal of European landscapes could be described as large-scale and highly-productive, as well as monotonous, lacking character and diversity. The majority of Slovenian landscapes are struggling with the opposite problem. These landscapes are rich in character and biodiversity, with small-scale field division and ownership structure. At the same time they are an anachronism, unable to engage with the needs of contemporary life. The challenge we are focusing is how to introduce changes which would adapt these landscapes to contemporary demands (e.g. farming, infrastructure, housing), but also preserve their character, coherence and their cultural meaning.

According to Angoletti (2014, 67), “landscape is largely a cultural construct and exists in a state conceived of or to a certain extent ‘planned’ by human beings in consideration of its natural components.” We argue that the strongest privilege of traditional cultural landscapes lies in the harmony between natural environment and the way people understand that environment and have adapted it to their everyday needs. And the first step towards its domestication is naming. Through the act of naming space becomes a place, and land becomes a landscape. “*In a fundamental way, names create landscapes,*” writes Tilley (1994, 19) in his book *A Phenomenology of Landscape*. Toponyms are neither visible nor tangible, but they play an important role in understanding landscapes: their physical structures, processes which continuously shape and reshape them, and also the way how people perceive and use these landscapes. Our research focuses on field names, since among all toponyms, field names are those that express the most detailed knowledge of landscape - especially rural landscape, which has been created as a side-product of agriculture.

RESEARCH HYPOTHESIS

The central hypothesis of this research is that field names reflect landscape characteristics on one side and people’s perception and understanding of these landscapes on the other. As such they create an important layer of every landscape, which should not be neglected when we are developing new planning and manage-

ment concepts for future, especially rural landscapes. Considering the fact that the naming of the land(scape) is the result of the interpretation of its *physis*, we argue that named places have distinctive landscape characteristics and could be used as landscape character areas within landscape typology. The first and crucial step in the research was to define the relationship between a field name and an area that it refers to – a term *field name unit* was used to describe each named area. Then we defined landscape character areas on the basis of field name units; and, finally, we discussed the possibilities for the use of these units in management and planning of future (agricultural) landscapes.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: TOPONYM CHARACTERISTICS

Toponyms in general and field names in particular draw attention of researchers in various disciplines: geographers, archaeologists, historians, anthropologists, linguists, and many others. Consequently, the aspects of their studies are quite heterogeneous, from researching the geographical distribution of toponyms, explaining naming motifs and their connection to the areas they refer to, historical events and sights, linguistic structure, etc.

As an overview of several references has shown, despite big differences in the physical characteristics of landscapes, social organization and the relation between the people and the landscape, some common concepts with regard to the naming of places could be recognized all over the world. They are presented in the next few paragraphs.

Identical toponyms appear at different locations, but the fact that they are usually known only to a relatively closed social community prevents misunderstandings in communication, resulting in name repetition. Stewart, Keith and Scottie (2004), who studied Inuit place names in Canada, observed that many place names - like *tahiq* (lake) and *qamaniq* (river-widening), are repeated throughout the Arctic, but they only make sense in relation to knowledge of the homeland. A study of the toponym *Breg* in Slovene linguistic region has shown that the naming basis of *breg* (slope) is evenly distributed in the Slovene linguistic area. It appears more frequently in the Goričko region (the hilly part of NE Slovenia), while it appears more rarely in the Gorenjska region (the alpine part of NW Slovenia) and in high-mountain areas in general (Jež, 1997). Ilešič (1950), in his research of field division systems, and Titl (1998, 1999, 2000, 2004, 2006) who focused on the study of field names and their territorial distribution, both point to the fact that the same field names also appear in different regions – usually all over areas with the same field division system and/or similar landscape characteristics. Titl mentions an example from Istria, where the aforementioned field name *Breg* and its derivatives appear in as many as sev-

enten cadastral communities – in completely identical form in eight of these communities. Calvo-Iglesias *et al.* (2012), who studied place names in relation with *Agras* field system in NW Spain, point out that there is significant connection between some terms and *agras* spatial distribution.

Calvo-Iglesias *et al.* (2012) have also found out that field names show strong inertia in time, which leads us to the next characteristic of toponyms – their longevity. They are frequently preserved through long periods of time (Jett, 1997, 481), even in the areas where the spoken language shifts (Waterman, 1922, cited from Thornton, 1997; Titl, 2010). Several researchers (Kadmon, 2000; Gelling, 1997; Badjura, 1953) emphasize that toponyms are one of the most conservative elements of every language. A proof of that is the Egyptian documents from 15th century BC, where many names from Near and Middle East are mentioned, and the Bible (The Book of Joshua) with hundreds of Israeli names from 12th century BC. Many of these names are – in slightly different form – still being used today, either to name inhabited places or archaeological sites (Kadmon, 2000). Some toponyms were preserved even when the land had been taken from native inhabitants and names had been literally ‘erased’ from maps. They survived as strong symbolic connections between people and their homeland (Thornton, 1997). Gelling (1997) denotes toponyms as the ‘signposts to the past’ and presents several names of pre-Indo-European, Roman, Latin, Celtic, Norman French, and Scandinavian origin in England. Among all toponyms, water names are supposed to be the most persistent (Gelling, 1997, 21). This was stressed also by Bezljaj (1956, 5), who claims that the names of big water streams are even relatively older than the names of places. He substantiates this statement by the fact that colonization had spread along rivers, and that watercourses were also important for spatial orientation. Dapit (2003), on the other hand, notes in the research of toponyms from Val Resia that, as opposed to microtoponyms and oronyms, hydronyms are – at least in the memory of informants – much more instable.

Although the primary role of toponyms is to designate certain spatial phenomena, they often move from one place to another. When Masai in East Africa were forced to move, they took the names of hills, plains and rivers with them, and gave them to new hills, plains, and rivers (Dinesen, 1952, cited by Lynch, 1972, 41). The members of Scottish clans, who left their homeland and settled elsewhere, also used their place- and family names to ‘map’ their future on new and for them unknown territory (Basu, 2005). Similarly, North America is full of names ‘borrowed’ from Europe: Oslo, Crete, Marseilles, New Prague, Cambridge, and Berlin are just a few of them.

Last but not least, the relationship between toponyms and named places should be mentioned. Boillat *et al.* (2013), who investigated the toponyms among two

communities in Bolivian Andes, found out that named places are among indigenous people perceived as living entities, as living beings with their own agency. They suggest that toponymy could be used as a tool in ecosystem management, as on one hand it reveals the characteristics of a named place and, on the other hand, the relation between people and that place.

LANDSCAPE UNITS AND FIELD NAME UNITS

Landscape is often described as a 'physical continuum' (Marušič *et al.*, 1998, 11; Burenhult and Levinson, 2008, 137), where one landscape area blurs into another. The uniqueness of each place is thus created by the interchange of various landscape phenomena. Nevertheless, areas with similar landscape character repeatedly appear throughout the landscape. These areas could be recognized as a sort of 'spatial units' and they could be distinguished from the surrounding spatial units with different landscape character. The latter could be defined as the result of natural and human characteristics of an area – e.g. climate, topography, geology, soil, land cover and land use. Delineation of spatial units is one of the most important issues in landscape typology, while boundaries in the landscape continuum are in most cases hard to define.

On the other hand, at least rural landscapes are filled up with field names which characterize places. The fact that the basic purpose of these names is to define exact locations (usually in accordance to parcel boundaries and ownership) leads us to the presumption that landscape units on the smallest scale could be defined and delineated by the help of field names. The characteristics of names, presented in previous chapter, and the fact that the relationship between the names and the landscape is still rather unknown, led us to research focused on the relationship between names and landscapes. The purpose of the research was to investigate the relationship between names and named areas, to test if these areas could be defined as basic typological units on small scale and to discuss the possibilities for their use in landscape planning and management.

METHODOLOGY

Research area

The research included cadastral communities Parje, Palčje, Jurišče and Zagorje, situated in the plateau area of Zgornja Pivka, South-west Slovenia. This area comprises six villages with pertaining land characterized by traditional parcel structure. The area covers around 50 square kilometres. Forests, meadows and pastures prevail; the entire area is marked by grassing and forestation: fields are changing into meadows; former areas of village commons have been forested in part or are partly being naturally overgrown by forest.



Figure 1: Research area

Methods (Working procedure)

The working method was divided into several steps. First, we collected field names throughout the research area. Four different sources were used for the whole research, two historical (cartographical and textual part of Franciscan Cadastre from 1820's) and two contemporary (Basic Topographic plan and local informants). For the purpose of this paper, only one source was considered – local informants. We used only this source, because it had proven to be the most complete among all four sources; it actually contains the field names, which are being used today and it enabled us to prepare maps with delineated field name units, which was crucial for our research.

307 toponyms, the majority of which are field names, were registered. At this point it should be emphasized that besides these 307 names local inhabitants also know and use other names. We focused on collecting the names of field groups within the field division system, and not the names on lower hierarchical levels – e.g. names of individual parcels.

At the same time, we prepared a field name map. An area described with a field name was delineated by the help of local informants. Digital cadastral plan was used as a basis, and in most cases boundaries between areas, named with a single field name, follow the parcel boundaries. In most cases, the field name units are field groups within the field division system. Division into so-called 'particles' is characteristic for that area. Although the division nowadays seems too detailed and often confused, it is the result of understanding the natural conditions and the adaptation of these conditions to human needs and agricultural technologies, available at the time when field division was made. Each field group is supposed to have similar natural conditions for farming, and, originally, each farmer had one parcel within each field group. The division is more regular on flat

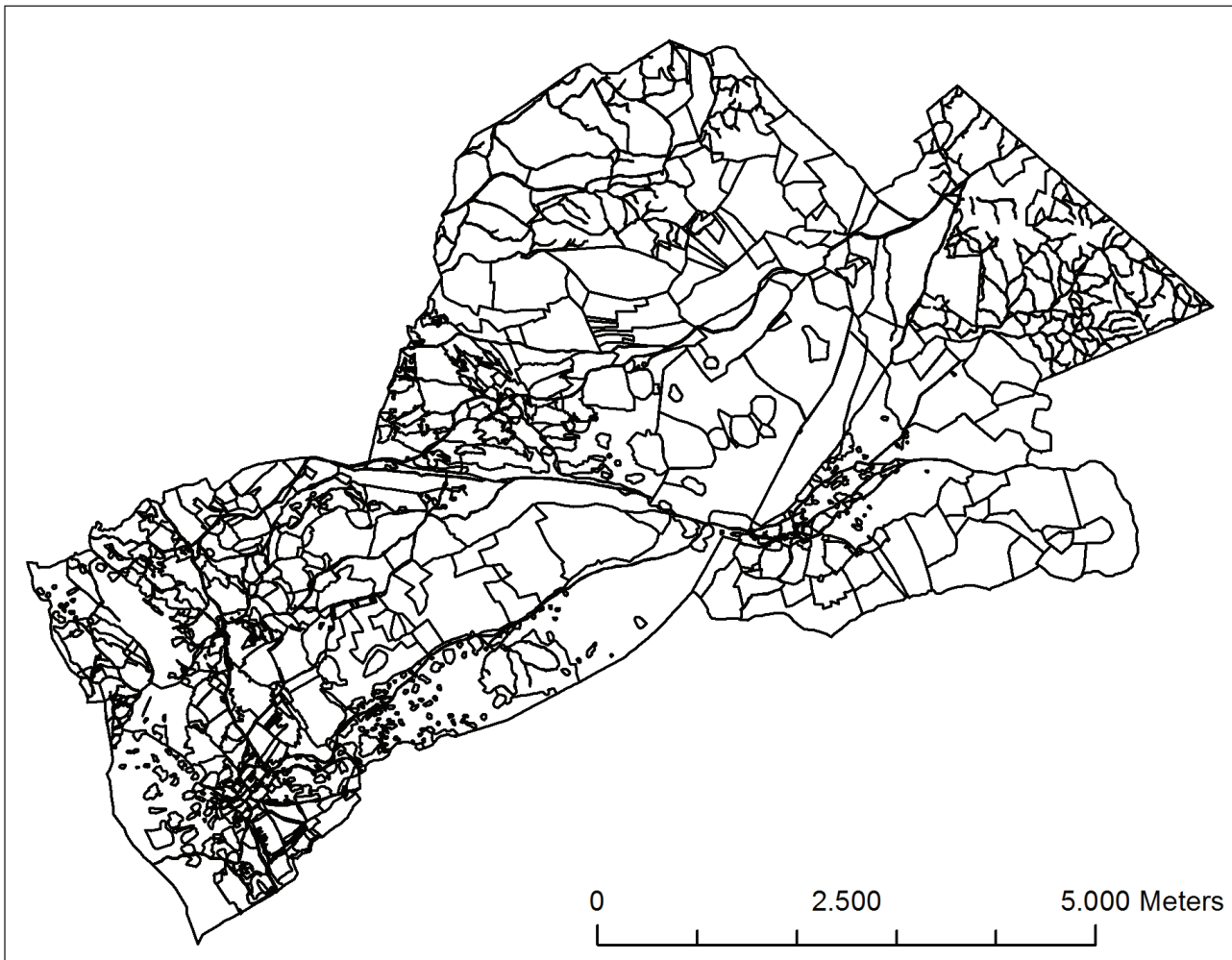


Figure 2: Field name units, as defined and delineated by the help of local informants

terrain and irregular on undulating karst hills, so the boundaries were sometimes hard to define.

Next we overlaid field names maps over spatial data that characterize landscape, in the first place: height above the sea level, slope, aspect and land use. Climate conditions were omitted because the research area is rather small and we presupposed that the effect of climate on the landscape character is negligible. Arc GIS - Arc Map 10.0 was used for the first two steps. Since all the spatial characteristics used to recognize and distinguish field name units cannot be described with the aforementioned spatial data, additional criteria, which helped us to define each unit's landscape character, were used. These criteria are expressed as binary variables and presented in Table 1 jointly with the aforementioned numeric variables.

The next step in the research was cluster analysis. Its main purpose was to test the hypothesis that field name units group into larger areas, which could be described as 'landscape character areas'.

Because of different types of data (numeric, nominal, symmetric and asymmetric binary variables) Gower's coefficient of similarity s_{ij} was used in cluster analysis (Gower, 1971; Kaufman, Rousseeuw, 1989) to measure the similarity between units:

$$s_{ij}(x_{ik} - x_{jk}) = \frac{\sum_{k=1}^p \delta_{ijk} s_{ijk}}{\sum_{k=1}^p \delta_{ijk}}$$

and Gower's distance d_{ij} to measure dissimilarity between units:

$$d_{ij}(x_{ik} - x_{jk}) = 1 - \frac{\sum_{k=1}^p \delta_{ijk} s_{ijk}}{\sum_{k=1}^p \delta_{ijk}}$$

x_{ik} is value of k -th variable for i -th unit; p is the number of variables included in the cluster analysis. Coefficient δ_{ijk} is equal to 1 when both measurements

Table 1: Variables used in cluster analysis

Type of variable	Criterion	Variable
Numeric variables	Slope	Percentage of flat terrain within unit
		Average slope within unit
	Land use	Percentage of meadows within unit
		Percentage of uncultivated agricultural land within unit
		Percentage of overgrown and afforested agricultural land within unit
		Percentage of forest within unit
		Percentage of build-up areas within unit
	Height above sea level	Minimal height above sea level in unit
		Difference between minimal and maximal height in unit
Aspect	Average aspect of unit	
Symmetric binary variables ¹	The appearance of outer boundaries	Clearly visible outer boundaries
		Not clearly visible inner boundaries
	The appearance of inner/parcel boundaries	Clearly visible inner boundaries
		Not clearly visible boundaries
	The shape of parcels	Regular shape of parcels
		Irregular shape of parcels
Asymmetric binary variables ²	Micro relief	Sinkholes
		Dry-walls
		Surface rocks
	The appearance of trees and shrubs	Single tree/shrub
		Hedgerow
		Group of trees/shrubs
		Forest
	The position of trees and shrubs	Trees and shrubs on the outer boundary of the unit
		Trees and shrubs on the inner/parcel boundaries
Trees and shrubs within parcels		

¹ Similarity or distance measure does not depend on the way we code the two levels as 0 and 1.

² In most cases this are variables measuring presence or absence: if two units share the presence of some attribute we can consider them similar, but if they share the absence of an attribute, we do not know whether they can be considered similar.

for x_{ik} and x_{jk} are non-missing; otherwise it is zero. It is also zero for binary variables in case when $x_{ik} = 0$ and $x_{jk} = 0$. Gower's distance uses different similarity/distance measures, which were chosen considering the characteristics of the type of variables. All quantitative variables are considered as their scale is interval. The similarity measure is given by

$$s_{ijk} = 1 - \frac{|x_{ik} - x_{jk}|}{VR_k}$$

where VR_k is the range of variable k . This similarity measure is actually based on "Manhattan" or "City block" distance calculated on standardized variables (divided by the range). Similarity measure for qualitative variables (also for symmetric binary variables) is proportion of matches among all possible matches:

$$s_{ijk} = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{if } x_{ik} \text{ and } x_{jk} \text{ agree with variable } k \\ 0 & \text{otherwise} \end{cases}$$

For the asymmetric binary variables, Gower defines similarity and weight according to the table:

<i>i</i>	+	+	-	-
<i>j</i>	+	-	+	-
s_{ijk}	1	0	0	0
δ_{ijk}	1	1	1	0

where '+' denotes that the attribute of variable is 'present' and '-' denotes that the attribute of variable is 'absent'. Thus $s_{ijk} = 1$, if cases *i* and *j* both have attribute s_{ijk} 'present', or 0 otherwise, and weight δ_{ijk} causes negative matches to be ignored. If all variables are binary, then Gower's similarity coefficient is equivalent to Jaccard's similarity coefficient.

We used function *daisy* from the *cluster* package in programme R (R Core Team 2013) to calculate Gower's dissimilarity matrix. Ward's method was used for clustering. The results of cluster analysis are presented in Figure 4.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Overlaying map of field names with the maps of height above sea level, slopes, aspect and land use show that the majority of field name units are not internally homogenous in terms of the aforementioned criteria. Exceptions are units within serried forest, but only in relation to the land use. The result is not surprising, since the research area is heterogeneous in terms of topography and land use. Nevertheless, the majority of units can be described as internally homogenous according

to their landscape character and recognized as spatial units within a landscape. Some exceptions occur – in most cases these are units in the forest and in overgrown areas, where boundaries between units are almost impossible to distinguish.

The results of cluster analysis show the division of field name units into two natural groups, in the first place: forest and agricultural areas. But since our purpose was to prepare a basis for detailed landscape typology on a small scale and search for the differences among agricultural areas, we will present and discuss the division of units into four groups (Figures 3 and 4).

Four groups of field name units can be described as:

(1) Units classified into the first group are fields and meadows. They are mostly situated on flat terrain, either on the valley floor or also on higher altitudes. Outer and inner boundaries of each unit are not clearly visible, and trees and shrubs are very rare. Undulating lakes, which are characteristic for this area, also classify into this group.

(2) The second group of units is karst meadows on undulating terrain with sinkholes. Inner and outer boundaries are often marked by dry walls and/or hedges.

(3) The third group is to be found on steeper and undulating terrain, with typical karst phenomena, like sinkholes and surface stones. Since these units are mostly commons, parcels are large and boundaries are not clearly visible. The area is overgrown with trees and shrubs. Some clearings in the forest also belong to this group.

(4) The last group is mostly serried forest, which covers hilly slopes.

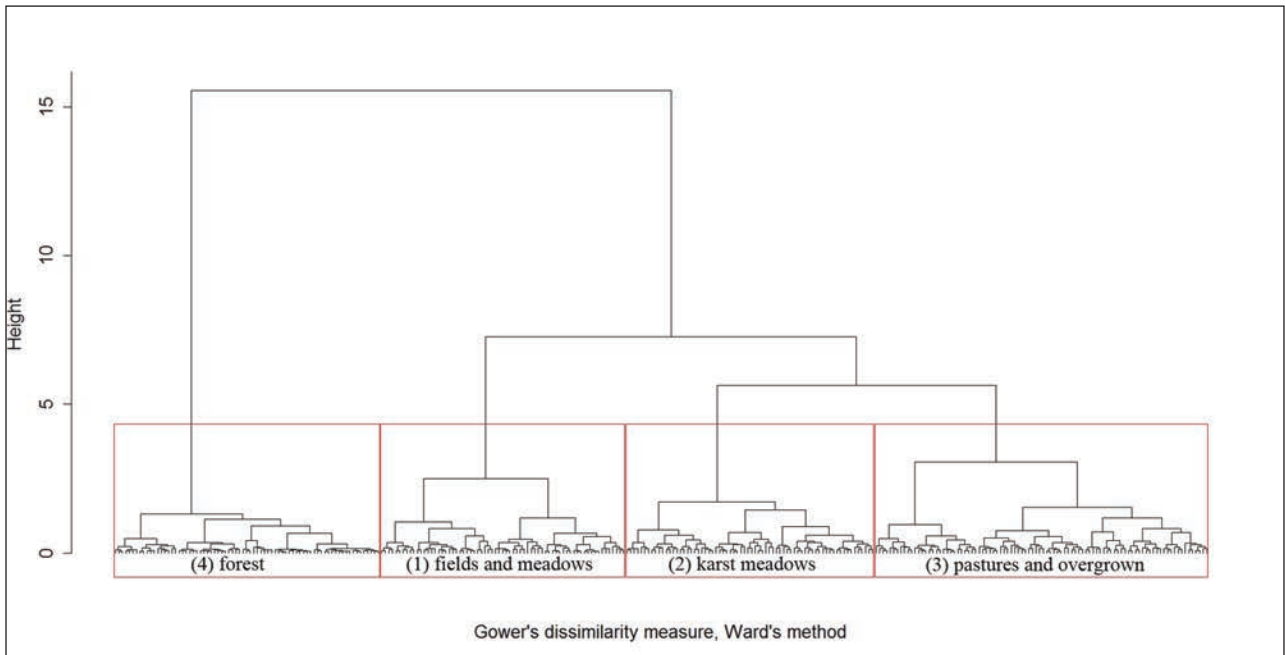


Figure 3: Dendrogram showing the clustering of field name units into groups

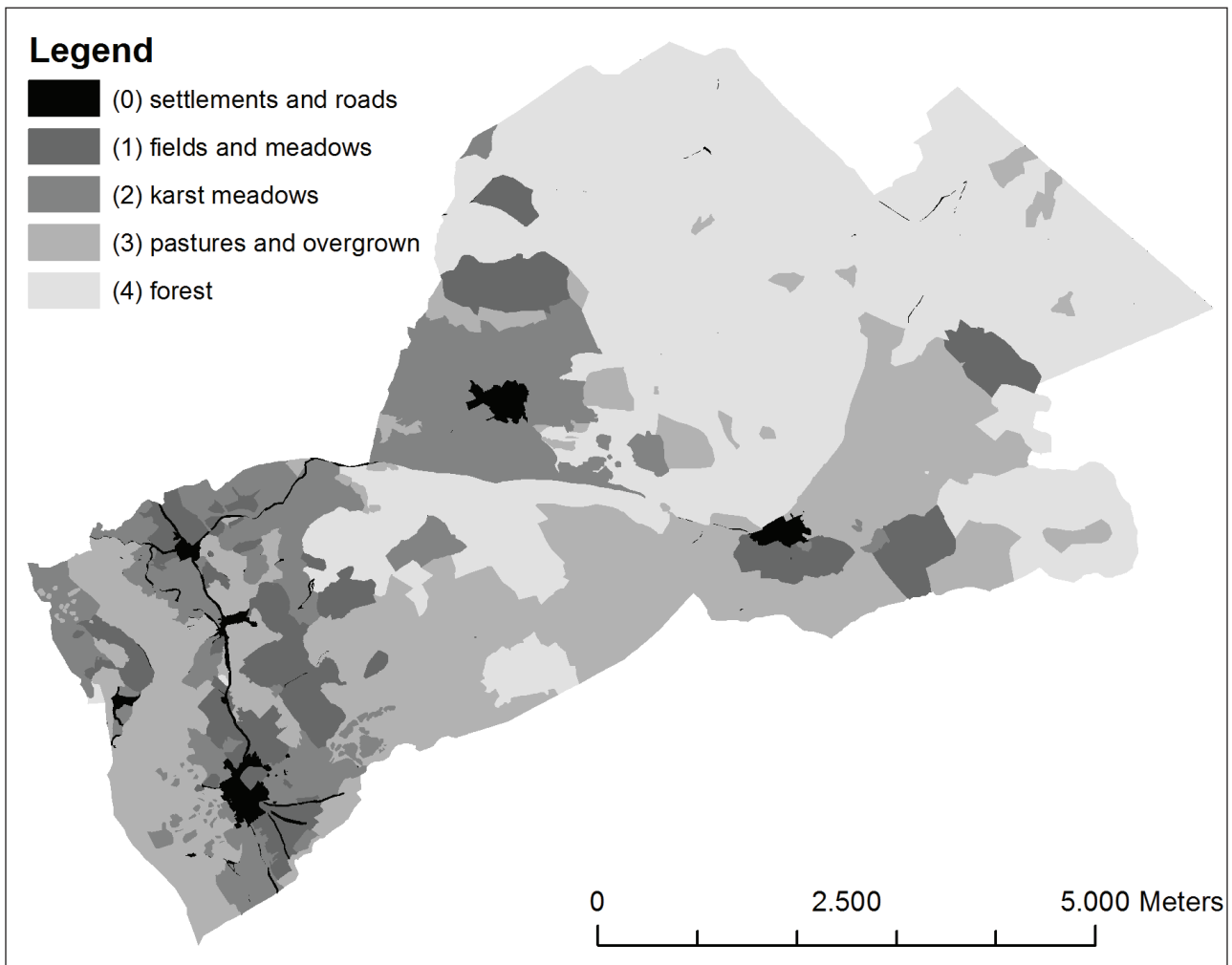


Figure 4: Field name units clustered into four groups

We cut the dendrogram once more to see how the four groups divide further, but the comparison of the characteristics between the newly created subgroups showed that almost no difference can be observed between the subgroups. We concluded that for the purpose of our research the most appropriate is the division into four groups, which will be discussed further.

Each group of field name units has rather specific landscape characteristics which define their character and distinguish them from each other. As Figure 4 shows, the first three groups of field name units are very intertwined, while the fourth group – forest, spreads more or less continuously on the eastern, hilly part of the area, and partly on the lower slopes on the west. Some exceptions could be found, appearing mostly as clearances in the forest. The main reason for that are most probably diverse natural conditions, changing very often on a rather small area.

The majority of field name units are not internally homogenous according to individual landscape characteris-

tics, and also borders among groups of units could sometimes be only vaguely defined. An interesting fact which should be mentioned is that also the criteria, described with numeric variables defining each group also change continuously, increasing or decreasing from group (1) to group (4). Some of them are presented in Figure 6.

As box-plots in Figure 6 show, minimal height above sea level, average slope and percentage of forest are the lowest within group (1) and increase towards group (4), while the percentage of fields and flat terrain is the highest within group (1) and decreases towards group (4). If we summarize, steep slopes with high percentage of forest are characteristic for group (4), while more or less flat terrain with almost no forest cover is characteristic for group (1).

An overview of binary variables also shows some interesting results. They are given in Table 2.

Group (2) could be defined as ‘hedgerow landscape’, although hedgerows appear in all groups. Trees and shrubs, sinkholes and drywalls are also characteristic for

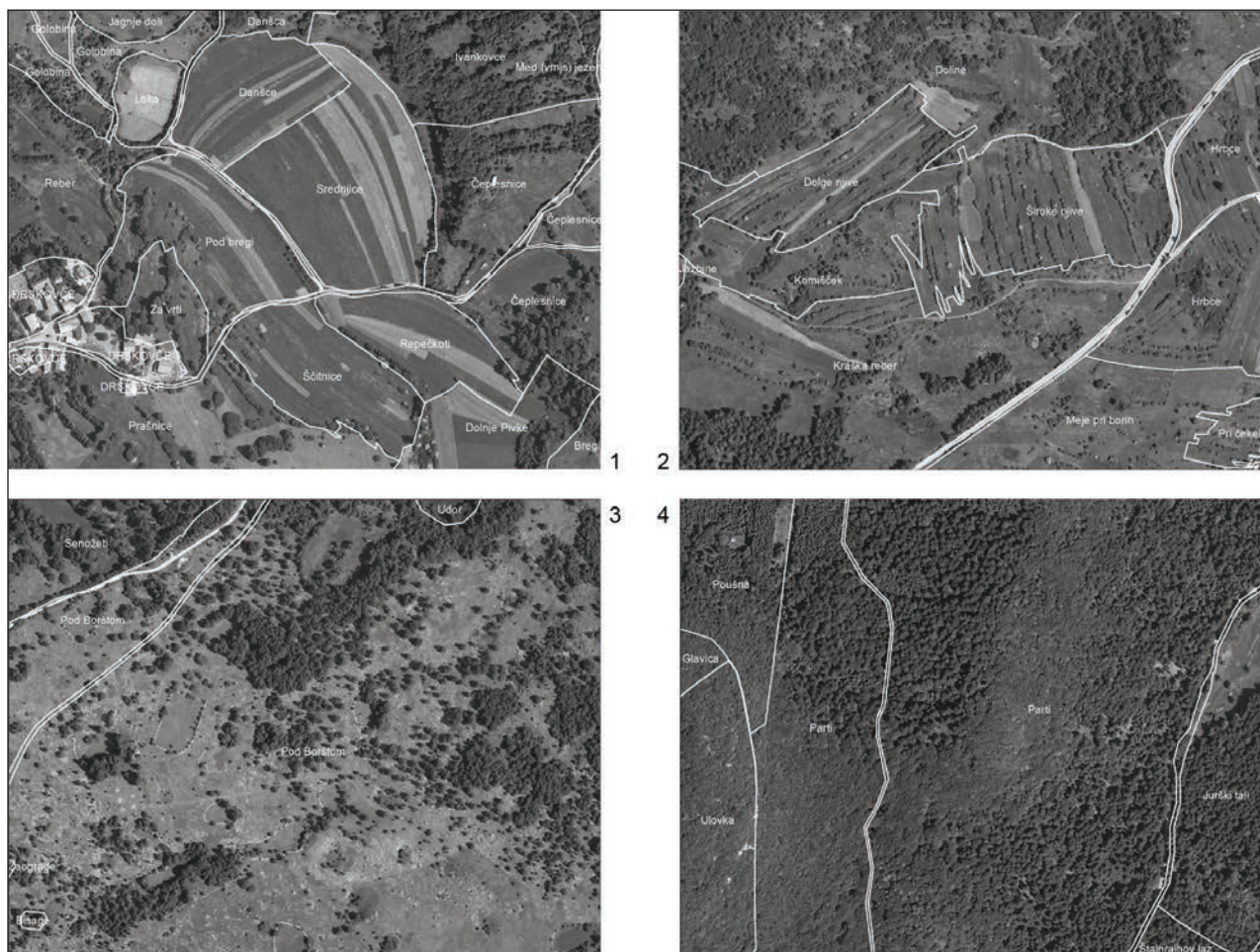


Figure 5: Four groups of field name units: (1) fields and meadows – top left, (2) karst meadows – top right, (3) pastures and overgrown – bottom left, (4) forest – bottom right

that group, while group (3) could be characterized as ‘transitional’ area between groups (2) and (4) with characteristics of both. Karst phenomena – e.g. sinkholes, surface stones, drywalls, make machine cultivation difficult, if not impossible. For that reason these areas are often abandoned and consequently overgrown. Field division system and ownership structure, which have remained more or less unchanged at least for the last 200 years, make farming even more unprofitable also within areas with good natural conditions. Contemporary equipment would enable farmers to overcome the latter, but this could only be done jointly with the merging of parcels. The question which was set at the beginning of this paper was: Is it possible to adapt these landscapes to the demands of contemporary life, but at the same time preserve the coherence and identity, which are characteristic for traditional cultural landscapes?

Considering all the aforementioned characteristics of field name units, we suggest to use these units in planning future rural landscapes as basic units:

(1) They are the result of the way people read and understand the natural conditions and of their adaption to the (mostly utilitarian) needs. As such they present a kind of interconnection between the physical and the perceptual aspect of the landscape.

(2) By being recognized as the subject worth naming, they gained a cultural value and became an important part of the cultural landscape. Although they are neither visible nor tangible, many toponyms have been preserved through centuries in the landscape, where everything else seems to have changed: language, states and political systems, land use, and – last but not least, the way people perceive their environment and the way they depend upon it.

(3) In most cases they can be delineated according to parcel boundaries, and they can be recognized as areas with a unified landscape character. On physical level they are entities within the landscape’s spatial continuum – areas, which could be delineated, mapped and, because of their unified landscape character, managed

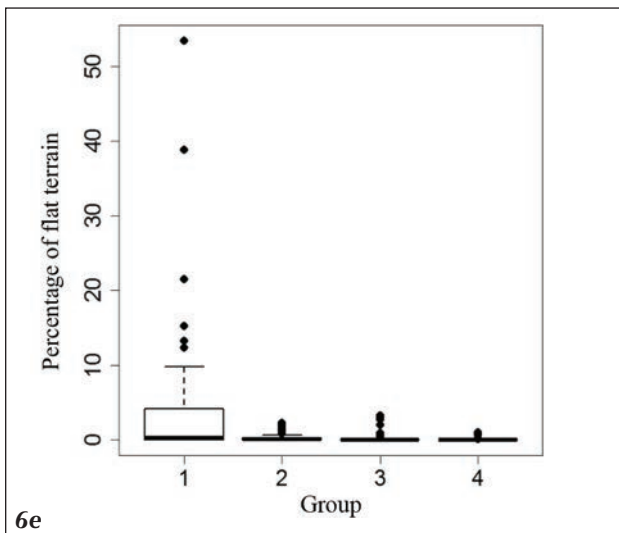
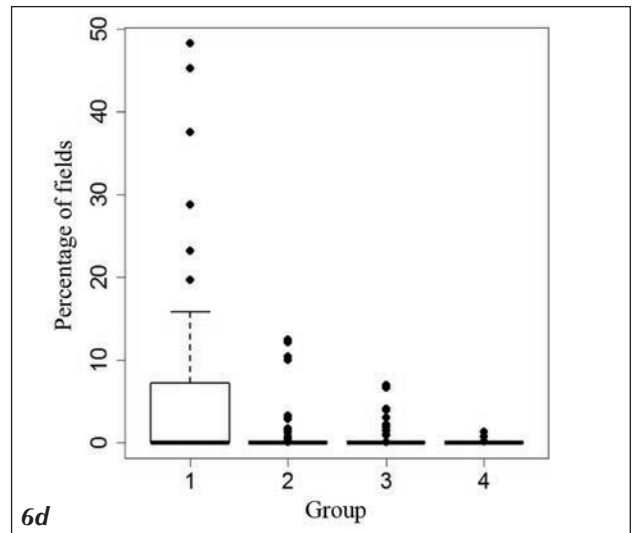
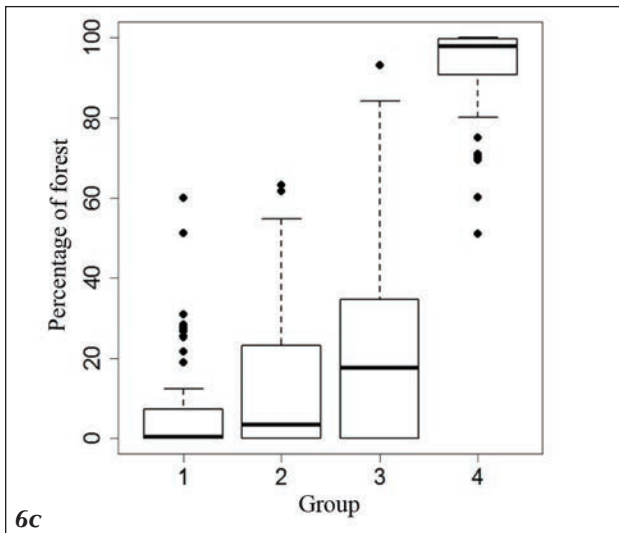
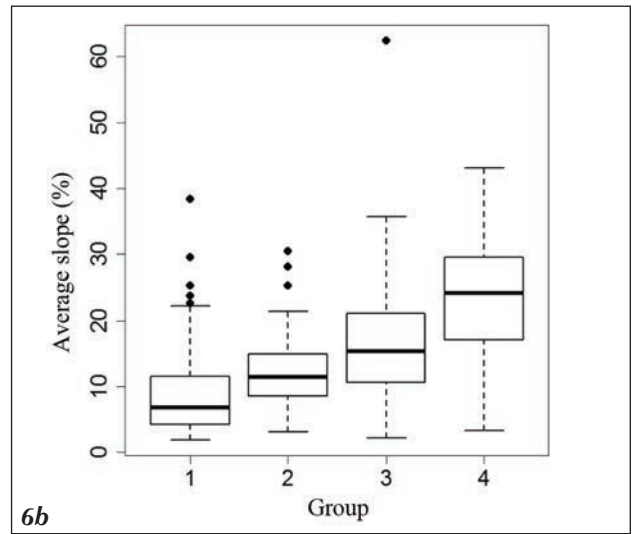
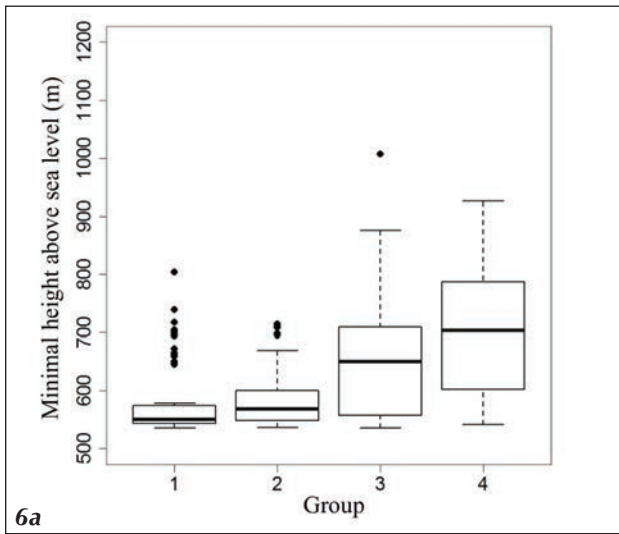


Figure 6a-6e: Box-plots showing the distribution of field name units within each group according to the selected criteria

Table 2: Differences among groups according to selected criteria (binary variables)

group	outer unit boundaries		inner/parcel boundaries		shape of parcels		micro relief			appearance of trees/shrubs				location of trees/shrubs			no. of units within group
	clearly visible	not clearly visible	clearly visible	not clearly visible	regular	irregular	sinkholes	drywalls - visible	surface rocks	trees and shrubs	hedgerows	groups of trees	serried forest	the unit boundary	on the parcel boundary	inside parcels	
1	54	49	0	69	69	12	4	0	8	38	27	35	4	28	8	50	69
2	52	55	60	52	28	60	32	24	29	58	70	30	16	59	68	48	70
3	56	71	4	94	12	90	38	23	52	73	35	52	30	52	10	83	94
4	6	75	0	75	22	66	24	0	65	21	1	3	72	2	0	75	75

using unified practices. On perceptual level, named places often overlay vertically and horizontally. As it was stressed by Boillat *et al.* (2012), they are not always limited to geographical polygons and can influence areas that go way beyond their physical boundaries. As such, they support the concept of ‘land’ (which could be delineated and mapped) on physical and the concept of ‘landscape’ (whose existence depends upon perception and attachment of meanings) on perceptual level.

Using the field name units in the planning and management of contemporary agricultural landscapes would mean an adaption to the demands of contemporary practices, and, at the same time, preservation of values, which define traditional landscapes.

When discussing the possibilities to use field name units for typological classification of landscapes, we can conclude that there are some reasons for it, as well as some reasons against it. Their strongest attributes were already mentioned in the previous paragraph, and with the help of cluster analysis we were able to define wider areas, which can be recognized as the landscape character areas. These areas have a unified landscape character by which they can be distinguished from their surroundings. The main problem emerges in the areas where groups of field name units with different landscape character intertwine and landscape character areas cannot be determined only in relation to the results of the cluster analysis. Additional criteria should be taken into consideration. Another issue we should emphasize at this point is that the research was performed within a rather small area. Some new test areas with different landscape characteristics should be included to confirm

or reject the results. At the end it should be mentioned that the whole process of gathering field names and preparing maps is rather time consuming and for that reason less suitable for the wider areas (e.g. the landscape typology on a national or regional level). On the other hand, it could be used on the local level, especially within areas, where traditional cultural landscape is still preserved, its value recognized and at the same time threatened.

CONCLUSION

Land naming is the process of its domestication; it is the process of the creation of the landscape out of sheer physical environment. Landscape is becoming commonly recognized as our heritage, but also as our present-day living environment, and our tomorrow’s investment. The fact that the landscape’s character and its diversity are vanishing is resulting in increasing concern for landscape. Consequently, new methodologies for planning, management and conservation are being sought.

The idea of using field names and the division they create in the landscape for the purpose of planning and management of (mostly rural) landscapes offers an alternative view on the problems related to the adjustment of traditional cultural landscapes to the needs of contemporary society. Although it has some flaws, as emphasized in previous chapter, we believe that it offers some new ideas on how to incorporate traditional knowledge into the processes of planning and management of contemporary landscapes.



Figure 7a-7b: Landscape - the continuous adjustment of nature.

MED FIZIČNIM IN ZAZNAVNIŠKIM: TOPONIMI V KRAJINSKI TIPOLOGIJI, UPRAVLJANJU IN PLANIRANJU

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POVZETEK

V iskanju pravega koncepta za planiranje in upravljanje kulturnih krajin se osredotočamo na dve vprašanji: kako te krajine prilagoditi zahtevam sodobnega življenja ter kako ob tem ohraniti njihovo skladnost in identiteto. V članku trdimo, da najmočnejša prednost tradicionalnih kulturnih krajin leži v harmoniji med fizično realnostjo krajine in načinom, kako so ljudje dojeli to realnost in jo prilagodili svojim vsakdanjim potrebam. Prvi korak k vzpostavljanju odnosa med fizičnim in zaznavnim pa je prav poimenovanje. Raziskava, ki se osredotoča na ledinska imena je pokazala, da so imena neposredno povezana s fizičnimi lastnostmi krajine – za opis območja, poimenovanega z enim ledinskim imenom je bil uporabljen termin ledinska enota. Naše osnovne predpostavke so bile, da imajo ledinske enote edinstven krajinski značaj in da lahko območja, opredeljena na osnovi ledinskih enot uporabimo za namene tipološke klasifikacije, planiranja in upravljanja – še posebej kmetijskih – krajin. V raziskavi smo zbrali in skartirali ledinska imena znotraj štirih katastrskih občin v JZ Sloveniji ter analizirali njihove prostorske lastnosti. Analiza razvrščanja v skupine je pokazala, da se posamezne ledinske enote združujejo v širša območja z enotnim krajinskim značajem, ki se razlikujejo od sosednjih območjih. Kot taka so uporabna kot osnovne tipološke enote. Na koncu je podana še diskusija o uporabnosti teh enot v upravljalnem in načrtovalnem procesu.

Ključne besede: krajina, ledinska imena, krajinske značilnosti, krajinska tipologija, krajinsko planiranje, upravljanje krajin

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ZGODOVINA NEKDANJE PLEMIŠKE PALAČE
IN NJENIH VRTOV V VALDOLTRI.
OD BENEDIKTINSKEGA SAMOSTANA IN SAMOSTANSKIH VRTOV
DO HOTELA CONVENT IN HOTELSKIH TERAS V ANKARANU

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IZVLEČEK

V prispevku je orisana zgodovina poslopja in oblikovanega vrta, ki sta nekdaj pripadala beneškemu samostanu, kasneje koprski plemiški družini in danes podjetju Adria – turističnemu podjetju v Ankaranu. V raziskavi je bilo analizirano arhivsko gradivo in različna literatura, podatki pa so bili pridobljeni tudi na podlagi terenskega dela. Pri obdelavi podatkov so bila upoštevana različna znanstvena spoznanja; prav tako so bili uporabljeni ustrezni interdisciplinarni pristopi. Rezultat študije je precej celovit prikaz razvoja in sprememb na nekdanjem samostanskem in današnjem hotelskem kompleksu v Ankaranu.

Ključne besede: benediktinski samostan, letna rezidenca, S. Nicolò d'Oltra, Valdoltra, Ankaran, Madonizza, samostanski vrt, oblikovani vrt, hotel Konvent, hotel Convent, Vinko Glanz, Anton Bitenc, Edo Mihevc, krajinjski slog, arhitektonski vrt

STORIA DI UN PALAZZO NOBILIARE DI UN TEMPO E DEI SUOI
GIARDINI A VALDOLTRA
DAL MONASTERO BENEDETTINO E GIARDINI MONASTICI ALL'HOTEL CONVENT
E LE SUE TERRAZZE AD ANCARANO

SINTESI

L'articolo traccia la storia dell'edificio e del giardino modellato che una volta appartenevano al monastero veneziano e successivamente alla famiglia nobile di Capodistria, e che oggi sono proprietà dell'Adria, un'impresa turistica di Ancarano. Nella ricerca sono stati analizzati materiali di archivio e varia letteratura, i dati sono stati raccolti anche mediante lavoro sul campo. L'elaborazione dei dati ha tenuto conto di varie scoperte scientifiche; inoltre, ci si è avvalsi anche di adeguati approcci interdisciplinari. Il risultato dell'indagine è un quadro piuttosto completo dello sviluppo e dei cambiamenti apportati a questo complesso di Ancarano, originariamente monastico, oggi alberghiero.

Parole chiave: monastero benedettino, residenza estiva, San Nicolò d'Oltra, Valdoltra, Ancarano, Madonizza, giardino monastico, giardino modellato, hotel Konvent, hotel Convent, Vinko Glanz, Anton Bitenc, Edo Mihevc, stile paesaggistico, giardino architettonico

Zelen in rodoviten zaliv, kjer danes leži naselje Ankaran, je vzbujal že domišljijo Grkov ter zanimanje Rimljanov. Ostanke rimskih vil in antičnega pristanišča na tem mestu pričajo, da so se Rimljani tu tudi naselili (Semi, 1935, 7; Logar, Župančič, 1981, 299; Logar, Župančič, 1982, 165). Po antičnem obdobju večjih gradbenih aktivnosti v zalivu najverjetneje ni bilo, vsaj ne do 10. oz. 11. stoletja, ko so v tem prostoru postavili cerkvico posvečeno svetemu Apolinariju.

Sakralni objekt je stal na jugozahodnem delu gričevnatega sveta, ki je že tedaj pridobil latinsko poimenovanje »Ultra«¹ – predel tega sveta, kjer je bila cerkvica, pa so imenovali »Gasello«. Cerkvica svetega Apolinarija je tedaj še sodila pod tržaške škofe in tako lahko predvidevamo, da je imela patrocinijske mučenca svetega Apolinarija Tržaškega. Kdaj točno so cerkev postavili, ni jasno. Možno je, da je bila zgrajena že okoli leta 900 (Semi, 1935, 7) ali pa nekoliko kasneje, leta 1053, kot lahko zasledimo v mlajših arhivskih zapisih.² Znano je, da je duhovnik Remedio leta 1072 z dovoljenjem tržaškega škofa Adalgerija (1031–1072) cerkvico in njej pripadajoča okoliška zemljišča podarili opatu Zenu, predstojniku beneškega benediktinskega samostana *S. Nicolò del Lido di Venezia* (Oter Gorenčič, 2012, 557; Cigui, 2007, 414; Naldini, Darovec, 2001, 157; Semi, 1935, 7–8). V Valdoltri se je tako oblikoval samostan *S. Nicolò d'Oltra*, ki je svoje meje s pomočjo daril zvestih okoliških prebivalcev ter s pomočjo nakupov v naslednjih stoletjih še nekoliko razširil.³ Območje samostana se je razširilo tudi leta 1152, ko je pod pristojnost samostana svetega Nikolaja v Valdoltri prešel samostan svetega Marijinega oznanjenja (ki je tedaj stal še izven koprškega mestnega obzidja). To dejstvo pa govori v prid predpostavki, da je samostan v Valdoltri tedaj že stal (Cigui, 2007, 414).⁴

Gradnja samostana se je verjetno začela kmalu po 11. stoletju in je s presledki trajala vse do leta 1572,⁵ ko so ob samostanskem kompleksu zgradili campanile. V poznem 17. stoletju – natančneje leta 1686 – so predelali oz. dokončali fasado samostana (Oter Gorenčič, 2012, 558; Semi, 1935, 8) in mogoče je bila podoba samostana že tedaj takšna, kot nam jo prikazuje vir iz leta 1775 (PAK, 302, 25–28; glej Sliko 1). Na tej upodobitvi

lahko vidimo, kateri stavbni deli so sestavljali samostanski kompleks v drugi polovici 18. stoletja: campanile na enem koncu stavbnega kompleksa, vmes dvonadstropni objekt v obliki črke L, ki je predstavljal glavni del samostana, in na drugem koncu še manjši povišan objekt. Ta manjši objekt je verjetno služil kot gospodarsko poslopje, saj so imeli menihi okoli samostana precej kmetijskih površin, kmetijske pridelke pa so morali tudi nekje shraniti. Glavni objekt v obliki črke L je bil samostanska zgradba in na upodobitvi deluje kot novejša gradnja. Ta je imela na južni strani oblikovan triločni vhod ter po celotni fasadi razporejene okenske odprtine, ki so bile tesno nanizane v liniji in pravokotnih oblik. Samostanska zgradba se je naslanjala na zvonik, ki je bil dokončan v drugi polovici 16. stoletja. Zanimivo je, da na izrisu samostanskega kompleksa iz leta 1775 cerkev ni prikazana – razlog je mogoče v tedaj že spremenjeni funkciji celotnega kompleksa (v tem času je bil opravljen nakup samostana s strani koprške plemiške družine) ali pa v neveščem risarju, saj bi moral cerkveno ladjo prikazati v aksonometriji za samostansko zgradbo (torej bi se stavbna telesa deloma prekrivala). Cerkev je na današnjem mestu gotovo stala že od začetne postavitve cerkvice sv. Apolinarija, kar nam potrjujeta naslednja podatka: v času Paola Naldinija (1632–1713) je imela cerkev dvojni patrocinijski oltar, saj sta bili v glavnem oltarju podobi sv. Apolinarija in sv. Nikolaja (Darovec, 2001, 158; PAK, 302, 24). O starejšem poreklu cerkve pa pričča tudi zvonik, ki je označen z letnico 1576 in so ga zgradili na že obstoječi cerkveni ladji, kot je razbrati še iz današnjega stanja (glej Sliko 2).

Samostan sv. Nikolaja je bil priljubljeno bivališče beneških benediktincev, ki so v to »dolino preko« radi in pogosto zahajali. V 16. stoletju je bilo njihovo bivanje večkrat prekinjeno, saj je v letih 1511, 1554 in 1573 v Istri pustošila kuga, leta 1573 pa je bil samostan celo čisto zapuščen (PAK, 302, 24; Semi, 1935, 7–8). Menihi so svoj samostan obogatili z marsikaterim umetniškim delom ter drugim okrasom iz Benetk,⁶ dodatno vrednost pa je bivališču dajala privlačna okolica. Kot lahko razberemo iz zapisa (najverjetneje iz 19. stoletja), je bila panorama samostana veličastna – na eni strani

1 Iz izraza *ultra* se je razvil sodobni *oltra*. Besedi označujeta pomen preko, onstran, drugi. Tako so tedaj zaliv oz. dolino, kjer danes leži Ankaran, označili kot dolina preko, tudi druga dolina – glede na bližnji Koper. Možno je tudi, da so pridevnik *oltra* dodali, da bi na ta način razlikovali cerkev v Valdoltri od istoimenske cerkve v Benetkah (Naldini, Darovec, 2001, 157). Včasih se je pogosto uporabljalo poimenovanje Valdoltra (kot poslovenjena različica izraza *valle d'Oltra*) in je opredeljevalo celotni ankaranski zaliv, danes pa zasledimo tudi ožji pomen, ki se nanaša na ortopedsko bolnišnico Valdoltra ter njej bližnji del naselja Ankaran.

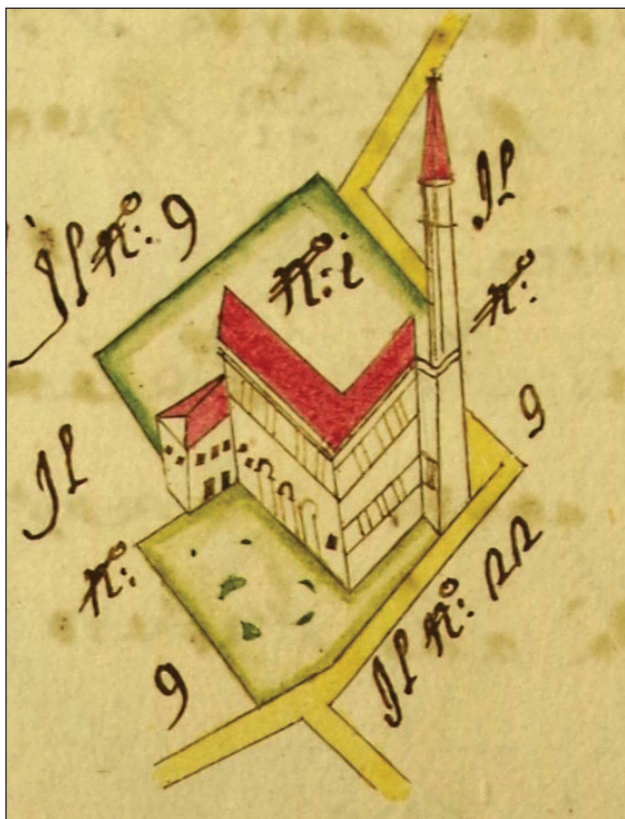
2 V arhivu Madonizze lahko zasledimo zapis o zgodovini samostana v Valdoltri, kjer je pisec kot letnico postavitve cerkvice opredelil leto 1053. Cerkvico naj bi dal postaviti patriarh, škof in dož Contarini (PAK, 302, 24).

3 Kot primer so benediktinci v 13. stoletju pridobili nekaj vinogradov. Zemljišča so samostanu prodali Bonifacio de Walpurga in njegov zet Ottone ter Giovanni Girgilia (Cigui, 2007, 414).

4 Podobno potrjuje tudi kasnejši prevzem cerkve Marijinega oznanjenja ob Petrurijevih vratih v Koprju. Leta 1426 sta Marino della Rocca in njegova mati Leonora cerkev s hišo in vrtom podarila samostanu. Leta 1445 je tako v imenu opata beneškega samostana na Lidu cerkev prevzel njegov prior Janez. S tem pa je bil povečan tudi priorat sv. Nikolaja v Valdoltri (Cigui, 2007, 414; Naldini, Darovec, 2001, 157–158). Glej tudi Oter Gorenčič, 2012, s tam navedeno literaturo.

5 V literaturi je navedena ta letnica (npr. Oter Gorenčič, 2012, 558; Semi, 1935, 8), čeprav je vklesana letnica na fasadi pod zvonikom cerkve sv. Nikolaja 1576.

6 Za predstavo o umetniških delih, ki so jih nekdanj imeli v samostanu, glej: Semi, 1935, 9–10, 12–23, fig. 1–32.



Slika 1: Benediktinski samostan leta 1775 (PAK, 302, 25–28)

Figure 1: Benedictine monastery in 1775 (PAK, 302, 25–28)



Slika 2: Pogled na cerkev z zvonikom (avtor fotografije: Ines Unetič)

Figure 2: The church and its bell tower (I. Unetič, personal photograph)

ga je obdajalo kristalno morje, na drugi zeleneči griči, spredaj pogled na skali dvignjeno mesto (Koper), vse pa je bilo »aggruppano quanto di vago ed ameno sogliono produrre o colorire la natura e l'arte« (PAK, 302, 24). Menihom je Valdoltra poleg meniškega življenja, miru in možnosti samotarskega bivanja nudila tudi zdravo in prijetno klimo ter med vsemi užitnimi plodovi tudi tiste, ki jih je bilo potrebno ujeti (predvsem naj bi bil priljubljen lov na ptice; PAK, 302, 24).

Glede na arhivski zapis, ki kot vir navaja Tommasinija, škofa iz Novigrada,⁷ pa benediktinci že v prvi polovici 17. stoletja svoja poslopja v Valdoltri niso več uporabljali kot samostan, ampak le kot prostor *villeggiature* (PAK, 302, 24).⁸ V zapiskih o Istri, ki jih je nekako sredi 17. stoletja pisal škof Tommasini – a jih ni uspel dokončati, pa lahko celo preberemo: »Nasproti mesta [Kopra], miljo onkraj morja, je Sv. Nikolaj, ki mu pravijo d'Oltra,

spada pa pod opatijo San Nicolò na beneškem Lidu: to je lep kraj s sodobnimi stavbami, kot se spodobi za veličino cassinske kongregacije. Sem so prihajali poleti na izlet menihi iz Benetk, ker je zrak odličen in ker so spričo samotnosti kraja lahko svobodno lovili ptiče in ribe. Zdaj z Lida ne prihajajo več sem, ker hodijo v kraje, ki so bližje Benetkam, tako da zdaj biva tu le menih ali dva in včasih kak opat, ki se sem zateče uživat samostansko samoto« (Tommasini, 1993, 197). Vidimo lahko, da v 17. stoletju v samostanu ni bilo več meniškega življenja v pravem pomenu besede in mogoče so ravno zato tu našli prostor drugi obiskovalci. V tem stoletju in še kakšno stoletje poprej so namreč v Valdoltra prihajale na oddih ugledne osebnosti (Naldini, Darovec, 2001, 159). Samostan v Valdoltri so benediktinci dokončno opustili v 18. stoletju. Eden od razlogov naj bi bil nesrečen dogodek, ko je ladjo benediktincev, ki so iz Benetk prihajali v Val-

⁷ Giacomo Filippo Tommasini se je rodil v Padovi leta 1595, vstopil je v bratovščino kanonikov sv. Jurija v Algi, doktoriral je iz filozofije in teologije ter napisal mnogo del (slavospevov, predstavitev pomembnih ljudi in krajev, del o književnosti idr.). Postal je škof v Novigradu v Istri, kjer je leta 1654 umrl (Tommasini, 1993, 7–9).

⁸ To letno bivališče menihov so torej v toplih mesecih zasedli mnogi beneški benediktinci, medtem ko je v zimskih mesecih objekte in posest nadzoroval tudi en sam menih ali pa upravitelj celotne istrske samostanske posesti (Semi, 1935, 9–10).



Slika 3: Fotografija notranjega dvorišča letne rezidence družine Madonizza v Ankaranu (fotografija ni datirana, verjetno iz 19. stoletja; PAK, 302, 24)

Figure 3: Photograph of the inner courtyard of the Madonizza family summer residence in Ankaran (the photograph is not dated; it was presumably taken in the 19th century; PAK, 302, 24)

doltro, zajela nevihta. Nesreče mnogi menihi niso preživeli. Prebivalci in benediktinci naj bi ta dogodek videli kot božjo kazen in se niso želeli več vračati v Valdoltro (Semi, 1935, 10). Drugi razlog pa je prineslo leto 1770, ko je Beneška republika poostrila nadzor in pritisk nad beneškim samostanom na Lidu ter njegovim imetjem v Istri (Semi, 1935, 10). Sklenemo lahko, da so se benediktinci najkasneje tega leta umaknili iz Valdoltre, za seboj pa so poleg kompleksa z vodnjakom, vrtom, dvoriščem pred objekti, cerkvijo in zvonikom pustili tudi obsežna pridelovalna zemljišča – oljčne nasade, njive, gozd, travnike, vinograde in hiše kolonov s pripadajočimi zemljišči.⁹ Odhod menihov naj bi najbolj pretresel okoliške prebivalce, saj so jim menihi nudili pomoč in tolažbo ter znanje v zdravilstvu (PAK, 302, 24).

O oblikovanih vrtovih v tem času ni najti podatkov, tudi prikaz samostana iz leta 1775 (Slika 1) ne daje slutiti, da bi menihi skrbeli za vrt, namenjen le okrasu in ugodju. Kljub temu pa lahko upravičeno domnevamo, da so benediktinci imeli svoj samostanski vrt. Samostanski vrtovi so menihom pomenili vir preživetja oz. samooskrbe – predvsem sta imela takšno vlogo zelenjavni (*hortus*) in sadni vrt (*pomarium*). Poleg teh dveh delov samostanskega vrta so menihi imeli še del vrta, kjer so bile poudarjene estetske prvine (*viridarium*),¹⁰ in zeliščni vrt (*herbularius*), ki je bil lahko pravi vir znanja in pomoči sočloveku v zdravilstvu (Schulz, 2008, 12–16). Vsi ti segmenti vrta so se navadno med seboj prekrivali in dopolnjevali, saj so bili tudi samostanski vrtovi manjši in le redko velikopotezni.¹¹ O obstoju samostanskega vrta

⁹ PAK, 302, 25–28. V katastru so popisana še druga zemljišča, ki so sodila pod beneški samostan – posesti so poleg Valdoltre imeli še v Kopru, Miljah, Bujah in Buzetu.

¹⁰ Viridarium je bil navadno poln cvetlic, ki so sledile sakralni ikonografiji (na primer: lilija, vrtnica, vijolica, teloh, potonika idr.), urejen je bil v pravilni shemi, pomemben element tega dela samostanskega vrta pa so bile tudi tratne ploskve.

¹¹ Gotovo bi tudi med samostani našli izjeme, kot je na primer nemški benediktinski samostan v Drünbecku, kjer so si nune v začetku 18. stoletja uredile več oblikovanih vrtov z vrtnimi hišicami (vsaj pet vrtov samostanskih dam, vrt opatinje in rožni vrt) na južnem, severnem in vzhodnem delu samostanskega kompleksa (Schulz, 2008, 90–93). Tu bi lahko našli tudi druge samostanske vrtove iz bližnje Italije, na primer vrtove samostana sv. Antona v Padovi ter bližnjega benediktinskega samostana v Praglii.

v Valdoltri pričajo tudi nekatera zgodovinska dejstva vezana na benediktince. Ena od zahtev sv. Benedikta je namreč bila, naj vrt zagotavlja samooskrbo menihov, poleg tega pa naj bi za benediktinski red veljalo, da so povsod tam, kjer so ustanovili svoj samostan, uredili tudi vrt. Na ta način naj bi srednjeveški benediktinci spoštovali željo Karla Velikega, da bi lahko – kjerkoli v svoji kraljevini je že bil – našel oblikovan vrt (Heckmann, 1998, 133).

Tako kot drugi samostanski vrtovi je moral biti tudi vrt v Valdoltri formalno zasnovan – členjen z gredicami in potmi, ki so vrtno površino sekale v pravilnih linijah. Verjetno je bil deloma urejen ob objektih, a oblikovno najbolj dodelan del samostanskih vrtov je moral biti v *klaustru* – torej v atriju, obdanem z arkadnim hodnikom in *pozzom* (vodnjakom) v sredini. Atrij so v 18. stoletju imenovali *Piazza de Chiostri*, kot lahko vidimo v inventarju iz leta 1771, ki ga je 27. avgusta tega leta v Kopru spisal pooblaščenec samostana Alessandro Duodo. Na *Piazzai de Chiostri* je na sredi stal pozzo s kamnitim obodom, brez cisterne, z železnim lokom nad vodnjakom in z dvema bakrenima vedroma za vodo (PAK, 302, 25–28; glej Sliko 3). Dvorišče je obdajal križni hodnik, ki je moral potekati po celotni strani samostanske stavbe (v obliki črke L) ter ob cerkvi, zahodno stranico pa so nemara zaprli s kakšno začasno konstrukcijo, saj lahko tudi na fasadi dvorišča zasledimo, da po tej stranici ne teče ozek izstopajoč kamnit pas (nekakšen horizontalni venec, ki na fasadi ločuje pritličje od nadstropja), kot je videti na ostalih treh straneh. Ali je bilo dvorišče že tedaj v celoti tlakovano, ni jasno. Bolj verjetno je, da so ga v celoti tlakovali šele člani družine Madonizza leta 1876, saj je tlakovano dvorišče smiselno v primeru, ko ima vodnjak cisterno, ki pa je – glede na arhivski zapis – ni imel (PAK, 302, 25; PAK, 302, 25–28). Tako so lahko na dvorišču negovali vrtno grede ter sledili značilni shemi takšnega vrta. Vrt v klaustru je bil navadno členjen na štiri enake dele, med katerimi sta tekli pravokotno sekajoči se poti, na njunem sečišču pa je pogosto stal vodnjak. Voda je v takšnem samostanskem vrtu le še poudarjala njegovo simbolno in duhovno vlogo. Vrt je tako postal podoba božjega raja, kjer je vrtna zasnova nakazovala na osnovni krščanski simbol križa, izbrane rastline so poudarjale simbolni pomen vrta, vodnjak pa je opozarjal na vedno prisotno in čisto vero vseh, ki so vrt uporabljali in vzdrževali ter jo tako tudi krepili.

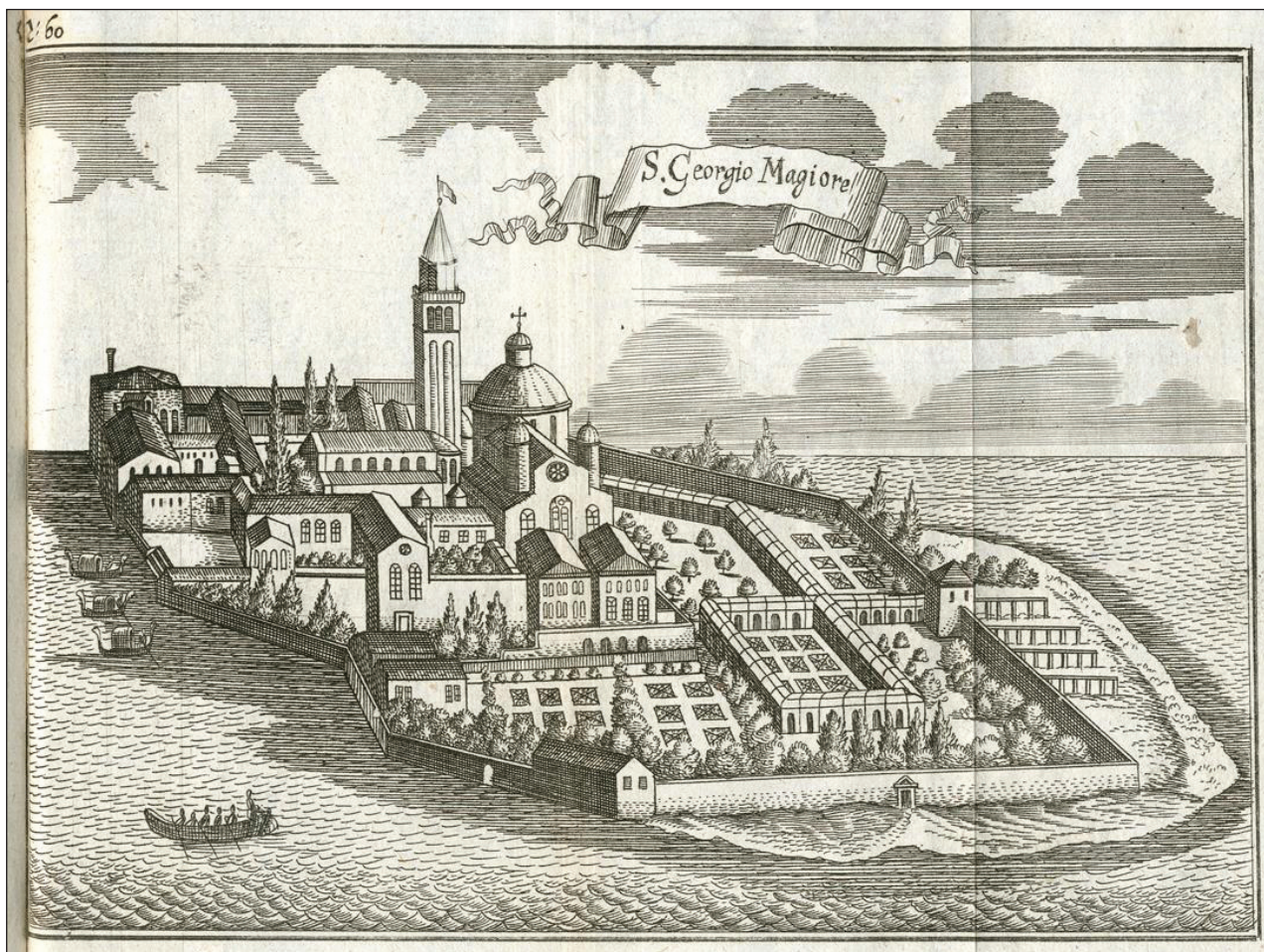
Vrtno površino samostana v Valdoltri so verjetno segale tudi izven klaustra. Glede na mlajše načrte¹² in

še danes ohranjene zidce okoli hotela bi lahko sklepali, da je imel samostan obzidje, ki verjetno ni imelo obrambne funkcije, je pa lahko varovalo zelenjavni in sadni vrt pred živino in divjadjo. Zasnova vrta izven samostanskega poslopja je bila verjetno preprosta, kot lahko na primer vidimo na upodobitvi samostana S. Giorgio Maggiore v Benetkah s konca 17. stoletja (glej Sliko 4).¹³ Ta beneški samostan je imel urejene zelene klaustre med samostanskimi stavbami, izven teh pa pravilno zasnovane vrtove oz. kvadratno oblikovane zelenjavne gredice, enakomerno razporejene med sadnim drevjem (NUK, GS 0 422, 60). Tovrstna zasnova, ki ima predvsem utilitarno funkcijo, saj omogoča lažje in bolj racionalno pridelovanje, je bila pogosta ob samostanih – veliko bolj kot zasnove reprezentativnih vrtov. Čeprav je bilo okoli samostana v Valdoltri precej ograjenega prostora, je verjetnost, da bi benediktinci tu imeli reprezentativen vrt, zelo majhna. Zasnova takšnega vrta bi lahko sledila za tisti čas in prostor značilni shemi vzlastih parterjev (*Knotenparterre*) oz. geometrijskih parternih vrtov v renesančnem duhu, katerih glavni gradnik je bil pušpan. Primer tovrstnega parterja bi našli v benediktinskem samostanu v Dajli na Hrvaškem, kjer so menihi negovali geometrijsko oblikovani parterni vrt s fontano na sredini (Slika 5).¹⁴ Čeprav je baročni stavbni kompleks Dajle prišel v roke benediktincem iz Praglie šele v 19. stoletju ter so ga nasledili po plemiški družini Grisoni, bi lahko v njem videli nekatere splošne poteze oblikovanja vrtov v tem prostoru, ki so se pojavljali v profanem ali sakralnem prostoru (Cigui, 2007, 420). Pravilno, geometrijsko členjene vrtove, ter vzlaste parterje lahko vidimo tudi ob samostanih v Padovi, kot jih prikazuje karta iz 18. stoletja (Padova, 1989), deloma pa so nekatere poteze tovrstnih reprezentativnih vrtov še vidne v samostanu v Paglii. Obstoj reprezentativnega vrta v Valdoltri bi lahko potrdile nekatere ohranjene rastline – predvsem pušpan, ki bi se gotovo lahko ohranil skozi čas, saj gre za cenjeno rastlino, ki raste počasi in zelo dobro prenaša rez ter je bila prav zato vedno dobrodošla v oblikovanih vrtovih. Današnji vrt pa ne daje slutiti, da je bila v preteklosti ob samostanu zasajena večja količina pušpanov, ki bi gradili reprezentativni vrt, tako lahko trenutno predvidevamo le, da sta bila zelenjavni in sadni vrt urejena izven klaustra ter da ju je dopolnjeval vrtni vodnjak (kot bo vidno v nadaljevanju), v klaustru pa je bil oblikovani vrt za mešano rabo oz. večinoma z zelišči, okrasnimi rastlinami (tudi plezavkami, kot je vidno na Sliki 3), posodovkami

¹² Glej v nadaljevanju.

¹³ Sklepanje o podobi samostanskega vrta v Valdoltri je torej mogoče ob primerjavi z drugimi samostanskimi vrtovi iz bližnje okolice. Najboljšo primerjavo bi nudil samostan na Lidu, za katerega vemo, da ima še ohranjen klauster s tlakovanim dvoriščem in *pozzom* (dvorišče so najverjetneje krasili z raznimi posodovkami) ali pa drugi beneški samostani.

¹⁴ Benediktinci v Dajli so svoj samostan uredili v nekdanji plemiški palači oz. plemiški letni rezidenci. Tako je mogoče, da vrtna zasnova, ki jo lahko vidimo na priloženi fotografiji, izhaja še iz časa plemiške družine Grisoni oz. iz poznega 18. stoletja. Kljub temu v svoji analizi uporabim ta primer reprezentativnega vrta zaradi njegove – v tistem času in prostoru – splošno razširjene zasnove ter zaradi velikosti, ki bi teoretično ustrezala površini ob samostanu v Valdoltri.



Slika 4: Pogled na beneški samostan S. Giorgo Maggiore in njegove vrtove konec 17. stoletja (NUK, GS 0 422, 60)
Figure 4: The venetian monastery S. Giorgo Maggiore and its gardens at the end of the 17th century (NUK, GS 0 422, 60)

in pozzom. Rastline, ki bi jih lahko našli tu oz. skoraj v vsakem srednjeveškem samostanskem vrtu in jih našteva tudi znani benediktinec Walafrid Strabo (809–849) v svoji pesnitvi *De cultura hortorum* oz. krajše *Hortulus*, so na primer žajbelj, vinska rutica, pelin, črna meta, koromač, luštrek, krebuljica, mak, mačja meta, zelena – te bi lahko rasle v zeliščnem vrtu, in mnoge druge kot na primer buče in melone, ki so bile Strabu zelo ljube in okusne in jih je bilo kljub severni legi v Reichenau še mogoče gojiti (kar v Ankaranu gotovo ni bil problem). Glavni okras samostanskega vrta so navadno predstavljale tudi cvetlice kot na primer lilije in vrtnice (Heckmann, 1998, 131–132; Schulz, 2008, 13, 17–18, 20–38). Upoštevati pa moramo tudi mediteransko klimo, ki je omogočala menihom v Valdoltri gojenje di-

šavnin in zelišč, kot sta sivka in rožmarin, ter v koritih rastočih pomarančevcev in limonovcev, ki so dodatno krasili oblikovani vrt.

Leta 1774 oz. 1775¹⁵ sta posest nekdanjega samostana svetega Nikolaja z vsemi premožninami in nepremičninami kupila brata Pietro in Giovanni Madonizza. Kupo-prodajna pogodba med koprsko družino in Beneško republiko je imela posebno klavzulo, v kateri je bilo določeno, da kupljeni objekti ne smejo nikoli več služiti samostanski rabi (Semi, 1935, 10–11).

Večja gradbena dela bi lahko zasledili v 19. stoletju, v času Pietra in Nicolòja Madonizze. V monografiji o ankaranskem samostanu je Francesco Semi gradbena dela umestil v čas dr. Piera Madonizze, vendar nam arhivski viri sporočajo nekoliko drugačno gradbeno

¹⁵ Letnico 1774 kot leto prodaje lahko najdemo v monografiji Francesca Semija iz leta 1935 (Semi, 1935, 10) ter v arhivu družine Madonizza (PAK, 302, 24, 25). V tem arhivu pa je hranjen tudi že omenjeni kataster benediktinskega samostana iz leta 1775 (PAK, 302, 25–28), kjer je zapisano, da so posest leta 1775 nenadoma prodali Pietru Madonizzi.



Slika 5: Fotografija oblikovanega vrta ob Dajli, kjer so imeli benediktinci na terasi v neposredni bližini morja še urejen reprezentativen vrt v renesančnem duhu s fontano na sredini (Miškovič, 1982, sl. 4)

Figure 5: Photograph of the designed garden at Dajla, where the Benedictines had a representative renaissance garden with a fountain on a terrace near the sea (Miškovič, 1982, fig. 4)

zgodovino (Semi, 1935, 10). Piero¹⁶ Madonizza je živel med letoma 1845 in 1910, glede na arhivske vire pa so se večja gradbena dela začela že v tridesetih letih 19. stoletja ter jih tako ne moremo umestiti v njegov čas. Kasnejša dela v 19. stoletju¹⁷ lahko pripišemo njegovemu očetu, Nicolòju, domnevamo pa seveda lahko, da je bil pri gradbenih posegih soudeležen tudi Piero.¹⁸

Prva gradbena dela v 19. stoletju bi tako pripisali Pietru Madonizzi, ki je dal preurediti vodnjak v vrtu in cisterno tega vodnjaka, najverjetneje pa so vzporedno s to gradnjo potekala tudi druga gradbena dela in so v tem času zaprli dvorišče palače z enako visokimi stavbnimi volumni (PAK, 302, 25). O delih na vodnjaku v vrtu lahko v arhivskih dokumentih beremo, da je Pietro Madonizza dal razstaviti in znova sestaviti vodnjak (*a pozzo veneziano*), ki je stal v vrtu že v času benediktincev in je nudil vir vode za »zunanji« oblikovani vrt. Čas nastanka tega vodnjaka ni znan, obnovljen in dograjen pa je bil leta 1835 in ga še danes lahko vidimo v hotelskem vrtu (Slika 6). O obnovitvenih delih na vodnjaku se je ohranila pogodba z dne 10. maja 1835 ter podpisana s strani mojstrov Pietra Bonifaccia, ki se je podpisal s križcem, in Domenica di Francesca iz Kort, ki se je podpisal z imenom, kot tudi zastopnika Pietra Madonizze (PAK, 302, 25). V listini so določene mere vodnjaka oz. cister-



Slika 6: Vodnjak v današnjem hotelskem vrtu v Ankarani s cedrami v ozadju (avtor fotografije: Ines Unetič)

Figure 6: The fountain in today's hotel garden in Ankarani with cedar trees in the background (author of the photograph: Ines Unetič)

ne (globok naj bi bil okoli 4,5 metrov), njegovi elementi (postavljen je moral biti na *verro*, okoli vodnjaka je bil predviden zidec iz dobrega kamna ter v obliki zvonca), način dela in plačila itn. Med drugim je bilo v pogodbi določeno, da dela opravljata Pietro Bonifaccio iz Pirana ter Domenico iz Kort, da je delavcem dovoljeno odvzeti izkopani material (odnesti so ga morali na lastne stroške), da je plačilo delavcev vezano na velikost cisterne (če izkopljejo 5 klafter, dobijo 65 fl, če 6 klafter, pa 90 fl) ter da plačilo dobijo vsako soboto – če delo poteka gladko; določena je bila tudi doba garancije (1 leto). Z deli naj bi predvidoma začeli 13. maja ter jih do 14. junija zakl-

¹⁶ Najdemo lahko tudi zapis Pietro.

¹⁷ PAK, 302, 5. Predvsem je njegova dejavnost evidentirana v času obnove palače na Belvederju okoli 1860.

¹⁸ Piero je svojemu očetu na posesti v Ankarani začel pomagati šele, ko je bil oče že star in je potreboval pomoč pri vodenju posesti. Piero Madonizza je bil politično zelo aktiven in je znan kot goreč zagovornik italijanske oblasti oz. nasprotnik avstrijske politike – tako je tudi označen kot "un garibaldino capodistriano". Delal je predvsem v Kopru, v mestni palači in v palači na Belvederju. Zdi se, da je bil v Valdoltri pogosteje, ko je imel družino (poročil se je leta 1865), saj se je tam njegova družina udeleževala slovesnih nedeljskih maš, ki so jih vodili kapucini in kjer so se zbrali domačini, koloni, dninarji in drugi lastniki zemljišč (Almerigogna, 1958, 428–434).

jučili. V pogodbi je zapisano, da morajo mojstri obnoviti oz. rekonstruirati vodnjak, kot je bilo določeno, ter da ga ne smejo spreminjati ali povzročati škode – prav tako ne smejo povzročati škode na vrtu (PAK, 302, 25).

Konec sedemdesetih, v začetku osemdesetih in še v devetdesetih letih 19. stoletja lahko zabeležimo drugi večji »gradbeni val« v letni rezidenci družine Madonizza. Leta 1879 je namreč pravnik ali pranečak Pietra, Nicolò Madonizza, začel prenavljati oz. popravljati objekte ter ustvarjati stavbni kompleks, ki je sledil simetriji in je imel sodoben značaj (PAK, 302, 24, 25). V tem času so popravili oz. povečali kašče; glede na načrte v družinskem arhivu v Kopru so zaradi boljšega zračenja preuredili podstrešje ter oblikovali še eno segmentno zaključeno odprtino v zidu med kaščo in hodnikom (izračun je bil narejen 16. februarja 1879; PAK, 302, 25). V tem letu je v atriju delal tudi tlakovalec (14. maj 1876), leta 1882 pa so potekala dela na glavni hiši nekdanjega samostana (PAK, 302, 25). Zgradili so zatrep na glavni fasadi z zvonikom na preslico, strelovod in odtok v cisterno. Z deli ali vsaj pripravami na delo so začeli že 1. januarja 1882, v računskih knjigah iz tega časa pa lahko vidimo, da so dela potekala vse do 5. novembra leta 1882. V tem času so plačali gradbeni material, ki ga je priskrbel g. Ant. Almerigogna, za delo so plačali merilcu (ime ni podano), zidarju Martissu, gradbeniku Mamoli, mizarju Utelu, kamnoseku Brovedanu, kolarju Steffi, Silviu Urbanisu (ki je bil zadolžen za postavitve strelovoda in je za to specifično delo dobil 333 fl 80 xr), kupili so apno, pesek, kamnite plošče, zvon in urno številčnico za sončno uro. Skupni znesek del na glavnem objektu pa je bil okoli 1528 fl (PAK, 302, 25). V letu 1883 so popravljali hleve. Med majem in oktobrom tega leta so kupili pesek, izkopali temelje, prepeljali različen gradbeni material, kamen, zemljo, vodo, kamnite plošče in tramove. Za material so plačali Almerigogni, za transport opečnih tlakovcev oz. strešnikov so plačali Giov. Marcovichu, za pesek je dobil plačilo Pav. Fumolo, za živo apno Anv. Utel, med delavci pa je imenovan še kovač Mamola. Skupni znesek za dela v letu 1883 naj bi tako znašal okoli 2680 fl (PAK, 302, 25). Med dela v 19. stoletju lahko umestimo še dela na fasadi v letu 1893. Fasado so utrjevali s kamnom in malto,¹⁹ kot lahko razberemo iz arhivskega zapisa, ki ga je napisal Antonio Dearli 24. marca 1893 (PAK, 302, 25).

Zanimivi so zapisi v računski tabeli iz leta 1883, ki govorijo o prenosu kamna. Kamen so namreč transportirali iz kamnoloma ali pa »preko pomola«. Po morju

naj bi tako prepeljali okoli 150 vozov kamna (PAK, 302, 25). Ta kamen je prišel iz Kopra, natančneje iz družinske mestne rezidence na Belvederju,²⁰ ki jo je 8. januarja 1858 uničil požar (PAK, 302, 5). Že Semi v svoji monografiji zapiše, da je družina Madonizza pri prenovi letne rezidence v Ankaranu uporabila kamen iz koprške palače ter iz njega oblikovala atiko, ki jo je krasil majhen zvonik na preslico (Semi, 1935, 10). Kamen so tako prepeljali v letih 1882 in 1883, ko so izvajali večja stavbna dela na palači, kar kažejo tudi zgoraj zabeleženi zneski. Povezava med koprsko in ankaransko palačo je vidna tudi v mojstrih in drugih delavcih, ki so delali na obeh objektih. Tako lahko na obeh lokacijah najdemo zidarja Martissa, kamnoseka Brovedana, kovača Mamola in mizarja Utela. Med gradbenimi deli na obeh objektih je sicer minilo več kot dvajset let, tako lahko predvidevamo, da so mnogi mojstri bili že novi oz. nasledniki tistih, ki so delali v Kopru.²¹

Konec 19. stoletja je tako palača dobila sodobno podobo. Nekdanje samostansko dvorišče s pozzom in biforami so obdajale arkade oz. so bile ob strani v pritličju lože z delavnicami in shrambami, v zgornjem nadstropju pa so bile sobe s hodniki (PAK, 302, 24; Naldini in Darovec, 2001, 158–159). Celotno poslopje je sledilo simetriji, ki jo je še poudarjala nova atika z majhnim zvonikom na preslico, ob straneh oz. robovih atike pa sta bila še dva okrasna elementa z vazami s sadjem ter s kovinsko konico – motiv, ki je bil kot okras istrskih hiš in vil precej pogost (Semi, 1935, 10). V arhivskem zapisu je objekt opredeljen kot sodoben, tako da bi lahko govorili o historični oz. neobaročni arhitekturi (PAK, 302, 24). Tudi Semi v svojem delu palačo opredeli kot baročno; dodaja pa tudi, da jo je na ploščadi pred pročeljem krasil še en kamnit obod vodnjaka oz. »vera« da pozzo (Semi, 1935, 10). Ta vodnjak pa se najverjetneje v 19. stoletju še ni nahajal tu, ampak je bil na to mesto prenesen šele v 20. stoletju (verjetno po drugi svetovni vojni) iz bližnje lokacije ene izmed kolonskih hiš.²²

Kakšna je bila vrtna zasnova ob palači v 19. stoletju (oz. po nakupu družine Madonizza) je težko določiti. Vsekakor je bil vrt že v začetku stoletja pomemben spremljevalec palače, saj Pietro Madonizza v pogodbi o delih na vodnjaku (1835) zapiše: »... *prometendo di lavorare con tutti i riguardi onde non cogionare dei danni al Giardino, il tutto sotto loro [delavci] responsabilità*« (PAK, 302, 25). Na franciscejskem katastru, ki je označen z letnico 1892 (AS 179), lahko vidimo, kje se je vrt raztezal. Urejen je bil zahodno od palače, na

19 Uporabili so 180 klesanih kamnov za okvirje, 80 pilastrov (ob straneh), 50 malih kartuš na sredini ter malto za zadnje ometavanje 38 kvadratnih metrov.

20 Del mestnega obzidja oz. pravokotni pomol v obzidju na koncu Verdijeve ulice so včasih imenovali Belvedere (Bernik, 1968, 86).

21 Kateri mojstri so isti tako v Kopru kot v Ankaranu, je težko reči. V Kopru je delal mizar Giacomo Utel in tudi zapisi o gradbenih delih na nekdanjem samostanu pričajo o G. Utelu, a tudi o Anv. Utelu (mogoče nasledniku prvega). V Kopru je delal kovač Giovanni Mamola, prav tako lahko v Ankaranu zasledimo kovača Mamola (a brez imena). Zidar Andrea Martissa je izpričan v Kopru, medtem ko je v Ankaranu zapisan N. Martissa. Vprašanje se pojavi tudi pri kamnoseku, saj ni jasno, ali je Leonardo Brovedan (ki je delal v Kopru) ista oseba kot Brovedan, ki je delal v Ankaranu (PAK, 302, 5, 25).

22 Za podatek se iskreno zahvaljujem dr. Mojci M. Kovač iz ZVKD Piran.



Slika 7: Detajl iz franciscejskega katastra, kjer je dobro vidna vrtna zasnova ob palači (AS 179)

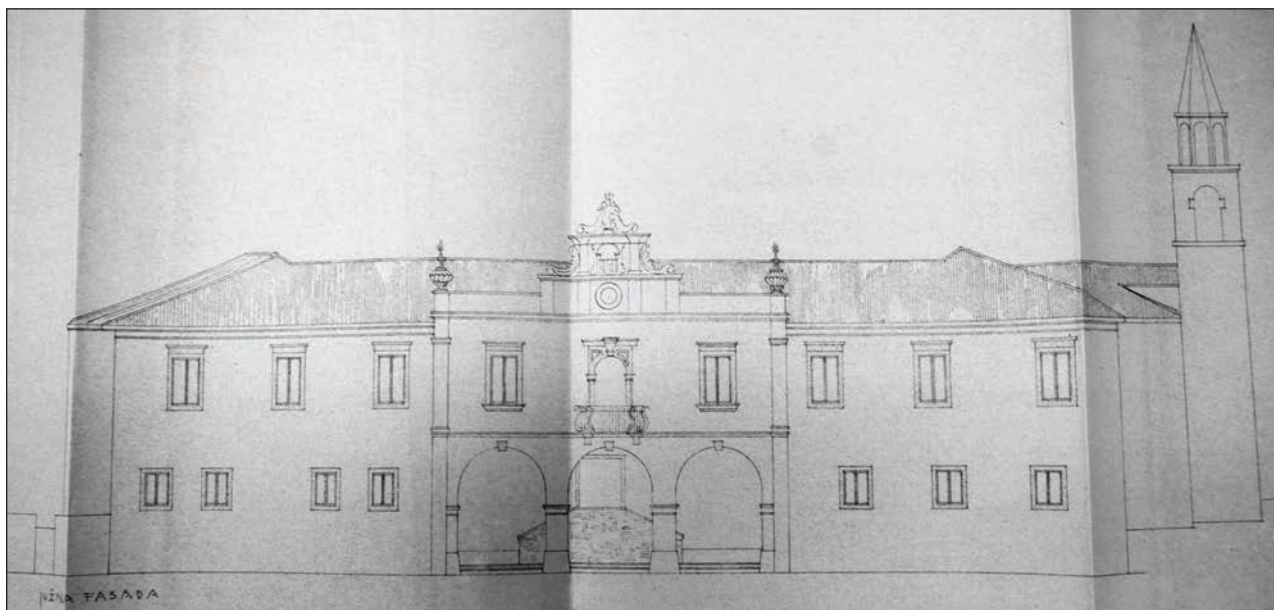
Figure 7: A detail from the Franziscan cadastre with a clearly visible design of the garden beside the palace (AS 179)

terasah, kjer je še danes hotelski vrt ter plato hotelske restavracije. Na katastru lahko celo razberemo njegovo zasnovo. Vrt so členile mehko oblikovane linije poti, ki so površino vrta delile na osem polj. Ta polja so imela skoraj centralno obliko, polnilo pa jih je cvetoče rastje. Zasnovo bi lahko umestili v pozni krajinski slog, saj znotraj sheme, ki je že prevzela mehke linije krajinskega oblikovanja, prevladujejo nekatere romantične okrasne prvine (cvetlične preproge). Ta slog je bil v osrednjem delu Evrope prisoten od zgodnjega 19. stoletja ter je – to lahko trdimo za območje Kranjske – prihajal iz nemškega sveta (Unetič, 2013, 172–173, 199). Iz časa plemiške rodbine se je v hotelskem vrtu ter ob restavraciji ohranilo nekaj drevnine. Še danes lahko vidimo stare cedre ob objektu ter okoli vodnjaka v vrtu, blizu pa rastejo tudi brin, lovor in ciprese. Med rastline, ki so se ohranile iz časa družine Madonizza, bi lahko umestili tudi nekaj vrtnic, ki še danes krasijo južno fasado hotela. Cedre so pogosto sadili ob plemiških vilah, razlog za to pa bi lahko našli v njeni rasti in uporabnosti, saj cedra doseže precejšno višino (tudi več kot 30 metrov), ima dober les, zdravilne učinke ter gosto in dežnikasto krošnjo, ki nudi prijetno senco v vroči sredozemski klimi. Poleg

tega so bile zanimive tudi zaradi svojega zgodovinskega pomena in ikonografije, saj so bile cedre v Mediteranu rabljene že v davni antiki (za gradnjo templjev, palač in ladjevja) ter nastopajo v antičnih mitologijah in Svetem pismu (Masri, 1995). Ob vrtu so stali še različni objekti, ki so bili deloma še iz časa benediktincev, kot bi lahko sklepali po upodobitvi iz leta 1775. Drugi objekti ob vrtu pa so nastali najkasneje v 19. stoletju, saj je družina Madonizza zaradi aktivnega kmetijskega gospodarstva potrebovala veliko prostora za shranjevanje različnih kmetijskih pridelkov (razne poljščine, olive in olivno olje, vino, grozdje in razno sadje).²³ Med temi objekti naj izpostavim cvetličnjak, ki je verjetno predstavljal neke vrste rastlinjak oz. zimski vrt, kjer so lahko shranjevali in gojili bolj občutljive rastline ter posodovke.²⁴ Družina Madonizza si je uredila tudi prijeten zelen ambient na notranjem dvorišču. Čeprav je bil atrij tlakovan, so ga – poleg pozza – bogatile rastline, kot lahko vidimo na fotografiji (Slika 3); arkade in dvorišča so bila odprta, v spodnjem delu zastrta z leseno ograjo, v zgornjem pa s plezavkami. V poletnih mesecih so atrij najverjetneje krasile tudi posodovke, ki so prezimile v bližnjem cvetličnjaku in hodnikih palače.

23 Nekaj časa je družina gojila tudi murve, kar je že po letu 1850 začela spodbujati italijanska vlada (za podatek se iskreno zahvaljujem dr. Mojci M. Kovač iz ZVKD Piran).

24 Cvetličnjak, zidano ognjišče in še nekaj gospodarskih objektov je označenih tudi na mlajših načrtih za preureditev objekta v hotel, kjer so arhitekti označili že obstoječe in nove oz. predvidene zidove (PAK, OLO, 1029; PAK, OLO, 1031). Prav na teh načrtih je bilo mogoče tudi razbrati, da je velik del še danes vidnih »vrtnih« zidov okoli objekta starejšega nastanka.



Slika 8: Pogled na pročelje preurejenega hotela, načrt iz leta 1953 (PAK, OLO, 815)
Figure 8: A view of the façade of the renovated hotel, a plan from 1953 (PAK, OLO, 815)

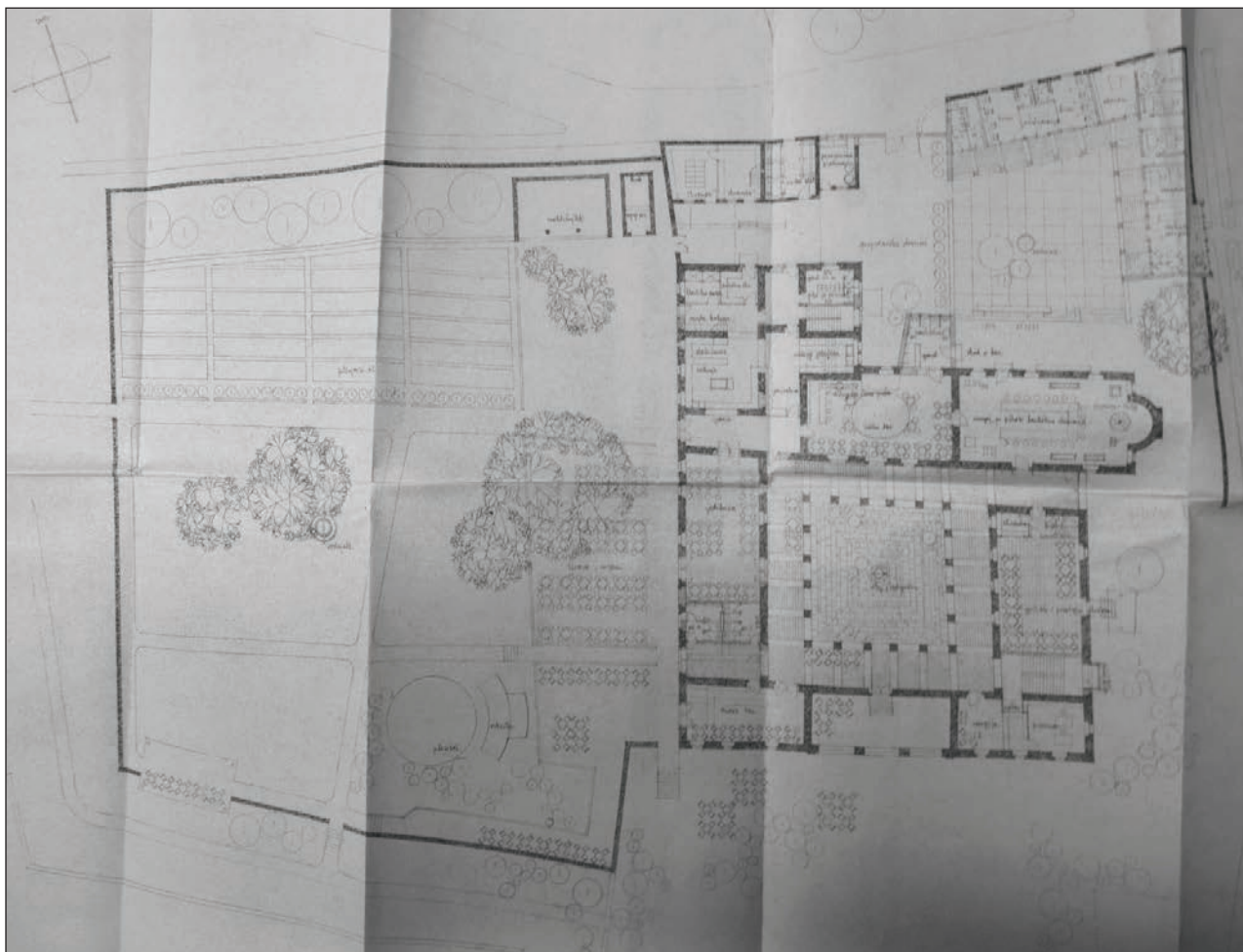
V začetku 20. stoletja je stavbni kompleks v Ankaranu še vedno služil kot letna rezidenca ter kot sedež kmetijskega posestva. Med kmetijskimi pridelki je bilo pomembno tudi vino, na kar nakazuje predvsem skrb Piera Madonizze, ki si je (verjetno v poznem 19. in zgodnjem 20. stoletju) dopisoval z mnogimi strokovnjaki za gojenje vina ter se je pogumno spoprijel s problemom, ki je težil tudi druge istrske vinogradnike. V tistem času se je namreč močno razširila trtna uš. Ta problem naj bi Piero Madonizza rešil z uvedbo nove, ameriške trte. Usmeril se je tudi v preučevanje kemijskega gnojenja in je prve poskuse na tem področju omogočil pod vodstvom priznanega strokovnjaka profesorja Gerosa (Almerigogna, 1958, 432). Predvsem uspešna je bila družina s prodajo žita. »Graner de Madonizza« so odjemali predvsem na območju Istre, žito pa je bilo mletno v različnih mlinih (tudi v Rižani). To cvetočo obrt je ostro prekinila prva svetovna vojna in po letu 1915 ni več zaživela.²⁵

V prvi polovici 20. stoletja je družina Madonizza želela razširiti družinsko podjetje iz kmetijskega na turistično področje. V Valdoltri so nameravali urediti velik hotelski kompleks s palačo, hotelom in vilami za goste v parkovno urejeni obmorski krajini. Za načrtovanje tega kompleksa je bil zaslužen arhitekt Giovanni Madonizza (1882–1968),²⁶ ki je leta 1907 dokončal študij arhitekture in gradbeništva na Dunaju ter se je nato izpopolnjeval še v Münchnu. Njegova arhitek-

turna dela so se ohranila predvsem v Trstu, znan pa je tudi po sodelovanju pri gradnji spomenika Viktorja Emanuela II. oz. *Altare della Patria* v Rimu. Giovanni je bil med drugim tudi predsednik društva *Società Capidistriana di Navigazione*. To društvo je s svojimi mnogimi parniki prevažalo Tržačane v kopališče S. Nicolò (pod letno rezidenco družine Madonizza) in sosednje morsko zdravilišče (na mestu današnje ortopedske bolnišnice), kar je arhitekta najverjetneje spodbudilo k oblikovanju ideje o urejenem stanovanjskem in hotelskem kompleksu v Valdoltri. Kopališče S. Nicolò je bilo tedaj polno obiskovalcev, urejeno in členjeno z drevoredi in travniki, polnile so ga tudi različne naprave in (preproste in družinske) hišice, ki jih je Giovanni sam načrtoval. Da bi lahko uresničil svoj projekt, je moral Giovanni Madonizza najti drug prostor za veliko družinsko kmetijsko posest. Na območju Rižane je uredil dve kmetijski gospostvi, ki sta pridelovali žito in sadje ter se ukvarjali tudi z živinorejo. V Valdoltri pa je počasi začel nastajati turistični kompleks – tu naj bi stali velik hotel, urejena plaža, apartmaji, penzioni, golf igrišče, tenis igrišča, mlekarna, velika trgovina oz. tržnica, kjer bi prodajali domače pridelke Tržačanom, pomol bi bil urejen za parnike ter bi služil kot marina. Giovanni Madonizza je že zgradil vile, ki so bile tedaj zelo cenjene – bodisi zaradi njihove izredne gradnje bodisi zaradi same lokacije v čudovitem in zdravilnem okolju (Comisso, 1998, 55–56). Vendar pa celotnega

²⁵ Almerigogna, 1958, 428. Pri trgovanju je očetu Nicolòju pomagal Piero Madonizza.

²⁶ Giovanni je bil zadnji moški potomec družine Madonizza, sin že večkrat omenjenega Piera in bratranec Antonia Madonizze, pravnika in politika ter aktivnega podpornika italijanske oblasti (Le onoranze, 1930, 457; Comisso, 1998, 55–56).



Slika 9: Načrt preureditve nekdanje palače v hotel Konvent iz leta 1956, kjer je vidna tudi ureditev oblikovanega vrta, vključno z glavno teraso na zahodu (PAK, OLO, 1029)

Figure 9: A 1956 plan for the rearrangement of the former palace into the Konvent Hotel, showing the designed garden and the west terrace (PAK, OLO, 1029)

projekta ni uspel izvesti – nadaljevanje je prekinila druga svetovna vojna.²⁷

V kolikšni meri so palačo in njeno okolico v prvi polovici 20. stoletja preurejali, ni jasno, a zdi se, da do nadaljnjih večjih sprememb ni prišlo. Glede oblikovanega vrta pa se je ohranil podatek, da so palačo v tem času (oz. vse do leta 1958) obdajali mnogi rožni vrtovi, ki so se nizali ob objektu in sledili arhitektonskim linijam dvoriščne lože (Almerigogna, 1958, 426). Vrtna zasnova pa je – kot je vidno na načrtu iz leta 1958 (PAK, OLO, 1031) – pravzaprav povzemala shemo, ki jo prikazuje že franciscejski kataster; severozahodno od objekta so se vile krožne poti, med katerimi je raslo različno zelenje.

Po drugi svetovni vojni je objekt pripadel jugoslovanski oblasti, ki mu je kmalu namenila hotelsko in turistično namembnost. Že leta 1953 so pri arhitektu, ki je danes znan po izgradnji in predelavi mnogih protokolarnih objektov v povojnem času, naročili načrte za prenovo oz. predelavo objekta v hotel. Vinko Glanz je izdelal načrte za stavbo samostana, ki je bila zajeta v kompleks »kopališča pri sv. Nikolaju« (PAK, OLO, 815). Investitor projekta je bilo gostinsko podjetje Triglav, adaptacija te stavbe pa je bila namenjena predvsem »za potrebe gostinstva, kot depandansa bodoči centralni zgradbi v kopališču« (PAK, OLO, 815). V pritličju so bili: vhodni atrij na jugu (z dvojnimi stopniščem in vodnjakom), kuhinja (postrežba je bila možna tudi

²⁷ K umiku od celotnega projekta je nemara vplivala tudi smrt pogosto bolehne žene v letu 1947 in dejstvo, da nista imela otrok. Po njeni smrti je zapustil Valdoltro ter se preselil v Koper, v palačo na Belvederju. Zaradi neugodnih okoliščin je kmalu zapustil Koper in živel pri svojih dveh sestrah – Francesci v Trstu in Nicolini v Bologni (Comisso, 1998, 55–56; Blasi, 2003, 66).

na vrtu), jedilnica, garderoba za goste, sanitarije in cerkev, preurejena v bar. V prvem nadstropju so bile sobe za goste (z eno ali dvema posteljama, s kopalnico ali samo z umivalnikom v sobi) ter zajtrkovalnica (prostor nad kuhinjo). V tehničnem poročilu projekta, spisanem 4. maja 1953, je zapisano tudi priporočilo, da se zamenja konstrukcija stropov, ostrešje in kritina ter da se odstrani zunanji in notranji omet. Objekt bi v notranjosti na novo ometali, zunanja fasada pa bi ostala v kamnu (le fuge bi zapolnili z malto). Tako bi hotel pridobil že kar rustikalno ali, mogoče bolje rečeno, »plečnikovsko« podobo. Glanz se z oblikovanim vrtom ob objektu ni ukvarjal, očitno pa je, da je bil predviden kot prostor strežbe in bi ga v ta namen morali vsaj deloma tlakovati. Vendar pa tovrstni detajli v tehničnem poročilu niso zajeti. Glančev načrt ni bil realiziran in v minuti je moralo še nekaj let, da so začeli nekdanjo plemiško palačo preurejati v hotel.

Leta 1956 so nastali novi načrti za adaptacijo zgradbe Konvent – investitor je bil tedaj gradbeno podjetje Turist, projektant pa arhitekt Anton Bitenc (PAK, OLO, 1029).²⁸ Te načrte so morali sicer dopolniti – tako so leta 1958 predložili nove, a vsebinsko enake načrte (PAK, OLO, 1031).²⁹ Zasnova celotnega hotela na teh načrtih je nekoliko spremenjena (glede na predhodne Glančeve načrte) – poleg starega južnega vhoda v objekt je bil sedaj urejen še vhod z vzhodne strani, kjer bi obiskovalec vstopil v gostišče. Pritličje je bilo podobno kot pri Glančevih načrtih tudi tu namenjeno gostilniški rabi (kuhinja je bila pomaknjena bolj v ozadje, urejeni so bili mnogi spremljevalni prostori kot na primer vrtnarska loža, predviden je bil nočni bar s posebnim vhodom, dodani so bili tudi prizidki itn.), cerkveni prostor pa je bil predviden za lapidarij oz. za muzej in po potrebi kot banketna dvorana. Severno od obstoječega objekta bi zgradili prizidek, ki bi obrobil tlakovan trg, zasnovan podobno kot atrij v palači – z arkadami in vodnjakom na sredini. Prostori v tem prizidku bi bili namenjeni upravi in servisu (PAK, OLO, 1029; PAK, OLO, 1031).³⁰ Velikega pomena za hotel je bila predvsem zahodna terasa, kjer so poleg strežbe na prostem želeli ponuditi še orkester, prostor za ples in sprehode po vrtu (glej Sliko 9). Strežba bi potekala na ožjem in dvignjenem delu terase tik ob palači, pod tem platojem pa je bilo predvideno plesišče s prostorom za orkester, manjši del zunanje restavracije

pa bi bil urejen tudi na odmaknjenem delu terase z lepim razgledom na morje. Dostop na teraso bi bil mogoč iz hotela, iz južne in zahodne »vrtne« strani terase ali prek stopnic tik ob palači (danes je stopnišče, ki vodi na plato restavracije, odmaknjeno od stavbe). Terasa bi bila v veliki meri tlakovana z betonskimi ploščami, deloma posuta s peskom in deloma zasejana s travo oz. ozelenjena. Meje terase bi še vedno določali starejši, še obstoječi vrtni zidovi,³¹ poti, ki bi teraso členile, pa bi v glavnem tekle vzporedno z vrtnimi zidovi, le osrednja pot bi diagonalno povezovala severni del terase in stopnišče, ki je iz terase vodilo proti morju. »Zeleni« del terase bi predstavljala večja drevesa, preprosta ozelenitev ter zelenjavni vrt. Ta bi bil urejen na severnem delu terase, omejen bi bil z gosto živo mejo ter členjen s pravilno oblikovanimi gredicami in potmi, ki bi najverjetneje vodile do vodnjakov. V načrtih iz poznih petdesetih let je označeno tudi obstoječe drevje, med katerimi prepoznamo že omenjene cedre. Zdi pa se, da so s časom nekaj dreves tudi odstranili, saj danes ne vidimo več v poročilu iz leta 1957 omenjenih murv in kostanjev (na Sliki 9 lahko tudi vidimo, da je bilo nekdanje na terasi za objektom več dreves bližje stavbi). Zahodno teraso je bogatil še ohranjen vrtni vodnjak med cedrami. Na južni strani te terase in objekta so tudi predvideli preprostejšo ozelenitev z drevjem in grmovnicami, ki bi jo – pred južnim vhodom v palačo – lepšal še vodnjak (PAK, OLO, 1029; PAK, OLO, 1031). Kot je zapisano v naslednjem poročilu k načrtom, je arhitekt Bitenc želel čim manj posegati v sam objekt, kar kaže na njegovo upoštevanje in spoštovanje kulturnih spomenikov, katerih pronicljivo obnavljanje mu je prineslo tudi velik sloves. Tako so bile spremembe manjšega merila, fasade tudi ni spreminjal, edino na severni strani hotela bi dodal prizidek (PAK, OLO, 1031).

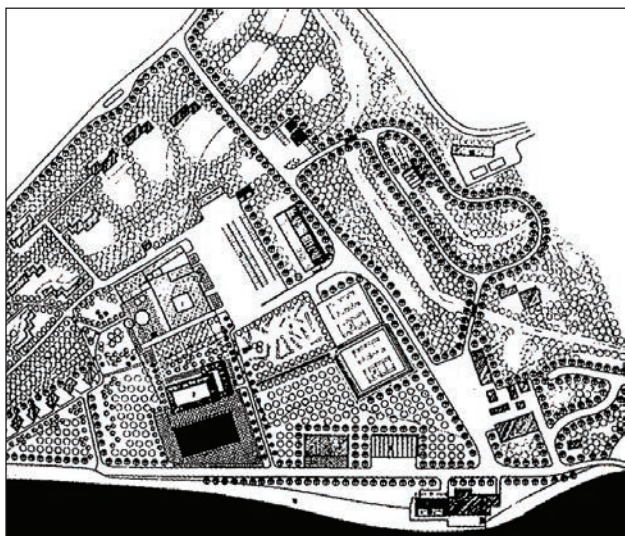
Predstavljeni načrti so bili osnova za adaptacijo hotela Konvent, ki je bila z odločbo odobrena 25. marca 1958 (PAK, KP 712.29, 369). Kot se zdi, so izvedli nekatere načrtovane spremembe, a nekaj je tudi novih, ki so večinoma sledile v šestdesetih letih. Arhitekt, ki je v tem desetletju zaznamoval hotelski objekt in večji del počitniškega naselja v Ankaranu, je bil Edo Mihevc.³² Nekako od leta 1960 do leta 1966 je na hotelskem objektu izvedel več del, ki sicer deloma sledijo idejam iz let 1956–1958, a se od teh tudi razlikujejo. Tako je njegov

28 Kot projektanta sta navedena tudi arhitekta Edvard Ravnikar in Justina Hruševar, na projektu pa je delala tudi Alenka Lenarčič (PAK, OLO, 1029).

29 Kot projektant je zabeležen tudi Miloš Hohnjec (PAK, OLO, 1031).

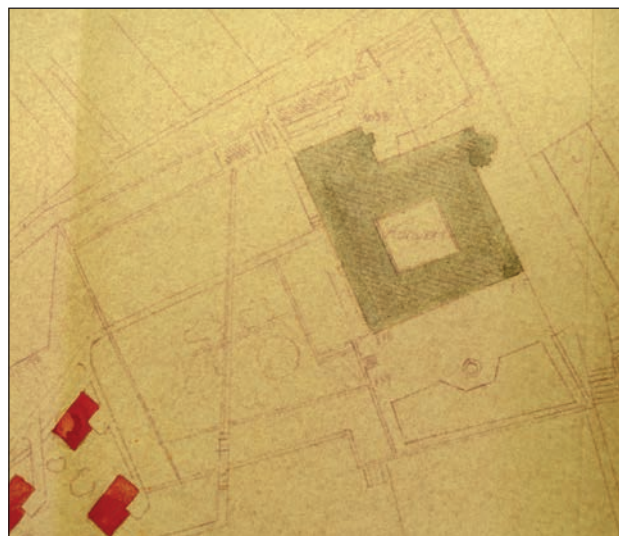
30 Za ureditev celotne okolice objekta je bil izdelan poseben načrt v šoli profesorja Ravnikarja (načrt naj bi se nahajal na mestnem ljudskem odboru v Kopru) ter je bil tudi osnova za določanje lokacij novih počitniških hišic (PAK, OLO, 1031).³¹ Danes lahko še vedno vidimo starejši zidec, ki predstavlja zunanji rob današnjega hotelskega vrta. Kasneje (verjetno v šestdesetih letih) so očitno dodali notranji podporni zid, ki omejuje današnji plato restavracije.

32 Arhitekt Mihevc je bil vse od leta 1946 pa do upokojitve leta 1981 profesor na ljubljanski Fakulteti za arhitekturo. Imel je zelo obsežen življenjski opus in je tako, predvsem na slovenski obali, zapustil mnogo arhitekturnih del. V svojem delu je sledil ameriškim in italijanskim zgledom sodobne arhitekture, zato je bilo njegovo ustvarjanje drugačno od njegovih sodobnikov in vodilne Ljubljanske šole za arhitekturo, ki so se naslanjali predvsem na švicarsko in skandinavsko smer v sodobni arhitekturi. Njegova dela na Obali so bila drugačna kot ostala dela (predvsem za Ljubljano), saj je tu iskal bogastvo tradicije sredozemskih mest, beneške in istrske arhitekture (Budkovič in Koželj, 2011, 13–14, 21).



Slika 10: Ureditveni načrt počitniškega naselja v Ankaranu, ki je bil izdelan po razširitvi počitniškega naselja z Mihevčevimi projekti (Budkovič, Koželj, 2011, 231)
Figure 10: A plan for the arrangement of a holiday village in Ankaran. The plan was made after the expansion of the holiday village according to Mihevc's architectural projects (Budkovič in Koželj, 2011, 231)

prizidek na severni strani, ki je povezan s stavbo hotela, in posledično ustvarja gospodarsko dvorišče za nekdanjo palačo, večjih dimenzij ter deluje stavbno bolj homogeno kot predlog Bitenca. Mihevc je na zahodni strani hotela razširil prostor restavracije – prizidal je namreč prtilično krilo restavracije in arkade ob objektu,³³ tako pa je pridobil na zahodu veliko teraso s plesiščem, ki jo je obogatil tudi z orkestrskim paviljonom in jo pokril z lahkotno kovinsko pergolo (Budkovič in Koželj, 2011, 236–237).³⁴ Že leta 1960 je Mihevc prestavil glavni vhod na vzhodno stran hotela oz. je tu uredil recepcijo, istočasno pa je arhitekt Rudi Kolenc zasteklil atrij (PAK, KP 712.29, 639). Pozornost je posvetil tudi interjerju, kjer prevladuje vidna opeka, značilna za Mihevca. Posebnost predstavlja predvsem modra dvorana, ki ima strop obložen s keramiko – to pa so ročno poslikali študenti arhitektovega seminarja (Budkovič, Koželj, 2011, 237). Mihevc je v Ankaranu zaznamoval velik



Slika 11: Situacijski načrt vikend hišic pod hotelom Konvent iz leta 1958 (PAK, KP 712.29, 370)
Figure 11: A situation plan of the weekend houses below the Konvent Hotel from 1958 (PAK, KP 712.29, 370)

del počitniškega naselja ob nekdanjem samostanu, saj je oblikoval in uredil še taverno, apartmaje in turistična naselja – depandanse Cedra, Weekend ter Bor. Večina objektov je bila realizirana med letoma 1960 in 1966.³⁵ Mihevčevo prisotnost na območju počitniškega naselja Ankaran lahko zasledimo tudi v vikend naselju pod hotelom, ki so ga zgradili leta 1958, saj je v letu 1960 tu urejal poti med objekti. Na situacijskem načrtu teh letnih hišic je vidna tudi shema hotela Konvent z vrtom, kot je bila predvidena po zgoraj opisanih načrtih. Vidna je členitev terase, plesišče, višja drevnina in diagonalno potekajoča pot, ki na tej shemi povezuje cvetličnjak in pot, vodečo do morja (PAK, KP 712.29, 370). Situacijski načrt nakazuje ureditev, ki je bila predvidena v načrtih iz 1958. leta, a kot lahko vidimo še danes, so v šestdesetih letih vnesli v projekt več sprememb. Oblikovani vrt, ki je tako nastal (oz. velika terasa s plesiščem za hotelom, ki jo spremljajo ozelenjene terase), pa nima posebnega povezovalnega koncepta. Drugače pa velja za arhitekturni del počitniškega naselja v Ankaranu, ki ga

33 Arkade je k palači prizidal tudi na vzhodni strani.

34 Opisana dela naj bi bila večinoma izvedena okoli leta 1962 (Budkovič, Koželj, 2011, 236–237).

35 Okoli leta 1960 je Mihevc uredil dva apartmajska niza, ki stojita za hotelom oz. ob cesti, ki iz magistralne ceste vodi k hotelu. Po zasnovi sta niza, imenovana depandansi Bor, podobna depandansam Cedra, ki so nastale dve leti kasneje. Depandanse Weekend so zgradili leta 1961 in so razporejene na višje ležeči terasi za hotelom, gre za enonadstropne apartmajske nize, ki so kombinacija lokalnih in modernističnih elementov ter so uspešen primer stika arhitekture in naravnega okolja. Okoli leta 1962 je Mihevc oblikoval šest enonadstropnih in razgibanih apartmajskih nizov imenovanih Cedra, ki ležijo v zelenem predelu za hotelom oz. za depandansami Weekend. Stavbe so sicer skoraj enake motelu (danes sta to vili Oliva in Tamara) v turističnem naselju Belvedere nad Izolo, ki ga je Mihevc zasnoval leta 1964. Istega leta je bil v Ankaranu zgrajen gostinski objekt ob morju – taverna, ki so ji kasneje na severozahodno stran dodali manjši paviljon sladolednega vrta. Taverna ob morju ima tudi veliko zunanjo teraso in plesišče, po zasnovi pa spominja na restavracijo hotela Konvent. V letih 1960, 1965, 1975 so nastali še apartmaji Oljčna pot, ki stojijo v blagem pobočju nad lokalno cesto na vzhodnem robu Ankarana (Budkovič, Koželj, 2011, 231–232, 234, 240, 242, 244–245).

je Mihevc oblikoval v enovitem duhu. Njegovo obsežno delo na Obali je sčasoma izoblikovalo njemu lasten jezik vzorcev prostorskih in arhitekturnih elementov, ki so bili gradniki njegove vizije mesta v mozaiku mestne krajine. Tako je arhitekt v šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih ustvarjal precej enovito podobo slovenske Obale, kar je pravzaprav omogočil njegov sodelavec profesor Edo Ravnikar, ki mu je leta 1957 predal vso svojo urbanistično dokumentacijo Slovenskega primorja in se zavezal, da mu tam ne bo več konkuriral. Od leta 1959, ko je izdelal osnutek regionalnega načrta za slovensko obalo, ter vse do leta 1974 je bilo vse urbanistično načrtovanje na Obali v Mihevčevih rokah in Ankaran mu je predstavljal pomemben del njegove vizije kontinuirane urbanizacije. Od Ankarana do Žusterne je namreč želel urediti gručasto zazidavo, ki bi se prilagajala reliefu, nekakšno trakasto somestje ob obali, kar je nakazal že z ureditvijo v Ankaranu (Budkovič, Koželj, 2011, 14–17).

Oblikovanje hotelskega vrta v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja je izhajalo še iz tradicije arhitektonskega oz. arhitekturnega vrta, ki se v Evropi uveljavi v poznem 19. stoletju. Začetniki tega novega oblikovanja so bili arhitekti in so vrt pogosto razumeli kot podaljšek hiše oz. kot bivalne prostore na prostem. Vrtne zasnove so bile formalne, v vrtovih so bili pogosti arhitekturni elementi (zidci, nižje terase, pergole ipd.), tudi rastlinski okras je dobil bolj prostor-tvorno funkcijo (Gotheim, 1977, 447–458). V načrtih opisanih projektov prepoznamo nekatere elemente arhitektonskega vrta, a ob upoštevanju realizirane ureditve vrta, le težko govorimo o celoviti in konceptualno povezani vrtni zasnovi oz. o

vrtni zasnovi nasploh. Vrt v tem primeru predstavlja le prostor za izvajanje hotelskih funkciji in je izgubil svojo oblikovno vlogo.

Danes je hotel³⁶ ena izmed turističnih kapacitet podjetja Adria, njegovo ime pa je pridobilo nekoliko bolj internacionalni prizvok – *Convent*. Podoba hotela in okolice še danes v glavnem sledi Mihevčemu projektu iz šestdesetih let. Zahodna terasa je tako v veliki meri tlakovana in pozidana, vrt pa je zreduciran na travnate ploskve, nekaj dreves in grmovnic. V drugi polovici 20. stoletja so sicer dodali nekaj rastlinskih vrst, kot so ciprese, smreke, oleander, nekaj trajnic (sivka, volnati čišljak, nemški rožmarin, vrtnice idr.) ter za letovišča značilne palme. V šestdesetih letih so spremenili tudi nekdanji potek opornih zidov in nivojev vrtnih teras, uredili pa so tudi dostop na teraso po štirih poteh. Tako lahko obiskovalci na glavno teraso pridejo iz hotela; po poti, ki vodi do višje ležečih letnih hišic (mimo nerealiziranega zelenjavnega vrta); iz južne terase z vodnjakom, ki je bil tja prenesen naknadno; ali pa iz nižje ležeče terase, ki nudi gosto senco in kjer v krožni poglobitvi stoji vodnjak, ob robu pa so dodani še iz kamnitih fragmentov sestavljene miza in klopi. Iz te senčnate terase je prek stopnišč in tlakovanih poti mogoč dostop še na druge terase, ki so v nepravilnem redu nanizane po rahli vzpetini, spuščajoči se do morja. Oblikovani vrt palače sicer ni segal do morske obale, je pa terasasta ureditev omogočala lepe poglede nanj. Tako lahko še danes – kot so nekdanj benediktinci in člani družine Madonizza – obiskovalec *Conventa* uživa vsaj v pogledu na rodovitno in gričevnato obmorsko krajino Valdoltrre.

36 Zapis Semija sicer navaja na misel, da je bila palača Madonizze že prej preurejena v hotel, ki je vsako leto gostil domačo in tujo aristokratsko javnost ter so mu nadeli ime »Lido di San Nicolo«, ime, ki spominja na nekdanjo vlogo teh objektov v Valdoltri (Semi, 1935, 10). Mogoče je, da se je Semi pri tem naslanjal na besede Naldinija, ki je leta 1700 poročal o uglednih gostih samostana (Naldini, Darovec, 2001, 159).

HISTORY OF THE FORMER ARISTOCRATIC PALACE AND ITS GARDENS AT VALDOLTRA
FROM THE BENEDICTINE MONASTERY WITH MONASTIC GARDENS TO THE
CONVENT HOTEL WITH ITS TERRACES IN ANKARAN*Ines Unetič*

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ABSTRACT

In the Middle Ages, a church was built in the bay where today's settlement Ankaran is located, and this church was the reason for the establishment of the Benedictine monastery S. Nicolò d'Oltra. The church was initially dedicated to S. Apollinaire, but – after 1072, when it became a part of the Venetian Benedictine monastery S. Nicolò del Lido – its patrocinium was gradually replaced by that of S. Nicholas. In the 16th and 17th centuries, both the architecture of the monastery and its garden were created. Archival documents show that the purpose of the monastery garden was mainly to grow herbs and fruit. In 1774 the monastery property in Valdoltra was acquired by the family Madonizza, a noble family from Koper, who rearranged the monastery complex into a summer residence. The building and its surroundings were rearranged in the thirties and in the late 19th century – the architecture remodelled in this time could be classified as neo-baroque in style, and the designed garden as a late landscape garden. In the first half of the 20th century, the family Madonizza wanted to transform their property in Valdoltra into a hotel complex. The plans were prepared by the architect Giovanni Madonizza, but their execution was interrupted by the outbreak of the Second World War. The idea of a hotel complex in Valdoltra later materialized – in the new Yugoslavian state. In the late 1950s and 1960s, plans for the rearrangement of the palace into a hotel were commissioned from different architects, such as Vinko Glanz, Anton Bitenc, Edo Mihevc and others. The focus of this project was on the building; however, the immediate surroundings of the hotel were included in the plans, and the hotel garden would have an architectural character, if the plans had been fully realized. Despite the many past alterations, today's Convent Hotel has retained its historical appearance, while the hotel garden is mostly unmaintained and has lost its former design. However, one can still discern some elements of past garden designs and the connection of the terrace garden with the broader surroundings.

Keywords: Benedictine monastery, summer residence, S. Nicolò d'Oltra, Valdoltra, Ankaran, Madonizza, monastery garden, designed garden, Hotel Konvent, Hotel Convent, Vinko Glanz, Anton Bitenc, Edo Mihevc, landscape garden, architectural garden

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IL PROGETTO DI LORENZO MARTINUZZI PER LA CHIESA PARROCCHIALE A GONARS: CONTRIBUTO ALLO STUDIO DELL'ARCHITETTURA TARDOBAROCCA NEL FRIULI-VENEZIA GIULIA

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SINTESI

L'odierna chiesa di Gonars, costruita tra gli anni 1970 e 1972, ha una storia molto più antica. Si tratta infatti del quarto edificio costruito sul sito. Il contributo esamina la fase tardobarocca della chiesa di Gonars, dove oggi si trova l'edificio sacrale risalente agli anni 1970 – 1972. La chiesa rappresenta il tipo di edificio sacro più diffuso nel Friuli negli ultimi trent'anni del XVIII secolo, basato sulle opere dell'architetto veneziano Andrea Palladio dalla fine del XVI secolo e formatosi definitivamente con le opere degli architetti veneziani dalla fine del XVII secolo e inizio del XVIII secolo, quali Domenico Rossi, Francesco Comin, Giorgio Massari e Antonio Gaspari. Il progetto qui esaminato è il primo progetto noto dell'architetto Lorenzo Martinuzzi il giovane e conformemente a ciò gli si attribuisce anche alcuni altri edifici sacri nel Friuli. Il contributo inoltre segnala che le chiese di questo tipo in questo periodo e in questa zona sono molto simili l'una all'altra e sono difficilmente attribuibili solo tramite un'analisi formale.

Parole chiave: architettura tardobarocca, Lorenzo Martinuzzi, Principesca contea di Gorizia e Gradisca, Gonars, Friuli-Venezia Giulia

MARTINUZZI'S PLAN FOR THE PARISH CHURCH IN GONARS: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF LATE BAROQUE ARCHITECTURE IN THE FRIULI

ABSTRACT

Today's church in Gonars, which was built between 1970 and 1972, has a considerably older history because this is at least the fourth church at this site. This church belonged to the most widespread type of religious architecture in Friuli in the second third of the eighteenth century, which was based on works by the Venetian architect Andrea Palladio from the end of the sixteenth century, and they received their final form with the works of Venetian architects from the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century, such as Domenico Rossi, Giorgio Massari, Francesco Comin, and Antonio Gaspari. The plan examined here is the first known plan by the architect Lorenzo Martinuzzi the younger, and certain other religious structures in Friuli have been attributed to him based on this work. This paper also draws attention to the fact that the churches of this type from this time and in this area are very similar, and that it is difficult to properly attribute them based only on a formal analysis.

Keywords: late Baroque architecture, Lorenzo Martinuzzi, Archdiocese of Gorizia, Gonars, Friuli

Nel paese di Gonars, che si trova nelle vicinanze di Palmanova ovvero presso il confine un tempo instabile tra il territorio asburgico della Principesca contea di Gorizia e Gradisca e tra Venezia, oggi si trova una chiesa costruita tra gli anni 1970 e 1972. Gonars, che negli archivi è menzionato per la prima volta nel 1031 (Dentesano, 1981, 115), ottenne il primo edificio sacro molto presto. Il suo patrocinio San Canziano ci fa pensare che la prima chiesa fu probabilmente costruita già nei primi secoli del cristianesimo (Dentesano, 1981, 49, 50). Il culto dei santi martiri Canziani di Aquileia si diffuse, infatti, già poco dopo la loro morte nel periodo della persecuzione dei cristiani sotto Diocleziano intorno all'anno 304 (Bratož, 1999, 366-388; Bratož, 2007, 128-191; Bergamini 2007, 482-509; Tavano, 2006, 194-196). Questa chiesa, assieme a quella di San Giorgio a Fauglis, apparteneva alla Chiesa madre di Porpetto. Nel XV secolo qui risiedevano due cappellani (Dentesano, 1981, 49, 50). Le chiese ottennero una certa autonomia nel 1579, quando il duca austriaco Carlo II, principe dell'Austria Interna, nominò Angelo Bindonio primo vicario. Si separarono definitivamente da Porpetto nel 1643, quando papa Urbano VIII nominò Giacomo Del Grande parroco di Gonars e Fauglis, la presentazione del quale era a carico degli Asburgo. Alla soppressione del patriarcato di Aquileia la parrocchia di Gonars passò alla nuova arcidiocesi di Gorizia, come del resto tutte le altre parrocchie in territorio asburgico della Principesca contea di Gorizia e Gradisca. Gonars faceva parte del più grande arcidiaconato di Gorizia. Al rinnovo delle frontiere delle diocesi nel 1818, Gonars, così come le altre parrocchie di Friuli, passò all'arcidiocesi di Udine. A quei tempi faceva parte della forania di Mortegliano, nel 1912 invece entrò a far parte della forania di Palmanova (Dentesano, 1981, 50-52; Tirelli, 2009, 22, 23; Kralj, Tavano, 1994, XXXIII-XXXVII).¹

Nonostante la chiesa parrocchiale di Gonars vanti una storia risalente ai primi secoli del cristianesimo, poco sappiamo sugli edifici ecclesiastici situati lì nel passato. La chiesa odierna è, infatti, un edificio moderno, costruito tra il 1970 e il 1972 secondo i progetti dell'architetto Giacomo Della Mea di Udine. La struttura della vecchia chiesa divenne, infatti, pericolosa, perciò dovettero chiuderla, ma prima di costruirne una nuova, quella vecchia fu rasa al suolo (Dentesano, 1981, 62, 63).

L'edificio odierno è almeno il quarto eretto su questo sito. La prima ristrutturazione documentata della chiesa risale agli anni antecedenti al 1585, quando in una lettera fu menzionato il suo allargamento (Dentesano, 1981, 61), ma probabilmente questa non fu la prima ri-

strutturazione o il primo ampliamento della chiesa presumibilmente paleocristiana ovvero altomedievale. L'edificio allargato alla fine del XVI secolo, fu demolito tra il 1770 e il 1775. Secondo i dati raccolti finora la nuova chiesa sarebbe stata costruita tra il 1775 e il 1780, in altre parole nel periodo del parroco Alberto Nicolò Moretti (Dentesano, 1981, 62; Tirelli, 2009, 101). Molto più tardi la chiesa (il 13 settembre 1868) fu consacrata dal vescovo Nicolò Frangipane (Dentesano, 1981, 62). Questo edificio fu fotografato durante la demolizione e così si è conservata l'immagine dell'esterno dell'edificio tardobarocco. Si trattava di una sala longitudinale con cappelle laterali e un campanile sul lato meridionale. La facciata era articolata da quattro pilastri su basamenti alti e muniti di capitelli ionici. Almeno i due capitelli interni erano gradonati e creavano una leggera sporgenza. Al centro tra questi due pilastri si trovava un portale rettangolare sormontato da una finestra rettangolare che appare murata al tempo della realizzazione delle foto. La parte superiore della facciata terminava con un timpano profilato. I pilastri erano posizionati anche sulle pareti laterali in corrispondenza della facciata. Il portale principale era rettangolare con un frontone semicircolare. A sinistra e a destra della facciata erano aggiunti dei locali più bassi. Stando alla fotografia, che documenta solo la parte meridionale, non si trattava di cappelle coeve alla navata della chiesa, ma di locali costruiti più tardi, ognuno separatamente, poiché hanno profondità diverse e non sono collegati tra di loro.²

Ma solo in base alla foto non possiamo sapere chi potrebbe essere stato l'architetto di questa nuova costruzione tardobarocca, poiché in questo periodo e in queste località gli edifici sacri più semplici si assomigliano molto e solo in base all'analisi stilistica difficilmente possono essere attribuiti ad un determinato architetto. Per citare un esempio: la chiesa dell'Assunzione della Vergine Maria a Kojško, costruita sul sito della vecchia chiesa³ tra il 1765 e il 1768 su iniziativa del feudatario locale, conte Rodolfo Coronini, fu attribuita, in base alle sue opere documentate, a Michele Bon (Seražin, 200a, 83-85; Seražin, 2000b, 392). Soltanto gli archivi hanno rivelato che il progetto della chiesa fu creato dall'architetto Saverio Gianni, che inoltre aveva condotto la costruzione (Osvald, 2004a, 99). Sia Bon che Gianni erano membri dell'Arte dei murari, fondata nel 1759 a Gorizia, e fondatori della compagnia di San Vincenzo Ferreri nel duomo di Gorizia (Seražin, 2000b, 389).

La costruzione della chiesa tardobarocca a Gonars risale al periodo di maggior fioritura dell'attività edilizia nella Principesca Contea di Gorizia, poi di Gorizia e Gradisca. Questa ebbe inizio già alla fine della

1 Ringrazio Karmen Chakir per la traduzione dell'articolo e il Alessandro Quinzi per la revisione linguistica e tecnica.

2 Le fotografie della chiesa scattate subito prima e durante la demolizione sono pubblicate in Dentesano, 1981, 63. Le fotografie utilizzate in quest'articolo, di proprietà del sindaco di Gonars, il dott. Marino del Frate, e dell'Archivio della parrocchia di Gonars, mi sono state gentilmente fornite dalla dott.ssa Antonella Gallarotti. Ringrazio di cuore entrambi.

3 Si è conservato l'intero presbitero e una parte della navata tardogotica.

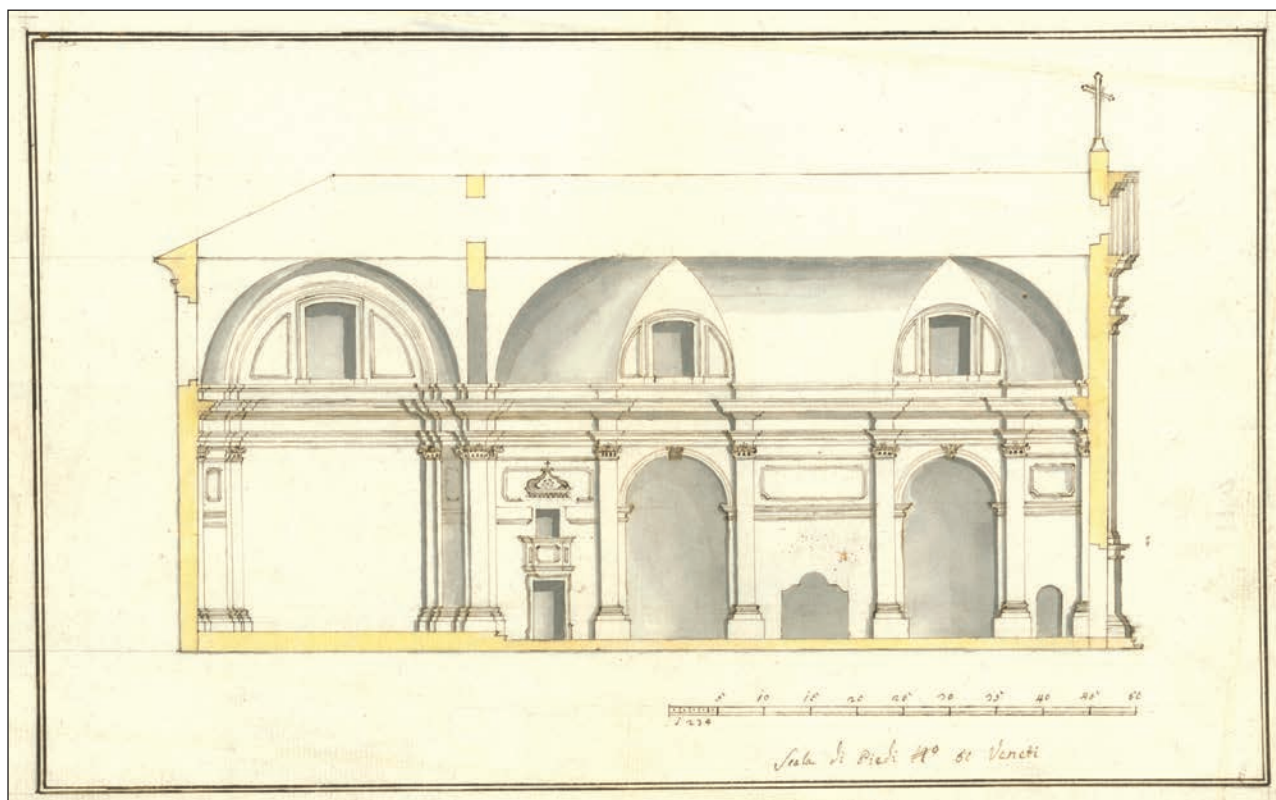


Fig. 1: La vecchia chiesa di San Canciano, Gonars, il progetto di Lorenzo Martinuzzi, pianta, 1775 (AT-OeStA/AVA Kultus AK Katholisch, 391)

guerra di Gradisca (1615–17) grazie alla ricostruzione e all'insediamento di nuovi ordini monastici. Già allora si trasferirono in questo territorio molti architetti dai laghi del Nord d'Italia che qui si stabilizzarono (Seražin, 2000b, 387–389). Il secondo periodo d'oro dell'architettura di Gorizia fu dopo la prima metà del XVIII secolo. Dopo la fondazione dell'arcidiocesi a Gorizia nel 1751 il primo arcivescovo Carlo Michele d'Attems, nominato l'anno seguente, incominciò presto a visitare le parrocchie e le chiese a lui sottoposte (Kralj, Tavano, 1994, XXXVII–XVII). Ferdinando II nel 1638 proibì ai patriarchi di Aquileia di esercitare l'autorità ecclesiastica sul suo territorio, perciò il visitatore trovò molte chiese in cattivo stato o non adeguato, poiché molte avevano ancora soffitti piani. Perciò raccomandò di riparare o ricostruire diversi edifici sacri (Kralj, Tavano, 1994). L'attività edile fu stimolata anche dalla riorganizzazione dell'amministrazione della nuova Principesca contea di Gorizia e Gradisca nel 1754 e dal conseguente arrivo di nuovi nobili e funzionari a Gorizia. Prima di allora questo territorio era abbastanza instabile e gli abitanti poveri (Dentesano, 1981, 69–103; Makuc 2015, 211–226 con bibliografia). Così alla metà del XVIII secolo operavano nella regione almeno sedici maestri d'opera o architetti (Seražin, 2000b, 389), che erano in grado di svolgere anche le

commissioni più complesse (Seražin, 2000a, 61–63). Tra questi sono stati indagati, soprattutto per merito di Helena Seražin, Michele Bon, Anton e Jakob Vidrih e Saverio Gianni (Seražin, 2000a, 60–91; Seražin, 2000b, 389–395; Seražin, 1999, 183–186; Osvald, 2004a, 99; Kemperl, 2011, 86, 87). Essi non erano legati solo dalla comune appartenenza all'Arte muraria di Gorizia, ma anche dallo stile architettonico, che si basava su modelli veneziani. Inoltre per la costruzione di edifici sacrali utilizzavano un tipo di chiesa molto simile, che si affermò nella maggior parte delle nuove costruzioni e ricostruzioni della Principesca contea di Gorizia e Gradisca intorno alla metà del XVIII secolo. Si tratta di una chiesa costituita da una navata rettangolare ampia senza transetto e un presbiterio quadrato. La navata ha su ambedue le pareti longitudinali due o tre nicchie profonde per gli altari, che sporgono leggermente all'infuori. Tutto l'interno è circondato da una cornice di coronamento singola o doppia riccamente profilata. Sotto di essa le pareti sono divise da pilastri con capitelli (solitamente ionici) riccamente decorati che si trovano su basamenti alti. La navata è illuminata da finestre rettangolari, posizionate sull'asse centrale delle cappelle. La navata è coperta da una volta a schifo oppure da una volta a botte con pennacchi molto profondi sopra le finestre. Un profondo pennacchio si trova

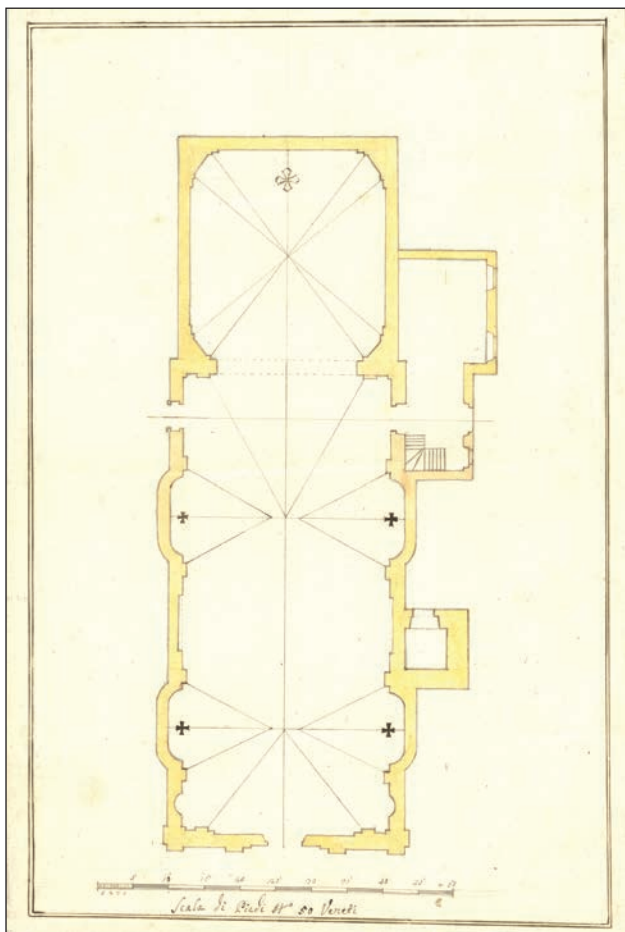


Fig. 2: La vecchia chiesa di San Canciano, Gonars, il progetto di Lorenzo Martinuzzi, profilo longitudinale, 1775 (AT-OeStA/AVA Kultus AK Katholisch, 391)

anche sopra l'arco di trionfo che separa la navata dal presbiterio. Sul prospetto si ripete il motivo dell'arco di trionfo che però è leggermente incavato nella parete. La facciata è articolata da quattro pilastri (solitamente gradonati) con capitelli ionici che si trovano su basamenti alti, di sopra invece sono collegati da una cornice profilata. Sopra di essa la facciata termina con un timpano triangolare che si adatta ai pilastri gradonati. Sopra il portale principale nell'asse centrale solitamente si trova una finestra rettangolare.⁴ La tipologia dell'edificio e della facciata rimanda alle opere dell'architetto veneziano Andrea Palladio, che risalgono alla fine del XVI secolo (ad esempio la chiesa veneziana Il Redentore), ma si afferma in modo definitivo con l'operato degli architetti veneziani della fine del XVII e dell'inizio del XVIII secolo, come Domenico Rossi, Francesco Comin,

Giorgio Massari e Antonio Gaspari (Bergamini, 1974, 7-14; Seražin, 2000a, 92). Quest'ultimo, per esempio, con la costruzione della chiesa veneziana di S. Maria della Fava (1705-1715) fissò le caratteristiche base delle chiese di questo indirizzo tardo-palladiano, così definito da Vladimir Marković per le architetture istriane (Marković, 2004, 40-60). Gaspari utilizzò una soluzione di Palladio, ovvero la navata con tre paia di cappelle, con la differenza che queste sono meno profonde e più basse, mentre le pareti sono articolate da pilastri e non più da mezze colonne (Massari, 1971, 29-31; Bassi, 1963, 84-86, 98). Forse proprio S. Maria Fava era il punto di partenza per la tipologia di chiesa che poco dopo si affermò con Giorgio Massari nelle più modeste chiese parrocchiali della terra ferma veneziana – la stessa Fava fu ultimata negli anni 1723/24 proprio da Massari (Marković, 2004, 45, 46; Seražin, 2007, 19-21).⁵ Nel Friuli questa tipologia si sarebbe diffusa soprattutto grazie alle opere degli allievi di Massari, quali Luca Andrioli, Bernardo Macaruzzi e Domenico Schiavi (Seražin, 2007, 202, 203), ma singoli esempi di questo tipo di chiesa li troviamo nella Principesca contea di Gorizia e Gradisca già prima. Probabilmente la prima chiesa di questo genere è la chiesa parrocchiale di Sant'Ulderico ad Aiello, costruita tra il 1691 e il 1693.⁶ La facciata è ancora manieristica, mentre l'interno rappresenta in modo compiuto la tipologia sopra descritta: la navata è coperta da un altissimo soffitto a specchio, le pareti sono articolate da pilastri con capitelli toscani, legati tra loro da una cornice di coronamento profilata. Su ambedue le pareti si trovano due nicchie poco profonde per gli altari, che sporgono leggermente all'infuori. Il presbiterio è quadrato e coperto da una cupola su tamburo. È articolato da pilastri con capitelli ionici, la cornice profilata invece ha una serie decorativa di perle, tipica alla fine del XVII secolo. Presto questo tipo si diffuse sull'intero territorio della Contea di Gorizia e Gradisca. Così le chiese conservate fino ai giorni d'oggi non solo su questo territorio, ma sul territorio dell'intero Friuli, per la maggior parte risalgono al XVIII secolo e tra di loro la più frequente è quella di questo tipo. In Slovenia ad esempio seguono questo tipo le chiese parrocchiali a Vipava (1750), Ajdovščina (1769) e Komen (1768-73) (Seražin, 2000, 82, 83, 84, 89, 90; Kemperl, 2007, 21, 22; Osvald, 2004b, 22, 23). Ancor prima dell'unica opera di Massari, documentata finora in Istria, ovvero la chiesa della Madonna degli Angeli a Poreč (Parenzo) (dal 1747 in poi), questo tipo si diffuse anche in Istria e nel Quarnero (Marković, 2004, 47-60; Seražin, 2004, 122). La prima chiesa di questo tipo fu, infatti, costruita a Umag (Umag) tra il 1730 e il 1760 (Marković, 2004, 47-49).

4 Le chiese veneziane di solito non hanno questa finestra (Seražin, 2000a, 92).

5 Lo dimostra soprattutto la chiesa a Resana risalente al 1724: chiesa con una navata con cappelle laterali con un'alta volta a schifo, sulla quale si trovano cornici a stucco per immagini. Il presbiterio quadrato è terminato da un'abside semicircolare e sua ambedue i fianchi si trovano le sacristie (Seražin, 2007, 27).

6 Annate secondo Bergamini 1999, 21 e la scritta sopra il portale.

Secondo questo modello, allora già ben affermato, fu costruita anche la chiesa parrocchiale a Gonars. Ciò è parzialmente dimostrato dalle fotografie sopra menzionate, mentre l'immagine della chiesa è chiarita nei dettagli dai progetti originali del *Capomastro* Lorenzo Martinuzzi, risalenti al 1775, così come la storia della costruzione è completata dal rinvenimento delle lettere scritte tra il 1771 e il 1776. Poiché gli Asburgo avevano patronati e avvocati nella parrocchia – essa era dunque imperiale e regia – la comunità di Gonars doveva riferire tutto riguardo alla costruzione a Vienna. Perciò nell'Archivio di Stato di Vienna (Österreichische Staatsarchiv Wien) nel dipartimento Allgemeines Verwaltungsarchiv, nel fondo Unterricht und Kultus⁷ sono conservate delle lettere dalle quali è evidente che la nuova costruzione non si svolse in modo così semplice come avrebbero forse desiderato gli abitanti di Gonars. Il fascicolo, nel quale sono raccolti i documenti riguardanti la parrocchia di Gonars, contiene quattro pacchetti di lettere. Nel terzo pacchetto si trovano sei lettere con allegati, relativi alla costruzione della nuova chiesa. Si tratta di lettere della nobiltà locale, del commissario Nicolò Frangipane e del parroco Nicolò Alberto Moretti, tutte rivolte all'imperatrice Maria Teresa. Tutte le lettere contengono diversi allegati.

Dall'allegato alla terza lettera, scritta nel 1771, si scopre che il desiderio di rinnovare la chiesa sarebbe stato espresso dall'arcivescovo di Gorizia, ma gli abitanti del luogo sono stati spronati alla costruzione anche dal parroco Giuseppe Bertis.⁸ Probabilmente però gli abitanti del luogo erano spinti soprattutto dal desiderio di avere un edificio nuovo. Al tempo, infatti, quasi tutte le chiese negli abitati locali (sia sul territorio austriaco sia veneto) avevano già una facies tardobarocca ovvero erano state già ricostruite. La chiesa parrocchiale di San Vincenzo martire a Porpetto, alla quale un tempo apparteneva anche la chiesa di Gonars, venne ricostruita nel 1753.⁹ La chiesa della Santa Trinità a Mortegliano (la chiesa parrocchiale originale) fu costruita intorno al 1720, la chiesa parrocchiale a Castions di Strada invece fu costruita probabilmente nel XVII secolo (Bergamini, 1999, 81). La chiesa parrocchiale ad Aiello fu costruita tra il 1691 e il 1693, la chiesa vicina di Sant'Agnese a Ioannis invece tra il 1742 e il 1749 (Bergamini, 1999, 21, 22). La chiesa di San Tommaso apostolo a Perteole fu ristrutturata nel 1769 (Bergamini, 1999, 332; Seražin, 2000b, 397), la chiesa di San Gregorio a Clauiano fino al 1757, quando fu consacrata (<http://www.qr3.it/clauiano/17/chiesa-di-san-giorgio-martire.html>), la chiesa di



Fig. 3: La vecchia chiesa di San Canciano, Gonars, immagine prima demolizione (archivio personale del dott. Marino Del Frate)

Santa Maria Magdalena a Jalmicco invece probabilmente già nel 1725 (cronogramma).¹⁰ La chiesa a San Vito al Torre fu costruita contemporaneamente con la chiesa a Gonars, poiché fu consacrata nel 1778 (Seražin, 2000a, 88, 89), nello stesso periodo furono costruite anche la chiesa di San Giusto a Felettis e la chiesa di San Pietro apostolo v Bicinicco. La chiesa della Vergine a Visco invece fu radicalmente rinnovata già nel 1685 (Bergamini, 1999, 501).

La chiesa di Gonars forse era troppo piccola per gli abitanti sempre più numerosi, di sicuro era antiquata dal punto di vista stilistico. Nelle visite pastorali dei vescovi Attems ed Edling, infatti, abbiamo cercato invano di rin-

⁷ Le lettere si trovano sotto la collocazione AT-OeStA/AVA Kultus AK Katholisch, 391.

⁸ Giuseppe Bertis è menzionato come parroco nelle visite pastorali del 1759, all'età di 57 anni (Kralj, Tavano, 1994, 618), e nel 1771 nella lettera a Vienna (AT-OeStA/AVA Kultus AK Katholisch, 391), mentre nelle visite del 1772 viene già menzionato il parroco Nicolò Moretti (ACAG, Visite pastorali, 1772, 27 (42), 57).

⁹ Bruciò già sei mesi dopo la ristrutturazione e perciò fu ricostruita nel 1768 (cronogramma sul portale) (Bergamini, 1999, 284).

¹⁰ Il cronogramma sopra il portale principale riporta la data 1725. Nel 1848 la chiesa bruciò e fu radicalmente rinnovata (Bergamini, 1999, 252).

tracciare un passo scritto riferibile all'ordine di ristrutturazione. L'arcivescovo Carlo Michele d'Attems visitò la chiesa due volte; la prima volta nel 1753, la seconda nel 1759. Proprio in quell'anno emanò solo un decreto per sistemare alcune peculiarità (Kralj, Tavano, 1994, 618, 619). L'arcivescovo Rodolfo Giuseppe Edling durante la visita del 1772 emanò per la chiesa una serie di decreti, ma nessuno riguarda la ristrutturazione della chiesa (ACAG, Visite pastorali, 1772, 27 (42), 57-60), mentre in occasione della seconda visita nel 1779 trovò la chiesa già ricostruita e bella: "Ecclesia parochialis recens a fundamentis exstructa de jure Patronatus Caesareo Regio est pro nunc benedicta proxime vero consecranda in honorem eo sub patrocinio S. Canciani M. ... Fabrica seu Structura Ecclesiae insigni mole et opere magnifico constructa ac firmissima est. Facies interior lucida elegans et venusta tensis per totum corpus formicibus. Pavimentum quadris lateralibus planissime structum" (ACAG, Visite pastorali, 1779, 31 (46), 91, 92). Nel periodo della visita di Edling la chiesa aveva già gli altari, il pulpito, l'organo, mentre il campanile aveva l'orologio e tre campane (ACAG, Visite pastorali, 1779, 31 (46), 91).

Non sappiamo quando esattamente ebbe inizio la costruzione dell'edificio. Dagli allegati alla seconda lettera del pacchetto citato, nell'Archivio nazionale d'Austria, spedita dai nobili locali a Maria Teresa l'11 febbraio 1775, si scopre che nel 1772 era prevista solo la costruzione di un nuovo presbiterio e solamente il rinnovo della navata. Nella lettera il conte Rodolfo Coronini von Cronberg, il barone Ottavio di Terzi, il conte Alfonso Antonio di Porcia, il conte Giovanni Giorgio Attems, Karl Morelli, Giuseppe von Kappus e Franz von Romani scrissero che la costruzione era già iniziata e chiesero 2.000 fiorini di supporto finanziario per poter terminare la costruzione. L'aiuto arrivò nel marzo dell'anno seguente, ma i problemi non finirono. Dalla terza lettera, scritta dal commissario ecclesiastico Nicolò conte di Frangipane, che fu nominato tale dallo Stato, il 15 maggio 1775, si apprende che chiesero nuovamente del denaro, ossia 3.160, 50 fiorini, come stabilito. Inoltre fu constatato che la chiesa non veniva costruita secondo il progetto previsto, perciò i membri del consiglio si dimisero. La costruzione per quest'anno si fermò e come nuovo capo fu nominato il *Capomastro muratore* Lorenzo Martinuzzi. Questi disegnò un nuovo progetto e realizzò un dettagliato elenco dei lavori, necessari per terminare l'opera. Sia l'elenco dei lavori ovvero la distinta delle spese sia i due progetti (pianta, profilo longitudinale) sono allegati alla lettera menzionata. Dalla distinta dettagliata delle spese di Martinuzzi si deduce che nel 1775 il cantiere edile aveva in effetti ultimato i muri e solo il presbiterio aveva la volta. Martinuzzi scrisse che si dovrebbe terminare la volta e

il tetto sia della chiesa sia della sacrestia, che dovrebbero essere realizzati gli scalini per il pulpito, realizzati e installati i portali dell'entrata principale e di tutte e tre le entrate secondarie, forniti e installati i vetri di quattro finestre, realizzati l'articolazione a pilastri e costruito il muro di cinta in pietra.¹¹ Inclusive le spese della manodopera, Martinuzzi calcolò che per terminare la costruzione avrebbe avuto bisogno di 16.724,10 lire ovvero di 3.160, 50 fiorini (AT-OeStA/AVA Kultus AK Katholisch, 391.) (v. Allegato 1). La richiesta di un nuovo aiuto finanziario, avanzata da Nicolò Frangipane nella sua lettera il 3 giugno 1775, trovò il supporto anche dei nobili locali, del conte Rodolfo Coronini Cronberg, del barone Ottavio di Terzi, del conte Alfonso Antonio di Porcia, del conte Giovanni Giorgio Attems, Giuseppe von Kappus e Giuseppe Locatelli von Gibellini. Alla lettera è allegata anche l'approvazione dello Stato del 29 luglio 1775.

Il progetto di Martinuzzi mostra una navata rettangolare con due nicchie per gli altari su ogni lato, che sporgono leggermente all'infuori del tracciato planimetrico. Il presbiterio è un po' più stretto della navata ed ha una pianta quasi quadrata. La volta a padiglione nel presbiterio poggia su pilastri d'angolo, nella navata invece la volta è a schifo o a botte. Nella volta si trovano sei pennacchi. Quattro più piccoli s'innalzano sopra le nicchie, un più largo sopra l'entrata principale, l'ultimo, anch'esso largo ma più lungo, si trova sopra l'arco trionfale che separa la navata dal presbiterio. I pennacchi salgono dai pilastri che affiancano le nicchie, l'arco di trionfo e la controfacciata. Questi ultimi due sono gradonati. I pilastri poggiano su basamenti alti, hanno capitelli ionici e sono collegati da una doppia cornice. Le nicchie degli altari sono orlate dagli archi di trionfo su pilastri. All'altezza dei capitelli di questi archi di trionfo corre una cornice marcapiano. Sopra di essa, nello spazio della parete tra le nicchie, si trovano delle specchiature, mentre al di sotto si succedono dall'arco di trionfo verso l'entrata, l'entrata nella sacrestia sormontata dal pulpito, una nicchia poco profonda a terminazione mistilinea barocca e una nicchia ancora più bassa, poco profonda a terminazione semicircolare. Le specchiature si trovano anche sopra la cornice marcapiano negli angoli nel presbiterio. Oltre al portale principale l'edificio ha anche un'entrata più piccola, sulla sinistra della parete trionfale, di fronte all'entrata della sacrestia, che è addossata alle pareti longitudinali destre della navata e del presbiterio. Le finestre nelle pareti longitudinali del presbiterio e della navata (in quest'ultima sono in asse con le nicchie degli altari) sono termali, ma sembra che solo la parte centrale sia chiusa con un vetro. La facciata è articolata da quattro pilastri. Il paio interno verso l'entrata è gradonato, così che la parete nell'asse centrale è leggermente approfondita. Sulla parte superiore i pilastri

11 Probabilmente si pensa alle mura intorno alla chiesa ovvero al cimitero che fino ad allora si trovava intorno alla chiesa (Kralj, Tavano, 1994, 247).

sono collegati da una cornice profilata sopra la quale si trova il frontone triangolare dal forte aggetto.

Sulle fotografie che riportano lo stato della chiesa prima della demolizione nel 1970 possiamo notare che il progetto, almeno per quanto riguarda l'esterno, fu rispettato completamente, poiché le cappelle viste dall'esterno, come già detto, furono probabilmente un'aggiunta più tarda.

Lorenzo Martinuzzi era membro di un'importante famiglia di architetti, che vivevano a Turriaco. Dei Martinuzzi non si sa molto, soprattutto sul loro stile, poiché le loro opere a noi note riguardano principalmente riparazioni e costruzioni aggiuntive. Il *Magistro* Bernardino Martinuzzi (1666-1735), che arrivò a Turriaco da Tricesimo presso Udine, negli anni 1720 e 1721 assieme alla bottega del maestro lombardo Carlo "Milanese" collaborò nel rinnovo del duomo di Capodistria, tra il 1728 e il 1731 invece collaborò nella riparazione della cripta del duomo di Cividale (Seražin, 2000b, 397; Seražin, 2004, 183). Nel 1725 si recò assieme al figlio Giovanni a Fiume per concludere la costruzione della chiesa dei Gesuiti di San Vito. Giovanni Martinuzzi (1708-1753) a Fiume si sposò e ambientò, ma finora non gli è stato ancora attribuito nessun edificio per mancanza di dati d'archivio (Horvat, Matejčić, Prijatelj, 1982, 422).¹² Bernardino oltre a Giovanni aveva anche i figli Lorenzo e Dionisio. Lorenzo Martinuzzi (1704-1779) nel 1738 iniziò come *protto* a supervisionare la costruzione della navata del duomo di Capodistria progettata dall'architetto veneziano Giorgio Massari. Non lavorò per molto e dovette andarsene già l'anno successivo a causa dei danni verificatisi per la cattiva costruzione (Seražin, 2004, 183).¹³ Tra il 1747 e il 1763 al posto del fratello minore collaborò nella costruzione del campanile della chiesa a Turriaco, nel 1769 invece trasformò la chiesa parrocchiale a Perteole in basilica (Seražin, 2000b, 397). Su Dionisio Martinuzzi (1705 ca.-1746) finora sappiamo solo che nel 1742 incominciò a costruire le chiese succursali a Ioannis e che aveva un figlio, Lorenzo, che probabilmente continuò a condurre la sua bottega. Nel 1780 Lorenzo è menzionato come capo della costruzione del campanile a San Pier d'Isonzo, nel 1790 invece fu pagato per i lavori svolti nella chiesa parrocchiale di Turriaco (Seražin, 2000b, 398; Bergamini, 1999, 359). L'architetto Martinuzzi viene menzionato anche come autore dei progetti per la chiesa di pellegrinaggio a Log presso Vipava: nel 1718 come autore dei progetti e nel 1737 come destinatario del pagamento per la costruzione (Seražin, 2001, 90, 91; Kemperl, 2012, 47). Di quale Martinuzzi si tratti purtroppo non è ancora dato sapere. In base al periodo si potrebbe pensare a Bernardino, del



Fig. 4: La vecchia chiesa di San Canciano, Gonars, immagine prima demolizione (archivio personale del dott. Marino Del Frate)

quale tuttavia sappiamo troppo poco, mentre la chiesa di Log non fu nemmeno costruita secondo il progetto originale. La questione riguardante l'autore è inoltre complicata dal fatto che a Lubiana in quel periodo operava Carlo Martinuzzi. I suoi edifici noti sono di carattere piuttosto utilitaristico, perciò attribuire la chiesa di Log, che dal punto di vista stilistico non spicca, a un qualsiasi Martinuzzi è per ora molto difficile (Kemperl, 2012, 48, 49).¹⁴

Il progetto qui presentato è il primo progetto conosciuto assegnabile a uno dei numerosi membri della famiglia Martinuzzi. Ma non si sa se il suo autore sia Lorenzo figlio di Bernardino, scomparso nel 1779, oppure si tratti di Lorenzo il giovane, figlio di Dionisio, che nelle fonti viene menzionato nel 1780 e nel 1790.

¹² Qui si menziona che Giovanni Martinuzzi proveniva da Gradisca d'Isonzo.

¹³ Con lui collaborò anche il figlio Antonio Adamo.

¹⁴ Secondo Helena Seražin la chiesa a Log presso Vipava potrebbe essere stata costruita da Bernardino Martinuzzi e conclusa da uno dei suoi figli, Lorenzo o Dionisio (Seražin, 2000b, 396-398). Ma lo stile non particolarmente originale ci orienta piuttosto verso il Martinuzzi di Lubiana e non verso Dionisio e la sua chiesa di Ioannis.

Se pensiamo alle opere finora conosciute del vecchio Lorenzo Martinuzzi, nella comparazione stilistica può esserci d'aiuto solo la ristrutturazione della chiesa di Perteole. Si tratta di un'impostazione basilicale a tre navate che potrebbe essere o la ristrutturazione dell'impostazione già esistente oppure la nuova costruzione secondo il desiderio del committente. La chiesa a tre navate ha soffitti piani, le navate sono separate da semplici colonne toscane. L'impostazione a tre navate è seguita dalla facciata, articolata da pilastri, nella parte centrale invece ha due piani. La facciata che copre la navata principale spicca leggermente come avancorpo ed è coperta da un frontone smussato concavo-convesso-concavo. La chiesa ha un'impostazione molto conservativa e anche i dettagli non possono essere comparati con la chiesa di Gonars, perciò sulla base delle caratteristiche stilistiche della chiesa a Perteole non potremmo dire che i piani per la chiesa di Gonars furono disegnati da Lorenzo Martinuzzi il vecchio. Anche gli anni non parlano a suo favore, poiché nel periodo della realizzazione del progetto egli aveva già 71 anni. La chiesa a Gonars assomiglia molto di più alla chiesa di Ioannis, la costruzione della quale viene legata al nome di Dioniso Martinuzzi, il padre di Lorenzo Martinuzzi il giovane. La facciata della chiesa ha sì un frontone che assomiglia a quello della chiesa a Perteole, ma è articolata da pilastri con capitelli ionici ed ha una finestra rettangolare posizionata molto in alto sopra il portale. La navata ha due cappelle su ognuno dei due lati, ma queste sono ancora profonde e sporgono molto all'infuori. Così che Lorenzo Martinuzzi il giovane potrebbe essersi formato da suo padre. L'informazione che nel 1780 era a capo della costruzione del campanile a San Pier d'Isonzo e che nel 1790 fu pagato per i lavori alla chiesa parrocchiale a Turriaco, non ci aiutano molto, poiché in questa zona tutti i campanili erano ispirati a quello di Aquileia, indipendentemente dall'anno di costruzione, per la chiesa di Turriaco invece non è possibile stabilire quale potrebbe essere il suo apporto (Bergamini, 1999, 359).

È un punto di domanda come questo progetto presentato possa esserci d'aiuto nell'attribuzione di altri edifici sacri, che intorno al XVIII secolo furono costruiti in gran numero. Il tipo e lo stile degli edifici sacri, infatti, a quei tempi era molto omogeneo. Forse per la chiesa di Gonars potremmo esporre solo la finestra rettangolare posta molto in alto sopra il portale principale e il presbitero quadrato. Ma nonostante ciò solo in base all'analisi stilistica edifici simili non possono essere attribuiti uno dopo l'altro a Lorenzo Martinuzzi. Alla chiesa a Gonars, infatti, assomigliano moltissimo anche le chiese di Seba-

stiano Lotti di Bertio. Si tratta della chiesa succursale dell'Assunzione della Vergine a Campolongo, risalente agli anni tra il 1766 e il 1796, della chiesa parrocchiale a Mereto di Tomba, costruita tra gli anni 1756 e il 1764, e della chiesa parrocchiale di San Martino a Morsano al Tagliamento risalente al 1757 (Bergamini, 1999, 69, 215, 228).¹⁵ Probabilmente egli è anche autore della chiesa a Porpetto. Questa chiesa fu costruita nel 1753, ma già dopo sei mesi fu distrutta da un incendio. Perciò Sebastiano Lotti realizzò un progetto per una grande sala a tre navate, ma per le alte spese il progetto fu rigettato. Così venne costruita una chiesa con una navata con due cappelle poco profonde sui lati (Bergamini, 1999, 284), probabilmente secondo il suo progetto. Se paragoniamo la chiesa a Gonars e la chiesa a Morsano al Tagliamento, non si assomigliano solo per il tipo di edificio, delle volte e della facciata, ma anche per i dettagli, come il portale principale rettangolare con un frontone semicircolare, una finestra molto alta sopra il portale che interrompe la cornice e per i capitelli ionici bassi. L'unica differenza tra le chiese è che quella a Gonars ha sulla facciata capitelli ionici e un finestrino rotondo nel frontone, quella a Morsano al Tagliamento invece ha capitelli toscani e una nicchia cieca a trifoglio nel frontone.

Nonostante questa somiglianza forse in futuro saremo in grado di attribuire a Lorenzo Martinuzzi il giovane le chiese di Jalmicco, San Pier d'Isonzo (prima del 1767) e San Vito al Torre (1778),¹⁶ che sono quasi identiche alla chiesa di Gonars e un tempo appartenevano alla Principesca contea di Gorizia e Gradisca, ma forse anche le chiese di Lavariano (1781), Bicinicco e Feletis, che si trovano già in territorio veneto. Queste sono una versione già semplificata di quella di Gonars, poiché hanno una facciata già completamente piana, senza finestra o addirittura senza articolazione a pilastri.

La chiesa a Gonars, documentata negli archivi come opera di Lorenzo Martinuzzi il giovane, è una delle ultime erette nel periodo di fioritura dell'edilizia sacra, stimolata dal rinnovo della vita religiosa promosso dal primo arcivescovo di Gorizia Carlo Michele d'Attems, e una delle ultime costruite in uno stile tardobarocco piuttosto sontuoso, risalente al tardo Seicento veneziano. Molte chiese, costruite in questa zona nel XVIII secolo, si assomigliano invece così tanto, che bisognerà essere molto cauti nelle ricerche future sull'architettura sacra tardobarocca. Le interpretazioni che porteranno ad attribuire e datare singoli edifici sacri nell'ex Principesca contea di Gorizia e Gradisca o più in generale, nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, dovranno essere fondate su fonti d'archivio.

15 Per quel che riguarda la chiesa di Campolongo si può probabilmente attribuire a Lorenzo solo la ristrutturazione dell'interno, poiché la facciata è più vecchia dal punto di vista stilistico e probabilmente risale al 1699 (data sul portale secondario).

16 Attribuito ai successori di Michele Bon (Seražin, 2000a, 88-90).

Allegato 1: Fattura Proforma di Lorenzo Martinuzzi per il completamento dei lavori sulla costruzione della chiesa parrocchiale di Gonars, AT-OeStA/AVA Kultus AK Katholisch, 391

Esendo Stato io sotto scritto dal Ill.^{mo} Sig.^o Nicolo Co: Fragipani quae Commissario deputato dal Ecelso. Cesareo Regg.^o Sup.^o Capp.^o Consiglio il dover fare una esatta revisione, e conteggio della facitura, da farsi nella principiata Chiesa di Gonars. Percio portatomi sopra loco unitamente al Ill.^{mo} Sig.^o Co: Commissario A il Revd.^o Sig.^o Pievano di detto loco A L'atual cameraro fatta una diligente revisione di delli Materiali, che d'atrovano provisti come pune delle fature e materiali che d'aspetano al compimento della detta giusto al Disegno che mi fu presentato come qui a piedi.

Pietra per Muro cava N:° 450 cava e condota fa	q 850 ^{..}
Calzina Stava N:° 600 val	1200 ^{..}
Condota della medema	20 ^{..}
Sabia carva N:° 150 val	50 ^{..}
Pietre cotte M:ra 20 a q 30 val	600 ^{..}
Condota	20 ^{..}
danelle Miava N:° 5 a q 30	150 ^{..}
Coppi M:ra 3 ¹ a q 60 val	195 ^{..}
Cadene Albeo N:° 3 di Passa 7 val	150 ^{..}
Simili di Passa 4 ¹ N:° 6	180 ^{..}
drani di Passa 4 N:° 20	100 ^{..}
Condota di detto Legname	15 ^{..}
Degorenti di Larice N:° 150 a q 70	75 ^{..}
doloni per il soffito N:° 100 val	300 ^{..}
Cantinelle per il detto N:° 2500	375 ^{..}
Chiodi per il Coperto e soffito Miava 30	300 ^{..}
Canichie per	50 ^{..}
Ferro per stesse e Zanche Lib. 200	150 ^{..}
Scajola Miava 2. val	100 ^{..}
Lastne di Pietra per le cornici Pa: 50	50 ^{..}
Condota	25 ^{..}
Legname d'armadura di feno	400 ^{..}
Quadri per il Salizzo di Pa: 111 N:° 2700 val	1080 ^{..}
Abassamenti di Pietra con suoi Pedestalli ben Lavorati	1600 ^{..}
per Pietra in agiunta alla Porta Maestra	160 ^{..}
per N:° 3 porte di Pietra Laterali	190 ^{..}
per N:° 3 fenestre di Pietra per la sacrestia	80 ^{..}
summa q	8715 ^{..}

Raporto del oltre scritta di

Per N:° 4 fenestre di Vetri con sue reti di fildifero	340 ^{..}
Ferate di ferro Baston N:° 3	100 ^{..}
Vetri per le dette Piedi 36	72 ^{..}
Retti di fildifero N:° 3	54 ^{..}
Legname per il coperto della sacrestia et soffito	
di P:a 3 N:° 30 a q 4	120 ^{..}
pici due di Posta 4	16 ^{..}
Cantinelle per il soffito N:° 200 val	30 ^{..}
Degorenti di Larise N:° 50	25 ^{..}
Condota	5 ^{..}
Salizzo di quadri	90 ^{..}
Scalla che osenda al Pulpito	20 ^{..}
doloni di Nogara N:° 24 per fare le 4 Porte	80 ^{..}
feramenta per le dette	150 ^{..}
fatura al Marangone	160 ^{..}
fature fabrili per Aspesi et altro	50 ^{..}
Fature di Murari sono giornate N:° 1890: a q 2:15	5197 ^{..} 10
Giornate de Manuali N:° 1000 a q 1:10	1500 ^{..}
summa q	16724 ^{..} 10

fa fiorini 3160 K 50:

dansa di mia operazione il solito 2 per cento sono ... q 63:

fui saldato conq 51:

Lorenzo Martinuzzi Cap^o Mis^o

MARTINUZZIJEV NAČRT ZA ŽUPNIJSKO CERKEV V GONARSU: PRISPEVEK K PREUČEVANJU POZNOBAROČNE ARHITEKTURE V FURLANIJ - JULIJSKI KRAJINI

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POVZETEK

Današnja cerkev v Gonarsu, ki je bila sezidana med letoma 1970 in 1972, ima precej starejšo zgodovino, saj gre za stavbo, ki je vsaj četrtna na tem mestu. Patrocinij sv. Kancijana, ki se je iz Ogleja razširil zelo zgodaj, razodeva, da je bila prva cerkev najverjetneje tu postavljena že v prvih stoletjih krščanstva. To cerkev so okrog leta 1585 povečali, okrog leta 1770 pa so jo podrli in na njenem mestu sezidali poznobaročno stavbo, ki pa prav tako ni več ohranjena. Načrt, po katerem je bila zgrajena poznobaročna cerkev, je leta 1775 narisal Capomastro Lorenzo Martinuzzi iz Turriaca. Cerkev pripada najbolj razširjenemu tipu sakralne stavbe v Furlaniji v drugi tretjini 18. stoletja, ki temelji na beneških vzorih. Taka cerkev je sestavljena iz razsežne pravokotne ladje brez transepta in kvadratnega prezbiterija. Ladja ima na obeh podolžnih stenah po dve ali po tri poglobljene niše za oltarje, ki na zunaj rahlo izstopajo. Celotno notranjščino obdaja neprekinjen bogato profiliran enojen ali dvojen venčni zidec. Pod njim stene členijo pilastri z bogato okrašenimi (ponavadi jonskimi) kapiteli, ki stojijo na visokih podstavkih. Ladja je osvetljena skozi pravokotna okna, ki so postavljena v osi kapel. Ladja je pokrita s kadunjasto-zrcalnim ali z banjastim obokom z zelo globokimi sosvodnicami nad okni. Globoka sosvodnica je tudi nad slavalokom, ki deli ladjo od prezbiterija in sega zelo visoko v predel oboka. Na pročelni strani se ponovi motiv slavaloka, le da je to plitvo vdolbljen v steno. Fasada je členjena s štirimi (ponavadi stopnjevanimi) pilastri z jonskimi kapiteli, ki stojijo na visokih podstavkih, zgoraj pa so povezani s profiliranim zidcem. Nad njim se fasada zaključuje s trikotnim timpanonom, ki se prilagaja stopnjevanim pilastrom. Nad glavnim portalom v sredinski osi je ponavadi postavljeno veliko pravokotno okno. Tako tip stavbe kot tip fasade temelji na delih beneškega arhitekta Andrea Palladija s konca 16. stoletja in se je dokončno izoblikoval z deli beneških arhitektov s konca 17. in začetka 18. stoletja, kot so Domenico Rossi, Giorgio Massari, Francesco Comin in Antonio Gaspari.

Obravnavani načrt je prvi znani načrt arhitekta Lorenza Martinuzzija ml., zato so mu na podlagi tega dela pripisane še nekatere druge sakralne stavbe v Furlaniji. V prispevku pa je tudi opozorjeno, da so si cerkve tega tipa v tem času in tem območju zelo podobne in jih težko atribuiramo le s pomočjo formalne analize.

Ključne besede: poznobaročna arhitektura, Lorenzo Martinuzzi, goriška nadškofija, Gonars, Furlanija - Julijska krajina

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POVIJESNI PREGLED RAZVOJA VRTLARSTVA I KRAJOBRAZNOG UREĐENJA ŠIBENIKA I OKOLICE U RAZDOBLJU 1945.-1985. GODINE

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IZVLEČEK

Krajska ureditev Šibenika in okolice je svoj razcvet doživela po 2. svetovni vojni, s poudarkom na pogozdovanju in gradnji novih nasadov ob bivalnih stavbah. V članku so izpostavljeni posamezniki in ekološke organizacije, ki so prispevali k formaciji krajine šibeniškega okoliša. Za urejanje krajine je bilo uporabljeno manjše število v lokalnih drevesnicah vzgojenih dendroloških vrst. V sklopu gradnje novih stanovanjskih naselij in hotelov pa so vzniknile tudi nove krajske površine, s slabimi oblikovnimi značilnostmi in brez primerne tehnične dokumentacije. Pričujoče delo nudi zgodovinski prikaz gradnje nasadov v času urbanizacije mest in naselij v šibeniškem okolišu na podlagi raziskav primarnega arhivskega gradiva in druge dokumentacije.

Ključne besede: Šibenik, urbani nasadi, urbano vrtnarstvo, krajska ureditev

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

SINTESI

Decorazione ambientale di Sebenico e dei suoi dintorni visse la sua rinascita dopo la Seconda guerra mondiale. Si trattava per di più di rimboschimento e dell'avviamento delle nove piantagioni nell'ambito dell'area residenziale. Un numero ristretto di specie dendrologiche coltivate nei vivai locali è stato usato nella modellazione dell'ambiente. Le superfici del paesaggio sono state decorate nell'ambito della costruzione degli insediamenti popolati e degli alberghi. Hanno delle pessime caratteristiche di design. Durante il lavoro sull'analisi dei materiali d'archivio originali e dell'altra documentazione è stata creata una rassegna storica dell'avviamento delle nuove piantagioni durante l'urbanizzazione delle città e degli insediamenti nella regione di Sebenico.

Parole chiave: Sebenico, piantagioni urbane, giardinaggio urbano, decorazione ambientale

UVOD

Krajobrazno uređenje Šibenika i okolice svoj procvat doživljava nakon II. svjetskog rata. Najviše se radilo na pošumljavanju i podizanju novih pejzažnih površina u okviru novo izgrađenih stambenih zgrada na istočnim dijelovima grada. Nije se vodilo računa o primjenjenim biljnim vrstama i njihovoj zemljopisnoj pripadnosti, što je uvelike utjecalo na propadanje istih tijekom izvjesnog vremenskog razdoblja, a izgled stambenog okoliša ima veliki utjecaj na izbor mjesta stanovanja (Seferagić, 1988). Estetska slika grada izuzetno je loša. Gradska tvrtka Zelenila provodila je sustav održavanja, koji nije u cijelosti zadovoljavao. Općenito je nedostajalo stručnjaka: inženjera poljoprivrede i šumarstva, krajobraznih arhitekata i izučenih vrtlara. Razvoj moderne parkovne arhitekture Šibenika započeo je 1896. godine uređenjem gradskog perivoja Roberta Visianija (Fantulin, 1997, 8; Dunkić, 1998, 82).

„U tlorisnoj i panoramskoj slici Šibenika za grad značajna parkovna arhitektura je nepovezana, točkasto je smještena u gradu i zbog razmjerno malene površine (s iznimkom perivojne šume Šubićevac) nije osobito zamjetljiva u cjelovitoj slici grada“ (Bojanić Obad Ščitaroci, Obad Ščitaroci, 1998, 27).

Treba istaknuti i gradske zaljubljenike u prirodu i okoliš koji su dali nemjerljiv doprinos pošumljavanju Šibenika i njegove okolice u okviru društva Šubićevac.

Upotrebljavaju se većinom dendrološke vrste otporne na gradske uvjete; malo je cvjetnih trajnica, koje se sade isključivo na reprezentativnim mjestima, kao što su Park „Luje Marune“ ili Perivoj Roberta Visianija. Slično navodi Pehar (2003, 254) za grad Mostar.

Uporaba autohtonog raslinja u svrhu ozelenjavanja nije u prvom planu, premda ju stručnjaci preporučuju (Rosavec, Barčić & Španjol, 2005, 121).

Stereotip planiranja obnove naslanja se na nekađašnja sovjetska iskustva. Uspoređujući ondašnje stanje o važnosti gradskih nasada, može se vidjeti kako se tretirala hortikultura i pošumljavanje u tadašnjim gradskim socijalističkim sredinama. Također se iz starih dokumenata može iščitati da je intenziviranje rada na području hortikulture u Sovjetskom savezu inicirano referatom tadašnjeg predsjednika Nikite Sergejeviča Hruščova, počevši od planerskih studija i novih stavova u odnosu na oblikovanje do realizacije u velikim mjerilima. Tako Nikita Sergejevič Hruščov na XXII. kongresu KPSS iznosi:

Naša naseljena mjesta moraju sve više odgovarati predodžbama o zelenim gradovima. Ona moraju sadržati u sebi sve što ima suvremeni grad-kvalitetne stambene objekte, transportne magistrale,

komunalne uređaje, dječje, kulturne i sportske ustanove, sa svim najboljim što imaju seoski predjeli-bogatim rastlinstvom, vodenim površinama, čistim zrakom (Wenzler, 1962-1963, 10).

Nadalje Hruščov naglašava kako je potrebno stvarati gradove koji će u potpunosti odgovarati čovjeku iz komunističkog društva (Wenzler, 1962-1963, 10). Takva iskustva nalazila su pojedine upotrebe u hortikulturnoj preobrazbi pojedinih industrijskih središta tadašnje Jugoslavije pa tako i u Šibeniku, ali su čimbenici lokalne tradicije uvjetovali modifikaciju standardnog oblika uređenja.

Razvojem turizma 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća, primorska mjesta počela su se uređivati nasadima, ali je ruralni izgled naselja bio prisutan desetljećima (Latin, 2005, 87). Podizanje novih nasada obavlja se bez naročitog plana. Mjesta u zaleđu također se uređuju, ali znatno sporije.

RAZVOJ „OZELENJIVANJA“, VRTLARSTVA I KRAJOBRAZNOG UREĐENJA ŠIBENIKA U RAZDOBLJU 1945.-1970. GODINE

Parkovna dendroflora Šibensko-kninske županije u tom vremenskom razdoblju nije bila raznolika. Njena zastupljenost u parkovnim i vrtnim prostorima te u sustavu gradskih javnih nasada je u svakom slučaju uzročno-posljedična veza različitih čimbenika. Društvena previranja s prijelaza iz socijalističkog u demokratsko društvo ostavila su niz tragova i na tom polju. Tako su se, primjerice, u tadašnjem poslijeratnom razdoblju iza 1950-ih godina koristile tek poneke autohtone i alohtone vrste koje su se uzgajale, tj. proizvodile u susjednim općinskim rasadnicima.

Općinski rasadnici¹ u tadašnjem vremenu samoupravljanja nisu dobivali sadni materijal za daljnje razmnožavanje izvan lokalne sredine te su se uglavnom snalazili na različite načine. Poslijeratno vrijeme oskudice nije davalo zamah pokretanju i većem interesu za razvoj proizvodne grane ukrasnog bilja, koja je nedvojbeno bila glavni oslonac u uređenju gradskih nasada i pošumljavanju općina i gradova. Stručno osoblje kao kamen temeljac u tom razdoblju bio je nedostatan, a onaj postojeći nedovoljno educiran.

Šumski rasadnik na Šubićevcu bio je pogodniji za jednogodišnje sadnice, a onaj u Donjem polju za proizvodnju stablašica za drvorede i parkove, kao i za podloge. Također su postojali i znatno manji rasadnici u Skradinu i Vodicama koji služe za opskrbljivanje privatnika, 23 lugarska centra kao i 4-5 sjedišta čuvara kultura i to u: Gorišu, Ždrapnju, Varivodama i Raslini. Godine 1947. izvršena je inventarizacija šuma. Cilj je bio podići drvorede i parkove, rasporediti drvorede uz turističku cestu te ih zasaditi tijekom 2-3 godine, a

1 Daši, Zbirka Šumarstvo, dalje ZŠ: „Odjel poljoprivrede i šumarstva Narodni odbor (N. O.) Šibenik, prijedlog radova obnove krša u jesen 1945. Biljke alepskog bora iz rasadnika na Šubićevcu bit će korištene za popunjavanje parka, Šubićevac. U Kninu će se iz rasadnika posaditi bagrem oko Unske i Ličke pruge.“



Slika 1: Gradska poljana u Šibeniku 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća (izvor/source: Šibenski list)

drvorede uz ostale ceste kroz 4-5 godina. U arhivskim spisima se naglašava da rasadničku proizvodnju treba povećati, osobito onu dendroloških vrsta (parkovnih i šumsko-voćnih vrsta).²

Rasadnik Svetina osnovan je 1905. godine u Skradinu radi pošumljavanja rijeke Krke i bujičnog područja. Veličine je oko 4000 m², djelomično terasaste forme s tri bunara koji nikada ne presušuju. Rasadnik je zatvoren 1937. godine, a u dokumentu iz 1945. godine spominje se njegova ponovna revitalizacija s tim da bi poslove održavanja obavljali lugari.³

Uloga Šumarije u razdoblju poslije 1945. godine

Uloga šibenske šumarije primarno je bila melioracija krša i pošumljavanje šumskih područja. Ona je obavljala funkciju nadzora i gospodarenje nad svim šumskim površinama na području grada i kotara Šibenik. Šumarija je u vrijeme osnutka bila smještena u Narodnom odboru (N. O.) grada, dok se nije izgradila upravna zgrada s popratnim građevinama na Šubićevcu. Od 1946.-1952. godine pošumljeno je 680 ha državne površine (Anonymous, 1952b, 2).

U tadašnje vrijeme nije se odveć pridavalo važnosti krajobraznom oblikovanju u sklopu krajobrazne slike grada, već se radilo o gradskom neformalnom „ozele-njivanju.“⁴



Slika 2: Gradska poljana u Šibeniku 2015. godine (izvor/source: Dorbić, 2015)

Ipak se do 1950. godine proces pošumljavanja šibenskog područja pomalo ustalio.⁵ Pošumljavanje se izvodilo na nekoliko radilišta s malim površinama. Pokazalo se da te male površine nisu imale nekog naročito uspjeha u lugarskom nadziranju zbog rascjepkosti, te su prije ili kasnije bivale zapuštene. Imajući u vidu navedeno, u šumarstvu se planiraju i rade tzv. gospodarske osnove, koje traju 20 i više godina, u cilju dugoročnog planiranja.

Tako je utvrđen niz predjela za sadnju. Od sliva rijeke Krke i južnije mogu se koristiti: *Pinus halepensis* Miller.-alepski bor, *Cupressus sempervirens* L.-čempres, *Prunus mahaleb* L.-rašeljka, *Fraxinus ornus* L.-crni jasen, *Amygdalis communis* L.-bajam i dr. Prioritete za pošumljavanje imaju predjeli, koji zaštićuju od štetnog djelovanja bujica i vjetrova. Pošumljavaju se i turističke građevine. Turističke primorske građevine ne mogu se ni danas brže pošumljavati s obzirom na oskudnost radne snage. U pogledu šumskih vrsta prevladavaju: *Pinus halepensis* Miller.-alepski bor, *Cupressus sempervirens* L.-čempres, *Robinia pseudoacacia* L.-bagrem, *Fraxinus* sp.-jasen te *Ulmus* sp.-brijest koje treba saditi na krševitim terenima, dok šumsko-poljoprivredne vrste kao npr. *Amygdalis communis* L.-bajame, *Prunus mahaleb* L.-rašeljke, *Juglans regia* L.-orahe i *Olea europaea* L.-masline treba saditi na nešto povoljnijim površinama bogatijeg tla.⁶

U regionalnom prostornom planu obalnog pojasa Općine Šibenik iz siječnja 1967. godine mogu se pro-

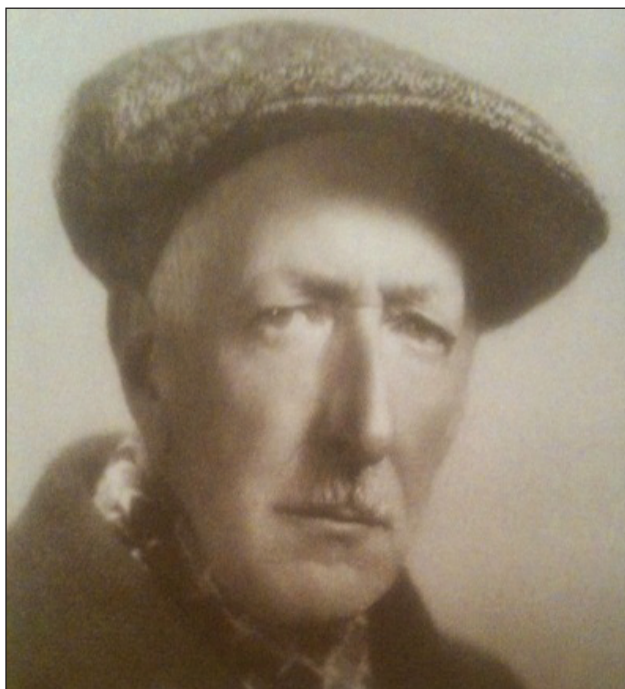
2 Daši, ZŠ, Šumarija Šibenik, 9.6.1954. godine.

3 Daši, ZŠ, Odjel poljoprivrede i šumarstva Šibenik, 1945, O. Bezbradica.

4 Vujičić, 2014, Praksa pejzažnog projektovanja u Srbiji, prezentacija stručni međunarodni skup: Krajobraz-krajina-pejzaž, 2014. Slični su trendovi u uređenju i oblikovanju karakteristični i za Beograd.

5 Daši, ZŠ: „Narodna republika Hrvatska (NRH), Poljoprivredni odsjek 31.1.1947, Predmet: Proljetni pošumljivački radovi Sve škole moraju napisati jednu školsku zadaću u roku od 11.2-23.2.1947 sa jedinstvenim naslovom zašto pošumljavamo krš? Sve škole održat će jedno skupno predavanje o važnosti pošumljavanja. Na satovima iz prirodopisa u vremenu od 11.2-23.2 treba učenicima ukazivati na važnost pošumljavanja. Na predjelu Šubićevac počet će se s kopanjem jama 3.2.1947. godine. Ovaj će rad izvoditi mladež za vrijeme zimskih praznika. Nalaže se i Tvornici elektroda i ferolegura (TEF-u) da u svoj plan za 1955. godinu uvrsti izvršenje pošumljavanja Smričnjaka.“ (Šumarija Šibenik: pošumljavanje užeg i šireg područja.)

6 Daši, ZŠ, Šumarija Šibenik, 9.6.1954.



Slika 3: Ante Frua (izvor/source: Šibenik)

naći zanimljivi podaci o primjeni autohtonih drvenastih vrsta u krajobrazu. Nadalje, za maslinu (*Olea europaea* L.) se ističe da je ona najdominantnija poljoprivredna kultura na cijelom primorskom dijelu Jadrana.

Pioniri šibenskog pošumljavanja

Najistaknutiji i najstariji član društva „Šubičevac“ bio je Ante Frua. Rođen je 1889. godine, a potječe iz

talijanskog grada Padove. Frua je poslovno surađivao sa Šimom Grubišićem-Rovilom, koji je 1912. godine osnovao Društvo Šubičevac, s ciljem očuvanja gradske „hortikulture“. Grubišić-Rovilo bavio se pošumljavanjem „brina“ oko Skradinskog buka, Kanala sv. Ante i Martinske. Frua je s Grubišićem-Rovilom započeo s realizacijom projekta gradskog kupališta Jadrija. Anonimni autor za Fruu tvrdi: „Frua je bio društveno-odgovorni entuzijast, a Rovilo zaljubljenik u prirodu, čovjek koji brine o prirodi i baštini, sadi i njeguje šume, uređuje staze, perivoje i vidikovce te potiče kulturu i umjetnost Šibenika.“ Osnovao je planinarsko društvo Kamenar čiji je bio član, predsjednik i tajnik do kraja života. Do drugog svjetskog rata uredio je staze, šumu i vidikovac oko Tvrđave Sv. Mihovila, a nakon rata se posvetio Vidilici, šibenskim tvrđavama te park-šumi Šubičevac (Anonymous, 2011, 48 i 49).

Među ostalim pionirima u pošumljavanju Šubičevca ističu se: Bruno Ungaro, Đuro Veleglavac, ing. Mate Huljev, Mate-Jakarin Kovač itd. Za njihov trud i rad se navodi: „Njihovo djelo raste, zeleni se, uljepšava život. A koliko je građana koji ne vide, ili vide ali ne umiju cijeniti tu ljepotu što raste i ljepotu djela tih ljudi.“ Inicijativom društva „Šubičevac“, 1954. godine uz pomoć gradske općine, postavilo se u velikoj jami na putu za Vidilicu spomen ploču pok. Ivi Jadronji, dugogodišnjem članu ovog društva, koji je mnogo uradio na uređenju Šubičevca (Anonymous, 1954b, 7).

Gradska općina Šibenik, 1954. godine donosi odluku kojom se zabranjuje ispaša koza na Šubičevcu. Postavljen je i čuvar za područja od gradskog predjela Crnice do Rokić Drage. Zbog jake zime i neimaštine građani su otuđivali drvlje iz obližnjih gradskih šuma. Opasnost za urbane šume su i djeca. Tako se navodi da „na tvrđavi Sv. Ivana zidovi nisu zapreka da se uđe unutra i da se kao inat sve ruši, a već je u tri navrata i brava bila obija-

Tablica 1: Pošumljavanje i melioracije na području Kotara Šibenik

Općina	Pošumljeno ha	Meliorirano ha	Zasadnih Rasadnika u ha
Primošten	-	-	-
Rogoznica	-	-	-
Zlarin	-	-	-
Šibenik vanjski	185	-	-
Skradin	52	100	0,12
Tisno	-	-	-
Vodice	6	-	-
Kotar ukupno	280	100	0,12
Šibenik grad	-	-	0,40
Ukupno	280	100	0,16

Izvor/Source: Statistički pregled Kotara Šibenik, 1953, 34.



Slika 4: Promidžbeni letak tvrtke Rad iz Šibenika (izvor/source: Daši)



Slika 5: Pripremni radovi na gradskom Stadionu iz 1949. godine (Daši) (izvor/source: Daši)

na.“ Autor članka se pita da li roditelji i njihovi nastavnici mogu utjecati na djecu, a i svi građani riječima ili drugim mjerama (Anonymous, 1954d, 7), kao npr. povećanom podukom o čuvanju i zaštiti gradskog krajobraza.

U poslijeratnim godinama park Šubićevac bio je zanemaren. Mini zoološki vrt slabo je održavan. Neke životinje su bile, nažalost, ubijene ili ukradene, kao npr. pelikani. Ostali su samo paunovi. Dječje igralište je ostalo nedovršeno, a potom je srušeno. Putevi su također bili neizgrađeni. Međutim, 1967. godine počelo se s uređenjem vidilice, postavljanjem ograda i puteva. Za taj je posao Šumsko gospodarstvo utrošilo oko 20.000,00 tadašnjih novih dinara. Kamenu ogradu je dizajnirao arhitekt Dinko Vesanović. Predlagala se izrada umjetnog jezera za labudove u udolini brežuljka. Ta „zeleni zona“, kako se ističe, trebala bi i dalje biti namijenjena prvenstveno za rekreacijsku namjenu (Čelar, 1967, 3).

RAZVOJ POŠUMLJAVANJA I KRAJOBRAZNOG UREĐENJA ŠIBENIKA OD 1954. DO 1970. GODINE

U tom razdoblju intenzivno se obavljalo urbano pošumljavanje, a kao primjer za to je pošumljavanje na području Jadrice tijekom 1954. godine: „U nedjelju je oko stotinu članova Socijalističkog saveza sudjelovalo na pošumljavanju predjela u blizini kupališta na Jadrini. Tom prilikom iskopano je preko tisuću jama. Pošumljavanje je predvodio ing. Milan Lalić (Anonymous, 1954c, 5).“

Na gradskom području sve se više gradi, a time rastu i površine pod nasadima (Tablica 1): U arhivskoj građi iz 1952. godine nalazi se informacija gdje bi se trebalo posvetiti više pažnje o nasadima na predjelu Građe. Potrebno je bilo uređenje gradskih nasada od bolnice do Mandalinskog puta, a za čije održavanje je trebalo osigurati barem dva čuvara (Anonymous, 1952a, 3).

U predjelu Mandalina 1954. godine Narodni odbor gradske općine odlučio je urediti glavnu ulicu.

Pripremni radovi su već započeli. Isto tako u tijeku su radovi na uređenju jednog parka, kao i na izgradnji javnog zahoda (Anonymous, 1954a, 3).

Rad na planiranju u okvirima gradske aglomeracije Šibenika ima relativno dugu povijest i njegov početak datira još iz 1947. godine, kada je izrađen Direktivni regionalni plan koji je poslužio kao osnova za početak rada na prvom Generalnom urbanističkom planu grada 1954. godine (Anonymous, 1983).

U Šibenskom listu iz 1956. godine, nalazi se članak u kojem se navodi da Zagreb i Beograd imaju 4 m² zelenih površina po stanovniku, Prag 5 m², Beč 7 m², a neki gradovi sjevernih europskih zemalja preko 20 m², dok Šibenik s pošumljenom okolicom oko 1 m² zelenila po stanovniku (Huljev, 1956, 4).

Godine 1957. radi se na izgradnji triju stambenih zgrada, dvokatnice i trokatnica s 32 stana- „Baldekin komanda mornarice“, Dječji park s igralištem na mjestu stare ribarnice, „Zelenilo“ kod novih zgrada u istočnom dijelu Šibenika (Čelar, 1957, 7).

Da bi se stalo na kraj vandalizmu (gaženju, čupanju i sl.), tvrtka „Zelenilo“ 1964. godine uvodi stražu za čuvanje gradskog parka, obale i nasada na Baldekinu, gdje su izgrađeni novi cvjetnjaci. Također, ta tvrtka uz pomoć općinske uprave ulaže, za tadašnje vrijeme poprilična, sredstva u proširenje novih pejzažnih površina u gradu. U gradskom parku je postavljeno 80 klupa, posađeno je različito cvijeće, uređene su staze i sl. Na Baldekinu je uređen novi park na površini oko 3 tisuće kvadratnih metara tako da se pod gradom nalazi ukupno oko 25 tisuća kvadratnih metara zemljišta, a podizati će se i novi nasadi u sklopu Stambenog naselja Mažurica. Za proširenje i obnovu nasada investirano je oko 24 milijuna dinara. Tvrtka „Zelenilo“ je također vršila prijevoz kupaca i gostiju do kupališta na Jadrini (Čelar, 1964, 5). Šibenik je 1965. godine imao 24,578 m² zelenila po stanovniku. Ta brojka je zadovoljavajuća, jer je grad Šibenik u to vri-



Slika 6: Stambeno Naselje na Baldekinu (izvor/source: Šibenski lista)

jeme imao oko 30.000 stanovnika. Podizanje pejzažnih površina raste iz godine u godinu. 1964. godine zasnovano je novih 3.500 m² različitih nasada i podignut je perivoj uz položeni neboder na Baldekinu. Podignuto je 7.000 m² nasada oko Stambenog naselja Mažurice. Zanimljivo je istaknuti ondašnja promišljanja o izboru biljnih vrsta gdje se iznosi zanimljiva činjenica da 90 % biljnog materijala treba biti autohtona flora, a ostatak odabrane egzotične i alohtone vrste. Za travnjake se navodi da ih je potrebno smanjiti na minimum i zamijeniti s upotrebom aromatičnog bilja. U tom pravcu se pokušavalo usmjeriti projektante prilikom oblikovanja, te rasadničku proizvodnju za proizvodnjom željenog bilja. Tvrtku „Zelenilo“ održavanje „gradskih parkova“ tada košta od 1000-1200 dinara po m². Na svim poslovima uređenja, podizanja i čuvanja gradskih nasada „Zelenilo“ je tada zapošljavalo 19 osoba (Anonymus, 1965, 3).

Navode se i podaci da se iz godine u godinu smanjuju sredstva za održavanje gradskih nasada: 1965. god je obrađivano 23,471 m², 1966. god 30,879 m², 1967. god 30,879 m². Sve površine gradskih nasada su se dijelile po načinu i intenzitetu obrade na 2 klase, a također se daju kalkulatивно drvoredi i pješačke staze (Anonymus, 1965, 3).

Razvoj vrtlarstva i krajobraznog uređenja Šibenika u razdoblju 1970.-1985. godine

I u tom vremenskom razdoblju uvelike se podižu novi stambeni blokovi, a samim time i javni nasadi. Održavanje gradskih nasada obavlja tvrtka „Kras“, unutar koje navedene poslove obavlja tvrtka „Zelenila“ iz Šibenika. Zelenilo ima prvenstveno ekološku namjenu.

„Kras“-Šumsko turističko poduzeće Šibenik, početkom 1970-ih godina u internim izvještajima pretpostavlja da ima oko 6 ha zasnovanih površina pod javnim



Slika 7: Stambeno Naselje na Baldekinu 2015. godine⁷ (izvor/source: Dorbić, 2015)

nasadima, od toga ih 4 održava tvrtka „Kras“ na osnovu ugovora s općinskom upravom koja osigurava za tu svrhu novčana sredstva.

Ove površine su podijeljene u dvije kategorije. U I. kategoriju su svrstane sve površine u starom dijelu grada i na obali, u drugu kategoriju ostale površine u novijim predjelima grada. Razlike u kategorijama se sastoje u intenzitetu obrade. Zelene površine koje održava, posebno one I. kategorije, imaju dobar izgled, iako su i one na pojedinim mjestima izložene stalnom oštećivanju i uništavanju. Međutim ako gledamo grad kao cjelinu, onda se mogu staviti mnoge primjedbe na njihov izgled. U ovom osvrtu razmotreno je:

- Problem održavanja zelenih površina koje su izložene stalnom oštećivanju zbog nesavjesnosti građana, omladine, djece i radne organizacije.
- Zelene površine koje iz urbanih razloga to više ne mogu biti, pa im treba mijenjati namjenu ili ih reducirati.
- Zelene površine o kojima bi se trebali brinuti drugi.
- Problem organizacije čuvarske službe.⁸

Pojedine radne aktivnosti komunalne tvrtke „Zelenilo“ iz Šibenika koja je u određenim vremenskim razdobljima djelovala samostalno ili u grupaciji sa sličnim komunalnim tvrtkama mogu se opisati i pomoću biografija njenih djelatnika.

U šibenskom „Komunalcu“, potom „Zelenilu“ tijekom navedenog vremenskog razdoblja radio je vrtlar predradnik Jovan Čalić. Godine 1948. Čalić je završio srednju poljoprivrednu školu u Poreču, smjer voćarsko vinogradarski. Nakon školovanja zaposlio se u ondašnjem poljoprivrednom kombinatu u Benkovcu. Tamo se bavio sa svim segmentima poljoprivredne proizvodnje. Potom odlazi na odsluženje vojnog roka. Poslije vojske

⁷ Nasadi i pejzažne površine nisu ispravno oblikovane i održavane.

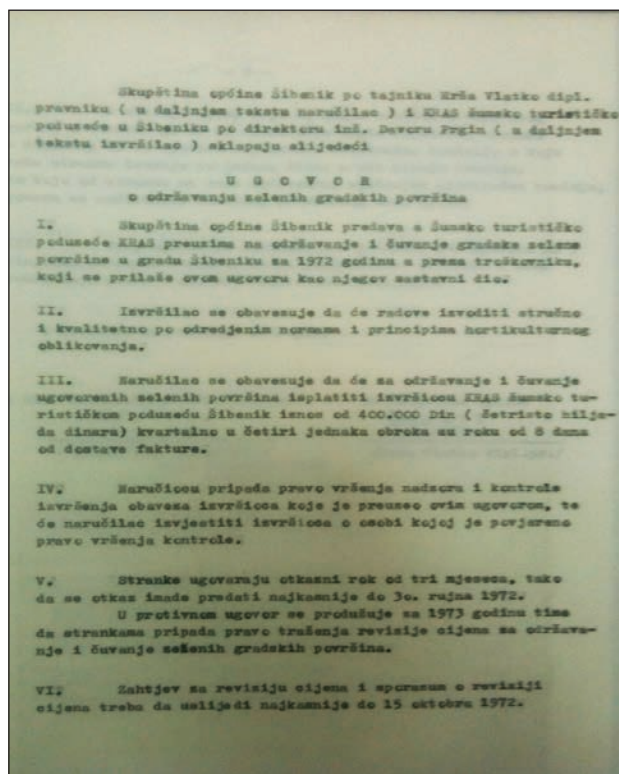
⁸ Troškovnik za održavanje zelenih površina u gradu Šibeniku za 1972. godinu.

je radio u Istri, a potom u komunalnom poduzeću Kras. U Tvornici lakih metala (TLM) na Ražinama radio je na poslovima sadnje nasada na prilazu tvornici i oko proizvodnih hala. Nakon poslova sadnje bio je premješten u Šibenski rasadnik. On je tada bio direktor komunalne tvrtke koja se bavila uređenjem gradskih nasada i uzgojem ukrasnog bilja. Pokrenuo je i inicijativu za otvaranje cvjećarne. Tvrtka je tada brojala više od 20 zaposlenika. Biljni materijal za rasadnik i gradske nasade uvezio se iz Splita. Sredinom 1960-tih godina Čalić je direktorsko mjesto u rasadniku prepustio građevinskom tehničaru Tonku Marotiju. Osim proizvodnje sadnog materijala u rasadniku vodio je i grupu vrtlara za uređenje gradskih nasada. Nasadi su podignuti u različitim dijelovima grada: predjel Mažurice, površine na Šubićevcu, ležećem neboderu na Baldekinu itd. Godine 1969. Čalić je nastupio tvrtku „Zelenila“ i prešao raditi u „Dubrovački vrtlar“. Čalić je dobro poznao teoriju i praksu vrtlarske struke.

Čalić je jedno vrijeme bio bez posla, a kako je ostvarivao poslovnu suradnju sa tadašnjom dubrovačkom komunalnom tvrtkom „Vrtlar“, direktor te ustanove ponudio je Čaliću prijedlog za otvaranje rasadnika na Biocima u Šibeniku. Taj rasadnik se nalazio nasuprot sadašnje Robne kuće na Vidicima na mjestu sadašnjeg dječjeg igrališta. Još su uvijek vidljivi ostaci njegovog rasadnika u vidu preostale šume od borova (*Pinus sp.*), čempresa (*Cupressus sempervirens L.*) i himalajskog cedra (*Cedrus deodara (Roxb.) G. Don*). Rasadnik je bio podijeljen na razdjele prema uzgojnoj namjeni. Crnogorične i neke listopadne vrste je proizvodio iz sjemena, a ostalo drveće i grmlje iz reznica. Budući da je u to vrijeme bila manja ponuda ukrasnog bilja snalazio se na različite načine. Nešto bi naručivao iz Slovenije, tvrtke „Zelenila“ itd. U većini slučajeva nije bio zadovoljan s kvalitetom naručenog sjemenskog materijala. U rasadniku koji je bio pod dubrovačkim „Vrtlarom“ imao je tri zaposlenika, a Dubrovčani su dolazili raditi tijekom ljeta kao sezonski radnici.

Čalić je bio redovni sudionik tadašnjih vrtlarskih izložbi u Zagrebu i Splitu. Dobivao je i nagrade za svoj trud oko uzgoja autohtonih ukrasnih vrsta. U tadašnje vrijeme bila je rijetkost uzgojiti planiku (*Arbutus unedo L.*) kao lončanicu tj. uspješno ju prenijeti iz prirode u lonac. Čalić je izvrsno poznao vrtlarsku struku. Shvaćao je važnost uzgoja i primjene naših autohtonih vrsta bilja.

Sredinom 1970-tih godina u tvrtku „Zelenila“ je primljen diplomirani inženjer šumarstva Ante Dunkić, koji je rođen 1938. godine u Šibeniku. Završio je poljoprivredno-šumarski fakultet i to biološki odsjek Šumarskog odjela. Prvi posao je obavljao kao Šumarski inženjer u mjestu Srb u Lici. Nakon toga je počeo raditi u „Zelenilu“. Bio je direktor, projektant zelenih površina i nadzorni inženjer sve do mirovljenja. Dunkić navodi da tada



Slika 8: Ugovor o održavanju zelenih površina iz 1968. godine⁹ (izvor/source: Tvrtka „Zelenilo“)

nije bila normirana potrebna količina pejzažnih površina u postocima uz nove zgrade. Inženjer građevine Drago Šantić je bio komunalni nadzornik za pejzažne površine i parkove. Ante Dunkić ističe: „Političari padaju ako nema čistoće i ako je zelenilo u gradu neodržavano. Šibensko zelenilo je 70-ih, 80-ih i 90-ih godina zaista bilo na marginama gradskog proračuna.“ Uvijek su se nasadi podizali prema raspoloživim sredstvima. Problematično je bilo i buduće održavanje te njega. Neprikladna su bila i stabla brijesta kojima bi se korijenje jače razvijalo kad bi se potkresivala krošnja. Godine 1955. je uređena nova tržnica u Šibeniku te je istodobno posaden i drvored koštela kojeg je projektirao krajobrazni arhitekt Dragutin Kiš. Stara glicinija je posadena na Trgu Medulić nakon Drugog svjetskog rata.

Početak 80-ih godina 20. stoljeća u rasadniku gradske tvrtke „Zelenilo“ radile su tri djelatnice i poslovoda Ana Burić, poljoprivredni tehničar cvjećarskog smjera. Tada je tvrtka Zelenilo raspolagala s dva mala rasadnika, drvenom kućicom i prostorom za vanjsko bilje. Ukrasno bilje su nabavljali iz obližnjih vrtlarija, kao što je splitski „Jadro“, Institut za Jadranske kulture i melioraciju krša, splitski „Parkovi i nasadi“ i dr. Tada su bilje uglavnom razmnožavali za vlastite potrebe, budući da je tvrtka održavala gradske pejzažne površine. U ondaš-

9 Zelenila, komunalna ustanova za hortikulturu. Br. 66/68, Program rada na održavanju parkova iz 1968. godine.

nje vrijeme se koristilo više sezonskog jednogodišnjeg i dvogodišnjeg cvijeća, koje je sada zamijenjeno travnjacima i aromatičnim pokrivačima. Od ukrasnog bilja sjemenom su razmnožavali oleander (*Nerium oleander* L.), lovor (*Laurus nobilis* L.) i različite sezonske cvjetnice. Reznicama su razmnožavali: lovor višnju (*Prunus laurocerasus* L.), lavandu (*Lavandula angustifolia* Mill.), ružmarin (*Rosmarinus officinalis* L.), santolinu (*Santolina chamaecyparissus* L.), vatreni trn (*Pyracantha coccinea* M. Roem.), bršljan (*Hedera helix* L.) i dr. Izbor bilja u ponudi je bio daleko manji nego sada, a i cijene su mu bile veće. U tadašnjoj ponudi nije bilo: četkovca (*Callistemon citrinus* L.), grevileje (*Grevillea* sp.), feijoe (*Feijoa sellowiana* Berg.), fotinije (*Photinia serrulata* (Desf.) Kalkman.), aukube (*Aucuba japonica* Thunb.), patuljaste pitospore (*Pittosporum tobira nana* Thunb. ex Murray W. T. Aiton.) itd. U rasadniku su imali mali broj poljoprivrednih strojeva i uređaja. Tadašnji odnos djelatnika i zaposlenika u odnosu prema radu bio je daleko fleksibilniji nego u sadašnje vrijeme. Tvrtkom je rukovodio dipl. ing. šumarstva Ante Dunkić.

U ono vrijeme se u „Zelenilu“ isticao i poljoprivredni tehničar Ivan Lopatni, koji je završio srednju poljoprivrednu školu u Vinici kod Varaždina. Imao je smisla za oblikovanje „aridnih“ vrtova s mediteranskim biljem. Posjedovao je privatnu zbirku patuljastog drveća Bonsai. Grupu za održavanje pejzažnih površina u tadašnje vrijeme, prema riječima gđe. Ane Burić, činilo je 20-tak osoba.¹⁰

U generalnom urbanističkom planu Šibenika iz 1983. godine ističe se važnost meliorativnih radova i pošumljavanje kao inventara turističke izgradnje. Navodi se da u zonu aktivne rekreacije spadaju:

a) Rekreativne površine unutar stambenih zona u koje su uključena igrališta za djecu i stanovnike sa svom potrebnom opremom i ozelenjene površine sa 7,0 m²/stanovniku

(46,9-53,9 ha).

b) U zonu pasivne rekreacije spadaju i veći šumski sklopovi i pojedini prirodni rezervati pogodni za izletišta, šetnje i sl. Smješteni su na periferijama i velikih su površina.

(201,0-231,0 ha).

c) Gradski parkovi, šetališta i okoliš značajnih javnih zgrada su posebno uređene površine koje su sastavni dio prostorne strukture grada s osnovnom funkcijom poticanja okupljanja ljudi i njihovog boravljenja u vanj-

skim prostorima. Potrebe se računaju na temelju normativa od 4,0 m²/stanovniku.

(26,8-30,8 ha).¹¹

Usporedimo Šibenik sa Zagrebom, gdje je do 1966. godine održavanje pejzažnih površina bilo povjereno nekolicini komunalnih tvrtki, što se nije pokazalo idealnim rješenjem iz razloga što su pejzažne površine bile nejednoliko održavane. Od 1966. godine održavanje pejzažnih površina povjereno je tvrtki „Flora“. U to vrijeme grad Zagreb je imao 67,6 ha pejzažnih površina. Deset godina kasnije pejzažne površine zauzimale su 289 ha (Novak, 1980, 43).

Razvoj okolnih turističkim mjesta, danas općina ili gradova u Šibensko-kninske županije započeo je 70-tih godina 20. stoljeća.

U izvješću Ugostiteljsko trgovačke komore iz Šibenika se navodi:

Čistoća grada nije na zavidnoj visini. Poduzeće koje obavlja ovaj posao suočava se sa nizom objektivnih i subjektivnih poteškoća. Održavanje zelenih površina trpi od istih problema. Tu je potrebna veća suradnja svih građana i organizirane akcije. Naše društvo treba da nađe svoje mjesto baš u tim organiziranim akcijama, kao na primjer:

- Tjedan za obnovu i održavanje zelenih površina
- Organizirana sadnja sadnica putem omladine
- Mjesec čistoće itd.

Ove akcije treba organizirati i u njima sudjelovati kroz uključivanje svoga članstva, davanjem nagrada omladini koja se istakne na tom poslu i slično.¹²

Krajem 60-ih i početkom 70-ih godina 20. stoljeća sa jačanjem industrijalizacije raste i veći interes za intenzivniji uzgoj ukrasnog bilja.¹³ Tadašnji Jugoslavenski socijalistički sustav omogućavao je građanima bolji kontakt sa svijetom u odnosu na istočno-sovjetski politički režim. U tom razdoblju počinje veća primjena alohtonih i egzotičnih biljnih vrsta u parkovima i vrtovima. Građanstvo je imalo puno više vremena za kulturu vrtlarstva nego danas. Neadekvatna sadnja u potpunosti je prisutna kod stambenih blokova u Kninu i Drnišu. Tamo su blokovska naselja isključivo neplanski sađena raslinjem. U oblikovnom smislu nije postignut sklad zbog nepostojanja planske regulative i izostanka oblikovanja prostora.

Socijalističko doba je značajno utjecalo na krajobraznu sliku dalmatinskog grada pa tako i Šibenika.¹⁴

10 Prema navodima gđe. Burić, izdvajamo neke od djelatnika (radnika) „Zelenila“: „Gđa. Janja Pivac, Vinka Milutin, Ive Gulin, Ivan Lopatni, Tereza Lokas, Oršula Matošin, Jakica Paić, Marija Marčić, Rade Računica i dr“. Navedena skupina radnika je održavala sve gradske pejzažne površine te sudjelovala u zasnivanju novih ispred novosagrađenih zgrada.

11 Daši, Fond zbirka statistike i tiskovine: Generalni urbanistički plana Šibenika iz 1983. godine., str. 91-93.

12 Zbirka Ugostiteljsko trgovačka komora 1952-1970; kutija 43, dalje Zutk: Izvršenje ciljeva i zadataka turističkog društva Šibenik, 1975.

13 Hortikultura (3-4/91 str. 49): 60-ih godina 19. st. Cvjećarstvo je u Francuskoj (Var) doživjelo veliki procvat.

14 Zbirka Turizam i ugostiteljstvo 1966.-1974. Informacija o rezultatima provedene ankete među turistima u sezoni 1971. Materijali provedene ankete među turistima ukazuju na dobre strane kao i na nedostatke koji su pratili turistički promet pojedinog turističkog mjesta i mišljenja smo da oni mogu vrlo dobro poslužiti za provođenje smišljenih i organiziranih priprema za predstojeću turističku sezonu. U skladu sa time potrebno je da svi privredni i neprivredni faktori koji na bilo koji način učestvuju u turističkom prometu u svojim okvirima



Slika 9: Šibenska obala 1980-tih¹⁵ (izvor/source: Šibenski list)



Slika 11: Stambeno naselje Vidici 2015.¹⁶ (izvor/source: Dorbić, 2015)

Ne uočava se napredak u boljem izboru vrsta, osobito u uređenju travnjaka kojih je ionako bilo premalo. Nije se pridonosilo njihovom uređenju, zaštiti i prihrani. Automatsko navodnjavanje nije bilo u uporabi; zbog nedostatka tehnike, vrtlari su navedene površine morali manualno zalijevati, što je poprilično teško i riskantno, posebice za one u postupku zasnivanja. Ulični drvoredi su tada bili neuredno oblikovani. Novoposađeni nasadi bili su monotoni i nisu bili privlačni.

Stoga u to vrijeme nije bio rijedak slučaj da problematiku vezanu za interakciju tla i biljke rješavaju samostalno neke druge struke što zbog nedovoljnog pozna-

rasprave o ovim materijalima i o mjerama za koje će poduzeti da bi se nedostaci otklonili ili sveli na minimum. Posebnu brigu trebalo bi posvetiti higijeni i čistoci turističkih mjesta, javnih plaža i izletničkih punktova te čuvanju šuma i zelenih površina od požara. Tu bi se trebalo više nego do sada osjetiti aktivnost turističkih društava, a naročito kada govorimo o problemima šire infrastrukture u koju grupu spadaju i javne plaže."

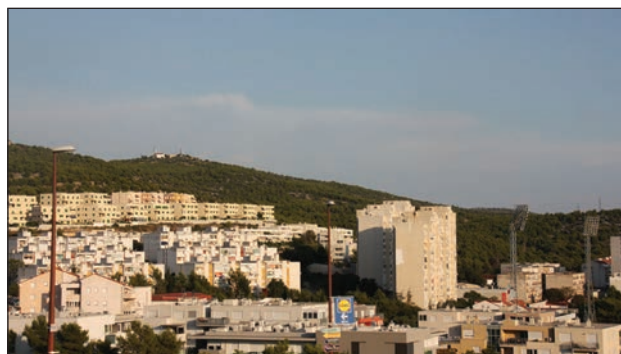
15 Anonymous (1980a): Šibenski list, Glasilo socijalističkog saveza radnog naroda općine Šibenik, XIX.

16 Građevine i nasadi su ostali nepromijenjeni.

17 Središnji i istočni dio naselja je zadržao prvotnu formu.



Slika 10: Šibenska obala 2013. godine (izvor/source: Dorbić, 2013)

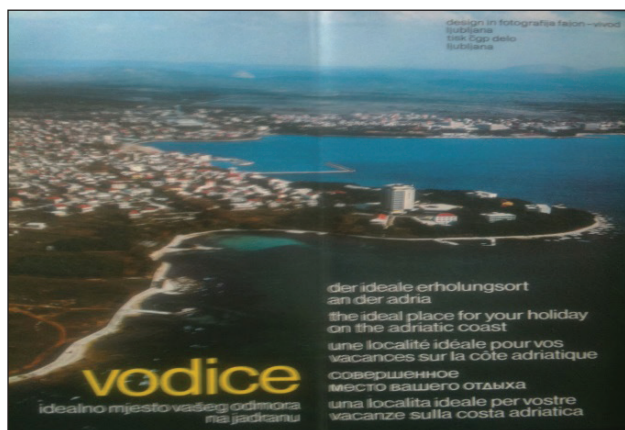


Slika 12: Stambeno naselje Šubićevac 2015.¹⁷ (izvor/source: Dorbić, 2015)

vanja problema ostavlja posljedice na terenu. Urbano drveće izloženo je nizu biotičkih i abiotičkih čimbenika koji utječu na njihovo zdravstveno stanje (Matošević, 2004; Diminić, Hrašovec, 2005).

Cvjetne gredice nisu bile oblikovane po pravilima struke-bile su bez prepoznavanja cvjetne kompozicije te loših kolorističkih karakteristika. Slična problematika je prisutna i u gradu Mostaru (Arar, 2003, 196). Često se sadi manji broj biljaka po m² pa gredice izgledaju neskladne i neprimjerene (Arar, 2003, 205). Najblaže rečeno gradskim se nasadima nije odveć pridavalo pažnje.

Nije se vodilo brige o karakteristikama posadenih vrsta. Tako su drvoredi brijestova (*Ulmus* sp.) na šibenskoj poljani korijenjem podizali cestovni asfalt, ili kao



Slika 13: Promidžbeni letak Vodica s početka 1970-ih. Podina (izvor/source: Daši)

u Kninskoj glavnoj ulici drvored lipa (*Tilia* sp.), koji je 2013. godine zamijenjen s koštelama (*Celtis australis* L.) i lipama (*Tilia* sp.) u špaliru.¹⁸ Na gradskoj šibenskoj obali su tada zasadene kaline, što nikako ne odgovara ambijentu starog grada i morske ekološke matrice. Linijski nasadi u ovom slučaju trebaju odisati ne samo estetikom, već i autentičnošću. Gradski perivoj Roberta Visianija bio je prepušten neadekvatnom održavanju, zbog čega je djelovao neuredno. Prednjači uporaba dendroloških vrsta nad cvjetnim u gradskim pejzažnim površinama što se može povezati s tradicijom utjecaja ranije austrijske uprave. Godine 1997. perivoj je u cijelosti posječen i nakon toga obnovljen prema približnome povijesnom izgledu. (Sironić, Sironić, Mornar, 2008, 139).¹⁹

U to doba veća je uporaba neadekvatnih alohtonih nemediterranskih vrsta. Uočljiva je uporaba drveća i grmlja za kontinent. Također one ne bi trebale biti prisutne ni na području Knina, koji ima submediteransku klimu.

Razvoj podizanja nasada i krajobraznog uređenja okolice Šibenika (Vodice i Primošten)

Povijest podizanja nasada u Vodicama započinje tijekom 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća, a usko je povezana s počecima organiziranog djelovanja turizma. Malobrojni su dionici iz ondašnjeg doba koji mogu vjerno opisati tadašnje stanje urbanizacije Vodica. Jedan od njih zasigurno jeste Ante Roca, diplomirani ekonomist i profesor



Slika 14: Obala u Vodicama 2015. godine (izvor/source: Dorbić, 2015)

prirodopisa. Kako Roca navodi, ozelenjavanje i vrtlarska kultura u Vodicama nastajala je spontano, kao dio lokalne tradicije. Šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća počelo se s hotelskim turizmom u Vodicama. Godina 1955. može se označiti kao početak organiziranog bavljenja turizmom u Vodicama. Označava ju posjet tadašnjih radnica tekstilne tvrtke „Pobjeda“ koje su došle u Vodice, a spavale su u školskoj čitaonici na slamaricama. Do 1965. godine nije bilo apartmanizacije i urbane izgradnje, osim restorana „Kozara“ u vlasništvu šibenske Rivijere. Roca je tada kao 25-godišnji profesor prirodopisa i ekonomije odlučio reformirati tadašnju zadrugu. Tada je njezin predsjednik bio poljoprivredni tehničar Marko Srdarev, koji je u Vodicama uoči Prvog svjetskog rata zasadio šumu alepskog bora (*Pinus halepensis* Mill.).

Kada se radio hotel Punta, nasipao se obalni pojas gdje je kasnije podignuta sadašnja A.C.I. Marina. Poznati filmski snimatelj Šime Strikoman navodi da su u starom Gradskom vodičkom parku tijekom 1970-ih godina bile posađene ruže (*Rosa* spp.), a od stabala brijestovi (*Ulmus* sp.) i koštele (*Celtis australis* L.). Uz kuće kao i u većini ondašnjih ruralnih primorskih naselja vrt su uglavnom upotpunjavale različite vrste voćaka: smokva (*Ficus carica* L.), breskva (*Prunus persica* L.), marelica (*Prunus armeniaca* L.), maslina (*Olea europea* L.), vinova loza (*Vitis vinifera* L.) te mediteransko povrće. Sadnja palmi u Vodicama započinje krajem 1970-ih godina. U Vodicama je 1960-ih godina postojala grupa za poljepšavanje mjesta i plaža. Posađeni su tamarisi (*Tamarix* sp.) uz obalu.

Godine 1956. uređen je i park na vodičkoj poljani. Intenzivna izgradnja u Vodicama se odvijala u razdoblju 1971.-1979. 1970-tih godina. Hoteli su 1970-tih godina

18 Blažević (2013): „Od uređenja Poljane zemljanom površinom od 1852. do 1914. Godine drvoredi su bili unutar plohe poljane, a ne uz njezin rubni pravac. Od 1927. godine drvorede i cvjetne elemente na Gradskoj Poljani uređuje privatnik Ante Zorić, šibenski cvjećar uz pomoć šibenskih vrtlara Duje Grbca i Ante Blažević-Jurišića s Gorice.“

19 Bojanić Obad Ščitaroci, Obad Ščitaroci (2004, 183): „Obnova šibenskoga perivoja pokazala je svu ozbiljnost obnove povijesnih perivoja-ne samo u smislu metodološkoga pristupa nego i kod ozbiljne investicije s potrebom osiguranja velikih svota novca. Iako je perivoj obnovljen prema povijesnoj matrici, sve je u perivoju novo. Nepotrebno su srušeni stoljetni borovi i druga stara stabla te su posađena ista nova. Uklonjeni su i svi stari arhitektonski kameni dijelovi i ugrađeni novi. Takav pristup uopće nije prihvatljiv i ne smije biti predložak za druge obnove povijesnih perivoja, osobito ako nema uporište u znanstvenom istraživanju i znanstvenoj podlozi cijeloga projekta obnove. Rezultat je takve obnove novi stari, zapravo lažni perivoj.“

Tablica 2. Hortikulturno-rekreacijski objekti na području Vodice-Srma, 1980. godine.²⁰

Područje	Naziv	Indeks	Površina (ha)
Tribunj	S.R.C Zaglave	TR1	15,80
Tribunj	Park	TR2	1,63
Tribunj	Kupališni rekreacioni lokalitet	TR3	6,25
Tribunj	Groblje	TR4	1,00
Tribunj	Park Vidikovac	TR5	2,5
Tribunj	Park	TR6	1,0
Vodice	S.R.C Bristak	VR7	23,25
Vodice	Groblje	VR8	1,62
Vodice	Kupališni rekreacijski lokalitet	VR9	8,32
	Ukupno		59,74

Izvor/Source: Skupština zajednice općina Split: Prostorni plan zajednica općine Split-osnove prostornog plana Šibenske regije, Općinski zavod za urbanizam Šibenik, 1980, 71.

ulagali u uređenje plaža, okoliša, parkova, prilaza i ulica. U tom razdoblju Vodice su još uvijek imale ruralni izgled (Latin, 2005, 87). Zaslugom Mjesnog ureda osniva se 1973. godine zasebna tvrtka „GKP-Vodice“ koja se bavi građevinskim i komunalnim poslovima za potrebe mjesta (Latin, 2005, 123).

Razvoj podizanja nasada i krajobraznog uređenja u Primoštenu

O podizanju nasada u Primoštenu govorio je ing. Josip Pažanin. Godine 1947. počelo se pošumljavati na primoštenskom poluotoku.²² U Primoštenu je tada djelovala i šibenska Šumarija, a tadašnji direktor Šumarije bio je inženjer šumarstva Mate Huljev. Na pošumljavanju Primoštena su sudjelovala i školska djeca.

Pejsažno uređenje Primoštena započelo je s razvitkom turizma. Godine 1957. u Primoštenu osnovano

**Slika 15: Primošten 1970-ih godina (izvor/source: Daši)****Slika 16: Obala u Primoštenu 2015. godine²¹ (izvor/source: Dorbić, 2013)**

20 Skupština zajednice općina Split: Prostorni plan zajednica općine Split-osnove prostornog plana Šibenske regije, Općinski zavod za urbanizam Šibenik, 1980., Str 71.

21 Na obali prevladava izvorno zelenilo s početka zasnivanja nasada.

22 Inženjer poljoprivrede Josip Pažanin rođen je 1933. godine u Primoštenu. Srednju školu je pohađao u Šibeniku i Poreču. Godine 1956. je završio za tehničara voćarstva vinogradarstva i vinarstva u Porečkoj poljoprivrednoj školi. Do 1960. godine radio je u Novigradu Istarskom u dolini rijeke Mirne. U Primoštenu je djelovao godinu dana kada se zbog neslaganja s tamošnjim političarima morao povući s radnog mjesta i vratiti u Poreč. Višu poljoprivrednu školu Voćarsko-vinogradarskog i vinarskog smjera je završio 1964. godine u Poreču. Bio je na jednogodišnjem stručnom usavršavanju u Plovdivu, Republika Bugarska, na institutu „Marica“. Uveo je različite inovacije u biljnoj proizvodnji, a jedna od njih je bila i strojna berba rajčica, tada za mnoge nepojmljiva.



Slika 17: Knin, glavna ulica (izvor/source: https://www.google.hr/?gws_rd=ssl#q=knin+stare+razglednice)



Slika 18: Knin, glavna ulica 2015. godine²³ (izvor/source: Dorbić, 2015)

je Turističko društvo čiji je prvi predsjednik bio Tome Huljev. Zagrebački esperantisti su 1961. godine organizirano dolazili u njihov kamp. Zanimljivo je njihovo predvorje, tj. aleja sa zastavama odabranih zemalja. Od agronoma je u Primoštenu u razdoblju do 1970. djelovao bračni par Elezović sa Hvara. Centralni park don. Ive Šarića u Primoštenu je izgrađen 1959. godine. U tadašnje vrijeme park je bio ograđen kamenim zidom, a ispred crkvice je bio čempres (*Cupressus sempervirens* L.) i nekoliko borova (*Pinus* sp.). Godine 1975. obnovljen je ogradni zid, dok su ljuljačke ugrađene početkom 1980-ih godina. Tamarisi (*Tamarix* sp.) su u Primoštenu posađeni 1970. godine. Predsjednik tadašnje Mjesne zajednice bio je Ante Nižić koji je među ostalim bio inicijator stvaranja pejzaža mjesta. Palme su posađene 1970. godine.

Razvoj podizanja nasada i krajobraznog uređenja Knina

Ruske i ukrajinske izbjeglice, tzv. „Ruska bjelogarda“ poslije revolucije 1917. godine dale su ideju za uređenje nasada grada Knina. Sadnja je započela poslije 1920 godine. Tada je Knin bio prašnjav, neasfaltiran i nedovoljno ureden. Prvotno su se počele saditi lipe (*Tilia* sp.). Na Kninskoj tvrđavi se pak bilježi različita dendrološka vegetacija, kao što su: klen (*Acer campestre* L.), dren (*Cornus mas* L.), hrastovi (*Quercus* sp.) i sl. Platane (*Platanus* sp.) koje su zasadene u Kninu stare su više od 170 godina, a za njihovu sadnju je zaslužna engleska dobrotvorka Miss Irby koja je boravila u Kninu i široj okolici za vladavine Austro-Ugarske monarhije. Poneke platane su djelomično uništene i za vrijeme Domovinskog rata. U povijesti kninskog ozelenjivanja treba istaknuti i gđu. Novak, za koju se smatra da je bila dendrološki stručnjak. Ona je živjela u kući iza mjesne crkve sv. Ante, a umrla je prije nekoliko godina. U Komunalnom podu-

zeću iza II. Svjetskog rata radio je Stevo Stojanović, kao nadglednik i voditelj komunalnih radova. On je ispred upravne zgrade Elektre, uz cestu posadio lovor višnje (*Prunus laurocerasus* L.).

Nakon njega poslove preuzima nadglednik Milivoj Popović, dipl. ing. šum. U to se vrijeme od komunalnog poduzeća prema granici s Bosnom i Hercegovinom sadio divlji kesten (*Aesculus hippocastanum* L.). Godine 1975. Milivoj Popović dobio je zadatak uređenja tadašnje osnovne škole Narodnih heroja. Stabla nižeg rasta nabavljana su iz Zagreba. Za park je izvađeno 15 sitnolisnih lipa (*Tilia parviflora* L.) iz kamenjara u Plavnom, a vadili su ih miniranjem kamena. Od alohtonih vrsta posađenih u Kninu može se izdvojiti turkeštanski brijest (*Ulmus pinnato-ramosa* L.), koji se nabavljao iz rasadnika u Sinju.

ZAKLJUČAK

Podizanje nasada i pejzažno uređenje Šibenika i okolice svoj procvat doživljava nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata. Ponajviše se radilo na pošumljavanju i ekološko-oblikovnom podizanju novih pejzažnih površina u sklopu novo-izgrađenih stambenih naselja u istočnim dijelovima grada. Tako su se u tadašnjem poslijeratnom razdoblju iza 1950-ih godina koristile tek poneke autohtone i alohtone vrste koje su se uzgajale u susjednim općinskim rasadnicima. Sustav održavanja gradskog zelenila provodila je gradska tvrtka „Zelenilo“. Pioniri šibenskog pejzažnog uređenja su također doprinijeli stvaranju urbane slike grada. Najistaknutiji i najstariji član društva „Šubićevac“ bio je gosp. Ante Frua, koji je 1921. godine započeo s realizacijom projekta kupališta Jadrija i uređenjem park-šume Šubićevac.

Na gradskom području nakon 1952. godine sve se više gradi, a time se povećavaju nove površine pod nasadima. Godine 1956. Šibenik s pošumljenom okolicom

23 Sjećajući postojećih i zasnivanje novih nasada uz središnju prometnicu u Kninu je započeta od 2011. godine.

ima oko 1 m² nasada po stanovniku, dok je 1964. godine zasnovano novih 3500 m² različitih nasada, podignut je perivoj uz položeni neboder na Baldekinu itd. I u tom vremenskom razdoblju uvelike se podižu novi stambeni blokovi, a samim time i pejzažne površine. U šibenskom „Komunalcu“, a potom „Zelenilu“ tijekom navedenog vremenskog razdoblja radili su upravnici Jovan Čalić i Tonko Marotti, a kasnije Ante Dunkić i dr. Komunalno poduzeće „Zelenilo“ je projektiralo, uređivalo i održavalo javne gradske pejzažne površine u skladu s vlastitim mogućnostima. Nakon 1980. godine sve je veća uporaba neadekvatnih alohtonih vrsta ukrasnog bilja.

Povijest podizanja nasada Vodica započinje tijekom 50-ih godina 20. stoljeća, a usko je povezana s počecima organiziranog djelovanja turizma. Sadnja palmi u Vodicama započinje krajem 70-ih godina. U Vodicama je 1960-ih godina osnovana grupa za poljepšavanje

mjesta i plaža. Posađeni su i tamarisi (*Tamarix* sp.) uz obalu.

Godine 1947. počelo se pošumljavati na primošten-skom poluotoku. Pejzažno uređenje Primoštena je započelo s razvitkom turizma. Godine 1957. u Primoštenu je osnovano Turističko društvo čiji je prvi predsjednik bio Tome Huljev. Centralni park don. Ive Šarića u Primoštenu je izgrađen 1959. godine, a palme na obali su posađene 1970. godine.

Pejzažno uređenje Knina započelo je poslije 1920. godine. Prvotno su se počele saditi lipe (*Tilia* sp.). Platan (*Platanus* sp.) koje su zasade u Kninu stare su više od 170 godina. U Komunalnom poduzeću iza Drugog svjetskog rata je radio Stevo Stojanović, kao nadglednik i voditelj komunalnih radova, a poslije njega Milivoj Popović koji je dao značajan doprinos u podizanju nasada mjesta.

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF GARDENING AND LANDSCAPING IN ŠIBENIK AND ITS OUTSKIRTS DURING THE PERIOD FROM 1945 TO 1985

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SUMMARY

Landscape decoration of Šibenik and its outskirts flourished right after the World War II. Afforestation and enhancement of new plantations next to houses were represented the most. Several individuals and environmental organisations that made a significant contribution to the formation of landscape throughout the Šibenik region stand out. A small number of dendrological species grown in the local plant nurseries was used in the landscape design. Landscape surfaces were formed during the construction of new residential areas and hotels. Their design features were unsatisfactory and their technical documentation inadequate. This paper analyses the original archive materials and other documentation and provides a historical overview of the plantation raising during urbanisation of cities and settlements in Šibenik area.

Keywords: Šibenik, urban plantations, urban gardening, landscaping

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ZADAR ISLANDS GROWTH PROSPECTS – IS TOURISM THEIR DRIVING FORCE?

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ABSTRACT

Development of tourism on Zadar Islands at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century transformed them into mainly leisure zones. Once dependent on agriculture, fishing and maritime transport Zadar Islands became strongly dependent on tourism. Tourism influenced transformation of landscape, coastal and marine ecosystems, but also caused social and cultural changes. Based on statistical data, survey and field research the aim of this paper is to determine whether tourism can reverse negative socio-economic processes on Zadar Islands such as population decline, aging, and economic stagnation. Statistical data referred to official demographic and tourist records while survey included questions about current and future islands development. The answers were later analysed by Mann-Whitney (U) test and Chi-square test. Results showed that tourism is nowadays the most important economic activity on Zadar Islands but fishery and agriculture should have prominent role as well. This paper is a contribution to study of Zadar Islands, especially because it includes an opinion of local population on various issues, which was until now rarely done.

Key words: tourism, Zadar Islands, depopulation, economic development

PROSPETTIVA DELLO SVILUPPO DELLE ISOLE DI ZARA – PUÒ TURISMO DARE LA SPINTA?

SINTESI

Lo sviluppo del turismo sulle isole di Zara alla fine del ventesimo e inizio del ventunesimo secolo le ha trasformate in zone prevalentemente ricreative. Una volta dipendenti dall'agricoltura, pesca e trasporto marittimo, le isole di Zara sono diventate molto dipendenti dal turismo. Turismo ha influenzato la trasformazione del paesaggio, ecosistemi costieri e marini, ma ha anche causato cambi sociali e culturali. In base ai dati statistici, sondaggio e ricerca, l'obiettivo di quest'articolo è determinare se il turismo può rovesciare i processi socio-economici negativi sulle isole di Zara, come il declino della popolazione, invecchiamento e stagnazione economica. I dati statistici si riferiscono agli ufficiali registri demografici e turistici, mentre il sondaggio ha incluso domande in connessione con lo sviluppo attuale e future delle isole. Le risposte sono state analizzate usando il test di Mann-Whitney (u) e il test di chi-quadro. I risultati hanno dimostrato che il turismo d'oggi rappresenta la più importante attività economica sulle isole di Zara, ma pesca e agricoltura dovrebbero pure avere un ruolo prominente. Quest'articolo rappresenta una contribuzione sullo studio delle isole di Zara, in particolare perché include il parere della popolazione locale su vari temi, qualcosa che non si vedeva spesso finora.

Parole chiave: turismo, isole di Zara, spopolamento, sviluppo economico

INTRODUCTION

During the second half of the 20th century, development of tourism on the Mediterranean strongly influenced Croatian Islands. It became vital, for some islands crucial and in some cases single economic activity. Croatian Islands can be classified as a region rich with both natural and cultural heritage, abundant with outstanding biodiversity and diverse socio-economic features. One of the reasons all islands are attractive tourist destinations is the common perception of Islands as “repositories” of natural and cultural heritage (Royle, 2008). Tourism can be described as a specific social phenomena which became a need for all mankind and it gained features as one of the main society’s function (Rupert, Maier, 1981), social and cultural need, phenomena of the modern developed world (Krippendorf, 1986). Tourist voyages can be understood as the journey towards more beautiful, exciting and challenging world (Schouten, 2002), and tourists as the metaphor of the modern society (Dann, 2002). Within the life pattern and the rhythm of postmodern and post-industrial mankind (work – dwelling – leisure time – travel) tourism is its prominent feature (Jadrešić, 1994). Tourism became civilizational need depicted through syntagma travel culture and it reflects the style and the way of life of an individual but also the society as a whole. Numerous world islands (Croatian and Zadar Islands included) are experiencing a period of landscape, coastal and marine ecosystems transformation because of intense tourism influence (Apostolopoulos, Gayle, 2002). Unlike large islands, small ones are more vulnerable and subjected to negative occurrences such as natural disasters and climate changes or unfavourable social trends like depopulation or aging (King, Connell, 1999).

Even though tourist activity on Zadar Islands can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century and in the period between the two World Wars (Magaš et al., 2000; Faričić, Mikulić, 2010; Čuka, 2011; Faričić, 2012; Pejdo, Blaće, 2013), more prominent development occurred after 1970s when tourism became dominant economic activity on the majority of Croatian Islands (Mikačić, 1994; Montana, 1994; Defilippis, 2001; Čuka, 2011; Faričić, 2012; Pejdo, Blaće, 2013). Recent period of social and economic transition strongly affected all Croatian Islands; their dependence on tourism is repeated continuously almost as a “mantra” that today can be regarded as islands’ identification symbol. The aim of the research paper is to examine basic contemporary economic features of Zadar Islands, taking into consideration available statistical data and population attitudes on the Islands’ future development, with special reference to tourism.

METHODOLOGY

The research methods included mostly quantitative approach. The authors first analysed data on popula-

tion number, number of tourists and overnight stays and available data on economy. Also for the purpose of this article, a survey has been done on three Zadar Islands – Ugljan, Silba and Vir. Those three islands were chosen as the examples of three different types of Zadar Islands. Ugljan Island can be defined as the island with favourable geographic position in the vicinity of the mainland. Island’s efficient transport connections with the mainland can be taken into account as one of comparative advantages (Pejdo, 2012), due to which Ugljan has more positive demographic and economic features with regard to other Zadar Islands. Silba Island was chosen as the example of small, offshore islands, distant from the mainland with small population number and insufficient economic basis. As the representative of the third group, Vir Island has been chosen. It is the bridged island on which socio-geographic as well as landscape features have altered after 1980s and the construction of the bridge. Surveyed population on each of three islands represented one sample chosen by the random choice method. Afterwards survey results were analysed by nonparametric tests – Mann-Whitney (U) test and Chi-square test in SPSS 17.0 software. The aim was to determine whether there is statistically significant difference between answers given by population living on Ugljan, Silba or Vir Island and the attitudes on certain problems typical for island communities. In addition, field researches on Zadar Islands were done in order to confirm assumptions made after statistical data analyses. Article provides information on recent statistics in relation to tourism on Zadar Islands. Tourism plays an important role on Zadar Islands because of its economic and employment potential, as well as its social and environmental implications. Numerous problems were detected as regards statistics on tourism. This especially refers to data on tourist arrivals and overnight stays. Data on tourist numbers remains somewhat problematic due to the large quantity of unreported tourists. Tourism is one of the Croatian economy sectors most prone to “grey” market activity. A significant portion of overnights is realised in second homes (Čavlek et al., 2010). This type of tourist activity most often goes unregistered and is the key generator of grey economy. It is very difficult to research the volume of this type of tourism turnover, moreover as the exact figures concerning second homes and apartments engaged in tourism operation still remain unavailable (Opačić, Mikačić, 2009; Čavlek et al., 2010). However, mentioned data can be found for towns and municipalities but not for settlements. For the purpose of this article, authors used only available official data provided by Croatian Bureau of Statistics and Tourist Boards.

ZADAR ISLANDS

The overall Croatian Islands area has a surface of 3259 km² (5.7% of total Croatian territory) with total coastline

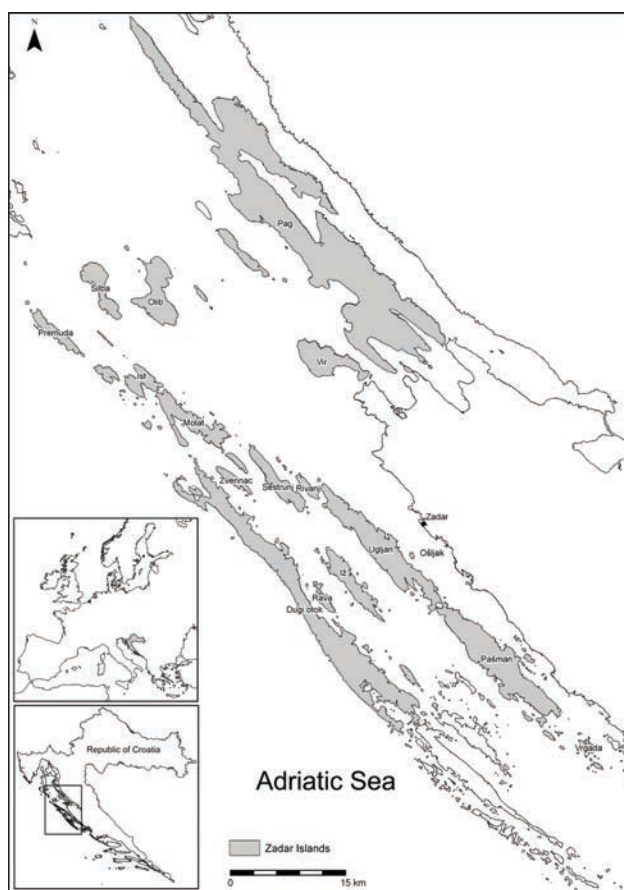


Fig. 1: Geographical position of Zadar Islands

Table 1: Basic features of Zadar Islands

Zadar Islands	Area (km ²)	Coastline length (km)	Population number in 2011
Dugi Otok	113.30	1,821.08	1,641
Ist	9.73	23.03	178
Iž	16.51	35.22	559
Molat	22.17	51.59	192
Olib	26.14	33.34	132
Ošljak	0.33	2.40	27
Pag	284.18	302.47	9,201
Pašman	60.11	702.05	2,844
Premuda	8.66	25.73	62
Rava	3.63	15.99	108
Rivanj	3.61	10.34	30
Sestrunj	15.12	29.34	45
Silba	14.27	26.23	286
Ugljan	51.04	78.74	6,126
Vir	22.07	31.94	3,032
Vrgada	2.31	9.18	240
Zverinac	4.17	14.27	42
Total	657.35	3,212.94	15,544

Source: Duplančić et al. (2004), Census of Population, Households and Dwellings 2011, CBS, Zagreb, 2012

length of 4398 km. It comprises of 79 islands, 525 islets and 642 rocks and reefs (Duplančić et al., 2004). Considering number and diversity, Croatian Islands can be divided into several groups depending on various criteria: natural-geographic, demographic, social, economic or administrative. Functional and administrative-territorial connections between islands and specific (urban) centres on the mainland prove transversal, whereas natural-geographic features indicate longitudinal fragmentation of Croatian Islands. By analysing islands demographic features and their connections to the mainland regarding distance, Klempić and Lajić (2003), Lajić and Mišetić (2006) divided Croatian Islands into coastal, channel and offshore. According to demographic criteria, Crnošija and Starc (1994) divided certain Croatian Islands in a more complex way, determining Islands demographic features based on the maximal recorded population number.

Zadar Islands are a part of larger, North Dalmatian group of islands (Fig. 1). Their main features are large number of small, scattered islands with NW-SE orientation in three and sometimes four parallel relief structures. Out of 17 settled islands (Table 1), Pag and Vir Islands are bridged, and there is also a bridge connecting Pašman and Ugljan Islands. Island's parallelism with the coast same as their distance from the mainland determined the grouping of islands into inner, middle and outer series islands (Skračić, 1994; Klempić, Lajić, 2003).

LOCAL ECONOMY ON ZADAR ISLANDS

Due to their geographical restrictions, islands are faced with limited developmental possibilities. Distance

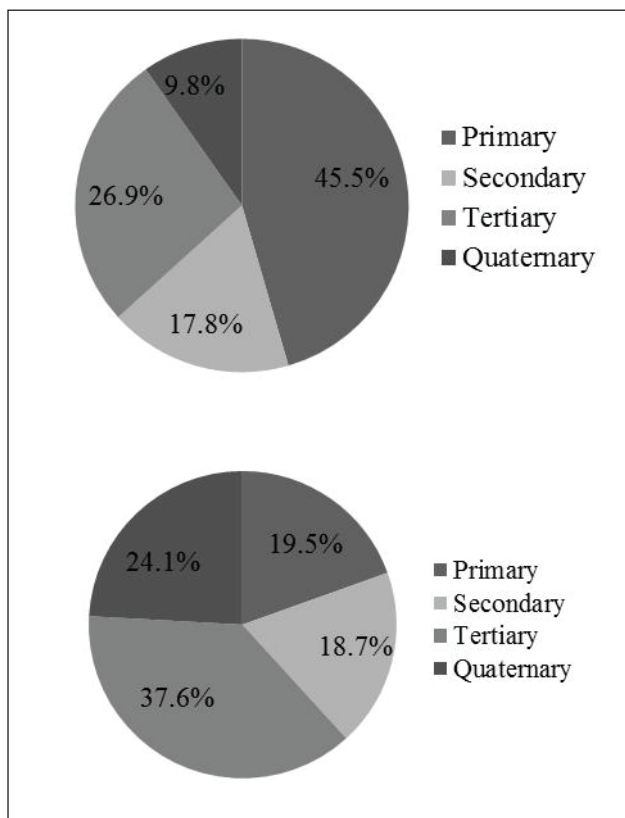


Fig. 2: Employed population on Zadar Islands according to activity domain in 1971 and 2001

Source: Census of Population, Households, and Dwellings 1971, Population according to Activity, results by settlements, bk. X, Federal Institute for Statistics, Belgrade, 1974, Census of Population, Households and Dwellings 2001, Population according to activity and ownership, CBS, Zagreb, 2005

and separation from land accentuate islands' economy problems. The most common ones are limited labour market, reduced economy development possibilities and inadequate population structure (Foghagen, 2011). In the past Zadar Islands went through periods of economic prosperity and adversity, but they were usually regions where inhabitants were engaged in agriculture, fishery and maritime transport – complementary activities based on local natural resources: sea, arable land and pastures. Throughout the history, the island economy can be described as a small-scale economy (Faričić, 2006; 2012).

Significant changes in local economic structure occurred during the last decades of the 20th century. This change is a long-term process corresponding with economic development level of the entire region (Wertheimer-Baletić, 1999). Overall tertiarization of modern society induced similar processes on islands

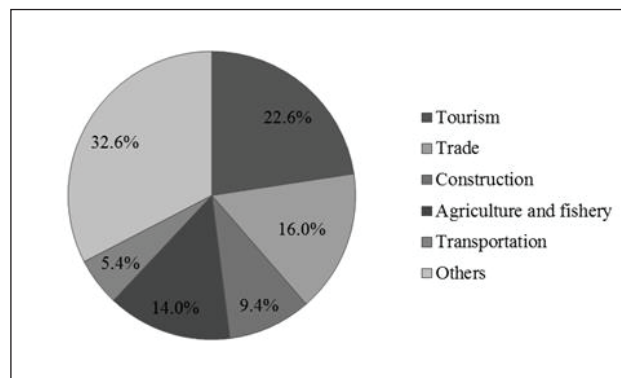


Fig. 3: Structure of entrepreneurs on Zadar Islands in 2011

Source: Association of Trades and Crafts Zadar, 2012

where tourism and other types of service industry became important and dominant, and at the same time traditional activities became neglected. Changes in economic structure in the period from 1971 to 2001¹ are the direct consequence of social, demographic and political circumstances. On Zadar Islands changes refer to decrease of active population in primary sector activities, significant increase of tertiary and quaternary sector activities and slight alterations of secondary sector activities. These changes are caused by socio-economic transition that evolved as the consequence of agriculture abandonment and redirection of economy towards service industry. Already in 1971 significant portion of islands' population was employed in tourism and related service industry, although majority was still employed in agriculture (Fig. 2).

Contemporary employment population structure indicates that the majority of the employees are in tertiary sector, i.e. service industry (37.7%) while the portion of the employees in primary (19.5%) and secondary sector (18.7) is almost equal. The highest increase was recorded in the number of those employed in quaternary sector activities (24.4%). Small and medium businesses accounted for 79% of overall profit in Zadar County and 88% of all employed persons. During the first decade of the 21st century, the number of small and medium entrepreneurs constantly increased (Croatian Chamber of Economy, 2010).

Catering and tourism industry are the activities with the highest number of craftsmen (22.6%) with significant portion involved in trade (16%) (Fig. 3). Slightly smaller share of craftsmen deal with agriculture and fishery (14%), while smaller share is engaged in construction (9.4%) and transport (5.4%). Regardless its shortcomings, tourism is the most important economic activity on the islands. Majority of investments through

¹ The period from 1971 to 2001 is chosen as the referent one since there are still no available statistical data on economy for 2011 Population Census.

Table 2: Work contingent and demographic reserves on Zadar Islands in 2001 and work contingent in 2011

Island	Work contingent (15-64) 2001	Active population	Used work contingent (in %)	Unused work contingent	Demographic reserves (in %)	Work contingent (15-64) 2011
Dugi Otok	960	552	57.50	408	42.50	955
Ist	111	52	46.84	59	54.68	83
Iž	258	129	50.00	129	50.00	330
Molat	91	36	39.56	55	60.44	72
Olib	64	29	45.31	35	53.22	73
Ošljak	6	2	33.33	4	66.67	17
Pag	5,301	3,471	65.47	1,830	34.52	5,799
Pašman	1,221	899	73.62	322	26.37	1,787
Premuda	30	15	50.00	15	50.00	34
Rava	31	10	32.25	20	64.51	46
Rivanj	5	3	60.00	2	40.00	14
Sestrunj	17	11	64.70	6	35.29	23
Silba	131	69	52.67	62	47.32	178
Ugljan	2,508	1,727	68.85	781	31.14	3,822
Vir	1,126	629	55.86	497	44.13	2,021
Vrgada	144	67	46.52	77	53.47	127
Zverinac	20	6	30.00	14	70.00	23
Total	12,024	7,707	64.09	4,316	35.89	15,418

Source: Lajić, Mišetić, 2006, Census of Population, Households and Dwellings 2001, CBS, Zagreb, 2002, Census of Population, Households and Dwellings 2011, CBS, Zagreb, 2012

state subsidies were given to business owners in tourism industry (36%), and significantly less for shipbuilding (17%), fishery (13%), agriculture (5%) and others (29%) (Croatian Chamber of Economy, 2011).

According to the developmental index, made by Croatian Ministry of Regional Development and EU funds (MRRFEU, 2013), if compared to municipalities on the mainland in Zadar County, islands' municipalities are more developed. The highest ranked are Kolan Municipality on the Pag Island and Vir Municipality (Vir Island). The highest numbers of businesses are registered on Pag, Ugljan and Vir. Pag, Ugljan and Pašman have the highest number of employed persons. According to the mentioned statistical data the Island of Pag is the most developed Zadar Island. Aside tourism there are numerous other traditional activities such as sheep breeding, cheese and salt production. Not only preservation, but also further growth of mentioned activities provides an impulse to synergetic prosperity of the Island of Pag. One of the reasons for such a high number of businesses in comparison to other Zadar Islands is the fact it is bridged. Moreover, Pag has significant work contingent and demographic reserves that should be taken into respect. Island Pag, along with Ugljan and Pašman, has rather

small portion of unused work contingent. On the other hand large portion of unused work contingent is a sign of insufficient and/or undeveloped economy. Besides long lasting depopulation period and unused working contingent, Zadar Islands still have demographic resources for future economic advancement (Table 2).

TOURISM ON ZADAR ISLANDS

Main features of tourism in Croatian littoral area are the highest number of overnight stays during the summer months and the tourist offer almost exclusively based on the sun-sand-sea concept (Petrić, Mimica, 2011). During 1960's until the end of 1980's in spite of various political, socio-demographic and economic changes, tourism on islands mainly trailed the pace of tourism development on the mainland (Mikačić, 1994). It is largely due to the improvements of transportation that tourism on Zadar Islands has developed. The best examples are Islands of Vir and Pag on which the major investments in tourism occurred after the construction of bridges (1968 and 1976).

Already at the beginning of the 20th century, tourism on Zadar Islands started to develop. During 1960s,

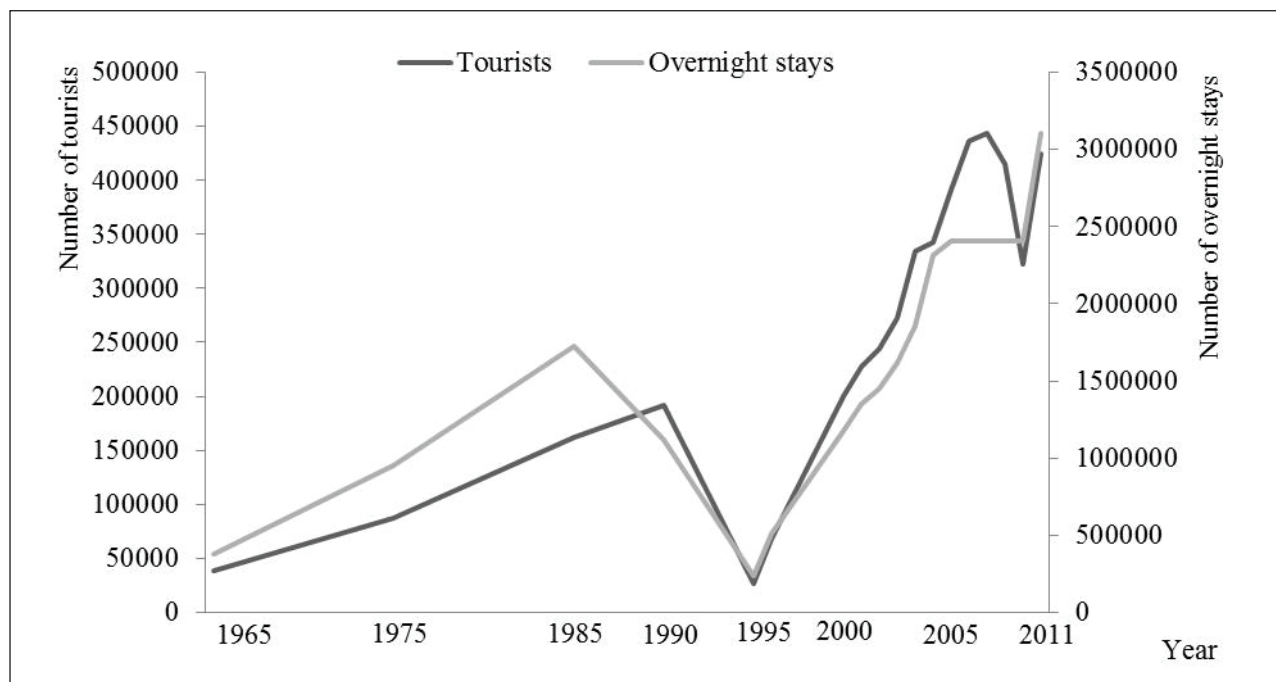


Fig. 4: Number of tourists and overnight stays on Zadar Islands in the period from 1965 to 2011

Source: Tourism in Seaside Resorts and Municipalities, FIS of Socialist Republic of Croatia, doc. 3.8/1965, Zagreb, 1966; Tourism in Seaside Resorts and Municipalities, FIS of Socialist Republic of Croatia, doc. 244/1975, Zagreb 1976; doc. 661/1986, Zagreb doc. 812/1990; Zagreb 1991., Tourism in Seaside Resorts and Municipalities CBS, doc. 994/1995, Zagreb, 1996; doc. 1135/2000, Zagreb, 2001, doc. 1297/2005, Zagreb, 2006; Tourism in Seaside Resorts and Municipalities, CBS, doc. 1331-5146/2010, Zagreb 2011

following the first phase of mass tourism development almost all islands became attractive tourist destinations. Whereas during the middle 1960s less than half of all islands' settlements recorded tourist activity, today in 60 out of 68 island settlements, there is a record of tourist activity. In the period from 1965 to 2010 the number of tourists on Zadar Islands has doubled (Fig. 4). Accordingly, it can be concluded that the majority of settlements are tourism oriented.

Tourism on Zadar Islands is greatly dependent on climatic conditions and essentially only one prevailing type of the tourism is developed – so called sun-sand-sea tourism. The tourist accommodation sector experiences strong seasonal fluctuations (Mikačić, 1994; Kunst, 1997; Faričić, 2012; Brkić-Vejmelka, 2013). Tourism activities start rather late, in May or more often June and end in September and rarely October. Seasonality in Zadar Islands can be seen from the following, in 2012, 78% of tourist came during July and August and if June is also included then figure rises up to 90% (Tourism Development Master Plan of Zadar County 2013-2023, 2013). Unfavourable distribution of tourist activity does not contribute to the balanced progress and economic development. Seasonality is one of the main problems facing tourism on Zadar Islands. Even

though all tourist destinations are more or less affected by seasonality its impact on Zadar Islands is rather severe.

Other important type of tourism developed on Zadar Islands is nautical tourism. Considering number of islands, indented coastline and the sea surface area², Zadar Islands represent a region ideal for nautical tourism development. Zadar Islands have numerous advantages such as the vicinity of emissive tourist regions, new and quality road transport system on the mainland, numerous maritime ports and international airport in the hinterland. Important destinations for yachtsmen are both marinas on the mainland and the ones on the islands. Due to attractive nautical surrounding, especially Nature park Telašćica and National park Kornati, Zadar Islands became a prominent nautical destination. The number of yachtsmen in the overall tourist number on Zadar Islands is bigger on smaller islands with insufficient accommodation capacities. On certain Zadar Islands yachtsmen are the only tourists. For example, on Olib Island they accounted for 100%, and on Rava, Premuda and Ist Islands 90% of the overall tourist number (Fig. 5). In the nautical ports crucial problems are not only optimal occupancy but quality of services and lack of berths, especially during July and August. There are

2 With the sea surface of 3,632.9 km², Zadar County comprises 11.6% of total Croatian sea surface.

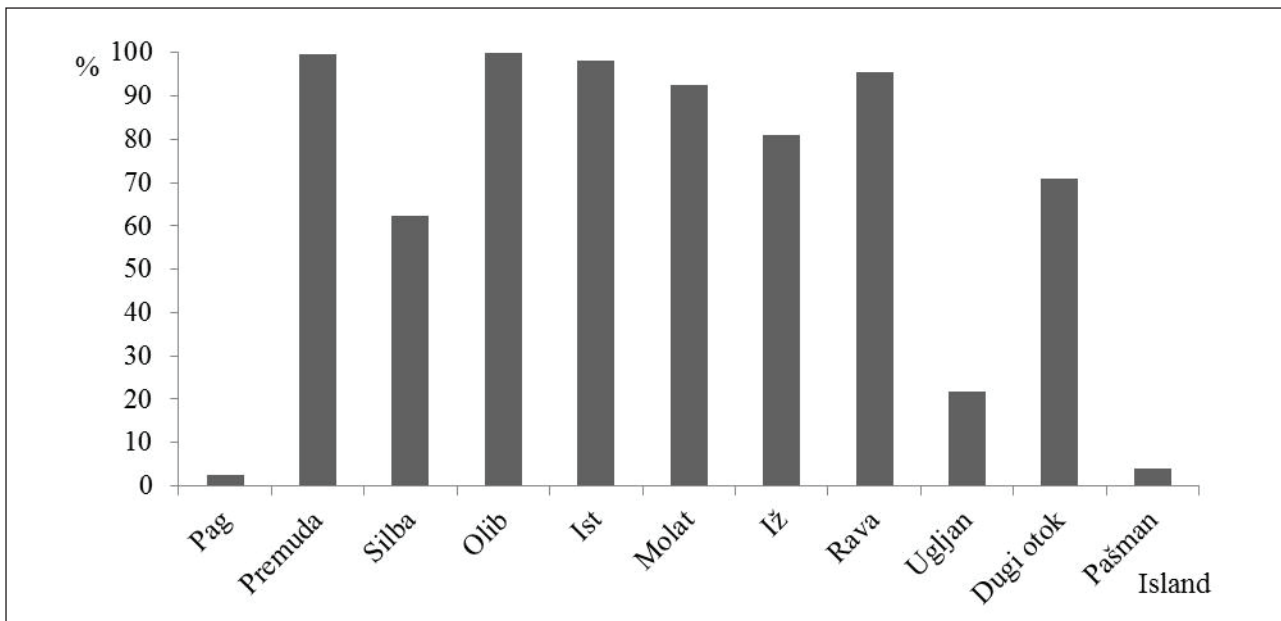


Fig. 5: Share of yachtsmen in overall tourist number on Zadar Islands in 2011

Source: Nautical tourism, Capacity and Turnover of Ports, 2012

still problems with fuel³, water or electricity supply, and absence of numerous services⁴ such as boat or boat engines repairing, cleaning services, etc.

ISLANDS' DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIO-CULTURAL PROFILE

Like other Croatian Islands, Zadar Islands are faced with demographic difficulties evident in a type of "depopulation landscape" that has evolved during the second half of the 20th century (Nejašmić, 1991). Modifications in settlement patterns are determined by various elements. One of them is the peculiarity of geographical position. There are distinctive variances between islands closer to mainland, the bridged ones and offshore islands. As opposed to bridged islands and those closer to mainland, depopulation processes are more evident on small and offshore islands (Podgorelec, 1998; Friganović, 2002; Klempić, Lajić, 2003).

Contemporary depopulation processes on Zadar Islands should be regarded in the context of demographic situation in Croatia which is also marked by depopulation and aging. Aside from above mentioned facts, imbalanced population distribution in Croatia caused unequal socio-economic and regional development and monocentric nodal-functional settlement network (Nejašmić, 2005). Due to depopulation processes there is unequal development of certain regions same as im-

balanced development within regions confirming firm correlation between demographic and economic processes (Akrap, 2002). Because of the economic polarization there is a constant decrease in population number, which is common characteristic of transition from traditionally agrarian into industrial and post-industrial society (Nejašmić, Štambuk, 2003; Pejnović, 2004). As regions of typical periphery Croatian Islands also experience these processes (Sić, 2003).

Depopulation processes intensified after the Second World War and consequences are evident even today. The most intense decrease of the overall population number was recorded in the period from 1948 to 1971. Polarization of economic and demographic development (coast vs. islands vs. hinterland) and the strengthening of urban centres on the mainland became the dominant feature of Croatian territory. Systematic and constant stimulation of industrialization in towns and simultaneously disregarding of rural area reflected on rural and island's population number (Magaš, 1999; Magaš, Lončarić, 2006). Because of emigration and constant natural decrease, reduction of population number after 1970s was even more apparent. In the period from 1971 to 2011 overall number of population on Zadar Islands decreased by 20.1% (Fig. 6).

The highest decrease of population was recorded between 1971 and 1981 when the overall number was reduced by 24.7%. At the same time, this is the age of so-

³ Pag, Ugljan and Pašman Islands are the only Zadar Islands where seafarers can buy fuel for motor boats.

⁴ Research TOMAS Nautika 2007 indicates that according to yachtsmen, the biggest problem in Croatian marinas is their poor infrastructure and lack of services they provide.

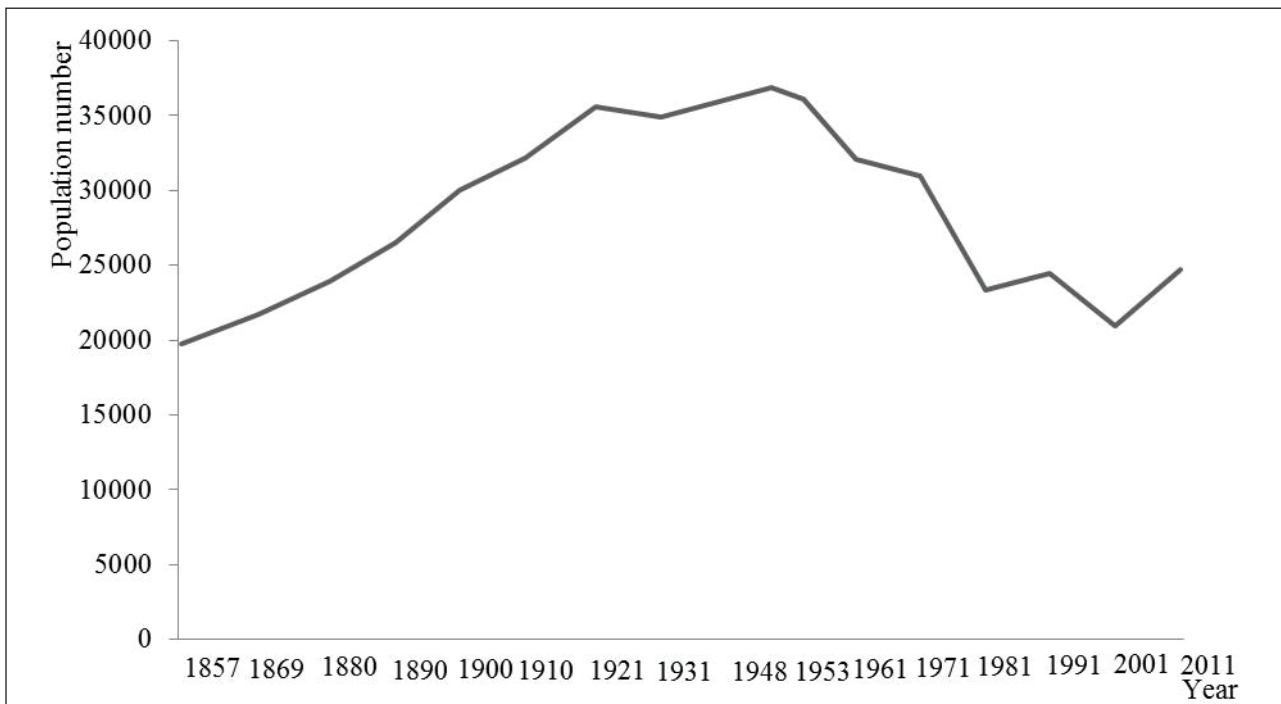


Fig. 6: Population of Zadar Islands from 1857 to 2011

Source: Settlements and Population of the Republic of Croatia – Retrospect 1857-2001, Zagreb, 2005; CBS, Census of Population, Households and Dwellings 2011, Zagreb, 2012

called “golden era of Croatian tourism” (Vukonić, 2005). In intercensal period from 1991 to 2001, for the first time the population number slightly increased. However, that growth was not the result of positive demographic changes such as immigration or positive natural change, but the consequence of so-called “administrative” immigration. This is the category of “fictive islands’ population” referring to persons staying on islands only occasionally, most often during summer (Klempić, Lajić, 2003). During the last decades, there has been immigration of younger retirees into second homes or houses

they have inherited on islands. Namely, some of second homeowners transferred their place of residence from mainland to islands. Motives for such action very often are numerous privileges for those with permanent place of residence on islands such as avoiding paying taxes for two real estates, lower price for water supply, low-cost boat and ferry tickets, etc.

In the last intercensal period Zadar Islands had the highest increase in comparison to all others Croatian Island groups (9.6%). Certain islands recorded minor (Ugljan, Dugi Otok, Olib, Zverinac, Sestrunj) and some

Table 3: Number of inhabitants on Croatian Islands from 1948 to 2011

Islands	1948	1971	2001	2011	Change 2001=100	Change 1948=100
Kvarner Islands	39,841	31,140	38,687	39,622	102.4	97.1
North Dalmatian Islands	48,421	39,872	28,865	30,703	106.3	59.6
Zadar Islands	36,862	30,936	22,565	24,745	109.6	67.1
Central Dalmatian Islands	41,290	34,284	34,927	36,267	103.8	84.6
South Dalmatian Islands	23,285	22,497	19,007	18,190	95.7	81.6
Overall Islands	153,332	127,793	121,486	124,842	102.7	81.4
Share of Zadar Islands	24.0	24.0	18.5	19.8	-	-

Source: CBS, Settlements and Population of the Republic of Croatia – Retrospect 1857-2001, Zagreb, 2005; CBS, Census of Population, Households and Dwellings 2011, Zagreb, 2012

more significant (Pag, Pašman, Vir) population increase. Population increase was recorded even on some small islands (Premuda, Silba, Rivanj, Rava). With 24,745 inhabitants Zadar Islands make 19.8% of Croatian Islands population (Table 3). Population increase detected after the last population census is mainly the consequence of so called “occasional” inhabitants, mostly second home owners. Even though their influence on demographic picture can be discussed, overall activities on islands could be brought into question without their intermittent presence.

LANDSCAPE TRANSFORMATION

Islands landscape developed in an area of specific natural-geographic features with karst hydrology, karst relief forms and particular Mediterranean vegetation. Main features of island landscape are indented coast and specific landscape physiognomies (Bralić, 1999). Dominant characteristic of Zadar Islands’ landscapes are abandoned agricultural area and numerous devastated stone walls between agricultural plots (Faričić, Mikuličić, 2010), abandoned houses and overgrown

Table 4: Permanently occupied dwellings and dwellings for vacation and recreation on Zadar Islands in 1971 and 2001

Island	1971			2001			2011
	Number of permanently occupied dwellings	Number of dwellings for vacation and recreation	Number of dwellings for vacation and recreation per 100 permanently occupied dwellings	Number of permanently occupied dwellings	Number of dwellings for vacation and recreation	Number of dwellings for vacation and recreation per 100 permanently occupied dwellings	
Dugi Otok	772	51	6.6	662	371	56.0	1044
Ist	107	27	25.2	90	128	142.2	96
Iž	434	113	26.0	308	456	148.1	560
Molat	191	57	29.8	127	269	211.8	137
Olib	128	18	14.1	68	88	129.4	72
Ošljak	-	-	-	13	28	215.4	29
Pag	1,998	325	16.2	2,956	5,572	188.4	5,592
Pašman	824	76	9.2	857	1221	142.5	1,579
Premuda	54	-	-	43	49	113.9	43
Rava	63	11	17.5	55	36	65.4	107
Rivanj	17	4	23.5	14	33	235.7	56
Sestrunj	62	1	1.6	32	56	175.0	114
Silba	135	156	115.5	131	443	338.2	163
Ugljan	2,050	177	8.6	1,993	1,402	70.3	3,871
Vir	245	9	3.6	514	5,960	1,159.5	1,297
Vrgada	93	34	36.6	94	84	89.4	235
Zverinac	29	2	6.9	22	8	36.4	33
Total	7,202	1,061	14.7	7,979	16,204	203.1	15,028

Sources: FIS, Population and Housing Census 1971, Dwellings – Size, ownership, households and persons, Bk. II, Belgrade, 1972; FIS, Population and housing census 1971, Vacation and Recreation Dwellings, Bk. VI, Federal Institute for Statistics, Belgrade, 1973; CBS, Population, Housing and Dwelling Census 2001, Dwellings by Occupancy, Zagreb, 2002; Population, Housing and Dwelling, first results by Settlements, Census 2011, CBS, Zagreb, 2011

field paths. Economic conditions and general regression resulted in dysfunctional landscape.

Due to the development of mass tourism, coasts and the sea became the most attractive and the most exposed areas. Very attractive bays and beaches are under the distinct anthropogenic influence, various pollution, and waste disposed on the land or washed out from the sea. Negative influences on coastal habitats such as, overloading the coasts, excessive apartments building, construction of infrastructure on beaches, are the most common consequences of concentrated tourist activities. Islands' coasts are faced with the problem of lacking wastewater drainage system, appropriate solid waste disposal and further accelerated excessive apartments building (Trumbić, 2003). Particularly endangered are shallow and coastal seas up to 30 meters of depth and 300 meters from the coastline (Favro, Kovačić, 2010).

Large portion of previously cultivated land on Zadar Islands has been overgrown by forests, thick macchia and due to the abandonment of sheep and goats breeding area under pastures has decreased. In the self-grown vegetation, that is usually very thick and pathless, patterns of stonewalls and terraces are vanishing. During the second half of the 20th century settlements on the hills or further away from the coast (for example Gorica, Stara Vas, Vrčići, Kolan on Pag Island, or , Zaglav, Savar, Sali, Žman on Dugi Otok Island and Lukoran on Ugljan Island) expanded toward coast and along it (Sestrunj, Premuda, Rivanj). This is caused by several reasons. In some cases shift toward coast was due to maritime transport development (location of ports) or economic infrastructure (warehouses for diverse commodities such as fish or agricultural products or tools) and lately mainly due to tourism development. Even though traditional rural settlements are unavoidable landscape component and have cultural value (Marinović-Uzelac, 2002), owing to changed physiognomy, morphology and structure, sometimes they are losing their identity. Island settlements traditional arrangements, characterized by rhythmic exchange of typical architecture and natural landscape, have exceptional social, cultural and esthetical value, but frequently are insufficiently valued and used. Tourism also triggered "the creation" of completely new island settlements, often comprising of only second homes and/or apartments such as in Gajac and Kolanjski Gajac on Pag Island. Pag and Vir Islands have the largest overall number of apartments (Table 4).

Starting from middle 1960s tourism on islands was followed by construction of second homes, influencing spatial-functional relations, transforming majority of larger island settlements into predominantly recreational and leisure areas. Weekend tourism marked tourist development of Zadar Islands, and consequently owners and users of second homes became the new most

prominent subjects on islands (Rogić, 1994). Along with their primary function (recreation and leisure), second homes are often rented providing financial gain for their owners. Simultaneously, second homes provide additional number of accommodation units⁴. Renting of second homes is more frequent on smaller and offshore islands with limited tourist accommodation capacities. Almost half of all second homes built in Zadar region are situated on islands; confirming the hypothesis that islands are extremely attractive leisure zones regardless of transport isolation and accessibility, inadequate infrastructure (lack of water supply, problems with waste management, lack of ship and ferry-boat lines) or higher living costs.

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

As a supplement to previous research an empirical research has been conducted. Repeatedly scientific researches on tourism examine local population and tourist's attitudes (Sirakaya-Turk, 2007). For the analyses of geographical processes, non-parametric methods were used, Chi-square test and Mann-Whitney test. The aim of surveying local population was to determine their perception towards island as a (suitable) place for living and the function of tourism for island's future development. Survey has been conducted on Silba Island during summer months in 2010 and 2011 and afterwards on Vir Island (2011) and Ugljan Island (2011). Due to its position near the mainland and Zadar (centre of Zadar County) Ugljan Island can be considered as its suburban zone. The aim of these parallel surveys of local population was to study the differences and similarities concerning their perceptions on living on the island.

Questions were divided in four different groups. First group included questions on the basic population characteristics such as age, sex, education, occupation, economic activity. The second group included questions on the various important issues for the everyday activities such as traffic connections, health care, social life, etc. Within the third group, there were questions on reason for staying or leaving the island. Finally the fourth group of questions related to the population's attitudes towards the improvements of life conditions and the opinions/attitudes on the pillars of the island's economic development. Overall number of the examinees was 148; 33 on Silba Island, 67 on Vir Island and 48 on Ugljan Island. The largest number of examinees (57%) were older than 65. A comparison of the census data from 1971 and 2011 shows that the population of Zadar Islands has been affected by ageing. There is a continuous decline of the proportion of young people and the simultaneous increase in the share of the elderly (Faričić, 2006, 2012; Brkić, 2013). Due to insufficient infrastructure, inadequate organisation of social activities, lack of edu-

4 It has been estimated that the average usage of beds in second homes in Littoral Croatia is around 30 days per year (Mikačić, 2007).

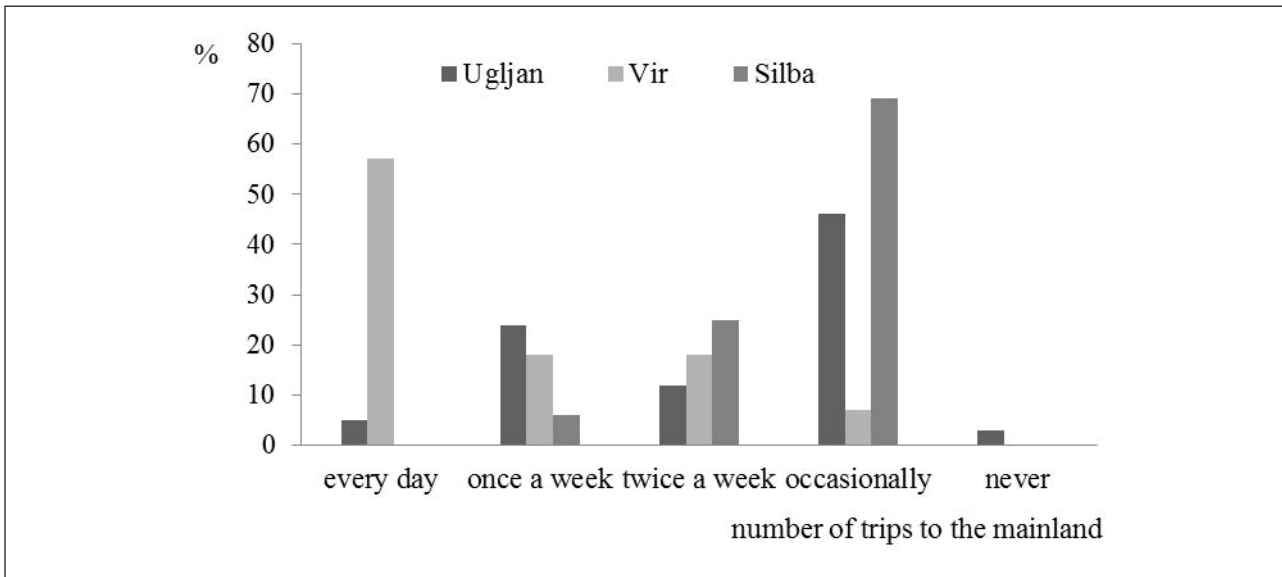


Fig. 7: Share of population according to the number of trips to the mainland on Ugljan, Vir and Silba Island

Source: author’s survey

cational facilities, inadequate transport connections, young families with children moved to mainland and stay on the islands solely during summer months (Čuka, 2011).

Zadar Islands depend on maritime transport to access essential socioeconomic services situated on the mainland. On all inhabited Zadar Islands there is at least one ferry terminal providing efficient maritime transport for local population, tourists, and the distribution of freight.

Among all examinees, ones from Vir Island travelled the most (Fig. 7). This is because Vir Island has been bridged in 1976. Opposite to population living on Vir Island those from Silba Island travelled the least. In this case the reason is limited number of ferry lines throughout the day and small portion of young people living on the island. Regardless whether the island is bridged or not and how many ferry lines are there throughout the week local population depends on services situated

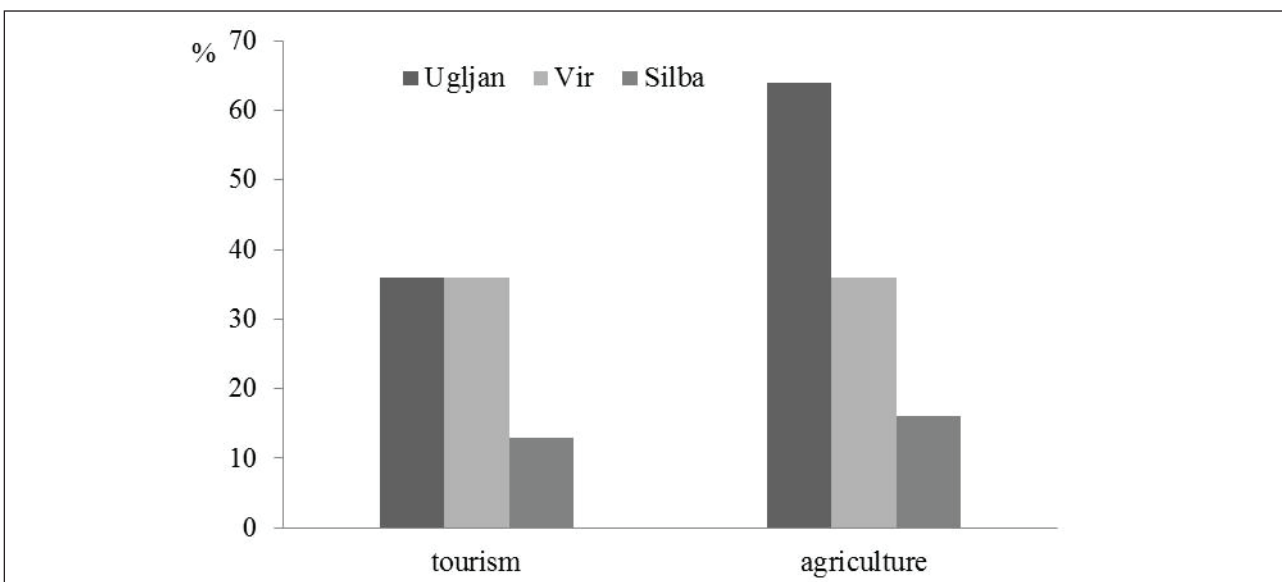


Fig. 8: Share of population according to the additional source of income on Ugljan, Vir and Silba Island

Source: author’s survey

Table 5: Mann-Whitney test for variable for samples of population of Silba, Ugljan and Vir Islands

Analysed samples	Variable	Mann-Whitney test
Ugljan Island – Silba Island	Transport connections with mainland	52.500*
	Health care	197.000
	Social events	166.000
Vir Island – Silba Island	Transport connections with mainland	92.000*
	Health care	267.500
	Social events	162.500*

* p < 0.05

Source: authors' survey

on the mainland and therefore they travel practically on regular daily basis. The exception is Silba Island since local population travels to mainland only once or twice a week and in some cases even more rarely.

If we compare the population on Silba, Ugljan and Vir Island according to their additional source of income, both tourism and agriculture are recognised as important economic activities (Fig. 8). On Ugljan Island 63% of the examinees, deal with agriculture while only 16.2% examinees practice agriculture on Vir Island. Altogether, agriculture and crafts play a minor role in the Zadar Islands' economy, constrained by the limited availability of cultivable land and shortage of domestic labour. This is even more emphasized on small islands such as Silba.

By application of Mann-Whitney test method on the population living on Silba, Vir and Ugljan Islands statistical differences variables were determined. Data analyses confirmed statistically significant difference for variable transport connections with mainland (Table 5). Examinees from the bridged island (Vir) and the island which is closer to mainland (Ugljan) were very pleased with transport system and ferry lines frequency. Ferry lines for Ugljan

Island are one of the most frequent ones on the Eastern Adriatic. Nevertheless even population living on Silba Island was not completely dissatisfied since during the last couple of years schedule for ferries and catamarans was adjusted and freight and passenger traffic were separated. The problem remains during the winter months when the number of ferry lines is decreased.

Analyses showed that there is no statistical difference for health care variable. Bearing in mind that population living on Zadar Island is predominantly old, quality of health care is one of the most important factors in their perception of life quality on the island. Examinees are very pleased with the provided health care especially on Silba Island where there is an infirmary, doctor, pharmacy and a heliodrom for emergencies. Besides, local government plans to provide one ship for all medical and other emergencies for small islands. On the other hand, there is statistical significant difference in attitudes towards social events. Deficiency of social events throughout the year is even more emphasized on the small islands. During summer, there are numerous social events on all Zadar Islands whereas during win-

Table 6: Mann-Whitney test for variable for samples of population of Silba, Ugljan and Vir Islands

Analysed samples	Variable	Mann-Whitney test
Ugljan Island – Silba Island	Indifference towards living on island	157.500
	Absence of educational programmes	163.500
	Spatial isolation	168.000
	Absence of businesses	213.500
	Absence of social events	192.500
Vir Island – Silba Island	Indifference towards living on island	264.500
	Lack of educational programmes	272.000
	Spatial isolation	231.500
	Absence of businesses	206.000
	Absence of social events	263.000

* p < 0.05

Source: authors' survey

Table 7: Chi-square test for variables on samples of Silba, Ugljan and Vir Islands population

Variable	Chi-square (χ^2)
Tourism development	2.571
Agriculture development	61.460*
Fishery development	38.889*
Stimulation of entrepreneurs	3.841*
Formation of associations (societies)	56.000*
Formations of guilds	19.841*

* p < 0.05

Source: authors' survey

ter period very few are. Previous survey done in Sali on Dugi Otok by Graovac (2009) showed that all the examinees confirmed that the biggest disadvantage of living on the island is the lack of social and cultural events.

After analysing variables causing emigration, particularly of young population, it has been determined that there is no significant difference between islands (Table 6). Even though not all islands have the same geographical position in relation to mainland, all examinees said that young people would leave the islands because of several factors. The most important factor causing permanent emigration towards mainland is the lack of working places and entrepreneurs.

After the analyses of survey using Chi-square test it has been determined that there is no significant statistical difference for variable regarding tourism development. Tourism is viewed as one of the most important factors that can stop depopulation and emigration from islands (Table 7). Similar results can be found in a research by Segarić (2009). All examinees from Kukuljica settlement on Ugljan Island said that tourism is the only economic activity that can initiate development, enable new jobs and stop emigration. This thesis has also been confirmed in this research.

DISCUSSION

Because of continuous depopulation and aging processes, total livelihood existence on islands came into question, both demographic and economic. Zadar Islands are characterized by general retrograde processes that can all be confirmed by statistical data. Depopulation is serious demographic, social, economic and even political problem. Lack of human capital is islands' deficiency reflected on an overall economic development (Kim, Uysal, 2002). Demographic regression on Zadar Islands was affected by several interrelated factors: emigration as the result of vine-growing crisis, agrarian overpopulation and long-term emigration of the most vital population that led to reduction of fertile contingent.

During recent years, the number of overnights spent in tourist accommodation establishments on Zadar Is-

lands has generally shown an upward trend. However, there was a short-lived downturn in the number of nights spent in tourist accommodation establishments in 2008 and 2009 because of the financial and economic crisis. In 2010, however, the number of overnight stays increased and this positive trend continued. Majority of activities on islands are tourism dependent and mutually related so problems of islands' economy are mirrored throughout the distinctive seasonality not only in the case of tourism but also trade, construction, fishery and transport. However, tourism affected the development of small and medium entrepreneurs and (self) employment. Those involved in tourism industry are usually included in the category of self-employed small entrepreneurs (Tajnikar, 2000). Even though the earnings of small entrepreneurs are very often below average, small businesses can be the initiators of islands' economy and providers of valuable services strengthening local communities and economy's driving force. Although it can be concluded that the structure of employees according to activity domain indicates high developmental level, large portion of inhabitants of certain islands' settlements employed in quaternary sector activities is to a greater extent reflection of economic regression (Farić, 2012) rather than economic progression.

Largest share of new built elements are second homes and tourist infrastructure. Second homes have multiple effects on landscape visual patterns. Very often they have disrupted existing settlement structure and devastated traditionally balanced esthetical corpuses. Prevailing leisure and recreational activities influenced contemporary physiognomic changes in most of the islands' settlements. Settlements have expanded, either within or outside construction zones.

Research done on the Zadar Islands indicates numerous similarities regarding perceptions of local population same as the possible solutions, bearing in mind differences provoked by geographical location and population age structure. Island population recognises the problem of insufficient economic development and social isolation. Because of mentioned deficiencies, local population is trying to consolidate possible future



Fig 9: Silba Island. Source: *Ljetni olimpijski centar na Silbi. From Zadarski list.*

solutions such as for example encouragement of small businesses initiatives and the strengthening of social inclusion. All the examinees see tourism as strong and vital initiator of the economy. Even though tourist activity on the islands has been present from the second half of the 20th century it still has not triggered sufficiently the reinforcement of other economic activities. Therefore even the quality of tourism on Zadar Islands is questionable. In some settlements, traditional activities like fishery or agriculture almost ceased to exist and tourism is generating more revenue than fishing, shipping and agriculture together. Overgrowth of tourism in a given region or on all islands could be environmentally and culturally disruptive and detrimental to primary sector activities (Brkić-Vejmelka, 2013).

For majority of examinees far less significant reasons for leaving the islands are spatial isolation, infrastructure, or absence of educational programmes. This kind of perception is the result of improved living conditions in the second half of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century. New ferry ports were built, new ferry and catamaran lines were introduced, water supply has improved, and the problem with waste deposit is almost solved since nowadays it is regularly transported to the mainland. Nevertheless, the nonexistence of employ-

ment, lack of companies and entrepreneurs, is the biggest limitation factor.

CONCLUSION

Contemporary tourism on Zadar Islands can be described as mass tourism based on sun-sand-sea concept with basic tourist offer. One of its main and the biggest problems is seasonality. In case of Zadar Islands, all economic activities are strongly connected and dependent on tourism and occur during summer period. Throughout rest of the year islands are only dwelling places for a small number of inhabitants. After several last decades, tourism has strongly influenced island landscape transformation, and among the most significant alterations are general re-growth, reforestation, and overgrowth of vegetation as the direct consequence of the agriculture abandonment. Instead of being a place for work and production, islands became almost solely a place of leisure.

The concept and scope of tourism have been progressively changing. Therefore, it is necessary to conduct further researches concerning not only population attitudes towards tourism but also to include theoretical and applicable analysis involving different issues in formulating future strategies for tourism development. This

research just underlined basic conditions concerning tourism on Zadar Islands at the beginning of the 21st century and it was limited to several analyses types. Future analyses should include continuous surveys concerning population attitudes towards tourism but also other methods such as field work, data analyses, investigation of the tourism influence on the islands' sustainability, etc.

During the second half of the 20th century, tourism has determined islands' economic past and now it has a strong impact on their future. Some of the future tasks for tourism development of Zadar Islands are to improve the quality of accommodation, start joint marketing initiatives for local products, induce diverse tourism activities, develop new products, etc. All this needs to be done in order to expand short tourist season and also to support other economic activities, like agriculture, farming and fishery. In long term this could eventually influence population trend in addition to social and economic cohesion. However, even though tourism has become the most important activity on Zadar Islands, it is still underdeveloped and very much seasonal, and therefore still unable to change negative demographic, social and economic trends. Tourism can be considered as the future for Zadar Islands but certainly not the only possible one.

RAZVOJNE MOŹNOSTI ZADARSKIH OTOKOV- ALI JE TURIZEM NJIHOVA GONILNA SILA

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POVZETEK

V drugi polovici 20. stoletja je imel turizem močan vpliv na hrvaŹke otoke. Avtorji so analizirali podatke Źtevila prebivalcev, prihodov turistov, noćitev in dostopne podatke o gospodarstvu. Za potrebe tega članka je bila narejena raziskava med prebivalci treh zadarskih otokov – Ugljana, Silbe in Vira. VpraŹanci so bili izbrani naključno. Rezultati so bili analizirani z neparametričnimi metodami, Man Whitney (U test), Hi kvadrat test in obdelani v SPSS 17,0 programu. Cilj raziskave je bil ugotoviti ali statistično obstajajo značilne razlike med odgovori na Ugljanu, Silbi in Viru, kot tudi pridobiti mnenja otoŹkega prebivalstva o tipičnih problemih Źivljenja na otoku. Raziskava je bila narejena tudi zaradi potrditve spoznanj, povezanih z analizo statističnih podatkov. Zaradi dolgotrajnega procesa depopulacije in staranja otoŹkega prebivalstva se postavlja vpraŹanje obstoja otoka, tako demografsko kot tudi ekonomsko. Zadarske otoke doloćajo retrogardni procesi, ki se zrcalijo tudi v statističnih podatkih. Čeprav je turizem postal najpomembnejŹa gospodarska panoga je Źe vedno premalo razvit in preveć sezonsko naravnian. Zato je nezadosten za pozitivne demografske, druŹbene in gospodarske spremembe. Čeprav je turizem pomemben dejavnik za prihodnost zadarskih otokov, vsekakor ni edina moŹnost.

Ključne besede: turizem, Zadarski otoki, depopulacija, ekonomski razvoj

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KAZALO K SLIKAM NA OVITKU

SLIKA NA NASLOVNICI: Reklamni oglas za Washington's Coffee v rotogravuri iz New York Tribuna. File:Washington Coffee New York Tribune.JPG. From Wikimedia Commons.

Slika 1: Herodot in Tukidid (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli). File:Herodot und Thukydidides.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

Slika 2: Ankaran, hotel Convent – terasa v samostanu (Foto: Miha Crnič). From GenSpot.

Slika 3: Metaforična ilustracije, ki oglašuje "elastični ščitnik za kolena za otroke". File:Children's Elastic Knee Protector 2-2 ca. 1880 (6669220973).jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

Slika 4: Amazonka v skitski obleki, na atiški vazi z rdečo figuro, okrog 420 p. n. š. File:Amazone Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2342.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

Slika 5: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, oče moderne dialektike. File:Hegel portrait by Schlesinger 1831.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

Slika 6: Tridimenzionalni strukturni prikaz južnega trakta v 18. stoletju (J. P. Maschio).

Slika 7: Pogled na beneški samostan S. Giorgo Maggiore in njegove vrtove konec 17. stoletja (NUK, GS 0 422, 60).

Slika 8: Horseman, Pazyryk felt artifact, c. 300 BC. Pazyryk horseman. Circa 300 BCE. Detail from a carpet - 5-4 th s.- in the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg. File:PazyrikHorseman.JPG. From Wikimedia Commons.

INDEX TO IMAGES ON THE COVER

FRONT COVER: Washington's Coffee ad in rotogravure from the New York Tribune. File:Washington Coffee New York Tribune.JPG. From Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 1: Herodot und Thukydidides (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli).

File:Herodot und Thukydidides.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 2: Ankaran, Convent hotel - Terrace in the monastery (Photo: Miha Crnič). From GenSpot.

Figure 3: Metaphoric illustration promoting "Children's patent elastic knee protector". File:Children's Elastic Knee Protector 2-2 ca. 1880 (6669220973).jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 4: Mounted Amazon in Scythian costume, on an Attic red-figure vase, c.420 BCE. File:Amazone Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2342.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 5: Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, the father of modern dialectic. File:Hegel portrait by Schlesinger 1831.jpg. From Wikimedia Commons.

Figure 6: 3d structural study of southern wing in the 18th century (J.P. Maschio).

Figure 7: The venetian monastery S. Giorgo Maggiore and its gardens at the end of the 17th century (NUK, GS 0 422, 60).

Figure 8: Horseman, Pazyryk felt artifact, c. 300 BC. Pazyryk horseman. Circa 300 BCE. Detail from a carpet - 5-4 th s.- in the State Hermitage Museum in St Petersburg. File:PazyrikHorseman.JPG. From Wikimedia Commons.

NAVODILA AVTORJEM

1. Revija ANNALES (*Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije* Ser. hist et soc.) objavlja **izvirne** in **pregledne znanstvene članke** z družboslovnimi in humanističnimi vsebinami, ki se navezujejo na preučevanje *zgodovine, kulture in družbe* Istre in Mediterana. Vključujejo pa tudi *primerjalne in medkulturne študije ter metodološke in teoretične razprave*, ki se nanašajo na omenjeno področje.

2. Sprejemamo članke v slovenskem, italijanskem, hrvaškem in angleškem jeziku. Avtorji morajo zagotoviti jezikovno neoporečnost besedil, uredništvo pa ima pravico članke dodatno jezikovno lektorirati.

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5. Članek mora vsebovati **povzetek** in **izvleček**. Izvleček je krajši (max. 100 besed) od povzetka (cca. 200 besed).

V *izvlečku* na kratko opišemo namen, metode dela in rezultate. Izvleček naj ne vsebuje komentarjev in priporočil.

Povzetek vsebuje opis namena in metod dela ter povzame analizo oziroma interpretacijo rezultatov. V povzetku ne sme biti ničesar, česar glavno besedilo ne vsebuje.

6. Avtorji naj pod izvleček članka pripišejo ustrezne **ključne besede**. Potrebni so tudi **angleški (ali slovenski) in italijanski prevodi** izvlečka, povzetka, ključnih besed, podnapisov k slikovnemu in tabelarnemu gradivu.

7. Zaželeno je tudi (originalno) **slikovno gradivo**, ki ga avtor posreduje v ločenih datotekah (jpeg, tiff) z najmanj 300 dpi resolucije pri želeni velikosti. Največja velikost slikovnega gradiva je 17x20 cm. Vsa potrebna dovoljenja za objavo slikovnega gradiva (v skladu z Zakonom o avtorski in sorodnih pravicah) priskrbi avtor sam in jih predloži uredništvu pred objavo članka. Vse slike, tabele in grafične prikaze je potrebno tudi podnasloviti in zaporedno oštevilčiti.

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Primer citata med besedilom:

(Kalc, 2010, 426).

Primer navajanja vira kot celote:

(Kalc, 2010).

Popolni podatki o tem viru v poglavju Literatura pa se glasijo:

Kalc, A. (2010): „Statistični podatki o Trstu“ ob tretji francoski zasedbi leta 1809. *Annales, Ser. hist. sociol.*, 20, 2, 423–444.

Če citiramo več del istega avtorja iz istega leta, poleg priimka in kratic imena napišemo še črke po abecednem vrstnem redu, tako da se viri med seboj razlikujejo. Primer:

(Kalc, 2010a) in (Kalc, 2010b).

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Posamezna dela ali navedbe virov v isti opombi ločimo s podpičjem. Primer:

(Kalc, 2010a, 15; Verginella, 2008, 37).

9. Pri **citiranju arhivskih virov med oklepaji** navajamo kratico arhiva, kratico arhivskega fonda / signaturo, številko tehnične enote in številko arhivske enote. Primer:

(ARS-1851, 67, 1808).

V primeru, da arhivska enota ni znana, se dokument citira po naslovu v *opombi pod črto*, in sicer z navedbo kratic arhiva, kratic arhivskega fonda / signature, številke tehnične enote in naslova dokumenta. Primer:

ARS-1589, 1562, Zapisnik seje Okrajnega komiteja ZKS Koper, 19. 12. 1955.

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Primer:

ARS-1589 – Arhiv republike Slovenije (ARS), Centralni komite Zveze komunistov Slovenije (fond 1589).

10. Pri citiranju časopisnih virov med tekstom navedemo ime časopisa, datum izdaje ter strani:

(Primorske novice, 11. 5. 2009, 26).

V primeru, da je znan tudi naslov članka, celotno bibliografsko opombo navedemo *pod črto*:

Primorske novice, 11. 5. 2009: Ali podjetja merijo učinkovitost?, 26.

V seznam virov in literature izpišemo ime časopisa / revije, kraj, založnika in periodo izhajanja.

Primer:

Primorske novice. Koper, Primorske novice, 1963–.

11. Poglavlje o virih in literaturi je obvezno. Bibliografske podatke navajamo takole:

- Opis zaključene publikacije kot celote – knjige:

Avtor (leto izida): Naslov. Kraj, Založba. Npr.:

Šelih, A., Antić Gaber, M., Puhar, A., Renner, T., Šuklje, R., Verginella, M. & L. Tavčar (2007): Pozabljena polovica. Portreti žensk 19. in 20. stoletja na Slovenskem. Ljubljana, Tuma, SAZU.

V zgornjem primeru, kjer je *avtorjev več kot dva*, je korekten tudi citat:

(Šelih et al., 2007).

Če navajamo določeni del iz zaključene publikacije, zgornjemu opisu dodamo še številke strani, od koder smo navedbo prevzeli.

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Avtor (leto izida): Naslov prispevka. V: Avtor knjige: Naslov knjige. Kraj, Založba, strani od-do. Primer:

Lenarčič, B. (2010): Omrežna družba, medkulturnost in prekukulturnost. V: Sedmak, M. & E. Ženko (ur.): Razprave o medkulturnosti. Koper, Založba Annales, 245–260.

- Opis članka v **reviji**:

Avtor, (leto izida): Naslov članka. Naslov revije, letnik, številka strani od-do. Primer:

Lazar, I. (2008): Celejski forum in njegov okras. Annales, Ser. hist. sociol., 19, 2, 349–360.

- Opis **ustnega vira**:

Informator (leto izporočila): Ime in priimek informatorja, leto rojstva, vloga, funkcija ali položaj. Način pričevanja. Oblika in kraj nahajanja zapisa. Primer:

Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, župnik v Vižinadi. Ustno izporočilo. Zvočni zapis pri avtorju.

- Opis **vira iz internetnih spletnih strani**:

Če je mogoče, internetni vir zabeležimo enako kot članek in dodamo spletni naslov ter v oklepaju datum zadnjega pristopa na to stran:

Young, M. A. (2008): The victims movement: a confluence of forces. In: NOVA (National Organization for Victim Assistance). [Http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf](http://www.trynova.org/victiminfo/readings/VictimsMovement.pdf) (15. 9. 2008).

Če avtor ni znan, navedemo nosilca spletne strani, leto objave, naslov in podnaslov besedila, spletni naslov in v oklepaju datum zadnjega pristopa na to stran.

Članki so razvrščeni po abecednem redu priimkov avtorjev ter po letu izdaje, v primeru da gre za več citatov istega-istih avtorjev.

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(Borean, 2010, 325).

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Borean, L. (2010): Collezionisti e opere d'arte tra Venezia, Istria e Dalmazia nel Settecento. *Annales, Ser. hist. sociol.* 20, 2, 323–330.

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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.

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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.

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Žigante, A. (2008): Alojz Žigante, r. 1930, parroco a Visinada. Testimonianza orale. Appunti dattiloscritti dell'intervista presso l'archivio personale dell'autore.

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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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