# ARS & HUMANITAS

## Quo vadis archaeologia?

# Kazalo

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# Recenzije / Reviews

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# Quo vadis archaeologia?
## Editor's introduction

The direction and velocity of scientific progress are difficult to predict. Nevertheless, reflecting on disciplinary changes and their consequences within and outside the discipline remains a constant task and responsibility of scientists. Archaeology, in the two hundred years of its history, has been seen in various different ways – as one of the humanities, a historical science, as part of anthropology or classics, as a social science and sometimes even as a natural science. Such views did not simply replace each other but frequently existed in parallel, competing with and complementing each other. In other words, archaeology was and still is somewhat elusive. It cannot be easily classified as a single type of science, as it transcended all these categories, even more so today.

What are the reasons for this elusiveness? Archaeology is about the people in the past, their existence and actions in every possible domain: subsistence, demography, settlement, social, cultural and symbolic worlds, behaviour, cognition and so on. These are broad concepts, but archaeology succeeded in developing authentic and operational combinations of theories, methods, interpretations and practices constituting authentic archaeological knowledge. However, what ultimately makes archaeology different from other sciences dealing with the human past are its sources – material remains and the consequences of human actions in all imaginable forms and appearances. Indeed, it is this material nature of archaeological sources that ultimately opens up archaeology's horizons to other disciplines. Archaeological sources come in many forms and contain a mass of information that other social or humanistic disciplines can hardly match. Archaeology has a very ambitious task – one may say overly ambitious – to interpret the past human worlds from as many perspectives as possible. However, these worlds are only open to archaeology in fragments, and remain distant and alien to our experiences and culture.

Can archaeology be explained with one general all-encompassing theory? After many decades of attempts to unify archaeology under one paradigm, we have realized that this endeavour is impossible and misleading. One general theory inevitably limits knowledge and monopolizes it. Here we have to agree with Feyerabend's famous claim that an anarchic state where scientific and other theories compete with each other is a much healthier situation than a paradigmatically unified and controlled discipline.

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It should be stressed that archaeology does not aim to reconstruct past human worlds but to interpret them for the present. Reconstruction is impossible because the past worlds are different and detached from our world. One may attempt to reconstruct some material aspects but not the authentic meaning of the past objects. Nevertheless, one can attempt to interpret them in our present, using our own tools, concepts, and categories. In doing this, archaeology reduces the original detachment from the past with a new original and creative attachment to it, which derives from our present motives and needs. So, asking Q*uo vadis archaeologia?* is not just asking about the present epistemological boundaries of archaeology and how archaeology produces knowledge, but reiterates the fundamental questions of what kind of knowledge is produced, why and for whom. Answering these questions requires multiple perspectives and inevitably leads to unharmonized and conflicting views.

Equally important as discussing epistemological and theoretical issues is predicting the future of the archaeological discipline. The history of archaeology clearly demonstrates how archaeological knowledge and practice were deeply embedded in social, cultural, and ideological matrices, and how these structures influenced archaeology and its epistemology. Critical discussion and research on nationalism, racism, imperial and colonial attitudes, androcentrism, scientism, and capitalist neoliberalism in archaeology, were all first triggered by major societal changes and historical events. The feminist movement catalysed gender archaeology, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the wars in the former Yugoslavia and Caucasus in the 1990s triggered research on nationalism in archaeological knowledge, and civil rights movements empowered many local and indigenous communities to claim non-colonial views on their past. Archaeological engagement in this discourse made archaeology not just more robust in demonstrating its scientific and social relevance, but also greatly enriched its epistemological arsenal.

Greater interdisciplinarity is becoming one of the principal features of contemporary archaeology. Traditionally, interdisciplinarity in archaeology found its way first into research methods and techniques. The application of biological analyses of human, animal, and plant remains could be dated at least to the mid-19th century, and also the studies of environmental conditions associated with archaeological findings. Currently, IT and digital technologies for recording, analysing and presenting data have enabled a radical and global modernization of archaeology. Undeniably, all these achievements have profoundly affected archaeology and its ways of interpreting past humans and their worlds.

In recent decades, the greatest impact has come from natural and technological disciplines that have helped archaeology better understand the material side of the objects of research. This impact was so great that some scholars, e.g. Kristian Kristiansen, spoke of a third archaeological scientific revolution. He highlighted three principal

achievements: big data, the methodological power of quantification and modelling, and fundaments for new theoretical frameworks ("*the wedding of agent-based materiality studies with quantitative analytical techniques*") leading to new fields of knowledge in archaeology. However, one cannot easily predict where this new knowledge will lead us. It is very likely that we will expand past human worlds and see them in higher resolution. But will we also understand them better? We will see these worlds acting on different wavelengths simultaneously, making the overall image somewhat blurred. Applying methods from other sciences is not just a simple transfer of technical knowledge, but requires careful reconsideration and tuning within the archaeological theoretical frameworks. Indeed, it is here where today lies the true challenge for archaeology. If archaeology fails in doing this or takes the comfortable way by uncritically using the methods and results of the natural sciences, it would be brought dangerously closer to what it was once considered by many – an auxiliary discipline or a technique of obtaining additional data for other disciplines which claimed for themselves exclusive interpretative or explanatory capacities.

It requires interdisciplinarity beyond the domain of methods to ultimately unleash the potential of archaeology – the interdisciplinarity in the domains of research perspectives and interpretations. It is here where since the 1950s archaeologists have explored numerous philosophical, sociological, anthropological and psychological theories and aspects that gave life to new types of archaeological interpretations and knowledge. This may not be so visible at first sight, but it is firmly embedded in archaeological interpretations. The acting of both domains of interdisciplinarity is highly complex and ultimately dialectical. They are not separated, but also they are not fully tuned or simultaneous either, they act differently in practice and theory, but they, nevertheless, create new knowledge.

Applied archaeology is another domain that requires constant attention and reflection. By applied archaeology, we consider archaeological research and practice in different non-academic contexts where archaeological knowledge is essential in contributing to other types of knowledge, practices, and values, especially in the heritage protection and management domain. The bibliography from the 1980s onwards abundantly demonstrates how heritage became an arena of some of the most challenging social, cultural and political issues for archaeology in practice and theory, as if all the dilemmas of the modern world are meeting here. Heritage is always disputed and threatened by some groups of people. Developers frequently consider it an obstacle to their plans, some people do not identify with the content of heritage, and while governments accept legislation to protect heritage they frequently do not implement it effectively. For some, heritage has proper value only if successfully commercialized, and, last but not least, heritage, as the reified and canonized past and culture, has strong ideological potential. Once moved from the freedom of academia, applied archaeology faces all these challenges.

However, in the last few decades a gap emerged between academic, or better to say, research-motivated archaeology and applied archaeology. While the former was seen as a domain of "proper science", the latter became increasingly considered a routinized practice or service. Coming to terms with two separate archaeologies is potentially one of the greatest mistakes archaeology could make. It could lead to a lack of academic research with regard to its direct social relevance, and it could diminish the importance of scientific progress in applied archaeology, again reducing its potential and role in society. Broadly speaking, in the last two decades more than 90% of all archaeological research in Europe and North America has been done in the context of preventive archaeology. This also means that roughly 90% of all new archaeological data in the last two decades comes from preventive projects. This fact opens a series of essential questions about the future of archaeology, which has become a prime example of a data-driven discipline, and this should be addressed in rethinking archaeology's epistemology. Another issue is the quantity of the newly acquired data, which has no precedence in the past, and its heterogeneity. The last three decades have seen new situations develop, producing new circumstances and conditions for archaeological research.

Many of the questions above are addressed by the authors in this issue of *Ars & Humanitas*, which also celebrates 100 years of teaching archaeology at the University of Ljubljana. The selection of authors is not random, as the editor decided to focus on current reflective works of archaeologists from Slovenia and neighbouring countries which have a long tradition of close collaboration with the Department of Archaeology in Ljubljana, although unfortunately, not all those invited could contribute their works. Reflection inevitably invokes thinking about the future, and our "regional" reflection is primarily thinking about the future of archaeology as seen in this part of Europe.

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# Archaeological programmes.
# Notes on epistemic diversity

Determining the current state of a discipline and its future prospects is not a straightforward task, especially since a number of disparate sets of criteria may be applied for this purpose. In the case of archaeology, this investigation into the most productive modes of research raises specific issues since, by virtue of its tasks and the data set at our disposal, the discipline is positioned at the crossroads of the natural and social sciences, with strong links to the humanities (Babić, 2022; 2023). Rather than judge this opportunistic methodological omnivory (Currie, 2018, 25, passim) as a symptom of trouble, my aim here is to argue that it is the main source of its potential for future growth. This exercise in metaarchaeology (Babić, 2018) presupposes reaching out of the discipline itself and introducing the conceptual tools from other fields of knowledge, above all those from the domains of the philosophy of science and sociology (Wylie, 2002, 7, 12–15).

Some of the tools at our disposal have a long history, reaching back to the Classical Greek philosophers and the quests of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle for the ways to distinguish reliable and truthful knowledge (Agassi, 2008, 335–346; Weinert, 2009). However, the advent of the age of modernity marks the crucial turning point in establishing the norms of scientific reasoning, as distinct from any other pursuit of explanations of the world. The rules of the scientific method postulated by René Descartes (1596 – 1650) formed the bedrock on which a substantial body of literature has been built, positioning human reason as the ultimate criterion of truthful knowledge (Babić, 2018, 18–23; Thomas, 2004). At the same time, these new rules of reasoning generated new social norms of research and institutions emerged tasked with producing knowledge deemed relevant and useful for the community, and obliged both by the internal rules and by the demands of society (Bourdieu, 2004). The order of the modern scientific inquiry was thus formed, both concerning its internal principles and the wider social framework sustaining it. Henceforth, the rules securing logical consistency, leaning heavily on the Cartesian tradition and rooted almost exclusively in the domain of natural sciences, above all physics, have been established as the ideal

of trustworthy investigation (Babić, 2018, 18–23). This "tyranny of method" (Thomas, 2004, 55 ff.) has been opposed by researchers devoted to the study of the social dimensions of human lives at least from the middle of the 19th century, notably in the works of the German historians Johann Gustav Droysen and Wilhelm Dilthey, who claimed that the ultimate goal of the humanities is to understand (*verstehen*), rather than *explain* (*erklären*) their object of study (Babić, 2018, 58–62). In other words, studying human affairs includes reflecting upon their meaning, purpose, and value as intrinsic features of social facts, which cannot be equated with the task of natural sciences (Weinert, 2009, 213–214). This line of reasoning thus challenged the modernist ideal of a unified set of premises of scientific work, leading to the indisputable progress of human knowledge, and of logically rigorous, objective and quantifiable observations as the sole mode of scientific enquiry.

By the middle of the 20th century, the scrutiny of the social conditions of knowledge production started to develop as a distinct field of study, primarily initiated in the domain of sociology (Bourdieu, 2004; Babić, 2018, 36–42). The ensuing interest among philosophers led to the emergence of social epistemology (Fuller, 2015; Longino, 1990, 2002; Babić, 2018, 43–46). In spite of a number of contesting positions, these endeavours have converged in arguing that the processes of knowledge production are deeply immersed into the social conditions of the practitioners and decisively contextualized into particular ideological, political, economic realities. Specialized knowledge, produced by researchers, needs to resonate with its wider social context in order to enjoy the privileges of the social capital (Bourdieu, 2004) bestowed equally by the official decision-makers and general public. Consequently, in order to advance a field of knowledge needs to meet a number of conditions, in terms of its internal epistemic coherence and productivity, but also in terms of the relevance of its results for the concerns of the society that sustains it. Even when discussing the fields of inquiry into natural phenomena, such as physics or biology (Longino, 1990, 2002), it is now apparent that, apart from the rules of formal logic, a number of socially conditioned factors play equally important roles in knowledge production and dissemination. The example of Louis Pasteur and his admirable skills both in the laboratory and outside its confines, elegantly summarized by Bruno Latour (1983), well illustrates that even the most ground-breaking scientific discovery is mediated by social realities (Babić, 2022, 87–88).

Furthermore, it is not only the external social context that determines the course of science: it has been convincingly argued that the internal dynamics of a particular scientific community decisively shapes the epistemic standards considered adequate at a certain point in time (Fagan, 2010; Fuller, 2015; Milosavljević, 2018). Knowledge production is a collective practice, constrained by certain rules and standards, but they are under constant reconsideration and prone to changes. The history of science is not

only a string of amazing advancements, but also of persistent refinements of the methods applied to solve new problems. In order to bridge the gap between the idealized epistemic standards and the actual practices of researchers, Helen Longino proposed a set of epistemic norms for productive critical interaction: 1) public forum for debate, 2) "uptake" or response to criticism, 3) public standards for debate, and 4) tempered equality of intellectual authority within the community (Longino, 2002, 128–135).

It is also important to note that these standards may also vary from one such community to the next, some being more prolific than the others in setting the rules. Local intellectual traditions, institutional infrastructure, economic and political circumstances of research, all play equally important roles in the processes of knowledge transfers among diverse thought collectives (Milosavljević, 2018; see also Babić, 2023; 2023b). However, acknowledging the importance of the external social settings in which scholars produce the relevant knowledge does not mean that they are not bound by structured epistemic norms. The fact that they are produced and negotiated in constant interaction of both internal and external actors does not absolve the researchers, but rather emphasizes their responsibility to scrupulously investigate the mechanisms of knowledge production, in search for the most robust and coherent strategies. Archaeologists have not been oblivious of this responsibility, and discussions on the character of our evidence and the most productive approaches to it have long been present (Lucas, 2012; Chapman et al., 2016, 15 ff.), albeit not always with the same intensity.

## Paradigm shifts?

In the last decades of the 20th century many archaeologists inclined to discuss the epistemic foundations of our research have adopted the conceptual framework set by Thomas Kuhn in his seminal work *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). His account of the ways in which science operates has been a very potent inspiration for scholars in diverse fields of study and has produced important insights into the changes occurring in epistemic standards. The basic premise of his account is that the old worldview, burdened with unresolvable fallacies, is replaced by the radically different set of epistemic principles, thus setting into motion a *paradigm shift,* as a radical and abrupt overhaul of the entire field of study. Due to its perceived ability to explain the sudden leaps in science and radical shifts in worldviews in ways different from the conventional narrative of continuous accumulation of knowledge, he is often cast as the pivotal figure in the constructivist philosophy of science (Babić, 2018, 33–36).

Kuhn's ideas have been applied to account for two periods of turbulent discussions in archaeology: during the 1960s, when the explicitly logical-positivistic approach was advocated by the proponents of New Archaeology, emphasizing its links to the hard

sciences, and again in the 1980s, when its post-processual critique turned to other sources of inspiration, derived from the humanities (Lucas, 2016; Babić, 2023b). There is, of course, a much more complex argument behind both these sets of ideas, thoroughly investigated in a vast body of literature. For the present purpose, though, it is important to note that in both instances it was claimed that a fundamental change in epistemic standards is needed, and indeed achieved. Hence, the idea of a radical overturn of the previous standards, as postulated by Kuhn, presented itself as the most appropriate way to account for the course of events. Yet, the shift when the new paradigm – a disciplinary matrix encompassing the state of a particular field of research, or a shared set of ideas, concepts and procedures normalizing the state in the field (Bourdieu, 2004, 28) – completely obliterates the previous one, never really occurred in the archaeological reasoning in the way comparable to the examples described by Kuhn. Instead, both processual and post-processual approaches survived together, more or less harmoniously, up to the first decades of the 21st century, when new competing ideas are emerging, based upon the premises of new materialism and posthumanism in philosophy and social anthropology (Harris et al., 2017), again challenging the very epistemic foundations of the discipline and calling for a radical (ontological) turn. At the same time, the rapid increase in the possibilities of gathering and processing information about the past via various techniques and methods derived from the hard sciences resulted in the declaration that "*the third science revolution*" is taking place in archaeology (Kristiansen, 2014). Following the previously established pattern, it might be argued that at least two new *paradigms* are currently contending for the position of *normal science* – the prevalent set of premises and methods at a certain point in time, according to Kuhn. However, the previous course of events does not encourage the prediction that this time the entire archaeological community will finally embrace any of the approaches currently existing in the disciplinary field, including both the ones present for decades, and the currently fervently advocated ones. It may therefore be useful to take another look at the idea of paradigm shifts and its applicability in archaeology.

In spite of its huge popularity and influence, both in academia and beyond (Bourdieu, 2004, 32), a number of shortcomings of Kuhn's structure of changes in scientific principles have been put forward. The universality of his observations and applicability to all research situations is questioned, not least because Kuhn rooted his observations mainly in his own academic background, that of physics – the epitome of the natural sciences, and did not discuss at all the mechanisms of knowledge production in the sphere of social sciences or humanities (Fuller, 2015, 131, 134, 144). His subsequent critics rightfully stress that Kuhn syncretically selected the instances of profound changes, with the aim to create a coherent narrative about the history of scientific shifts. Steve Fuller even challenges Kuhn's constructivist creden-

tials, asserting that he in fact presents science as a self-regulatory and self-sufficient system, divorced from the society, in which changes occur as the result of internal, "normal", and not intentional actions of the scientific community immersed into its social setting (Fuller, 2015, 132, 136, 140; also Bourdieu, 2004, 29; Joyce et al., 2019, 841; Babić, 2023b).

Regardless of these critiques, archaeologists have copiously borrowed Kuhn's concept of paradigm, supplementing it with our own disciplinary concerns. The tides of debates in the 1960s and the 1980s have been denoted as instances of paradigm shift, marking clean breaks between three distinct *phases* of archaeological reasoning: culture-historical, processual, and post-processual. In this manner, two closely related, but distinct aspects of the concept of paradigm have been conflated: epistemological – stressing that scientific communities share a common mode of reasoning (heavily leaning onto Fleck's thought collectives*, see Milosavljević, 2018), and historiographic – aimed at monitoring and explaining the changes in this shared pattern through time (Lucas, 2016, 4). In other words, theoretically inclined archaeologists have tacitly assumed that the introduction of novel epistemic tools inevitably completely overshadowed all the previously existing ones, thus implying an unsurmountable epistemological distance between the three approaches identified in the history of the discipline. Even when the term paradigm is not explicitly used, the underlying assumption in most of the historical overviews is that three modes of archaeological reasoning are at the same time three distinct *phases* in its development. Thus, Kuhn's concept became a tool "*to create simplistic historiographic divisions*" (Lucas, 2016, 3), heuristically useful to a certain degree, but at the same time generating several problems.

Firstly, in the effort to comply with Kuhn's idea of a radical overturn, we may end up emphasizing the differences rather than similarities that run through the entire history of the discipline (cf. Lucas, 2012; see also Babić, 2018). In this manner, the actual research practice of the majority of archaeologists around the world, enjoying the benefits of the opportunistic methodological omnivory (Currie, 2018) is disregarded for the sake of an idealized pattern of growth. Furthermore, the huge variety of locally specific intellectual traditions and their echoes in archaeological research is taken to be the signal of varying rates of progress, with some local communities relegated to the position of (un)willing recipients of ready-made ideas from the centres of the academic debate (Babić, 2023b). Ultimately, the established pattern of periodical radical changes sets the expectations that every few decades an earth-shattering shift is bound to happen in the epistemic domain (Thomas, 2015), resulting in only one paradigm claiming the status of normal science according to Kuhn. All these problems stem from the idealized notion that the entire field of archaeology can, and indeed should, be unified under the same standardized set of premises, regardless of a

huge variety of actual research situations, different in terms of goals, tasks, or circumstances. Some but not all of these aspects of archaeological practices can be controlled by researchers themselves, and an ideal setting is rarely, if ever achieved. It is therefore prudent to bear in mind the warning:

> "Purely abstract standards for epistemic justification, lacking any connection to our practices, are at best pretty fictions, descriptions of imaginary science to dazzle the uninitiated and inspire novices. At worst, they mask relations of power and politics that determine what is accepted as scientific knowledge, protecting inequities from critique and lending social biases an appearance of inevitability. To prevent such misuse of epistemic ideals, their connection with scientific practice must be articulated." (Fagan, 2010, 103)

Consequently, instead of casting the debate in terms of a contest for an idealized exclusive mode of reasoning, it may be more productive to search for a way to retain the plurality of possible approaches, already present in the practice of the discipline. After all, the "*theory wars*" (Chapman et al., 2016), waged at least from the middle of the 20th century, did not produce a unified set of practices, but only amplified the opportunities for the "methodological omnivory". New possibilities emerge, especially those based upon STEM-derived techniques and methods, while the old procedures are still practised, such as typological analyses. Discarding the old ones, just because they are perceived as parts of the outdated paradigm may deprive us of valuable epistemic tools. Equally, fully embracing the new ones without carefully investigating their potential may produce misleading results. This is especially problematic when archaeologists borrow concepts and ideas from another field of study, without much thought about their original context and the distortions induced by the transfer from one disciplinary setting to the other (Babić, 2018, 116 f.). Therefore, we need to reconsider the particular epistemic proposals on their own merit and to seek for the meaningful connections between various lines of inquiry. However, arguing for plurality does not in any way imply that all the proposed approaches are equally valid or efficient in producing the relevant knowledge. In order to discern the ones worth pursuing and increase the epistemic potential of the entire discipline, it may be prudent to abandon the search for clearly bounded theoretical and methodological units. This *bloc* approach presupposes clear-cut segments curtailed by nonporous boundaries and filled with homogenous contents (cf. Crellin, 2020). However, research practice rarely operates in this manner and, in archaeology as well as other disciplines, it consists mainly in interaction between competing research programmes.

## Progressive programmes?

The concept of a research programme was first introduced in the late 1960s by the philosopher of science Imre Lakatos, as a tool to evaluate different scientific theories and methods, and their potential for further growth (Lakatos, 1968; 1970). The basic idea is that in practice researchers choose to commit to a string of ideas and propositions – a programme, with its core consisting of the defining postulates. In the process of positive heuristics hypotheses are formulated, aimed at the empirical testing of the core propositions of the programme. In time, some of these propositions are empirically validated and start forming a *protective belt* around the core, enhancing its epistemic potential. Lakatos allows for some of the propositions to fail the empirical test and get rejected, as long as the core is capable of generating new viable propositions. The ones that are corroborated add robustness to the core and extend its protective belt, and the entire programme is judged to be progressive (Joyce et al., 2019, 842–843). Failures can be overcome as long as the core is still potent enough to produce new postulates. Although Lakatos permits trial-and-error, the ultimate goal of a programme is to be both theoretically and empirically progressive: it must predict novel and hitherto unexpected facts, and at least some of these have to be verified (Musgrave et al., 2023). If, on the other hand, a programme fails to deliver successive new propositions and/or if the novel predictions turn out to be false, the programme is degenerating (Lakatos, 1970; 33, 34). The recent refurbishment of Lakatos's model introduces the third possible state of a scientific programme – a static one, where it may be possible that researchers cease to produce new hypotheses and are forced to go into stasis until technological or other developments allow for testing to begin or resume. And yet "*having a static research program might be better for a field of study than having a degenerative research program or having no research program at all*" (Joyce et al., 2019, 849).

How does this approach to validation of research help archaeologists in judging the best possible path to follow in order to produce relevant and epistemically sound knowledge? Firstly, Lakatos offers the means to observe discrete sets of propositions over time, not monitoring success in terms of a sudden breakthrough, like Kuhn's paradigms, but in the potential to gradually improve and enlarge knowledge. So instead of treating the periods of more dynamic debates as breaking points, aimed at discrediting the previous positions, we can think of them as the moments in the history of the discipline when valuable insights have been *added* to our epistemic repertoire. Several competing programmes may exist at the same time, since the scientific process is envisaged as a string of research practices, constantly exploring a number of working premises, not as a solid front that advances in unison until fatally challenged. Their success is constantly monitored with respect to the rival propositions (Musgrave et al., 2023), not only confined to the periods of sudden and radical change. Some pro-

grammes may even stagnate (Joyce et al., 2019), but still hold a certain epistemic value, which can be reinvigorated under some future conditions.

The debates in the history of archaeology when the existing premises were most radically challenged and declared obsolete by the proponents of the new set of proposals, as a rule, revolved around its position with regard to the distinction between the sciences and humanities. This tension between the epistemic standards derived from the Cartesian tradition, and the ones following in the footsteps of Droysen and Dilthey has been articulated most notably in the 1960s, when the processual credo explicitly demanded "more science", and again in the 1980s, when the pendulum swung towards understanding, rather than explaining (Babić, 2018, 116–120). This perpetual problem, succinctly labelled as "*the paradox of material evidence*" (Chapman et al., 2016), can hardly be resolved by committing ourselves exclusively to one set of premises at the expense of the other, since it lies in the fact that its subject matter can and indeed should be approached both by those means closely associated with the realm of natural sciences, and those close to the humanities. When viewed from the angle of the Lakatosian *programmes*, this apparent incommensurability of approaches proves to cause less friction, since individual research strategies are judged according to their potential to corroborate and expand its core in relation to other propositions in the field. Some of the protective belts may overlap, eventually creating synergies between the cores.

This leaves unresolved the issue of empirical verification as the key criterion proposed by Lakatos for discerning the character of a particular programme. Strictly speaking, this step in a research presupposes the satisfactory outcome of an empirical test designed to verify a hypothesis (Franklin et al., 2016). This goal is rarely, if ever, achievable in archaeology, even when researchers firmly adhere to the positivistic ideals of hypothetico-deductive method. However, archaeologists share this problem with other disciplines aimed at producing inferences about the deep past, such as geology, palaeontology, or evolutionary biology (Currie, 2018). A more elaborate account on the solution to this problem is outside the limits of this text, but an interim proposition may be put forward that theoretically and logically consistent propositions, corroborated by newly acquired evidence (*cf.* Joyce et al., 2019), are considered to meet the criteria of a progressive research programme.

To conclude, the current state of archaeological theory and practice, much like it has been the case throughout the history of the discipline, is characterized by multiple propositions, ranging from those explicitly putting faith in the application of hardscience methods (Kristiansen, 2016), to those opulently borrowing from philosophy and social anthropology (Olsen et al., 2012). The multitude of approaches generated over more than a century meets the diverse demands of the complex task before us – to produce sound and meaningful knowledge about human interactions with the

material world. If we choose to observe these propositions as discrete programmes, all geared towards the same ultimate goal, but honed to meet particular challenges, posed by the character of our evidence, we may be able to determine their epistemic potential in a more astute manner. Ultimately, their mutual reinforcement may prove to be more frequent than expected and the unity of archaeological research practices may be reached precisely by embracing their plurality. Consequently, the most productive way forward for archaeology, in epistemic terms at least, is to fully embrace its already existing plurality of approaches and to constantly verify their epistemic robustness through structured and theoretically informed practices. In this manner, a more active role can be achieved in the interdisciplinary exchanges and, ultimately, the esteem of archaeological knowledge can be restored in society.

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## Arheološki programi. Komentarji k epistemični raznovrstnosti

**Ključne besede**: arheološko sklepanje, epistemične norme, paradigmatski obrat, raziskovalni programi, Imre Lakatos

V članku je predstavljen kratek pregled konceptov preučevanja sprememb epistemičnih standardov v arheologiji in njenega potenciala v bodočnosti. Opozarja na pomanjkljivost pogoste rabe Kuhnovega koncepta paradigem pri razvrščanju arheoloških teoretskih pristopov v tri izrazito ločene in izključujoče se faze. Namesto tega predlaga koncept raziskovalnih programov filozofa znanosti Imreja Lakatosa, ki se zdi bolj produktiven za vrednotenje različnih pristopov v arheologiji in s katerim je možno ohraniti različnost epistemičnih idej in se tako bolje soočiti z izzivi, ki so imanentni arheološkim dokazom.

## Archaeological programmes. Notes on epistemic diversity

**Keywords**: archaeological reasoning, epistemic norms, paradigm shift, research programme, Imre Lakatos

The paper presents a short overview of the concepts used to observe the changes in epistemic standards of a discipline and its future potential, in respect to archaeology. The shortcomings are outlined of the common practice of structuring the theoretical approaches in archaeology into distinct, mutually exclusive modes of reasoning, implying three distinct phases, inspired by Kuhn's concept of paradigm. The concept of a research programme, introduced by the philosopher of science Imre Lakatos, is suggested as the more productive mode of assessing the multitude of approaches present in archaeology. In this manner, it is possible to retain the diversity of epistemic proposals and to meet the challenges immanent in the character of archaeological evidence.

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# Between archaeology and anthropology. Collective memory, liminal spaces, and mythical landscape

## Anthropology in Slovenian Archaeological Research

In the thematic review dedicated to the question of directions of archaeological research in Slovenia, the aim of this article is to reflect on the interdisciplinary connection between archaeology and ethnology, cultural anthropology and folkloristics,[1] which could enable new possibilities of interpretations in the interpretative field.

Although the interest of the so-called *narodopisje*[2] in ethnology after World War II was focused on "ethnographic typification" and "cultural elements" trying to give a historical interpretation (origin, developments, change, disintegration) (Slavec Gradišnik, 2000, 627), similar to the positivistic archaeologists, there was no outstanding research at the edge between the two disciplines of archaeology and ethnology. The first to dare to reflect on this interdisciplinary collaboration was Ivan Šprajc (1982) in his (published) master's thesis for the conclusion of his study of archaeology and ethnology entitled *On the Relation Between Archaeology and Ethnology*. However, with the focus of his research shifting to the archeoastronomy and archaeology of Mesoamerica, he has not continued in this line of work, and for many years there has been no interest in collaboration in both disciplines. The only element that was interesting for archaeology from the domain of ethnology was the oral tradition, even if archaeologists treated it as a non-historical, non-reliable source. The use of oral tradition in archaeology has for long been limited

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1    Instead of ethnology I'm using the term anthropology. In the general view ethnology has been perceived as a historical national science, opposed to anthropology, considered to be a research of peoples and their cultures from a non-historical cultural point of view, usually outside Europe (Šmitek et al., 1992, 259–261; Slavec Gradišnik, 2000, 88–89). However, in recent decades we can observe a growing convergence between American cultural/social anthropology and European ethnology (Slavec Gradišnik, 2000, 105–110; Brumen, 2001, 194; Muršič, 2003, 8–9). A similar blurring of the disciplines can be observed in folkloristics, which, due to the recent thematic and problem-oriented expansion of ethnological topics is increasingly merging with ethnology (Kremenšek et al., 2004, 118).

2    Narodopisje is a name given to ethnology until the mid-20th century, which, like the German Volkskunde was concerned with the study of one's own nation (as distinct from Völkerkunde), especially its folk, traditional culture in the past (peasants, countryside) and its continuity (survivals) in the present. It was historically oriented, and positivist in its methodology (see Slavec Gradišnik, 2000).

only to archaeological topography – as an indication for archaeological settlements based on oral traditions about treasures, castles, *ajdi* (Eng. Giants, pagans), abandoned roads and so on (Slapšak, 1995, 17–20; Slapšak et al., 2005, 302). The archaeologist Božidar Slapšak was the first to draw attention to the question of the possibility of using folklore in archaeological research. When he researched the prehistoric and Roman settlement of Ajdovščina above Rodik he drew attention to the local unusual narratives about *ajdi* and a possible cult place above the Roman cemetery in the vicinity (Slapšak, 1995; 1997). He reflected on the meanings of oral tradition for archaeological research when this was strongly positivist in its orientation. With Svetlana Kojić, he also wrote a short attempt at the use of oral tradition in the case of a mythical figure called Šembilja, who leaves material traces in the landscape linked to Roman or pre-Roman roads (Slapšak et al., 1976). These first reflections with no significant echo in archaeology inspired me as a young student to research the possibilities of the use of oral tradition in archaeology for a master's thesis on archaeology (Hrobat, 2003; 2007) when this interdisciplinary collaboration seemed rather unimaginable. In parallel to Božidar Slapšak, but in a different direction, the only archaeologist taking oral tradition seriously in the study of the past was Andrej Pleterski. He was the first to combine archaeological findings with oral traditions about places in his study of the Slavic religion and mythical landscape. In contrast to Slapšak, who had only some reflections, Pleterski continuously researched in this direction (including a PhD thesis on ethnology and Slavic mythology), beginning with his influential article on the structures of three-partite ideology in space among the Slavs (1996).

After these first reflections beyond the edge of archaeology of that time and after publishing my research a decade later (Hrobat, 2007), this kind of interdisciplinary research oriented towards interpretative aspects of (material) culture by combining archaeological and ethnological findings slowly became acceptable in archaeology.

## Collective memory, folklore and landscape

In his study of space in the 1990s, the anthropologist Tim Ingold mentioned that the common points between archaeology and anthropology are landscape and temporality. A landscape is perceived as a durable record and testimony of the life and work of generations that have lived in it. In a landscape, both archaeologists and local inhabitants search the past, even if their methods, rules and narratives differ (Ingold, 1993, 152–153). The difference in perception of time and space between archaeology and oral tradition can be shown in the case of the prehistoric mounds. In the eyes of the archaeologist, mounds are of one period, defined by the period of their creation and use, and their function is burial. Whereas mounds in folk tradition belong to an alternative time, where time passes in a different way and is accessible to ordinary people through mounds. In this way, mounds can retain their original meaning in the landscape as an

entrance to the "other world" (Gazin-Schwartz et al., 1999, 16; see Thompson, 2004). Similar is the traditional perception of caves (see below). As places characterized by a supernatural passage of time, certain caves can be perceived as an entrance to the "world beyond" (Hrobat Virloget, 2015).

Space was first perceived by processual archaeologists only as a territory of (ecological material) sources for subsistence. It was only with post-processual archaeologists in the 1980s that the space was transformed into the landscape in the phenomenological sense with its specific cultural, symbolic and other values. The landscape was finally perceived as a human artefact, as a result of the symbolical representation of the world, as perception, an arena of social relations, place of memories, traditions and so on (Novaković, 2003, 168–179). As anthropologists and post-processual archaeologists argue, a space can be turned into place if it is endowed with meaning, given by tradition (Kockel, 2008, 14; Casey, 1996; Novaković, 2003, 170–178). Spaces do not provide grounding for identities, while places do (Kockel, 2008, 14).

My research into symbolic landscapes in the case of the Karst has shown that oral tradition attached to the landscape can preserve long-lasting collective memories. Similar to the so-called indigenous people, the people in Europe "read" about their past in their local landscape (Hrobat, 2003; 2007; 2010a).[3] For example, the Apache people learn about their mythical ancestors and moral principles through their symbolic embodiments in the landscape (Basso, 2002, 105–149). Keith H. Basso call this activity "sensing of place", which expresses "the ordinary way of engaging one's surroundings and finding them significant" (Basso 2002, 143). The practice of remembering is equivalent to a person's movement in the environment and is therefore embedded in the perception of the environment (Ingold, 2000, 148). Deriving from Bourdieu's (1977) theory of praxis, the archaeologist Peter Jordan in his study of the material culture of the sacred landscape of Khanty people in Siberia argued that the meanings of places are not fixed, but they derive from their context in the landscape and, more importantly, they are activated by the social praxis, memorial traces and contexts in the biographies of the groups that inhabit these landscapes (Jordan, 2007). Whereas some researchers argue that for indigenous people memoryscapes with their ancestral connections are not merely places which trig-

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3    Anthropologists have for long interpreted the representations of the past of "primitive communities," therefore, communities "without history," as the manifestations of "mythical thinking". The memory of these communities was reduced to mythical thinking, non-history, which was contrary to history, understood as "scientific" memory of past events of the developed, "rational" communities, the masters of the concept of linear time. However, the memory, even though there understood as myth and as history here, has in the process of identity formation always the same meaning and function: to provide an answer to the needs of the present through the selective forms of remembering (Nora, 1989; Lowenthal, 1995, 197–198, 210; Fabietti, Matera, 1999, 13–14). Moreover, Lévi-Strauss's (1966, 233–234) differentiation between two different worldviews, one based on linear, chronological, scientific view and the other on myth have been disregarded by folklorists (Dundes, 1984; Eliade, 1963; 1974) by showing a share of myth (temporal, sacred narratives) and history in modern Western society and the existence of such genre distinctions in nonliterate communities (Thompson, 2004, 336).

ger memories, "but rather places where memories and knowledge nest independent of human agency" (Thor Carlson et al., 2020, 145).

For Maurice Halbwachs, the founder of the notion of collective memory, memory is not an issue of time but a matter of space and localization (Halbwachs, 1994 [1925]; 2001 [1950]; Gensburger, 2020, 69; Jaisson, 1999). Apart from linking the collective memory to social space (Gensburger, 2020, 70), Halbwachs was the first to note the interdependence between the symbolic space or landscape and collective memory. He argued that collective identities are structured on time-space references, which strengthen the memory of a common past (Halbwachs, 1971; 2001, 143–177; Jonker, 1995, 17; Fabietti et al., 1999, 35). What is important for archaeological research is his idea that to fix and preserve a collective memory it must be presented in the concrete form of an event, person or place (Halbwachs, 1971, 124). His case study shows how the Christian collective memory provided the illusion of continuity by inscribing itself in the places of the Holy Land. What makes beliefs to endure is not the material itself, which is changeable, but the image, which has been replaced by itself. On one side the collective memory lies on a material, figure, place, or monument, and on the other hand on a symbol, a spiritual meaning, which is anchored in the spirit of the group and superimposed on this reality (Halbwachs, 1971, 117–164). According to Halbwachs, "there is no collective memory that does not take place in a spatial context" (2001, 157), because it is place that gives the illusion that a community has not changed and that it can find the past in the present. The landscape has embodied the ancestors' tradition which gives support to the community identity and a "stable" material basis for collective memory. Communities draw their forms on the ground, in which they also enclose and locate their collective memories (Halbwachs, 1971, 130; 2001, 143–177).

The interdependence of place and memory was already mentioned by Claude Lévi-Strauss (2004 [1955], 207–214), who noticed that the entire complex tradition with its rituals of the Bororo people from Brazil was conceptualized in the material space of their circular village. Once the Christian missionaries destroyed their conceptualized topography by transferring them to a new village with parallel houses, they lost their spatialized religious tradition and were successfully converted to Christianity.

## Use of oral tradition about landscape in archaeology

It has been argued that the embedded memory and narratives in the landscape or memoryscapes form the basis for the interdisciplinary collaboration between archaeology and anthropology because it enables the understanding of the symbolic values of space (Hrobat, 2007; 2010a). The forms of traditional knowledge of the communities that inhabit the researched landscape can provide multiple understandings of the layers of conceptualizations of landscape (Sinamai, 2020, 155–156).

Tok Thompson, one of the first folklorists who showed how the study of folklore can enrich archaeological understandings of the (Neolithic) past, argued that folklore can provide information about the past when it is not taken as history, but as cultural information about the past (through rituals, tales, art, landscape, language, and all aspects of social and cultural life) (Thompson, 2004, 336–339). He asserts that it is not that the traditions associated with the monuments do not change over time, but that these changes often incorporate earlier material. A key element in understanding archaeological remains lies in the emic view. Thompson has shown that by avoiding the use of the scientific terminology for Neolithic "megaliths" and by using the native Irish word *síd* (mounds) for them, indicating "spirits of the mounds", a whole range of different connotations, meanings and narratives open up. He has demonstrated that the traditions of *sí* spirits living in the megaliths are intimately connected with the dead in this way preserving the same cultural idea of the connection between landscape, i.e. megaliths and the dead from Neolithic times (Thompson, 2004, 341–345). Interdisciplinary collaboration can therefore start when archaeologists look beyond specific archaeological sites and remains, and also try to find information about the past in folklore, native languages and an emic view (Thompson, 2004, 363–364).

Most interdisciplinary research between anthropology and archaeology has been carried out in the so-called New World, in Canada, the United States and Australia, where frequent disputes between indigenous peoples and colonial powers question the historicity of the oral tradition (Thompson, 2004, 337–340; Hrobat, 2010a, 14–15).[4]

In the Slovenian frame, research has been done on the conceptualization of landscape in the case of the Karst by studying oral tradition, linked to the landscape by employing anthropological and archaeological methodological tools (Hrobat, 2010a). For the first time, the oral tradition was analysed from the context of its position in the landscape, which can be primarily perceived as an archaeological methodology. This research has shown certain long-term continuity in tradition, where even historical aspects could be preserved (Hrobat, 2007; Hrobat Virloget, 2012). The research of the narratives of the *ajdi* of Ajdovščina above Rodik has indicated the possibility of getting some fragments of historical information in that part of oral tradition which deviates from the general patterns of folklore and which is linked to a specific site (Hrobat, 2007; Palavestra, 1966, 5, 52–53; 1990, 185; Slapšak et al., 2022).

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4    In the 1950s a new discipline emerged in America, ethnohistory, which combined the methods of ethnology (especially oral tradition) and history, as a result of the disputes between colonial powers and indigenous people over the ownership of the land (Viazzo, 2000, 77–79). Recently the combination of the two disciplines have been employed by ethnoarchaeology, which could be defined as a study of living traditional societies using archaeological methods and theories (Gonzáles-Ruibal, 2016).

The link between collective memory and landscape has given the conceptual framework for recent research studies by some archaeologists on the Slavic mythical landscape (e.g. Pleterski, 2014; Belaj V. et al., 2014).

## The case study of liminal spaces in the landscape

Valuable for archaeologists is the symbolic value that oral tradition can preserve about certain places. The analysis of the spatial positioning of oral tradition in the landscape (Hrobat, 2010a) has shown that the majority of traditions about apparitions, sacrifices, and burials of folklore creatures from the world in-between appear at or along cadastral boundaries (e.g. Rodik, Lokev) (Hrobat, 2010a, 64–90, 105–106; Hrobat Virloget, 2014, 359–382).[5] Similar motifs can also be found in the wider Slovene and European folklore, where deaths and killings take place at territory boundaries, which some folklorists link to sacrifices (Grafenauer, 1957; 1959; Dragan, 1999, 99; Kvideland, 1993, 13–19).

Comparisons with folklore thus indicate the special significance of territory borders, which is reflected in the positioning of sacred places and ritual processions along them (Risteski, 2005, 216–217; Šmitek, 2004, 213–214; Radenković, 1996, 182–183). Among the analogies in archaeology is the border line called *pomerium*, which was supposedly ritually ploughed by the mythical founder of Rome, Romulus, at the founding of the city, and had symbolic significance. It was sacrosanct, with special importance in both ideology and practice, and was linked to special rules concerning behaviour, burials, and cults. It was also part of rituals carried out on the founding of other towns (Segaud, 2008, 121). In ancient Greece, temples, presumably protected by gods, were positioned along uncultivated zones around territory boundaries (Guettel Cole, 2004, 67Y68, 77), whereas in Roman times, sacrifices to the god *Terminus* were performed at boundary markers (Dilke, 1971, 98–108). The burying of specific objects at the endpoints of newly established territoria; boundaries is recorded in Indian Sanskrit sources from the 1st century BC (Dragan, 2010, 93, 101). Similar traditions were also found recently in Slovenia (Hrobat, 2010a, 67).[6]

Research on the marking of boundaries with the supernatural (Hrobat, 2010a) was confirmed by the folklore historian Simon Young (2020; 2022). By mapping the spirits in the 19th century landscape of northwest England, he argues that public bogies

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5    It is interesting to note that locals are not aware that a large number of "frightening places" are located at cadastral limits.

6    A ritual was recorded by the division of estates in the village Sveti Peter, where a boundary marker was partly dug into the ground with a stone slab, called a "witness", on each side. Similar remnants of the delineation of property's boundaries are called "death witnesses" or "witnesses" and are found on the Karst on both sides of the Slovenian-Italian border. This particular example is in the form of a stone built into a house which delineates the boundary between family properties (Počkar, 2020/21). I'm thankful to the ethnologist Darja Kranjc for showing me this research work from the primary school.

(celebrated local spirits) concentrate around settlements, sometimes in radial patterns, and they are found at strategic points such as junctions, boundaries, bridges and rivers. As he writes "spirits dwell in relation to humans, but not in their midst" (Young, 2020, 15). Reflecting on my words that supernatural forces protect boundaries (Hrobat Virloget, 2014, 372), he adds that they do not only terrify the population but "they mark out the territory" (Young, 2020, 15). The difference between this research and similar work by folklorists who study the functions of narratives in the construction of space and time (e.g. Mencej, 2005) is in the analysis of the concrete landscapes, which is closer to archaeological methodology.

The village boundaries in the Karst region are marked also by ritual behaviour, seen in the phenomenon of "dead resting sites" (*mrtva počivala*[7]). These were ritual places in which funeral processions stopped and prayed, pallbearers were exchanged, and the coffin/deceased was placed on the ground. When mapping these places onto the map it was found that "dead resting sites" are not arbitrarily located in the landscape, as the majority of them are situated precisely at or along cadastral boundaries (Hrobat, 2010a, 107–119; Hrobat Virloget, 2014). A few exceptions can be found by the water, which was in Slavic folklore and elsewhere considered the mediator with the world beyond (Mencej, 1997; 2004, 183–197). In these cases, it seems that water could have the same function as village boundaries, as will be argued below.

The reason why ritual activities took place precisely in these places can be explained by van Gennep's theory of rituals of passage, which are, according to him, part of the traditional concept of boundaries. *Rites de passage* are thought to regulate the passages between different social positions in human life, different time limits, and territories. The passages through boundaries and thresholds were marked by rituals, for instance, when crossing territorial boundaries, which were often marked by special objects or boundary deities (Van Gennep, 1993, 7–8; Leach, 1983, 55).

It is commonly known that all customs and rituals surrounding death were intended to pull the dead person from the world of the living because of the danger of contamination from the world beyond (Bacqué, 1997, 247–276; Baudry, 1997, 225–244). In certain areas, all funeral processions had to travel the routes of the dead, which were known throughout Europe, even when this meant travelling far afield. Similarly, when returning from a funeral the procession had to take a different path home, and not the path of the dead, while in some places (e.g. Idrija), there was a separate funerary path for the "unclean" dead, the ones who committed suicide (Hrobat, 2010a, 107; Hrobat, 2010b, 37). Ritual acts thus served to maintain the boundary, the division of space, and to ensure the elimination of the dead and thus death itself (Dragan, 1999, 153–157; Lehr, 1999, 225–244; Risteski, 2001, 154–179).

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7    They can be denoted differently, for instance "Dead hill/slope" (Mrtvaški hrib/breg) or "Cross tree" (Križen drev) (Hrobat Virloget, 2010, 107–116).

Funeral customs of resting and marking the place with the dead are known all across Europe, among them are places called *mirila* (Littoral Croatia[8])*, karsikko* (Finland)*, offerkast* (Sweden)*, cairns* (Ireland) and *cross-tree* (Estonia, Finland, Latvia) (Katić, 2017, 95–144, 264). Traditions similar to the *cross-tree* tradition were widespread across republics of former Yugoslavia, where at a stop with the dead a cross was marked in a tree (usually an oak tree) (Katić, 2017, 113–119). This ritual was known in Rodik and Brezovica on Karst too (Hrobat, 2010a, 70–73; Hrobat Virloget, 2021a, 27).[9] *Mirila* could be interpreted as part of dead resting sites with the difference that they have evolved into individual stone memorials. The term *mirila* involves a stone construction marking the resting place of the deceased. On the funerary procession, a ritual was performed at the place of the future *mirila*, in order to separate the body and the soul and set the soul to rest. After the burial of the deceased at the cemetery, the coffin carriers returned to the ritual place to build a stone monument for the deceased (with or without the data of the deceased) (Pleterski et al., 2010; Katić, 2010).[10] A similar tradition was the *cross-tree* tradition in Finland, Estonia, Latvia, and Sweden, with the difference that, in the interpretation of Janne Vilkunna, the ritual bound the soul to the tree, while the *Karsikko* (Eng. "pruning of the tree") tradition in Finland had the same function, but also included memorial inscriptions on boards, building walls, or rocks (Vilkunna, 1993, 135–152).[11]

In the context of van Gennep's theory, such traditions linked to marking the place of resting with the dead are interpreted as man's last passage – from the world of the living to the world of the dead. Material remains are here understood as a symbolic limit between these worlds, with the soul bound to the stone/tree, which prevents its return to the world of the living (Vilkunna, 1993, 149; Katić, 2010, 119, 129). Mario Katić interprets two main roles of such places as *mirila*, or places of marking the place of resting with the dead: on one side, as an informant noted, to retain the soul till the dawn when it has to return to its place, but on the other side to protect the community of the living from a wandering soul, and therefore marking a place of danger, a liminal space for the living (Katić, 2017, 93, 140). Different beliefs about the souls of the dead seem inseparably linked to the places of the deceased and death, no matter if someone died in this place or if the dead body was placed on or in it, or if resting with the deceased was performed there. All these practices indicate a liminal space,

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8    Middle and north Dalmatia, Lika, Primorje, Velebit, and Podgorje (Katić, 2010, 15).
9    On the basis of archival sources, the historian Aneja Rože confirmed the information from the oral tradition on the cross incised into the oak tree on Križen drev, lecture 21.10.2022, Mythical Park, Rodik (https://www.slovenskenovice.si/novice/slovenija/v-mitskem-parku-zimzeleni-hrast/, retrieved, 11.7.2023)
10   Analogies are made with the medieval stećki (Katić, 2017, 143; 2010, 27–32).
11   In both cases, the monuments could also be dedicated to missing people, people who had drowned or died far away (Vilkuna, 1993; Pleterski et al., 2010). In some cases mirila mark places of death and killing (Katić, 2017, 93–94).

which is dangerous for the soul and community of the living, if the rituals for separating the soul from the body and the community are not performed properly (Neil, 1946; Katić, 2017, 142).

On the other hand, these kinds of funeral practices remind one of the custom of crossing the water upon returning from a funeral. This is explained by some researchers as a way to protect the community from the return of the dead man's soul, as it would be unable to cross the water. On the other hand, Mirjam Mencej interprets this custom with the principle of sympathetic magic, which was used to help the deceased to cross over to the other side of the water to the world of the dead (Mencej, 1997). These kinds of funerary traditions, especially if we think of "dead resting sites" on community borders, could be interpreted along similar lines, namely that they were carried out to help the soul of the deceased at places where the passages between the worlds are maintained – at village borders.

The oral tradition about the supernatural and rituals mark liminal areas, liminal places in the landscape where the "supernatural" enters "our" world, the world of the living. The border zones thus represent the boundaries of "our world" in a functional sense, i.e. as the boundaries of a village with its neighbour, as well as in a cosmological sense as the boundary between the "world of the living" and the beyond (Hrobat, 2010a, 62–106, 180–182; Hrobat Virloget, 2014). If we take the sacred in the spatial sense that Radu Dragan uses to denote the beyond or, in French, *altérité*, "otherness" (Dragan, 1999, 62), we could perceive village borders as sacred. In these liminal places the village border functions as an entrance into an alternative reality; by crossing from one territory to another, one finds oneself in a material and magico-religious sense between the two worlds (Harte, 1994, 6; Van Gennep, 1981 [1909], 24; Young, 2020, 15).[12]

The research on *mirila* (Pleterski et al., 2010) represents an exemplary case study of an interdisciplinary collaboration between archaeology and anthropology. Without the anthropological knowledge of the *mirila* as places where the dead and their souls rest, the archaeologists would remain in front of an enigma of a whole cemetery of "cenotaphs". Of course, in this case, the advantage was that the memory of the use of monuments was still alive in the community.

## Other liminal places and elements of mythical landscape

The landscape is interwoven with numerous liminal places through which the forces

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12 Similarly, the word meaning "sacred" was used as a category boundary in the prehistoric Baltic Area to mark off and set strategic points in the landscape not only as markers of territorial border between groups of settlers, outer border of the inhabited area, but also as sites to carry out transformative rituals. The term was used for marking places and boundaries in the landscape, which entailed rule-governed behaviour, places that the community wanted to differentiate as "separate", "marked", "designated", "prohibited" or "dangerous" (Anttonen, 2003, 298; 2000, 230).

from the beyond intrude into "our" world. By performing rituals, man endeavours to restrain, activate or prevent them (Dragan, 1999, 157–158). According to folklorists, the conception of space in traditional thought is governed by a binary logic of the system, with which the world is kept in constant balance (Mencej, 1997; Dragan, 1999, 340; Risteski, 2001, 171–173).

Within cadastral boundaries, the transition between the worlds is most permeable at crossings and crossroads. In the case of funeral rituals, for example, most of the "dead resting sites" were positioned at crossroads. Burial processions performed stops at practically every boundary: at the courtyard gates, at crossroads, and finally at the gates of the cemetery (Dragan, 1999, 153–154; Ložar-Podlogar, 1999; Hrobat et al., 2008). Already in antiquity, a crossroads was considered a place of contact with the world of the dead. For example, the underworld opened up to Ulysses precisely at the confluence of two rivers (Odyssey K, 512–518, Λ–XI, 20–50; Petrović, 2000, 8), that is, at an intersection shaped in the letter Y, which is one of the most archetypal representations of a crossing (Dragan, 1999, 151). Folklore from the Slovenian Karst and Istria bears evidence of meetings with supernatural, liminal beings, of hailing the Devil at crossroads, of benevolent creatures fighting others with malevolent intentions at crossroads (the wizard against *Kresnik*), of witches gathering or appearing there, while also the majority of magical, purification rituals (or rituals including elements of a crossroads) are performed at crossroads. According to tradition, the crossroads had to be consecrated, and on St. John's Day bonfires were lit there "to banish the witches" (Hrobat et al., 2008; Dragan, 1999, 151–158; Puhvel, 1976; Hrobat, 2010a, 130–139). Magical rituals are therefore placed at this border between "one's own" and "foreign" space (Radenković, 1996). Protection rituals, preventing the intrusion of the forces from beyond, are thus performed precisely at crossroads during the most dangerous periods, such as on St. John's Day (the summer solstice).

Like space, time is also not conceived homogenously. In both dimensions, liminal breaks can happen, allowing the invasion of the world beyond. Space thus has different values at different times: certain periods of the year, for example, the summer solstice and the Quarter days, or certain parts of the day, such as dusk and night, are more responsive to transitions between the worlds – and thus special behaviour is attached to them (Mencej, 2005, 179).

Folklorists have shown that the "sacredness" of space decreases by moving away from the centre: from the house (e.g. hearth, "bohkov kot"[13] over the threshold to the fence, the yard's border, the border of the village towards the forests and uninhabited territories, marshes, and so on (Risteski, 2001, 155–159; Mencej, 2005, 179). Some research, however, indicates that there are many liminal places in the landscape

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13    A corner in the house where holy cards were kept.

(e.g. houses, stables, yards, corners, thresholds, fences, roads, archaeological sites, cemeteries, forests, waters, caves, etc.; Mencej, 2005; Risteski, 2005; Hrobat, 2010a, 119–129, 154–156; Young, 2020), but the majority of the narratives and rituals connected to the world beyond are located outside of the living space, at village borders.

Notwithstanding this, there are certain narratives that suggest the liminality of the centre, the hearth of the house, which was replaced by the stove in the kitchen. According to the Karst tradition, the fire from the stove emitted sounds of the dead from purgatory (Hrobat, 2010a, 140). In the Balkans, the hearth was considered the ritual centre of the house, the place of the guardian snake, the protecting souls, or the stone God (Risteski, 2001, 133–135; Vukanović, 1971, 174–175), traces of which are hinted at already by the Balkan's Neolithic culture (Naumov, 2006, 85). According to Jean-Pierre Vernant, the sacred centre in ancient Greek spiritual culture was established through *Hestia,* the Greek goddess of the family and the public hearth in the town. Through the hearth, *Hestia* established communication with the chthonic world and, through the smoke from the hearth, at the same time, with the world of the Olympic gods (Vernant, 2001; Segaud, 2008, 109–110). Similarly, Susan Guettel Cole (2004, 74–78) identified the centre in the *prtyaneion*, the public hearth in the town, with the sacred fire. It presented the sacred and the political centre of the *polis* and, at the same time, the connecting element between different *poleis,* which shared the same fire.

As mentioned above, the perception of liminality in traditional cultures is also linked to certain caves in the landscape, and indicative of this are several narrative motifs. Caves are usually dwelling places of supernatural beings. By entering certain caves in traditional narratives people experience another dimension of time – a "supernatural passage of time" – a time that runs differently than it does in the human world. A different passing of time is an indication of the entrance to another world, another dimension, which has the connotation of otherworldliness (Mencej, 2009, 193–202). Certain caves in traditional narratives are connected to new-borns and/or with the female mythical being Baba (Eng. a hag; see below), who helps in birthing or gives new-borns. On the other side, Baba also keeps (dead) children in the caves or cooks/bakes them, in this manner linking caves to death (Hrobat Virloget, 2015; Mihelič, 2013). According to some traditional beliefs, newborns come from another world or from the very world of the dead (Risteski, 2002, 167; Dragan, 1999, 287, 292, 299–98). Mirjam Mencej argues that if it is known that fertility in the traditional worldview derives from the other world – and thus from the same place where dead souls go after death – then in ideas about where babies are kept before being born certain notions of this other world can be detected (Mencej, 2005, 199). By analysing the motif of "supernatural passage of time" in narratives across Europe and beyond, she has shown that the connotation of otherworldliness can be found in spaces such as mountains or hills, caverns, graves or mounds and forest and waters (Mencej, 2009). The symbolic

meaning of mountains was reflected in the megalithic architecture of mounds, which functioned as places of connection with the deceased ancestors and other mythical beings (Šmitek, 2019, 41).

Moreover, the analysis of the traditional narratives and rituals from the Karst and Western Slovenia has shown that certain caves are linked to beliefs about entrance into the world beyond. Especially indicative is the motif of the supernatural passage of time and rituals made in certain caves (Čok, 2012; Medvešček, 2015[14]; Hrobat Virloget, 2015, 158–160). Among the latter, the narratives of rituals in caves with sexual symbols in the form of stalactites and stalagmites (Čok, 2012, 21–23; Medvešček 2015, 313–323) indicating fertility are reminiscent of the archaeological findings of ceramic,s and animal bones from the 4th century BC in the cave in front of the stalagmite in the form of a phallic symbol in Spila Nakovana by Donja Nakovana on Pelješac in south Dalmatia (Menalo, 2005, 8, 20, 25–27). If the new life and fertility indicated in the folklore material come to the world of the living through the caves, it is logical, therefore, that religious rituals for fertility were performed in the caves. The analysis has shown that certain caves functioned in the local landscape as places of transition to the world of the dead, from where fertility comes into the world of living (Hrobat Virloget, 2015).

The oral tradition about the Baba (Eng. hag) is also interesting, which gives meaning to some places, caves, hills, and especially stones named after this folklore figure. Oral tradition and rituals linked to her indicate a remnant of an archaic mythological being, materialized in the landscape. It can be interpreted as the Slavic goddess Mokoš,[15] but also as a much more archaic and widespread phenomenon with analogies in Italy, France, and Spain. Children's grotesque folklore about kissing the Baba when passing by for the first time, widespread in the Slavic and Romance linguistic world, can preserve some memory of a territorial *rite de passage* (van Gennep, 1981) or initiation rites (Delavigne, 1982, 422), linked to a specific point in the landscape or to entering the territories of the "other", indicating again liminal spaces (Hrobat, 2010a, 183–224; Hrobat Virloget, 2013; 2021a, 28–34).

## Conclusions. On the archaic traditions enabling interdisciplinary collaboration

The move from mythical to rational thinking has never been concluded. Many patterns of human symbolic thinking and functioning from oral tradition are comparable

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14    Recently an intensive discussion has developed about the "authenticity" of primary sources on Staroverci ("Old Faith tradition"), written by Pavel Medvešček (2015) (see Kozorog, 2020; Hrobat Virloget, 2021b; 2022; Kozorog, 2022; Toplak, 2022).

15    From these findings derive the research of the Slavic mythical landscape and mythology (e.g. Pleterski, 2014; Katičić, 2011; Belaj V., Belaj J, 2014; Vince-Pallua, 2018; etc.).

with each other, and therefore universal and comparable between different periods and cultures (Šmitek, 2019, 42, 52). Such is also the case of the Baba, for which the only dates from its depictions we have are not that old (16th and 15th centuries, see map Panjek, 2015, 124; Vince Pallua, 2018; Hrobat Virloget, 2021a, 30). While most of the researchers interpret the Baba in the context of Slavic religion (Belaj V. et al., 2014; Katičić, 2011; Vince-Pallua, 2018; 2011), my opinion is that this and certain other traditions can be much more archaic.[16] Indicative is the same oral tradition of kissing the Baba (or other kind of ritual) when passing by which extends beyond the Slavic world (as far as Brittany in France; Hrobat Virloget, 2015, 61; Dellavigne, 1982; for comparisons with the Palaeolithic see Mihelič, 2013). A renowned Slovenian scholar of mythology, Zmago Šmitek (2019, 391), convincingly argued that the modern human has spiritually not evolved much more from the stage of the Palaeolithic hunter. After he demonstrated thousands of years old ideas in the recent oral tradition, Šmitek asked whether Sokrates was not right when he considered "whether human knowledge is not just remembering" (Šmitek, 2019, 392).

It is this archaic memory or this *longue-duree mémoire* that enables the interdisciplinary collaboration between archaeology and anthropology. This collaboration can enrich our understanding of the cosmological perceptions of the cultures we study, even if these cultures belong to the remote past. However, being educated in both disciplines, archaeology and anthropology, I can see one obstacle in the interdisciplinary collaboration. Usually it is archaeologists who are more interested in the anthropological findings than anthropologists in archaeological research. The reason can be found in the recent anthropological constructivist discourse in which traditions are primarily seen as "invented", and therefore "nonauthentic". In the current anthropological discourse any positive valuation of the past or emphasis of continuity over change is seen as emotional regressive and as escape from the contemporary world (Kockel, 2008).

Even if archaeology has realized that the reconstruction of the past world is impossible (Novaković, 2023), because "the past is a foreign country (Lowenthal, 1999)", and even if the interpretation of the past can derive only from our present (Novaković, 2023), it can be argued that this present can conserve very archaic (and universal) ideas. As has been shown in several case studies of oral traditions (Thompson, 2004; Hrobat, 2010a; Pleterski, 2023; Šmitek, 2019 etc.), the ideas behind them can be traced in undatable, archaic and remote traditions and their materializations.

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16  The reflection on the archaicity struck me when I saw identical mythical figures large distances away from each other: on one side a masked figure all in green vegetation from the Western Alps (seen in the Museo delle Alpi, Forte di Bard, Val d'Aosta, Documentary film Rivamonte Agordino, 1996, July, 2023), and on the other side in Eastern Alps an almost identical mythical figure of Pust in Cerkno dressed all in green (using moss), both of them carrying a young tree. The figures remind also Zeleni Jurij from Bela Krajina and Western Croatia, which is mostly interpreted in the context of Slavic mythology (Belaj, 1998).

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## Med arheologijo in antropologijo: kolektivni spomin, liminalni prostori in mitska pokrajina

**Ključne besede:** interdisciplinartnost, arheologija, antropologija, ljudsko izročilo, liminalni prostori, mitska pokrajina

Članek premišlja možnosti interdisciplinarnosti med arheologijo in kulturno antropologijo oz. etnologijo. Kar se je še pred nekaj desetletji zdelo nemogoče zaradi izmuzljivosti in netočnosti ljudskega izročila, kot ga je videla arheološka stran, je v novejšem času ponudilo nove perspektive v razumevanju prostora, ključnega koncepta, ki povezuje obe humanistični vedi. Članek predstavlja nekatere temeljne teoretske koncepte, ki omogočajo sodelovanje arheologije in antropologije. Ključni elementi te zveze so prostor, ljudsko izročilo, ki o njem govori, in kolektivni spomin. Percepcija prostora v ljudskem izročilu omogoča boljše razumevanje nekaterih arheoloških objektov. Ustno izročilo, ki je vsajeno v prostor, nam lahko pomaga pri razumevanju kontinuitete simbolnih vrednosti krajev kot so liminalni prostori oziroma elementi mitske pokrajine.

## Between archaeology and anthropology. Collective memory, liminal spaces, and mythical landscape

**Keywords:** interdisciplinarity, archaeology, anthropology, oral tradition, liminal spaces, mythical landscape

The article discusses the possibilities of interdisciplinary collaboration between archaeology and cultural anthropology/ethnology. What seemed some decades ago unthinkable, due to the elusiveness or inaccuracy of oral tradition perceived from the archaeological side, has recently provided new perspectives for understanding space, the key concept that links both humanistic disciplines. The article shows some basic theoretical concepts, enabling interdisciplinary collaboration between the two disciplines. The key elements which connect the two disciplines are space, the oral tradition attached to it and collective memory. The traditional perception of space can offer a better understanding of some archaeological materials. The oral tradition embedded in the landscape can give us some understanding of the continuity of symbolic values of places, such as liminal spaces or elements of mythical landscapes.

### O avtorici

**Katja Hrobat Virloget** je diplomirana arheologinja, doktorat na temo koncepta časa in prostora v ljudskem izročilu Krasa pa je pridobila na Oddelku za Etnologijo in kul-

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# Practice of academic and applicative archaeology in Slovenia from a social epistemological perspective

## Introduction

In his pioneering study *Ideology and Utopia* (1936), Karl Mannheim defined the object of his research as how thinking actually functions in public life as an instrument of collective action. He argued that some modes of thought cannot be adequately understood as long as their social origins are obscured; knowledge has to be comprehended in the concrete setting of a historical-social situation, out of which individually differentiated thoughts emerge (Mannheim, 1936, 1–3). In its present sense, social epistemology started to develop in the 1950s, with the growing dissatisfaction with orthodox theories of science deriving from analytical philosophy, and notions of objective and neutral knowledge. After an influential critique by anti-empiricists (e.g. Quine, 1951; Hanson, 1958), the philosophy of science gradually accepted that the division between the empirical (observational) and theoretical worlds is blurred and that both cannot be fully comprehended without including social, cultural, and even cognitive or psychological perspectives. These lines of thought could be traced at least from Thomas Kuhn, Michel Foucault, Paul Feyerabend, and Richard Rorty, to name just a few of the most prominent critics of neutral science. For Kuhn (1962), the paradigms ultimately change in the interplay of social factors in the scientific community, Foucault (1966) considered knowledge as a product (i.e. constructed) by power structures, Feyerabend (1975) advocated theoretical pluralism against the monopole of the dominant paradigm and necessary consideration of social and historical factors in knowledge creation, while Rorty (e.g. 1979, 170) replaced the traditional notion of accurate and objective knowledge with that of the knowledge as "justified belief", a central concept in modern social epistemology.

Accepting that knowledge is justified according to the standards of a particular social group moves the focus of social epistemology from what was called "individual epistemology" (knowledge is something that the cognitive agents individually achieve) to knowledge achieved and justified through other agents (Goldman, 1999,

4; 2019). One individual agent cannot avoid forming his or her knowledge without the knowledge communicated by other agents. These ideas opened the doors to relativism, something that traditional analytical epistemology attempted to avoid, but for social epistemology relativism is an inevitable feature of knowledge justification (Plakias, 2020, 47).

According to Goldman and O'Connor (2019), the object of this discipline is primarily the research of social-epistemic activities that have an impact on epistemic outcomes. His list of the principal topics gives a fairly good idea about current social epistemology: a) How an individual seeks to determine the truth-value of a certain proposition by soliciting the opinions of others (*testimony*); b) How, if at all, an agent should adjust his or her initial belief about the specified proposition upon learning that his or her peer holds a contrary position (*peer disagreement*); c) What it takes for a group to believe something (*epistemology of collective agents*); d) How a group belief is aggregated from individual beliefs (*judgment aggregation*); e) How a group can achieve an epistemic status and proceed from belief to justified knowledge (*group justification*)' and f) How one can identify other individuals as sources of accurate information (*identifying experts*). The list is extensive but not exclusive.

## Towards social epistemology in archaeology

Here we will give only a brief and generalized overview of epistemological approaches in archaeology.[1] Most theoretical and epistemological endeavours in archaeology until the 1950s were mostly limited to improving archaeological methods and rules to achieve, for example, better chronological and typological classifications, as well as field recording. Early archaeology firmly insisted on the humanistic (historical) interpretation, using almost exclusively the idealist philosophy of history and material culture. Before the 1950s there were not many works that explored epistemological issues. Trigger (1998, 2–3) stresses the pioneering role of Robin Collingwood and his book *Idea of History* (1946). For Collingwood, understanding the past is about understanding the intentions behind human action; the past event or action stays locked in the past, but the intention transcends the time gap. What is left to a researcher is a re-enactment based on the best possible knowledge of the past circumstances that conditioned the intention. However, Collingwood's ideas did not take deeper root in archaeology since we could not find any explicit reference to his epistemology and metaphysics until the late 1980s. Even van der Dussen (2018) and Leach (2018), who contributed more in-depth analysis of Collingwood's philosophical and metaphysical thoughts on history, anthropology, and archaeology did not provide satisfactory answers to why Collingwood was absent in archaeology until the late 1980s when it

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1    For more on this topic see the paper of Staša Babić in this issue of Ars & Humanitas.

re-appeared in the postprocessualist context (see in Hodder, 1986, 90–99), and even here more as a predecessor of some postprocessualist ideas. Reasons for this should be probably looked at in the archaeologists' poor knowledge of philosophy, increasing interest in the technical competence of archaeology, and, last but not least, in increasing importance of archaeology in creating national pasts and narratives, which needed concrete reminders of the nation's past. One may say that where Collingwood was explicit, most archaeologists remained implicit.

Trigger, however, ignored some important achievements in the Central European archaeology. Albert Kiekebusch (1928, 115, 117), the leading scholar in German settlement archaeology before the 1950s, saw the research goal of settlement archaeology as the production of cultural-historical statements about human life that can only be the approximations (*Wahrscheinlichkeitsaussagen*) which can be achieved with inductive empirical research aimed at the reconstruction of past settlement processes and structures. Though Kiekebusch did not provide any particularly new ideas on archaeological epistemology, he nevertheless, attemted to characterize and systemize archaeological ways of obtaining knowledge in a wider domain of historical thinking. However, it is also symptomatic for archaeology of the first half of the 20th century that neither Collingwood's nor Kiekebusch's ideas have been widely accepted; most archaeologists simply did not find theoretical explorations highly relevant in their practice.

In the 1950s and 1960s, epistemological issues in archaeology came to the front. In 1962, the journal Current Anthropology, published the keynote paper by Gordon Lowther, entitled Epistemology and Archaeological Theory, which was commented on by several scholars, (e.g. Julian Steward, Glyn Daniel, Gordon Willey, and Albert Spaulding). Lowther's central topic is the truth of archaeological statements and how it can be verified. He analysed the potential of the correspondence and coherence theories of truth in archaeological reasoning. The main problem he saw was that archaeologists use presuppositions which became considered »facts« leading to a chain of statements derived from poorly verified or hard-to-verify statements (Lowther, 1962, 499). For him, neither of the theories of truth in archaeology, can fully meet the criteria for verification. Lowther finds the correspondence theory adequate only for empirical descriptions of the objects, but there is not much new knowledge there. For him, the coherence theory is potentially more appropriate for statements that are coherently derived from a system of other statements, but, again, also here the propper verification is not possible.

The real epistemological turn emerged in the Anglo-American archaeology with the so-called processualism.[2] Contrary to all previous archaeological traditions, processual archaeology pursued the epistemology of natural sciences. In its most rigid

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2    Processual and, later, postprocessual archaeology are paradigmatic approaches that primarily developed in the US and UK, and cannot be fully applied to archaeology in general. In Central European archaeology the traditional culture history archaeology remained in use, as it does today.

version, the American New Archaeology argued for Hempelian nomothetic-deductive reasoning as the only explicitly scientific reasoning in archaeology (see Watson et al., 1971). The underlying presupposition was that human activities are not random but patterned and systematically interconnected with the natural and social environment, transcending so cultural idiosyncrasies and time gap. As an important epistemological tool Binford (1977) proposed the middle-range theory which considered archaeological interpretation as, essentially, a sort of analogical reasoning. The middle-range theory served to connect formation of archaeological record with contemporary archaeological observation and higher-level cultural theory. To put it simply, if archaeologists *in vivo* observe processes which create the archaeological record, they can rationally assume (by analogy) that the same processes were at work in case of a structurally and functionally similar past archaeological record.[3]

In the 1980s, another movement emerged in Anglo-American archaeology – postprocessual archaeology – which strongly criticized the epistemology of the processualists. Postprocessualists, despite some differences among them, all shared the idea that only by including context, social aspects, and archaeological practice can the true nature of archaeological knowledge be understood. An archaeologist is not considered an "objective" explainer of the past but a creative producer of narratives about the past. The best illustration of this new movement was Shanks' and Tilley's Appendix in *Social Theory and Archaeology* (1987, 209–213), in which they mapped the so-called *new problematic for archaeology*. In this, the authors deny any abstract and universal rules of archaeological methods, and for them a method is also a stylistic or rhetorical expression of the relation between theory and practice in archaeology. Archaeology, as a social practice, mediates past, present, and future and should be primarily considered in relation to social power. Subjectivity is not a handicap but a powerful arsenal for interpreting the past.

Within the postprocessual movement, but not fully adhering to it, emerged gender archaeology which opened another series of epistemological questions. The most influential critique was that addressed deeply rooted androcentrism in archaeological interpretation and practice. If knowledge, following social epistemology, is justified according to the standards of a particular group, then it is necessary to expose androcentrism in these standards and rethink them anew. A similar position in postprocessual archaeology can be seen for Marxist archaeology. In Western Europe and the US it existed decades before postprocessualism[4], such as in G. Childe's works in the 1930s, and in different ways and forms (e.g. via French structural Marxism) con-

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3    "If one accepts observations made on the archaeological record as contemporary facts along with the idea that such facts are static, then clearly basic problems for the archaeologist include (a) how we get from contemporary facts to statements about the past, and (b) how we convert the observationally static facts of the archaeological record to statements of dynamics." (Binford, 1977, 6)

4    For a historical overview of Marxist archaeology in the US, Latin America, and Europe see McGuire (1993), and Trigger (1993).

tinued as a relatively marginal force until the onset of postprocessualism, when, due to
postprocessualist sympathies for social issues, it gained more ground.[5] In addition to
this, within or alongside postprocessualism there existed, and still exist, several other
approaches which have contributed differently to the discussion on epistemology and
theory, but remained somehow less common in this ongoing debate (e.g. phenomenol-
ogy, poststructuralism, and object-oriented ontology).[6]

## An attempt at social epistemology from practice: The case of the academic and field professional communities in Slovene archaeology

The tradition of theoretical thought in Slovene archaeology is not very long, and its
production is still modest except for research in the history of the discipline. At pre-
sent, there are only a few papers that do not explicitly deal with social epistemology
but include some of its elements (e.g. Novaković, 2019a; Novaković, 2019b; Lorber et
al., 2020).

   This paper is the first attempt to reflect on the transformation of Slovene archae-
ology triggered by the introduction of the new concept of preventive archaeology in
the 2000s. The transformation began in the mid-1990s, catalysed by the extensive
construction of motorways which created completely new circumstances for heritage
protection in general and for the archaeological profession in particular. Due to legis-
lative changes that required compulsory archaeological research prior to development
projects, the number of "rescue" projects greatly increased in number and size, creat-
ing in a relatively short time at least 30% of new jobs compared to before the 1990s,
predominantly in a commercial setting. In the last decade, there were between 500 and
600 field projects per year, which is an increase of an order of magnitude compared to
some 30 years ago. It is also important to note that some 95% of all projects are in the
context of heritage protection and not motivated by academic goals.

   One of the most visible consequences of this transformation was the accentuated dis-
tinction between two archaeological groups of researchers, academic archaeologists, and
professionals working in applied  in the heritage protection sector, mostly field researchers
working in the commercial setting.[7] In the abbreviated form, we will name these groups as
academic and (field) professional archaeologists. There is also the third distinctive group

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5   Due to limited length of paper we could not discuss Marxism in the archaeology of the Soviet Union
    and countries of the Eastern Bloc after WW2.
6   See e.g. Holtorf et al. (2000); Bapty et al. (1990); Olsen 2010.
7   For the purpose of this text we have simplified this distinction. In general, academic archaeologists
    come from public institutions, universities, and research institutes and from some larger museums
    with their own research units. In contrast, most field professionals are organized in private enterprises.
    While some academic institutions may also be occasionally engaged in heritage protection field
    projects this is not their primary task.

which we have called the archaeologists-conservators, experts in public service responsible for the implementation of the heritage protection program who prescribe obligatory 'heritage protection conditions' for all archaeological field projects in Slovenia and monitor their implementation. Because of their specific role in the archaeological practice and a relatively small number (ca. 15 experts), we have omitted them in our paper. However, their role in knowledge production is also highly important and deserves a special study.

To reflect some principal epistemic consequences of the existence of the said two groups, we have roughly followed the model of observation proposed by Susan Wagenknecht (2016) in her study of research groups as the most common form of collaborative creation of scientific knowledge. The principal topic of her work is epistemic dependence between the agents involved in knowledge creation processes, and how the organization of work, communication, labour and responsibilities division are constructed to provide that scientists came to trust one another (Wagenknecht, 2016, 2). Wagenknecht define research groups as formally organized and closely collaborated scientists. Our two groups do not fully correspond to her definition definition, but we still find her research approach very useful and inspiring. We could not equally explore all aspects Wagenknecht studied, but we have focused on those which we find most relevant for our case: a) research freedom, b) nature of research, c) internal organization of labor, d) epistemic dependence and asymmetry.

## Research freedom

While academics are relatively free to choose their field research topics and methods, field professionals, in most cases, undertake their research on places and objects determined 'from outside' – those directly endangered by development. Academic researchers pursue research motives and goals that they themselves define, and organize projects in circumstances and conditions over which they have better control (time and duration of projects, selected sites, adequate staffing, etc.). The professionals have much less freedom in doing this. Their work is largely prescribed and/or limited by a series of regulations and standards issued by the Ministry of Culture, which is responsible for the protection of cultural heritage.[8] Field professionals can rarely decide about the place of research, dimensions of the project, and time of project execution, and they have to use methods and recording systems prescribed by the state authority. The same regulations are also pertinent to academic fieldwork research, but academics can freely add additional aspects besides those required by the regulations.

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8    The basic document defining the prescribed requirements is Pravilnik o arheoloških raziskavah (Pravilnik (2013) and its amended version from 2022) [Regulations for Archaeological research], including the Appendices on research standards, recording procedures, methods, archiving the data, obligatory references for project leaders, etc., issued by the Ministry of Culture.

Funding is another aspect that limits the field professionals in pursuing more research-oriented topics. While academics have much greater freedom within their budgets, field professionals are required to more or less strictly follow the contractual agreements and parameters in permits. Furthermore, since professionals (mostly private enterprises) have to compete in the market, they have to strive for cost-effectiveness to satisfy the prescribed requirements and earn some profit. In competing for funding, academics need to demonstrate research excellence, well-recognized results from their previous research, and good ideas. For field professionals, other aspects have priority: low costs, cost-effectiveness, previous business portfolio, staff and equipment capacities, and good standing record with the authority that issues permits.[9] However, the important limiting factor for academic research is modest funding of field projects. Individual development projects can sometimes exceed € 1 million, while fieldwork campaigns in academic research, by a rule of thumb, rarely go over €15,000.

## Nature of research

In the archaeological community, field professionals' work is commonly seen as an expert technical service and not proper research.[10] We have argued that this is a false view and that archaeological field work is an equally creative scientific and knowledge-obtaining process regardless of the motive for its undertaking and organizational context (Novaković 2019). Since 95% of all archaeological fieldwork – the major contributor of new data – derives from development-led projects, it would be nonsensical not to acknowledge their contribution to our understanding of the past, especially because the data was collected with the same scientific methods and standards.

However, it would also be wrong to ignore the distinction between "science" and "expert service" in the everyday practice of archaeology in Slovenia, as a division between, to put it colloquially, "thinkers" and "doers". Such a perception is additionally reinforced through the public image of both, as while scientific archaeology is generally positively promoted, development-led archaeology is frequently seen as a necessary evil in the process of spatial development (Novaković, 2019). The differences in the research of the two groups are not hierarchical but complementary. The academic knowledge could be described as motivated by scientific curiosity and our need to understand the past, while the knowledge produced by development-led archaeology

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9    In the case of a public developer (e.g. state, municipality, or other public entities), the tenders have to follow the Law of Public Procurement, where the lowest price frequently carries the largest weight. Private developers look for the lowest price.

10   The Law on the Protection of Cultural Heritage considers all archaeological field works as research, and makes no difference of the context (academic, development-led, rescue). For all researches public interest have to be clearly demonstrated. However, in practice is still largely maintained the distinction between "proper" academic research (with the pursuit of new knowledge about the past) and preventive or rescue projects as expert services in the context of heritage protection.

could be seen as applied or intermediate knowledge, where theory and practice interact closely through concrete results (Hannibalson, 1999, 214)

Among the first who warned about the problems arising from the division between the thinkers and doers in archaeology was Richard Bradley (2006), who spoke of two cultures in archaeological practice in the U.K., technical and descriptive, which serves the needs of heritage protection, and academic, interpretative and research-oriented. While the former cherishes observation, recording, and documentation as high technical skills much needed in the modern development-led milieu, the latter attempts to understand past human behaviour and culture (Bradley, 2006, 3). For Bradley, this distinction is real, but harmful to archaeology in the long run.

What are the epistemic outcomes of having two distinctive groups? Keeping the distinction between knowledge producers and knowledge appliers (or data providers) indicated a poor understanding of the relationship between knowledge and practice. According to Kincheloe (2011): "*A scholarly, rigorously educated, reflective practitioner possesses the ability to restructure her conceptual framing of a situation not only at the micro-level as it involves rethinking a technique but also at the meso- and macro-level.*"

In fact, both groups work on basic[11] and applied research (and knowledge) simultaneously. In academic research, it is very common that non-archaeological experts provide their expertise (e.g. plant remains analyses, sedimentological analyses, etc.) without being more deeply involved in the project. In many cases, this expertise is outsourced (e.g. radiocarbon dating). In other words, they provide applied knowledge developed in other disciplines. On the other hand, despite strictly prescribed types of work, field professionals must still pose a series of 'basic scientific' questions and find proper answers to contextualize their results not only in the frame of heritage protection but also in the frame of archaeology and its 'basic' knowledge. Not only do professional archaeologists use the same methods and techniques for data retrieval, processing, and interpretation but they have to design and run the whole project as it is aimed for academic research but adapted to particular contractual and legislative conditions.

The knowledge produced in both groups may differ in content, perspectives of observations, and motives, but it is complementary also in another aspect: academic researchers select the sites, research methods, and optimal teams best suited for

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11    We have used the term basic (research) following the typology of the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency, the principal funder of academic research in Slovenia. Basic projects cover experimental or theoretical research undertaken primarily to acquire new knowledge of the underlying foundations of phenomena and observable facts. Applied projects represent an original investigation undertaken in order to acquire new knowledge. It is however, directed towards a specific practical aim or objective (https://www.arrs.si/en/progproj/rproj/predstavitev.asp). The agency finances both types of research projects but not the preventive archaeological projects.

their research idea, while professional archaeologists have to come to the best possible knowledge about the site to be researched. In the first case, the theory looks for the best empirical content, while in the second, the empirical content looks for the best theory. The question is whether all parties are aware of this.

## Organization of research work and projects

The majority of the archaeological academic projects in Slovenia are, in essence, individual. It is very common that individual archaeologists are the only full researchers in a particular project and can *ad hoc* gather a smaller group of assistants for technical or other support. Since the projects are very personalized, the coordination with other experts or collaborators is less demanding. Moreover, their peers are, generally, leaders of other individual projects.[12]

On the other hand, the organization of the professional groups is more hierarchical. At the top of the organizational hierarchy, there is an owner of the enterprise or director of the institution, followed by the director of the research project, assistant archaeologists, technicians, and workers (e.g. non-archaeological staff for assistance in digging). An important reason for a more hierarchical structure is the size of the projects, which are frequently much larger and logistically more demanding than academic field projects. They require more coordination and efficiency in executing tasks and a more detailed division of labour. While responsibility in the academic project is normally on the (individual) researcher, who is a central point where all information is concentrated, in larger projects executed by the professional group the responsibilities, due to a chain of specialized tasks, are more dispersed but based on the level of expertise. However, the project director has a pivotal role in this context.

The responsibility towards the parties outside the project group is very different for both groups. Academic researchers, in terms of knowledge obtained and its quality, are more loosely responsible to the funder (e.g. national research agency or some EU agencies). In most cases these agencies directly monitor the formal execution (i.e. business side) of the projects and not so much the actual results (i.e. new knowledge). The scientific knowledge is evaluated through a much longer process of peer review and academic acknowledgment. In contrast, archaeologists in professional groups are constantly monitored by developers (funders) with regard to financial and other contractual aspects, and by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage for quality control of archaeological works. In the case of larger excavations, a quality control

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12    Admittedly, this is a very generalized and simplified observation. Also, within the academic group there are more closely structured research teams composed of senior and junior researchers, research assistants, and other staff, but such projects are not as frequent as individual projects.

system requires a peer review (by academic researchers mostly) of their reports.

The different organizational complexity of academic and professional projects also results in different epistemic consequences. One important difference is the goals of the research. We have already said that academics design and undertake their projects relatively freely, with the aim of contributing their best to the stock of basic knowledge, while the professionals are much more limited in their endeavours. The first threshold they must reach is defined by the general goals of heritage protection policy and particular goals defined in the Cultural Heritage Protection Conditions issued by the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage for each individual project. Parallel to this, they also have to respect the contractual agreements with the funding party, which influences much of their work and its organization.

While for academics gaining new basic knowledge is the primary goal, professionals have to pursue different agenda, the one which puts a priority on cost-effectiveness for meeting the contractual obligations and requirements of the heritage protection authority. In other words, they are initially not motivated to undertake research beyond this level. One may say that they are not exploiting the full potential of the particular site, but this would be a very short-sighted argument. They are simply not in a position to approach the basic knowledge in the same way as academics. However, they contribute to it in different ways. The number and size of professional projects is one of them. The thousands of development-led projects carried out in the last decade across Slovenia provide not only a mass of new data, but also a sample of archaeological evidence that could not be obtained by any academic research, and complete excavations of sites, hectares large, can never happen in an academic context.

Let us think of another aspect of professional research – a larger number of unexpected discoveries. Academics plan their research largely based on previous knowledge of the research problem, they select places and objects of research about which they already have some information and have potential for answering the envisaged research problem. In contrast, professional archaeologists generally do not have this possibility. Instead of them, other stakeholders, developers and conservators, decide about places and dimensions of research. But it is a much greater number of professional projects which cause greater quantity of unexpected discoveries, which need to be adequately studied and incorporated in the basic knowledge of archaeology.

## Epistemic asymmetry and dependence

To demonstrate the epistemic dependence, we have borrowed the concepts of opaque and translucent dependence from Wagenknecht (2016, 118 – 121). Opaque dependence denotes a situation where one researcher does not possess the expertise to independently carry out certain scientific labour and has to depend on the scientific

knowledge and labour of other researchers, while translucent dependence assumes that the researcher masters the concrete expertise but for mostly pragmatic or organizational reasons this expertise is enacted by their colleagues.

The academic group is frequently seen as a producer of the basic knowledge which is then applied in the works of the professional group. In this sense the professional group tends to believe the academic group and refer or justify their own statements by using those of the academic researchers. On the other hand, since the professional researchers are seen primarily as providers of new empirical data, the academic group also crucially depends on the outcomes of the work of the professional group, and thus that data were collected and recorded according to the agreed methods and interpreted correctly to be transferred to basic knowledge. To this end, the mechanism of quality control was established, such as the academic peer-reviewing of the reports of development-led projects.[13]   In general, the interdependence between these two groups is opaque rather than translucent, though there are cases of the latter as well.

The differences regarding the within-the-group epistemic dependences are also very illustrative. If we look at the professional groups first, epistemic dependence is strongly based on the division of labour and specialization. The standard hierarchical scheme is composed of a field project director, senior archaeologists and non-archaeological high-level experts (e.g. experts for animal bones, plant remains, etc.), field technicians, and diggers (frequently non-archaeologists). In general, most senior field archaeologists are experienced and capable of running different field projects. In complex field projects that require a number of senior archaeologists, they normally possess the knowledge for independently running the fieldwork, but divide the work for organizational and logistic reasons. In such projects, the dependence between senior archaeologists is more or less translucent. The exceptions are non-archaeological experts, who normally provide their expertise on some limited aspects of archaeological research, but they do not possess archaeological knowledge for running the projects. In this case, we can speak of opaque dependence acting in both ways. Going down the hierarchy the dependence becomes increasingly more opaque. Junior archaeologists have to increasingly depend on the knowledge and guidance of their senior colleagues, while field technicians and diggers are normally detached from archaeological knowledge and only provide technical or other services without having proper knowledge and information to contextualize the results of their labour.

In the academic group, the research projects are much more heterogeneous, not

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13   On the other hand, the Regulations for Archaeological Research require no official peer-reviewing of purely academic projects. If such projects include fieldwork and its subsequent report, the report is approved by the monitoring authority while the peer-reviewing is expected in case of publication in scientific journals or monographs.

only with regard to their content, but also in organizational terms. The research projects are mostly individually designed smaller-scale projects with one researcher occasionally assisted by some technical staff from the same institution or even out-sourced staff. Within such projects, it is hard to talk about epistemic dependence within the team (if there is one), apart from the opaque dependence of the research-er on expert knowledge of some analyses. In the case of larger project teams there are two most frequent forms: project teams formed around one more narrowly defined research problem and teams with several different more or less loosely associated research topics. In the first case, the top of the hierarchy occupies a senior researcher who has a pivotal position also in the epistemic sense. The senior researcher makes a research proposal with research goals, methods, budget, logistic plans, and dissemination. Such a position clearly assumes that all the potential risks are addressed to the leading researcher.

There is also another relationship of epistemic dependence, the relationship with the third group of archaeologists, whom we did not include in this paper, state authority experts (archaeologists-conservators from the Institute for the Protection of Cultural Heritage) who prescribe and monitor the works of both groups. Here, we have to introduce another type of dependence – dependence on authority and its knowledge. This is of minor importance for the academic teams, as they just need to satisfy the basic requirements of research permits (if needed). For professional groups, the situation is quite different. Not only because professional projects get many parameters prescribed beforehand, but also the course of the work and final results are much more closely monitored and evaluated. The very prescription of size and methods and respecting other contractual obligations act as powerful de-terminants of the projects. In this sense, the professionals depend on the prescribing authority that the required parameters of research can be adequately met in the ex-pert, logistical, and organizational senses. But epistemic dependence also acts in the opposite way. State authority for the protection of archaeological heritage depends on the results of the professional projects to adequately integrate them into the wider frame of the archaeological heritage knowledge and their significance in archaeol-ogy in general. This dependence is opaque because archaeologists working for the state authority cannot master every kind of project or archaeological problem. The regulations prohibit them from being actively involved, other than monitoring, in projects for which they have prescribed research parameters. The situation is some-what paradoxical; the prescribers/monitors in general possess less experience (and knowledge) to run field projects, especially excavations, and yet they monitor and evaluate them. In order to secure quality control as a form of securing epistemic

trust,[14] several mechanisms have been introduced (standards, monitoring protocols, post-excavation programs of findings processing,[15] and peer reviewing).

We do not consider epistemic asymmetry as an *a priori* hierarchical relationship depending on intellectual authority and the uneven distribution of knowledge-related resources and division of epistemic labour (see in Hardwig, 1985, 337). In most cases, this would mean that original scientific knowledge is given epistemic priority over applied knowledge. However, in archaeological practice epistemic asymmetries act and counteract in different domains simultaneously and dialectically due to different epistemic dependencies, and destabilize the assumed hierarchical relationship between the basic and applied knowledge, especially because there are no exclusive producers of only one type of knowledge.

However, there are situations and organizational contexts which privilege one group of researchers over another. Most of the academic research in Slovenia is directly or indirectly funded by the Ministry of High Education, Science and Innovation, while the development-led research is in the domain of the Ministry of Culture. In this division of ministerial domains, the academic research has a privileged position in the institutionalized funding of basic research. To obtain research grants for the so-called original scientific projects the researchers must have a PhD, generally must be affiliated with an organization having the official status of a research institution, and their knowledge is most often evaluated on the basis of their scientific bibliography[16] and bibliometric criteria. This system minimizes the possibility of researchers with a career in professional archaeology from obtaining research grants. Their previous works were generally treated as applied research at best, and their field reports not as scientific publications. On the other hand, in the context of heritage protection (development-led archaeology), it is the professional group that is privileged. The academic researchers can rarely satisfy business references and requirements, have much less experience in running costly and logistically complex

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14   Reliance on trust is often underestimated or ignored. Hardwig (1991, 693) claims that trust is often epistemologically even more basic than empirical data and logical arguments, in fact, data and argument are available only through trust. In archaeology, this is especially the case with the use of so-called destructive methods. Excavation is a non-repeatable action or "experiment" in which the object of research is physically destroyed in situ. Further existence of an archaeological site or object is secured by recording it. What is left to the researchers is to ultimately trust the excavator that important elements are correctly recorded.

15   The post-excavation processing of findings is actually the only part of the research process where the researchers who conducted the research are actively involved, together with the monitoring archaeologists and academic experts, in designing the program of research works (additional analyses, recording, cataloguing, etc.). This obligatory step is necessary for securing the research quality and protecting the excavators from the pressure of developers to minimize costs, who look for the cheapest and not the best archaeological research and knowledge.

16   According to the actual system of bibliographic evaluation by the national research agency, the most important works are those published as original scientific papers in high-ranked international scientific journals. Monographs, for example, are less valued.

field projects, and, last but not least, their institutions lack the necessary infrastructure (e.g. heavy machinery and similar).

Clearly, the contribution of both groups to archaeological knowledge cannot be measured with the same standards, as they contribute different contents and forms of knowledge, which can be integrated on higher levels in both heritage protection and archaeology, and in doing so they depend on each other's knowledge. The actual practice of archaeology demonstrates the complementarity of two lines of research, each having specific epistemic influence in archaeological knowledge. Applied knowledge (e.g. development-led excavations) is not just repeating standard methodological and technical routines for solving concrete problems, because each individual field project is an unrepeatable creative knowledge-obtaining process.

## Concluding remarks

One could say that, ultimately, all archaeologists in one way or another contribute to the building of archaeological and heritage knowledge about the past, but it is equally important to research in what social conditions this knowledge is achieved and transferred. We have looked at one phenomenon only – the existence of two distinct research groups in the Slovene archaeological "epistemic landscape", and we explored only limited aspects of such epistemic landscape created after the introduction of a new concept of heritage protection and preventive archaeology. Since this paper is the first attempt to reflect on the epistemic situation and related effects on archaeological practice in Slovenia, we have primarily mapped the situation rather analysed it in more detail. Another step would definitely include more empirical data to better understand the production of knowledge in our discipline.

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## Praksa akademske in aplikativne arheologije v Sloveniji iz perspektive socialne epistemologije

**Ključne besede:** slovenska arheologija, arheološka praksa, socialna epistemologija, akademska arheologija, preventivna arheologija, aplikativna arheologija

V relativno številni bibliografiji arheološke teorije in epistemologije je bil vpliv prakse na epistemologijo arheologije nekoliko slabše raziskan, čeprav je v zadnjih treh desetletjih prav v arheološki praksi pršlo do korenitih sprememb. Omenili bomo samo tri medseboj povezane trende: izjemna količinska rast arheološkeg terenskega dela, več kot 90% vseh terenskih projektov se izvaja v okviru varstva dediščine in da je arheologija dejansko postala podatkovno gnana veda, ki so ustvarili nove okoliščine, ki predstavljajo izziv za tradicionalno epistemologijo in zahtevajo premislek iz perspektive socialne epistemologije. V prispevku želimo preučiti določene socialno-epistemološke vidike sodobne arheološke prakse v Sloveniji, kjer sta se oblikovali dve različni skupi-

ni raziskovalcev, akademski arheologi in terenski strokovnjaki. Razlika med obema skupinama je pričela izrazito naraščati od konca devetdesetih let, ko je bila v Slovenijo vpeljana preventivna arheologija, kot rezultat zakonodajnih sprememb na področju varstva kulturne dediščine in nastajanja tržnega modela v arheologiji. Te spremembe so odprle serijo vprašanj o epistemičnih učinkih v novih okoliščinah, npr. kako ti dve skupini raziskovalcev prispevata k arheološkem znanju, kako je strukturirano in organizirano njuno pridobivanje znanja, kateri družbeni dejavniki učinkujejo na pridobivanje znanja, in vprašanje o oblikah epistemične asimetrije.

## Practice of academic and applicative archaeology in Slovenia from a social epistemological perspective

**Keywords:** Slovene archaeology, archaeological practice, social epistemology, academic archaeology, preventive archaeology

In the relatively abundant bibliography on archaeological theory and epistemology the impact of archaeological practice on archaeological epistemology has remained somehow less explored despite the fact that in the last three decades archaeology has undergone radical changes in practice. We would like to point to three interconnected trends: an exceptional increase in the amount of archaeological fieldwork, the fact that probably more than 90% of all field projects are in the domain of heritage protection, and that archaeology has become a data-driven discipline, producing new circumstances which challenge the traditional epistemological views and require social epistemological rethinking. This paper aims to explore some social epistemological aspects in current archaeological practice in Slovenia where two rather distinctive groups of archaeological researchers emerged, academic archaeologists and field professionals. The distinction between the two groups has grown since the late 1990s with the introduction of preventive archaeology, changes in legislation in heritage protection, and the development of the commercial sector in archaeology. These changes opened a series of questions on epistemic effects in new circumstances, e.g. how these two groups contribute to archaeological knowledge, how their modes of obtaining knowledge are structured and organized, what social factors condition these modes, and, least but not last, the question of forms of epistemic asymmetries.

## O avtorju

**Predrag Novaković** je doktoriral iz arheologije leta 2000 na Univerzi v Ljubljani, kjer je danes zaposlen kot redni profesor za arheološko teorijo, zgodovino in metodologijo vede in prostorske in krajinske študije v arheologiji. Bil je gostujoči profesor na univerzah v Pisi, Grazu in Sarajevu. Je avtor oz. soavtor številnih člankov in monografij, med katerimi tudi *Osvajanje prostora* (Ljubljana 2003), *Osemdeset let študija arheologije na Univerzi v Ljubljani* (Ljubljana 2004), *Historija arheologije u novim zemljama Jugoistočne Evrope* (Sarajevo 2014), *The History of Archaeology in the Western Balkans* (Ljubljana 2021) in sourednik zbornika *Recent Developments in Preventive Archaeology in Europe* (Ljubljana 2016).

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# Does archaeology deliver evidence about the past or co-create contemporary values?

## Introduction

The paper clarifies the relationship between heritage values, their categories, significance and meaning. In addition, it explores who used to be and should be involved in valorization and how this reflects in positioning archaeological knowledge in society. The paper also sheds light on intrinsic heritage values, considering value propositions developed in philosophy and social sciences and emphasizing the importance of public co-participation in assigning values in archaeological heritage conservation and management. To contribute to resolving the seemingly disconnected issues of (archaeological) heritage values and public participation, one should first refer to some essential texts that clarify the theoretical background of values relevant to the content of research.

Alois Riegl should rightly be mentioned first. His work has always been greatly appreciated in ex-Austro-Hungarian countries because it laid down a theory of heritage values in his seminal work *The Modern Cult of Monuments* (1903). He defined three classes of heritage or "old" values: two classes of historical or commemorative values – intentional and non-intentional values and age values. The age value enables individuals to embrace the passing of time and the impermanence of everything that exists. He contrasted old values with present-day ones, such as the utilitarian and art values and values of novelty. The intentional and non-intentional historical values are usually studied and interpreted by scholars. The age value, on the contrary, can be appreciated by everyone regardless of cultural and social backgrounds and is, in this respect, more universal and, at the same time, stimulates individual perception of atmosphere and feelings.

Riegl's ideas nurtured many debates among art historians and heritage specialists, apart from the archaeological community, which needed to seize the opportunity to elaborate on the thesis that most archaeological remains offer to us to contemplate all Riegl's values categories. The same goes for those art historians' positions, which exploited only Riegl's claims that seem to coincide with their views. The article of Henri Zerner illustrates this point because the author elaborates on artistic and art historian

values to be relative and, at the same time, pounds out that only two aspects or values exist: historical and art value (1976, 186).

Among archaeologists, Timothy Darvill partially embraced a position comparable to Riegl's age value. In his contribution to the 1995 publication *Managing Archaeology*, Darvill mentions the existence value relating to the mere presence of archaeological remains. He further divides the existence value into cultural identity and resistance to change values (ibid. 45–46). The latter is psychologically understandable but remains dissonant with Riegl's age value. At the same time as Darvill elaborated on archaeological values (the concluding part of the paper addresses this topic more in detail), Martin Carver argued that because of the deregulation of heritage administration, archaeologists needed to strengthen their arguments defending the archaeological value of pieces of land if they wanted to compete with economic, communal and other utilitarian values. One should consider that Carver's arguments are coloured by situations where archaeological heritage is under direct development pressure. He defines archaeological value as something deriving from the character of the deposit on the one hand and the archaeological research priorities on the other (Carver, 1996, 53–54). It is evident that at that time researching archaeological remains by excavation was regarded as a solution if preserving them *in situ* could not be negotiated. Nevertheless, even today, some archaeologists find themselves before the dilemma of digging or not digging, even in non-rescue situations. For example, the article by Raymond Karl claims, among others, that to "read" an archaeological document, one needs to bring it to sensory perception. So, "excavation is a central and essential turning point for the value of archaeological monuments" (Karl, 2018, 14).

With the turn of the century, processual and post-processual[1] archaeological praxis have also embraced public archaeology narratives. This ran in parallel with the general predominance of postmodern agendas. Martha de la Torre reports that adopting the Nara document on authenticity[2] in 1994 stimulated international recognition of the new heritage paradigm (de la Torre, 2013, 159). She further explains the implications of this shift, mainly that all the values attributed are not intrinsic, each heritage place has multiple values, and values are often in conflict (ibid., 159–161).

A recent article (Díaz-Andreu et al., 2023) exemplifies the same turn related to archaeological values. The authors clarify that Laurajane Smith's *Uses of Heritage* (2006) reflects on the cultural heritage epistemic framework and states that cultural heritage

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1  For the scope of interest of processual and post-processual archaeological paradigms, see Shanks et al. (1995). They characterize the processual paradigm by the aspirations to positive scientific knowledge, neutrality, and reliance on controlled observation of facts (ibid., 13). In contrast, the post-processual paradigm defends a multivocal interpretation of archaeological evidence where the meaning is interpreted according to postmodern discourse focused on inclusion and exclusion in past societies (p. 14, 35).

2  https://www.icomos.org/en/charters-and-texts/179-articles-en-francais/ressources/charters-and-standards/386-the-nara-document-on-authenticity-1994.

is a process and social construction (ibid., 4). Consequently, archaeological theory and praxis started to connect past evidence with the needs and values of present-day societies, and have become primarily interested in social issues beyond their historical or aesthetic significance (ibid., 17).

Nature conservationists comprehensively understood the downsides of a dominant ecological valuing earlier than cultural heritage conservationists did, and acknowledged that people perceive and judge values in ways that may differ from the mainstream scientific lens. The paper that illustrates this understanding was elaborated at the international level (Intergovernmental Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services, IPBES). It addresses the issue of the pluralistic valuing that combines economic, ecological, social and cultural values, as well as indigenous and local knowledge (Pascual et al., 2017, 10).

The international cultural heritage expert community has gradually also embraced the need to support local communities' participation in defining which values they accept in heritage-related projects and activities. The doctrinal document from 1994 marked the first informal step in this direction (Nara Document, 1994), followed by formal standard-setting tools (Council of Europe, 2005; World Heritage Centre, 2021). One of the practical methods for achieving this goal is the so-called community mapping of social values, which can be understood as a combination of economic values from the point of a specific community and intrinsic/cultural values (Torrieri et al., 2021, 1787–1788).

A literature review of works on values would only be complete by mentioning two areas where valuing represents the core interest of the field – philosophy and political science. The selection of authors presented here illustrates the essential difference in understanding values in wider expert communities compared to the views shared by heritage experts.

Robert S. Hartman (1910–1973), a German-American philosopher, is considered a founder of a comprehensive theory of value. His aspiration was that his theory laid the ground for axiology, a science of values. His seminal work was published in the 1960s (Hartman, 1967). Some of his lectures on the same topic were published posthumously (Hartman, 2019). Because of the implications of his work on the sciences, including heritage studies and archaeology, the paper deals with his theory of values in a separate chapter. It is essential to state that his theory derives mainly from a European, predominantly continental epistemological tradition, paired with some contemporary Anglo-American philosophical perspectives.

Barry Bozeman is the author of the book *Public Values and Public Interest: Counterbalancing Economic Individualism* (2007). Bozeman states that a value is a complex and broad-based assessment of an object or set of objects (where the objects may be concrete, psychological, socially constructed, or a combination of all three) charac-

terized by cognitive and emotive elements. Because a value is part of the individual's definition of self, it is not easily changed values, and has the potential to elicit action. Bozeman classifies values into intrinsic and instrumental ones. Intrinsic values are an end in themselves; once they are achieved, the related preferences are realized (ibid., 117, 119–120). By contrast, instrumental values have no value in themselves. Still, they are valued in relation to an intrinsic (or another instrumental) value.[3] Values that provide a normative consensus about citizens' rights and obligations or principles on which public authorities should base their policies are called public values (ibid., 132). The main takeaway of Bozeman's research is that intrinsic values are more important than instrumental ones because they aim to realize our personal or common goals. In contrast, instrumental values point to other preferences and are therefore tradable and replaceable. Intrinsic public values are the core of public interest.

## Archaeological heritage values - some additional observations

At times of antiquarian interest in the archaeological past, the monetary value of antique finds played a decisive role (this is still the case in treasure-hunting and illicit trafficking).[4] With the rise of archaeology as a specialized science, the scientific value of archaeological artefacts became predominant but also mobilized to support contemporary political agendas (Heather, 2018, 81). Later, with the evolution of preventive archaeology, the *in situ* archaeological remains and their spatial and historical context have gained significance as evidence of past societies, cultures and the history of humankind in general.[5] After completing the fieldwork, the archaeological teams' interpretation of archaeological facts has remained the main task. Here, we speak about the so-called primary interpretation. The secondary or "popular" interpretation is referred to in the *ICOMOS Charter on protecting and management of the archaeological heritage* (ICOMOS, 1990).[6] The critical issue is interpreting archaeological evidence resonating in the contemporary world. "Connected to this is a close concern with the immediacy of the [archaeological] object – its capacity to engender an emotional response in the viewer, the physicality of the object, the art in artefact" (Carman, 1995, 110).

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3    Following Emmanuel Kant (Foundations of the Metaphysics of Morals, 1785), two types of value exist: the 'price' of a thing (a "relative value" of something that can be replaced by an equivalent) and the "dignity" of a thing (an "intrinsic value" that cannot be replaced by anything else in an equivalent way). See Bos et al., 2023, 34.

4    The 19th century Austrian and Austro-Hungarian legislation, also in use at the Slovenian territory, used monetary value and compensation regimes as the basis for antiquities-related matters (Frodl, 1988).

5    This paradigm has been internationally and also nationally codified by the European convention on the protection of archaeological heritage (revised), 1992, which Slovenia ratified in 1999.

6    Presentation and information should be conceived as a popular interpretation of the current state of knowledge, and it must therefore be revised frequently. It should take account of the multifaceted approaches to an understanding of the past (Article 7, para. 2).

The main obstacle in pursuing this task is the attitude of many archaeologists that their primary interpretation should refrain from any allusion to values. In his *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Archaeology,* Timothy Darvill puts it under the term "value-free interpretation", as follows:

> Within a scientifically constituted archaeology, the idea of value-free inter-pretation means aspiring to the exclusion of value-laden terms and value judgements. While it is accepted that the selection of material for investiga-tion involves value judgements about how interesting or relevant it may be based on academic or professional values, the overall aim is to separate 'facts' from 'interpretation'. That this is either possible or desirable has been widely challenged. As an alternative, it is argued that archaeologists should take full responsibility for their work and not try to detach themselves from issues of cultural politics or contemporary social articulations; archaeologists cannot justifiably claim to be concerned with neutral knowledge separable from the conditions within which it is produced and applied, (Darvill, 2021, 1236).

Evaluation of archaeological heritage (and heritage in general) is essential at the policy and strategy-setting level. It is vital because understanding heritage's significance (shared values) can inform decisions on protection policies and enable efficient archaeo-logical heritage management. *Australia ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Significance* (Burra Charter) gives a simplified model of the relationship between val-ues and conservation policy from which we can deduct that there is a cause-and-effect relationship between understanding values and significance, defining heritage policy and managing individual sites (ICOMOS Australia, 2013, explanatory note, 4).

These three stages represent the backbone of heritage protection to define the le-gal and institutional framework and the human, financial and intellectual resources needed for its implementation. Evaluation is a process that must continue beyond the stage of archaeological resource identification and recording. William Lipe explains that evaluation happens at all stages of archaeological resource management, namely in identifying sites, assessing them in a frame of reference that considers both their intrinsic characteristics and their resource values as established within historically de-veloped social contexts, and responding to the potentially destructive developmental and environmental effects (Lipe, 2010, 43). In his *Archaeological Resource Manage-ment*, John Carman dedicates Chapter 5 to evaluation. He describes the difference between academic and practical evaluation, where the latter aims at concrete plan-ning and management issues (Carman, 2015, 105–106). Some of these issues refer to questions such as how to assess the archaeological potential of the wider area, how to manage development pressure, and what interventions are necessary when rescue re-

search is underway. There is also a difference in evaluation calibration. Only a general evaluation applies at the planning and inventory stage, while at the intervention stage the evaluation must be as detailed as possible. Carman also compares individual evaluation criteria globally (ibid., Table 5.2, 122–123) and raises important points on how non-archaeologists' values are considered (ibid., 118–120). Here, the goal is to define "public values" accepted by all stakeholders and the community.

The central practical issue of public values in heritage is values-based management and interpretation. As for public values in general (Alford et al., 2009, 182–184), archaeological heritage values can become narratives that inform us about how people used to make sense of the world and how we can interpret it even today.

## General framework for understanding heritage values

The rationalist idea of humans as individuals with unique identities and specific realities, expressed, for example, by Leibnitz, requires the framework of space and time. As British philosopher Roger Scruton puts it, we need identity through time to learn from the past and make plans for the future. Moreover, without a position in space, we could not act in this world: we could do neither good nor evil but would be reduced to a passive state (Scruton, 1996, 80).

Similar concerns apply to heritage values and significance. Traditionally, archaeological conservation practice concentrated on the values of uniqueness, representativity and information potential inherent in archaeological material (Samuels, 2008, 72–74). The conviction that heritage values are objectively inherent in heritage sites was until recently promoted by key UNESCO documents, such as the Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, which described outstanding universal value using the adjectives "intrinsic" and "objective" (Labadi, 2013, 12). In recent versions of Operational Guidelines, such wording is omitted. The postmodern heritage paradigm has rejected the notion of intrinsic values, arguing that all values reflect the ever-changing ideological powerplay. In this way, values have been reduced to their instrumental side, which, in consequence, contributes to the passive position of the heritage stakeholders even more, leaving them to be preyed on by contradicting and control-seeking interest groups. Semantically, the term "intrinsic values" resonates with something limited to the world of yesterday. Nevertheless, one should only know its true meaning to accept the term. The solution should build on the reasoning of Alois Riegl in his *The Modern Cult of Monuments*. His definition of the age value corresponds to the concept of an intrinsic value. He proves that the aesthetic value (in his words, the "relative art value"), the value of novelty and the utilitarian value are subject to changes in taste. The age value, on the contrary, belongs together with historical or commemorative values to the class of "old values". Although the latter two value types represent how ex-

perts understand their past, a thorough analysis of their character proves them to pertain more to the class of values being subject to change. However, is not the age value, by its fixation on the passing of time, which, we all know, is fleeting, also subject to change? Riegl explains it as a deep-rooted human experience we encounter when we realize that time unavoidably passes and that all things, including ourselves, are impermanent. As such, connecting this value to the heritage age is misleading – it is more appropriate to understand it as the value experiencing impermanence. It is worth noting that Eastern cultures fully embrace the idea of impermanence, and Western culture has cherished it in the form of, among others, *memento mori* metaphors, admiration of romantic ruins, picturesque landscapes, art imitating historical styles and copies of antique artefacts that fill our museum collections. In this regard, Riegl's point of view parallels the contemporary understanding of values in the sense that we should consider not only scientific values but also values ordinary people contemplate in heritage.[7]

Based on the ideas set out above, the following hypothesis is presented: Academic archaeological paradigms refrain from using value statements, considering them non-objective, in other words, not appropriate for academic objectivity. However, to meet the need for public outreach, value arguments are essential.

## Relationship between heritage values, public interest, significance and meaning

As the brief literature review and references show (and the bibliography on this topic is extensive),[8] the concept of "values" has drawn the attention of political theorists, psychologists, sociologists, philosophers and many more. Gerald Gaus, an American philosopher, extracted some basic characteristics of the concept of value (Gaus, 1990, 2–3) from philosophers addressing the value problems. (In the brackets, comments on heritage values are presented).

    a.  Value language is grammatically complex, combining verbal, adjectival and nominal forms expressing situations where someone values something, something is said to be valuable, or something is said to be a value. (This applies to heritage evaluation, as well, because value statements reflect complex considerations of epistemology, ethics and aesthetics. One should thus concentrate on the concept of values, then consider the specific situation of heritage concerning the value concept and finally, on documenting the evaluation process.)

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7   Pierre Leveau, in his essay on heritage epistemology, speaks about the relative values of sciences dealing with heritage as opposed to emotional ones that are neither true nor false: they express an attitude (2017, 96).

8   Google Scholar, for example, gives 1.7 million hits on the term "value concept".

b. Value judgments provide reasons for action and choice. They guide choices and enter into deliberation by providing at least a partial ordering of persons, acts, rules, institutions, experiences, objects, etc. (For further detail, see the chapter on additional issues in archaeological heritage values.)

c. People argue about values, judgments of valuableness, and whether certain value statements are correct or inappropriate. (In heritage evaluation, it is essential to define all stakeholders, especially heritage communities, as defined in the Council of Europe Framework Convention, 2008, article 2b, and co-decide on a common denominator among different values.)

d. Valuing and value judgments are grounded in the properties or characteristics of the thing valued or judged to be valuable. (In heritage evaluation praxis, the term "attributes" is used; see World Heritage Centre, 2021, para 82–85).

e. Values are often said to be chosen. (The question of instability of values concerning the difference between instrumental and intrinsic values is addressed in the next chapter.)

f. We often experience situations in which our values or value judgments conflict. (In today's world of widespread disagreement, a conflict in values is one of the critical issues we all face. In order to resolve this, a hermeneutics approach offers a solution within the context of an intercultural heritage dialogue (Pirkovič, 2023, 255 and the cited references).

g. Values are typically categorized as intrinsic and instrumental and often divided into aesthetic, hedonistic, economic, moral, etc.

h. Valuing is somehow related to the affective or conative side of life. (For the difference between intrinsic and instrumental values and the emotional and cognitive side of values, see the reference to Bozeman in subchapter 1.2.)

Heritage values, especially those represented by cultural artefacts and traditions, have great potential to become public values if the evaluation process is democratic, transparent and accountable. In the articulation and aggregation of public values, experts should illustrate their benefits and the failures that would occur if such values were lost.

Public values then guide decisions towards implementing public interest at all levels, especially at the local level, where heritage values are closest to people. According to Alford and O'Flynn (2009, 175), public interest is a political commitment produced by a public organization. By contrast, public value (if arrived at with public involvement) encompasses not only a common goal but also the related outcome, meaning that such a value impacts those who enjoy it. That is why it is better to follow public values than try to implement public interest.

The Venice Charter (*International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*, 1964)[9] was the first international document to refer to heritage significance, and the Burra Charter (1979) gave it additional importance. The latter document lists the following values that can participate in defining heritage significance: aesthetic, historical, scientific and social values. They reflect the past and are crucial for present and future generations.

Heritage values are the qualities people attribute to heritage that give it significance (and hence meaning) (de la Torre, 2005, 5). An archaeological heritage significance statement is produced when assessing whether an archaeological site is essential because archaeological heritage is a non-renewable resource. According to de la Torre, "… 'significance' has been used to mean the overall importance of a site, determined through an analysis of the totality of the values attributed to it. Significance also reflects a place's importance with respect to one or several of its values and in relation to other comparable sites" (2005, 15). The latter means that in heritage practice many countries apply the so-called gradation of significance, which implies that the site's significance compares to other sites of the same grade. In its world heritage system, UNESCO uses two steps in defining significance; first, the member state needs to produce the "statement of significance" verified by ICOMOS experts, and then it is politically approved by the World Heritage Committee.

As far as the meaning is concerned, it is closely connected to values.[10] If one classifies heritage values as historical, commemorative, spiritual or symbolic, the meaning could be classified into the same categories. If authorities prescribe heritage values in an authorized way, such a classification ignores various circumstances and constituencies shaping the meaning. The issue is even more complicated with archaeological heritage, which centres around the past material culture without apparent connection to present-day communities (the situation refers to cultures where links with tradition no longer exist). In addition, academic and practical archaeologists share the idea that archaeological evidence waits to be uncovered and its meaning decoded for the sake of archaeology. But this is only one side of the coin in meaning-giving. According to Jordan Peterson, the "world as a forum for action is a place of value, a place where all things have meaning. This meaning, shaped as a consequence of social interaction, is an implication for action… [while] the interpretation of the world as a place of things finds its formal expression in the methods and theories of science… No complete world picture can be generated without using both [ordinary sensory and scientific] modes of construal" (Peterson, 2001, 1).

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9    The scope of the charter is limited to architectural works and urban and rural sites. It also recognizes only two sets of values, the historical and aesthetic.

10   The American anthropologist David Graeber even considers that a value equals with meaning because by valuing we define the place of a thing in conceptual terms (Graeber 2002, 12).

Archaeology is, therefore, confronted with the difficult task of convincing contemporary communities that the archaeological heritage located "in their territory" is meaningful for them. In general, more than scientific interpretation is required. The primary tool of "imbuing" heritage places with meaning is the co-participative interpretation of archaeological heritage in an in-site or museum environment.

## Hartman's theory of values (formal axiology) and its implications for archaeological heritage values

Hartman's starting point of his arguments about values is that humans are rational beings. By "rational", he denotes our capacity to combine concepts with objects, which is the capacity to find our way in this world by representing it to us, that is, by giving names to objects and interrelating the names with meaning. For him, all this implies that value is rational. We can value a thing only if we know its name, properties, and meaning. In other words, the world itself is rational insofar as it is valuable. He states that the formal or axiological value, thus, is objective. But its application is subjective (Hartman, 1967, 133–134).

First, he accounts for the characteristics of science in general, namely formal logic, structure and its relevance to actuality, precise language, definitions and axioms[11]. If axiology wants to become a science, it must adopt the characteristics of a science (Hartman, 1967, 70–71).

He claims that the axiom of "Value" is the central question of axiology and explains this axiom as follows: "A thing is good (has value) in the degree to which it fulfils its concept… We measure the value of a thing by its concept" (Hartman, 2019, 60, 63).

The general term "value" is that kind which corresponds to the concept "Value" while a specific value is either a particular or a singular value (Hartman, 1967, 121). Thus, in the case of archaeological values, they are specific values that are further differentiated into particular and singular. Particular values pertain to classes (or groups) of archaeological "things" and singular ones to individual "things".

How experts define archaeological "things" depends on archaeology (as is the case for other sciences such as sociology, psychology, history, economics, aesthetics, etc.). Nevertheless, the definition must also be relevant to actuality and axiology. Hartman gives instructions on how to define a thing. 1. We must give it a specific name[12]; 2. This name has a meaning specified by a set of qualitative properties 3. Individual things with the same name should possess all the properties contained in the meaning of

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11  As defined in the Encyclopediae Britannica, an axiom in logic is an indemonstrable first principle, rule, or maxim that has found general acceptance or is thought worthy of common acceptance, whether by a claim to intrinsic merit or based on an appeal to self-evidence.

12  A name gives a unique identity to a thing and thus defines its meaning.

the name (Hartman, 1967, 127).[13] In the case of archaeology, a thing can be all kinds of archaeological facts; it could be a remain, a feature, an artefact/ecofact or a context that can be used as evidence of past human activities and their relation to the natural environment. It is essential to know that meaning and value are closely connected, and that one defines and, at the same time, depends on the other. The properties Hartman refers to are not simply descriptions of a thing or its class but qualities that define their meaning.

So, there is a chain of basic concepts central to applying axiology to archaeological values and evaluation: names of classes of "things", their meaning and the qualitative properties that constitute the meaning. From this process and applying the axion of "Value", archaeologists can define the values relevant to archaeological theoretical and practical work. In any case, the expert precisely determines the properties of a class of things and compares them with those contained in the meaning of the thing's concept (Hartman, 2019, 56).

How does the concept of heritage values co-creation fit Hartman's axiology? Value co-creation is a term initially used in business and marketing circles. There, researching and understanding consumer needs and preferences stand at the centre of business models if companies want to build this aspect in the value chain production. For the sake of archaeology, a similar, if not even more straightforward, path should be developed. This is also the path to deepen the involvement of archaeological heritage values in determining public values.

First, we should understand how Hartman defines intrinsic values. Singular meanings correspond to the class meaning and generic ones. On top of this, they embrace an indefinite number of singular meanings. Thus, the singular value is richer in meaning than the specific, and the specific is richer than the generic. The singular value has the full concreteness of all its meanings (derived from properties), the specific value has only the meaning of class properties, and the generic value has only the meaning (of property or properties) contained in the definition of the concept "Value".

In evaluation, Hartman distinguishes three value dimensions: 1. Systemic values – here, the evaluation restrains to two value dimensions: perfection or non-value. 2. Extrinsic values – all values abstracted in the class definition; these are values that all things belonging to the class have in common. Here, we evaluate individual things by comparing them to other class members. So, the extrinsic value is the value of comparison. 3. Intrinsic values and they are the complete fulfilment of an axiom. Each intrinsic value is the liminal point of an infinite set of extrinsic values. Intrinsic value is the valuation of individuals. This valuation is emphatic.

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13    In his 1967 and 2019 essays, Hartman speaks of intension pertaining to properties of things. In Freedom to Live, he uses the term "meaning", which is more understandable from the point of view of our analysis.

Systemic value is the value of perfection, extrinsic value is goodness, and singular or intrinsic value is the value of uniqueness. The meaning of intrinsic values is the most potent element of the value system. Consequently, things valued by individuals are of the highest value compared to extrinsic and even more systemic ones (Hartman, 1967, 136–139, 217, 219).

The account of Harman's axiological theory can be wrapped up by showing how he understands the application of his value system to specific phenomenal fields of individual sciences. As set out in the table below, he describes six classes of things that values can be applied to, namely to persons, to groups of persons, to things, to groups of things, to concepts, and finally, to words. He differentiates the application of systemic, extrinsic and intrinsic values to the six classes of things. The table indicates how heritage studies and archaeology as its constituent part fit this approach. Archaeological evaluation should be part and parcel of the Science of Civilization, where intrinsic values reside. In Ecology, archaeological extrinsic values make an essential contribution.

Table 1: Value systems of individual scientific fields (Hartman, 1967, 311).

| Application to | Intrinsic value | Extrinsic value | System value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Individual persons | Ethics* | Psychology* | Physiology, Jurisprudence of "Person" |
| Groups of Persons | Political Science, Social Ethics* | Sociology | Law of Persons and Institutions* |
| Individual Things | Aesthetics*** | Economics* | Technology*** |
| Group of Things | Science of Civilization** | Ecology* | Industrial Technology, Civil Engineering*, Games***, Law of Property*, Ritual* |
| Concepts | Metaphysics | Epistemology* | Logic* |
| Words | Poetry, Literary Criticism | Rhetoric, Semantic*, Linguistic Analysis | Grammar, Theory of Communication* |

\* Links to heritage studies and, through this, also to archaeology
\** Links specific to archaeology.
\***Links specific to other heritage disciplines, exceptionally to archaeology.

The table reveals the specific relevance of the Hartman axiology system for archaeological values. The intrinsic values that archaeology, as the study of the material remains from past civilizations, should accentuate are ethical norms and, to a limited degree, aes-

thetics. Archaeology also belongs to heritage studies and indirectly to other humanities. Hence, epistemological, semantics and psychological intrinsic values apply. Economics and ecology provide some extrinsic values to the archaeological field. From the systemic point of view, archaeology also depends on technology, law, logical argumentation and communication knowledge, such as in exercising public archaeology projects, including film, TV production and video games with archaeological topics.

## Conclusions

As explained, the postmodern heritage paradigm gains ground in archaeological discourses today. According to this paradigm, a relativistic approach to defining values as a social construct prevails, and an ethical approach loses ground. Profound ethical values are those rooted deep in human nature and transcend individual societies and cultures. Heritage values encompass not only the right to heritage as a part of human rights but also require the personal commitments of everyone in contact with heritage to care about it regardless of being a heritage of "others". The standard-setting tools of the Council of Europe have defined such heritage rights and obligations as the highest ethical norm.[14] With the formal adoption of these international standards, Slovenia recognises heritage public values as defined by Barry Bozeman. To conclude, heritage public values are closely connected to heritage rights and obligations, limiting the authorised approach in heritage matters.

Besides the impermanence (or Riegl's age) value, modern psychology and heritage epistemology define other values that tend to be more connected with intrinsic values than with instrumental ones. In this respect, Timothy Darvill's contribution is the most illustrative. He mentions the value of stability and the value of mystery and enigma belonging to the class of option values. Among the class of existence values, he enlists the identity value and the value of resistance to change (Darvill, 1995, 44–45). These values have a common denominator to contribute to the identity of individuals and groups. Our understanding of the value of stability and resistance to change differs from Darvill's explanation. Stability refers more to institutions and the social system responsible for heritage conservation. In contrast, resistance to change refers more to individuals and groups, which relates to adherence to traditions.

In Slovenia, the state authorities[15] and academia identify and evaluate heritage, including archaeological heritage. At the same time, the local public is generally excluded and seldom recognises archaeological remains as the "heritage of the com-

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14    See the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society, particularly articles 1b, 2 and 4b and c.

15    Slovenia has only recently formalized the evaluation criteria for protection areas by issuing a governmental decree. For evaluation of archaeological sites, the following criteria are prescribed: authenticity, state of preservation and typology. Historical or spatial significance should be used only exceptionally. The evaluation is performed only by experts. See the Decree on heritage protection areas, Uradni list RS 69/22.

munity". To remedy this situation, the paper proposes introducing an archaeological value system combining Riegl's and Darvill's approaches and, with such consideration in mind, upgrading Hartman's value system presented in Table 1.

Table 2: An outline of a comprehensive archaeological value system

| | The system developed in public co-participation | | The system developed in collaboration with other experts | | The system developed by archaeology | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Evaluation addressed to* | *Intrinsic values (defined by stakeholders)* | *Special expertise needed* | *Extrinsic values (defined by archaeologists in cooperation with other experts)* | *Special expertise needed* | *Systemic values (defined by archaeologists)* | *Special expertise needed* |
| *Individuals and heritage communities* | Values that stimulate curiosity and drive us to discover new things, to participate | Ethics | Values that enable the future enjoyment of archaeological heritage | Psychology, Theory of Communication | Research values (for archaeology and other sciences) | Archaeological Community Engagement |
| *Individual Artefacts* | Values that stimulate social cohesion | Hermeneutics | Values that exploit the touristic appeal of archaeological museums and sites | Semantics, Interpretative methods | Educational values of the new archaeological knowledge | Museology |
| *Artefacts Classes* | Values that promote open-science approach | Science of civilisation | Values for creating added value in the creative industries | Environmental sciences, Epistemology | Values for the legitimation of archaeology and the political objectives it indirectly serves | Heritage Studies (Heritology), Public Archaeology |

To conclude, heritage experts' understanding of intrinsic values corresponds neither to Hartman's axiological theory nor to the social sciences, as represented above by Bozeman. For the latter, intrinsic values are at the core of public interest. Hartman's theory proves that intrinsic values have the full concreteness of all meanings of our reality. From a rational point of view, valuing helps people find purpose in life, and experts have an essential role in this process (Hartman, 1967, 120, 134).

The main takeaway of the paper is that values are not physical, factual things but the experiences people encounter when understanding and cherishing something. Experts need to consider the mechanism of people's experiences to classify what values in accordance with their contribution to individual and social well-being based on the value concept and values specific to a particular field, in our case, archaeology. The meaning of intrinsic values can be described as essential or ethical, and extrinsic ones

as instrumental, socially accepted or cultural values. The material remains from the past can deliver the full scope of such meaning if archaeologists explain their importance for present individuals and communities.

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## Ali arheologija zagotavlja dokaze o preteklosti ali soustvarja sodobne vrednote?

**Ključne besede:** arheološke vrednote, teorija vrednot, aksiologija, epistemologija (arheološke) dediščine

Prispevek se osredotoča na dediščinske vrednote, s posebnim poudarkom na arheološkem razumevanju vrednot in vrednotenja. Primerjava ključnih aksioloških teorij vrednot in na drugi strani vrednotenja (arheološke) dediščine pokaže, da slednje pretežno sledi postmoderni paradigmi, medtem ko zavrača perspektivo intrinzičnih vrednot, utemeljenih s splošnimi aksiološkimi predpostavkami. Slovenska dediščinska praksa, tudi arheološka, je bila sprva zasidrana v srednjeevropski, zlasti nekdanji avstro-ogrski tradiciji, katere osrednja osebnost je bil Alois Riegl, zato prispevek obravnava to zgodovinsko ozadje vrednotenja. V prispevku je na kratko predstavljeno ključno delo s področja aksiologije, tj. teorije vrednot, nemško-ameriškega filozofa Roberta S. Hartmana. Izhodišče raziskave je hipoteza, da se akademska arheološka razmišljanja ogibajo vrednostnih izjav, ker veljajo za pristranske in zato ne pritičejo akademski drži. Nasprotno pa so vrednostne izjave nujne, da bi zadostili potrebi po posredovanju pomena arheološke dediščine javnosti. Da bi pojasnili raziskovalno hipotezo, prispevek analizira teoretične in praktične vidike vrednot (arheološke) dediščine, vključno z vprašanji kategorizacije vrednot ter razmislekom o tem, kdo dediščini pripisuje vrednote in kako to vpliva na sprejemanje arheološkega znanja v družbi. Obravnava tudi nekatere bistvene vidike vrednotenja pri ohranjanju in upravljanju arheološke dediščine ter pri vzpostavljanju zavezništev z lokalnim prebivalstvom in skupnostmi, ki se identificirajo z dediščino. V zaključku je orisan sistem arheološkega vrednotenja z upoštevanjem sistemskih, ekstrinzičnih in intrinzičnih arheoloških vrednot na podlagi pristopov, ki sta jih vsak na svojem področju razvila arheolog Timothy Darvill in aksiolog Robert S. Hartman.

## Does archaeology deliver evidence about the past or co-create contemporary values?

**Keywords:** archaeological values, value theory, (archaeological) heritage epistemology, axiology

The paper focuses on heritage value systems, particularly investigating the archaeological understanding of heritage values and evaluation. The literature review shows that the postmodern archaeological paradigm predominantly covers the topic, while the perspective of the intrinsic value is less explored. The starting point of our research is the thesis that archaeological paradigms obstruct better public support if they refrain from using axiological considerations. By archaeological paradigm, we refer to the processual and post-processual ones (the latter focusing on understanding past social phenomena). Axiology, as the theory of values, developed in the second half of the 20th century. Its approach is now used in many areas of social sciences (for example, education and medical care). Public archaeology is more open to societal needs than processual and post-processual archaeology but has yet to apply a values-based approach consistently. To clarify our thesis, we analyse the theoretical and practical considerations on the values of (archaeological) heritage, including the issues of the categorization of values, reflection on who assigns values to heritage and how this affects the reception of archaeological knowledge in society. The paper addresses some critical aspects of the evaluation in archaeological heritage conservation, management and building alliances with locals and communities who identify with heritage. I outline a comprehensive archaeological evaluation system considering systemic, extrinsic and intrinsic archaeological values in the conclusions.

## O avtorici

**Jelka Pirkovič** je doktorica konservatorstva in magistrica umetnostne zgodovine (Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani). Je avtorica več kot sto člankov in petnajstih publikacij s tega področja. Na Oddelku za arheologijo (Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani) predava vsebine iz heritologije, arheologije za javnost in upravljanja arheološke dediščine. Je tudi članica učiteljskega zbora Fakultete za slovenske in mednarodne študije na Novi univerzi. Zaposlena je bila na Zavodu za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije in na Ministrstvu za kulturo, kjer je bila med drugim državna sekretarka (2004–2008) in direktorica Direktorata za kulturno dediščino (2020–2022). Sodelovala je pri sprejemanju novega zakona o varstvu kulturne dediščine ter v različnih organih Sveta Evrope in Evropske unije, zlasti v okviru dveh predsedovanj Slovenije Svetu EU. Dejavna je v nevladnih organizacijah na področju varstva kulturne dediščine.
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# Some Thoughts on Archaeology and Slavs

## The Dark Ages

The Early Middle Ages[1] are notoriously viewed as a troubled, violent and unstable part of our past, squatting among the ruins of Antiquity and not yet amid the Christian light. This era of migrations, invasions, wars, epidemics and political entities rising and falling is infinitely fascinating, colourful and diverse, twisting and turning behind every corner, but since at least the 19th century its main attraction has been the perceived potential to explain the births of nations, arrivals of nations, deaths of nations and general sense of roots, belonging and identity.

In recent decades within the archaeological and historical professions countless attempts have been made to put the Dark Ages bias into context, to see the late antique period as something more than the Gibbonian "decline and fall" and the early medieval one as a transformed Antiquity, not the end of civilization.[2] These endeavours have certainly brought much progress to the scholarly public, specialized in the topic, but have not necessarily significantly changed the perception of the period among the general public.

Many volumes have also been written on the political misuse and abuse of the past in the 20th century, especially in connection with the early medieval period. The obvious attraction of the early medieval history to any political entity in search of new identity and in the construction of a sense of superiority towards its neighbours has been pointed out and criticized.

While misrepresentation of the past often centred on the non-existent ethnic content projected into it, actual existing opportunities to learn from it remain untapped. In both Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages we can observe how people faced uncertainty, otherness, diversity and change. In this paper would like to explore how

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1    In Slovenia, the Early Middle Ages are traditionally dated to the 7th – 10th centuries AD.
2    E.g. Pohl, 2010; Brather, 2017; exhibitions on the Byzantine world: Byzanz 2001; Byzanz 2010; Transformation of the Roman World ERC project and Brill book series; Transformations of Romanness: Pohl et al., 2018; Der Untergang des Römischen Reiches exhibition in Trier; Francia Media. The cradles of European culture project; The legacy of Charlemagne 814-2014: Gustin et al., 2015.

the period is perceived in Slovenian archaeology at present on different levels, and plead for a more justified use of it in the construction of our future.

## The Slavic Dark Ages

In Slovenian archaeology the Early Middle Ages begin with the historically reported arrival of the Slavs and end with the beginnings of feudalism in the 11th century. For a long time, the centuries in between were filled almost exclusively with the Slavs. After a while, the remains of the Roman(ized) population were accepted into the narrative. As the number of written sources rises after the 10th century and various non-Slavic individuals' presence in what is now Slovenia is reported in the written sources, the Middle Ages begin, and they are allowed to be "international".

But the centuries before that were uncontestably Slavic (see the titles of the publications listed in Milavec, 2009), and the cemeteries, jewellery, and settlements that were found were all spoken and written about primarily as such (as late as Guštin, 2002; 2008; Brezigar et al., 2015; Lux et al., 2018). It is only recently that the expression "early medieval" has begun to substitute the ethnic term of Slavic (e.g. Pleterski, 2008; Modrijan et al., 2020; Berden et al., 2021).

I must emphasize two points here. First, I am not arguing the early medieval people of present-day Slovenia were *not* Slavic. However, we must also continue discussing what Slav-ness, undisputed in history, means in archaeology, and whether it translates in any way to material culture. I am arguing there were others involved in our past, and that this makes it no less *ours*.

Secondly, we must take account of the interesting discrepancy in this regard within the Slovenian humanities between the fields of early medieval history and archaeology. It was a historian, Bogo Grafenauer, who in 1951 remarked that simply linking archaeological material and ethnic and linguistic groups had for a long time been criticized (Grafenauer, 1951, 168), and it was a historian who was of the opinion that this approach was methodologically wrong and all but dead in archaeology in 2004 (Štih, 2004a, 483). In the aftermath of Slovenian independence the same historian battled against the political abuse and propagandist misuse of the Slavic part of the nation's past, and attempted to show it for what it was (to the best of our historical knowledge) (Štih, 2004a; 2004b; 2005a; 2005b; 2006; 2007a; 2007b; 2011 and others). A little book called *The Myth of Nations* by Patrick Geary (2005) was translated into Slovenian and has been available since 2005. It is an essentially simple, reader-friendly and approachable explanation of the errors of past historiography and their consequences, and a proposal for how to understand the Europe of 1,500 years ago beyond our Romantic bias with regard to the importance of nation states, yet it seems to have had zero impact on Slovenian archaeologists. Archaeologists often complain of the dictatorial role

of history in our interpretations, yet we might benefit from paying more attention to the progress in historians' interpretative frameworks. While it is true that historical sources give us a context we must not be ruled by, we should also not neglect the parts which complement our work. The Early Middle Ages of present-day Slovenia through the eyes of archaeology are a closed-off, shut-out scatter of relatively poor and primitive communities. But for historians the region is a part of a vibrant, colourful new empire in the making.

There may be another discrepancy making Slovenian early medieval archaeology so overwhelmingly Slavic. The questions of identities, ethnicities and ideological abuse among Slovenian scholars were discussed by the "theoretical archaeologists" (Mirnik Prezelj, 1998; 2000; Slapšak et al., 1996), and their critique was not integrated into teaching or interpreting basic level early medieval archaeology. Perhaps I am oversimplifying, but equating ethnic groups and small finds, however misconstrued, sounds practical and applicative. Goths, Longobards and Slavs can appeal to an archaeologist as clear and tangible categories, easy to label and fit into the historical narrative. The complexities of the archaeological interpretation without them may seem daunting. It may well be that the persistence of this approach in Slovenian early medieval archaeological publications is (at least partly) simply the consequence of a lack of a more convenient tool.

However, a compelling new tool, ancient DNA (aDNA) analyses, is uncovering biological categories, another point of view for us to add and integrate into the way we think about people in the past. But the natural sciences offer no easy answers to questions we could not answer before – quite the contrary – and are extremely open to further abuse, especially due to the very high level of interdisciplinary collaboration necessary for a comprehensible interpretation, particularly for the general public (Geary et al., 2016).

An amazing result of the aDNA analyses of whole cemeteries is the biological pattern of a community. We can find out who was the mother of whom, who could have died of a particular disease, was the community exogamous, are different grave goods reflected in the biological characteristics of people or not, the biological sex of the children and young adults, were biological families buried together or apart, and much, much more. We will still not be able to know in what terms they thought about themselves and each other, even if we know better than they did who fathered whom. Does it really matter so much whether they would have styled themselves as (only) Slavs or not? There is so much to know about the early medieval communities, yet we persistently want to force them into the categories that obsess us in the present. Perhaps that is not the most important task of archaeology, unless of course we need these categories in order to care about *our* past and *our* heritage?

## Slavs, our heritage

One step further from the archaeological interpretation carried out by academics is how we present our work to the public. Here we, as archaeologists, are directly responsible for not repeating the mistakes we reproach the propagandists and politicians with. Yet in some relatively recent exhibition catalogues statements can be found linking early medieval material culture and "ancient Slovenians" (Globočnik et al., 2013, 34; Perko, 2016, 9). Even high-status Carolingian and Ottonian material culture is presented as belonging to "ancient Slovenians" (Globočnik et al., 2013, 33).

Even more alarming is the title of an article on the official website of the Institute of Archaeology ZRC SAZU – "Groundbreaking discoveries on the settlement of *Slovenians* with artificial intelligence"[3]. With due respect to my colleagues, if an institution such as the Institute of Archaeology of the SAZU endorses this kind of statement, how far from the 19th century have we come?

## Whose ages then?

We are not alone in the search for a contemporary interpretative framework which would be as easy to use on the material as the so-called "culture history paradigm", and at the same time free of its bias. And we are not alone in trying to shake off the remains of the nationalist-oriented past. In other parts of Europe with historically reported Slavic settlements in the Early Middle Ages and/or a mainly Slavic population today, various different scenarios are under way.

In Croatia, early medieval archaeology is divided between the Dalmatian (Croat) and Pannonian (Slavic) part of the country. In Dalmatia, after what is now more than a century of research into the "old Croatians" (Bilogrivić, 2019), the emphasis turned first to the Carolingians and now also to the Byzantines as important points of identity (Milošević, 2000; Džino et al., 2018; Ančić et al., 2018). The Pannonian part of the country has, similar to Slovenia, benefitted from the motorway excavations project which has seen groups of archaeologists working on early medieval settlements, pottery, cemeteries and physical anthropology.[4]

The so-called "Bijelo Brdo culture" or group has been dusted off and presented in a different context or as a fashion, linking the now Hungarian, Austrian, Croatian and Slovenian Pannonia in the 10th–12th centuries AD (Obenaus, 2010; Bilogrivić, 2019, 223, footnote 141).

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3    https://iza2.zrc-sazu.si/en/novice/groundbreaking-discoveries-on-the-settlement-of-slovenians-with-artificial-intelligence (access 28. 8. 2023). Slovenians are italicized by Tina Milavec.

4    E.g. Bekić 2016; Dugonjić et al. 2020; Proceedings of International Scientific Conferences of Medieval Archaeology by the Institute of Archaeology in Zagreb, physical anthropology schools around Mario Šlaus and Mario Novak.

In Austria, early medieval archaeological research has in recent years moved along with the Vienna School of History in perceiving Carantania as a multi-ethnic polity with fluid identities, and moving away from the focus on ethnicities while at the same time criticizing and reassessing the past negative bias towards the Slavs (Eichert, 2010, 2012; Leskovar, 2016; Breibert, 2011; Novotny, 2018; Diesenberger et al., 2020).

In Germany an overview of the research on the western Slavs and many of the questions outlined here were elaborated in the works of Sebastian Brather (Brather, 2008, 2011). Brather calls for a focus on other topics in the Early Middle Ages apart from ethnicities, and underlines the limited reach of archaeology in this respect.

In Poland the competing theories about the autochthonous or allochthonous origin of the Slavs are now taking advantage of the aDNA analyses to prove their points (Stolarek et al., 2023 with further reading). As often happens in "genetic" papers, the state-of-the art biogenetic technology is framed by outdated ideologically informed archaeological concepts and questions. But ethnicity is not a biological category.

The Czech and Slovak early medievalists are concerned with Moravian and Premyslid ruling dynasties and principalities and their very impressive archaeology, uncontestably Slav (bibliography available by colleagues from the Institute of archaeology and Masaryk University in Brno, Institute of Archaeology in Nitra, Charles University in Prague and many others). Perhaps the national identification with the early medieval elite, equal to their western neighbours, creates a peaceful feeling of content, with only the east-west religious preferences fluctuating according to the political inclination.

The once "Slavic" early medieval archaeological finds in Friuli and northern Italy are still viewed with suspicion (Possenti, 2021; Borzacconi, 2021).

At the beginning I emphasized I do not intend to deny the Slav-ness of our early medieval history and archaeology. But I regret to see other parts of our past neglected. The Early Middle Ages were a time of great political and social change, especially in the territory of present-day Slovenia. Since prehistory the geography of the land, the easiest communication corridors and the position within Europe have dictated both settlement characteristics and road networks. Various climate and relief differences are reflected in the political and administrative characteristics of the lands we now call Slovenia, a bundle of small parts of larger geo-political units. This bundle may not have been joined under one rule for a very long time – a fact that seems greatly regretted by modern Slovenians – but our history and archaeology are consequently significantly richer and more colourful. Could we not be proud of this great diversity?

We live in a time of great population changes and migrations. While we should certainly avoid oversimplifications and direct comparisons with the post-Roman past, we can use contemporary social diversity, the need for inclusiveness and equality to build a proportionate sense of pride in our more-than-Slavic and less-than-royal past, and to learn from it.

I would like to ask my fellow early medievalists, have they never wondered at the difference between the publications of early medieval sites and the first early medieval sources? How the skeletons and head-rings clash with the descriptions of vineyards, honey-combs, ponds, farmers, smithies and complex network of families and people from a much wider territory? Slavic and non-Slavic. Two images of the same world, seen from two different perspectives. We will never – thankfully – reach the same conclusions, historians and archaeologists, but I believe this should encourage us to research several other facets of early medieval life.

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## Nekaj misli o arheologiji in Slovanih

**Ključne besede**: zgodnji srednji vek, arheologija, Slovani, dediščina, nacionalizmi

Zgodovina in arheologija zgodnjega srednjega veka (približno 7. do 11. stoletje n. št.) prekipevata od imen in premikanja skupin ljudi, vojskovanja, pokristjanjevanja ter propadanja in ustanavljanja vedno novih političnih enot. Evropejci 19. in 20., pa tudi 21. stoletja se obračamo nanjo enkrat v želji po skupni identiteti, drugič po tistem, kar nas dela posebne, po koreninah in po občutku lastne vrednosti. Arheologiji tega obdobja ni pripadla le nehvaležna naloga ustvariti povezavo med nami in materialnimi

ostanki naših neposrednih prednikov; od nje se pričakuje tudi izbiranje kandidatov za nacionalne in druge simbole. Zdi se celo, da je varovanje dediščine lažje sprejemljiva naloga, če se nam ta dediščina zdi zares naša. Če smo z njo malodane genetsko povezani. Arheologija zgodnjega srednjega veka je zato v marsikateri državi, kjer govorimo slovanske jezike, kar arheologija Slovanov. S tem pa se odpovedujemo pisani in bogati sliki tega dela preteklosti, odpovedujemo se mnogim drugim razlogom, da bi bili ponosni na dediščino sedaj našega prostora.

Ali smo zmožni pustiti tovrstne zahteve ob strani? Smo zmožni pogledati na obdobje po propadu zahodnega rimskega imperija premaknjenih političnih silnic in številnih neslovanskih poudarkov tudi drugače? Smo se sposobni soočiti z omejitvami stroke pri vprašanjih identitet predmetov, prebivališč in grobov nekega obdobja? V tem prispevku za zgodnjesrednjeveško arheologijo iščem poti iz preživete službe narodu.

## Some Thoughts on Archaeology and Slavs

**Keywords**: Early Middle Ages, archaeology, Slavs, heritage, nationalisms

Early medieval history and archaeology (ca. 7th – 11th centuries) is bursting with migrating groups, warfare, Christianization, and polities rising and falling. Many 19th- and 20th-century Europeans turned to early medieval history and archaeology in a search for identity, exclusive characteristics, roots or sentiments about their intrinsic values, a process that continues today. The ascribed task of early medieval archaeology was to create an association between us and the material remains of our direct ancestors and to provide candidates for national and other symbols. Moreover, it also seems that protecting heritage is easier if the heritage is ours, and almost genetically connected with us. In many Slavic-speaking countries, early medieval archaeology became simply the archaeology of the Slavs. However, by doing this we renounce a rich and colourful past and many other reasons to be proud of the heritage within Slovenia. Can we leave aside such requirements and look at the period after the fall of the Western Roman Empire from a wider perspective, including many non-Slavic accents? Can we face the limitations of archaeology when studying the identity of objects, dwellings and graves? Can we look for a way out from the antiquated service to the nation in such efforts?

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# Historical archaeology at the interstices between archaeology and history: a history from things or an archaeology with texts?

## Historical Archaeologies

There is no single definition of historical archaeology. Since its inception in the United States in the 1960s it has been defined as archaeology of the modern world (Deetz, 1977; Orser, 1996; Funari, 1999, 44), and is largely synonymous with post-medieval or archaeology of the (early) modern period as practiced in Europe (Courtney, 1999; Gaimster, 2009; Mehler, 2013, 14, Tab. 1; Predovnik, 2008; 2013, 70–71). In the German-speaking countries, historical archaeology has recently come to encompass also the modern and contemporary periods of the later 19th, 20th and even 21st centuries (cf. Jürgens et al., 2020), a remit that in the anglophone tradition is known as the archaeology of the contemporary past (Buchli et al., 2001; McAtackney et al., 2007; Harrison et al., 2010; Dixon, 2011).

European archaeologists have long been reluctant to adopt the term "historical archaeology", and although it has gradually become more widespread it has also become more ambiguous. In various regions and research contexts it can denote (later) medieval, post-medieval, and even contemporary archaeology. In this paper, the term historical archaeology will be used as a shorthand for all of the above. It is thus synonymous with another, far less commonly used umbrella term of "the archaeology of later periods" denoting all archaeological research into the periods following the early Middle Ages (cf. Predovnik, 2008, 82).

Another, broader definition of historical archaeology has been proposed by some, claiming that it is the archaeology of all literate societies (Deetz, 1977, 5; Andrén, 1998). It would therefore apply to many of the well-established archaeological subdisciplines, such as Egyptology, Ancient Greek, and Ancient Roman Archaeology, to name but a few. This methodological definition of historical archaeology underlines the unique position of historical archaeologists, who can work with a variety of sources, from the material to the written and even oral. However, as many critics have noted, the sheer

invention or introduction of writing in any given society does not automatically mean that the production of written messages is abundant and diverse enough, or that the preservation of written documents is such as to allow for an epistemologically sound analysis and confrontation with material sources (Mehler, 2012, 14). In most Central European countries such a situation only arises in the late medieval period (Mehler, 2013, 13). German researchers refer to such historical situations, which lend themselves to investigation by historical archaeologists, as "densely documented periods" (*dicht überlieferte Epochen*; Igel, 2009).

Historical archaeologies have taken a long time to become established as legitimate subdisciplines of archaeology. They were shaped by the power struggles between the disciplines of history and archaeology, in which the nature of archaeological and historical sources, their epistemology, and interpretative potential were questioned (Predovnik, 2000; 2013). Heated debates revolved around the claims to objectivity and accusations of subjectivity in the production of knowledge, supported with "circular arguments and counterclaims" (Mayne, 2008, 93; Orser, 2002, 271). Historians saw archaeology as a subordinate discipline with highly limited interpretative potential, "a handmaiden to history" (Noël Hume, 1964), while archaeologists pointed out the subjective and biased nature of material sources. Although this debate has gradually died down, these views have not yet been entirely surpassed.

## Archaeology and History: Between Othering and Inspiration

Archaeology's relationship with the discipline of history is inconsistent and uneasy (Ribeiro, 2019). On the one hand, archaeology has always sought its own separate disciplinary identity, but on the other hand it is inextricably linked with and has often been inspired by historiography, as they both produce knowledge about the past. The two disciplines explore different sources using different methodologies, but there is a certain epistemological closeness between the two, as they both exhibit a "fundamentally inferential character" (Thomas, 2015, 11; cf. van Wijngaarden et al., 2020).

In the European tradition, archaeology is conceived of as a historical discipline that produces narratives about the past based on the material evidence it investigates. This presupposes a historical understanding of the past focused on historical interpretation, rather than on causal explanations of the observed phenomena. Historical interpretation is hermeneutic in nature and historical understanding takes the form of a narrative within which the observed historical actors, events and processes are contextualized (Ribeiro, 2018, 22–23). Even though historical epistemology is intrinsic to archaeology as a humanistic discipline, it has rarely been theorized explicitly (cf. Frommer, 2007; Ribeiro, 2018).

From its antiquarian beginnings, archaeology developed as a separate discipline in the 19th century in parallel with the birth of evolutionary theory, the introduction of the principles of geological stratigraphy, and finally, the rise of cultural history. The concept of archaeological culture as a spatially and chronologically distinct entity, composed of clearly observable material traits and phenomena, took shape in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In this, a strong influence from anthropology is evident. The connection with history became more pronounced in Central European archaeology only after the Second World War in reaction to the abuses of the concepts of archaeological culture and the so-called *Kulturkreislehre* under National Socialism (Mehler, 2013, 11, with references). These traditions were labelled culture-historical archaeology by later critics, as they favoured historical, particularistic interpretations of past cultures, which were often equated with historically documented peoples. In these narratives, time was conceived as uni-directional, and history was explained in teleological terms (Webster, 2008). For historians, however, the label culture-historical archaeology can be misleading, as it has little in common with the cultural history as understood and practised by historians.

In the 1960s, the so-called new or processual archaeology rejected the particularistic culture-historical epistemology as subjective and non-scientific, propagating the application of the more rigid, positivist epistemology of the natural sciences with generalization, quantification and modelling of data, the use of statistical analyses, as well as the generation of knowledge claims by formulating and testing hypotheses. Processual archaeologists emphasized the need for archaeology to explain cultural processes and not simply to describe the diversity and reconstruct the history of past cultures (Binford, 1968; Clarke, 1973; Renfrew, 1973). While the American processual school led by Lewis Binford advocated the search for universal laws of human behaviour, this idea was not adopted by British proponents of processualism.

The reactions that followed in the 1980s and early 1990s were diverse, but the various critical voices and new understandings of archaeology are usually subsumed under the umbrella term of post-processual archaeology (Hodder, 1982; Preucel, 1991; Yoffee et al., 1993). Whatever their exact intellectual orientation, post-processual archaeologists found common ground in the rejection of scientific epistemology as ultimately de-humanizing (Shanks et al., 1987, 77). They advocated a more interpretative archaeology and embraced qualitative approaches. Historical context and historical particularism returned once more to the remit of archaeological interpretation.

Even though the processual vs. post-processual debate dominates the Western, Anglo-American narratives about the development of archaeological theory and epistemology in the second half of the 20th century, it should be noted that these schools of thought exerted little influence over other national traditions of archaeology (Trigger, 1996, 312–313). Central European archaeology remained firmly entrenched in the

time-honoured tradition of culture-historical archaeology, peppered with occasional nods of compliance with the Marxist, or rather, historical materialist ideology propagated in the former Communist countries (Biehl et al., 2002, 28; Novaković, 2002, 341). This is not to say that Central and Eastern European archaeologists were intellectually isolated or that they did not take part in the methodological and conceptual developments of the discipline. Fruitful connections and collaborations with foreign, Western researchers were not uncommon. An interesting case in point is Polish archaeology, which developed close ties with the proponents of the French Annales School of history in the 1960s (Tabaczyński, 2014).

The Annales School with its structuralist approach, an emphasis on social history, multi-scalar analyses, and the idea of total history has found resonance with many processual and post-processual archaeologists (Bintliff, 1991; Knapp, 1992; Tabaczynski, 2014). One of the most attractive and immediately applicable ideas was Braudel's concept of the three separate, yet intertwined time scales, the short-term (the *histoire événementielle*), associated with events, the medium-term (the *conjonctures*), in which the social and economic processes unfold, and the long-term (the *longue-durée*), related to the geological and environmental histories, as well as the history of mentalities (cf. Ribeiro, 2019, 8–9).

As is so often the case with intellectual borrowings, these ideas were introduced to archaeology with a considerable delay, once they had already been heavily criticized and were superseded by novel approaches within the discipline of history. What Braudel's historical project failed to achieve was linking the short-term to the other two temporal scales, thereby removing human agency from historical explanation. The issue of how human actors shape and transform the very social structures and environment that constrain and guide their actions remained unresolved in Braudel's own work, as well as in its applications in archaeology (Ribeiro, 2019, 9–11).

One answer to this problem was the use of studies favouring the small-scale in history. Microhistory is a historical approach based on detailed observation and qualitative analysis of the particular and the unquantifiable as a method to understand the relationship between the agent and the underlying social structures, mentalities, and institutions shaping social practice (Ginzburg, 1993; Ribeiro, 2019, 14). A growing interest in microhistory can be observed in recent years among archaeologists with various theoretical backgrounds and professional interests (Kaeser, 2008; Hupperetz, 2010; Nebelsick et al., 2017; Ribeiro, 2019). In fact, microhistory is often invoked merely as a metaphor for a detailed and contextually rich analysis of archaeological sites or objects. However, as Artur Ribeiro points out, microhistory combines detailed attention for the particular and individual with a concern for the wider structures and processes in society. By adopting the microhistorical approach, archaeology can "become more attuned to a narrative understanding of the past and to a qualitative way of conducting archaeological research" (Ribeiro, 2019, 17–18).

Another conceptual and methodological inspiration that archaeologists took from historians, was the history of the everyday (*Alltagsgeschichte*; Jaritz, 1989). It is a truism that the archaeological record contains remnants of the everyday, often mundane, actions and concerns of past people. Moreover, the perspective of the everyday seems appropriate for investigating the omnipresent and constitutive materiality of human lives (Robin, 2020). This is not a new research orientation within archaeology, and since the 1980s it has been heralded by some historians and archaeologists as an inherently interdisciplinary task (cf. Elkar, 1990, 273, 281, 301–302).

## A History from Things

Archaeology is, by definition, the study of past societies through their material remains and traces. To this end, it has developed a unique set of research methods and theoretical concepts, but it also relies heavily on analytical tools, explanatory models, and theories borrowed from a range of other disciplines, the humanities, social, and natural sciences. If anything, archaeology can be defined by this eclecticism. Attempting to explore and understand the totality of human experience in the past, it is forced by the very nature of its subject matter to embrace all possible ways and means in pursuit of this goal.

In the last two decades, the intellectual landscape of archaeology seems to have shaken off the shackles of the processual/post-processual debate and become less polarized, but it could also be described as fuzzy. The recent advances in the analytical techniques offered by the natural sciences, such as AMS radiocarbon dating, ancient DNA and stable isotope analyses on the micro-scale, as well as the developments in remote sensing and computational tools enabling big data analyses on the macro-scale, have redefined many fields of study and revolutionized the practice of conducting archaeological research (Kristiansen, 2014). While these methodological shifts push archaeology closer to the processual ideal of scientific epistemology, interpretative approaches are by no means wholly absent or divorced from the application of archaeological science. The new attitude has been labelled the "new empiricism" (Hillerdal et al., 2015).

In search of new paradigms, archaeology once more exhibits its dynamic, eclectic nature and resilience. While some insinuate the death of archaeological theory (Bintliff et al., 2011; cf. Thomas, 2015), others claim that archaeology should re-invent itself as the discipline of things, advocating a return from concerns and concepts borrowed from social theory, anthropology, philosophy, and historiography to the uniquely archaeological way of exploring and interpreting the past, recognizing that material things are the true, unique subject matter of archaeology (Olsen, 2010; Olsen et al., 2012).

This focus on the material is the very essence of archaeology, but it is shared with a range of other disciplines, such as anthropology, ethnology, art history, material cul-

ture studies, and science and technology studies. Even historiography has experienced a "material turn", with a growing number of historians realizing the importance of material things for the personal and social lives of people, and their relevance to the study of any given society, past or present (Green, 2012).

> Material culture frames all of our actions and experiences and is constitutive of them. Material culture sheds light on our production and consumption of goods, our power relations, social bonds and networks, gender interactions, identities, cultural affiliations and beliefs. Material culture communicates all kinds of human values, from the economic or political to the social and cultural. And whilst historical objects cannot offer a direct and clear window on past worlds they are a powerful form of evidence, and a 'provocation to thought', they are as complex, deceptive, partial and multi-layered as textual survivals. (Hannan et al., 2017)

Material culture is a legitimate object of study for historians who are interested in the totality of the human experience, bringing historiography closer to the objectives and approaches of anthropology and archaeology (Lubar et al., 1993; Auslander, 2005; Harvey, 2009; Hannan et al., 2017). It is important for historians to acknowledge that the study of material culture enriches history and helps build more nuanced and complex narratives about the past than the exclusive use of written documents. It "changes the very nature of the questions we are able to pose and the kind of knowledge we are able to acquire about the past" (Auslander, 2005, 2).

This convergence of research interests and approaches between the two disciplines of archaeology and history is commendable, yet one fundamental difference remains. While for historians material things may be valid objects of study, they are not in themselves used as independent sources of information about the past. For archaeologists though, things are both the primary source of information and the object of study. One could say that historians – at least the more "materially oriented" ones – write "history with things" whereas archaeologists produce "history from things". The two disciplines, connected in their ambition to understand the past, coexist and complement one another precisely because they look "at fundamentally different data with different methods and different motivations" (Frieman, 2023, 1).

## An Archaeology with Texts

If archaeology and historiography are both studying the past and they both, ideally, share an interest in the material aspects of the past, what is the relevance of historical archaeology? Is it a redundant concept or a separate field of study positioned at the interstices of the two disciplines? Historical archaeology is defined by the abundance and variety of

both material and textual sources available to study the past. While this is often hailed as its strength, transcending disciplinary boundaries has been considered anathema by many and has indeed delayed the formation and acceptance of historical archaeology – whether studying the (later) medieval, early modern period, or even the contemporary past – by practitioners of the various disciplines it straddles (Predovnik, 2013, 86).

Historical archaeology is first and foremost archaeology, taking the material remains of people in the past as the starting and focal point of its inquiries. It applies the methodological and conceptual tools developed by archaeology to produce narratives about the past (history) from things. But it can also complement and confront data gleaned from the material sources with other types of evidence (textual, pictorial, oral) to arrive at a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the lived experience of people in the past. It is thus an archaeology with texts.

Consequently, historical archaeology is often regarded as inherently interdisciplinary (Oliver, 2020, 264), even transdisciplinary (Little, 2007, 14; Predovnik, 2013; Müller, 2015, 8), bringing together "multiple lines of evidence" and enabling "multifaceted, multidimensional, and highly contextualized" analyses (Orser, 2010, 116). It investigates "material histories", starting the exploration from the things themselves, delving into the otherwise undocumented realms of daily life, the objectified cultural and social structures and processes, ideologies, contestations, and power struggles among groups and individuals (Hicks, 2003, 326; Hicks et al., 2006, 2–3). This study of things is framed with the study of textual and oral evidence, so much so that historical archaeology has even been dubbed "text-aided" (Little, 1992) and "documentary" (Beaudry, 1993).

However, the aim of conceptual and methodological synergies and interdisciplinary collaboration implied in the name of the discipline often seems beyond reach. Some claim that historical archaeologists should be both archaeologists and historians, able to study autonomously both archaeological and historical sources instead of having to rely on the textual evidence that has "already been interpreted and assessed by historians with regard to other research questions" (Mehler, 2013, 18). This is hardly a universally attainable goal, though, as it would require from the practitioners of historical archaeology, who are mostly educated as archaeologists, an additional set of skills they simply do not possess (Igel, 2009, 41). Interdisciplinarity through collaboration should be a reasonable alternative. But is it?

It seems that the disciplines of (historical) archaeology and history dwell on separate banks of a great divide (Mayne, 2008, 93; van Wijngaarden et al., 2020). Decades after historical archaeologies first made their appearance, the lack of dialogue and cooperation with historiography is painfully obvious. While it is self-evident that each discipline should have its own sources, methods, research agendas, and therefore a distinct disciplinary identity, the all-too-often exhibited lack of interest and understanding for the contributions of one or the other to the study of the past is not acceptable.

Part of the problem is that archaeologists and historians do not "speak the same language". Material and textual sources are separate and independent strands of evidence requiring separate research methodologies. Their nature, epistemological potential, and relevance for the construction of knowledge about the past have been debated intensely over the years. Anders Andrén (1998, 153–175) suggested that material and textual evidence can be related through five shared methodological tools: classifications, identifications, correlations, associations, and contrasts. Similarly, Patricia Galloway (2006, 42) identified four ways in which archaeologists engage with the two types of sources: by using material evidence to test or confirm literary sources, by using textual evidence to identify and date material evidence, by integrating both strands of evidence to construct totalizing accounts of lifeways, socio-cultural groups or even events, or by trying to identify dissonances between the material and the textual to look for historically undocumented lives and practices.

Undoubtedly, connecting information from the material and textual sources is fraught with difficulties. Identification of material remains with places and people mentioned in documents is rarely possible, and the same problem arises with the use of documents to date archaeological finds and contexts. Another hurdle is the incompatibility of the resolutions of archaeological and historical chronologies. Whilst historians mostly operate with exact dates, archaeology relies on relative sequences of observed contexts and finds and defines time through spatial distributions of material remains. The advances in "absolute" dating methods, such as dendrochronology and AMS radiocarbon dating with Bayesian modelling, which have revolutionized prehistorical archaeology, are less relevant to historical archaeology, as the dates they can provide are still too coarse for direct correlation with the historical chains of events. Even when exact dating of an archaeological find or feature is achievable, e.g. through dendrochronology, a critical interpretation of the date is required, taking into account the biography of the dated object and its relevance for the archaeological context in which it was uncovered.

There are no simple solutions, but there is room for dialogue. Archaeologists and historians study the same past but approach it in different ways and from different viewpoints. Confrontation and correlation are possible, provided the nature of the diverse strands of evidence we investigate is duly considered. Archaeology is not a translation of history to another medium, it is not a mere illustration and objectification of history. Its strength lies in the themes that it studies, in the uncovering of the material, often banal facets of human agency, but also in the exposure of the entanglements of the material with the ideational (cf. Frieman, 2023).

Historical archaeology with all its chronological and thematic subdivisions has become a legitimate, vibrant disciplinary field and can no longer be dismissed as irrelevant. It is not a mere "handmaiden of history", a set of techniques procuring data to

resolve historical research questions. The historian Alan Mayne (2008, 94) pointed out the true research potential of historical archaeology in these poignant words:

> Relishing and puzzling through the ambiguities of diverse but intersecting data sets and scales of reference has the effect of decentering historical under-standing and thereby stimulating analytical innovation. The study of people, objects, places, activities, and events that had seemed to be on the edges of historical significance is helping to reformulate historical understanding by adding agency, complexity, and hence relativist sensitivity to our grasp of the influences and horizons that constituted the social world of the past.

A common claim made by historical archaeologists is that their research gives voice to the voiceless, the illiterate masses who are absent from or are not represented adequately in documentary sources. It is "a perfect way in which to study the lives of men and women who had been largely forgotten in history or who had been pushed aside as insignificant by past historical observers" (Orser, 2002, 305). This remains a point of contention, however. On the one hand, it is belied by many excellent historio-graphical studies of marginal and subordinate social groups and individuals (Mayne, 2008, 94), and on the other hand, subaltern voices are "frustratingly elusive" in the archaeological record and have "left as faint a trace in the material world as they did in the written documentation" (Hall, 2000, 19; cf. Predovnik, 2000, 38).

Equally questionable is the notion that material evidence bridges the gap between the past and present, somehow compacting time (Mayne, 2008, 103), as objects possess their own temporalities and biographies. It is certainly true that archaeological artefacts exist in the present, yet the belief that we can experience and understand them as people in the past did is fundamentally flawed. This is not to say we cannot interpret them through careful observation and recording of their material and spatial contexts, merely, that we should never expect the past to be "familiar" and easily know-able through our encounters with its material traces (Tarlow et al., 1999).

## Conclusion

There are many varieties and ways of doing historical archaeology. Some practitioners are more historically minded than others, some more theoretically explicit than others, some favour the anthropological or sociological approaches, while others embrace the full potential of engaging with the natural sciences in analysing the material evidence. This diversity is not a sign of the discipline's weakness or lack of identity but rather one of strength, as archaeologists endeavour to enrich and complement our understanding of the not-so-distant past.

The title of this paper presents a false dilemma. Historical archaeology is – or, ideally, should be – both a history from things and an archaeology with texts, but it can only strive to achieve that in close collaboration with historiography. Not in the naïve sense that it should either succumb to "the tyranny of the historical record" (Champion 1990) or that, to avoid it, it should eschew the documentary evidence and historical interpretations altogether. Instead, it should confront the material and textual evidence, and look for gaps and inconsistencies, but also for converging strands of evidence to construct nuanced and insightful interpretations of the past. Often, unresolved questions will be the outcome of such an exercise, and this is to be welcomed since finely tuned and appropriately formulated questions are the fuel that drives research forward. We should not expect definite and clear answers but rather the messiness inherent to material culture and fragmentary documentary evidence. Therein lies the potential to understand the past – not as it really was, but as it might have been.

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## Historična arheologija na stičišču arheologije in zgodovine: zgodovina iz stvari ali arheologija z besedili?

**Ključne besede:** historična arheologija, srednjeveška arheologija, posrednjeveška arheologija, arheologija in zgodovina

Članek obravnava razmerje med arheologijo in zgodovinopisjem z vidika historične arheologije. Ta ni enovito znanstveno podpodročje in jo je mogoče opredeliti na različne načine. V tem članku izraz historična arheologija zaradi priročnosti uporabljamo kot krovno poimenovanje za (poznejšo) srednjeveško in posrednjeveško arheologijo ter arheologijo sodobnosti.

Historična arheologija je prvenstveno arheologija, saj se osredotoča na materialne ostanke in gradi znanstvena spoznanja o preteklosti (zgodovino) iz stvari. Vendar lahko podatke, pridobljene iz materialnih virov, dopolnjuje in sooča z drugimi viri (besedilnimi, slikovnimi, ustnimi), zatorej je arheologija z besedili. To predstavlja metodološki in epistemološki izziv. Mnogi opozarjajo na nevarnost »tiranije zgodovinskih virov«, nekritičnega zanašanja na besedilne informacije in dajanja prednosti le-tem v primerjavi z materialnimi podatki.

Številne (historične) arheologe so navdihnili različni koncepti in pristopi iz zgodovinopisja, kot so denimo kulturna zgodovina, analovska šola družbene in ekonom-

ske zgodovine, Braudelov koncept dolgega trajanja, zgodovina vsakdana (*Alltagsge-schichte*) in mikrozgodovina. Obratno pa večina zgodovinarjev spoznanj arheologov ne upošteva. To je vredno obžalovanja, saj materialni viri ponujajo pomembne uvide v nekdanje življenjske svetove in jih ne bi smeli prezreti.

## Historical archaeology at the interstices between archaeology and history: a history from things or an archaeology with texts?

**Keywords:** historical archaeology, medieval archaeology, post-medieval archaeology, archaeology and history

This paper explores the relationship between the disciplines of archaeology and history through the lens of historical archaeology. This is not a unified subdiscipline and has indeed been defined in various ways. Here, the term will be used as a shorthand for (later) medieval, post-medieval and contemporary archaeologies.

Historical archaeology is first and foremost archaeology focusing on material remains and producing knowledge claims about the past (history) from things. But it can complement and confront the data gleaned from the material sources with other types of evidence (textual, pictorial, oral), so it is an archaeology with texts. This represents a methodological and epistemological challenge. An uncritical reliance on textual information over the material has often been warned against as "the tyranny of the historical record".

Many (historical) archaeologists have been inspired by various historiographical concepts and approaches, such as cultural history, the Annales school of social and economic history, Braudel's concept of the *longue-durée*, the history of the everyday (*Alltagsgeschichte*), and microhistory. Conversely, the knowledge produced by archaeologists tends to be disregarded by most historians. This is unfortunate, as the material evidence offers important insights into past lifeworlds and should not be ignored.

## O avtorici

**Katarina Predovnik** je izredna profesorica za arheologijo na Oddelku za arheologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, kjer poučuje arheologijo mlajših obdobij. Kot raziskovalka se posveča materialni kulturi visokega in poznega srednjega veka ter zgodnjega novega veka in teoretskim vidikom arheologije mlajših obdobij. V zadnjih letih raziskuje predvsem slikano namizno keramično posodje iz 15. do 17. stoletja v osrednji Sloveniji in vodi terenske raziskave na območju opuščenega srednjeveškega trga Gutenwerd na Dolenjskem. Je (so)avtorica treh znanstvenih monografij, več znanstvenih

člankov ter članica mednarodnih uredniških odborov več uglednih znanstvenih revij. Bila je članica in zakladničarka Izvršnega odbora Skupnosti za raziskovanje srednjeveške Evrope (MERC) v okviru Evropskega združenja arheologov (EAA), trenutno pa je zakladničarka EAA. Je tudi članica Stalnega odbora mednarodnega kastelološkega združenja Castrum Bene ter znanstvenih sosvetov Nemškega kastelološkega društva in Avstrijskega društva za arheologijo srednjega in novega veka.

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# Idea or interpretation: forming the identity of Illyrians in early archaeological studies

## Introduction

The identity of the inhabitants of what is now frequently called the Western Balkans in the 1st millennium BC has intrigued many authors, amateurs, professionals, travel writers and adventurers, antiquarians, historians, and archaeologists since the collapse of the ancient world. At the end of the 20th century, the unfortunate events during the breakup of the former Yugoslavia silenced not only the idea of Illyrian identity in post-Yugoslav archaeology, but also ethnogenetic research outside the Balkans. The return of the issue of identity and its construction in the past two decades, especially regarding the Illyrians, has been relatively modest. Among the work which stands out in this area is that of Danijel Džino, who, more than a decade ago, devoted special attention to the issue of the (de)construction of the Illyrians, which, according to him, has not been addressed sufficiently in the modern literature, especially outside the Balkans (Džino, 2014, 1–2). On several occasions I have argued that the name Illyrians was used in the Graeco-Roman world (primarily in the Greek world) essentially as a geographical term and not for a specific ethnic community (Kaljanac, 2009, 37–55; 2010, 53–79; 2021, 17–62). For Džino, the Illyrians are initially a Graeco-Roman construct (Džino, 2014, 1). Of course, the Graeco-Roman concept of Illyrians was certainly not the only form nor the moment when the Illyrian identity was constructed. Different uses, constructions, and reconstructions were always in accordance with the needs of the given moment and political situation, as can be seen in the works of different authors and proposers of ideas that have dominated until today. Džino (2014, 2, 3, 9, 11, 15) traced these ideas chronologically: a) ancient knowledge of the Illyrians, b) medieval and early modern Illyrians, c) the Illyrians of the 19th and 20th centuries in the romantic and colonial context, and finally, d) the period of the 20th century with the dominant Albanian and South Slavic discourse. Most of these so-called phases are a reflection of their time and the related political ambitions, and especially the national issues of the day. The Albanian idea of Albanians as direct successors of the Illyrians

was heavily instrumentalized as a political means of appropriating the past in the clash between Albanian and Serbian researchers, primarily concerning the region of Kosovo (Džino, 2014, 16). The South Slavic discourse viewed the Illyrians as original inhabitants who slowly disappeared through the Roman world and merged with the new settlers, the Slavs, leaving them certain traditions and ways of life that were incorporated into the new population (Džino, 2014, 16). Different interpretations of who exactly these people were and whose past in these regions was older – not only with regard to the aforementioned Slavic and Albanian discourse, but also to other interpretations in the former Yugoslavia – accumulated a fairly large corpus in archaeological literature. Important changes emerged during the last decade when the Illyrian background (and construction) was more thoroughly studied in the political context (e.g. Džino, 2012, 88; Kaljanac, 2014, 126–199).[1]

Looking at the historical development of the construction of the Illyrians, Džino pointed to the key factor of the origin of knowledge and narratives about the Illyrian identity – the Graeco-Roman concept of Illyrians, which became the cornerstone for the formation of Albanian identity, the Illyrian idea of Ljudevit Gaj, and even the Yugoslav ideological concept of brotherhood and unity. However, we are still asking some fundamental questions: Who were, in fact, the Illyrians? If they represented a (non)political construct, how were they constructed? On what arguments were these claims based? Were these arguments essentially the statements of distinguished and once "untouchable" archaeologists who planted such ideas deeply in the wider circles of archaeology and historiography? Answering all these questions would require a separate study. Here, I would like to focus only on one aspect of some basic methodological issues in early Illyrian archaeology, which had a substantial impact on our current lack of knowledge about this notorious prehistoric community called the Illyrians.

## The concept of identity and identification of Illyrians in archaeology

For Džino (2014, 17–18), the turning point in the detachment from the Yugoslav Illyrian paradigm and a serious turn from the Pan-Illyrian thesis was made at the Symposium on the Territorial and Chronological Delimitation of the Illyrians in Prehistory held in Sarajevo in 1964, which was followed by gatherings in 1966 and 1968. The two most important concepts that set the foundation for future research were presented on this occasion. The first concept was presented in the paper *Prediliri, Protoiliri, Prailiri* (Eng. Pre-Illyrians, Proto-Illyrians, Pra-Illyrians) by Alojz Benac (1964, 59–95). Based

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1  For example, Illyrianism in the Slavic state was one of the important factors in the foundation of "brotherhood and unity", a slogan that connected nations from Slovenia to Macedonia (Džino, 2014, 18; Kaljanac, 2014, 212).

on the migration model of Nikolai Yakovlevich Merpert (Merpert, 1961, 180–182), Benac proposed the idea of migrations and grouping of indigenous populations, from which, at the end of the Eneolithic, foundations were made for the later formation of the Illyrians (Benac, 1964, 63–64).

The second concept was presented by Borivoj Čović, who assumed the existence of two cultural regions – the central one, originally Illyrian, and the wider one, which included certain communities and groups that did not fully share the Illyrian cultural identity (Čović, 1964, 96–110). According to Čović, the territorial delimitation of these identities could be determined by observing the principal differences in burial rites, inhumation or cremation (Čović, 1964, 98). Čović claimed that during the 6th and 5th centuries BC, inhumation was "the original and dominant rite" in the central Illyrian region (Čović, 1964, 101), while cremation occurred only exceptionally and existed only for short periods. Other important researchers of Illyrians (e.g. Stane Gabrovec, Milutin Garašanin, Radoslav Katičić, Zdravko Marić) essentially accepted Benac's and Čović's premise, and tried to accommodate their theses to support the turn from migratory to indigenous development (Džino, 2014, 17; Kaljanac, 2014, 204).

Another important issue Benac spoke about at this symposium was the question of the methodological approach in the research of identity, at the time more specifically termed as ethnogenesis (Benac, 1964, U diskusijama, 267). The methodology Benac proposed was based on two lines of inquiry – historical analyses of the written sources and archaeological interpretation of ethnic aspects of the material culture. The combination of these two modes of research remains present in its essence to this day. However, such an approach, which combines written sources, paleolinguistics, and diagnosing ethnic elements in archaeological finds, has for some time not been considered sufficient for such research (Džino, 2012, 87).

Therefore, following Džino's claim about the unsatisfactory methodology used in such studies, we have looked at the archaeological methods in more detail to determine with what archaeologists have been actually operating. In the written sources the Illyrian name was known well before the birth of archaeology, a trivial but important fact since it influenced archaeology, as we will try to show below. Early historical data and interpretations in subsequent periods influenced later interpretations, including archaeological ones. However, this relationship acted in both directions – archaeology itself also influenced the understanding and formation of the Illyrian research in other disciplines. The results of archaeological research, primarily from Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian period (1878–1918), provided the majority of archaeological data on the basis of which archaeologists of the second half of the 20th century formed their knowledge, interpretations, and constructions of the Illyrian ethnogenesis and identity (Novaković, 2011, 339–362; Džino, 2014, 14).

## The Illyrians and their identification

The concept of the Illyrians as a people had already appeared in historical interpretations in the 16th century. The most notorious case is Vinko Pribojević's famous speech on Hvar in 1532, where he claimed that the Illyrians were of Slavic origin. His speech was political and also propagated the idea of Slavic unity by connecting the Illyrians with modern peoples. Among the pioneers who laid down the ideological foundations for such claims were Juraj Križanić (1618–1683) and Pavao Ritter-Vitezović (1652–1713). In the spirit of his political beliefs, Križanić advocated the idea of the unity of the Slavic peoples under the patronage of the Russian emperor (1959, 1009), while Ritter-Vitezović's ideas placed him in the position of the predecessor of the 19th-century Illyrian movement led by Ljudevit Gaj.[2] In 1696, he published a work entitled *Kronika aliti spomen vsega svieta vikov* (Eng. Chronicle, or the remembrance of ages of the entire world) where, in the appendix (*Pridavku*), Ritter-Vitezović equates the names of Slavs and Illyrians showing the expansion of *Illyrii, aliti Szlovinskoga Naroda* (Eng. Illyrians, or the Slavic people), 1959, 1012). During the great rise of Illyrian movement in Croatia (1830s), several political movements emerged on the foundations laid by Ritter-Vitezović, instrumentalizing different interpretations of the texts of classical authors and the results of linguistic research.

The so-called Illyrian movement of Ljudevit Gaj, active in the 1830s and 1840s, was undoubtedly the most prominent among them. Although the ideas represented in Gaj's movement existed earlier – as seen in the long tradition of identification with the Illyrian name – 1835 is traditionally taken as the beginning of this political and cultural movement, primarily because the first issue of the journal *Danica ilirska* was published that year.[3] The Illyrian movement formed its programme based on two cornerstones: the linguistic unity of the Southern Slavs and the idea of continuity with former Illyrians. The motto of Ljudevit Gaj very clearly reflected this stance: *Naša narodnost, ako ilirska ne bude, mora propasti* (Eng. Our nationality, if it is not Illyrian, must perish) (Rita Leto, 2004, 169). The ideas that Gaj presented in his motto are also recognizable in his proclamation from 1839 (in the final version by Dragutin Rakovac): *Imena pako Hèrvat, Sèrb,*

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2   At this point it is necessary to emphasize the fact that the Illyrian name has been used in different ways since the 15th century in the context of archaeological and historical (mis)uses. In addition to the aforementioned Pribojević, Vitezović and Križanić, it is also necessary to mention authors such as Juraj Šizgorić (1445-1509), Mavro Orbin (1563-1614), Bartol Kašić (1575-1650) or Filip Grabovac (1698-1749) who in their works also advocated Illyrian continuity from the past until their eras. The institutional interpretation of the Illyrian name was certainly not absent, and the Illyrians were incorporated into the societal fabric in various ways, whether it was through the association of the institution of St. Jerome in Rome with the name Illyrian College (Collegium Hieronymianum Illyricorum), the publication of various dictionaries of the Slavic Illyrian language or through heraldic symbols during the period of Austro-Hungarian rule.

3   The term Danica is the traditional name for the morning star (i.e. Venus) in South Slavic languages. Danica ilirska was initially published under the title of *Danicza horvatzka, slavonzka y dalmatinzka* (Eng. Danica of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia).

*Slovenac jesu samo grančice na grani ilirskoj, kao god što su imena: švabsko, saksonsko itd. samo grančice na grani německoj* (Eng. The names such as Croat, Serb, Slovenian are only twigs on the Illyrian branch, just as the names: Swabian, Saxon etc. are only twigs on the German branch) (Šicel, 1997, 132). One of the fundamental ideas of the movement was that the political freedom of the Southern Slavs (primarily in the Austrian Empire) could also be claimed from the autochthonous Illyrians (i.e. Slavs) and their long historical continuity in the Western Balkans. Archaeology was not there yet, so Gaj argued for this continuity based mostly on linguistic research. Continuity could serve as the legal claim for introducing Illyrian (i.e., Slavic/Croatian) as the official language in the Austrian Empire (Šicel, 1997, 143).[4] The idea of the Illyrian movement must have had an impact on the formation of the archaeology of the Illyrians, at least indirectly.

The first appointed curator in the newly established Provincial Museum in Sarajevo (1888) was Ćiro Truhelka, who soon became one of the prominent figures in local archaeology, and it was he who has to be credited for the first archaeological research of the Illyrians in the Western Balkans. Soon after his appointment, Truhelka started to excavate barrows at Glasinac, a plateau some 40 km northeast of Sarajevo, and immediately he interpreted the finds as Illyrian without too much argumentation – on the basis of a "little bit of historical news" (Truhelka, 1890, 393). He did this by associating the onomastics of the Arareva gromila site with the Albanian word *Arar*, the word for burial mound (*gromila*) and the name Bato with the Illyrian prince. Considering that Truhelka came to Bosnia and Herzegovina as an archaeologist of Austria-Hungary, born and educated in present-day Croatia, it is expected that he was influenced by the political currents of the time.[5] Truhelka, having no prior archaeological experience, at least not in prehistoric archaeology, started his career in the Provincial Museum in his early twenties. His *ad hoc* attribution of Glasinac to the Illyrians could not have come from his own systematic research and knowledge of archaeology, so he must have been influenced by some ideas in circulation. One of the ideas that certainly influenced Truhelka was from Höernes himself, who in 1888 in his book *Dinarische Wanderungen: Cultur- und Landschaftsbilder aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina* connected the prehistoric inhabitants of this area with the Illyrians, and their successors specifically with today's Albanians (Höernes, 1894, 323-325).[6] Nevertheless, discoveries

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4    The question of Illyrian continuity occupied an important place in the works of Ljudevit Gaj, i.e., in Danica 10 - 15, where he wrote about who the ancient Illyrians were.

5    We should remember that the Austrian occupation of Bosnia was not just a military operation. The Austrian government had serious plans to modernize (i.e., Westernize) the newly occupied country. Besides large investments in the industrialization of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Austrian government also invested substantial funds in changing its cultural identity. In this sense, the introduction of archaeology was a colonial project. However, the Austrian efforts were also met with suspicion and even hostility, especially in neighboring Serbia.

6    The question of the ethnic affiliation of the inhabitants of prehistoric Glasinac was one of the features of the famous Congress of archaeologists and anthropologists held in Sarajevo in 1894 (Palavestra, 2014, 680). For more see: Kuzmanović et al., (2012).

,from Glasinac (e.g., the famous Glasinac cart) and the excavations of Truhelka, Fiala, Ćurčić, Stratimirović, Čović, and even Govedarica, in the span of 90 years, epitomized Glasinac as the main site of the Illyrians, especially in Yugoslav archaeology.

During the period of the former Yugoslavia (1918 – 1991) and the rapid development of archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the idea of the Illyrians as the ethnic ancestors of the local population remained, but work in this area transformed its goals and certain methodological approaches over time. The Illyrians were one of the main research topics of the Centre for Balkan Studies of the Academy of Scuiences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has been working since 1963 as part of the Scientific Society of Bosnia and Herzegovina (which in 1966 was transformed into the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina). The focus was ethnogenesis as a part of Illyrian archaeology, a topic widely present in Yugoslav archaeology (Novaković, 2011, 409). The Centre organized a key event, the Symposium on Territorial and Chronological Delimitation of the Illyrians in Prehistory, held on the 15th and 16th May 1964 in Sarajevo. The participants were some of the most prominent Yugoslav scholars, such as Benac, Čović, Garašanin, Katičić, and Gabrovec. During the symposium, the presentations and findings of Benac and Čović attracted the most attention, and laid the foundations for Illyrian studies in the following years.

According to Benac's paper *Prediliri, Protoiliri, Prailiri* (Eng. Pre-Illyrians, Proto-Illyrians, Pra-Illyrians), the formation of the Illyrian ethnos began with the Baden, Kostolac, and Vučedol cultures in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Dalmatia, along with the emergence of some types of material remains such as long flint knives or stone battle axes (Benac, 1964, 63–64). For him, one of the most important factors for identifying this process was the appearance of graves under barrows of the so-called Glasinac type and the appearance of hoards with copper tools (Benac, 1964, 63–64). Čović pointed to several methods for revealing ethnic unity through archaeological finds. He proposed that observation of burial rites (inhumation or cremation) raises the possibility of defining a wider Illyrian region, which he called the "central Illyrian region" (Čović, 1964, 98). Burials in this assumed area were predominantly inhumation graves in barrows (Čović, 1964, 98–99). Speaking about the period between the 6th and 5th centuries BC, Čović pointed out that "it is not a coincidence" that this type of burial is so dominant (Čović, 1964, 100), evidently emphasizing that a dedicated form of inhumation rite is a means of expressing ethnic coherence. Based on this and the prevalence of certain types of jewellery, weapons, and ceramic material, Čović defined the geographical region of Illyrian ethnos.
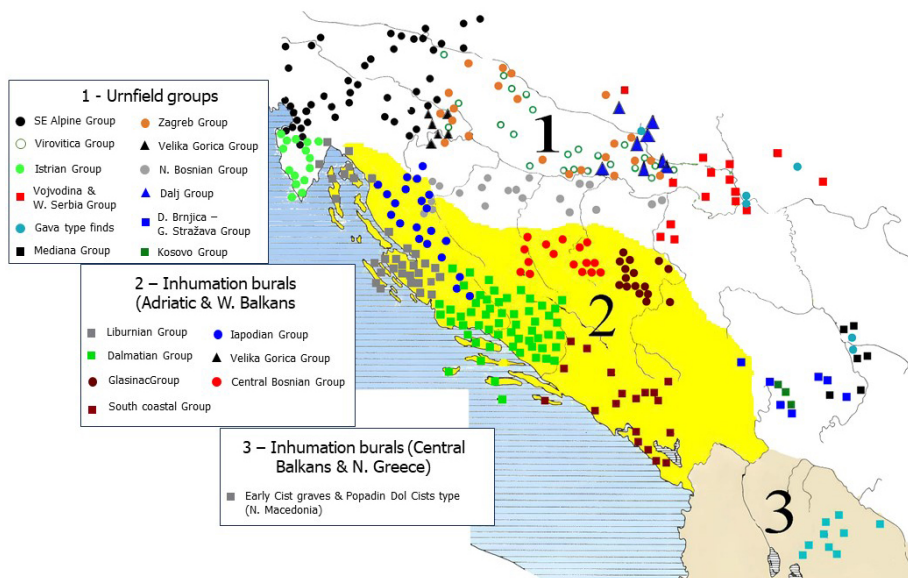
Figure 1: Map reconstruction of the distribution of the narrow Illyrian area according to Čović (map prepared by A. Kaljanac).

The ideas of Benac and Čović and other participants at this gathering, as well as the presentations from the symposium on the Illyrians in the Greek and Roman period that was held in 1966, were generally not criticized. They became the basis of the break with earlier pan-Illyrian theses, and served as the foundation for the approach which developed during the second half of the 20th century. However, even the presenters themselves, including Benac and Čović, noticed or hinted at one of the most significant weaknesses of their own approach – that the Illyrians were already in the area, as defined by linguists and historians. This largely determined the archaeological research, which, essentially, provided additional proof for an already generally accepted "fact". The fact that the research result was already "known" made the researchers uncertain of what they should discover.[7] The Illyrians were both known to researchers and a subject of research, but no one knew who they really were. From a methodological point of view, the search for arguments to prove a predetermined answer would necessarily require different constructions that would eventually lead to the desired goal. Unfortunately, as it turned out, there was no lack of such constructions.

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7   This was pointed out by Čović in 1966, at the end of the gathering about the Illyrians in classical times, saying: "It seems to me that we are at the same point, if not even a step back in the most fundamental methodological issues. We still cannot agree on what we mean by the term the Illyrians in an ethnic sense" (Čović, 1967, 74. U diskusijama).

## On archaeological data and the (poor) knowledge about Glasinac

Archaeology in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in the modern sense, began with the arrival of Austria-Hungary. Large construction projects, primarily railways, led the occupying forces to areas that were traditionally isolated and separated from the centres developed during the Ottoman period. During the construction of the Han Podromanija – Rogatica road in 1880, Lieutenant Johann Lexa (1854–1903), the director of the project, came across and excavated several prehistoric barrows. What Lexa discovered on that occasion is unknown, but one of the finds became very famous – the cult cart that made the area of Glasinac famous to this day inspired all subsequent research on the Glasinac plateau. The spectacular content of these findings prompted a publication by Ferdinand Hochstätter (1829–1884) in the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Vienna (Hochstätter, 1881, 289–298). During these works, the first four barrows at Glasinac were excavated (Hochstätter 1881, 291), but there are no records on the method of excavation. Only through comparison with subsequent research can we see that the aim was to collect the objects and to record approximate positions of finds, as was the case in numerous excavations that followed. The Austro-Hungarian army also carried out other excavations at Glasinac, led by Glossauer and Brudl in 1886 (Čović, 1988, 74). These results were published by Moriz Hoernes (1852–1917) in *Grabhügelfunde von Glasinac in Bosnien* (Hoernes, 1889, 134–149).[8]

As a consequence of this discovery, the first systematic research of the Glasinac area began soon after the establishment of the Provincial Museum in Sarajevo, which was directed by Ćiro Truhelka between 1888 and 1890. Truhelka's explorations were continued by Fiala, Stratimirović, and later, in the second half of the 20th century, by Čović and Govedarica (Kaljanac et al., 2019, 181–189). The Čović and Govedarica projects were conducted much later after the establishment of the archaeological Illyrian discourse in the Austrian period. And, despite the "solutions" presented at the Illyrian symposia in 1964 and 1966 and the results of Govedarica's research, the interest in Illyrians and their identity did not disappear (Džino, 2014, 19).

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8    The aforementioned excavations in the Glasinac area, as well as other excavations of that period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, are, as previously pointed out, interpretatively connected with attempts to determine the ethnicity of the prehistoric inhabitants and their connection with historical documents, or historiographic theses, from which the Illyrian affiliation of the local population has already been established. For this reason, the goal of this part of the paper is to point out the type and quality of archaeological data that were collected back then by the colonial archaeologists of the Austro-Hungarian period, and on the basis of which the previously highlighted Illyrian theses were derived. Of course, in addition to this the goal of this paper is also to show on the isolated example of Glasinac, in the ratio that this publication allows, the consequences of the archaeological approach of that time as well as, in the last instance, to problematize the interpretive usability of the archaeological finds of that period in the present day. In this sense, the ultimate goal is to point out the fact that the former Illyrian interpretation of archaeological finds is closer to the idea that various archaeologists tried to prove, rather than a real statement based on the scientific interpretation of material findings.

Modern archaeology and its theoretical considerations of various problems and interpretations have recently undergone significant developments. Research on the formation of archaeological knowledge has been recently gaining increasing attention, raising one of the fundamental questions of the discipline: the relationship between the collecting of archaeological data and its interpretation. The majority of today's archaeologists, or at least those more familiar with archaeological epistemology, agree that the collection and access to archaeological data is fundamental for the correct interpretation of the results of archaeological work. The reason why archaeologists conduct excavations is to find empirical evidence which may be interpreted differently (Palavestra, 2020, 28). Processing objects turns them into data (Palavestra 2020, 29). An essential tool in this process is adequate recording. Each of these procedures contributes to the archaeological interpretation (Palavestra, 2020, 29). But what to do when archaeological data was inadequately collected or recorded? Is interpretation from inadequately collected data also inadequate?

Illyrian archaeology started with Glasinac in 1888, with massive excavation campaigns in the next twelve years. These excavations of, for example, Arareva gromila, Čitluci, Ilijak, Kusače, Osovo, Rusanovići, Taline, and many sites (Čović, 1988, 79), revealed a large number of impressive finds. But with the exception of some modest information published in the Herald of the Provincial Museum, we do not have much new information on how these excavations were actually conducted and how they were recorded.[9] Nevertheless, despite very modest records and information, archaeologists created the Glasinac culture, with an "imagined" ethnos, and its core area in Glasinac. The real issue here is how they did this. This issue requires a thorough revision of data collection and analysis of how archaeologists formed their data. In an ideal situation, archaeological objects, including the data resulting from the interpretation of archaeologists, can be considered if there is reliable information about their discovery and *in situ* contexts.

Our analysis should shed light on some important circumstances which may have affected the very discovery and correct recording of artefacts, including the presence and active involvement of competent experts. The presence of an expert guarantees, as far as possible, the scientific validity of the work (Babić, 2018, 11; Kaljanac, 2023, 62). The findings that do not meet the criteria of reliability of information regarding the methods and records of discovery have only very limited interpretative value and much less weight in creating an interpretation (Eggert, 2014, 110–111). The site of Glasinac and Glasinac culture itself were never subjected to this kind of critical scrutiny. The entire idea of the role of this culture in the creation of Illyrian identity, proposed by Benac and Čović by

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9    Although more recent research was conducted by Govedarica from 1975 to 1992, the publication of this work has not yet taken place, and these results can still not be used for new or improved interpretations.

considering the burials in barrows as a manifestation of Illyrian cultural coherence, was actually formed on the uncritical treatment of findings with very poor and unreliable data about their original contexts. Interestingly, certain information was, indeed, available and even noticed by some contemporary archaeologists, but it seems that this was consciously ignored. Here, we will present some of this information.



Figure 2: Map of the geographic distribution of prehistoric barrows on Glasinac according to Truhelka (1889, 26).

The exploration of Glasinac and the related culture was initiated in 1888 by Truhelka as the official archaeologist, who participated in these excavations until 1891, when, at least according to his claims, he handed them over to František Fiala (Truhelka, 1942, 72). Truhelka's research on Glasinac is published in the Herald of the Provincial Museum. However, Truhelka's memoirs (1942) shed additional light on this matter.

According to his testimony, in the summer of 1888, when he set out for Glasinac for the first time, on horseback in the early dawn, Truhelka was accompanied by his faithful companion, Mehaga Pliska (Truhelka, 1942, 68), an amateur searching for various kinds of treasures (Kaljanac, 2023, 66–67). In Sokolac, he also met another associate, a certain Marinko Zoranović, a former *hajduk* (brigand), then a prisoner until the Austrian occupation, when he was freed. Zoranović also worked as a "scribe", who made various records

for sick people (Truhelka, 1942, 69). Truhelka stated that Marinko, unlike Mehaga, regularly accompanied him on the explorations of the Glasinac necropoles and that he knew all the people and places making the explorations, and thus Truhelka was welcomed in the local community. Immediately after arriving at Sokolac, Truhelka noticed a hillfort and several barrows in its vicinity. He started to excavate them the next day (Truhelka, 1942, 69). Truhelka did not mention Mehaga in his tours with Marinko, so we can assume that Mehaga did not participate in these first excavations. However, he went to Glasinac with Truhelka, and the question is where exactly he was. According to Truhelka, Mehaga carried out excavations, apparently of numerous barrows, since Truhelka left him to carry out the excavations whenever his presence was not needed (Truhelka, 1942, 70).

The final outcome of these excavations, as well as of those that followed after Truhelka, is quite well known and certainly influenced subsequent archaeological interpretations: hillfort settlements were spread throughout this area, indicating the need for strategic fortification to secure it from attacks. The buried people were soldiers who possessed swords, short heavy knives, iron spears, bronze greaves, hats like those worn by Trojan heroes, and as Truhelka stated, "*some Corinthian helmets brought from Greece*" (Truhelka, 1942, 70–71). The published reports show that Truhelka collected the grave goods exclusively without making any precise records. Spatial positioning was carried out in the most elementary way, and most, if not all, excavated places are completely unknown today and impossible to revise. Truhelka dedicated more attention to listing individual objects that he deemed important, and their detailed description (Truhelka, 1889, 32–33; 1890a, 68–95; 1890b, 386–319; 1891, 306–316).

Truhelka's work on Glasinac was continued by Fiala[10] from 1892 to 1897 (Fiala, 1892, 389–440; 1893, 717–763; 1894, 721–760; 1895, 533–565; 1896a, 343–355; 1896b, 429–461; 1897, 585–619). In reality, however, Fiala did not introduce any significant changes in methods. In his published reports we can notice a slightly greater number of references to situations and positions of graves, somewhat more detailed descriptions of the excavations, and slightly more numerical data (Fiala, 1895, 564). After Fiala, the excavations at Glasinac were briefly led by Đorđe Stratimirović, who, unlike Truhelka and Fiala, seems to only have been interested in a more detailed consideration of archaeological excavation methods and the establishment of an appropriate system of recording (Stratimirović, 1891, 338–349; Kaljanac et al., 2019, 184). The results of this "spectacular" period, when Austro-Hungarian officers apparently excavated 12 barrows, Truhelka 207, Fiala 868, and Stratimirović 147 (in total 1,234 according to their publications), made Glasinac globally famous, and they were repeatedly used in numerous interpretations during the 20th century. However, there are also some lesser-known facts, as outlined below.

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10    František Fiala, mentioned above as archaeologist. signed his works as Franc or, sometimes, as Franjo, not to be confused with other František Fiala (1895–1957), who was a younger Czech architect.

The first significant processing of this material and an attempt at interpretation of the 19th-century excavations was published in two monographs (Glasinac 1 and Glasinac 2) in 1956 and 1957 by Benac and Čović. They noticed that a large amount of ceramic material was found in numerous barrows but not stored in the Provincial Museum.[11] It was quite clear that the material from Glasinac was already incomplete, as metal finds were kept while pottery was discarded. Benac and Čović compensated for this deficiency by drawing various analogies from other regions and later research (Benac et al., 1956, 37), which is certainly a commendable effort but methodologically still inadequate for drawing more serious conclusions. Benac and Čović did not have an explanation for discarding the pottery, but Truhelka might have had one. According to Truhelka, Mehaga Pliska – who evidently carried out excavations at Glasinac during Truhelka's visits to necropoles with Marinko Zoranović – was a person who was a big enthusiast but also "disappointed that there was no gold to be found". Truhelka (1942, 66) wrote that Mehaga "consoled himself that I was satisfied with the 'old junk' that was discovered, although he was nodding his head". Since Truhelka allowed Mehaga to carry out the excavations, he could discard pottery on many occasions. Whether Mehaga participated in and carried out excavations during Fiala's campaigns remains unknown, but it is quite clear, judging by the number of excavated barrows, that Fiala could not have carried out excavations of such scale alone.

Finding out who participated in Fiala's excavations and what methods were used can most likely be completely written off. According to the official record from 26 January 1940, during the revision of the archives of the Provincial Museum Branislav Đurđev, a trainee curator, discovered a box he described as "a completely unsorted correspondence and legacy of late Fiala, a curator" (Figure 3). The legacy of Fiala was not inventoried and was literally gathering dust in a box, and Đurđev was the first who found it. After handing over the materials to the Directorate of the Museum, the material was distributed among departments, and the legacies of Radimski and Fiala finished up in the prehistory department. Since then, no one ever mentioned it again. We recently tried to access this material, but it could not be found in the museum. According to what can be discerned from Fiala's published reports from 1892 to 1897, he investigated exactly 868 barrows (Fiala, 1892, 389–440; 1893, 717–763; 1894, 721–760; 1895, 533–565; 1896a, 343–355; 1896b, 429–461; 1897, 585–619), although some authors round this number to 870 (Čović, 1988a, 51). It is quite clear that Fiala could not have carried out this amount of research on his own or adequately controlled it, especially since he did not have adequate archaeological knowledge because he was a chemist.

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11   "The reports of F. Fiala and other authors mention that certain barrows contained many ceramic fragments. However, these fragments did not reach the Museum depot and inventory. Today, it is not clear why these authors rejected the ceramic material, even though these could be smaller fragments." (Benac et al., 1956, 37).

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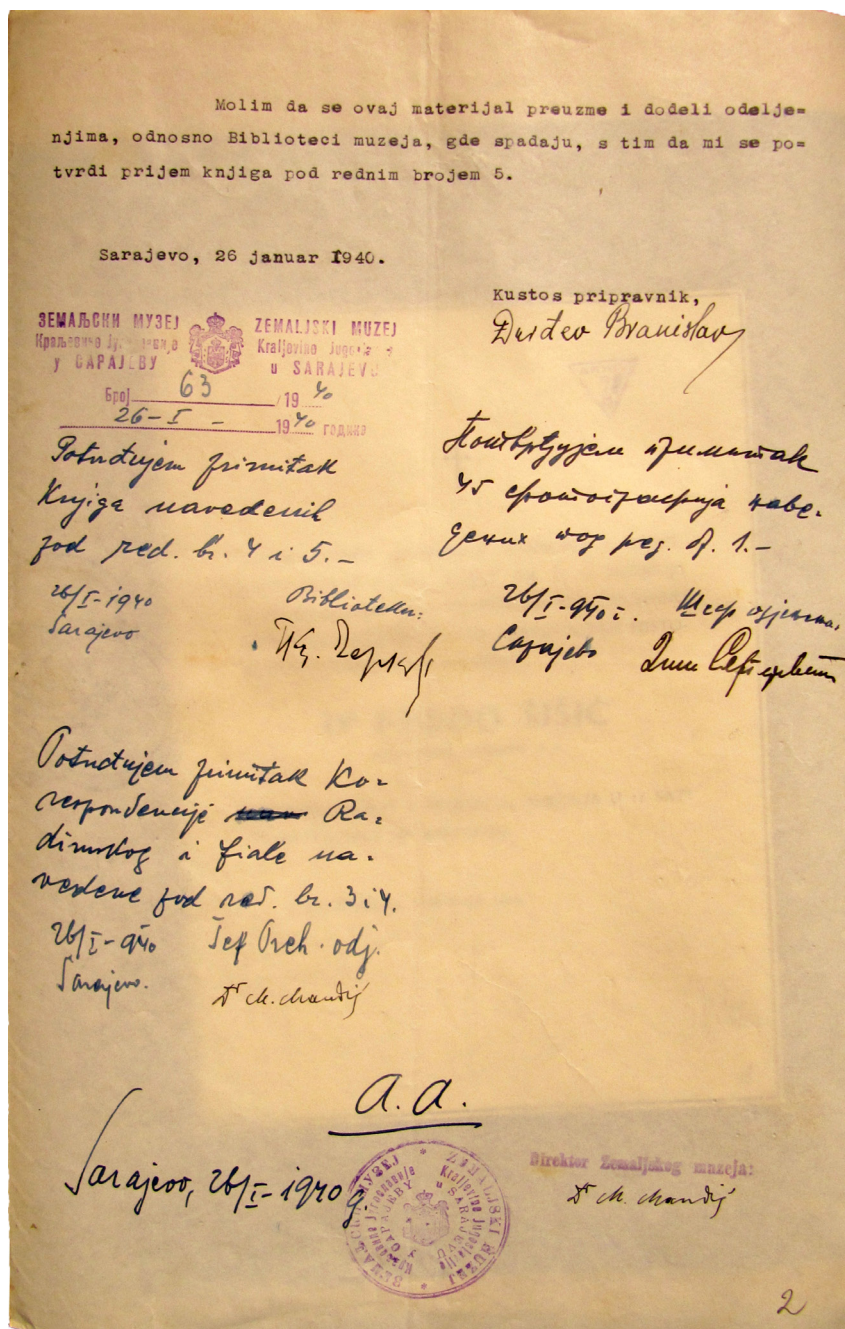
Sarajevo, 26 januar 1940.

Figure 3: Document about the last known trace of Fiala's legacy in the Museum from 1940.

The situation with Truhelka and his excavations is somewhat different. Many, if not all, of his diaries and personal notes survived and avoided the fate of unorganized archival materials. Besides his episode with Mehaga Pliska and Marinko Zoranović, we can determine, at least partly, the course of his explorations. His diaries contain drawings of different Bosnian-Herzegovinian towns, landscapes, old buildings, and some details of his first research in Glasinac. Among his notes, there are several pages with drawings of different archaeological finds, more and less known today. These drawings also include sketches of several barrows, as well as graves that Truhelka recorded. As an illustration, I would single out examples of the Arareva gromila site, Taline, and Gradac.
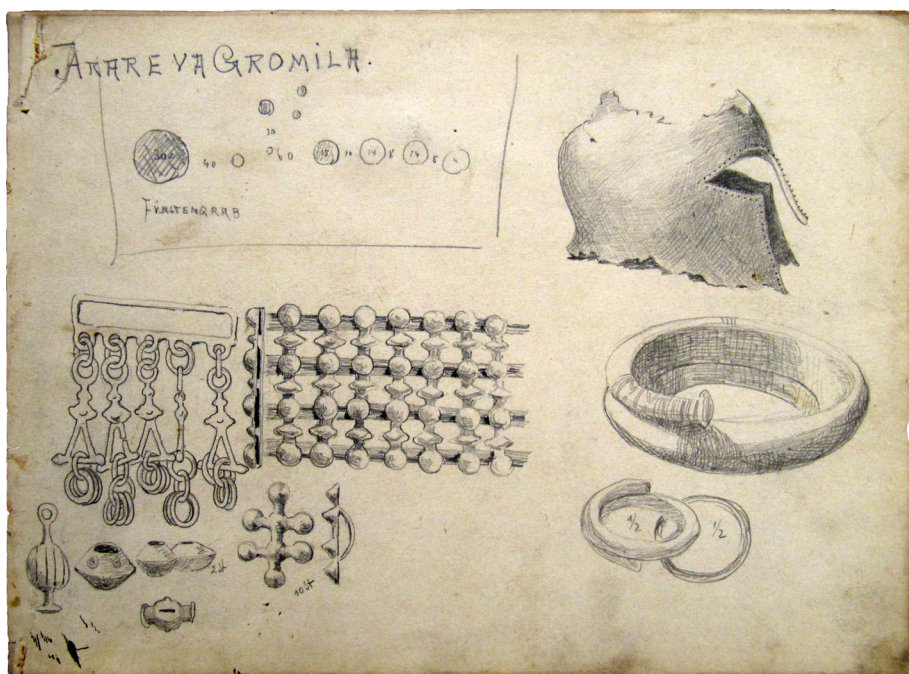


Figure 4: Drawing of the finds and correlation of the investigated barrows of the Arareva gromila site and those in the immediate vicinity of its location (from the personal diary of Ćiro Truhelka).

On one of the pages on which the exploration of the famous Arareva gromila site (Figure 4) was recorded, and along with sketches of some jewellery, there are drawings of a Corinthian helmet and astragal belt discovered in this barrow. However, very important information is represented by small sketches of the barrow group (Figure 4). The largest among the barrows, marked as *Fürstengrab* (Figure 4), evidently represents

the Arareva gromila. Truhelka also plotted the spatial distribution of the surrounding barrows, together with notes on the extent of their exploration. It is clear that the Arareva gromila was completely excavated, while some of the surrounding barrows were excavated only partially. We can also assume that he wrote down their dimensions with numbers next to or inside the sketched barrows. On another page in his diary, Truhelka paid somewhat more attention to the spatial distribution of the explored barrows. These are the only notes where Truhelka recorded some spatial information (Figure 5). In addition, two other sites were recorded here, Gradac near Sokolac and Taline.
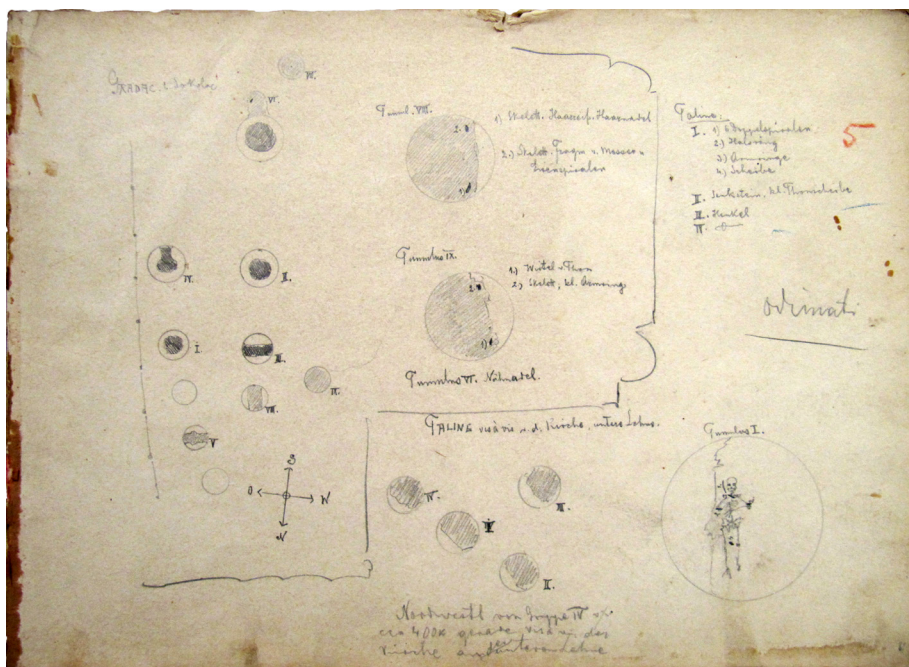


Figure 5: Drawing of the distribution of the explored barrows at the sites of Gradac and Taline (from the personal diary of Ćiro Truhelka).

As far as the Gradac site is concerned (Figure 5), it is evident that Truhelka paid special attention to barrows VIII and IX, where he recorded the skeletons and method of excavation, while other barrows were only plotted. Some barrows were excavated only in their centres, and some were only peripherally cut. At the Taline site he excavated using a fairly uniform method, but generally recorded only certain types of finds in the barrows. However, Barrow I was recorded more thoroughly by sketching the skeleton and its position (Figure 5). Truhelka practised a similar method at several

other sites, but for many of them there is no clear information about the number and distribution of barrows. According to the diary, these excavations lasted or at least were recorded from 29 June to 9 July 1889 (for a total of nine or ten days altogether) during which Truhelka investigated a total of 66 barrows.[12] According to his published reports in the Herald of the Provincial Museum, Truhelka excavated some 207 barrows, significantly less than Fiala, but in just a two-year research period. If we assume that during his second campaign, in 1890, he investigated the same number of barrows that he recorded in his diary, the obtained number of 132 would barely exceed half of the total. In that case, more than half of his research is questionable in terms of the origin of the finds and whether they were excavated by Truhelka or only collected by Mehaga Pliska, who we know was discarding ceramic finds.

If we remember that the records on Fiala's explorations are very likely lost and that Truhelka's diaries indicate that he was personally present only at a few of the sites, then the later archaeological interpretations in general, and those on the Illyrian identity in particular, are based on very limited and unreliable archaeological data. Besides Truhelka and Fiala, in the 19th century some of the barrows in Glasinac were also excavated by the Austro-Hungarian army officers (12 barrows) and Stratimirović (147 barrows).. Today we do not know the precise locations and contexts of finds for most of these, and the majority were excavated by poorly qualified people. However, the very number of excavated barrows made the Glasinac culture famous, and had a great impact on developing the wider idea of the Illyrians in archaeological interpretations. Due to ignored or poorly recorded data in these early excavations, the interpreters from the 1950s onwards, and especially the advocates of the Glasinac archaeological culture, attempted to compensate in a *post festum* way by looking at the pottery and other finds from other sites, interpretations of the settlement patterns, and by accommodating the image of the Glasinac culture to historical and linguistic interpretations.

## Conclusion

While Danijel Džino strongly argued that the question of the Illyrian identity throughout history was an issue of different perceptions of the Illyrians and the past in different time periods, the question of their construction can be viewed from different perspectives. The first one, as applied by Džino, observes the history of the use of the Illyrians as a means to achieve various political goals. The second perspective, which we have presented here, stays in the field of archaeology and observes the process of knowledge creation through analyses of research methods. However, at a

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12    As this page of the diary shows, these are the following barrow numbers: Sokolac-4; Taline-4; Čavarino selo-6; Bandino selo-3; Čardak-4, and Čitluci-3.

certain point Džino's and our perspectives converge. The ideas of Ljudevit Gaj and his Illyrian movement in the 1830s, though politically defeated, still exercised influence in the political and cultural milieu in Croatia in the following decades. This undoubtedly left significant traces on young Truhelka during his days in school. The term *Illyrians*, also supported by the Illyrian movement, developments within the Albanian national awakening and so on, was already generally accepted as a fact. While carrying these ideas, or some of them, during his explorations and in his publications, Truhelka regularly used the terms the *Illyrians* and *Illyrian tribes*, and with his excavations at Glasinac he established the basis of the archaeological Illyrians, who remained connected with Glasinac culture even in the time of Benac and Čović. At present, there is still no publication that would prove why the community of the Autariatae or the Glasinac culture should be called the *Illyrians*, nor is there a clear archaeological assemblage that would imply something like that. Truhelka himself reports that he was not personally carrying out any archaeological research, but Mehaga Pliska, an amateur, did so on Truhelka's behalf. There is also no evidence that Fiala was able to lead the excavations of 868 barrows, considering that his legacy was lost in the National Museum. These facts bring into question the interpretive potential of a large amount of archaeological material from Glasinac. Poorly recorded finds and their contexts make the collected objects more museum props useful for school education and tourism rather than a proper base for understanding processes such as the establishment of the Illyrians. Moreover, we also do not know which objects Truhelka interpreted as Illyrian.

It seems that Truhelka, as well as the subsequent researchers, uncritically assumed that these objects are left by Illyrians because they were already "there" in historical and linguistic interpretations, and suited various political or other goals. Being an Illyrian was, therefore, an idea older than archaeology itself, an idea that was created before archaeological interpretation and therefore could not be its product either. It evidently did not require high expert archaeological knowledge. The role of "Illyrian" archaeology was ultimately to support and make tangible the Illyrian idea, and not the other way around.

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## Ideja ali interpretacija. Oblikovanje identitete Ilirov v zgodnjih arheoloških študijah

**Ključne besede**: Iliri, arheologija v Bosni in Hercegovini, avstro-ogrska arheologija, Glasinac, Ćiro Truhelka, arheološko dokumentiranje

V nacionalnih arheologijah, ki so nastale po koncu Jugoslavije, se je pojavila refleksija starih arheoloških idej, še zlasti o etnogenezi in identiteti Ilirov, teme, ki je prevladovala v jugoslovanski arheologiji. Nove ideje so vključevale tako tiste, ki so nadaljevale in potrjevale stare teorije, kot tudi tiste, ki so skušale dekonstruirati Ilire, kjer je bil najbolj vpliven avtor Danijel Džino. Z našim prispevkom o tem, kako je nastajalo arheološko znanje o Ilirih s prvimi in najbolj množičnimi izkopavanji na Glasincu v 19. stoletju, ki so služila kot empirična podlaga za pripoved o ilirskem Glasincu in Ilirih v jugoslovanski arheologiji v petdesetih letih 20. stoletja, želimo dodati še eno komponento v dekonstrukciji Ilirov.

# Idea or interpretation: forming the identity of Illyrians in early archaeological studies

In the national archaeologies formed after the dissolution of Yugoslavia there emerged new reflections of old archaeological ideas, especially about the ethnogenesis and identity of the Illyrians, topics which dominated Yugoslav archaeology. The new ideas varied from those which continued and reaffirmed older theories to those which attempted to deconstruct them, among which the most influential was that of Danijel Džino. The topic of our paper – how the initial archaeological knowledge about the Illyrians was created – adds another component in deconstructing of Illyrians. The paper analyses the first and most massive excavations at Glasinac in the 19th century which served as an empirical base for creating the narrative of the Illyrian Glasinac and Illyrians in Yugoslav archaeology in the 1950s and 1960s.

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# Into the caves, into the waters. From selective burials to communal cemeteries

## Some precautionary remarks

The archaeological study of prehistoric funerary customs can quickly lead to misleading or at least oversimplified conclusions. Originally, these customs were founded on understanding death and the descendant's relation to death in prehistoric communities. These customs were related to beliefs created and experienced by the given community, and reflected their worldview. Only small pieces of the remains of this complex field of human behaviour can be deduced archaeologically. This holds even more so in earlier prehistory, with scarce and often heavily distorted archaeological evidence. Still, we can assume safely that – as today – burials were cultural and social events in prehistory as well, carried out by the local community, and that graves were – as today – special, semiotically significant places (Stig Sørensen et al., 2023, 6–9).

It also seems safe to assume that the obvious way of dealing with death as a stressful moment in personal and community life was guided by tradition – the well-established system of ways and manners of making spiritual meaning that implicitly answers how to go through this difficult period (Van Gennep, 1960, 146–165). The traditional ways are those that offer comfort during such ceremonies, and are those that one hangs onto during a time of mourning.

In contrast, traditions seems to be fading rather rapidly when dealing with funeral practices in our times. Cremation and other alternative funeral practices are prevailing more and more over the more traditional inhumation. It is not the intention of this paper to explore this extraordinary phenomenon, but instead it aims to re-reflect the earliest prehistoric funerary manifestations in Slovenia.

## Something happened slightly more than three thousand years ago

The site of Podsmreka is an important Middle to early Late Bronze Age settlement, explored extensively due to large motorway rescue excavations. Among its considerable settlement remains, there were also five cremation graves in urns (Murgelj, 2022, 53–54, Figs. 2, 4). We date these graves to 14th–13th cent. BC and thus to the beginnings of the so-called Urnfield culture phenomenon (Teržan, 1999, 100–101; Škvor Jernejčič, 2020, 11–24). There are two unusual features regarding these graves: they are situated inside the contemporary settlement, and they contain exclusively cremated remains of infant and juvenile persons. Although we can regard these graves as a starting point of the European-wide phenomenon of cremation burials at this moment in time, these two unusual features point much more to the conclusion of an extremely long-lasting tradition of selective burials (e.g. child burials) inside contemporaneous settlements. We can trace this tradition in Europe from the beginnings of the Neolithic onwards (e.g. Kaczmarek, 2018; Stolle, 2023).

It was only from the Late Bronze Age onwards when burial grounds of the prehistoric people gained the characteristics of cemeteries in the modern sense on the territory of Slovenia. They were placed outside the boundaries of contemporaneous settlements, and all (or at least most of) the community's dead was buried in them.

Some examples of the initial phase of cemeteries from the 14th–13th centuries BC can be mentioned, e.g. the ones from Ljubljana, Zavrč, Obrežje and Dobova.[1] The remarkable graves from this phase are, in fact, very often richly furnished child graves. It seems as if initial impulses for establishing these cemeteries would represent exceptional graves comparable to old traditions (see below). Only after the burial of these initial graves did the burial grounds become common cemeteries for the entire community. Therefore, from the long-term perspective, burying the deceased in pre-established burial grounds is a rather recent phenomenon. We can trace the intentionally arranged cemeteries as a continuous and prevalent way of treating the deceased in today's Slovenia for no more than the last three millennia, and the treatment of the deceased was much more diverse before that.

## What was going on before?

The prehistory of burial practices on the territory of Slovenia is not a fluent, uninterrupted narrative. In a relatively small and geographically extremely diverse territory,

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1   Škvor Jernejčič, 2021, 120–130 (Ljubljana); Mason, Kramberger, 2022, 58–112 (Obrežje); Blečić Kavur et al., 2018, 189–194 (Zavrč); Kunstelj et al., Nove radiokarbonske datacije z žarnega grobišča v Dobovi (New radiocarbon dates from the urn cemetery in Dobova), lecture held at the archaeological conference Bronasta doba v osrednji Sloveniji (Bronze Age in central Slovenia), Narodni muzej Slovenije, 20th April 2023 (Dobova).

traces of human handling of the remains of the deceased are rare for over more than seven millennia-long period, from the Early Mesolithic to the Late Bronze Age. More precisely, they can be classified from extremely rare in the period between the 8th and 3rd millennia BC to increasingly numerous since the 2nd millennium BC.

After almost a century of systematic research on the Palaeolithic period in Slovenia, there is still no secure data on any discovery of pre-Holocene human bones. In this sense, a more than 60-year-old conclusion from a treatise on this matter is still valid: "… *it turned out that we do not have any reliable evidence for the Paleolithic age of the mentioned human remains.*" (Brodar, 1960–1961, 11).[2]

Between the Mesolithic and the Middle Bronze Age, diverse customs of dealing with the deceased can be observed. Unfortunately, the detailed site contexts of most human remains at this time are very vague and sometimes misleading. This also applies to the oldest human bones discovered in the territory of Slovenia, the skull of a young woman from the Mesolithic hunters' camp from the Ljubija stream on the outskirts of the Ljubljansko barje. Contemporaneous with the camp, the skull is dated to the first half of the 8th millennium BC. The traces of its deposition are not preserved; it is thus impossible to determine whether it was a part of the original grave or a remnant of the widespread selective burial of human bones in the Mesolithic sites (Gaspari et al., 2009, 218).

Another intriguing case presents the cemetery with 30 graves in the cave of Ajdovska jama in Posavje dated to the transition period from the Neolithic to the Copper Age (4350–4200 BC) (Horvat, 2009, 28–30; Turk P. et al., 2021, 112–113, Figs. 149, 151). In Ajdovska jama, there were no actual burials. Instead, only the remains of the deceased or rather selected bones were placed into the side corridors after the complicated procedures of excarnation. The deceased who had been laid in this way were equipped with numerous ceramic recipients (originally filled with food offerings), polished stone axes, flint arrows and ornaments. The precise dating of some of the grave goods shows that the libation ceremonies, intended to commemorate the deceased, continued in the cave long after the bones had been laid to rest.

Apart from the burial site in Ajdovska jama, the earliest cemetery in the territory of Slovenia was recently excavated at Krog near Murska Sobota (Šavel, 2009, 59–138). Here, almost two hundred cremated deceased were buried in urns in the mid-4th millennium BC. Unlike Ajdovska jama, there are almost no grave goods in the graves from Krog apart from the urns. Undoubtedly, in the time span from Ajdovska jama to the burials at Krog, a radical change took place in people's spiritual life. There is a gap between the cultural phenomena that took place in Slovenia during the 5th millennium BC and those in the mid-4th millennium BC, a period of several centuries of absence

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2    Recently, a proposal for a Middle Palaeolithic age was put forward for a child tooth from Partizanska jama (Jamnik et al., 2015, 720–723), but it was rejected (Turk M. et al., 2018).

of settlements. The radical change from placing the deceased in cave corridors to their burning and placing in urn graves is certainly also a reflection of radically different notions of the afterlife. However, the urn cemetery at Krog is an exceptional case in an area where Copper Age cemeteries are almost completely absent. The Krog cemetery is, in fact, peripheral to the core area of the contemporaneous Copper Age Baden cultural complex in the central and western Pannonian plain (Horváth, 2022).

It is only at the beginning of the Bronze Age, some 1,500 years later, that a few graves (e.g., at Slivnica and Lancova vas) from the end of the 3rd millennium BC are documented.[3] More regular open-air funeral practices seem to resume later, in the Middle Bronze Age with a variety of small barrow cemeteries, never exceeding a handful of inhumated graves, e.g. at Brezje below Brinjeva gora and Morje near Fram (Črešnar et al., 2014, 679–681).

The common feature of the graves between the Mesolithic and Middle Bronze Age is that they are very sparsely scattered – in time and space – across the territory of Slovenia. For most of the time, until the Late Bronze Age, we do not actually know how people buried their dead. Although it would be better to say we do not know how the dead were treated in general, as burial was only one of the possible ways of handling the bodies of the deceased. The only recognizable constant in burials between the Mesolithic and the Middle Bronze Age (8th–2nd millennia BC), are numerous human burials or disposals discovered in caves.[4] Unlike the well-documented grave ritual in Ajdovska jama, we know of only scattered bones and grave goods from poorly explored graves from caves, most often discovered without the presence of archaeologists. We can only reasonably speculate about similar or less similar burial practices as in Ajdovska jama.[5]

Only a few notes can be given regarding keeping the excarnated predecessors' remains close to the activities of daily life in the settlements. Again, the lack of reliable excavation information, as is the case of the Late Copper Age (mid-3rd millennium BC) pile dwellings near Ig at the Ljubljansko barje marshes (the so-called

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3   Tica et al. (in press) (Slivnica 3: two Somogyvár–Vinkovci horizon graves); Blečić Kavur, Kovačič, Zgodnjebronastodobni grob iz Lancove vasi (An Early Bronze Age grave from the Lancova vas), lecture held at the archaeological conference Bronasta doba v severovzhodni Sloveniji (Bronze Age in north-eastern Slovenia), Narodni muzej Slovenije, 26th May 2022 (Lancova vas: a Kisapostag horizon grave).

4   E.g. Viktorjev spodmol (Turk M., 2022, 66): possible remains of a Mesolithic grave; Koblarska jama (Leben, 1978, 18s; Jamnik et al., 2002): graves and grave goods from the Middle Copper Age and possibly from the Bronze Age; Krška jama (Murgelj, 2018; Škvor Jernejčič, 2020, 477–479): graves and grave goods from the Middle Bronze Age and possibly from the Early Copper Age; Korinčeva jama near Dolnje Ležeče, Jermanova jama in Posavje, Ciganska jama near Kočevje (Leben, 1978, 14, 18, 19): poorly preserved evidence of Copper Age burials; Jama pod Jamskim gradom near Postojna, Postojnska jama, Šibernica in Bled (Leben, 1978, 14, 17): poorly preserved evidence of Early to Middle Bronze Age burials.

5   Though it exceeds the scope of this paper, it is worth mentioning that cave burials imply not only the obvious connection to the sacred and numinous underworld, to the chthonic, but also to more complex dichotomies, e.g. to the ambiguous feelings of the uncanny and the sublime (see e. g. Mlekuž Vrhovnik, 2021). No doubt, these were also important reasons for cave burials.

first Dežman's pile dwelling), prevents us from drawing any firm conclusions. Originally, six human skulls and nine long extremity bones were collected together with numerous settlement artefacts and animal bones during the excavations in 1875 (Štefančič 1992; Turk P. et al. 2021, 114, Fig. 153). There is no documentation regarding the detailed site context of these bones, so it remains an open question as to whether we are dealing here with some kind of inside-settlement graves, perhaps in the sense of human sacrifice remains,[6] or some other type of keeping selected human remains within the community of the living (Horváth 2022, 71–73).

Recently a thesis was put forward on an additional way of treating the cremated remains of the deceased – their immersion in the waters of the Ljubljanica River (Erjavec et al. 2012). Intensive underwater surveys revealed that apart from a few sections of the river with high concentrations of bronze weapons, most likely votive offerings, there is one section, the site of Kamin near Bevke, where extremely high concentrations of Late Bronze Age ceramics appear. Though mostly fragmented, the recipients are relatively well preserved and formally very close to the vessels, usually used as urns and their covers at contemporaneous Urnfield culture cemeteries. The vessels are typologically dated between the 13th and 10th centuries BC and could be viewed as remains of the burial rite, complementary to the contemporaneous urn cemeteries.

An additional note should be made regarding the discovery of a skeleton in denuded banks at the confluence of Bistra and Ljubljanica with a Late Bronze Age spearhead in his chest (Gaspari 2002). It is located in an area with a high concentration of bronzes deposited in the river as votive offerings, but one cannot ignore similar environmental circumstances of the so-called bog bodies. They were also discovered in the marshy contexts in western and northern Europe, with frequent evidence of violent death on their often extremely well-preserved corpses (Gaspari, 2002, 40–41; Aldhouse Green 2015). The reasons for such a violent death could be either connected to some kind of sacrifice or to some kind of sanctioning.

Both ways of dealing with the death and the bodies of the deceased – keeping their bones close to the community of the living and submerging them in rivers, remain speculative due to extremely scarce evidence. All the way through early prehistory, from the Mesolithic to the Bronze Age, the disposal or burying of the dead in caves remained the major mode of placement of the bodies of the deceased in the area we are considering. The large cemeteries of the entire communities begin to dominate only in the second half, or indeed, only towards the end of the 2nd millennium BC.

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6    See for example data on contemporaneous remains of probable human sacrifice at Vučedol (Durman, 2000, 40–50).

## What was going on after?

It seems that cave burial also retained its importance in some regions during the Iron Age. This holds true especially for the regions of Notranjska and Kras in SW Slovenia.[7] However, newly established communal cemeteries are also numerous and widespread in these two regions.[8]

Recent evidence about depositing the deceased in waters suggests that this type of burial also existed in the Iron Age. Two of 16 human skulls, discovered in the Ljubljanica River, were radiocarbon dated to the period between the 3rd and 1st centuries BC (Gaspari, 2002, 39–40; Laharnar et al., 2018, 169, Fig. 194). It seems intriguing that these two skulls come from the Late Iron Age, when practically no graves are known from the Ljubljansko barje and its surroundings (Štrajhar et al., 2013, 40). So far, we have no evidence about the funerary practices from nearby large and prosperous settlements in Ljubljana, Ig and Vrhnika. The two submerged skulls from the Ljubljanica River may give us a hint on one of the possible ways of treating the deceased in this period, and if the ritual of submerging the deceased took place in this river during the Late Iron Age, it is highly probable that only some highly valued parts of the body (e.g. skulls) were deposited here.

Unlike previous periods, the 1st millennium BC is marked by numerous cemeteries across the whole territory of Slovenia. The burials often count in the hundreds, and in the thousands in better-explored cemeteries, which were in continuous use for several centuries and in some cases for well over 500 years.[9] Cremation of the deceased is a prevailing funeral rite, although there are remarkable regional exceptions, as seen in the inhumation burials under large, long-lasting family barrows in the Dolenjska region (Teržan, 2010; Tecco Hvala, 2012).

## From short-lived villages to long-living agglomerations

It seems that in Slovenia, including its neighbouring regions, the adoption of the so-called Neolithic package (sedentary way of life, agriculture, pasture, pottery, and polished stone tools) during the 5th millennium BC was not complete. Frequently, Balkan and Pannonian Neolithic and Copper Age settlements are accompanied by large communal cemeteries, where all or at least a substantial part of the population of a community was buried. We can observe only the occasional emergence of this

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7   E.g. Tominčeva jama and Okostna jama in the Škocjan area (Turk P. et al., 2016, 55, 60), Pečinka and Jelenca jama in northern Kras (Leben, 1978, 14), Liljevka above Grahovo in Notranjska (Laharnar, 2022, 212–213).

8   See for example numerous Notranjska cemeteries (Laharnar, 2022, 43s, 47, 134, 142, 166s, 180, 194s, 216s) and Škocjan area cemeteries (Turk P. et al., 2016).,

9   Recent research resumed in Teržan, 2019, 331–334; Teržan, 2021, 257–259; Teržan 2022, 384–392; Teržan, 2023, 348–352.

phenomenon in cemeteries, as seen in the one at Krog near Murska Sobota, which lies at the SW border of the Pannonian plane.

It is only from the late 2nd millennium BC that a shift towards larger communal cemeteries can be observed. It seems that fragmented communities had short-lasting, small burial grounds of selected individuals (mostly in caves) that strongly prevailed in the focal regions until the Late Bronze Age, when large and long-lasting communal cemeteries dominated. It seems that one major worldview replaced the other three thousand years ago.

Can we infer other main aspects of social behaviour that would possibly correlate to these two major worldviews deriving from archaeological funeral data? If we look at the settlement patterns in the "cave burial" period (5th–2nd millennium BC) and the "cemetery burial" period (from the late 2nd millennium BC onwards), some differences can be seen, especially regarding the duration of settlements. The earlier period settlements are short-lived. High-precision chronologies obtained from dendrochronological data from the Ljubljansko barje pile-dwellings prove that they did not exceed the life span of more than two or three generations at the most (Velušček et al., 2000, 88–96). Even if there is complex stratigraphic evidence to the longevity of some of the Neolithic and Copper Age settlements, recent accurate absolute chronological analyses clearly attest discontinuities with centuries-long hiatuses of no occupation of these settlements.[10] One could reasonably assume a more fragmented and less stratified society from these data.

An important *caveat* should be mentioned regarding simple equations between selective burial of only part of the population and a less complex, unstratified society. Some monumental stone burial mounds, situated at the mountaintops in the western Slovenian Kras region, e.g. the ones at Rabotnica and Medvedjak, contain single inhumation graves in stone cists.[11] We can safely assume that only a small part of the elite of the Middle Bronze Age Castellieri culture was buried in these.[12] The great majority of the deceased were thus treated in an unknown way that did not result in graves. The fact, however, remains that in earlier, pre-Iron Age complex and highly stratified societies burying the deceased in graves was also connected with only a small part of the population.

More complex settlements that were inhabited for several centuries emerged at the end of the 2nd millennium, as is the case with "proto-urban" settlements, such as Ormož and Ljubljana (Dular et al., 2010; Vojaković, 2023). From this time onwards

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10   As is the case with the settlements of Gradec near Mirna and Moverna vas (Sraka, 2020, 7, 16, 28).

11   Gabrovec 1983, 48–49. Unfortunately, there is very scarce information on these mounds, partly explored by non-specialists at the end of the 19th century.

12   See e.g. Bratina, 2018, 174–179, Figs. 2 and 4 for some insights in the Castellieri culture hillforts from the Kras and the Vipava valley. Recent research at the contemporaneous central settlement of Monkodonja in southern Istria revealed some cist inhumations, positioned at hillfort entrances, as well as nearby stone burial mounds where, again, only small portion of the elite was buried (Mihovilić et al., 2022, 68, 316–320).

– with the first peak in the Early Iron Age – we can infer the existence of complex chiefdom societies over a wider territory with dynamic hierarchical relations between the main, central settlements, already showing numerous characteristics of detailed urban design, regional centres and local settlements (Dular et al., 2007; Teržan, 2022, 380–384; 2023, 346–348).

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## V jame in vode. Od selektivnih pokopov do grobišč celih skupnosti

**Ključne besede**: Slovenija, arheologija, prazgodovina, obredi pokopavanja, inhumacija, kremacija, pokop v jamah

Človekov dvoumen, ambivalenten in neracionalen odnos do smrti je prisoten skozi vso človeško zgodovino. Pri soočanju s takim stresnim trenutkom nas običajno vodi tradicija. Uveljavljeno obredje ter navade podeljevanja in vzdrževanja duhovnega smi-

sla nam implicitno pomagajo prebroditi to težavno obdobje. Gledano z dolgoročne perspektive je pokopavanje na predhodno urejenih grobiščih recenten pojav. Na slovenskem prostoru lahko namensko urejena grobišča kot kontinuirano in prevladujočo obliko pokopavanja ugotavljamo šele v zadnjih treh tisočletjih oziroma od pozne bronaste dobe naprej. Pred tem je bilo obravnavanje pokojnih veliko bolj raznoliko. V času od odkritja najstarejših človeških ostankov v mezolitiku (8.–7. tis. pr. n. št) pa do bronaste dobe (2. tis. pr. n. št) so bile na Slovenskem ugotovljene tri glavne oblike pokopavanja. Prva in najpogostejša oblika je bilo izpostavljanje oz. pokopavanje mrtvih v jamah. Drugo obliko predstavlja ohranjanje ekskarniranih teles prednikov v bližini naselij oz. vsakdanjem življenju. Tretja oblika je pokopavanje na grobiščih. Novejše raziskave so pokazale še na četrto obliko, odlaganje pokojnikov v reke in jezera. Toda šele od pozne bronaste dobe dalje je pokopavanje vseh članov skupnosti na skupnem grobišču prevladujoč običaj.

## Into the caves, into the waters. From selective burials to communal cemeteries

**Keywords:** Slovenia, archaeology, prehistory, funeral customs, inhumation, cremation, burial in caves

People's ambiguous, ambivalent, non-rational and nonsensical relation towards death is a constant feature throughout the human past. The obvious way of dealing with such a stressful moment in personal and community life is guided by tradition – the well-established system of ways and manners of making spiritual meaning that implicitly answers how to go through this difficult period.

From the long-term perspective, burying the deceased in pre-established burial grounds is a rather recent phenomenon. We can trace the intentionally arranged cemeteries as a continuous and prevalent way of treating the deceased in today's Slovenia for no more than the last three millennia, from the Late Bronze Age onwards. The treatment of the deceased was much more diverse before that.

From the earliest discoveries of human remains in the territory of Slovenia in the Mesolithic (8th–7th mill. BC) to the Bronze Age (2nd mill. BC), three different major manifestations of treating the remains of the deceased are documented. The first and most numerous was to expose and/or bury the deceased in the caves. The second was keeping the excarnated predecessors' remains close to the daily life in the settlements. The third was to bury human remains in cemeteries. However, recent research revealed the fourth way of handling the dead – the immersion of their remains in the waters. Only from the Late Bronze Age onwards does burying all the deceased of a given community in communal cemeteries become the dominant custom.

## O avtorju

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# On lustful deities and the ontological turn in the archaeology of ancient Egypt

## Introduction

One of the recent developments in archaeological theory is a heterogenous interpretative approach inspired by New Materialism, posthumanism, speculative realism, object-oriented ontology and the ontological turn in anthropology (among others Alberti, 2012; Fahlander, 2017, 72; Harris et al., 2017; Olsen, 2010).[1] Those inclined towards New Materialism are critical of the notion that archaeology treats things as merely vehicles for something else (Witmore, 2014, 203). Advocates of these developments go beyond the concept of "secondary agency" for objects, as formulated in anthropology and art history (Gell, 1998), and towards the social, understood as being constituted not only by humans but also by a plethora of other actants, including non-human entities (Bennett, 2010; Latour, 1993; 2005). Those inspired by the ontological turn in anthropology draw their inspiration from ethnographic studies advocating for an ontological turn based on encounters with communities such as indigenous Amazonians and other Amerindians. In these communities, animals and plants have the same culture as humans, i.e., blood is to jaguars what manioc beer is to humans, though they have different natures. This perspective has led to the understanding that there can be more than one world, each populated by different things (Viveiros de Castro, 2014, 57; 2015, 27).

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1   It is important to stress that these intellectual movements have considerable differences that do not allow them to be lumped into what some would call a new paradigm. For example, Bruno Latour's (1993, 2005) Actor-Network Theory refers to the specific configuration of actants that come together in a particular network at a given moment, always in a state of becoming and evolving. Jane Bennett's (2010) vibrant matter is a concept that refers to materiality as inherently relational. Graham Harman's (2005, 1) object-oriented ontology is an approach in which objects have a withdrawn essence, and "the relation of humans to pollen, oxygen, eagles, or windmill is no different in kind from the interaction of these objects with each other". Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's (2014, 56–73) multinaturalism implies the existence of one culture and many natures in the world of Amerindians, so that epistemology remains constant and ontologies become variable. There is thus a difference in understanding of ontology among ethnographers in Brazil and philosophers advocating for New Materialism or speculative realism and object-oriented ontology. Archaeologists advocating for New Materialist, posthumanist, and object-oriented archaeology are not really clear which of these various understandings of reality they adhere to, surely a consequence of half-baked disciplinary transfer (see Babić, 2019; Ribeiro, 2019, 28).

Common to all of these approaches is a move away from what some have termed "the tyranny of meaning" (Back Danielsson et al., 2012, 2; see also Olsen, 2010: 3). The central tenets of these varied approaches and their applications in archaeology can be summarized as follows:

1. Flat ontology, implies that "the analyst cannot declare-in advance of the analysis-whether people, animals, things, landscapes, or whatever is playing a more or less important role" (Crellin et al., 2021, 9). In a more extreme version advocated by object-oriented ontology, all objects are considered equally real and significant. However, as Graham Harman stresses, premature taxonomies should not be imported from outside, and existing taxonomies should not be neglected. For example, attempts at a flat ontology that would treat God, humans, and animals in the Middle Ages in the same way are conceptually on thin ice. The goal is not only to describe the features of things but also to highlight the differences between their various kinds (Harman, 2017, 55).

2. "Displacement of the human as the logical point of departure" (Fahlander, 2017, 69). This has been criticized by archaeologists who emphasize that in everyday life our practices prioritize human responsibility. This means that insisting on ethical asymmetry between humans and things does not mean denying the capacity of objects to act or affect (Ribeiro, 2016, 231–232; 2021a, 534–535).

3. "When everything is human, the human becomes a wholly other thing" (Viveiros de Castro, 2014, 63). Ethnographic records abound with worlds in which personhood is not limited to humans, and where animals, plants and spirits see themselves as humans and others as nonhumans. This is why the proponents of the ontological turn insist that indigenous ideas should be regarded as concepts with philosophical meaning and potential philosophical use (Viveiros de Castro, 2014, 189).

4. Things are seen as assemblages and participants (Witmore, 2014, 204), and they should be approached and apprehended as "things *qua* things" (Olsen et al., 2021, 7).

5. Archaeology without the past and as the discipline of things (Witmore, 2014, 204).

6. Abandoning the reductive emphasis on material properties (Witmore, 2014, 205) and focusing on what materials do rather than on what they are (Back Danielsson et al., 2012, 7).

Advocates of New Materialism and the ontological turn in archaeology plead for an approach that starts with material things and follows them wherever they may lead

(Witmore, 2014, 205). In the words of Bruno Latour (2005, 62) we have to "follow the natives, no matter which metaphysical imbroglios they lead us into". From the discussion above, it becomes evident that most of the philosophers and archaeologists concerned with New Materialism, posthumanism, speculative realism, and object-oriented ontology focus more on humans and things than on other nonhumans such as animals or plants (for these see Žakula et al., 2019). This might be because not many would deny the "real existence" of these entities. Indeed, following Graham Harman (2017, 27) those who would deny the "real existence" of spirits, demons and deities do so because they define "real existence" as "physical existence". However, we can think of plenty of things that are not physical but are undoubtedly real, such as the Dutch East India Company. Thus, when it comes to nonhumans like spirits and deities, these appear to be an entirely different matter, one that posthumanist approaches to archaeology have largely avoided (but see Matić, 2019a; 2019b). This raises a question already posed by Artur Ribeiro (2016, 233): "Today agency concerns objects; tomorrow, who knows?" Might I add deities? This question was also raised by Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2014, 194), who asked: "What happens when one takes indigenous thought seriously?"

The answers to these questions require a clear definition of how we understand the actants involved in a past or present case we are studying. This paper does not intend to definitively answer whether there are indeed many worlds out there rather than one world with many cultures (Viveiros de Castro, 2014, 71–72; 2015, 58–59). Furthermore, I distance myself from the idea of being capable of fully understanding how any past world worked and leave this task to those who claim such capability (Crellin et al., 2021, 8; for the harmfulness of this idea, see Ribeiro, 2019, 28; 2021b, 32). However, in this paper, I do not neglect the specificities of the world in which ancient Egyptians lived – a world we can attempt to comprehend through the study of texts, images and other remnants. This world included humans, animals, plants, things, demons, spirits and deities often encountered in the environment or manifested in animals, plants and minerals (Rummel, 2016; von Lieven, 2004).[2] While some may view the latter as products of imagination, such an approach does not really help us to understand the world of ancient Egyptians. From this perspective, an entity we encounter in the texts or images representing their world *bona fide* exists and can be considered significant for social analysis "only insofar as the knowing subjects are consciously aware of it and are able to discursively articulate this experience" (Olsen, 2010, 63). Ancient Egyptians, as knowing subjects, were consciously aware of spirits and deities and were capable of articulating their experiences in relation to them. They conveyed these experiences in texts and images, which we, as Egyptologists, study.

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2  This resembles what Philippe Descola (1994) termed "society of nature" in Amazonia, a collective in which humans, animals, plants, minerals, and astronomical bodies are agents.

Now that the question of the entities involved is clarified, I would like to formulate the central question of this paper: How should we interpret cases in which deities and humans are attested engaging in sexual intercourse with each other? To narrow this down further, I am particularly interested in instances where this intercourse involves fictional members of well-known social groups (such as wives of priests and *ḫnm.wt* women) or actual historical figures (like Ahmose, the mother of the female ruler Hatshepsut, and Mutemwiya, the mother of the pharaoh Amenhotep III).

Furthermore, to emphasize that sexual desires of deities were also satisfied in an earthly context, I will explore the evidence for sexual encounters between statues of deities. Drawing on recent approaches to imagery inspired by New Materialism and ontological turn (Back Danielsson et al., 2012, 1), I will focus on the multisensory aspects of texts that visually describe sexual encounters between statues of deities. By sexual encounters, I do not refer to the well-known practice of agalmatophilia documented in the ancient Greek world (Hersey, 2009; Scobie et al., 1975; White, 1978), but rather to sexual interactions between deities in their statue forms.

While in this paper I primarily rely on evidence from ancient texts, this does not align with what some proponents of the ontological turn in archaeology envision as post-discursive archaeology. Nevertheless, I prefer to begin with textual or otherwise mediated encounters rather than "direct engagements with things themselves in their concrete and messy manifestations" (Olsen et al., 2021, 7). My reason for this preference is the consideration of social context. As I will demonstrate in this paper, when adopting an object-oriented ontology and viewing deities and statues of deities as objects in their own right, we risk neglecting the past social context in which we, as archaeologists and historians, encounter them and their desires. In the words of Viveiros de Castro (2014, 131), we are overlooking a field that is "ontologically heterogenous and sociologically continuous". Simultaneously, we neglect the archaeological record upon which our interpretations should be based (cf. Ribeiro, 2019, 25–29). The social context of sexual encounters between humans and deities and between deities as statues allows us to recognize the power relations at play in these encounters (cf. Ribeiro, 2021b, 22). Just like Michel Foucault (1978) argued, where there is sex, there is power.

## Sexual encounters between deities and humans

The first question of this paper pertains to the sexual encounters between ancient Egyptian deities and humans. Our sources for these encounters are not numerous, and most of them are well-known in Egyptology. Therefore, I will primarily focus on the aspects of sexual interactions between deities and humans, avoiding extensive summarization. The evidence will be presented chronologically, from older to more recent

sources. Towards the end of this section, I will identify patterns and explore their potential interpretations.

In the well-known *Tale of the Herdsman*, partly preserved on the 12ᵗʰ Dynasty (approx. 1991–1802 BCE) Papyrus Berlin 3024, a herdsman encounters a goddess in a bucolic setting of grazing land. The herdsman describes her as a woman (*s.t-ḥm.t*) who possessed a non-human form (*nn sj m twt.w³ rmṯ.w*). In the story, the herdsman finds the external appearance of this non-human woman frightening (Darnell, 2010, 100–131). The motif of the goddess Hathor emerging from the mountain and appearing through the marshy plants is well-attested, as seen in the vignette of spell 185 from the *Book of the Dead* on the Papyrus of Ani (British Museum EA10470,37) from the 19ᵗʰ Dynasty, approx. 1292–1189 BCE (Figure 1). This depiction helps us to imagine the bucolic setting in which the herdsman encountered the goddess.



Figure 1. Detail of the vignette of spell 185 from the *Book of the Dead* of the Papyrus of Ani (British Museum EA10470,37) showing the goddess Hathor emerging from the mountain and appearing through the reeds of the marshes (graphic based on https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/686310001).

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3    Here I follow the reading of Thomas Schneider (2007, 311–312). For other readings see Allen, 2015a, 362; Darnell, 2010, 102.

The fact that the encounter between the herdsman and goddess took place in an erotically charged setting is supported by the well-documented existence of bucolic and marshy environments as significant backdrops for sexual encounters in ancient Egypt. This is elaborately described in the so-called love poetry of the New Kingdom, approx. 1550–1070 BCE (Caramello, 2007, 539–544; Darnell, 2016, 22–23). The marshy sexscape might have even been an inspiration for the sexually suggestive phrase *s3b sš* which translates to "roaming/cruising through the marshes". This phrase is attested in a hymn to the goddess Hathor from Medamud during the Ptolemaic period, 305–30 BCE (Darnell, 1995, 49–50). However, despite the herdsman encountering the goddess in a location where couples met for sexual activities, the story does not progress in that direction. I will explore possible reasons for this later in this section.

I would now like to explore another well-known story found in Papyrus Westcar (Papyrus Berlin 3033, 9.9–10), which mentions a woman named Ruddjedet. She was the wife of a *w'b* priest of the god Re (Blackman, 1988, 11–12) and is described as pregnant with three children of Re (Lepper, 2008, 148, 188–189, 318–319).[4] The divine nature of these children is further emphasized by the description of their bodies, which had golden limbs and headdresses described as being of genuine lapis lazuli (Lepper, 2008, 49). This description of divine bodies finds parallels in other ancient texts. For instance, in the Middle Kingdom *Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor*, the giant serpent encountered by the sailor is a form of the Sun god and is described as follows: *h'.w=f shr.w m nbw jn.wy=fy m hsbd m3'* "His flesh was overlaid with gold and his eyebrows were of real lapis lazuli" (Allen, 2015a, 22). In Papyrus Harris 501 from the 19th or 20th. Dynasty, in section H, the Ogdoad (eight primordial deities worshiped in Hermopolis) describes the body of god Amun as follows: *ḳs.w=f ḥḏ jwf=f m nbw ḥry-tp=f m ḥsbd m3'.t* "His bones are silver, his flesh gold, his hair is real lapis lazuli" (Lange, 1927, 38). In the great Hibis temple hymn to Amun, the Ogdoad also describes the body of god Amun as follows: *ḳs.w=f ḥḏ jnm=f m nbw ḥry-tp=f m ḥsbd m3'.t* "His bones are silver, his skin gold, his hair is real lapis lazuli" (Davies, 1953, Pl. 3).

The pregnancy of Ruddjedet by the god Re in Papyrus Westcar is related to the story known in Egyptology as the *Divine Birth Legend*. The earliest known form of this legend is found in the pyramid complex of 5th Dynasty king Djedkare, approx. 2410–2380 BCE (Megahed et al., 2015, 275–277). Another early attestation can be found in the causeway of king Senwosret III, approx. 1882–1842 BCE in Dahshur (Oppenheim, 2011, 171, 183). The persistence of this narrative underscores its significance for the ancient Egyptian ruling elite.

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4    For a summary of historical interpretations see Gundacker, 2015, 156, 310.

However, the most detailed version of the *Divine Birth Legend* is found in the inscriptions at the Deir-el Bahari temple during the reign of the female pharaoh Hatshepsut, approx. 1479–1458 BCE, and in the Luxor temple of Amenhotep III, approx. 1388–1351 BCE. As these texts share substantial content similarities, I will provide a summary of both (Figure 2).
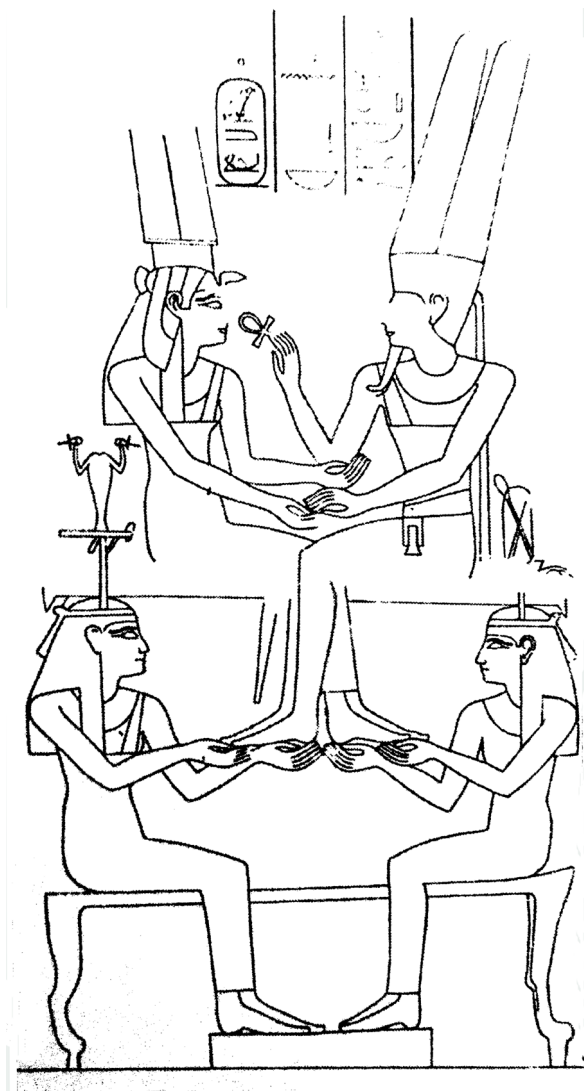


Figure 2. The god Amun and queen Mutemwiya, mother of Amenhotep III sitting on a bed, detail of the *Divine Birth Legend* representation, Luxor temple (after Brunner, 1986, Tf. 4).

These texts inform us how the mother of Hatshepsut, named Ahmose (Deir-el Bahari version), and the mother of Amenhotep III, named Mutemwiya (Luxor version), were sleeping in their palaces when they were visited by the god Amun, who took on the form of their husbands: Thutmose I (approx. 1504–1492 BCE), the husband of Ahmose, and Thutmose IV (approx. 1397–1388 BCE), the husband of Mutemwiya (Sethe, 1906, 219.13–220.6). The queens were awakened by the divine smell of frankincense, which was considered a sign of Amun's presence in ancient Egypt. However, upon opening their eyes, they saw their husbands before them. Each of them smiled at her husband. Amun spread (*ḥꜣd*) himself towards each woman, and each woman rejoiced to see his *nfr* ("beauty", alternatively "beautiful one"). His love (*mrw.t*) entered into their bodies, and the entire palace was filled with the scent of the land of Punt, known for its frankincense, and the birthplace of Amun (Sethe, 1906, 345.6–8). I have argued in detail elsewhere why the word *nfr* here has to be understood as a reference to the penis of Amun (Matić, 2018a; 2018b; see also Rikala, 2008: 117, f. 8 for this possibility but without further discussion). Therefore, I will only summarize my arguments here. Clearly, as proponents of posthumanist approaches in archaeology would argue, the materiality of the human and divine body, as well as their representations found in the texts, are crucial for their interpretation (cf. Back Danielsson et al., 2012, 4). I turn to these next.

The verb *ḥꜣd* 𓏏𓈖𓅓𓂸 is written with a phallus determinative. Therefore, the spreading of the god Amun towards these women can be understood as a description of an erection (similar to "in Erregung geraten" von Lieven, 2013, 159). For instance, in the Ptolemaic Papyrus Bremner-Rhind (British Museum 10188) from the 4th century BCE, it is stated: *ḥꜣd=j m ḫfꜤ=j dtꜣy.n=j m ḏr.t=j* "I satisfied myself with my fist, and I copulated with my hand" (Faulkner, 1933, 60. 11). The love (*mrw.t*) of the god entering bodies of the queens can be understood as ejaculation. This is also supported by a parallel from Papyrus MMA 35.9.21 (7, 10) in which goddess Nephthys tells Osiris that she came because of his wish to relieve (*sfḫ*) his love (*mrw.t)* in her body (von Lieven, 2006, 145). The consequence of Amun's love entering the bodies of the queens is that the entire palace smelled like Punt, the land of frankincense. Frankincense is produced by *Boswellia* trees as a milky-white, sticky substance that flows from the trunk when injured, eventually healing the wound (Espinel, 2017, 25). It is collected as a valuable aromatic resource after drying. The characteristic smell of frankincense is already present before the substance dries. Given that Amun's birthplace is Punt, in the context of the *Divine Birth Legend*, some material properties of fresh frankincense resin, such as colour and consistency, intriguingly resemble those of sperm. This observation aligns with the notion that the divine can be found not only in so-called sacred animals in ancient Egypt but in nature as a whole (von Lieven, 2004, 167). One could even argue that such an understanding of the divine bodily fluids aligns with

the concept of vital materialism proposed by Jane Bennett (2010). After the god had an erection (verb *ḥꜣd*), the women rejoiced at seeing his *nfr*. Although the word *nfr* in these texts is not written with a phallus determinative, in other texts where the *nfr* of the god is mentioned the determinative is present, as I will discuss in the next section of this paper. Therefore, the *Divine Birth Legend*, as attested in Deir el-Bahari and Luxor temples, provides a rather explicit description of the sexual encounter between the god Amun who took the form of the living pharaoh to have intercourse with his wife and thus ensure the continuation of the divine line of pharaohs. Mia Rikala (2008, 143–144) even suggested that the king and his wife consummated their marriage in the form of a ceremony in which the king assumed the role of Amun-Re and the queen the role of Hathor. Indeed, the daughter of Amun, Hatshepsut, is described in another text from Deir el-Bahari as having the fragrance of a god, mingling with the scent of Punt. Her skin is gold-plated with electrum and glitters like the stars. Indeed, she has the body of a goddess, and Hathor is often described like this (Matić, 2018a, 45–47).

Lastly, I would like to discuss another case from a later period. In a *Book of the Dead* spell found in the Ptolemaic period Papyrus Leiden T20 and Papyrus Louvre 3218 (Allam, 2006), which can be identified as supplementary spell 162 (Wüthrich, 2015, 32–79), it is stated about the god Osiris: *mṯꜣ=k m-ẖnw ẖnm.wt* "your penis is in *ẖnm.wt* women". A *ẖnm.t* ⸗⸗⸗ is a term for a woman, and in these papyri, it is written with a phallus determinative ⸗⸗⸗. This has led some authors to suggest that these women could be sex workers. If the term is indeed interpreted in this manner, it remains puzzling why Osiris would have intercourse with a sex worker (Quack, 2009, 158). If indeed *ẖnm.wt* were sex workers, this could be related to Osiris's lustfulness and his alleged adultery with Nephthys, who was the wife of Seth, as attested in Plutarch, Papyrus MMA 35.9.21, and PGM IV 94–153 (von Lieven, 2006, 144–145).

An overview of textual sources attesting to sexual encounters between deities and humans reveals several interesting patterns. These encounters typically involve male gods, such as Re, Amun, and Osiris, as active, penetrating partners, and human women, including the wives of priests, the wives of ruling kings, and potentially sex workers, as passive, penetrated partners. In all of these cases the women are either married or could be sex workers, and thus they cannot be considered virgins in a strict sense (Green, 2001; von Lieven, 2013). When these women are married, their husbands are either priests or pharaohs, and their offspring are destined to become future pharaohs. When it comes to women who may be sex workers, we are not informed about the potential offspring. This indicates that being impregnated by the gods was a privilege reserved for women from the ruling family. Therefore, a focus on relations, as advocated by proponents of posthumanist approaches in archaeology, should not overlook the identities of those involved. It becomes evident that the distinction between the divine nature of pharaohs and the human nature is, in fact, a reflection of class difference! Ad-

ditionally, the fact that in the *Divine Birth Legend*, the god Amun disguises himself as the pharaoh and husband of the queen in order to sleep with her is not coincidental. In this way, the queen is not committing adultery, an act both practiced and condemned by ancient Egyptians. Literary stories portray adultery as an act that invariably leads to a tragic fate for the women involved, as they often meet a violent end, and their names are not even recorded (Matić, 2021: 29–34).

Examining the meeting between the herdsman and goddess in the *Tale of the Herdsman*, it becomes evident that encounters between human men and female deities were perceived as terrifying. However, in light of the ontological and class distinctions I previously emphasized, we can delve deeper into this argument and propose that in such a sexual encounter human men would take on the role of active penetrating partners, while the goddesses would assume a passive role. As a result, such a sexual encounter would reverse the established ontological order, placing the goddesses in a subordinate position to human men. This is because, in ancient Egypt, passive partners (women and passive men) were, at least in principle, subordinated to the penetrating partners (active men) (Matić, 2021: 137–143). Furthermore, any potential offspring with a human father would have a legitimate claim in the divine world due to their divine mother. It is thus understandable why such scenarios were avoided. Therefore, what may appear to be an ontological difference ultimately relies on royal legitimation and on ancient form of patriarchy, both being ideologies par excellence.

## Sexual encounters between deities as statues

The second question of this paper pertains to the sexual encounters between ancient Egyptian deities, albeit in the form of statues residing in earthly temples. I will argue that the information derived from ancient Egyptian textual sources allows us to consider the notion of deities materializing as statues, thus potentially engaging in sexual activities on Earth.

Ancient Egyptian statues of deities were more than artistic representations. They were adorned, meticulously maintained, and presented with offerings in the form of food and drink (Meskell, 2004, 87–115). These divine statues were the materialized embodiment of the deities, serving as focal points (Quack, 2015, 255). Like the statues of the Near Eastern deities, those from ancient Egypt also resided in temples ("houses of deities"), and, intriguingly they were known to travel to visit each other. When Near Eastern statues of deities are concerned, in Amarna letter EA 23 (13–17), sent by the Mitannian king Tushratta to the Egyptian pharaoh Amenhotep III, it is mentioned that the goddess Shaushka of Niniveh expressed her desire to travel to Egypt and return. Tushratta further claims that the goddess had already visited Egypt during the reign of his father, Shuttarna II (Moran, 1992, 61). Some scholars have suggested that

Tushratta sent a statue of the goddess to Egypt (Allen, 2015b, 165; Forstner-Müller et al., 2002, 156; Quack, 2015, 268; Singer, 2016). One can only imagine that such a statue might have resembled limestone counterparts of Shaushka (Figure 3), like the statue of the goddess Narundi/Narunte from Susa (109cm high), dating back to ca. 2100 BC, and now in the Louvre Museum (SB 54-body, SB 6617-body).[5]



Figure 3. Statue of the goddess Narundi/Narunte from Susa, in Louvre Museum, SB 54-body, SB 6617-body (https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Statue_Narundi_ Louvre_Sb54-Sb6617.jpg, courtesy of Wikimedia user Jastrow).

5    This statue was discovered in the temple located to the south of the Ninhursag temples and was dedicated by Puzur-Inshushinak. The goddess is adorned in distinctive deity attire, featuring a flounced garment made of lambswool and a headdress with horns over her hair, which is gathered in a chignon at the nape of her neck. The face was likely originally plated with gold, as suggested by the presence of rivet holes, and the eyes could have had shells and lapis lazuli inlays embedded in bitumen. She is seated on a backless throne adorned with six lions sculpted in bas-relief. This throne bears a dual inscription in cuneiform Akkadian and linear Elamite, with the former identifying the dedicator as the prince of Susa, and the latter identifying the goddess by name (André-Salvini, 1992, 90–91).

However, Dominique Collon (2007, 68) emphasized that this statue was evidently a cult statue, and its weight would have made it impractical to be carried in procession or transported by boat to visit other temples. It is worth noting that equally heavy ancient Egyptian private and divine statues found their way to the Bronze Age Levant (Ahrens 2020), which prompts a re-evaluation of Collon's perspective. Alternatively, the statue mentioned by Tushratta might have resembled the 142cm tall white stone statue of a goddess (Figure 4) holding a flowing vase, currently housed in the National Museum in Aleppo (1659), dating to early 2nd millennium BCE.[6] Still it is more plausible, that the statue mentioned by Tushratta was made in wood and gilded with gold.



Figure 4. Statue of a goddess with flowing vase from National Museum in Aleppo (1659) (https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Goddess_of_the_vase,_Mari,18th_century_BCE.jpg, courtesy of Wikimedia user पाटलिपुत्र).

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6    The fragments of this statue were discovered in room 64 and court 106 within the palace courtyard of Zimri-Lim in Mari. The headdress, in the form of sinuous horns, indicates that the figure represents a deity. The hair beneath the headdress falls around the shoulders and is gathered at the back. The long garment worn by the goddess crosses over the chest and back with two incised bands at the waist. The skirt falls in wavy incised lines over sculpted ties ending in volutes. Elaborate jewellery adorns the goddess, carved in relief. The eyes would have been inlaid.

However, in addition to the desire to travel, other aspects of deities in the form of statues have not received equal archaeological attention. When Near Eastern deities are concerned, theogamy, or sexual intercourse between deities, is well attested. It also included statues of deities which spent time together in specially prepared bedchambers in temples. We can only imagine that these statues were composite artworks made using wood, gold, silver and lapis lazuli, materials regarded to have pure and sacred properties in Mesopotamia (Pongratz-Leisten et al., 2015: 11–12). The theogamy of deities in statue forms is described in relation to the restoration of the Enninu temple at Girsu by Gudea, ruler of the state of Lagash in southern Mesopotamia at the end of 22nd century BCE. Gudea describes this building and adornment of the bedchamber for the god Ningirsu and his spouse the goddess Bau (Pongratz-Leisten, 2008: 60–61). The encounter of the god Nabu and the goddess Tashmetu is described on a single Neo-Assyrian (911–609 BCE) tablet believed to be from Niniveh. Tashmetu describes the shade of juniper trees as a shelter for her and Nabu. She also invites Nabu into a bedchamber and expresses her wish for him to accompany her in a garden (Nissinen, 2016, 157; Rubin, 2021, 274–276). We have seen that the sexual intercourse involving deities in ancient Egypt is also accompanied by pleasant aromatic smells (Amun and the smell of Punt). Another parallel to Near Eastern theogamy is found in sexual encounters between ancient Egyptian statues of deities to which I turn next.

In the ancient Egyptian Papyrus Sallier IV (18, 3–4) from the 19th Dynasty (approx. 1292–1189 BCE), it is documented that on the 26th day of the second month of *Pr.t* season the god Min emerges from Coptos in a procession with lettuce (Münster 1968, 130).[7] The festival of Min's approach (*pr.t Mnw*) is well attested from the New Kingdom to the period of Roman rule in Egypt (Moens, 1985, 62). According to the text on the papyrus, the goddess Isis then beholds the *nfr* of Min, his "beauty" or more precisely, his "beautiful one". The term *nfr* is here written with a phallus determinative and unambiguously refers to a divine penis (Gauthier, 1931, 8; Myśliwiec, 2004, 90). In a much later Ptolemaic text from the Edfu temple (Edfu I, 398. 10–11), it is mentioned that the goddesses are delighted to see the *nfr* of Min (Wilson 1997, 515). Ithyphallic statues of deities have been known in Egypt since the Predynastic period. However, in the 26th Dynasty (664–525 BCE) tomb of Thaty from the Bahariya oasis, there is a depiction of the procession of the god Min with his ithyphallic statue on a carrier covered with linen. It is portrayed as being carried by eight

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7    The role of lettuce in this procession is a result of Min's association with the god Horus and his conflict with the god Seth. Isis, the mother of Horus, used a clever ruse by smearing Horus's sperm onto lettuce from Seth's garden, which was intended to trick Seth into unwittingly consuming Horus's semen. As a consequence, Seth, who had killed Osiris due to his adultery with Seth's wife Nephtys, becomes impregnated by his rival Horus. Seth loses the trial for the right to the throne of Egypt when the deities demand the semen of Horus to come forth. When summoned, the semen of Horus emerges from the head of Seth in the form of a Sun disc. Consequently, Seth plays a passive role in this masculinity contest and ultimately loses the battle.

porters (Fakhry, 1942, 140, Fig. 111). Consequently, just as Ahmose and Mutemwiya, the wives of Thutmose I and Thutmose IV in the *Divine Birth Legend*, saw the *nfr* of Amun in their palaces and rejoiced, the goddess Isis saw the *nfr* of Min's statue. In both cases, we are dealing with ithyphallic forms of the god.

In another text from the 19th Dynasty, Papyrus Anastasi III (Papyrus British Museum 10246), Recto (5,1) there is a hymn dedicated to the god Thoth in which it is stated: *nfr=f n ḥrs.t* "his beautiful one (penis) is out of carnelian" (Gardiner, 1937, 25). Similar to the previously discussed case of god Min, the word *nfr* 𓄤𓎸 here is written with a phallus determinative. Carnelian, which derives its name from the Latin *carneus*, meaning fleshy, is a translucent red to reddish-brown stone found on nearly every continent. Today, it is mined in regions including Egypt, Brazil and Uruguay to obtain the gem quality-stones highly valued for jewellery.[8] In Ancient Mesopotamia, carnelian was kept in temple storehouses together with gold, silver and lapis lazuli. All these materials, including carnelian, were associated with the sacred or were themselves considered to be sacred or divine (Benzel, 2015: 91–93). Lists of resins from the Ptolemaic temples in Anthribis and Edfu indicate that resins with the colour of carnelian originate from the eye of Horus, heart of the god or the vulva of the Distant Goddess, and they possess a pleasant aroma (von Lieven, 2004, 163–164). Given that ithyphallic anthropomorphic representations of god Thoth are unknown, it can be assumed that this reference pertains to his baboon form. In fact, the erect penis of a baboon displays a distinctive red colour similar to that of carnelian (Figure 5).

This also leads me to propose that penises, which were originally components of the composite statues of ithyphallic Amun-Ra, could have been crafted from precious stones like carnelian. An example of this can be observed in the 148cm high granodiorite statue of Amun-Re (Figure 6) from the British Museum (EA 21), which portrays the god alongside 18th Dynasty king Horemheb (approx. 1319 or 1305 to 1292 BCE).

 The god is depicted holding the base of his penis, which has the opening for the insertion of the shaft of the penis made from another material. This feature is reminescent of a hymn by Darius II to god Amun in the temple of this deity in El-Hiba, located approximately 32km south of Beni Suef. In this hymn, Amun is described as *hꜣy stj.w nfr.w=f* "a husband who shoots with his beautiful one (penis)" (Brugsch 1878, XXVI). The verb *stj* "to shoot" was used in ancient Egyptian to describe the act of shooting an arrow with a bow at enemies or hunted animals, or impaling them with a spear. Interestingly, it was also used to describe the act of ejaculating sperm from

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8    Exact locations of ancient quarries of carnelian in ancient Egypt are unknown. The only known ancient carnelian mine in the region was in the Nubian desert near Gebel el-Asr, but there are indications that more quarries existed in deserts of Egypt or the Nile River terraces (Albaz et al., 2021).
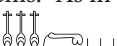
the penis.[9] As in the previously mentioned cases of the gods Min and Thoth, the word *nfr.w* 𓄤𓄤𓄤𓂸 is written with a phallus determinative.



Figure 5. Photo of a *Papio hamadryas* baboon from Worms zoo in Rheinland-Pfalz, Germany (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Worms_Tiergarten_junger_ männlicher_Mantelpavian_2011.JPG, courtesy of Wikimedia user 4028mdk09).

There is thus ample evidence to suggest that ithyphallic statues of gods such as Min, Thoth, and Amun played a role in processions where the gods departed from their temples and encountered goddesses who rejoiced upon seeing their erections. This rejoicing mirrors the kind seen when queens beheld the ithyphallic gods in disguise as their husbands. One could even venture to propose a parallel, inspired by the work of Viveiros de Castro (2014, 72, 2015), suggesting that both humans and deities, despite their distinct corporealities, share the same culture but possess different natures. According to Viveiros de Castro (2014, 72; 2015: 257), the difference lies in the specificity of their bodies. Human bodies in ancient Egypt were composed of flesh and bone, whereas deities had bodies made of silver, gold and lapis lazuli. Even the

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9    The connection between shooting from or with a weapon at an enemy and shooting sperm from a penis is explicit in an Early Dynastic rock art representation from Wadi Ameyra on Sinai, where an Egyptian male figure holds his penis next to the mouth of a kneeling captive (Förster et al., 2022).

bodies of the statues of the deities were crafted from these precious metals and stones. However, all three categories engaged in sexual practices and adhered to the same social norms regarding sex. Their differing bodies led to distinct approaches to these practices, except in cases when deities assumed human form.
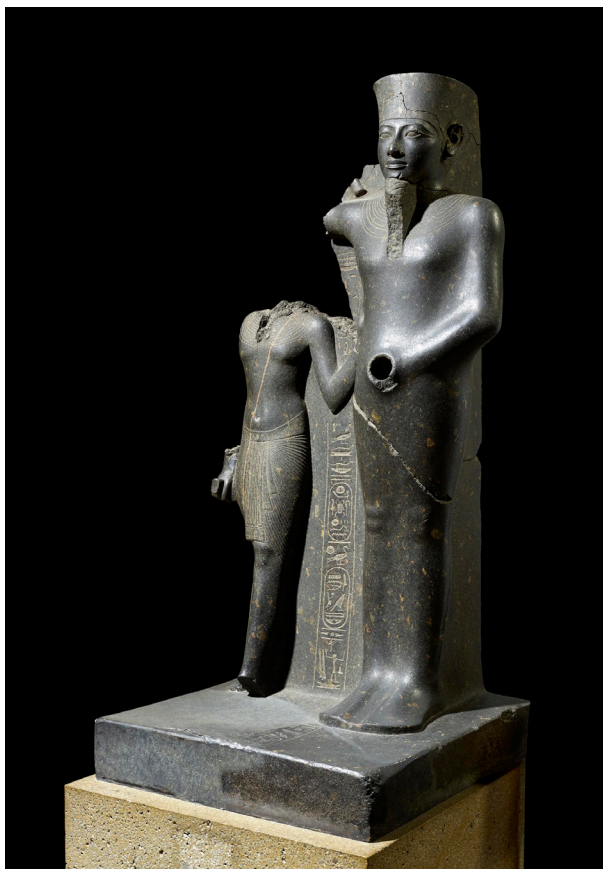


Figure 6. Photo of the statue of Amun-Re with king Horemheb, British Museum EA 21 (after https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/image/1613735132).

## Conclusion

The examination of sexual encounters between deities and humans, as well as between deities and statues in ancient Egypt, necessitates a meticulous and in-depth analysis of the available sources. Nevertheless, it is crucial to emphasize that identifying the act-ants involved and asserting that such encounters actually transpired in ancient Egypt, rather than serving as symbolic representations, is a complex undertaking. In fact,

even Viveiros de Castro (2014, 57) notes that Amerindian perspectivism is primarily applied by Amerindians only to certain animals, particularly large predators and scavengers such as jaguars, anacondas, vultures, and their prey, including wild boars, monkeys, fish, deer and tapirs. This preference arises from the foundation of perspectivism, which is rooted in predator-prey relations. Therefore, ontological distinctions in this context signify more than just being.

When the sexual encounter between a god and a human woman in ancient Egypt results in offspring, the woman in question is always a member of the higher or ruling class, and the children are destined to become future pharaohs. Whether or not, for ancient Egyptians, this really happened does not change the fact that the god Amun, in the *Divine Birth Legend*, disguises himself as the queen's husband. Although there are clear indications that the queen recognized the god, she remains unperturbed. In fact, the disguise assumed by the god averts any accusations of adultery. The queen is thus not like those unnamed adulterous women who die tragically in various literary stories for cheating on their husbands. How could she have known it was not her husband who came to her when he, too, possessed a divine nature, just like Amun?

Regarding sexual encounters involving deities represented as statues, these statues were depicted as having their own desires. However, this does not mean that they are not images like other comparable objects and that as such they cannot communicate identities nor structure social relations (*contra* Alberti, 2012, 14). In fact, it is exactly because they are "motile extensions of practice" (Alberti, 2012, 14) that they can do this more effectively. For example, through the fact that sexual encounters between deities as statues only occur between male-female couples, norms of sexual behaviour are communicated (cf. Foucault, 1978). Ancient Egyptians knew of the sexual encounter between the gods Horus and Seth (see footnote 7), but we do not know of any cases in which statues of male deities engage in sexual activity. It is naïve to neglect the fact that it is the ancient Egyptian people who physically produced the statues of deities, and that it is the people (priests) who choose which known sexual preferences will be practiced by these statues. As Ribeiro (2016, 233) already summarized, without the social context to provide meaning to the intentions of the actors (e.g., humans and statues of deities), we are left with a world of random connections.

As I have demonstrated in this paper, when sexual encounters between humans and deities, and deities as statues, are concerned, these connections are anything but random. Following Viveiros de Castro (2014, 188; 2015, 18), we could say that ancient Egyptians thought like us, but that the concepts they elaborated are different than our own, and the world these concepts describe is also very different. However, as demonstrated in this paper, when differences in being (divine/human) are intertwined with power asymmetries related to gender and class, we find that we are not really worlds apart.

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## O pohotnih božanstvih in ontološkem obratu v arheologiji starega Egipta

**Ključne besede:** stari Egipt, božanstva, spolnost, ontološki obrat, spolne strukture, razredne strukture

Na podlagi aktualne diskusije o novem materializmu, posthumanizmu, spekulativnem realizmu, objektno usmerjeni ontologiji in antropološkem ontološkem obratu skušamo v članku dati nov pogled na spolne stike med božanstvi in ljudmi oziroma med božanskimi statuami v starem Egiptu. Samo upoštevanje, da so takšni stiki obstajali, in njihovo natančno opisovanje ne omogočata polnega spoznanja spolnih in razrednih struktur, ki delujejo na takšne stike. V članku zagovarjamo, da so spolne stike, ki so predmet naše analize, oblikovale spolne in razredne asimetrije, ki kažejo, da med perspektivami starega Egipta in sodobnim časom ni tolikšnih razlik, kot se zdi.

## On lustful deities and the ontological turn in the archaeology of ancient Egypt

**Keywords:** ancient Egypt, deities, sex, ontological turn

Building on the ongoing debates surrounding the archaeological application of New Materialism, posthumanism, speculative realism, object-oriented ontology, and the anthropological ontological turn, this paper examines sexual interactions between deities and humans, as well as among deities represented as statues in ancient Egypt. Acknowledging the existence of such sexual encounters and providing detailed descriptions of the involved entities alone does not fully recognize the underlying gender and class structures. This paper argues that these analysed sexual encounters were shaped

by gender and class-based power asymmetries, revealing that the ancient Egyptians and contemporary perspectives are not as distinct as they might seem.

## O avtorju

**Uroš Matić** je leta 2017 doktoriral na Inštitutu za egiptologijo in koptske študije na Univerzi v Münstru ter za disertacijo prejel nagrado Philippika Prize of Harrassowitz (2018) in nagrado za najboljšo publikacijo Avstrijske akademije za znanost (2020). Od leta 2018 je vodil dva samostojna postdoktorska projekta, o kozmetičnih pripomočkih v Nubiji v času Novega kraljestva (DAAD P.R.I.M.E., 2018–2019) in o staroegiptovskih seznamih vojnega plena (Foundation for Postgraduates in Egyptology, Vienna, 2022–2023). Med njegovimi novejšimi publikacijami izstopata monografija *Violence and Gender in Ancient Egypt* (Routledge, 2021) in zbornik *Beautiful Bodies. Gender and Corporeal Aesthetics in the Past* (Oxbow, 2022), ki ga je uredil. Od leta 2019 deluje kot postdoktorski sodelavec Avstrijskega arheološkega inštituta. Predaval je na univerzah v Gradcu, Münstru in na Dunaju.

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# From Dalmatia to the North Sea, and from Stonehenge to Artificial Intelligence: Interview with Vincent Gaffney

## Introduction

Vincent Gaffney (born in 1958) is a British archaeologist. In his 40-year career he has worked as a contract field archaeologist, museum curator, researcher and university professor at both Birmingham and Bradford. His expertise includes landscape archaeology, marine landscapes, remote sensing, GIS, computer visualization and communication. He has been awarded several prizes for his outstanding research achievements, among them the British Archaeological Award for the Best Book (2010) and European Archaeological Heritage Prize of the European Association of Archaeologists (2013), as well as an MBE in 2018, making him a Member of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire. His close collaboration with Slovene and Croatian archaeology dates from the mid-1980s and is still continuing.

**I know very few people who at the age of 18 had already firmly decided to study archaeology and pursue archaeological careers. For most, including me, we did not have a good idea what archaeology was, or what archaeologists actually do in practice, and there were many other details or minor things or even unexpected turns of events that ultimately cemented our careers in this discipline. Is this also your personal experience?**

I was born in Newcastle upon Tyne, a big industrial city, in a very working class family. The only real options were the army, go down the mines or get a job in a factory. That was what we were educated to do. And you know, it's ironic that most of these industries have disappeared and I'm in archaeology. However, I did live on a street at the head of which was the route of Hadrian's Wall. I also had a grandfather who was a metalwork teacher, but with a passion for history, and he introduced me to archaeology. He took me out to see archaeological sites, and we didn't have to go very far.

I didn't really know much about any archaeology in Britain. The truth is I didn't even send in the form where I made my final choice of what to study. The government organization managing applications made the decision for me, which gives you an idea of just how good a student I was! And so I turned up at Reading. I found myself

in a department which was very young, and people there were very good. I'm thinking especially of Richard Bradley, Michael Fulford and Bob Chapman, who are today leaders in the world of archaeology and established, grand old men. But back then, we were pretty much the same age, and we used to meet every tea break and go and drink together. When I did my undergraduate degree in archaeology I came out with an excellent understanding of British archaeology as it was at the time. But that was only pottery, and not much else. My first job was with the Wessex Archaeological Trust, and I was one of first people to be employed there. I worked on the Stonehenge Landscapes Project with Julian Richards for a year and then, in 1981, got chance to actually lead a project of my own, studying the Roman villas on the Berkshire Downs with Martin Tingle. It was wonderful, as we could pretty much do whatever we wanted. We undertook what was then one of the first detailed landscape studies of a Roman villa estate. This was a remarkable opportunity which gave me a chance to write and develop ideas.

At about this time, Margaret Thatcher had come to power and things were not looking good for archaeology. We were about to go through a cataclysmic change as we moved from local government funding to trust based and then contract archaeology. I looked at this emerging future, and I wasn't sure if it was for me. But I was lucky – again – and I got a job at Bordesley Abbey, where the gatehouse chapel of a Cistercian Abbey was excavated. There was also a museum next to it, at Redditch, the Forge Mill Needle Museum, no less. I hear the sound of millions of people laughing at this point! The museum was in an early modern water mill used to polish needles. They needed a curator and I applied, and somehow I got the job. The mill was part of a major world industry back in the 19th century. Some 90% of the world's needles came from this small town in Worcestershire. People were emigrating from America to work there.

**But after some time you 'migrated' from Redditch to Yugoslavia?**
Yes, after a while I realized that all I was doing was raising money, and I was missing the research and fieldwork. I decided that I had to do something else. I talked with people I knew, particularly with John Bintliff from Bradford University, who introduced me to Božidar Slapšak, a professor of Roman archaeology in Ljubljana. They suggested, on the basis of my work in the Maddle Farm Project in Berkshire, that I do something similar in Slovenia for my PhD. I left my job, got four years of funding from the British Council and British Academy, and came to work in Ljubljana, where I spent, on and off, several months between 1985 and 1990. I initially came to Slovenia to work in Istria and at the Rodik site in the Slovene Karst, but for various reasons it turned out that it was not possible. After a year, in which I think I taught quite a bit in Ljubljana, Božidar Slapšak offered me the chance to go and work on his project on the island of Hvar. After a couple of field seasons in Hvar – we'll talk about this fascinating island and its archaeology later – I went back to Britain to finish my PhD at Reading,

which was already delayed because of the dissolution of Yugoslavia. Mike Fulford took me as a postgrad and I submitted my final PhD in 1992. Obviously, I couldn't have done the original work without Božidar Slapšak and John Bitliff.

While I was writing up the PhD I wanted to change the routine again. So I started digging part time for the Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit (BUFAU) on a Roman settlement at Shepton Mallet. When I was there I met the director of the unit, Simon Buteux, who now works in Historic England. He realized that I'd been working with something called geographical information systems (GIS). He said to me later he didn't know what it was, but someone said that he needed it, whatever it was. So he invited me to his unit, and over the next ten years I rose from a field digger to the head of the archaeology department at the university.

**Your experience with GIS must have been crucial not only for getting job at the Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit, but for your further career?**
At that time GIS was only just emerging as a technology. Very few people had real experience of it. In fact, when I turned up at the university, I went to speak to the geography department, presuming that they would be able to help in establishing GIS use. They realized I had some GIS software, and asked me whether they I would give them a copy! This really was right the beginning of GIS applications in Birmingham. At BUFAU I started to run the computing side of archaeological services and teaching GIS on postgraduate courses. GIS was not an independent technology. It was merging with visualization technologies, and it was obviously going to be based around the Internet. So in the late 1990s we decided to create a visualization and spatial technology centre, probably the first such archaeological centre in Britain. We managed to set up an Internet server when there were only a few hundred of them in the country, and we went into 3D visualization on the web, and that was pretty rare in the mid-1990s.

**We were lucky in Ljubljana because we were also very early into GIS, thanks to Zoran Stančič's and your work on the Hvar project. In the 1992 Zoran organized the first GIS course with Ken Kwamme from Tucson University, which really had quite an important impact on further developments in Slovene archaeology. How you got in contact with GIS and Zoran, with whom you wrote one of the pioneering studies on applying GIS to archaeology.**
When I came to Ljubljana in 1985, I brought a laptop computer, an Amstrad PC, a simple word processor on which I had a number of specially written programs, mainly for geophysics. If I remember well that was one of the few computers in Slovene archaeology at that period. At that time I knew nothing about GIS and I planned to use it mainly for writing texts and making some databases. It was only when we established fieldwork in Croatia that this started to change in many respects.

I had no idea where Hvar was, when Božidar Slapšak told me to contact Branko Kirigin from the Archaeological Museum in Split. Branko took me to the island and we climbed up to a high place, it was like the temptation of Christ. Branko showed me the Starigrad plain, pointed out all the hills with hillforts around it, which had one the best preserved Greek field systems, spreading out before you. The villas stood two storeys high. Branko asked if I wanted to work there. He may as well have had horns on his head at this moment. It took me no seconds to decide that yes, this was where I wanted to work.

Once the work had started, we knew we were entering a very different phase. I was working with Zoran Stančič, who was then doing a PhD on Greek land division when we started talking about what we thought should be done technically. Our thoughts ranged around databases of various sorts. But then Zoran went to an international conference in 1990 or 1991, and when he came back he said to me, look, I've heard a lecture by Ishmael Williams from Arkansas, and they're using something called a geographic information system – GIS – and this must be important. We began to gather information and contacted the Americans. Zoran is a networker par excellence. It was always my career choice to put Zoran in front of me. He would clear the path and smooth talk his way into everything. And then I'd follow on and say  I'm with him. So, we arranged to stay with Ishmael Williams for two weeks. But before that we spent a year working preparing the database. Zoran worked on the environmental data, particularly on digitizing topography, soils, things like that. He then went out to America beforehand and spent some time with Ken Kwamme from Tucson University, Arizona, who was already the big name in GIS for archaeology at that time. At Fayetteville, Arkansas we spent two weeks working our socks off, and at the end we essentially had enough data to write the first book on an archaeological project in Europe using GIS. Before that there had been only few papers on using GIS in archaeology.

**The Hvar project was also highly influential in other domains of archaeology. It was an incubator of many new ideas and concepts which left deep traces in Slovene archaeology. It was something very different from what we have experienced in archaeological research before that. It was not just about new methods, but the whole concept and setting were new. It's the birthplace for landscape studies in Slovenian archaeology, GIS-based research, the development of systematic surface surveys, a meeting point with historical geographers and landscape architects. Very positive experiences were soon transferred into the university curriculum in Ljubljana, and in the next three or four years its ideas were implemented in the motorway project in Slovenia, with fantastic results. However, it ended abruptly with the civil war in Yugoslavia.**

I think you've just said very well just how important the Hvar project was. And it wasn't just within archaeology. It cascaded out. After 1991, when Yugoslavia fell apart, decisions had to be made about how to go forward. The planned big field project could not be undertaken anymore at that point. What happened was that a small number of friends and colleagues from Hvar project got together and initially reduced the project. We went back to producing gazetteers. We went from one island to another, all of which were essentially terra incognita. We chose those islands for archaeological reasons. The archipelago was significant because it's essentially the first place you can sail by line of sight from the eastern to the western side of the Adriatic, with Palagruža in the centre, from where you can see both sides of the Adriatic. And that's how ancient shipping worked. This was the pivotal area, tying together the Greek and Roman worlds, northern and southern Adriatic, and see with the mainland Balkans through the great passes of Klis and Omiš. This is a massive crossroads by sea and by land. That meant if we started studying these islands as a group, we should be looking at major cultural changes over millennia. It took us some five years to complete the project. It involved Zoran Stančič and his team from the Academia Research Center from Ljubljana, Birmingham University and the Archaeological Museum in Split. Nikola Vujnović was also there and became an incredibly important regional archaeologist. He had everything in his head. He knew how to move, how to find things, who to find. He is, if you like, my Dalmatian equivalent of Zoran Stančič. Whenever we went into a new area to work, he would find someone and start talking about who he was related to. And of course they'd find out that they were third cousins twice removed. He opened all the doors that we needed. The team was great, with Branko Kirigin and Tim Kaiser and John Hayes. Working with John Hayes was just remarkable. This is a man who held in his head every sherd he ever saw across the eastern Mediterranean. A remarkable individual, the like of which will never be seen again.

**Staying for a long time in the small community of Hvar must have left a lot of emotional impressions.**

Yes. It's not just archaeology and databases. It's much more. 1990 was the best year of my life. I was free to do all the research I wanted and working with people I liked. I was in a country which was remarkable. The archaeology was beyond anything I could ever wish for. There were people who were open to ideas and gave me ideas, no one was selfish in any way. And, you know, it was a fantastic time to be there. One of the locals used to call me the *English gastarbeiter*. They loved the fact that I was there doing work and had deliberately left my job in the UK to do that! But these things work both ways. I'm sure there is a tendency for many British people to come to places like Dalmatia and presume they know it all. Perhaps I was arrogant, too. I hope I wasn't. But, you know, I learned a lot. It really was different, the society was different, the nature, archaeology

and landscape were different. One of the things I did some time ago was a paper on sky-scapes. I remembered Dalmatia for its dramatic landscapes framed by the sea and sky. It was a dramatic contrast to everything I'd done previously, and actually that guided a lot of my early work on GIS. Viewsheds are not just about looking at what you see inside a viewshed area. They're about boundaries, and I understood later that the boundaries that we were looking at reflected the dramatic landscapes that we saw and the culture that created them. The Dalmatian landscape is about boundaries. Thousands and thousands of dry walls and boundaries of all kinds. I have never personally seen a landscape which had been modified to the extent that the Dalmatian islands were during a very short period of time after phylloxera hit the grapevines in the mid-1890s.

**If we put it in a wider context of the late 1980s and early 1990s, you coming to Slovenia and Croatia, John Chapman working in the Zadar hinterland, John Bintliff working with us on Hvar, and publication of the BAR issue in 1987 on the recent trends in Yugoslav archaeology, all this was the first very intensive collaboration of our archaeology with that in the UK. I think here it's necessary to stress the pivotal role of Božidar Slapšak, who stood behind much of these initiatives and endeavours.** Yes. He was a contact person, an access point for much of this. This is a value I see in many Slovene archaeologists. You're good at making contact. That's why we're talking now. At that point in time, Božidar was in a pivotal position, and he was very open to new knowledge. He was very taken by geophysics, for instance, not just straight landscape surveys. And he was putting these things together and that was critically important. We could not have just turned up and done that without him.

**He also got Lewis Binford to lecture in Ljubljana for a semester in 1986.** That is something no one would expect. Božidar is intellectual networker. And I always enjoyed a discussion with him. He understood all sides of an argument, was able to connect them and find something new and valuable out of these contacts. He was a mover and shaker in that sense, and I absolutely and utterly appreciate that. It would be incredibly arrogant for any archaeologist to say they made their own way. We have to be able to enter these networks in order to go forward. And, you know, to a certain extent, we have to rely on each other to do that.

**After your return to Birmingham, in the next two decades you worked on several large-scale projects which put archaeological research on a completely new scale. I was most impressed by two projects, the one about the sunken landscapes of the North Sea, and the Stonehenge project.** I've been very fortunate in some of the projects I've worked on. Some came out of the blue, the blue sea, so to say. In the late 1990s I lectured about landscapes in our mas-

ters course, and I had one lecture on landscapes we couldn't do anything with. Some of these were the landscapes that had been lost to the sea after the last glacial period, when sea was 120m lower at about 18,000 BC. Then by 5,500 BC Europe had lost some 3,000,000km² of habitable land to the sea, a process that took place over 13,000 years or so, and we couldn't do anything with it. I mean, literally, this was the reason why archaeologists somehow came to the conclusion that there was a land bridge between Britain and the continent – but land bridges connect A and B, you don't live in the middle of a bridge. At that point in time, essentially the only clue we had was a single bone point which had been dragged up from the North Sea in the 1930s. We knew that there must have been a landscape out there, but all we could do was go onto a boat, look over the side and say, well, there's nothing there. So we built up this myth of a land bridge on which nothing happened across an enormous area – approximately 180,000 km2 in the Early Holocene.

During one of these seminars the idea came up to ask oil and gas companies which had been mapping the North Sea using seismic data. So I and a student, Simon Fitch, who I still work with today, went to the marine geomorphologist Ken Thompson in Birmingham. He listened to us and essentially agreed that there was a lost land out there, and we should go and find it. So Ken and I put our suits on and went to talk with a company called PGS Petroleum Geoservices in London. Ken was known to them, which is the only reason we got through the door. They listened to me with a certain amount of suspicion, and at the end they said we don't know you, but we do know Ken and we trust him. We're not going to give you a big amount of seismic data, only 6,000 km². We walked out with what was essentially the largest archaeological geophysical survey in the world to that point. And we didn't look back. After the first couple of weeks of working on the data Ken saw a river on top of the Dogger Bank, right in the middle.  It was only later he told me that he'd misunderstood what I was asking about with regard to this project, and that if he'd understood that we were interested in the Early Holocene he wouldn't have agreed to take part. He thought we were interested in much earlier time periods. People had been trying to look at this recent period back in the 1960s, but it didn't work because the technology wasn't very developed. But by this time there were new, improved technologies and the data was better, and suddenly we could map these enigmatic landscapes. So it really needed an idiot archaeologist to ask the wrong question and get the right answer. This was the first archaeological study in the region that revealed a level of historic climate change similar to those we are now experiencing.

**When I first saw this presentation in the form of video animation I was astonished not by technology, but by the story of how the destiny of this land and its peoples was told. It was a genuine, touching drama, especially because we can now imagine something similar because of the period of global climatic change we have entered.**

Yes, it was the last time that mankind experienced climate change at the scale we see today. It was not anthropogenic climate change, of course, but it must have been equally impactful. People had to had to migrate as a consequence. The difference, of course, was that they had room to move. The questions that were posed at that time sound very academic or theoretical, perhaps even out of touch. But now they are very much present in our lives. This was also a global phenomenon. It wasn't just in the North Sea, it happened in the Americas, Australia, East Asia, all around the world. And, you know, if you want to understand how people got into the Americas, you have to understand the coastlines which are now underwater. That's the same with Southeast Asia. If you want to understand how ultimately Australia was colonized, even though it was always probably a separate landmass, you have to reconstruct those ancient coastlines to understand how humanity spread around the world. We actually need a new discipline of marine paleolandscapes.

**You have also changed our perception of Stonehenge, another great project. Stonehenge was great because of the landscape, and not the central monument itself.**
Absolutely. Between 2007 and 2020, archaeological geophysics was going through a revolution. When I came to Yugoslavia in the late 1980s, I brought a Geoscan RM4 resistance meter. It required one person to spend the whole day picking it up, putting it down, waiting for it to go beep and then continue. You laid out grids with tapes. And, if you could do ten 20m by 20m grids a day, you were a king in the archaeo-geophysical world. But during the late 2000s we got our first multi-sensor GPS-guided magnetometer and four sensors in an array. We went down to Stonehenge to test it out and it blew our minds, because not only was everything immediately georectified and geopositioned, but also not affected by the pitch and yaw effect, because they were on a wheeled cart. The resolution was better, and it was so much quicker and more accurate.

**Soon your Stonehenge test of new equipment evolved into one of the largest geophysical projects in Europe.**
We knew at that point that we needed to have larger arrays, more of them, and they had to be more mobile. We were contacted by Wolfgang Neugebauer from Vienna, who was putting together a proposal for the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute, which was essentially to pull together a European geophysical resource. We bought the first multi-sensor radar array, a very expensive machine. I think it was £120,000. At the end we had multiple magnetometer arrays, perhaps with ten magnetometers on them, all of which were GPS guided. They were pulling the data into the computers which did semi-processing almost immediately. The whole project was a huge geophysical circus which went from country to country.

At that time the dominant idea was that Stonehenge was in the middle of a taboo area. There was not much going on around it. It was surrounded by later, Bronze Age barrows which presumably formed a sort of cordon sanitaire of the illustrious dead. The first day we went into the field, when we hadn't got all the systems set up, we hit a new monument underneath a barrow, a very short distance away from Stonehenge. It was from the Late Neolithic, most likely with a pit structure in the centre. After this we knew the thing would work. Everywhere we went we found new structures, thousands and thousands of features. Every monument we looked at, and we did survey on a lot of them, they all changed, and they didn't look like we thought they would. There were monuments underneath monuments, and there were monuments surrounding monuments. The data sets were so large that we weren't being able to comprehend them manually.

**And then came the super henge at Durrington Walls.**
The last area we surveyed was Durrington Walls henge, the largest or second largest henge monument in Britain. It's so big that you can drive a car through it. It's immense, vast, with massive ditches and banks. During the initial survey we discovered a series of features underneath the bank, a new phase of the monument. And we were happy with that. However, we had noticed three large, strange features which measured about 20m across which formed what looked like an arc. Initially, we called them dew ponds. Since there is no surface water in the Stonehenge area, in the post-medieval period farmers dug shallow basins in the chalk, and lined them with clay or straw, and rain would create artificial ponds. However, years later one of my colleagues, Eamon Baldwin, saw in the excavation north of Durrington similar features to that we'd seen in the geophysics, which excavators interpreted as sinkholes. I'd seen thousands of sinkholes in Dalmatia, and I was a bit suspicious about that. So we looked at our data again and realized we didn't have just three of these features but nine, together forming an enormous arc all the way around the south and south-west side of Durrington Walls henge. And when we put them all on the map, we realized that there was another massive arc running to the north. What we had in fact was an arc of 20m-wide features running all the way around Durrington Walls henge with a diameter of nearly three kilometres. We started to realize that this looked like it could be the largest prehistoric structure in northwest Europe.

When we used radar we realized that the features were so deep we couldn't see the bottom of them, and they were too big to dig. This is where our marine experience came in. We took cores with a massive mechanical corer. The features were five meters deep, circular and with vertical walls. You could get one of the Stonehenge trilithons inside one of them. There had to be about 30 of such pits around Durrington Walls, and we sampled about nine of them. We're absolutely convinced that the majority of them, at least the ones we're looking at, are not natural. They seem to be

linked to an earlier causewayed enclosure at Larkhill, which is about a thousand years older than the henge itself. So you've got two immense monuments next to each other, Stonehenge and Durrington Walls. Both of them appear to have their own territories. Stonehenge has a territory called the Stonehenge Envelope, which is the area you can see from Stonehenge with barrows clustered around the edges of the viewshed. Durrington Walls, seems to have a massive manmade boundary around it which wouldn't have been seen if we hadn't done the geophysics. Finds of this scale make us question why Wessex, and specifically the Stonehenge area, was so different in this regard.

**After all these discoveries it's becoming clear that there's not one possible, let alone straightforward interpretation.**

There are probably different answers to such a question, and we'll probably never understand why large ritual complexes begin. Given that Stonehenge was in use for more than 2,000 years, the structure certainly didn't mean the same to people at the beginning as it did at the end of its use. The reasons why the area first became significant are lost to us. However, we can make some educated guesses. A key point about these structures is that at some time something simply happened. It may very well be that the solstice was observed there, and for Mike Parker this is the reason why Stonehenge was erected in the first place. Indeed, there are some very strange striations coming out of the entrance and pointing towards the solstice. People may have seen these, probably natural, stripes, and their alignment on the solstice became important to them. But that's a chicken and egg situation. Presumably someone had a reason to believe the solstice was important before they found these features. So that's probably not the cause but a symptom.

But once the observation and link had been made, things started happening. People started doing things there, things which they hadn't done before, and eventually it just cascades. In nature there is a process called stigmergy, or indirect coordination. It's the process by which termite mounds are built. There's no master architect, and yet they're amazing complexes. We may be seeing something like this in the past. If you look at the Stonehenge landscape, it looks structured. The structuring is centred on Stonehenge. All the Bronze Age barrows, for instance, are around its visual envelope. But that wasn't planned by the people who built Stonehenge. They didn't know it was going to happen. And the people who built the barrows had no concept that the structures being created were essentially being driven simply by the fact that you could see these barrows from Stonehenge. Eventually, such structures evolve and emerge and become massively important centres of activity for past societies. Their importance transcends everything. It's the archaeological concept of being famous for being famous. The people who lived or visited Stonehenge were always looking backwards, and the landscape was structured on that basis. I'm willing to bet that most major ritual structures and complexes are like that. Like a medieval cathedral which starts with a small chapel, and five hundred years later

you've got an abbey on top of it. Pilgrims are coming from everywhere and make it even
more important – and so the religious site develops on that basis.

**Since the 1980s, when you started your professional career, archaeology has been
through substantial changes. How would you reflect on this development, and
where do you see the future of archaeology?**

Obviously, there are different types of archaeology and archaeological careers. Of
course they're all valuable, but they are still different. However, I'd like to stress one im-
portant aspect, that the future of archaeology is tied to communication with the general
public. In Britain, we're fortunate enough to have a massive amateur base. I've worked
with amateurs on many occasions and, as you know, large parts of the first complete
survey of a Roman Wroxeter in the 1990s was carried out by amateurs, people who
just came along and helped, moved equipment, and collected data. For some decades
we've had a heritage industry, and archaeology is part of that. It's also true that pretty
much every country in Europe now has some kind of contract archaeology. We had to
develop contract archaeology in Britain because the impact of development on our ar-
chaeological heritage was horrendous, and this pressure remains. I would suggest that
higher education has to work more and more with contract archaeology. Undertaking
fieldwork these days is becoming massively expensive and complex, and if higher edu-
cation is to undertake such work then they need to benefit from the rich experience
of contract archaeology. We have to appreciate the value of professional field archae-
ologists and break down barriers between higher education and the world of contract
archaeology. It is critically important that we give credit to practitioners. Whereas you
and I both benefited from working with John Hayes, the greatest pottery expert you
could ever find, increasingly few people within university departments in Britain are
pottery experts. For that we must turn to the world of contract archaeology and the
skills that are resident there.

**This opens another question about the nature of archaeology. In one of my texts I
have said that archaeology is becoming more and more data-driven science. Would
you agree?**

Yes. The amount of data we are collecting through all these works is huge. We need
to change something in our approach to data in order to get the most out of it. The
growth of digital data archives, and the fact that most archaeological data now only
exist in digital form, means that we have different opportunities for information to
cascade across generations. In some senses we are now at the point where we can-
not handle all the data. In 1996, we surveyed the entire area of the Roman Wroxeter,
78 hectares, we had 2.5 million magnetometry data points. We thought we could never
do better, but at Stonehenge we  probably passed that by the fourth day of surveying,

and the latest generation of SLAM (Simultaneous Location and Mapping) survey technologies acquire as many data points in seconds. In the North Sea, the data sets will soon be measured in petabytes.

Last year we funded for the first time a fellowship looking at AI applications for archaeological interpretation of seismic data, because we can't get enough seismic specialists. AI is where we're going. The huge digital data sets need AI. The big driver for such analysis in the North Sea is going to be the development of wind farm data. The resolution of the new data dwarfs everything we've had previously. When we start building energy islands in the centre of the North Sea, which we're going to, we're going to have to learn to work with that data pretty quickly. When fully built we're not going to have access to large areas of the seabed, because energy grids are going to be laid down across the whole seabed, across all of our coastal shelves. And, like climate change, that's going to happen globally. Everywhere that has a coastal shelf will start to have wind farms on them. So we have a very short amount of time to learn the new skills to actually do landscape archaeology at sea. We're part of a project called Unpathed Waters (UNPATH), a large AHRC-funded program called Towards a National Collection which aims to open up the heritage collections of the UK to the wider public. UNPATH is mainly for marine collections, and we we're doing one part about enabling access to our seismic landscape interpretations. Southampton is building the AI applications, and even the pilot projects are stunning, even though we don't really know how to use the technology to the full as yet.

**You have worked on another project with the big data philosophy in mind – the Curious Travelers project which was based on mass participation of the public.**
This is another aspect of big data. The Curious Travelers project was a response to ISIS's destruction of heritage monuments. We developed a system to surf the web and harvest images of heritage objects, and use them in automated photogrammetric software for reconstruction. This, again, is an example where we can't work alone, where we have to work with other disciplines in order to take archaeological heritage studies forward. Curious Travelers was, again, a pilot project funded by the AHRC. If we did it these days, it would be different and would certainly have fully embedded AI applications, rather than the semi-automated approach that was adopted. However, the project had many other valuable outputs. We started realizing that many major archaeological monuments which you think are well studied are actually not, and that automated photogrammetry is a great way of capturing stuff in anticipation of destruction or decay. I guess, in the end, everything's going to be destroyed at some point. We just don't know when, but it might be tomorrow. In Fountains Abbey, a big church in Yorkshire, Chris Gaffney, my brother, set up a sign which asked the visitors to photograph a particular part of the abbey and send us their photos. Then he moved the sign

to another part of the abbey, and the result was that he got a complete survey of the abbey, which had never been achieved previously. People are also important – it's not all technology!

**So this is a future strategy for archaeology – to involve lots of people?**
Perhaps, but integrated with AI. That's where we've got to go.

**Perhaps out next interview with you may be done using AI.**
Maybe one of us, or both, is an AI. Who knows for sure when an interview is done online?

*Varia/Varia*

Tine Kaluža

*Univerza v Ljubljani,*

*Notranjski muzej*

# Smrt in ljubezen. Motivika *vanitas* in *memento mori* v izdajah Alciatijeve *Emblemate*

## Uvod

Milanski pravnik Andrea Alciato (Alciati) se je leta 1531 proslavil z inovativnim in med izobraženstvom Stare celine dobro sprejetim delom *Emblematum Libellus* (*Emblemata*, Augsburg 1531). Splošno sprejeta kot prva v množici emblemskih knjig, ki so v naslednjih dveh stoletjih dosegale tudi za današnje standardne izjemne naklade, je bralcu postregla s številnimi konceptualnimi in ikonografskimi inovacijami, pomemben ter v strokovni literaturi spregledan pa je tudi Alciatijev prispevek k obravnavi ikonografije *vanitas* in *memento mori*. Ta je bila v Alciatijevem času razširjena onstran meja samostanske askeze in Apeninskega polotoka ter je z ustaljenimi ikonografskimi motivi nagovarjala široka občinstva. Alciatijeva inkorporacija motivike minljivosti v alegorično in moralno-didaktično govorico renesančnih emblemov ter njeno inovativno kombiniranje s komplementarnimi temami, kot je tematika ljubezni, sta motiviki dala nov zalet. V pričujočem besedilu bo napravljena ikonološka analiza petih Alciatijevih emblemov, ki ikonografijo minljivosti obogatijo z inovativno jukstapozicijo ljubezni in smrti ter ponudijo povsem sveže načine za spoprijemanje z nekaterimi že uveljavljenimi poznosrednjeveškimi in zgodnjenovoveškimi minljivostnimi ikonografskimi motivi. Posebna pozornost bo namenjena odstopanjem med emblemi, ki se pojavljajo med številnimi izdajami Alciatijevega dela, prisotna pa so tako v slikovnih kot v besedilnih komponentah emblemov. Analizirane so bile vse dostopne izdaje Alciatijevega dela,[1] saj so nekatera odstopanja med njimi nezanemarljiva in dejansko posegajo v samo vsebino emblemov.

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[1] Osnovo pregledanega fonda predstavljajo temeljne latinske izdaje Alciatija (Augsburg 1531, Pariz 1534, Benetke 1546, Lyon 1547, Lyon 1551, Frankfurt 1567, Antwerpen 1577, Pariz 1583, Padova 1621), vendar se nezanemarljiva odstopanja v vsebini emblemov pojavljajo tudi v drugih dostopnih izdajah 16. in 17. stoletja (Pariz 1536, Pariz 1539, Pariz 1542, Lyon 1549, Lyon 1551, Lyon 1556, Frankfurt ob Majni 1566/67, Pariz 1584, Najera 1615, Ženeva/K ln 1615).

## Smrt kurtizane

Emblemi obravnavanih izdaj Alciatijevega dela *Emblemata*[2] večinoma izhajajo iz uveljavljenih minljivostnih ikonografskih motivov, vendar z inovativno kontekstualizacijo in spretnim kombiniranjem z drugimi moralno-didaktičnimi vsebinami, ki pri Alciatiju večinoma koreninijo v antiki, tvorijo izvirne načine za posredovanje sporočil *vanitas* in *memento mori*. Emblem *Tumulus meretricis* (»Krsta kurtizane«) se pojavi v večini temeljnih izdaj Alciatija.[3] Sličica v vseh naštetih izdajah, z izjemo tiste iz leta 1546, prikazuje dvorišče, na katerem je postavljen sarkofag kubične oblike (SLIKA 1). Na frizu sarkofaga je visoki relief[4] leva, ki s sprednjo levo šapo grabi po zadnji plati rogatega kozla pred seboj, medtem ko je na pokrovu sarkofaga, z izjemo Tozzijeve izdaje[5] (SLIKA 2), upodobljeno razkrajajoče se žensko truplo.[6] V frankfurtski izdaji je

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2    Podobno kot avtor dela, Andrea Alciati, ki se v različnih izdajah knjige ter v strokovni literaturi imenuje z več različicami svojega imena ((Giovanni) Andrea Alciato, Andreas Alciatus, najpogosteje kar Alciati), se tudi njegova Emblemata ponaša s številnimi različicami naslova. Najpogostejši poimenovanji, Emblemata in Emblematum Liber, sta zgolj okrajšavi oziroma poskusa poenotenja poimenovanja dela, v prvi izdaji naslovljenega Emblematum Libellus (Augsburg 1531); za voljo preglednosti bomo Alciatijevo emblemsko knjigo v pričujočem besedilu poimenovali z ustaljenim in v strokovni literaturi splošno sprejetim poimenovanjem Emblemata.

3    Z njim se ponašata editio princeps (Alciati 1531, Heinrich Steyner, p. 21) in druga, pariška izdaja (Alciati 1534, Chrestien Wechel, emblem 24); prisoten je tudi v prvih izdajah Emblematum Liber s francoskimi podnapisi (Alciati 1536, 1539, 1542, Chrestien Wechel, p. 60). Beneška izdaja iz leta 1546 emblema ne ponuja (Alciati 1546, Aldus), najdemo pa ga v lyonski izdaji naslednje leto (Alciati 1547, Jean de Tournes, Guillaume Gazeau, p. 27). Emblem je prisoten tudi v lyonskih izdajah s španskim prevodom iz let 1549 in 1550–51 (Alciati 1549, 1551, Matthew Bonhomme, Guillaume Rouille, p. 46, 82 in 44) ter 1556 (Alciati 1556, Jean de Tournes, Guillaume Gazeau, p. 44), v frankfurtski iz leta 1567 (Alciati 1567, Georg Corvin, p. 86), antwerpenski iz leta 1577 (Alciati 1577, Cristopher Plantin, p. 74), pariških iz let 1583 (Alciati 1583, Jerome de Marnef, p. 257) in 1584 (Alciati 1584, Jean Richer, p. 105), najerski (Alciati 1615, Juan de Mongaston, emblem 74), ženevski (Alciati 1615, Jean II de Tournes, p. 38) ter v padovski editio optima iz leta 1621 (Alciati 1621, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, p. 329). Ker so strani v nekaterih izdajah Emblemate neoštevilčene, bodo v opombah namesto strani navedeni emblemov (npr. p. 329) navedene zgolj zaporedne številke emblemov (npr. emblem 74).

4    Pri vseh obravnavanih izdajah gre za friz, le v pariških izdajah iz let 1534, 1536, 1539 in 1542 ni popolnoma jasno, ali sta živali upodobljeni v reliefu ali sta morebiti prestopili okvirje reliefa in celopostavno stojita pred sarkofagom (SLIKA 3).

5    T. i. Tozzijevi Alciatiji, ki jih je izdal padovski tiskar Pietro Paolo Tozzi. Njegove izdaje Alciatija veljajo za najbolj dovršene ter vsebujoče najbolj pester in obsežen program Alciatijevih emblemov. Zaradi tega so se proslavile kot najpogosteje ponatisnjene in najširše uveljavljene izdaje Alciatija (več kot 100 izdaj v petih jezikih), na podlagi Tozzijevih Alciatijev pa je Peter M. Daley osnoval sistem za številčenje in evidentiranje Alciatijevih emblemov. Emblemi Tozzijevih izdaj poleg ustaljene strukture motto : pittura : subscriptio vsebujejo še obsežnejše in vsebinsko bolj ali manj povezane komentarje sočasnih avtorjev, kot so Claude Mignault, Francisco Sanchez de las Brozas, Laurentius Pignorius, Federicus Morellus in Joannes Thuilius, med drugim pa se v primeru emblema In formosam fato praereptam od drugih obravnavanih izdaj razlikuje tudi v izgledu sličice. Green 1872, p. 152, Landwehr 1976, p. 99, Daly 1985.

6    Relief pokojnice, zanimivo, ni prisoten v padovski izdaji, kjer je upodobljen le preprost kubičen sarkofag z reliefom leva in kozla. Sicer so si med izdajami sarkofagi podobni, razlikujejo se predvsem v detajlih. Pariška izdaja iz leta 1534 tako prikazuje relief trupla, ki je, za razliko od preostalih izdaj, orientirano tako, da ima glavo na levi strani sarkofaga. Sarkofag na frankfurtski sličici iz leta 1567 je zasukan tako, da ga gledamo diagonalno, in ima zato relief z levom in kozlom na krajši stranici sarkofaga, pod stopali kadavra. Kadavri se razlikujejo tudi po dekompoziciji – za antwerpensko sličico iz leta 1577 se zdi, kot da je truplo prikazano v docela ohranjenem stanju, medtem ko se ga je v drugih izdajah že močno polotila dekompozicija.

sarkofag zasukan tako, da je proti gledalcu obrnjena krajša stranica; friz je upodobljen pod pokojničinimi stopali (SLIKA 4). Noge ima prekrižane ali rahlo pokrčene, roke pa počivajo na pasu ali ob bokih. Tradicija reliefnih upodobitev pokojnika na pokrovu sarkofaga je bogata (t. i. *transi-tomb*, Seidel 1975, p. 1307) in tudi upodobitev iz Alciatijevega emblema predstavlja povsem realistično ponazoritev katere od številnih ohranjenih italijanskih *transi* grobnic. Sarkofag z makabristično tematiko zaznamuje emblem z osredotočanjem na človeško minljivost, ko nam v podnapisu ponudi razlago reliefnega okrasja upodobljenega sarkofaga. Alciati si je za protagonistko emblema izbral nekoliko manj znano polmitsko osebnost, zapeljivo kurtizano Lais iz Korinta (Epir), ki se omenja v različnih antičnih virih.[7] Sličica naj bi predstavljala njeno grobnico (*tumulus*), kot pojasnjuje podnapis. Ta prevprašuje, čemu je ena od treh boginj usode (Parke) skazila takšno lepoto.[8] Boginje iz grške mitologije so bile odgovorne za določanje trajanja človeškega življenja, ki so ga ponazarjale z nitjo.[9] Ikonografija treh Park je razširjena že v antiki, zaradi komplementarnosti z motiviko minljivosti in njej naklonjeno kolektivno senzibilnostjo zgodnjega novega veka pa so jo brez zadržkov posvojili tudi avtorji emblemskih knjig. Večkrat so omenjene že pri Alciatiju, denimo v podnapisu emblema *De Morte et Amore* (O Smrti in Ljubezni, Alciati 1589, p. 544). Podnapis se ob omembi Park sprašuje po vzrokih za tako nepredstavljivo transformacijo lepega človeškega telesa v razkrajajoč se kadaver, uprizorjen na pokrovu sarkofaga na sličici. Nezmožnost dojemanja tako drastične preobrazbe je občutje, ki je odgovorno za nastanek najzgodnejših makabrist, ikonografskih motivov.[10] Kontemplacija stopenj razkroja telesa, ki je simptom nerazumevanja dualizma med minljivim telesom in večno dušo, je, kot pri zgodnjih motivih *vanitas*, prisotna tudi v Alciatijevem emblemu. Nadalje v dialogu sicer izvemo, da ena od Park korintske priležnice ni prikrajšala za lep videz, saj je ta umrla v starosti in »modro posvetila svoje zrcalo Veneri« (Alciati 1567, Georg Corvin, p. 86). Simbolična gesta je poznana iz antičnih virov, z njo pa so posamezniki svoje atribute, ki so simbolno povzemali bistvo njihovega življenjskega poklica, ob upokojitvi predali božanstvu (McKeown 2010, pp. 13–14). Zrcalo je eden od ustaljenih atributov Venere, pojavlja pa se tudi v obilici zgodnjenovoveških moralističnih upodobitev, saj je njegov potencial za izražanje moralno-didaktičnih vsebin velik.[11] Ikonografija zrcala je vsebinsko povezana

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7    Pavzanij ponuja celo opis njene grobnice (Opisi Grčije 2.2.4), ki se ujema z Alciatijevo predstavo.

8    Znana navezava na tri Parke je denimo v Eneidi (1, 22).

9    Cartari 1647, p. 107. Kloto naj bi predla nit človekovega življenja, Lahezis naj bi jo vlekla, Atropa pa rezala. Skupaj tri Parke predejo posameznikovo usodo.

10   Zaznamo ga lahko že v visokosrednjeveških upodobitvah Srečanja treh živih in treh mrtvih. Motiv Srečanja treh živih in treh mrtvih v nekaterih upodobitvah nagovarja zlasti mlajše občinstvo, kot tudi upodobljeni mrtvi v gozdu na minljivost opozarjajo tri pripadnike aristokracije v njihovih najboljših letih (Kinch 2013).

11   Največkrat ga opazimo v upodobitvah sedmih naglavnih grehov ali kreposti; čeprav je vstop zrcala v ikonografijo zahodne umetnosti verjetno pogojen s pojavom upodobitev mita o Narcisu, ga večkrat srečamo kot atribut Venere, saj slednja z opazovanjem svojega odseva opozarja na svoj zapeljivi videz.

z zgodnjenovoveško motiviko *vanitas*, saj je navezanost na tuzemsko življenje in njegove minljive darove, kot so mladost, lepota, bogastvo ipd., pogosto izražena v obliki osebe, ki je tako zatopljena v zrcalo, da se ne zmeni za tok časa, v katerega je vpeta (Goscilo 2010).[12] Poklic kurtizane je v umetnosti pogosto asociiran z idejo minljivosti ter slepim osredotočanjem na radosti telesnega in materialnega vsakdana. Druga polovica epigrama v kontekst ikonografije minljivosti postavlja vsebino reliefa v frizu. Ta namreč emblemu prida dodatno alegorično vsebinsko raven, saj naj bi živalski prizor ponazarjal nekatere značilnosti iz pokojničinega vsakdana. Podnapis identificira živali kot levinjo in kozla; manjše odstopanje med podnapisom in sličico je griva, prisotna na sličicah vseh obravnavanih izdaj, kar lahko pripišemo površnosti ilustratorja, ki ne vpliva na vsebino emblema. Levinja na upodobitvi je s šapo pravkar zgrabila zadnjico kozla pred seboj, kar po besedah podnapisa predstavlja nesrečnega ljubimca, ki se je kot plen ujel v kremplje zapeljive kurtizane. Motiv utrjuje kurtizanin sloves pogubne ženske, obenem pa z motiviko iz sveta živali ugaja tedanji humanistični senzibilnosti, izrazito naklonjeni rabi simbolične govorice. Poleg naštetega nam zaključek epigrama razodeva satirično noto emblema – kurtizana ljubimca namreč drži za zadnjo plat. Ne smemo pozabiti, da je Alciati, kot nekateri drugi avtorji emblemskih knjig 16. stoletja, svojo knjigo zasnoval *in hora festivis*, za kratkočasenje in zabavanje razgledanega bralca, ki se je nasmihal pogosto prisotnim obscenostim in zbadljivim detajlom. Naša pričakovanja pri obravnavi zgodnjih emblemskih knjig tako nikakor ne smejo biti naravnana na striktno moralistično vsebino emblemov, saj je satirična nota v njih zelo pogosta.[13] Tudi poklic kurtizane je pri Alciatiju obravnavan na več kot zgolj enem mestu. Med drugim se ga dotakne emblem Harmodijeve levinje,[14] ki komemorira njegovo kurtizano. Ta je v Pavzanijevi dobi skupaj z Aristogejtonom zasnoval zaroto z atentatom na tirana Hippiasa. Emblem je po estetskih in sporočilnostnih kriterijih odgovarjal zgodnjenovoveški humanistični senzibilnosti, zaradi izjemne razširjenosti Alciatijevega dela in prisotnosti v večini izdaj pa ne preseneča, da so si ga v izvirniku bolj ali manj zvesti obliki izposojali tudi drugi avtorji emblemskih knjig. V svoje delo je sličico emblema inkorporiral tudi Jean Baudoin,[15] ki je poustvarjeni in v drugačno perspektivo postavljeni upodobitvi sarkofaga v svojem značilno obsežnem proznem podnapisu dal nekoliko prikrojen kontekst (Russell 2008, p. 160).

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12     Motivika je pogosto izražana v nemških alegoričnih upodobitvah mojstrov 16. stoletja, kot sta Hans Holbein mlajši in Hans Baldung Grien.

13     Ilustrativen primer predstavlja denimo Alciatijev emblem Aduersus naturam peccantes, kjer smo priča prizoru protagonistovega iztrebljanja.

14     Alciati 1549, p. 34, emblem Mesme a la Torture ne fault ceder. Kurtizana naj ne bi izdala zarotniškega načrta navkljub mučenju, zaradi česar so ji v Atenah postavili kip brezjezične levinje.

15     Baudoin 1659–60, p. 215.

## Starec, zaljubljen v mladenko

Tudi podoba antičnega sarkofaga se v sličicah Alciatijevih emblemov pojavlja razmeroma pogosto.[16] Zgoraj obravnavana sličica je od vseh emblemov z upodobitvami antičnih sarkofagov najbolj sorodna tisti iz emblema *Senex pulleam amans* (»Starec, zaljubljen v mladenko«). Za razliko od prejšnjega emblema je tu obravnavani emblem v izdajah Alciatija prisoten nekoliko manj pogosto.[17] Upodobitev sarkofaga se pojavlja v beneški, lyonskih in najerski izdaji; v beneški je v odprtem sarkofagu ležeče žensko truplo (SLIKA 5), v preostalih pa je na pokrovu sarkofaga v visokem reliefu upodobljena razkrajajoča se ženska figura. Friz sarkofaga, kjer je v emblemu *Tumulus meretricis* upodobljen motiv levinje in kozla, v teh izdajah, z izjemo beneške, krasi preprosti epigram »SEPVLCHRVM« (SLIKA 6), v antwerpenski, pariški in padovski pa je upodobljen zgolj detajl iz ozadja lyonske in najerske – objemajoča se ljubimca, postavljen v ospredje (SLIKA 7). Truplo, na videz zelo podobno tistemu na sarkofagu, v teh izdajah leži ob njunih nogah, oba tipa upodobitve pa imata skupno figuro sove, ki miruje na prsih pokojnice. V lyonski in najerski izdaji je pod frizom upodobljena še ena, manjša sova, ki je iz preostalih izdaj izvzeta. Tudi ta emblem se preigrava z motiviko ljubezni in minljivosti, kot je jasno že iz kombinacije trupla/sarkofaga in ljubimcev, tezo pa podkrepi tudi emblemov podnapis. Slednji povzema Atenejevo delo *Deipnosophistae* (13.592b), po katerem naj bi se ostareli veliki grški tragik Sofoklej s pomočjo podkupnine spečal z mnogo mlajšo kurtizano Aganippe. Njen ljubimec, atenski poet in komik Archippus (5. st. pr. n. št.),[18] naj bi njuno zahrbtno ljubezensko spletko iz maščevanja razkril javnosti z verzom, v katerem Aganippino priležništvo hudomušno primerja s sovinim bdenjem nad grobovi in človeškimi posmrtnimi ostanki. S tem Alciati v svoji satirični maniri skozi Archippusove besede predstavlja ostarelega Sofokleja kot posmeha vrednega starca, ki se bliža večnemu počitku, Aganippe pa kot značajsko oporečno priležnico, ki se oklepa tistega, kar je že obsojeno na fizični propad. Posmeh in zaničevanje, izražena skozi primerjavo s sovo (*Bubo*), v Alciatijevem emblemu najdeta mesto zahvaljujoč izrazito ambivalentnemu pomenu sove v tradiciji zahodne ikonografije. Slednja namreč, *in bonam partem*, predstavlja

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16  Sarkofag je upodobljen v emblemih Tandem, tandem Iustitia obtinet, Abstinentia, Signa Fortium, VITIA, Maledicentia, Strenuorum immortale nomen ter In mortem praeraptam .

17  Najdemo ga v beneški izdaji iz leta 1546 (Alciati 1546, Aldus, p. 10), v lyonskih (Alciati 1549, Matthew Bonhomme, Guillaume Rouille, p. 169, Alciati 1551, Matthew Bonhomme, Guillaume Rouille, p. 114, Alciati 1556, Jean de Tournes, Guillaume Gazeau, p.194, brez sličice), frankfurtski (Alciati 1566/67, Sigismund Feyerabend, Georg Raben, Simon Hoters, emblem 134, brez sličice), antwerpenski (Alciati 1577, Cristopher Plantin, p. 141), pariški iz let 1583 (Alciati 1583, Jerome de Marnef, p. 387), in 1584 (Alciati 1584, Jean Richer, emblem 66), najerski (Alciati 1615, Juan de Mongaston, emblem 115) in padovski (Alciati 1621, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, p. 495).

18  Archippus se v Alciatijevem emblemu najverjetneje pojavlja zaradi napake v prevodu; Atenejevo delo kot kurtizaninega ljubimca navaja Smircrinesa. Athenaeus, Deipnospohist, C. D. Yonge 1854, knjiga 13, p. 592.

enega od najbolj ustaljenih atributov Atene, med drugim boginje modrosti,[19] pravič-nosti in inteligence.[20] *In malam partem* je sova (uharica) že v antiki privzemala po-men zloveščega oznanjevalca pogube in težkih časov, saj jo je že Plinij starejši označil za čudaško obiskovalko pozabljenih in nenaseljenih prostorov, ki s svojo prisotnostjo v poseljenih območjih in z nemuzikaličnimi kriki napoveduje čas pogrebov.[21]

Svoj pomen ambivalentnega simbola je ohranila tudi v srednjem veku; asocia-cije sov z modrostjo so bile sicer nekoliko manj pogoste, saj je večkrat prepoznana kot simbol nespameti in lažne modrosti, zlasti zahvaljujoč ikonografskemu motivu »Nikogar« (Calmann 1960, pp. 60–104).[22] Ikonografija srednjega veka in njeni dediči so, sledeč Aristotelu in Pliniju, ločevali med štirimi vrstami sove: *ulula*/*strix*, *bubo*, *noctua* in *nycticorax*, ki jih podrobneje obravnava tudi Izidor Seviljski (Etimologije 12.7., 38–39). *Bubo* (omenjena v podnapisu) in *ulula* naj bi imeni dobili po žalujočem joku, ki naj bi ga povzročali, zaradi česar so ju asociirali z žalovanjem (Hirsch 2011, pp. 131–172). Če ta opis združimo z omenjeno razlago obnašanja sove pri Pliniju, jo lahko prepoznamo kot izrazito negativen in skoraj zlovešč simbol. Krščanska tradicija jo pre-poznava tudi kot odrešenico v temi tavajočih duš (Lk, 1–79) s podobnimi značilnost-mi psihopompa kot Gorgonina glava z delfinoma v Alciatijevem emblemu *In mortem praeraptam*, medtem ko je že pri Hrabanu Mavru prepoznana kot predstavnica tistih, ki so se v življenju predali temi (Melnikova-Grigorjeva 2010, p. 220). V različnih kon-tekstih se pojavlja v številnih emblemskih knjigah, kot so *Morosophie* Guillauma de la Perriera (la Perriere 1553, emblemi 18, 49, 90 in 98), *Emblemata* Joannesa Sambucusa (Sambucus 1564, pp. 148–149, 152–153) in *A Collection of Emblemes, Ancient and Moderne* Georgea Witherja (Wither 1635, emblem 9). V emblemu iz Alciatijeve knjige je sova spretno in precej inovativno inkorporirana v tisti ikonografski pol emblemove sličice, ki se ponaša z minljivostno motiviko. Ta s *transi* grobnico ali v Tozzijevih iz-dajah z upodobitvijo trupla in sovo kot spremljevalko smrti tvori materializacijo ideje minljivosti (Thanatos), ki svoj protipol (Eros) najde v podobi prešuštnih ljubimcev. Alciatijeva interpretacija simbolike sove je izrazito negativna in odraža med poznosre-dnjeveškim in renesančnim izobraženstvom priljubljeno ter iz Ovidijevih *Metamorfoz*

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19 Povezavo Atene z modrostjo sta vzpostavila že Platon (Kritija, 109, c. 6., Celje 2006, prevod Gorazd Kocjančič) in Homer (Odiseja, 13, 198–299).

20 V klasični in helenistični dobi je bil motiv sove priljubljen, o čemer pričajo razmeroma pogoste najdbe predvsem atiških novcev in posodja. Villing 1992, doktorska disertacija, p. 77.

21 Plinij st., Historia Naturalis, 10, p. 16. Sicer se uharice hranijo tudi z molji, ki jih privabljajo soji plamenov sveč, kar dodatno utemeljuje njihovo prisotnost na pokopališčih.

22 Ikonografski motiv izvira iz antične besedne igre – Calmann njegove zametke prepoznava že v deveti knjigi Odiseje, kjer se je protagonist Polifemu, po tem, ko mu je razlil oko, predstavil kot Nikdo – priljubljen in široko razširjen pa je motiv postal po letu 1507, ko je različico besedne igre v satiričnem pamfletu izdal strasbourški brivec Joerg Schan. Ta je svojega junaka okronal z verzom »Nihče je moje ime, krivdo nosim za vse« (lasten prevod). Kot norčka so Nikogar v naslednjem stoletju upodabljali v najrazličnejših podobah; pogosto ima na glavi ptičje perje ali sovje gnezdo, v nekaterih upodobitvah pa ima namesto človeške glave sovino.

izhajajoče[23] razumevanje skrivnostne nočne ptice kot peklenske odposlanke, vedno asociirane s smrtjo.[24]

## O Smrti in Ljubezni

Z vidika preučevanja minljivostne motivike je med Alciatijevimi emblemi med najbolj zanimivimi emblem *De Morte et Amore* (»O Smrti in Ljubezni«).[25] Adaptacije emblemove sličice od izdaje do izdaje so pri dotičnem emblemu kar najbolj dinamične, zato v strokovni literaturi pogosto naletimo na zgrešene interpretacije in zamenjave. Prva, augsburška izdaja prikazuje personifikacijo smrti ter Kupida s prevezanimi očmi in vzplamtelimi stopali na desni strani prizora. Imata med seboj zamenjane puščice, mečeta pa jih proti dvema osebama na levi strani prizora. Kupid je s puščico smrti zadel mladeniča, medtem ko je smrt s puščico ljubezni zadela odraslo osebo. Podnapis pojasnjuje, da sta Kupid in Smrt na poti skupaj legla k počitku ter med seboj pomotoma zamenjala puščice. Rezultat zamenjave je nenadno mladostniško občutje ljubezni, ki je prevzelo starca, zadetega od puščice Smrti. Slabše jo je odnesel pripovedovalec, ki se identificira z mladeničem na sliki in toži, da zaradi puščice smrti umira, polastile pa se ga bodo »Usode« – zopet navezava na Parke (SLIKA 8). V pariških izdajah je orientacija dogajanja zasukana, napravljenih pa je tudi nekaj manjših posegov v vsebino sličice – Smrt in Kupid sta tu oborožena z lokoma, starostna razlika med žrtvama puščic pa je poudarjena. Tu sta upodobljena otrok in starec, v ozadju dogajanja pa je dodan še prizor Smrti, ki se skrivoma poigrava s tokom spečega Kupida. Dodatni prizor moramo brati kot dogajanje pred streljanjem puščic, ko je do zamenjave prišlo, ob tem pa se nam odpira dvom v nenaklepnost zamenjave puščic (SLIKA 9). Lyonska izdaja iz leta 1547 je dogajanje obogatila z dodatnimi protagonisti, Smrt in Kupid pa sta tu dobila krila in streljata na smrtnike pod seboj. Kupidove puščice smrti so zadele tri mladeniče, Smrt pa je s puščicami razveselila tri starce, ki so naenkrat zakipeli od življenja (SLIKA 10). Dogajanje v lyonskih izdajah iz let 1549 in 1551 je zopet nekoliko bolj

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23 Ovidij, Metamorphoses (ed. Arthur Golding), London 1567, pp. 538–550. S Prozerpinino transformacijo Asklepija v »kričečo sovo« je ikonografski motiv sove posredno asociiran s Hadom.

24 Hirsch 2011, p. 141. Kot simbol oziroma napovednik smrti se pri Shakespearu pojavlja v delih Henry VI, A Midsummer Night's Dream in Hamlet.

25 V naboru pregledanih knjig emblem zasledimo v prvi, augsburški izdaji (Alciati 1531, Heinrich Steyner, p. 69), pariških izdajah (Alciati 1534, 1536 1539, 1542, Chrestien Wechel, p. 69, emblem 64, p. 69, p. 69); beneška izdaja iz leta 1546 emblema ne ponuja (Alciati 1546, Aldus), najdemo pa ga v lyonski izdaji naslednje leto (Alciati 1547, Jean de Tournes, Guillaume Gazeau, p. 67.), v lyonskih izdajah iz let 1549, 1550–51 in 1556 (Alciati 1549, Matthew Bonhomme, Guillaume Rouille, p. 89, Alciati 1551, Matthew Bonhomme, Guillaume Rouille, p. 167, Alciati 1556, Jean de Tournes, Guillaume Gazeau, p. 110), v frankfurtski iz leta 1567 (Alciati 1567, Georg Corvin, p. 192), antwerpenski iz leta 1577 (Alciati 1577, Cristopher Plantin, p. 184), pariških iz let 1583 in 1584 (Alciati 1583, Jerome de Marnef, p. 504, Alciati 1584, Jean Richer, emblem 154), najerski (Alciati 1615, Juan de Mongaston, emblem 153), ženevski (Alciato 1615, Jean II de Tournes, p. 94) in v padovski iz leta 1621 (Alciati 1621, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, p. 657).

pregledno, saj je Smrt s Kupidovimi puščicami zadela zgolj dva sveže zaljubljena starca (SLIKA 11), lyonska izdaja iz leta 1556 pa je v emblem vključila sličico iz naslednjega emblema, *In formosam fato praeraptam*. Manjše spremembe ponuja frankfurtska izdaja, v kateri je dogajanje iz prve lyonske izdaje predstavljeno v zrcalni podobi; Smrt je tu upodobljena brez kril, na tleh pa se pojavi še dodatno truplo, ki ga je zadel Kupid (SLIKA 12). Tudi emblemi antwerpenske in pariških izdaj iz let 1583–84 so opremljeni s sličicami, ki dejansko pripadajo naslednjemu, vsebinsko sorodnemu emblemu, *In formosam fato praeraptam*;[26] najerska izdaja prikazuje lyonskim izdajam (1549, 1551) zvesto, četudi zrcalno in slogovno manj dovršeno različico sličice; tudi ženevska izdaja vsebuje sličico, identično prvi lyonski izdaji, padovska izdaja pa ponuja popreproščeno različico lyonskih izdaj (1549, 1551) – Smrt zopet nima kril, Kupidova puščica je pokončala zgolj eno žrtev, zaljubljeni starec pa prizor zapušča v družbi precej mlajše mladenke (SLIKA 13).

Že Alberto Tenenti (Tenenti 1987) se je ukvarjal z izvorom personificirane smrti in filozofskih podstati, ki so napeljale k ikonografskemu motivu. Opažal je, da tema ni klasičnega izvora, niti ni moči njenega izvora iskati v krščanski motiviki; gre za povsem nov, poznosrednjeveški izum, ki je sicer v osnovi izhajal iz krogov samostanske askeze trecentistične Toskane, toda obenem predstavljal izraz novih tesnob, ki so skozi monumentalno umetnost nagovarjale širše občinstvo. Upodobitev oziroma samih omemb, ki bi nakazovale potrebe kolektivne senzibilnosti po personificiranju tako abstraktnega pojma, kot je smrt, iz antike skoraj ne poznamo, zato je vpetost Smrti v motiviko pričujočega emblema atraktivna (Kinch 2013). Zanimivo je, da je motiv največji razcvet v svoji izvorni podobi (ali s pozicioniranjem Smrti na konja) doživel prav v Alciatiju domačih krajih. V tu obravnavanih izdajah Alciatija, zlasti v lyonskih iz let 1547 in 1549, frankfurtski iz 1567 in padovski iz 1621, je upodobitev smrti na prvi pogled povsem italijanskega značaja. Gre večinoma za lebdečo, od zoba časa že dodobra načeto krilato figuro, ki se v štirih izdajah ne dotika tal, na smrtnike pa v vseh izdajah, z izjemo prve, augsburške, strelja z lokom. Povsem renesančna je Alciatijeva združitev zgodnjenovoveškega ikonografskega motiva poosebljene smrti in antičnega motiva Kupida v prizor, ki ilustrira razširjeno prepričanje, da se ljubezenska norost starcem ne poda, medtem ko mladi pogosto umirajo prezgodaj. Gre pravzaprav za primer cinquecentistične misli, nagnjene k obujanju antike, ki je omogočila tako sveže ikonografske konglomerate. Srečanje dveh personifikacij sicer kaže značilnosti srednjeveškega alegoričnega romana. Obe med seboj zamenjata vlogi, kar emblemu pridoda še dva nivoja razumevanja. Z zamenjavo poslanstev Ljubezni in Smrti se v sličicah upodobljeni starec, ki bi moral biti na poti k zadnjemu počitku, zaljubi, kar namiguje tako na večnost ljubezni, ki je ne pokonča

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26    Obravnavano spodaj.

niti smrt, kot tudi na dejstvo, da slednja ne pozna starosti in da se človek lahko za-ljubi tudi na stara leta. Obenem Kupidovo streljanje smrtnih puščic, ki ubijajo tudi mlajše, razkrije še eno moralno-didaktično obogatitev ikonografije emblema – poleg ustaljenega minljivostnega svarila, izraženega v obliki smrti mlajših ter osebe, ki nas v epigramu emblema nagovarja, uspemo razbrati opozorilo na morebitne zavajajoče značilnosti nespametne ljubezni, ki utegne voditi v pogubo – za kogarkoli je lahko usodna tudi puščica ljubezni. Vendar Alciati ni niti prvi niti edini, ki se je lotil tako zanimivega motiva. Obravnava krivičnih prekinitev mladih življenj je pogosta že v antičnih epigramih in sentencah, v Alciatiju sorodni obliki se je izpričano poja-vljala kot ustaljena fabula že v visokem srednjem veku (Dundas 1993, pp. 39–70), prisotna je pri Petrarki, zasledimo pa jo tudi v Alciatijevem času, tako v emblemskih knjigah kot v zgodnjenovoveških dramskih delih. Kot humanističen poziv ponovne pravične razporeditve naravnih sil ljubezni in smrti (poziv personifikacijama, da naj druga drugi vrneta puščice) fabulo obravnava znani britanski pisatelj in pesnik Hen-ry Peacham (1578 do ca. 1644), čigar opus sestavlja tudi emblemska knjiga *Miner-va Britanna* (Peacham 1612, p. 172). Peachamovo geslo je vsebinsko precej sorodno Alciatijevemu, izvzemši izrazito moralistično noto, ki jo tu nadomešča slutnja ene od velikih epidemij kuge. Zelo podobni sta si tudi sličici, pri čemer je Peachamova od Alciatijeve različna zgolj v nekoliko bolj dinamični razporeditvi protagonistov okrog drevesa, pozicioniranega v središče dogajanja. Ne preseneča, da se je fabu-la o bolj ali manj nenaklepni izmenjavi puščic med Ljubeznijo in Smrtjo dodobra uveljavila na odru britanskega zgodnjenovoveškega teatra (Engel 2007, p. 269); v obliki emblema je namreč obravnavana tudi v dobro poznani britanski emblemski knjigi, vplivni *A Choice of Emblems* Geoffreyja Whitneyja (Whitney 1586, p. 132), ki jo je najverjetneje poznal tudi William Shakespeare (Dundas 1995, pp. 44–45). Slednji je temo ljubezni in smrti obravnaval ob več priložnostih,[27] vendar je v nje-govih delih vselej prisoten sentiment njune nerazdružljivosti, saj sta pogojeni ena z drugo in tvorita čustveno nabito kombinacijo. Shakespearovo razumevanje fabule se v tem močno razlikuje od Peachamovega in Whitneyjevega, ki v izmenjavi puščic med personifikacijama vselej vidita nesrečno zmešnjavo med naravno določenimi silami. Še več, v fabuli pravzaprav prepoznavata svojevrstno tragikomično oziroma groteskno kakovost, ki je morda tuja današnjemu bralcu; domiselno humanistično skovanko Whitney označi kar za »Joccosum« (Whitney 1586, p. 132), humoresko, kot kakršnega moramo razumeti tudi Alciatijev emblem.[28] Kot dokaz služijo tudi poznejše upodobitve, ki personifikaciji smrti in ljubezni prikazujejo ob pijančevanju (Le Maire 1885, pp. 39–43) – že fabula namreč omenja njuno skupno nočitev.

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27  Denimo v četrtem aktu A Winter's Tale ob Perditini kontemplaciji smrti ob rožah.
28  Pomnimo, da so bili njegovi emblemi zasnovani in hora festivis.

## O preminuli mladi lepotici

Emblemu *De Morte et Amore* vsebinsko zelo soroden in z njim pravzaprav tudi povezan je *In Formosam fato praereptam* (»O preminuli mladi lepotici«), ki se podobno pojavlja v večini Alciatijevih izdaj.[29] Emblem v večini izdaj sledi zgoraj obravnavanemu emblemu *De Morte et Amore*, z njim pa je povezan tudi vsebinsko. V izdajah Alciatija zelo pogosto zasledimo, da sta gesli in sličici emblemov zamenjani. Dogajanje na sličici pariških izdaj je dejansko le približan detajl iz ozadja prejšnjega emblema iste izdaje, *De Morte et Amore*, kjer je v ozadju streljanja puščic Kupida in Smrti v hribovito arkadijsko krajino postavljeno strašljivo dogajanje: razpadajoče truplo se steguje nad spečega Kupida pred seboj (SLIKA 14). Zdi se, kot da želi iz njegovega toka ukrasti nekaj puščic, početje, ki pojasni nastanek zmešnjave s puščicami v prejšnjem emblemu ter obenem nasprotuje vsebini podnapisa prejšnjega emblema in ustaljeni različici fabule o Ljubezni in Smrti, kjer so puščice zamenjane pomotoma. Če se Smrt v pariških izdajah nad Kupida steguje skrivoma ter med njegovim dremežem, je že v lyonski izdaji iz leta 1547 njeno soočenje s Kupidom precej bolj dramatično (SLIKA 15). Kupid je tu iztrgan iz dremeža, Smrt ga z levico napada z nedefiniranim ostrim predmetom, njena desnica pa se suče okrog njegovih puščic, ki bodo zamenjane. Izmenjava puščic tu poteka vse prej kot pomotoma, saj je konfrontacija med personifikacijami dejansko agresivna, sozvočje med sličico in podnapisom pa je porušeno. Obnašanje Smrti je še bolj agresivno v naslednjih lyonskih izdajah (1549, 1550–51) in v frankfurtski izdaji, kjer je Smrt bolj kot na zamenjavo puščic osredotočena na fizični obračun s Kupidom, prebujenim iz Endimionove poze (SLIKA 16). Zdi se, da se ga je Smrt lotila med opravljanjem svojih vsakdanjih zadolžitev z navadnimi smrtniki, saj je v obeh izdajah k nogam Smrti dodano še pravkar pokončano truplo mladenke, nadvse podobno truplu, nad katerim v emblemu *Senex pulleam amans* bdi sova. Poglabljajoče se odstopanje med podnapisom in sličico je še dodatno zapleteno z zamenjavo sličic, obravnavano pri prejšnjem emblemu – lyonska izdaja iz leta 1556, antwerpenska in pariška izdaja iz leta 1583 so namreč emblem *In formosam fato praereptam* opremile s sličico em-

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29  V naboru pregledanih knjig emblema ne zasledimo v prvi, augsburški izdaji (Alciati 1531, Heinrich Steyner); prvič je prisoten v pariških izdajah (Alciati 1534, 1536, 1539, 1542, Chrestien Wechel, p. 70, emblem 65, p. 142, p. 142); beneška izdaja iz leta 1546 emblema ne vsebuje (Alciati 1546, Aldus), najdemo pa ga v lyonski izdaji naslednje leto (Alciati 1547, Jean de Tournes, Guillaume Gazeau, p. 68.), v lyonskih izdajah iz let 1549 (Alciati 1549, Mace Bonhomme, Guillaume Rouille, p. 91), 1550–51 (Alciati 1551, Matthew Bonhomme, Guillaume Rouille, p. 168) in 1556 (Alciati 1556, Mace Bonhomme, Guillaume Rouille, p. 112), v frankfurtski iz leta 1567 (Alciati 1567, Georg Corvin, p. 193), antwerpenski iz leta 1577 (Alciati 1577, Cristopher Plantin, p. 186), pariški iz leta 1583 (Alciati 1583, Jerome de Marnef, p. 506), najerski (Alciati 1615, Juan de Mongaston, emblem 154), ženevski (Alciato 1615, Jean II de Tournes, p. 95) in v padovski iz leta 1621 (Alciati 1621, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, p. 661).

blema *De morte et amore* in obratno.[30] Vsem sličicam obravnavanega emblema je skupen zloveščci namen personificirane smrti, naklepno zamenjati svoje puščcice s Kupidovimi, kar ne sovpada z ustaljeno razlago v epigramu, temveč gre za njeno zavestno reinterpretacijo. Kot nas poduči geslo, Smrt in Kupid svojih puščcic nista izmenjala nenaklepno, ampak jih je Smrt zamenjala po lastnem navdihu. Če je to v prvih ilustriranih izdajah ter v padovskih izdajah storila med Kupidovim globokim dremežem, je izmenjava atributov v veččini drugih izdaj dejansko agresivna. Smrt v lyonskih izdajah (z izjemo 1556) napade spečega Kupida, kar pojasni njegovo pojavnost v Endimionovi pozi, toda z iztegnjenimi rokami: iz sladkega poččitka ga je iztrgala Smrt, ki se nadenj steguje z nedefiniranim orožjem, istoččasno pa ga s koščeno roko pritiska k tlom in s tem onemogoča njegovo samoobrambo (SLIKA 17). Ker je v sličicah izdaj, v katerih je Smrt najbolj agresivna, Kupid nekoliko slabše razpoznaven, bi površni gledalec zlahka sklepal, da se emblem nanaša zgolj na že pokončano žensko figuro v prizoru. Dejansko nam je v prizoru interakcije smrti in Kupida podana uvertura v dogajanje emblema *De morte & amore*, njegov prolog, ki skuša obelodaniti, kako je do izmenjave atributov v resnici prišlo. Pa vendar so odstopanja med tekstom in sliko prisotna v vseh izdajah. Mason Tung[31] opozarja na več problemov. Najbolj zagonetno je vprašanje puščcic: če sta Smrt in Kupid pomotoma zamešala svoje puščcice, ki so praviloma shranjene v lokostrelčevem toku, kako je lahko do takšne pomote sploh prišlo, upoštevajoč dejstvo, da sličice prikazujejo Kupida, ki spi oziroma je prebujen iz spanca z že pričvrščenim tokom s puščcicami na svojem životu? Oziroma, z ozirom na Tozzijevo izdajo (SLIKA 18), kako sta lahko Smrt in Kupid streljala z zamenjanimi puščcicami, če je Smrt, ko z lokom in puščcico koraka proč od spečega Kupida, za seboj pustila zgolj koso in peščeno uro, ne pa tudi svojih puščcic? V nobenem primeru sličica ni dosledna pri upodabljanju vsebine besedilnega dela emblema.

## Predčasna smrt

Povezava smrti z ljubeznijo oziroma erotično konotacijo, prisotno v emblemih *Tumulus meretricis*, *De Morte et Amore* ter *In formosam fato praeraptam*, ni edino sredstvo, s katerim emblemi Alciatijeve knjige obravnavajo minljivost in smrt. Emblem *In mortem praeraptam* (»Predčasna smrt«) postreže z malenkost drugačnim pristopom, ki, kot predhodni emblemi, skriva preplet motivike ljubezni in motivike prezgodnje

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smrti.[32] Sličica emblema, podobno kot v emblemu *Tumulus meretricis*, v vseh izdajah prikazuje kamnit sarkofag (SLIKA 20). Odstopanja v sličici med različnimi izdajami Alciatija so, za razliko od emblemov *De Morte et Amore* ter *In formosam fato praerap-tam*, minimalna: na sarkofagu je, bodisi kot kiparsko okrasje na pokrovu bodisi kot visoki relief na frizu (v padovski izdaji, SLIKA 21), upodobljena Gorgonina glava. Ta je z obeh strani obdana z upodobitvama delfinov, ki, z izjemo padovske izdaje, prepleta svoji zadnji plavuti v spiralasto tvorbo. V sličicah Tozzijeve izdaje, kjer je motiv upodobljen v reliefu, delfina plavuti molita v nasprotni si strani, na pokrov sarkofaga pa je postavljena majhna človeška lobanja. Poleg lobanje se sarkofag padovske izdaje od preostalih razlikuje še v epigramu D SEPVLCRVM M,[33] ki je v padovskih izdajah odsoten. Geslo in sličica sta tu pospremljena z nekoliko obsežnejšim podnapisom. Ta ne prikriva žalosti ob prezgodnji smrti mladeniča, v spomin pa mu je ljubeči prijatelj, zgodovinsko neizpričani Arestius, dal postaviti upodobljeni sarkofag. Arestius bridko toži zaradi izgube in v humanističnem duhu posebej objokuje ure, ki sta jih skupaj preživljala ob študiju. V duhu renesančnega izobraženstva se tožba sklene s pokončno držo, upanjem, da bo pokojnikova usoda s »simboli njegove vere«, Gorgonino glavo in delfinoma, mirna. Obravnava tematike prezgodnje smrti ima ustaljeno tradicijo ter predstavlja eno od najpogosteje zastopanih tem ikonografije *memento mori*. Sledimo ji že od antičnih sentenc in epigramov, tuja ni niti visokosrednjeveškim ikonografskim motivom, morda najbolj mojstrsko pa se je z njo spoprijel Hans Holbein mlajši v svojem ganljivem lesorezu smrti otroka. Posredno je obravnavana tudi v emblemu *De Morte et Amore*, kjer personifikacija ljubezni nehote zadane mlado osebo s puščico, ki ji jo je podtaknila zlovešča personificirana smrt. Emblem predstavlja primer zelo inovativne inkorporacije Gorgonine ikonografije v minljivostne ikonografske motive ter kaže na avtorjevo dobro poznavanje ikonografije rimskih sarkofagov z motivi Gorgonine glave, ki so bili v 2. in 3. stoletju priljubljeni na širšem področju Rimskega imperija (Anđeliković Grašar 2017, p. 168). Glava Gorgone se je namreč (po tem, ko jo je od njenega telesa ločil meč Perzeja, ki se je izognil usodnemu neposrednemu pogledu na Gorgonin obraz tako, da je kot zrcalo uporabil ščit svoje zavetnice, Atene) materializirala v simbolno reliefno okrasje Perzejevega/Ateninega ščita in kot taka postala

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32  Emblema ne zasledimo v prvi, augsburški izdaji (Alciati 1531, Heinrich Steyner); prvič je prisoten v pariških izdajah (Alciati 1534, Chrestien Wechel, p. 118, Alciati 1536, Chrestien Wechel, emblem 110, Alciati 1539, Chrestien Wechel, p. 242, Alciati 1542, Chrestien Wechel, p. 242); beneška izdaja iz leta 1546 emblema ne vsebuje (Alciati 1546, Aldus), najdemo pa ga v lyonski izdaji naslednje leto (Alciati 1547, Jean de Tournes, Guillaume Gazeau, p. 116.), v lyonskih izdajah iz let 1549 in 1550–51 (Alciati, 1549, 1551, Matthew Bonhomme, Guillaume Rouille, p. 169, p. 247) ter 1556 (Alciati 1556, Jean de Tournes, Guillaume Gazeau, p. 185), v frankfurtski iz leta 1567 (Alciati 1567, Georg Corvin, p. 194), antwerpenski iz leta 1577 (Alciati 1577, Cristopher Plantin, p. 187), pariških iz let 1583 (Alciati 1583, Jerome de Marnef, p. 508) in 1584 (Alciati 1584, Jean Richer, emblem 156), v najerski (Alciati 1615, Juan de Mongaston, emblem 155), ženevski (Alciati 1615, Jean II de Tournes, p. 164) ter v padovski iz leta 1621 (Alciati 1621, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, p. 663).

33  V Frankfurtski izdaji D SEPVLGRVM M (Alciati 1567, Georg Corvin, p. 194, SLIKA 22).

ustaljen atribut Atene (Goscilo 2010). Gorgonino glavo na njenem ščitu so kot apotropejsko znamenje prepoznali v rimskih cesarskih vojaških krogih, kmalu pa se je ustalila tudi kot pogost apotropejski spremljevalec zgradb, predvsem njihovih portalov.[34] Sarkofag je kot svojevrsten portal v onostranstvo postal prikladen medij za prenašanje motivov, povezanih z Gorgono, ki sicer poznajo določeno mero raznolikosti, vendar so v večini primerov omejeni zgolj na reliefno upodobitev Gorgonine glave, kot je tista na Alciatijevi sličici. Občasno so Meduzine glave, zlasti na sarkofagih, upodobljene med dvema psihopompoma – vodnikoma duš v onostranstvo; slednja sta lahko upodobljena kot goloba, *putta* ali pa kot dva delfina (Anđeliković Grašar 2017, p. 168), prisotna na sličicah vseh ilustriranih izdaj Alciatija. Emblem torej ne predstavlja zgolj (v Tozzijevih izdajah tudi z lobanjo okrašenega) sarkofaga kot preprostega *mementa mori*, kar je splošno sprejeto stališče redkih avtorjev, ki so ga obravnavali (De Girolami Cheney 2018, pp. 267–284). Prikazuje tudi prefinjeno humanistično materializacijo želje globoko žalujočega izobraženca z gesto postavitve apotropejsko zavarovanega sarkofaga prijatelju omogočiti večno slavo, miren počitek in predvsem varen prehod v onostranstvo. Hkrati odstira tabuizirani ljubeč odnos med mladeničem in starejšim moškim iz grške tradicije, ki presega meje prijateljske navezanosti in, kot potrjujejo podnapisi in komentarji zgodnjih francoskih izdaj (Alciati 1584, Pariz, Jean Richer), izraža pristno ljubezen. Če bo Gorgonina glava sarkofag po antičnem prepričanju obvarovala pred roparji grobov in skrunitelji, bosta delfina kot simbola hitrosti v vlogi psihopompov pokojnika varno pospremila v posmrtno življenje. Arestijeva skrb za pokojnikovo večno življenje v onostranstvu in za ovekovečenje njegovega tuzemskega življenja odraža splošen cinquecentističen sentiment navezanosti na tuzemsko plat življenja, ki ima svoj izvor v nerazumevanju minljivosti. Obenem v skrbi za ohranjanje spomina na ljubljeno osebo zaslutimo humanistično željo po večni slavi, večkrat obravnavani v Alciatijevih emblemih (Aries 2008). Dotakne se je tudi v emblemu *Ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri* (Alciati, Lyon 1550, p. 144), v katerem obravnava humanistični ideal posmrtne slave in večnega življenja, doseženega s študijem in literarnimi deli.

## Zaključek

Alciati v ikonografijo minljivosti vnaša številne inovativne načine posredovanja motivov *vanitas* in *memento mori*, sicer značilnih za zgodnji novi vek, novim občinstvom. Prepletanje motivov ljubezni in smrti v vseh obravnavanih emblemih tvori čustveno nabito kombinacijo, s katero so se istovetili bralci, ter jo pospremi s spretnimi moralno-didaktičnimi obogatitvami in mestoma celo satiričnimi momenti. Kljub bogastvu Alciatijeve zapuščine minljivostna ikonografija izdaj njegove *Emblemate* ni celostno znanstveno obdelana. Skopa literatura se izogiba komparativnim analizam med raz-

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34    Orfizem uči, da je bila Meduza prisotna na vratih Hada. Anđeliković Grašar 2017, p. 168.

ličnimi izdajami, motivika *vanitas* in *memento mori* v emblemskih knjigah pa v literaturi ni vpeta v pestro tradicijo upodabljanja tovrstnih motivov, ki se v tradiciji zahodne umetnosti začno pojavljati v poznem srednjem veku. Pričujoči članek tako predstavlja prvi poskus ikonološke analize ključnih, z minljivostno vsebino zaznamovanih Alciatijevih emblemov, ki se od izdaje do izdaje lahko tudi močno razlikujejo. Analiza emblemov skuša Alciatijevo motiviko prikazati kot svojevrsten ikonografski most med minljivostno motiviko visokega in poznega srednjega veka ter renesanso. V Alciatijevi renesančni nadgradnji so standardni ikonografski motivi *vanitas* in *memento mori* vpeti v moralno-didaktično ter satirično ikonografijo, tipično za emblemske knjige, ki bolj kot na krščanski tradiciji sloni na izročilu grške in rimske antike, Alciati pa jih spretno kombinira s povsem inovativnimi pristopi; eden takšnih je jukstapozicija minljivosti in smrti ter ljubezni, pravi *lajtmotiv* njegovih emblemov, ki je v umetnosti zgodnjega novega veka pustil neizbrisljiv pečat. Obravnavani emblemi so tudi neprecenljiv dokument zgodnjenovoveškega dojemanja smrtnosti in renesančnih predpostavk o obravnavanju tovrstnih tematik v antiki, saj se v njih dotakne najširšega spektra tem, povezanih z umiranjem – od vpogledov v dojemanje antičnih sarkofagov in poznosrednjeveških *transi* grobnic do najbolj intimnih vidikov žalovanja, tranzicije v onostranstvo in maščevanja, povezanega z ljubezenskimi spletkami. Emblem *Krsta kurtizane* z domiselno kombinacijo zgodbe slabše poznane grške polmitske kurtizane Lais, izpričane v virih, ter motiva ustaljene poznosrednjeveške *transi* grobnice s subtilno satirično noto ustvarja prostor za nove načine dojemanja tem minljivosti in nečiste ljubezni. Sorodna vsebina je prisotna v emblemu *Starec, zaljubljen v mladenko*, kjer je jukstapozicija smrti in moralno oporečne ljubezni vnovič obravnavana v satiričnem duhu, saj je pečanje mladenke po imenu Aganippe z ostarelim Sofoklejem v emblemu, sklicujoč se na Ateneja, primerjano z bdenjem sove nad grobovi. S tem je v minljivostno ikonografijo emblema vključena bogata in ambivalentna simbolika sove, ki je z Alciatijem postala tudi redna spremljevalka minljivostno zaznamovanih emblemov. Emblema *O Smrti in Ljubezni* ter *O preminuli mladi lepotici* sta med Alciatijevimi minljivostnimi emblemi v strokovni literaturi najpogosteje obravnavana, vendar je prav z njima povezana cela vrsta nerazumevanj in odstopanj med posameznimi izdajami; poznosrednjeveško fabulo o zamenjavi puščic med personifikacijami smrti in ljubezni vnašata v ikonografijo emblemov, pri čemer se obnašanje personifikacije smrti v določenih izdajah približuje ustaljenim poznosrednjeveškim upodobitvam personificirane smrti na Apeninskem polotoku. Če tako personificiranje smrti kot sama fabula, v kateri je prisotno soočenje dveh personifikacij abstraktnih pojmov, vzbujata reminiscence na srednjeveški alegorični roman, je personifikacija ljubezni nedvomno antičnega izvora, kar vnovič ponazarja Alciatijeve inovativne pristope k obravnavi uveljavljenih tem s kombiniranjem sočasne in antične misli. Emblem *Predčasna smrt* zopet demonstrira Alciatijevo humanistično senzibilnost in dobro poznavanje ikono-

grafije rimskih sarkofagov, saj motiviko minljivosti izraža skozi motiv apotropejsko zavarovanega sarkofaga, ki ga je mlademu pokojniku dal postaviti starejši prijatelj, s katerim sta gojila ljubeč odnos. Alciati se dotakne tako priljubljene teme prezgodnje smrti kot tudi ikonografije sarkofaga, ki je v sepulkralni umetnosti že od antike igral prominentno vlogo. Sarkofag v emblemu ni obravnavan zgolj kot lokacija poslednjega počitka pokojnikovega telesa, temveč ga z motivoma psihopompov in apotropejsko zaznamovane Meduzine glave razumemo kot točko prehoda oziroma portal med tuzemsko bitjo in onostranstvom.

Alciatijeve kontekstualne in vsebinske obogatitve ustaljenih ter zasnova povsem novih ikonografskih motivov *vanitas* in *memento mori* so toliko pomembnejše tudi zaradi njihove inkorporacije v povsem novo, trodelno shemo emblema, ki je z delitvijo svoje zgradbe na slikovni in dvodelni besedilni del omogočala doseganje širših pomenov z vsebinskim dopolnjevanjem med posameznimi komponentami emblema. Dopolnjevanje besede in slike v minljivostno zaznamovanih motivih je sicer prisotno že pri upodobitvah motiva *Treh živih in treh mrtvih* ter v nekaterih freskantskih upodobitvah personificirane smrti, kot je Buffalmaccov cikel v pisanskem Camposantu, kjer so znotraj upodobitev dogajanja dodani napisni trakovi z različnimi vzkliki in moralističnimi svarili upodobljenih protagonistov. Tovrstne primere lahko smatramo zgolj kot obogatitev upodobljene vsebine, ne pa njeno dopolnitev, saj ob neupoštevanju katere od komponent emblema dejansko ostanemo prikrajšani za katerega od njenih nepogrešljivih elementov. Medij zgodnjenovoveškega emblema je avtorjem ponudil neskončne možnosti izražanja sentimentov, dodobra zasidranih v kolektivni senzibilnosti, na povsem sveže načine, nam pa odpira nova področja še neobdelane motivike, ki jo bo v prihodnje treba podrobneje raziskati.

## Slikovno gradivo
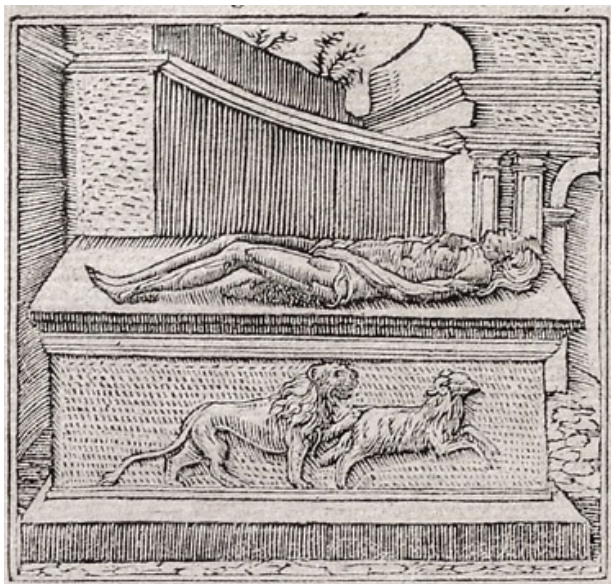


Slika 1: Andrea Alciati, *Tumulus meretricis*, Lyon 1549, Matthew Bonhomme, Guillaume Rouille, p. 46. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/



Slika 2: Andrea Alciati, *Tumulus meretricis*, Padova 1621, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, p. 329. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/

Slika 3: Andrea Alciati, *Tumulus meretricis*, Pariz 1542, Chrestien Wechel, D6v, p. 60.
Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/
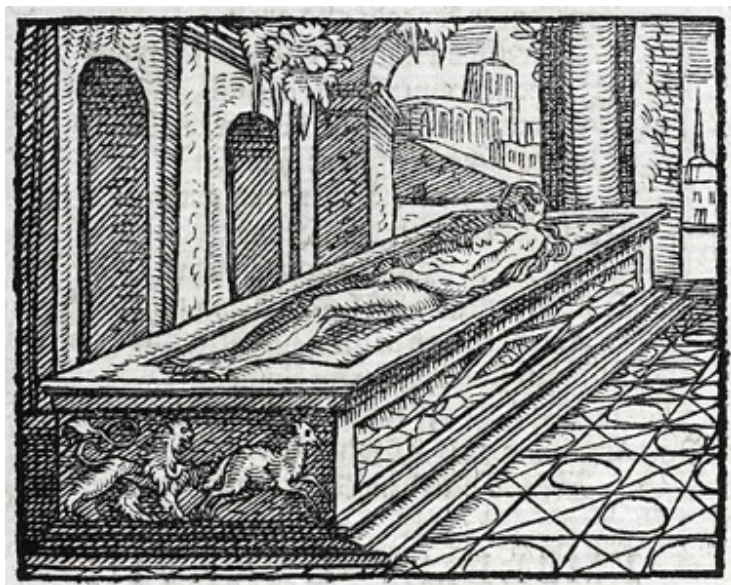


Slika 4: Andrea Alciati, *Tumulus meretricis*, Frankfurt 1567, Georg Corvin, n. 86, p. 86.
Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/
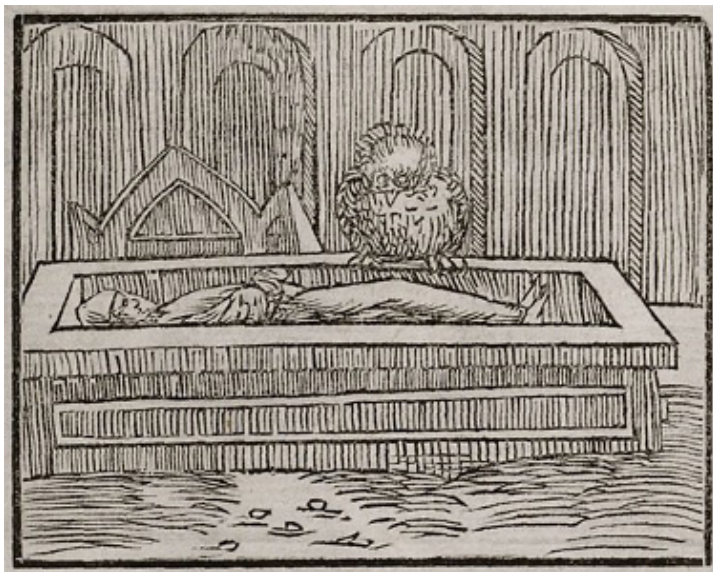
Slika 5: Andrea Alciati, *Senex pulleam amans*, Benetke 1546, Aldus p. 10.
Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/



Slika 6: Andrea Alciati, *Senex pulleam amans*, Lyon 1551, Matthew Bonhomme,
Guillaume Rouille, p. 114. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/

Slika 7: Andrea Alciati, *Senex pulleam amans*, Padova 1621, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, p. 495. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/



Slika 8: Andrea Alciati, *De Morte et Amore*, Augsburg 1531, Heinrich Steyner, D3v. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/

Slika 9: Andrea Alciati, *De Morte et Amore*, Pariz 1539, Chrestien Wechel, p. 140.
Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/



Slika 10: Andrea Alciati, *De Morte et Amore*, Lyon 1547, Jean de Tournes, Guillaume
Gazeau, n. 25, p. 67. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/

Slika 11: Andrea Alciati, *De Morte et Amore*, Lyon 1549, Matthew Bonhomme, Guillaume Rouille, p. 89. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/



Slika 12: Andrea Alciati, *De Morte et Amore*, Frankfurt 1567, Georg Corvin, n. 192, p. 192. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/



Slika 13: Andrea Alciati, *De Morte et Amore*, Padova 1621, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, p. 657. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/

Slika 14: Andrea Alciati, *In Formosam fato praereptam,* Pariz 1536, Chrestien Wechel, p. 142. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/



Slika 15: Andrea Alciati, *In Formosam fato praereptam,* Lyon 1547, Jean de Tournes, p. 110. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/

Slika 16: Andrea Alciati, *In Formosam fato praereptam*, Frankfurt 1567, Georg Corvin, n. 193, p. 193. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/



Slika 17: Andrea Alciati, *In Formosam fato praereptam*, Lyon 1549, Mace Bonhomme, Guillaume Rouille, p. 91. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/

Slika 18: Andrea Alciati, *In Formosam fato praereptam*, Padova 1621, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, p. 661. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/



Slika 19: Andrea Alciati, *In Formosam fato praereptam*, Pariz 1583, Jerome de Marnef, n. 155, p. 506. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/

Slika 20: Andrea Alciati, *In mortem praeraptam*, Pariz 1542, Chrestien Wechel, p. 242.
Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/



Slika 21: Andrea Alciati, *In mortem praeraptam*, Padova 1621, Pietro Paolo Tozzi, n. 157.
Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/

Slika 22: Andrea Alciati, *In mortem praeraptam*, Frankfurt ob Majni 1567, Georg Corvin, n. 194, p. 194. Vir fotografije: https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/

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## Smrt in ljubezen. Motivika *vanitas* in *memento mori* v izdajah Alciatijeve *Emblemate*

**Ključne besede:** Alciati, *memento mori*, *vanitas*, emblemi, ljubezen, smrt

V prispevku avtor analizira ikonografijo *vanitas* in *memento mori* v izdajah emblemske knjige Andree Alciatija *Emblematum Liber*. Osnovo pregledanega fonda predstavljajo temeljne latinske izdaje Alciatija (Augsburg 1531, Pariz 1534, Benetke 1546, Lyon 1547, Lyon 1551, Frankfurt 1567, Antwerpen 1577, Pariz 1583, Padova 1621), vendar se nezanemarljiva odstopanja v vsebini emblemov pojavljajo tudi v drugih dostopnih izdajah 16. in 17. stoletja (Pariz 1536, Pariz 1539, Pariz 1542, Lyon 1549, Lyon 1551, Lyon 1556, Frankfurt ob Majni 1566/67, Pariz 1584, Najera 1615, Ženeva/Köln 1615). Motivika minljivosti je v Alciatijevih emblemih spretno prepletena z motiviko ljubezni in prijateljstva, kar ob Alciatijevem črpanju navdiha iz grške in rimske antike v duhu renesančnega humanizma omogoča ustvarjanje izvirnih ikonografskih motivov in interpretacij. V slednjih je prav jukstapozicija motivike smrti in ljubezni izhodišče za oblikovanje novih vsebin v ikonografiji minljivosti. Prav emblemske knjige se zaradi moralno-didaktične in mestoma satirične naravnanosti zgodnjenovoveških emblemov izkažejo kot eden od ključnih medijev za razvoj in posredovanje tovrstnih vsebin. Prispevek poskuša na primeru ikonološke analize petih emblemov (*Tumulus meretricis, Senex pulleam amans, De Morte & Amore, In Formosam fato praereptam* ter

*In mortem praeraptam*) osvetliti slabo raziskano Alciatijevo inovativno interpretacijo in nadgradnjo motivike minljivosti. Ta je zaradi kombiniranja ustaljenih visokosrednjeveških makabrističnih ikonografskih motivov z alegorično govorico zgodnjenovoveških emblemov prežeta z motivi, ki se pred Alciatijevo knjigo niso mogli razviti.

## Death and love. The motifs of *vanitas* and *memento mori* in Alciato's editions of the *Emblemata*

**Keywords:** Alciati, *memento mori*, *vanitas*, emblems, love, death

The paper is an analysis of the iconography of *vanitas* and *memento mori* in the various editions of *Emblematum Liber*, the emblem book by Andrea Alciato. The basis of the analysis consists of Alciato's original Latin editions (Augsburg 1531, Paris 1534, Venice 1546, Lyon 1547, Lyon 1551, Frankfurt 1567, Antwerp 1577, Paris 1583, Padua 1621). Nonetheless, considerable deviations in the contents also appear in the other available editions from the 16th and 17th centuries (Paris 1536, Paris 1539, Paris 1542, Lyon 1549, Lyon 1551, Lyon 1556, Frankfurt am Main 1566/67, Paris 1584, Nájera 1615, Geneva/Cologne 1615). The motif of transience in Alciato's emblems is nimbly intertwined with the motifs of love and friendship. Viewed against the backdrop of Alciato's sources of inspiration from Greek and Roman antiquity, much in the spirit of Renaissance humanism, this allows for establishing original iconographic motifs and interpretations. It is precisely the juxtaposition of death and love as motifs that enables an interpretational exposition that in turn provides the possibility of forming novel ideas within the iconography of transience. Emblem books in particular played a key role as a medium for the development and proliferation of moral-didactic content, with the Early Modern Period's often satirical emblems. The paper seeks to shed light on Alciati's scarcely researched innovative interpretation and additions to the motif of transience, which is accomplished based on the iconological analysis of five emblems (*Tumulus meretricis, Senex pulleam amans, De Morte & Amore, In Formosam fato praeraptam* and *In mortem praeraptam*). As a result of combining established iconographic motifs from the High Middle Ages based on the macabre with the allegorical language of the Early Modern Period's emblems, the motif of transience itself brims with imagery that could not have developed prior to Alciato's book.

## O avtorju

**Tine Kaluža** je leta 2017 diplomiral na Oddelku za zgodovino in Oddelku za umetnostno zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani; pri mentorjih doc. dr. Marku Štuhcu in prof. dr. Tinetu Germu je zagovarjal diplomsko nalogo z naslovom *Vpliv reformacije na ikonografijo Plesa smrti Hansa Holbeina mlajšega*. Leta 2020 je na Oddelku za umetnostno zgodovino pri mentorju prof. dr. Tinetu Germu zagovarjal magistrsko nalogo z naslovom *Vpliv črne smrti na ikonografijo personificirane smrti v slikarstvu toskanskega trecenta*. Trenutno na Oddelku za umetnostno zgodovino Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani opravlja doktorski študij na temo ikonografije *vanitas* in *memento mori* v emblemskih knjigah zgodnjega novega veka. Zaposlen je kot kustos zgodovinar v Notranjskem muzeju Postojna.

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**Tine Kaluža** graduated in 2017 from the Departments of History and the History of Art of the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, and defended his thesis entitled "The Influence of the Reformation on the Iconography of Hans Holbein the Younger's *Dance of Death*" under the supervision of his mentors, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Marko Štuhec and Prof. Dr. Tine Germ. In 2020, he defended his master's thesis entitled "The Influence of the Black Death on the Iconography of Personified Death in the Painting of the Tuscan Trecento" at the Department of History of Art under the mentorship of Prof. Dr. Tine Germ. He is currently pursuing his doctoral studies at the Department of History of Art, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, on the iconography of *vanitas* and *memento mori* in the emblem books of the early modern period. He is employed as a curator-historian at the Notranjski Museum in Postojna.

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# Interpretacija kulturne dediščine s pomočjo mitov in pravljic, drugi del: miti in pravljice, orodje »smisla«[1]

## 1 Uvod

Prispevek obravnava interpretacijo dediščine s pomočjo mitov in pravljic.[2] Pripovedovanje je pradavna oblika interpretacije sveta, utemeljena na psihosocialni strukturi človekove biti (Jung, Kerenyi, 2007; Bettelheim, 1999). Ljudski pripovedovalci so bili interpretatorji, pojasnjevali so nastanek vesolja in sveta s pripadajočimi življenjskimi cikli. Razlagali so red in zakone ter vzgajali nove rodove. Prispevek razkriva terapevtski naboj pripovedništva s filozofsko-psihoanalitičnim pristopom, s pomočjo psihoanalitičnega koncepta arhetipskega osvetli transcendenčno naravo mita. Po Jungu so miti *archai*, so pripovedovanje o izvornem in dotik s prvinsko celoto, ki nas vodi v živo klico ucelotenja (Jung, Kerenyi, 2007, 20).

Pripovedno blago[3] je nenadomestljiv del nesnovne dediščine in jedro kolektivnega spomina.[4] Odseva brezštevilna védenja, vrednote in predstave, preoblikovane v večplastna simbolna sporočila, posredovana skozi zgodbe. Miti in pravljice so pomemben del kulturno-historične tradicije, ki je ključna človekova vez s preteklostjo (Gadamer, 2009).

Vstopna hipoteza se glasi, da imajo miti in pravljice vlogo pomenskega sistema, ki v procesih interpretacije olajšuje integriranje dediščine časovno in kulturno oddaljenih dob. Druga hipoteza predpostavlja, da pripovedovanje odpira dialoški prostor interpretacije in vzpodbuja aktivno vključevanje. Raziskava je interdisciplinarna, povezuje heritologijo, hermenevtiko, mitologijo in kulturno zgodovino. Za razumevanje

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2     Dr. Jelki Pirkovič, Jani Puhar, dr. Tadeju Curku, dr. Kaji Štemberger in mag. Luciji Perko se zahvaljujem za pozorno branje in številne nasvete za izboljšavo teksta.
3     Izraz označuje pravljice, bajke, pripovedke in druge dokumente ljudske kulture (po SSKJ).
4     Pripovedno blago sodi k nesnovni kulturni dediščini, ki po definiciji Unescove konvencije o nesnovni dediščini označuje v prvi vrsti »ustna izročila in izraze, vključno z jezikom kot nosilcem nesnovne kulturne dediščine« (Spletni vir 1).

terapevtske in družbene vloge mitov je uporabljen filozofsko-psihoanalitični pristop (Dowden, Livingstone, 2014, 18; Jung, 2017). Tradicionalističen pristop k študiju mitologije je filološko-historičen (Woodard, 2007; Dowden, Livingstone, 2014), ki pa ne nagovarja duhovnega, četudi je mit neločljivo povezan z religijami, rituali in obredi prehodov (Burkert, 1983, XV). Tudi materialna kultura je pogosto povezana z rituali prehodov, zaradi česar miti in pravljice lahko služijo kot kognitivna opora pri interpretaciji kulturno in časovno oddaljenih tem.

## 2   Miti in pravljice ter moč pripovedne besede

Miti in pravljice imajo univerzalen značaj in so ključnega, splošno civilizacijskega pomena (Slapšak, 2017, 11–18). Homerjevi pesnitvi predstavljata vrhunec svetovne književnosti in edinstven dokument jezika, družbe in kulture (Sovre, 1950; Dowden, Livingstone, 2014, 18). Epa utemeljujeta panevropske vrednote, ki so napajale zahodno umetnost, filozofijo in politiko. Prežele so izobraževalne, kulturno-socialne in pravne sisteme, tlakovale estetski, etični in moralni kanon ter oblikovale jedro zahodne zavesti (Guidorizzi, 2018). Z epoma sta se širila poznavanje mitoloških zgodb in njihovo raziskovanje.

### 2.1   Pesem, boginja, zapoj …

Miti in pravljice so »živa« vez s preteklostjo in ključ razumevanja sodobnosti ter nosijo mnogopomenska kulturna in vrednotna sporočila (Kropej, 2008). Brez poznavanja mitologije ostajajo sporočila večine umetniških del nedoumljiva in izgubljena za prihodnje generacije (Woodard, 2007; Patočka, 2021, 27). Pripovedno blago se je skozi tisočletja prilagajalo družbenim in individualnim potrebam ter se skozi neskončne pripovedne transformacije zlilo s človekovo bitjo. B. Bettelheim pravi: »Skoraj v vsej človeški zgodovini je bilo otrokovo intelektualno življenje, razen neposredne izkušnje v družini, odvisno od verskih in mitoloških zgodb ter pravljic. Zgodbe so odgovarjale na otrokova najpomembnejša vprašanja, bila so poglavitni dejavnik njegove socializacije« (Bettelheim, 1999, 33). Miti in pravljice so konstitutivni temelj človekove kolektivne in osebne psihološke strukture (Jung, Kerenyi, 2007; Jung, 2023, 233). Izginjanje pripovednega blaga prinaša plahnenje kolektivnega spomina in spodjeda temelje zahodne civilizacije.

Mit je tradicionalna zgodba z družbeno implikacijo, kjer v neoprijemljivem časovnem okviru nastopajo liki nadnaravnih moči in fabulativnih lastnosti. Mitološki primordialni kozmični red združuje mrtvo in živo naravo v neločljivo, smiselno celoto, v imanenten del človeka (Kastelic, 1998, 66–88). Miti so reprezentacije konceptov in naravnih entitet, pri čemer uporabljajo antropomorfne podobe. Mite so pripovedovali na diskurziven način. Z izborom zgodbe in načinom pripovedi so nadzorovali njihovo

semantično bogastvo in sproti zamejevali pahljačo njihovih družbenih funkcij. Mit je svojevrsten način ljudskega razmišljanja, je orodje učenja in skupnostnega spominjanja (Conte, 2021; Calame, 2009, 8).

## 2.2    Miti, sad in glas nezavednega

Miti imajo moč nagovarjati nepredelane usedline nezavednega. V antiki so nezavedno v človekovi psihi različno poimenovali. Sokrat ga je enačil s tem, kar je duša nekoč že vedela in je zapadlo pozabi. Trdil je, da spominjanje omogoči, da »pride na dan resnica bivajočih stvari«. Podoben je tudi Platonov koncept o »odklepanju spomina«, ki se ga v običajnem stanju ne zavedamo (Škodlar, Ciglenečki, 2021, 107). Platonovo teorijo spominjanja pojasnjujeta B. Škodlar in J. Ciglenečki »kot proces integracije pozabljene vednosti v vsakdanje življenje« in pot, ki vodi k celostni preobrazbi vsakdanjega pogleda na svet, ki se dogaja v stiku z univerzalnimi resnicami, razkritimi v duši med spominjanjem (2021, 109). Psihoanaliza opredeljuje nezavedno kot celoto vsebin in mehanizmov ter iz zavesti izrinjenih »energij«, ki predstavljajo skladišče potlačenih gonskih vzgibov. S. Freud in C. G. Jung sta nezavedne vsebine psihe opredelila kot individualno in kolektivno nezavedno, C. G. Jung pa je kolektivno nezavedno opredelil kot skupne ali kolektivne vsebine, neodvisne od posameznikovih osebnih izkušenj in razvojnih značilnosti (Škodlar, Ciglenečki, 2021, 110, 114). Psihoanalitične raziskave so vodile k odkritju kolektivnega spomina, ki je s prostori spomina postal osrednja dediščinska tema (Howard, 2003; Assman, 2006).

## 2.3

C. G. Jung je nezavedno razložil s konceptom arhetipskega (2017, 31). Arhetipe je razlagal kot nosilce numioznega, svetega in presežnega. Pojmoval jih je kot sestavni del človekove duhovne dimenzije in kot tisto, kar ima zdravilen učinek na človeka (Jung, 2023). Umetnost, religijo, filozofijo in mitologijo je Jung doumeval kot vrelce arhetipskega (Jung, 2017). Trdil je, da arhetipi kolektivnega nezavednega presegajo posameznika in so transpersonalne, univerzalne narave. Na osebni ravni je arhetipsko pojasnil: »Človek ima svoje lastne *archai*, to so archai lastnega organskega bitja, iz katerega nenehno izvira«. Pomen termina *arché* (gr. počelo) kaže, da je Jung želel označiti stik s počelom, ki se v človeški zavesti strukturira kot nekakšen vzorec (gr. *typos*). Na ta (pra) vzorec se nabirajo psihične vsebine, pridobljene z izkustvi. »Arhetipi se po Jungu manifestirajo v naših mislih, občutjih in dejanjih in dajejo dokončno obliko vsebinam, ki so že bile pridobljene z izkustvom« (Škodlar, Ciglenečki, 2021, 111–112). Jung je razvozlal tudi mehanizme delovanja arhetipov v psihi, ki se šele s prebojem v zavest začnejo polniti z vsebino zavestnih izkustev. Zaradi numioznega naboja jih je prepoznal kot središča psihične energije, ki se sproža na kritičnih točkah človekovega psihičnega razvoja.

Primerjal jih je nekakšnemu pred védenju oz. pra-spominu, ki opominja na cilj, kamor naj se človek usmeri (Škodlar, Ciglenečki, 2021, 111–112).

Na konceptu arhetipa je psihoanaliza utemeljila terapevtsko vlogo pripovednega blaga in pripovedovanja. C. G. Jung je razvil koncept arhetipa pod vplivom antropologije in ga pojasnil kot praobliko univerzalnih simbolov, ki lahko presežejo nasprotja v človekovi psihi. Trdil je, da arhetipi vsaj deloma temeljijo na dedni fiziološki zasnovi, domneval je njihov pradavni obstoj (2023, 71). To je tudi vzrok, da se kot glasniki predzavestnega in podzavestnega pojavljajo v sanjah, umetnosti, mitologiji in pravljicah (Calame, 2009, 33).

## 2.4

Arhetipsko se udejanja skozi akt pripovedovanja in se odraža v obliki ponavljajočih se vzorcev posameznikovih in skupinskih izkušenj (Jung, 2017; Jung, 2023, 11). Ima moč subtilnega osebnega nagovora, ki skozi nezavedno doseže vsakega posameznika. Miti so neke vrste vseprisoten sad številnih med seboj močno prepletenih duhovnih tradicij, ki so »izoblikovale celo paleto strategij spopadanja s (človekovo) bivanjsko negotovostjo in omogočajo postopno soočanje z eksistencialno tesnobo …« (Škodlar, Ciglenečki, 2021, 69). C. G. Jung in K. Kerenyi sta pokazala na skrito arhetipsko moč mitov kot neprekosljiv glas preteklosti in človeških izkušenj (2007, 27).

Psihoanalitični pogled razkriva pomen in moč procesov ozaveščanja arhetipskega, ki se sproža skozi mite in pravljice ter odločilno vpliva na človekovo ustvarjalnost. Porajajo ideje, kot tudi razodevajo mreže soodvisnih idej (Škodlar, Ciglenečki, 2021, 113).

## 3   Miti in pravljice, orodje »smisla«

Filozofsko vprašanje resnice, ki ga opredeljujemo kot »iskanje kajstva in notranjega bistva stvari«, v logoterapiji vzporejamo z iskanjem smisla (Frankl, 1994). Filozof J. Patočka pravi: »Smisel omogoča razumevanje ciljev, ki so bili prikriti in zaradi smisla postane nekaj razumljivo« (2021, 82). V duhu antične filozofije in sodobne logoterapije lahko rečemo, da je »v naravi vselej prisoten smoter, njen inherentni smisel, ta pa je obenem najvišje dobro, h kateremu vse stvari spontano stremijo« (Škodlar, Ciglenečki, 2021, 121). S tem smo se vrnili h K. Kerenyju, ki je mite prepoznal kot »glasnike« kozmičnega reda (Kerenyi, 2007), in C. G. Jungu, ki je mitologijo razlagal kot pripovedovanje o izvornem in vračanje k primordialnemu (2017, 18).

Miti na svoj lasten, ljudem umljiv način spodbujajo odkrivanje mej človeške narave in lastnega mesta v družbi (Kerenyi, 1996). Literarna zgodovinarka V. Velički trdi, da vse velike pripovedi odgovarjajo na bistvena življenjska vprašanja (2013, 12). M. Eliade opisuje mite kot »modele človeškega obnašanja, ki že sami po sebi podeljujejo

življenju smisel in vrednost« (Eliade, po Bettelheimu, 1999, 49). Mnogi menijo, da miti izvirajo iz *rites de passage* ali ritualov prehoda (Bettelheim, 1999, 49). Ti dogodki so bili od nekdaj prelomnega pomena in so po Jungu kritične točke človekovega razvoja. Tudi velik del dediščine je nastal v povezavi z rituali prehoda, kar predstavlja močno konceptualno vez med pripovednim blagom in materialno kulturo ter omogoča kompleksnejše razumevanje preteklosti. Rituali prehoda so zaradi izginjanja iniciacijskega obredja v sodobni družbi izgubili svojo zunanjo podobo, ne pa tudi psihičnega in duhovnega potenciala. Nekatere najbolj esencialne teme, kot npr. staranje in smrt, so izrinjene iz vsakdanjega življenja, postale so vir duševnih in družbenih travm. Miti »omogočajo postopno soočanje z eksistencialno tesnobo, krepijo človeka pri spopadanju z njo in nudijo oporo pri preprečevanju zapiranja v psihotične in druge miselne zgradbe« (Škodlar, Ciglenečki, 2021, 69). Tudi pravljice so močno orožje v boju z eksistencialno tesnobo. Otroku sporočajo, da človek ni nesmrten in »če vzpostavi zares zadovoljujoč odnos z drugim človekom (…) doseže največjo varnost in najbolj trajno zvezo. Samo to lahko prežene strah pred smrtjo.« (Bettelheim, 1999, 17)

## 4  Interpretacija s pomočjo mitov in pravljic

### 4.1

Med miti in pravljicami so sorodnosti in razlike. Oboji uporabljajo simbolni jezik, ki predstavlja vsebino nezavednega in nagovarja vse tri duševne vidike: id, ego in superego. V obojih nastopajo isti tipični liki, v obojih ustrezajo osebe in dogodki arhetipskim psihološkim pojavom in odražajo človekovo potrebo po prehodu na višjo stopnjo razvoja osebnosti (Bettelheim, 1999, 51).

Miti predstavijo dogodke na edinstven in neponovljiv način, vzbujajo grozo, so pesimistični in pogosto tragični. Razgrinjajo konfliktne situacije, ki se ne dogajajo navadnim smrtnikom (Bettelheim, 1999, 52). Miti so zaradi fabulativne prepletenosti zahtevna snov, od poslušalca terjajo visoko stopnjo koncentracije in predznanje. S pravljicami je drugače. Nekatere so se razvile iz mitov, druge so v mite vključene, zaradi česar srečamo iste ali sorodne motive v obojih. Pravljice so ljudem bližje, obravnavajo vsakdanje stvari običajnih ljudi. So optimistične in imajo srečen konec. Vse tja do 17. stoletja so bile stvar odraslih, šele pozneje so se preselile v otroške sobe in se zato večidel odvijajo na način, ki je skladen z otrokovo psiho (Bettelheim, 1999, 65).

Miti predstavljajo idealno osebnost, junaka, ki sledi superegu, s katerim se navaden človek ne more identificirati. Po svoji naravi so miti mnogopomenski in ponujajo več načinov razmišljanja (Calame, 2014; Dowden, Livingstone, 2014, 9). Nasprotno temu pa pravljice ponazarjajo integracijo jaza, ki omogoča ustrezno zadovoljevanje ida (Bettelheim, 1999, 57). Otroka usmerjajo k odkrivanju lastne identitete, pokažejo mu

na izkušnje, potrebne za nadaljnji razvoj značaja. Pozitivna, pravljična čustva dajejo otroku moč za razvoj razumskega dojemanja sveta in ga opogumljajo za spoprijemanje s težavami (Bettelheim, 1999, 32).

V. Veličkí pravi, da »miti in pravljice vnašajo red v kaos sodobnega življenja, podarjajo predvidljivost, življenju dajejo ritem in strukturo« (2013, 11). Izpostavlja tudi pomen narativne linearnosti, ki ponuja olajšanje v razmreženi postmoderni družbi in omogoča kontinuiranost kulturno-zgodovinskih vezi s preteklostjo. Z jasnostjo naracije in zdravilnim metaforičnim jezikom osvetljujejo rešitev v odločilnih življenjskih situacijah ter omogočajo novo, celovito razumevanje sveta (Veličkí, 2013). Miti in pravljice so orodje smisla, odlično didaktično pomagalo, razvijajo identitetne občutke in čut za moralo (Bettelheim, 1999, 57).

## 4.2

Miti in pravljice so v svojem izvornem bistvu žive pripovedi, ki so nastajale s pripovedovanjem in so namenjene pripovedovanju. Francoski mitolog P. Calame opisuje pripovedovanje mitov kot »približevanje oddaljenih časov, podoživljanje slehernika in občečloveških stisk ter usode umrljivih, je razmišljanje o vrednotah na mnogo načinov« (2009, 66). Njihova fluidna oblika in obstoj številnih verzij sta posledica dolgotrajnega ustnega izročila. Vendar pa so miti vsaj deloma izdelek moderne dobe, sad prizadevanj klasicistov od razsvetljenstva dalje (Dowden, Livingstone, 2014, 4). Podobno velja tudi za pravljice, ki so jih intenzivno zapisovali v dobi romantike, medtem ko so bile prej ustno izročilo (Kropej, 2008). Ustna pripoved se prilagaja sprotnim okoliščinam in potrebam poslušalcev, vsak pripovedovalec ji s soudeležbo in doživljanjem doda osebno noto. V stiku z živim, pogovornim jezikom fabulativne vsebine plahnijo in naraščajo, bogatijo jih govorica telesa, izrazje obraza, barva glasu, zapeti elementi itd. Pomembno vlogo ima poslušalstvo. Z vzdušjem usmerja tok pripovedi in jo bogati z vnašanjem lastnih pomenov. Zgodbo dopolnjuje s svojimi različicami in izvirnimi dodatki.

## 4.3

Pripovedovanje ima velik vpliv tudi na jezik, ki je nosilni steber identitete in temeljna dediščina vsake skupnosti (Anico, Peralta, 2009). Pripovedovanje je pomemben način ohranjanja t. i. malih dediščin, ki imajo velik vpliv na oblikovanje osebnega odnosa javnosti do skupnostne dediščine. Podpira ohranjanje družinskih, lokalnih in regionalnih jezikovnih posebnosti. Spodbuja rabo dialektov in lokalnih izrazov ter negovanje pripovednih navad. Ustna pripoved spreminja vidike interpretativnega jezika. Dominantni, paternalistični in racionalni znanstveni diskurz razširja na maternalne aspekte jezika s pomočjo zvočnih in ritmičnih efektov. Vnaša poetične elemente ter

vključuje sfero telesnega in čutnega (Schipper, 2011). Pripovedovanje je nevsiljiv in učinkovit učitelj jezika, ki se ga učimo z branjem, govorjenjem in telesnim zaznavanjem. S tega vidika so miti in pravljice, vključno z živim, pripovednim jezikom, najdragocenejša, pa tudi najintimnejša kulturna dediščina vsake skupnosti in močan gradnik kolektivnega spomina.

## 4.4

Pripovedovanje učinkovito združuje tehnološko-empirična in hermenevtska znanja. Omogoča globlje pomenjenje in vzpodbuja oseben, konstruktivističen pristop k dojemanju materialne kulture. Dediščinske predmete implementira v pomenski sistem vsakdanjega sveta, jih »udomačuje« in na učinkovit način povezuje preteklost s sedanjostjo. Interpretacijo naredi dialoško in osebno. Po Sokratu imenujemo tako metodo majevtična, podobno »porodniški veščini, ki pomaga sogovornikom, da v pogovoru rojevajo resnico in razpirajo novo orientacijo« (Škodlar, Ciglenečki, 2021, 95). V interpretaciji lahko majevtično metodo razumemo kot vzpodbujanje javnosti k oblikovanju svoje lastne, bolj celovite podobe preteklosti, ponotranjenju dediščine svojega okolja in odkrivanju svoje aktivne vloge v procesih dediščinjenja. Majevtična metoda »rojeva« skupnostni smisel dediščine in oblikuje novo, trdno povezano dediščinsko okolje s specifičnimi vrednotami.

# 5  Zaključek

Zgodbe ustvarjajo skupnost, nam omogočajo videti skozi oči drugih in nas odpirajo za njihove misli. Peter Forbes, fotograf

## 5.1

Razprava je pokazala, da so empirične znanosti nemočne na polju presežnega (Zimmermann, po Thomas, 2006, 47). Na osrednje interpretacijsko vprašanje, »kako upoštevati teoretični pristop, da pri tem ne bi utišali različnih glasov preteklosti in bi lahko prepoznali Drugega v sedanjosti«, smo iskali odgovor v interpretaciji s pomočjo mitov in pravljic.

Miti in pravljice so imeli formativno družbeno vlogo in so konstitutivni temelj psihološke strukture (Jung, Kerenyi, 2007; Bettelheim, 1999). Na mitih so utemeljene panevropske vrednote, izobraževalni, kulturno-socialni in pravni sistemi. So substanca evropske tradicije in ključni element vstopa v preteklost ter razumevanja nje (Arendt, 2006, 47). Človeštvo je vedno že del zgodovine in »aktivni« soudeleženec preteklih dogodkov. Po Gadamerju smo »soustvarjalci historične tradicije, ki prenaša kompleksne sklope pomenov in vrednot«. Zgodovinskost človeške izkušnje

in tradicija sta edina človekova vez, nekakšna rdeča nit, ki vodi do preteklosti (Gadamer, 2005, 12; Gadamer, 2007, 82).

Pripovedno blago je jedro tradicij in skupnostnega spomina ter orodje vseživljenjskega učenja (Calame, 2009, 7). Miti in pravljice nagovarjajo človekovo nezavedno, ki ga psihoanaliza opredeljuje kot kolektivne vsebine. Miti so vrelci arhetipskega in vzpostavljajo zdravilni stik z življenjskim počelom. Spodbujajo k odkrivanju in spoznavanju mej človeške narave in lastnega mesta v družbi. Delujejo kot univerzalni modeli odnosov in življenju dodeljujejo vrednost. So orodje smisla, razvijajo identitetne občutke in čut za moralo. V življenje vnašajo red ter mu dajejo ritem in strukturo (Velički, 2013, 11).

Vključevanje mitov v interpretacijo podpira njihova univerzalnost in polisemantičnost. Obravnavajo religioznost, minljivost, ljubezen in erotiko, nezvestobo, rodnost ter moralne odločitve. Presprašujejo človekov osrednji odnos do Drugega in so gradniki etičnega (Buxton, 2022, 7).

Polnost integrativne moči interpretacije se razplamti v pripovedovanju. Narativne vsebine, vzpodbujene z rabo pogovornega jezika in nediskurzivnimi prvinami komunikacije, v stiku z javnostjo plimujejo (Calame, 2009, 66; Velički, 2013, 23). Poslušalci postanejo soustvarjalci pomenov in sointerpretatorji. Soustvarjanje vzpodbuja »presajanje« in »udomačevanje« dediščine v miselni svet sodobne družbe. Pripovedovanje spodbuja rabo dialektov. V paternalistični in racionalni znanstveni diskurz vnaša maternalne aspekte jezika. Pripovedovanje budi radost in veselje do lepote in življenja (Velički, 2013, 21). Ozavešča pomen »malih« dediščin. »Rojeva« skupnostne smisle in motivira povezovanje dediščinskega okolja. Javnost vzpodbuja h konstruiranju lastne, bolj celovite in refleksivne podobe preteklosti.

## 6   Sklep

Dediščinska interpretacija je kompleksen, polisemičen komunikacijski proces, namenjen širši javnosti. Je širšega družbeno-socialnega in terapevtskega pomena ter je usmerjena v iskanje skupnostnih vrednot (Harrison, 2013; Slack, 2021). Vzpodbuja identitetne procese, povezuje skupnost in jo opolnomoča za varovanje dediščine kot življenjske kakovosti in univerzalne civilizacijske vrednote.

Hermenevtske korenine usmerjajo dediščinsko interpretacijo v iskanje notranjega bistva in smisla stvari (Pearce, 2003). Naloge vključujejo razumetje upredmetenega dediščinskega jezika, ki temelji na materialni kulturi iz časovno in kulturno oddaljenih obdobij ter je javnosti težko doumljiva. Pripoved se s tradicijsko vezjo vpenja v sodobno življenje in izboljšuje komunikacijski pretok muzeoloških sporočil. V procesu interpretacije prevzema dediščinski predmet vlogo dokumenta, hkrati pa je tudi vir podatkov in nosilec kulturnih sporočil. Pripovedno blago ima vlogo konstruktivnega komunikacijskega in pomenskega sistema, ki materialno kulturo integrira in jo fabulativno osmišlja.

Zaključimo lahko, da zgodbe aktivirajo človekov pozitivni potencial ter nagovarjajo kognitivni, emocionalni, družbeno-socialni in etični vidik osebnosti (Velički, 2014, 14). Arhetipska mnogopomenskost razpira poti razmišljanja in odstira globlje pomene dediščine. Pripovedno blago v vlogi interpretacijskega orodja vzpodbudi »nujno potrebno gibanje znotraj določenega kulturno-jezikovnega konteksta in kulturne tradicije, ki povezuje preteklost in sedanjost« (Zimmermann, 2020, 62).

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Spletni vir 1: UNESCO Konvencija o varovanju nesnovne kulturne dediščine https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention (dostop 27. 2. 2023).

## Interpretacija kulturne dediščine s pomočjo mitov in pravljic, drugi del: miti in pravljice, orodje »smisla«

**Ključne besede**: miti in pravljice, arhetip, kulturna dediščina, interpretacija, pripovedovanje

Prispevek obravnava interpretacijo dediščine z uporabo mitov in pravljic. Besedilo je razdeljeno na dva dela, prvi del, posvečen interpretaciji, je bil objavljen v prejšnji številki revije. Drugi del je posvečen mitom in pravljicam kot sredstvu interpretacije.

Miti veljajo za prvobitno obliko razlage sveta. Članek obravnava njihovo družbeno vlogo v preteklih družbah in pojasnjuje njihovo temeljno vlogo v psihosocialni

struktura človeka. S kulturno-zgodovinskim pristopom je orisana njihova primordial-na vloga. Mitološke zgodbe so služile kot razlaga kozmosa, reda in zakonov, vzpostavljale so moralno in etično podlago sobivanja skupnosti. Filozofski in psihoanalitični pristop izpostavljata terapevtski naboj narativnega blaga. Obravnavana je arhetipska in transcendentna narava mita ter utemeljen njegov odsev v fluidnih pomenih materialne kulture. Miti in pravljice so del kulturnega in zgodovinskega izročila ter kot rdeča nit povezujejo sodobnost s preteklostjo.

Miti in pravljice imajo v procesih interpretacije vlogo semantičnega sistema, ki olajšuje integracijo dediščine časovno in kulturno oddaljenih obdobij v sodobnost. Pripovedovanje zgodb razpira dialoški prostor in spodbuja javnost k aktivnemu sodelovanju.

Raziskava je interdisciplinarna, temelji na heritologiji, hermenevtiki, psihoanalizi, mitoloških in kulturnozgodovinskih študijah.

## Interpretation of cultural heritage using myths and fairy tales - part two: myths and fairy tales as a tool of "meaning"

**Keywords**: myths and fairy tales, archetype, heritage interpretation, storytelling

The paper deals with heritage interpretation through the use of myths and fairy tales. The text was divided into two parts, the first part – dedicated to the interpretation of heritage – was published in a previous issue of *Ars & Humanitas*. In the second part of the paper myths and fairy tales are discussed as a means of interpretation. Myths are considered as a primordial form of interpreting the world. The article deals with their social role in past societies. It explains their foundation on the psychosocial structure of human beings. Through a cultural-historical approach, the primordial role of myths is shown, as mythological stories served as an explication of the cosmos, order and laws, and established a moral and ethical basis of coexistence within a community. With the help of a philosophical and psychoanalytical approach, the therapeutic charge of narrative goods and storytelling is examined. The archetypal and transcendent nature of myth is discussed, as is its reflection in the fluid meanings of material culture. Myths and fairy tales are an important part of the cultural and historical tradition, which crucially links today to the past.

The main hypothesis claims that in the processes of interpretation myths and fairy tales play the role of a semantic system that facilitates the integration of the heritage of temporally and culturally distant eras in the contemporaneity. The second hypothesis states that storytelling opens a dialogical space of interpretation that enables the public to participate. The research is interdisciplinary, based on heritological theory, and includes hermeneutics, mythological and cultural historical studies as well as a psychoanalytical approach.

## O avtorici

**Verena Perko** je po doktoratu iz arheologije na Filozofski univerzi v Ljubljani študij nadaljevala na zagrebški univerzi in doktorirala iz muzeologije pri prof. T. Šoli. Izpopolnjevala se je na Masarykovi univerzi v Brnu, kot štipendistka fundacije P. Gettyja pa tudi v ZDA in Angliji. Je predavateljica na arheološkem oddelku na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani. Je muzejska kustosinja in avtorica mnogih razstav. Je pesnica in pripovedovalka s številnimi objavami. Posveča se interdisciplinarnim študijam interpretacije kulturne dediščine s pomočjo mitov in pripovednega blaga.

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# Filozofske prvine Cankarjeve romaneskne poetike in roman *Nina*

O Cankarjevi romaneskni poetiki se je pisalo znatno manj kot o njegovi dramski estetiki, še manj pa se je razmišljalo o prodornosti Cankarjeve filozofske misli v romanih. Tako kot že v svojih prejšnjih študijah bi tudi v tej rada dokazala odličnost Cankarjevih romanov in to njegovo delno prezrto vlogo romanopisca povezala še s filozofsko naravnanostjo. Slovenski genialni umetnik ni bil samo odličen dramatik in pisec kratke pripovedi ter esejist in (politični) mislec, pač pa tudi izvrsten romanopisec in izviren filozof. Če to povem še s slikovito primerjavo: Ivan Cankar (1876–1918) je bil naš Shakespeare v dramatiki, Tolstoj, Dostojevski in Woolf v pripovedništvu ter Nietzsche v filozofsko-politično-literarni misli. Svoja literarna dela je oblikoval kot usklajena umetniška osebnost, saj se v njih prepletajo prvine poezije, pripovedi, drame in eseja. Zaradi tovrstne sinkretičnosti bom v svoji razpravi analizirala Cankarjevo romaneskno poetiko tako, da se bom prvenstveno posvetila filozofskim prvinam, v drugem delu študije pa bom v tem kontekstu osvetlila njegov roman *Nina*.

Da bi se lažje približali Cankarjevi romaneskni poetiki, je treba najprej poznati poetiko vseh drugih zvrsti, predvsem njeno izvirnost. Že pesniška zbirka *Erotika* (1899), ki je skupaj z Župančičevo knjigo *Čaša opojnosti* (1899) napovedala začetek novega literarnega gibanja pri nas – moderne, je nakazala več poetoloških lastnosti, temeljnih za Cankarjevo celotno ustvarjanje. Te so: izrazita subjektivnost, zavestno prestopanje meja uveljavljene (po)etike, nagnjenost k posebni estetiki (tudi estetiki grdega), novoromantična čustvenost, bogata domišljija, velik delež avtobiografskosti in empatičnosti, smisel za ritmičnost in celo muzikaličnost besede ter razkošni opisi, aforistična refleksivnost, ironija in karikatura. Vse te značilnosti lahko prepoznamo tudi v njegovi prvi pripovedni knjigi *Vinjete* (1899), v kateri je v črtici *Epilog* avtor programsko napovedal prestop iz realistično-naturalistične smeri v simbolizem, dekadenco in impresionizem, ki so se mešali v prefinjen spoj različnih literarnih smeri, usmeritev, načinov in oblik.

Toda že leta 1900 je v znamenitem pismu Zofki Kveder,[1] pomembni slovenski pisateljici, napovedal spremembo svojih literarnih teženj in s tem tudi poetike, ko se je odrekel dekadenci in se zavzel za »tendenčno umetnost«, pravzaprav za reformacijo slovenske književnosti.

Naštete značilnosti so prisotne tudi v Cankarjevem prvem romanu, *Tujci* (1901), v vseh preostalih romanih pa se pridružujejo še nove in potrjujejo preplet realizma, simbolizma, dekadence, impresionizma in mestoma celo modernizma. Ne samo, da se je Cankar dobro zavedal svoje reformatorske vloge tudi na področju romanopisja, ampak je celo revolucionarno uvajal številne novosti,[2] čeprav je že vnaprej predvidel odpor na receptivni ravni. V nadaljevanju se bom posvetila samo tistim kategorijam[3] romaneskne poetike, ki so podprte s **filozofsko logiko**: izvirnost oziroma novost, kakovost oziroma netrivialnost, moralni perspektivizem, resnica, pesimizem, trpljenje, etika sočutja, empatija, socializem, satira, upanje. Pri razlagi in povezavi izpostavljenih kategorij se bom naslonila na nekatera izhodišča filozofov, ki jih je Cankar poznal, omenjal ali upošteval, to je Platona, Swifta, Schopenhauerja in Nietzscheja, pri čemer se bom natančneje posvetila nekaterim prvinam Schopenhauerjeve filozofije, ki do zdaj še niso bile obravnavane v kontekstu avtorjeve romaneskne poetike. Pri tem bom vseskozi upoštevala vodilo, ki ga je omenilo že nekaj raziskovalcev: posamezne ideje niso prihajale do Cankarja le neposredno, ampak tudi posredno, z umetnostjo oziroma književnostjo, predvsem mlajšo nemško in avstrijsko književnostjo. Sama dodajam še dva dejavnika: prvi je fragmentarnost Cankarjevega miselnega sistema, drugi pa avtorjevo kulturno udejstvovanje.

O prvem dejavniku sta ugotavljala Pirjevec (1954, 1110) in Köstler (2012, 243), da so v Cankarjevih besedilih prisotne različne miselne prvine, nikjer pa ni konsistentnega miselnega sistema. Drugi dejavnik (Zupan Sosič, 2020, 270–271) se zdi še pomembnejši, če upoštevamo poznavanje družabnega življenja na prelomu stoletja, v katerega se vsekakor prišteva dunajsko kavarniško vzdušje. Sicer je naš pisatelj že v Ljubljani sledil informacijam o novih filozofskih, idejnih in umetniških pojavih z branjem časopisov in revij (ne samo knjig v lastni knjižnici, na podlagi katerih se običajno

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1 Iz tega pisma (8. 5. 1900) navajam samo najbolj znane besede: »Da Vam povem na kratko: mogoča in smiselna se mi zdi samó ali tista tendenciozna umetnost Gogola, Tolstega i. t. d., ki hoče uveljaviti socialne, politične in filozofske ideje s silnimi sredstvi lepote, – ali pa umetnost starih Grkov, Shakespearja, Goetheja i. t. d., ki ima samó estetične in etične smotre … Umetnost nekaterih dekadentov pa je mučenje samega sebe in pri nekaterih sploh nič druzega kot igranje z izrazi …« (Cankar, 1972, 136)
2 Cankar ni bil inovativen samo v modernizaciji svojih romanov, uvedel je na primer prvi slovenski simbolistični, delavski, ljubezenski in pravljični roman ter kot prvi moški postavil žensko za glavni lik, in to kar v sedmih romanih, ampak tudi pri poimenovanju, saj je že sam vseh deset daljših pripovednih besedil poimenoval roman, kar se je v slovenski literarni vedi prvič zgodilo šele v moji študiji »Deset romanov Ivana Cankarja in sodobna definicija romana«.
3 V razpravi se ne bom natančno ukvarjala z značilnostmi romaneskne poetike, ki sem jih obravnavala že v drugih študijah; torej ne z esejizacijo, lirizacijo, scenarizacijo, avtobiografičnostjo, simbolizmom, pripovedno empatijo, socializmom, (de)mitizacijo žensk …

dokazuje bralni horizont posameznih avtorjev) ter z druženjem s somišljeniki, kulturni horizont pa se mu je neizmerno razširil prav ob informacijah v dunajskih kavarnah in drugih prostorih družabnega življenja. Te moramo resneje vrednotiti ob dejstvu, da je imel Cankar skoraj fotografski spomin ter da je neverjetno kakovostno povezoval svoje znanje z domišljijo.

Ne samo fragmentarnost miselnega sistema, za pravilno razumevanje filozofskih prvin v Cankarjevi romaneskni poetiki je bistveno zavedanje, da je umetnik filozofske ideje vedno ponotranjil in jih inovativno predelal, saj svojih spisov ni uporabljal za trobila filozofskih nazorov, ampak ravno obratno: filozofijo je pretočil v književnost, na kar je opozoril tudi Prepeluh.[4] Cankar (1975, 20) je o povezavi filozofije in leposlovja razmišljal že leta 1893, v Odgovoru na Dermotovo kritiko mojih pesmi: »Pravi pesnik mora gledati, da vzbudi v bralcu iste čute, katere je imel on sam, ko je zlagal pesem; *čute*, pravim, ne filozofične misli; razumi, Dermota!« Jedro očitka v tej kritiki je prav misel, ki se je pojavila v že omenjenem pismu Zofki Kveder, da je po avtorjevem mnenju smiselna samo tista umetnost, ki hoče uveljaviti socialne, politične in filozofske ideje s silnimi sredstvi lepote. To preprosto pomeni, da se mora filozofija v literarnem delu prekvasiti z »leposlovno lepoto« tako, da ne diši več po znanosti, ampak po umetnosti.

## Friedrich Nietzsche in Platon: prevrednotenje vrednot in moralni pluralizem ter ideja dobrega in platonska ljubezen

Tudi če se Cankar ne bi zavedal pomembnega dejstva (na katerega je večkrat opozarjal), da književnost deluje po drugačnih aksioloških in ontoloških načelih kot znanost in filozofija, bi ga že osnovno načelo novosti prisililo k prenovi filozofskih miselnih korenin. Celotna poetika moderne, ki jo je zaznamovala Nietzschejeva filozofija (več o njej v mojih člankih »Nietzsche in Cankar« ter »Cankarjev roman *Gospa Judit* in Nietzschejeva miselnost«) **prevrednotenja vrednot**, namreč zagovarja **izvirnost**,[5] v na-

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4    Albin Prepeluh je v oceni Kralja na Betajnovi v tedniku Rdeči prapor leta 1902 (Moravec, 1968, 292) razmišljal o nekonsistentnosti Cankarjevega filozofskega sistema ali z drugo besedo o umetniški svobodi na splošno: »Brezdvojbe pa Cankar v svojih junakih meša radikalne sile socializma z Nietzschejevo filozofijo o nadčloveku. Tu moramo iskati vzroka o onemoglosti Cankarjevih junakov. Sicer pa Cankar še ni pokazal, da priznava kak filozofični sistem. On nagiblje med Nietzschejem in nasledniki nemške klasične filozofije – socializmom. Najbrže se ne bo odločil nikdar ne za eno ne za drugo stran. Nanj ima slučajna zgodovina vsakdanjega življenja odločilen vpliv. V tem je utemeljen njegov modernizem. Cankar je leposlovec in ne porablja svojih spisov za kake filozofične nazore, temveč obratno: filozofijo porablja za leposlovje.« (poudarila AZS)

5    O inovativnosti oziroma izvirnosti je pisal Cankar na več mestih, eksplicitno že v kritiki z naslovom »Anton Aškerc« (1896 – Cankar, 1975, 33): »Te 'pesnike' straši in vznemirja vse, kar je krepko in originalno. Spominjam se, kako so se nekateri zgražali, ko so čitali pesmi nekoga izmed najmlajših 'Zvonovih' pesnikov; zdele so se jim naravnost revolucionarne. Zato je naravno, da taki liriki prisegajo na Stritarja, Cimpermana, a ne na Prešerna in Jenka …« (poudarila AZS)

sprotju s suhoparno tradicionalno poetiko, ki prisega zgolj na pravilno obliko, ne more pa odpreti oči in srca. Kljub temu da je bilo preseganje tradicionalnih vrednot nekaj običajnega v književnosti moderne in celo njen kriterij kakovosti, so Cankarju stalno očitali rušenje ustaljenih meja, ko so mu predlagali pisati všečno oziroma popularno.[6] Pisatelj se je tej zahtevi upiral, najbolj sistematično v dveh besedilih, *Krpanova kobila* (1907) in *Bela krizantema* (1910), v katerih je zbral svoje bojevite pohode proti okosteneli poetiki oziroma nagovore nerazgledani slovenski kritiki. Odklanjanje trivialne poetike in s tem neizvirnosti je očitno tudi v nekaterih pripovednih delih, naj omenim samo črtico *Nenapisani romani* (1914) in roman *Gospa Judit* (1904).

Prvo besedilo je edino besedilo, v katerem je avtor pisal samo o romanih, saj je običajno vrednotil književnost na splošno. V tej črtici sogovornik zavrne trivialne romane ter njihove dražljive in srhljive teme, preračunane na odmev pri širši publiki, običajno estetsko manj zahtevni: »Tista devetkrat zamesena in pregnetena mešanica zaljubljenosti, prešestvovanja, ubojev in samomorov« (Cankar, 1975, 181). Razmerju kakovostna – trivialna književnost se posveča pripovedovalec tudi v romanu *Gospa Judit*, in sicer skozi perspektivo kritikov pri določanju literarnih vrednot – kot glavno sidrišče za njihovo opredelitev določi moralo. Cankarja je namreč tema morale spremljala celo življenje, tako kot Nietzscheja: oba sta se zavzemala za **moralni pluralizem** (Zupan Sosič, 2020, 272–274) v smislu ostre kritike »zaprašene morale« in pri tem uporabljala smeh oziroma humor, ironijo, grotesko in satiro kot uglaševalni ton in orožje kritike.

Nietzsche (1844–1900) je namreč izhajal iz kritike Kantovega razumevanja etike, in ker se je boril prav proti tovrstni monolitnosti, je pisal o moralnostih, ne pa o eni sami morali (Stanković Pejnović, 2014, 82–84) – njegov koncept moralnega perspektivizma temelji namreč na več možnostih morale in na emocijah, ki jih ne razume kot razdor ali motilce v razvoju, ampak kot sam temelj morale. Narodove zahteve umetniku, torej tudi Cankarju samemu, so v romanu *Gospa Judit* zgoščene takole (Cankar, 1970, 10): »nauk namesto ideje, cerkvena morala namesto umetniške, navdušenost namesto resnice«. Ironizacija teh treh zahtev, torej načel didaktičnosti, moraliziranja in ugajanja, je tesno povezana z naslednjo kategorijo, ki jo je Cankar vrednotil kot bistveno sestavino svoje romaneskne poetike, tj. z resnico. Pri predstavljanju resnice v Cankarjevih romanih ne gre samo za poetološko načelo realizma, ki s (programskimi) slikami družbe in posameznika poskuša oblikovati njuno resnično, že kar veristično podobo, prav tako ne le za stališče simbolizma, ki s simboli nakazuje posebno resnico magičnega, celo religiozno estetskega doživljaja, ampak za neko vmesno, sinkretično in izvirno pot.

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6    Popularno je Nietzscheju in številnim umetnikom pomenilo trivialno, natančneje to povezavo razlaga Cankar (1975, 58) v spisu »Popevčiče milemu narodu«, ki je kritika istoimenske pesniške zbirke Antona Hribarja: »Dalje: – ako vam je do popularnosti, pišite 'za narod', to se pravi – trivialno. […] Natančneje se poučite o tem oddelku v Prešernovi Novi pisariji.« (poudarila AZS)

Na njej je naravnanost k presežnemu onstran čutne pojavnosti vezana tudi na **Platona**[7] (427–347 pr. K.), ki ga je Cankar poznal še iz srednješolskih let. Platonova idealistična filozofija, po kateri je najvišja ideja **ideja dobrega** in zajema vse druge ideje, na primer ideje resnice, znanja, lepote, pravičnosti in kreposti, prehaja v večini romanov, tudi v *Nini*, v socialno etiko. Za Platona in Cankarja je bila namreč ideja dobrega temelj védenja človeškega bitja ter izvor biti dobrega in človekov vzor, kar zadeva moralnost. Pri razumevanju Platonovega vpliva na Cankarjevo romaneskno poetiko je potrebna previdnost, predvsem pri vrednotenju čustev v morali. Platon (Nussbaum, 2000, 599) je na primer, v nasprotju s Cankarjem, ki se je naslonil bolj na Schopenhauerjevo[8] in Nietzschejevo razumevanje čustev, trdil, da tvorijo čustva del duše, ki je ločen od misli in vrednotenja, in se je v svojih izhodiščih šele sčasoma premaknil od skeptičnega pogleda na njihov prispevek k morali do pozitivnejše ocene.

Sama menim, da je poleg ideje dobrega za Cankarjevo romaneskno poetiko pomemben predvsem **model platonske ljubezni**, ki je prisoten v vseh romanih, najbolj izpostavljen pa je ravno v *Nini*, kjer že identiteta naslovne osebe niha med idejo dobrega in lepega ter njeno konkretizacijo v bolnega otroka in ranjeno ljubico. Tudi struktura celotnega romana – vitalistična apostrofa prvoosebnega pripovedovalca Nini, ki igra v romanu vlogo pripovedovanke – nakazuje duhovne dimenzije njunega odnosa. Pripovedovalec namreč na več mestih zatrdi, da ga je Nina odrešila, saj je ublažila njegov nemir in usmerila njegovo beganje proti ljubezni: nedvomno se urejanje notranjega kaosa navezuje na Aristofanov mit o androginu iz Platonovega *Simpozija*. Po njem je človeška narava razrezana na dve polovici (Avril, 2013, 126) in zato bitje stalno išče svojo izgubljeno polovico; hrepenenje po celoti in lov za njo se imenuje ljubezen. V *Simpoziju* nas Platon opozarja, da ne obstajata samo dve polovici bitja, ampak tudi dva erosa, telesni in duhovni, zemeljski in nebeški eros. Prav zadnji je tisti, ki spodbuja duše k srečanju z drugo dušo, kar ustreza simbolistični logiki romana *Nina*, ohranja pa tudi Platonovo misel, predvsem iz govora Pavzanija (Sruk, 1995, 255), da je eros oziroma ljubezen (filozofski) nagon po spoznavanju idej.

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7   Pirjevec (1964, 114–115) je Cankarjevo poznavanje Platona navezal na njegovo srednješolsko védenje in poznejše, predvsem dunajsko branje; najbolj je izpostavil model platonske ljubezni, na katerega je avtorja najbrž opozoril članek »Die Platonische Liebe« v tedniku *Die Zeit* (10. 10. 1896), ki je razpravljal o spiritualističnem, platonskem pojmovanju ljubezni in ki je izžareval simbolistično pojmovanje ljubezni in erotičnega življenja sploh. Pirjevec je poudaril tudi vpliv Maeterlincka, predvsem njegovo prištevanje Platona med najpomembnejše svetovne avtorje, prav tako Cankarjevo razmišljanje o Platonu v okviru Macaulayjevih trditev, navedenih v pismu Otonu Župančiču (17. 9. 1898).

8   Nussbaum (2000, 599) posebej izpostavlja Hutcheon, Huma, Rousseauja in Schopenhauerja, ki so se osredotočali na sočutje ali simpatijo tako, da so branili vlogo nekaterih čustev v morali in se vrnili k normativnemu položaju, ki je bliže Aristotelu (čeprav ne vedno s podobno kognitivno analizo). Šele na koncu prejšnjega in v tem tisočletju pa je bilo končno priznano, da so čustva inteligentni deli osebnosti, ki lahko informirajo in razsvetljujejo ter motivirajo; sodobne poglede filozofov na čustva je obogatil napredek kognitivne psihologije, psihoanalize in antropologije.

## Arthur Schopenhauer: pesimizem, trpljenje in etika sočutja v Cankarjevi romaneskni poetiki in romanu Nina

Da bi lažje razumeli, kako Cankarjevo neizprosno izpovedovanje resnice (Cankar jo imenuje odkritosrčnost) v imenu ideje dobrega tudi v romanu *Nina* (1906) ni dovoljevalo tančic idealizma v primerih družbenih anomalij, bom v nadaljevanju navezala kategorije pesimizma, trpljenja, sočutja in empatije na Schopenhauerjevo etiko sočutja, ki se v razlagi Cankarjevih romanov do sedaj še ni pojavila (prva sem o etiki sočutja v Cankarjevem romanu pisala v študiji »Samomor in Cankarjev roman *Martin Kačur*«). Pri tem bom najprej opozorila na stalni očitek, ki se še vedno stereotipno ponavlja: Cankar je preveč pesimističen. Črnogledost so mu očitali v različnih člankih, tudi v kritikah *Nine*. Da je zgodba o pripovedovalcu, ki pripoveduje bolni Nini žalostne in vesele zgodbe, precej črnogleda, se je zavedal že sam Cankar (Bernik, 1973, 271), zato je v skrbi za bralstvo in kritike romanu naknadno dodal še eno poglavje. To je epilog, v katerem je skušal z mirnim in harmoničnim zaključkom nekoliko vplivati na sprejem romana, vendar je ta kljub temu prejel samo eno pozitivno kritiko; vse druge so bile negativne in so predvsem obsojale avtorjev pesimizem.

Očitku pesimizma se je umetnik upiral celo življenje, najbolj sistematično v *Beli krizantemi* (1910). V tem esejističnem besedilu se je otepal očitka, da mora biti umetnik glasnik in tolažnik ljudstva in zato optimističen na prvo žogo. Svoj **pesimizem** je zagovarjal kot kritični obraz optimizma, torej kot imanentno strukturo optimizma: »Kažem mu, kako je majhen, kako je malodušen, kako tava brez volje in brez cilja; kažem mu glorijo breznačelnosti, češčenje hinavščine, slavo laži; zato da se predrami, da spozna, kdo in kje da je, ter da pogleda v prihodnost. Ali nisem pel o žalosti, ker je bilo v mojem srcu hrepenenje po veselju? Slikal sem noč, vso pusto in sivo, polno sramote in bridkosti, da bi oko tem silnejše zakoprnelo po čisti luči. Zato je bila moja beseda, kakor je bila trda in težka, vsa polna upanja in vere! Iz noči in močvirja je bil v nebeške daljine uprt moj verni pogled — vi pa ste me razglasili za pesimista!« (Cankar, 1975, 284)

Prepletenost[9] dveh skrajnih pozicij, pesimizma in optimizma, ki so jo v oznaki Schopenhauerjeve in celo Nietzschejeve filozofije nekateri imenovali kar optimistični

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9    Eagleton (2018, 12–14) obe skrajni točki, tj. optimizem in pesimizem, imenuje moralna kratkovidnost, ko resnico upognemo in jo s tem prilagodimo našim naravnim nagnjenjem. Zdi se mu, da vključuje pesimizem enak duhovni uklon kot optimizem, zato imata ti drži več skupnega, kot se običajno misli. Psiholog Erikson celo imenuje pesimizem slabo prilagodljivi optimizem. Za Eagletona ni prava možnost odločitev za pesimizem ali optimizem, ampak le ugotovitev, da je resničnost neupogljiva. Na to dejstvo nas Cankar (1975, 292), že davno pred Eagletonom, izvirno opozarja v *Beli krizantemi*, ko svoje delo optimistično poimenuje »slutnja zarje«, prepletenost svetlobe in teme pa na koncu besedila takole estetizira: »Zdi se mi, da vidim belo sveto Trojico, kako se tiho smehlja pod jutranjim soncem; zdi se mi celo, da slišim zamolklo pesem svetega Pavla. Vse, kar je kdaj bilo grenkega in temnega, je umrlo; kar je bilo sladkega in svetlega, se je vdrugič porodilo v meni in bo v meni ostalo, neumrljivo, večno v vesoljstvu, kakor moja duša sama …«

pesimizem ali pesimistični optimizem, je značilna za celotno romaneskno poetiko Ivana Cankarja, lahko pa jo razumemo tudi kot posebno perspektivo realizma,[10] na kar je Cankar večkrat opozarjal, podobno kot Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860), predvsem pri razumevanju trpljenja. Ni dvoma, da vsi liki v *Nini* trpijo: Nina in Olga zaradi bolezni in travmatične preteklosti, pripovedovalec pa zaradi skeptičnega pogleda na življenje, čeprav vitalistično bodri Nino k pozabi prejšnjega in sedanjega **trpljenja**. Težko bi argumentirali, da je Cankar razumevanje trpljenja povsem naslonil na Schopenhauerjevo logiko volje in njene predstave, bi pa lažje potrdili njegov vpliv z avtorji,[11] ki so sledili Schopenhauerjevi misli; med njimi je za našega avtorja najpomembnejši prav Tolstoj.

Schopenhauerjev pojem trpljenja – nasprotno od krščanske dogme – dopušča namreč možnost, da posameznik še v tem življenju sprejme trpljenje kot danost in lastnost življenja, s tem pa se ga reši. Tako pripovedovalec v *Nini* zagovarja podoben koncept trpljenja, ki ne tematizira upanja v onostranstvo, v katerem bo trpljenje izbrisano, prav tako dvomi v smiselnost trpljenja zaradi družbenega zla: trpljenjski vidik torej ni podlegel katoliški ideji trpljenja kot sredstva za odrešitev, ki jo npr. obsesivno zagovarjajo liki Dostojevskega, je pa zanj odločilno sočutje.

V nasprotju s Kantom, ki meni, da je temelj naše etike racionalnost, je Schopenhauer prepričan, da je pomembnejše sočutje. Njegova **etika sočutja**[12] namreč predvideva, da je sočutje zmožnost poistovetenja ljudi z drugimi ter deljenje njihovega trpljenja in veselja. To je temu filozofu edini pravi moralni impulz (Janaway, 2000, 801), ki ga je razumel kot redko odliko, saj so človeška bitja po njegovem mnenju bitja volje in že v osnovi zelo egoistična. Mammadova (2015) razlaga, da obstajajo po Schopenhauerju trije temeljni vzvodi človeškega vedenja, to so egoizem, zloba in sočutje. Medtem ko se egoizem ukvarja s sabo in skrbi za lastno dobrobit, si zloba želi gorja drugih in se v tej svoji želji lahko razvije do skrajne krutosti; le sočutje želi dobro drugim in se lahko dvigne do plemenitosti in velikodušnosti.

Vsa tri občutja so prisotna tudi v *Nini*. Medtem ko je egoizem praviloma povezan z zlobo, je njun antipod običajno sočutje, ki temelji na upanju. Oba, egoizem

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10    Ali je Schopenhauer pesimist ali zgolj realist, je vprašanje, ki si ga lahko zastavimo tudi ob Cankarju. Sodobniki so namreč očitali Schopenhauerju pretiran pesimizem (Amalietti, 2001, 96–97) tudi zato, ker se niso zavedali, da je modrost običajno pesimistična. Glede na njegov opis ljudskega značaja je bil prej realist kot pesimist, saj je bila njegova vera v posameznikovo možnost preseganja klavrnega stanja z močjo razuma naravnost optimistična.

11    Če merimo Schopenhauerjev vpliv po tem, koliko umetnikov, pisateljev in drugih oblikovalcev umetniških ali humanističnih svetov se je navdihovalo po njem, potem je ta vpliv velik: Wagner, Mahler, Tolstoj, Mann, Proust, Strindberg, Borges, Beckett, Bernhard; Kierkegaard, Bergson, Camus in Cioran (Škof, 2008, 553).

12    To, kar je v Schopenhauerjevi etiki sočutja podobno Cankarjevi poetiki, je tudi oživitev tistih tradicij, ki so v morali poudarjale bolj emocionalno plat in manj razumsko. Škof (2008, 55) meni, da je na tem področju danes prav v pomenu filozofije emocij in s tem tesno povezanih pravic živali, izhajajoč tudi iz sočutja, v ospredju ena najpomembnejših filozofinj in filozofov nasploh, Martha C. Nussbaum.

in zloba, sta v romanu prikazana na mikro in makro ravni: intimni egoizem je naj-večkrat povezan z družbenim egoizmom, izvirajočim iz vampirskih kapitalističnih razmer. Vsa tri čustva že na začetku prepričljivo izriše Olgina zgodba, ki jo pripovedovalec pripoveduje bolni Nini. Olgo je namreč mati prodala za par kron pohotnemu starcu. Ta pa, na žalost, ni bil samo pohoten, ampak tudi skopuh in surovež, saj jo je pretepal zaradi svoje zlobe; užival je namreč v sadizmu, s katerim si je krajšal čas. Pripovedovalec ne obsoja Olge, ki je zaradi sočutja do svoje družine in želje pomagati revnim sorodnikom zabredla v prostitucijo, pač pa sočutno presoja njeno situacijo. Njeno zgodbo pripoveduje kot primer, da se tudi v tako krivičnih družbenih razmerah, kjer kapitalizem dovoljuje izkoriščanje žensk in otrok,[13] ne sme nehati hrepeneti in upati.

Sama razumem podobnost v etiki sočutja tudi v vezanosti občutka vesti na povsem telesne znake: tako kot Schopenhauer tudi Cankar sočutja ne predpostavlja. Etiko namreč Schopenhauer (Škof, 2008, 580) empirično-deskriptivno izpelje brez vsakršnih navezav na filozofske tradicije pred njim, saj igra pri tem vodilno vlogo človekovo telo. Po Schopenhauerju se očitek vesti pojavi takrat, ko dobesedno začutimo v trebuhu, da se z nekom pred nami nekaj dogaja, da trpi, da se ne premika, ne diha. To velja tako za ljudi kakor za živali, ki so pred nami. Takole to opiše Schopenhauer (2008, 384): »Opisanemu trpljenju, ki skupaj z zlobo izvira iz istega izvira, iz zelo silovite volje, in je zatorej z njo neločljivo povezano, se pridruži še povsem drugačna muka, ki jo občutimo ob vsakem zlem dejanju – pa najsigre za golo nepravičnost iz egoizma ali čisto zlobo – in se zaradi svojega trpljenja imenuje očitek vesti ali tesnoba vesti.«

Prehod v etiko se tako ne zgodi abstraktno, prek nekega nauka ali poučevanja ali pa, Schopenhauer tu ne pozabi poudariti, pridigarske ali kake drugačne uporabe arbitrarnih dogem, saj etična vrednost človeka po Schopenhauerju ne more biti odvisna od dogem, ki so podrejene naključju, prav tako to velja za verske nauke[14] in filozofeme. Vzrast etike iz notranje, intuitivne človeške dispozicije je temu nasprotna, svoj izvor ima v skrivnostnem, vendar realnem dotiku: »Prava dobrota naravnanosti, nesebična krepost in čista plemenitost torej ne izvirajo iz abstraktnega spoznanja, a vendarle iz spoznanja, namreč iz neposrednega in intuitivnega spoznanja, ki ga ni mogoče odmisliti in primisliti, torej iz spoznanja, ki ga ravno zato, ker ni abstraktno, ni mogoče

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13  Ivan Cankar in Zofka Kveder sta bila edina avtorja, ki sta z vsem svojim opusom opozarjala na moralne madeže družbe; Cankar pa tudi na spolne anomalije, kot so posilstvo, pedofilija in incest. Niti v enem romanu se ni izognil kritiki kapitalizma skozi perspektivo spolnega izkoriščanja: po obsegu enciklopedičnega nizanja anomalij kapitalizma je Cankar še danes nepremagljiv.

14  Strinjam se s Škofom (2008, 573), da Schopenhauerjeva filozofija vsebuje neko ambivalenco. Po eni strani se v njej razodeva resnica religijske etike, kakor jo najdemo v krščanskem in indijskem svetu, ne da bi se od tega filozof kakor koli resneje distanciral. Tudi za Cankarja je značilno, da se mestoma spogleduje z vsemi velikimi oziroma klasičnimi teološkimi temami (greh, svobodna volja, milost, odrešenje), in na nekaj mestih celo izpostavi svojo »vero«, po drugi strani pa vendarle želi te sheme preseči in jih nadomestiti z novo etiko.

sporočati, pač pa se mora v vsakem poroditi, ki torej svojega adekvatnega izraza ne najde v besedah temveč samo in edino v dejanjih, v delovanju, v človekovem življenju …« (Schopenhauer, 2008, 389).

Ravno v sledenju etiki sočutja se Cankarjeva romaneskna poetika bistveno ločuje od Nietzschejeve miselnosti: Cankar namreč poudarja etiko sočutja in s tem solidarnost, ki je nasprotna Nietzschejevi volji po moči in distanciranju nadčloveka od dimenzije usmiljenja oziroma sočutja. Če se Cankar v svojih romanih (najbolj v *Gospe Judit, Novem življenju* in *Marti*) navezuje na Nietzschejeve kategorije moralnega perspektivizma (tudi morale kot predsodka), izpostavljanja čustev kot pomembnega sidrišča morale in filozofije, klica po novem človeku, posebnega individualizma oziroma avtobiografskosti kot kritike narodne morale, se z etiko sočutja v vseh desetih romanih nedvomno približa Schopenhauerjevi razlagi trpljenja. Prav v romanu *Nina* je njegova navezava na etiko sočutja najbolj očitna, se pa ta, podobno kot v drugih romanih, povezuje tudi s Cankarjevim socialističnim prepričanjem (več o socializmu v mojem članku »Socializem in socialna empatija v Cankarjevem romanu *Na klancu*«) in Swiftovo satiro.

## Satira in Swiftov Skromen predlog v romanu Nina

Ivan Cankar je namreč **socialno empatijo** – zmožnost za globlje razumevanje ljudi, predvsem njihovih razlik in (ne)enakovrednosti – v svojem sedmem romanu *Nina* spet izrazil s pomočjo socialističnih stališč in prepričanj. Ne samo naslovni lik, tudi pripovedovalca in Olgo, poleg drugih stranskih oseb, zaznamujejo neugodne socialne razmere, iz katerih izvirajo preostali vrelci trpljenja. Čeprav ta roman ni parabola o socialni muki – tako kot *Na klancu* –, v kateri se lahko družbene krivice razrešijo le sistemsko oziroma s takratnim modelom socializma, je prav tako obsodba nepravičnega izkoriščanja, ki je tu bolj nakazovalno, s ponavljanji temne preteklosti, opisi temačnih ulic in nasilja nad brezpravnimi, ter s simboli mrtvašnice, težkega voza in lahke kočije. To, kar je v filozofskem smislu inovativnega v tem romanu, pa je navezava družbene kritike na Swiftovo satiro, predvsem na njegov odmevni esej *Skromen predlog* (Modest Proposal, 1729). Tako kot Swift je tudi Cankar uporabil **satiro**,[15] da bi poudaril svoje

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15  Cankar je neizbežnost satire v (lastni) poetiki zagovarjal na več mestih, zelo prepričljivo že v kritiki »Anton Aškerc« (Ljubljanski zvon, 1896), v kateri zagovarja slikanje črne krivice in trpljenja brez vsakega komentarja. V tej kritiki posebej pohvali Aškerčevo satiro: njeno nujnost podkrepi s primerom Gogolja, ki so ga prav tako kot Aškerca obtoževali, da s satiro narod pohujšuje, in mu zato predlagali deviškost, torej izogibanje resnici. Da satiro Cankar (tudi v drugih spisih) povezuje z resnicoljubnostjo, izraža celo njegovo stališče do realističnega (to pomeni odkritosrčnega) slikanja napak, ki naj se po njegovem prepričanju izogiba zgolj slikanju pozitivnih strani – najpogostejši očitek Cankarjevi poetiki je bil prav pomanjkanje pozitivne ideje, kar z drugimi besedami pomeni prevelika satiričnost, prav tako pesimističnost. Nujnost satire je zelo inovativno razlagal tudi v »Glosah k Zgodbam iz doline Šentflorjanske«: »Ko bi jaz tako noro ne bil zateleban v Slovenijo in slovenščino, bi mi nikoli ne prišlo na misel pisati **satire**« (Cankar, 1975, 297, poudarila AZS).

stališče o revščini in »prevelikem« številu otrok ter s sarkazmom in ironijo obsodil neprimerne razmere, ki ju ustvarjajo.

Če lahko ton satire (Baldick, 1996, 198) niha od tolerantne zabavnosti do grenkega ogorčenja, je za opis bizarnega izkoriščanja revnih otrok po vzoru Swiftovega eseja značilen popoln manko tolerance za neumnost in človeško nepopolnost. V njem pripovedovalec razmišlja o svoji razpravi »O uporabi delavskih otrok« in poudarja, da se mu zdi Swiftov esej še premalo radikalen glede na nevzdržnost kapitalističnega izkoriščanja (Cankar, 1973, 166–168): ni čudno, da je ta roman naletel na toliko odbojnosti,[16] saj je neizprosno zarezal v rano otroškega izkoriščanja. Pripovedovalec *Nine* namreč, podobno kot Swift, razlaga predelavo nežnih otroških telesc revnih delavcev v hrano za bogate sloje kot idealno rešitev socialnega problema. Cankar (1973, 168) ovije morbidni kanibalizem v grotesko še bolj radikalno kot Swift: »Od začetka bi se morda komu upiralo, če bi videl pred sabo, med solato in omakami, jasne oblike svojega rodu; zato bi bilo koristno, da bi uživala prva generacija to delikateso na nekoliko obzirnejši, takorekoč prikrit način, recimo s papriko v gosti omaki,« hkrati pa preseže Swiftovo grotesko z izvirno simbolistično potezo. Z njo se odreče smehu in se prepusti bolestnemu hrepenenju in upanju.

Prav **upanje** je osnovna os, okrog katere je ovita pripoved *Nine*, vezana na simbolistično, nihilistično, socialistično in (mestoma tudi) katoliško logiko. Najbolj izvirno je kategorija upanja predstavljena v *Nini* in drugih Cankarjevih romanih takrat, ko resignira nad vsemi zgodovinskimi in sodobnimi sistemi, metafizičnimi in sekularnimi, ter se odloči za novo poosebljenje, repersonalizacijo etosa. Cankarjeva resignacija in repersonalizacija se na točki predloga za vrnitev v človekov »moralni nagon« – prvinsko osebno empatijo, ki je človeku dana sama po sebi, in v etos, ki je nekodiran – približujeta sodobni misli filozofa Zygmunta Baumana v njegovi *Postmoderni etiki* (1993). Umeščenost upanja v kategorije, ki sem jih obravnavala v povezavi s Schopenhauerjevo filozofijo – pesimizem, trpljenje, etika sočutja, empatija –, pa spominja tudi na osnovna izhodišča knjige *Upanje brez optimizma* (1993).

V njej Terry Eagleton iztrga upanje iz vseh »serijskih optimizmov«, programiranih metafizično ali socialno, in ga vrne v človekovo osebno notranjo moč. Tisto, kar se mu zdi bistveno, je človekova zmožnost soočiti se z lastno razcepljenostjo: obup po njegovem mnenju ni nasprotje upanju, temveč njegov sestavni del. V tej filozofiji upanja je pomembna beseda dno, ki je v nekem sprevrženem smislu vir upanja. Strinjam se s Paternujem (2018, 23), ki je Eagletonovo sklepno geslo njegove filozofije – upanje brez optimizma – pretvoril v kreativni paradoks »pogumni duh resignacije«,

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[16] Kadar je satirični ton (Herman, Jahn, Ryan 2008, 512) dobro uglašen, je vedno agresiven, jezen, sarkastičen ali poln ogorčenja v motivaciji, torej posmehljiv, žaljiv ali obrekljiv po namenu, glede stališča pa tudi skeptičen in vprašujoč. To se je v opisih otroške revščine zgodilo tudi v *Nini*, ki zaradi nuje projicirati dvojno videnje sveta uporablja ironijo.

ki ga je Slovencem razkril že Prešeren, povsem zasidral pa Cankar; na poseben način v romanu *Nina*, kjer je dno motivirano s tremi pomembnimi simboli: mrtvašnico, vozom in kočijo. Če je mrtvašnica že ustaljeni Cankarjev simbol za vegetiranje revnih in brezpravnih množic ter težki voz potrditev njihove brezizhodnosti, pa je lahka kočija simbol hrepenenja in upanja, prav tako tudi resnice in lepote.

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## Filozofske prvine Cankarjeve romaneskne poetike in roman *Nina*

**Ključne besede**: Nietzsche, Platon, Schopenhauer, Swift, Cankar, prevrednotenje vrednot, moralni perspektivizem, ideja dobrega, platonska ljubezen, pesimizem, trpljenje, etika sočutja, satira, roman *Nina*

Filozofske prvine v Cankarjevi romaneskni poetiki, ki so še večinoma nereflektirane, sem analizirala in interpretirala tako, da sem se posvetila samo tistim kategorijam, ki so podprte s filozofsko logiko: prevrednotenje vrednot oziroma izvirnost, moralni perspektivizem, resnica, pesimizem, trpljenje, etika sočutja, empatija, socializem in upanje. Pri razlagi in povezavi izpostavljenih kategorij sem se naslonila na nekatera izhodišča filozofov, ki jih je Cankar poznal, omenjal ali upošteval, tj. Nietzscheja in Platona ter Schopenhauerja in Swifta, pri čemer sem se natančneje posvetila tistim prvinam Schopenhauerjeve filozofije, ki do zdaj še niso bile obravnavane v kontekstu avtorjeve romaneskne poetike, predvsem etiki sočutja. Medtem ko Platonova idealistična filozofija, po kateri je najvišja ideja ideja dobrega in zajema vse druge ideje, na primer ideje resnice, lepote in pravičnosti, prehaja v *Nini* v socialno etiko, je za simbolistično estetiko in samo strukturo romana najpomembnejši model platonske ljubezni. Pripovedna empatija v tem romanu se najlažje naveže na Schopenhauerjevo etiko sočutja, v okviru

katere sem tudi razložila kategorijo pesimizma in trpljenja, upoštevajoč tri temeljne vzvode človeškega vedenja, to so egoizem, zloba in sočutje. Ravno v romanu *Nina* je Cankarjeva navezava na etiko sočutja najbolj očitna, se pa ta, podobno kot v drugih romanih, povezuje tudi z njegovim socialističnim prepričanjem in Swiftovo satiro. Ni čudno, da je prav ta roman naletel na toliko odbojnosti pri literarni kritiki, saj je poleg predloga o predelavi revnih otrok v hrano za bogate tudi z drugimi inovacijami neizprosno zarezal v rane kapitalistične družbe in posameznika.

## Philosophical elements of Cankar's novel poetics and the novel *Nina*

**Keywords**: Nietzsche, Plato, Schopenhauer, Swift, Cankar, revaluation of values, moral perspectivism, idea of good, platonic love, pessimism, suffering, ethics of compassion, satire, novel *Nina*

I analysed and interpreted the philosophical elements in Cankar's novel poetics, which are still largely unexplored in the literature, by focusing only on those categories that are supported by philosophical logic: the revaluation of values or originality, moral perspectivism, truth, pessimism, suffering, ethics of compassion, empathy, socialism, and hope. When explaining and connecting the highlighted categories, I relied on some of the ideas of philosophers that Cankar knew, mentioned or took into account, i.e. Nietzsche and Plato as well as Schopenhauer and Swift. In this I focused more closely on those elements of Schopenhauer's philosophy that have not yet been discussed in the context of the author's poetics, especially the ethics of compassion. While Plato's idealistic philosophy, according to which the highest idea is the idea of the good and includes all other ideas – for example the ideas of truth, knowledge, beauty, justice and virtue – passes into social ethics in *Nina*, for in the symbolist aesthetics and the very structure of the novel the most important model is the model of platonic love. Narrative empathy in this novel is most easily connected to Schopenhauer's ethics of compassion, within which I also explain the category of pessimism and suffering, taking into account the three fundamental levers of human behaviour, i.e. egoism, malice and compassion. It is precisely in the novel *Nina* that Cankar's connection to the ethics of compassion is most obvious, which, similar to his other novels, is also connected to his socialist beliefs and Swift's satire. It is no wonder that this particular novel was strongly rejected by literary critics, since, in addition to the proposal of processing poor children into food for the rich, it also examined the wounds of capitalist society and the individual with other innovations.

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# Everyday Aesthetics and the Dichotomy Between Routine and Charisma

## Introduction

A few years ago, the author of this paper engaged in a year-long photography project, taking a photo each day. The project was primarily initiated to cultivate a creative outlet during a period when the author's life lacked a discernible charismatic[1] element. In other words, the author sought to influence her life through art and creative expression, drawing inspiration from authors such as Friedrich Schiller and Arthur Schopenhauer, who highlighted the significance of art as the conveyer of truth(s) and, through this, as a catalyst for meaningful change.[2] The author's objective was to explore facets of herself, human nature, the creative process, and other themes that had not yet crossed her mind at the project's inception, but rather emerged as serendipitous by-products throughout its duration.

The author embarked on this project with the intention of breaking her routine, and initially, it proved to be a resounding success. Each day, she eagerly sought out the extraordinary details and scenes within the seemingly ordinary things around her. This not only infused her life with a charismatic element but also imbued the objects themselves with a sense of allure. However, the author soon realized that the very act she consciously undertook to break free from her routine had inadvertently become a new routine – a realization reminiscent of Schopenhauer's philosophy

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1   The term charismatic is used here with reference to Max Weber's definition of charisma - "The term 'charisma' will be applied to a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities." (Weber, 1968, 48). However, in the context of the paper the term is employed more generally rather than exclusively pertaining to an individual

2   Both Friedrich Schiller, in his work *On the Aesthetic Education of Man*, and Arthur Schopenhauer, in his work *The World as Will and Representation*, explore various aspects of society, life, human nature, and the transformative power of art. According to Schiller, art has the capacity to initiate change by bridging two contrasting human impulses: the sense impulse and the form impulse. This bridging is accomplished through a third impulse known as the play impulse. On the other hand, Schopenhauer proposes that art can momentarily alleviate the inherent suffering experienced by humans. By engaging in aesthetic contemplation, individuals can transcend the Will and become pure, Will-less subjects, offering a temporary respite from suffering.

regarding the Will and suffering, which cautions against the absence of a permanent state of being a pure, Will-less subject. The initial excitement of engaging in a creative endeavour gradually waned, replaced by a sense of obligation to take a daily photo. This obligation manifested in the quality of the photos themselves, and even influenced the chosen motifs.

It thus emerged that art, in contrast to popular belief, can also assume a routine-like nature, prompting the author to contemplate the following: If art can encompass both the extraordinary and the routine, could everyday life similarly possess elements of both routine and extraordinariness? Is it conceivable that the dichotomy between art and life is not a true dichotomy? To address these inquiries, the paper delves deeper into how proponents of everyday aesthetics define key terms such as everyday life, art, routine, and charisma.

## Beyond Aesthetics: Everyday Aesthetics

Defining everyday aesthetics – along with associated terms such as everyday life, art, routine, and charisma – from the perspective of everyday aesthetics can pose challenges. Different theorists approach everyday aesthetics in various ways, with some perceiving it solely as the aestheticization of everyday behaviour, while others employ it to classify everything "that is not fine art or does not come from the natural environment" (Naukkarinen, 2013). Meanwhile, certain theorists adopt a middle ground in their definitions of everyday aesthetics. However, regardless of the chosen approach, it remains indisputable, as demonstrated by Katya Mandoki in her book *Everyday Aesthetics: Prosaics, the Play of Culture and Social Identities*, that it is not only possible but crucial to expand the domain of aesthetics to encompass the multifaceted nature of everyday life.[3]

In the mentioned book, published in 2007, but having roots in the early 1990s when Mandoki first coined the term *prosaics*, she defines the term as follows:

> In prosaics, however, the aesthetic is related to experience as the live dimension of reality without necessarily implying any relation to beauty or pleasure. For that reason prosaics can be considered close to a philosophical and anthropological aesthesiology (for example, as the study of the cultural operation of the senses) or part of a socio-aesthetics (as the unfolding of aesthesis in social life). Prosaics is concerned both with aesthetic mechanisms and with their effects upon sensitivity. (Mandoki, 2007, 74)

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3     It is noteworthy that the field of aesthetics, since its establishment in the 18th century by Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten in his book *Aesthetica*, has focused on the study of "natural objects and phenomena, built structures, utilitarian objects, and human actions, to what is today regarded as the fine arts" (Saito, 2019). Baumgarten defined aesthetics as the science of sensory knowledge. However, the scope of aesthetics, especially since the beginning of 19th century, has been mostly confined to the realm of artistic expression and "increasingly focused on the fine arts" (Saito, 2019).

Mandoki delves into the examination of various everyday cultural practices and their playful nature. She advocates for the expansion of aesthetics to encompass the realm of everyday life. Mandoki builds her thesis by asserting that elements within one's daily life possess an additional dimension beyond their informative and functional value. Whether it is ordinary conversations, political propaganda, the media, government, or fashion, she argues that this additional dimension constitutes the aesthetic. In her writings, Mandoki highlights the presence of this aesthetic dimension in everyday phenomena:

> By aesthetic devices, identities for commodities are fabricated to tempt the consumer, for nation states to achieve cohesion, for religions to instill devotion, and for professionals to persuade upon their credibility. Aesthetics have a definitive role also in arguing for the innocence or guilt of a defendant, in favoring one political candidate over another and certainly in recruiting volunteers for virulent organizations. There is no social group that does not generate some form or another of aesthetics. (Mandoki, 2007, xv)

Moreover, Mandoki follows Johan Huizinga's view on play preceding culture:

> Play is a voluntary activity or occupation executed within certain fixed limits of time and space, according to rules freely accepted but absolutely biding, having its aim in itself and accompanied by a feeling of tension, joy, and the consciousness that it is 'different' from 'ordinary life'. (Huizinga, 1955, 28)

She thus argues that play and aesthetics are the same, and that, as she writes:

> [...] prosaics does not explore aesthetics *in* culture focusing on artistic displays or decorative elements in daily life, but the aesthetics *of* culture, namely how culture in inherently woven by aesthetic games. (Mandoki, 2007, 93)

In essence, Mandoki explores various cultural practices and reveals their underlying playful nature. She emphasizes the significance of extending aesthetics beyond its conventional boundaries and incorporating the realm of everyday life. Mandoki argues that everyday life is rich with aesthetic experiences and elements, and stresses the importance of recognizing and appreciating them. By doing so, she challenges the notion that aesthetics is solely limited to art and beauty, encouraging a broader understanding of aesthetics in the context of everyday existence:

> [...] art and reality, like aesthetics and the everyday, are totally entwined, not thanks to the explicit will of the artist, but because there is nothing further, beneath or beyond reality. (Mandoki, 2007, 16)

One could argue that the ubiquity and commonplace nature of the everyday practices Mandoki explores often leads to their neglect or insufficient attention, preventing a thorough investigation of their significance. Similarly, everyday aesthetic experiences may also go unnoticed or underappreciated. Addressing this gap, Yuriko Saito's book *Everyday Aesthetics*, published shortly after the Mandoki text considered here, examines one's daily aesthetic experiences and their profound influence on the state of the world and the quality of life. Saito emphasizes the interconnectedness of aesthetics and everyday life, highlighting how these experiences shape our perception and impact our surroundings. As Saito writes:

> [...] everyday aesthetic tastes and attitudes often do lead to consequences which go beyond simply being preoccupied with and fussing with the surface, and that they affect not only our daily life but also the state of the society and the world. (Saito, 2007, 55)

In her work Saito thus explores the aesthetic evaluation of unique signs found in objects or phenomena, looking into the responses elicited by different manifestations of transience and the aesthetic expression of moral values. Saito also examines the moral, political, existential, and environmental ramifications arising from these issues and other related topics. By investigating these aspects, she sheds light on the broader implications of aesthetic experiences in relation to our moral and social contexts.

What is intriguing about Saito's writing is her emphasis on surpassing the traditional focus of aesthetics solely on fine art and beauty, aligning with Mandoki's perspective. Saito also highlights the significance of moral-aesthetic judgments in everyday life. She argues that "a person's aesthetic sensibility [...] can be an important measure of his moral capacity" (Saito, 2007, 238). Moreover, she posits that every individual, not just artists and creators, bears a moral-aesthetic responsibility. As Saito puts it, "everyone's engagement in this on-going project of literal world-making, I believe, is as important as every citizen's political participation in democratic society" (Saito, 2007, 241). As such, it is not surprising that she considers the participatory aspect of everyday aesthetics to be crucial.

> Everyday aesthetics, I firmly believe, has to be a part of the strategies for the project of world-making, to which all of us in some way participate, both personally and professionally, sometimes quite consciously and some other times unwittingly. (Saito, 2007, 244)

## Everydayness vs. Non-Everyday-Like

In his article titled "What is 'Everyday' in Everyday Aesthetics?", Ossi Naukkarinen approaches the question of defining everyday aesthetics. While Mandoki and Saito primarily emphasize the extension of mainstream aesthetics to encompass everyday life and the participatory role of everyday aesthetics, Naukkarinen's main focus, as suggested by the title, centres around understanding the concept of the everyday itself.

According to Naukkarinen, everyday life is "the unavoidable basis on which everything else is built" (Naukkarinen, 2013), and it is an essential and inescapable aspect of human existence. He acknowledges that a life devoid of everydayness is practically inconceivable, emphasizing the pervasive nature of the everyday in our lives. In his article, Naukkarinen introduces a framework that distinguishes between everydayness and non-everyday-like experiences. He illustrates the role of art as a positive disruption of routine, offering an example of something that surpasses the ordinary. However, Naukkarinen highlights that while artworks may generate extraordinary experiences for some individuals, they can be familiar and everyday-like for others. As a result, he concludes that "everyday aesthetics cannot be defined by saying that it is the aesthetics of non-art (or non-nature), or that art-related aesthetics is necessarily something that is unsuited for the everyday contexts" (Naukkarinen, 2013).

Naukkarinen takes a unique approach to defining everyday aesthetics, proposing that art and art-related experiences can be integral to one's everyday life. He recognizes that there is not a single definitive definition of aesthetics, but rather a multitude of interconnected interpretations that are relevant to everyday aesthetics. However, what is particularly noteworthy in Naukkarinen's article is the recurring emphasis on two concepts: everydayness and non-everyday-like. These concepts bring attention to the perceived dichotomy between art and life, even in situations where art forms part of one's everyday experience. Despite art's integration into everydayness, the distinction between the ordinary and extraordinary persists.

In his article "On the Aesthetics of the Everyday: Familiarity, Strangeness, and the Meaning of Place", Arto Haapala examines the concepts of familiarity and strangeness from the perspective of place. He argues that human beings naturally seek familiarity and create a sense of familiarity in their surroundings. On the other hand, art is often presented in contexts that evoke a sense of strangeness. Haapala suggests that aesthetics tends to prioritize maximizing the element of strangeness and minimizing familiarity in order to create aesthetic experiences.

Haapala's perspective on familiarity and strangeness, which corresponds to routine and charisma, aligns with the viewpoints of Naukkarinen and Saito regarding everyday aesthetics. Each of them, in their own unique manner, highlights the significance of routine or everyday experiences rather than solely focusing on the extraordinary or

charismatic elements.[4] Saito, for instance, identifies two ways in which individuals appreciate the everyday. The first, referred to as the normative approach, involves seeking the extraordinary within ordinary circumstances:

> There are many aesthetic gems hidden in our everyday life, but we do not notice, let alone appreciate, most of them because we usually do not engage with them as aesthetic objects. Here we appreciate the help provided by photographs, literature, and other visual arts for revealing, highlighting, and illuminating those aesthetic treasures. (Saito, 2007, 244)

On the other hand, the second approach, which Saito adopts in her emphasis on the moral dimension of everyday aesthetics, can be characterized as a descriptive approach. This perspective focuses on recognizing the value of the ordinary within everyday experiences, as Saito elaborates in her writings. It involves appreciating the inherent qualities and significance of the ordinary without the need for exceptional or extraordinary elements:

> Everyday aesthetics, I argued, should not be exclusively concerned with discounting ordinary and seemingly pragmatically directed reactions that often result in various actions, such as cleaning, throwing away, purchasing, and preserving, while promoting positive aesthetic experiences from unlikely objects and phenomena from our daily life. I hope to have shown in the preceding discussion that this first kind of reactions are actually not that simple; nor are they insignificant because of possible consequences that affect the quality of life and the state of the world. (Saito, 2007, 245)

Haapala expresses a similar viewpoint by writing:

> I think we should simply become more aware of the pleasurable aspects of the everyday without making them objects of aesthetic appreciation in the traditional sense. Perhaps we could give new meaning to the phrase 'the aesthetics (or the art) of living', that is, to value the particulars of the everyday. This adds a new dimension to our aesthetic thinking, a dimension that is indeed domi-

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4   The remaining part of the paper will continue to use the opposition between routine and charisma to explore the dichotomy between the virtues of everyday life and the virtues of art. This terminological pair is considered more effective in capturing this dichotomy than other pairs such as everydayness and non-everyday-like, ordinary and extraordinary, or familiarity and strangeness. In this paper, the term routine is used as a broad term encompassing everything that is regular and customary, while charisma serves as an umbrella term for everything that deviates from the ordinary and approaches the substance traditionally associated with art.

nant in our daily life. Aesthetics does not have to be only about the extraordinary; it can also be about our daily routines. (Haapala, 2005, 52)

Naukkarinen also affirms this perspective by stating that:

> The point of my approach is that should our aesthetic approach really be of an everyday type, we should evaluate and handle things rather routinely, easily and repeatedly, not experimentally, not in atypical and challenging ways, not aiming to broaden our possibilities. Instead, we should aim at what is normal and non-spectacular to us, at something that does not stick out from the mat of normalcy but supports the routine. (Naukkarinen, 2013)

However, no matter which of the two approaches one decides to take, be it normative or descriptive, and regardless of the preferred set of terms, such as everydayness/non-everyday-like, familiarity/strangeness, or routine/charisma, it is apparent from the above discussion that the authors of everyday aesthetics tend to focus on the ordinary and everyday life, in contrast to the more traditional emphasis on the charismatic and art. It is not surprising, then, that one would conclude that the dichotomy between art and life lies at the very core of everyday aesthetics, as is the case with Schiller's writings on the dichotomy of human nature.

## A Dichotomy That Is Not

Consider Mandoki's exploration of the myth of the opposition between art and life in her chapter *The Myths of Aesthetics*:

> To insist on the separation between art and life equals to believing in the separation between science, technology, philosophy, and life. All are ways for the appropriation of reality, ways of seeing and understanding life, and of transforming it. (Mandoki, 2007, 16)

From this it is reasonable to conclude that the aforementioned dichotomy is not a genuine dichotomy, but rather an artificially imposed one. Furthermore, the terms routine and charisma are not inherently opposing terms, unlike Schiller's sense and form impulses that require bridging, as Schiller himself expresses it:

> We have now reached the conception of a reciprocal action between the two impulses, of such a kind that the operation of the one at the same time confirms and limits the operation of the other, and each one severally reaches its highest manifestation precisely through the activity of the other. (Schiller, 2004, 73)

Instead they are terms that share a resemblance with Schopenhauer's concepts of the beautiful and sublime, as he defines them in his writings. According to Schopenhauer, these terms encompass a spectrum of states rather than a singular dichotomy. As Schopenhauer himself eloquently expressed:

> The feeling of the sublime is distinguished from that of the beautiful only by the addition, namely the exaltation beyond the known hostile relation of the contemplated object to the will in general. Thus there result several degrees of the sublime, in fact transitions from the beautiful to the sublime [...] (Schopenhauer, 1969, 202)

The author of this paper noticed and experienced first-hand the lack of a clear distinction between the terms routine and charisma through her photography project. Initially, she was surprised to discover that the act of breaking her routine had become a new routine in itself. However, as she continued with her project, she observed how her routine would transform into charisma, and then back into routine, sometimes in a matter of seconds.

Upon reflection, it becomes apparent that the project itself can be characterized as a dynamic and ongoing endeavour, comprised of a minimum of 12 distinct stages, each of which can be further subdivided into their own sub-stages, and so forth. It is worth noting that this project is still in progress, continually evolving. The initial stages involved the conception and initiation of the photo project, followed by a year-long process of taking a photo every day. While these two stages may seem to encompass the entirety of the project, the author's discoveries during this journey, particularly the constant interplay between routine and charisma, indicate otherwise. Therefore, the project extends beyond these initial stages, unravelling new layers of meaning and depth.

After the culmination of the year-long process of taking a photo a day, the idea to showcase the project through an exhibition emerged, roughly around that time. This notion sparked the initiation of searching for a suitable venue, and once found it led to conceptualizing of how the exhibition would be presented within that specific space. Subsequently, the preparation process for the exhibition commenced, accompanied by the idea of an opening event. This event marked the beginning of the exhibition, which lasted approximately two months. As the exhibition concluded, the idea of its end materialized, prompting the subsequent process of dismantling the exhibition and engaging in post-exhibition tasks. This, in turn, prompted the idea of incorporating the project into a paper, and thus initiated the process of writing about it within the text. In summary, the stages involved in the project can be outlined as follows:

1. The initial idea and initiation of the photo project.
2. The year-long process of taking a photo each day.
3. The idea and initial steps to showcase the photo project through an exhibition.
4. Searching and finding a suitable venue for the exhibition.
5. The idea and initiation of conceptualizing the exhibition's presentation at the chosen venue.
6. The preparation process for the exhibition.
7. The idea and initiation of the exhibition's opening event.
8. The two-month duration of the exhibition itself, showcasing the photo project at the venue.
9. The idea and initiation of concluding the exhibition.
10. Dismantling the exhibition and engaging in post-exhibition tasks.
11. The idea and initiation of incorporating the project into the paper.
12. Writing about the photo project in the paper.

At this point it is important to mention John Dewey's influential work *Art as Experience*, published in 1934, which has served as a foundational source of inspiration for scholars and practitioners in the field of everyday aesthetics. Dewey's profound exploration of "having *an* experience" underscores the notion that aesthetic experiences can manifest in various facets of daily life, transcending traditional boundaries and confined settings. According to Dewey, the aesthetic quality of an experience does not hinge on a specific object or situation, but rather resides within the character of the experience itself.

In the context of a photography project, this perspective implies that the organization, execution, and reception of such a project can all be viewed as components of an aesthetic experience. Just as Dewey emphasizes that aesthetics can permeate activities as diverse as solving mathematical problems or enjoying a meal, the phases of a photography project – from planning and execution to audience reception – can be seen as integral parts of the broader aesthetic encounter.

Likewise, Marina Abramović's work in performance art extends well beyond the actual performance itself. Her meticulous preparations leading up to a performance hold paramount significance, as they contribute substantially to the overall aesthetic experience. Abramović's approach aligns with Dewey's view that aesthetics can be found not only in the final presentation but also in the process, preparation, and the entire journey leading up to the artistic moment. In this way, Dewey's philosophy provides a framework for understanding and appreciating the holistic nature of artistic endeavours, where the boundaries between organization, preparation, execution, and reception blur, forming an inseparable tapestry of aesthetic experience.

Turning the attention back to the aforementioned photography project, each of the project's stages, along with their respective substages and sub-substages, serves as a compelling illustration of the blurred boundaries between routine and charisma. The continuous transitioning between these two concepts is evident throughout the entire project. As a result, the terms routine and charisma no longer adhere to a rigid dichotomy between everyday life and art. Instead, they merge, giving birth to a multitude of states that encompass routine-charisma and charismatic-routine, each distinguished by subtle nuances. Furthermore, this merging of routine and charisma instigates three significant effects of the project:

1.  Effect on the author's life – while certain effects of the project on the author's life have been previously mentioned in this paper, it is important to acknowledge that the true extent of these effects is challenging to quantify. Similar to the complex nature of the stages, substages, and sub-substages, the impact on the author's life is vast and multifaceted. It has shaped and will continue to shape the author's experiences and perspectives. The project has likely influenced the author's artistic sensibilities, personal growth, and creative journey, leaving an indelible mark that extends beyond the confines of the project itself.

2.  Effect on the lives of the people who have:

    •   followed the process of the photo project via social media platforms and got inspired by it – by providing a window into the project's development, these individuals were able to witness the artistic journey, the challenges faced, and the creative breakthroughs achieved. For those who were inspired by the
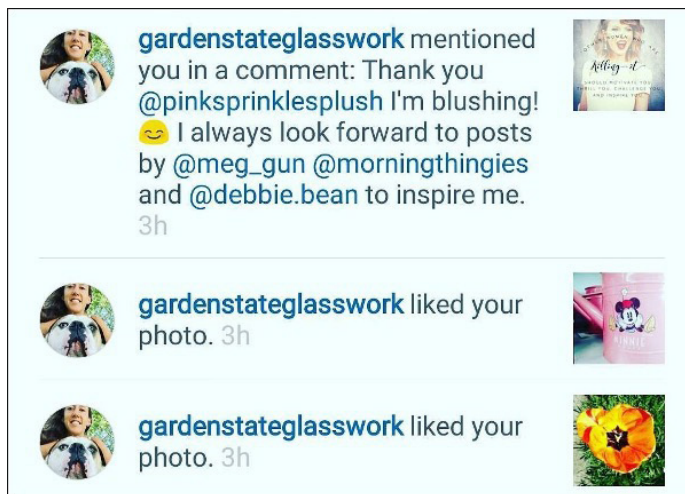


Figure 1: Snapshot of an Instagram Mention/Comment Showing the Direct Impact the Project Had in Inspiring @gardenstateglasswork.

project, it served as a catalyst for their own creative endeavours. The project's ability to capture routine and charisma in everyday life likely resonated with them, encouraging them to explore and express their own unique perspectives on the world around them.

- witnessed the project in the form of an exhibition, which in turn moved, inspired, or touched them and made them think and reflect upon their own lives – by presenting the interplay between routine and charisma in everyday life, the exhibition prompted viewers to contemplate their own lives and experiences. It encouraged introspection and reflection, inviting them to examine the beauty and significance of their own routines and moments of enchantment. It moved beyond the boundaries of the art space, leaving a lasting impact on the way individuals thought and interacted with their own lives.
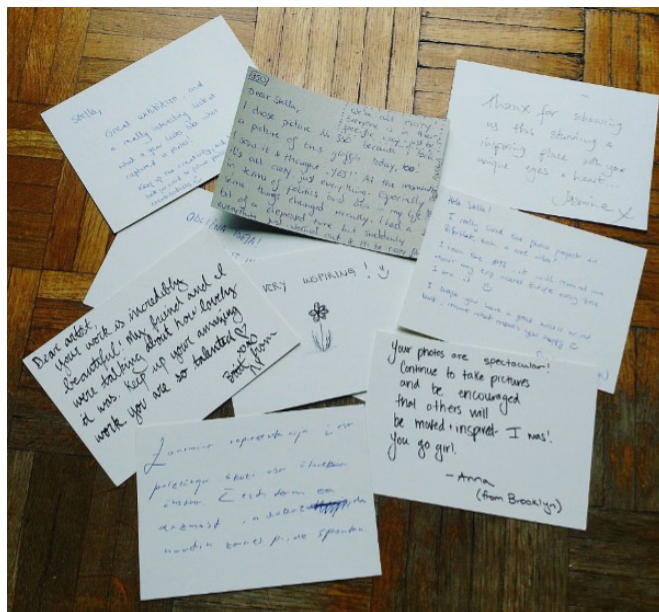


Figure 2: Photo of the Impressions Written to the Author by the Visitors to the Exhibition Showing the Impact the Project in the Form of an Exhibition Had on Them.

3. Effect on the paper at hand – the project itself served as a direct and significant influence on the current paper. It functions as a tangible and illustrative example of the differentiation between routine and charisma, and the continual shifting and blending of these two concepts. The project's exploration of the interplay between routine and charisma provides a rich foundation for the paper's analysis and discussion of everyday aesthetics.

Indeed, the evolving nature of the project and the intricacies it encompasses make it challenging to ascertain if the effects discussed thus far are exhaustive. The project, initially appearing as a charismatic intervention in routine everyday life, reveals its depth and complexity when examined closely. The breakdown of the project's stages and the exploration of its nuances shed light on the intricacies that challenge the notion of a straightforward dichotomy between art and life.

By delving into the subtleties of the project, it becomes evident that the supposed dichotomy between art and life is not as clear-cut as it initially seemed. The project blurs the boundaries between routine and charisma, exposing the interplay and transitions between these concepts. This nuanced understanding disrupts the simplistic distinction between art and everyday life, prompting a deeper exploration of their interconnectedness.

Therefore, it is plausible to suggest that the effects discussed earlier might not encompass the entirety of the project's impact. The evolving nature of the project and its ability to reveal new layers of meaning and understanding indicate that there may be additional effects that have yet to be fully explored or comprehended. The project's complexities challenge us to embrace the subtleties and embrace the evolving nature of the relationship between art and life.

## Conclusion

The introduction and exploration of terms such as everyday life, art, routine, and the extraordinary within the field of everyday aesthetics have revealed that the dichotomy between art and life is central to this discipline. While various approaches to bridging this dichotomy have been proposed by everyday aesthetics theorists, the fundamental question remains: is this dichotomy a genuine one or merely artificially imposed?

Drawing on the notions of routine and charisma as discussed by everyday aesthetics theorists and Schopenhauer's distinction between the beautiful and the sublime, it becomes evident that even within the field of everyday aesthetics it is difficult to completely separate art from everyday life. This interconnectedness is further exemplified by the nuances observed in the photography project considered in this text, specifically in its ability to oscillate between routine and charisma. Consequently, this project not only impacted art itself, but also left a lasting impression on the fabric of life.

Therefore, this paper suggests that future studies in everyday aesthetics should not focus solely on routine or charisma, but rather explore the interactions between them and more, such as routine within routine, charisma within routine, charisma within charisma, and routine within charisma.[5] By doing so, it becomes possible to move

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5    It is worth noting that some contemporary theoreticians in the field of everyday aesthetics have addressed this line of reasoning in their recent works. They either advocate for the inclusion of gradation

beyond the traditional opposition between art and everyday life, considering them as two points on a continuum rather than as stark opposites.

By embracing the interplay of routine and charisma within everyday aesthetics, the latter would not only move away from what Mandoki would classify as aesthetics, since the aesthetics insists upon the separation between art and life, but also set an example for other disciplines such as philosophy, science, and technology. These fields have often emphasized their separation from life in their attempts to observe, comprehend, and manipulate it. However, they may have overlooked the true nature of the dichotomy they insist upon.

Rather than perpetuating a strict division, these disciplines could benefit from recognizing the mutual interdependence and inseparability of art, life, philosophy, science, and technology. Just as routine and charisma coexist and intertwine within everyday aesthetics, these areas of study can acknowledge their interconnectedness and bridge the gap between theory and practice. By doing so, a more holistic understanding of the world can be achieved, enabling a deeper comprehension and transformative potential that transcends artificial boundaries.

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(Leddy, 2015), or emphasize that the demarcation between routine and charisma, although prevalent in discussions of the everyday, should not be perceived as rigid, static, or immovable (Haapala, 2017). Nevertheless, the dichotomy between art and life continues to persist in the more recent works.

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## Everyday Aesthetics and the Dichotomy Between Routine and Charisma

**Keywords:** everyday aesthetics, art, life, dichotomy, routine-charisma spectrum

Everyday aesthetics, at its core, is based on the supposed dichotomy between art and life, considering life as something routine-like, and art as the breaking of the routine, something charismatic. Different authors of everyday aesthetics use different words to describe this dichotomy. For example, in his article "What is 'Everyday' in Everyday Aesthetics?", Ossi Naukkarinen simply uses everydayness and non-everyday-like, while Arto Haapala, in his "On the Aesthetics of the Everyday: Familiarity, Strangeness, and the Meaning of Place" uses the terms familiarity and strangeness. The authors also propose different ways of bridging this dichotomy. However, as the paper shows, the real question is not how to bridge the dichotomy itself but rather whether the dichotomy exists in the first place. Moreover, the paper suggests a change of direction in future investigations of everyday aesthetics, and focusing on the nuances that exist on the routine-charisma and charismatic-routine spectrum, supported by academic research and the personal account of the paper's author art project. Moreover, the implications of this shift extend beyond the boundaries of everyday aesthetics.

## Estetika vsakdanjega življenja ter dihotomija med rutino in karizmo

**Ključne besede:** estetika vsakdanjega življenja, umetnost, življenje, dihotomija, spekter rutine in karizme

Estetika vsakdanjega življenja v svojem bistvu temelji na domnevni dihotomiji med umetnostjo in življenjem, pri čemer življenje obravnava kot nekaj rutinskega, umetnost pa kot izstop iz rutine, kot nekaj karizmatičnega. Različni avtorji estetike vsakdanjega življenja uporabljajo različne besede za opis te dihotomij. Ossi Naukkarinen na primer v članku »Kaj je 'vsakdanje' v estetiki vsakdanjosti« uporablja preprosto besedi vsakdanjost in nevsakdanjost, Arto Haapala pa v članku »O estetiki vsakdanjosti: domačnost, tujost in pomen kraja« uporablja izraza domačnost in tujost.

Avtorja predlagata tudi različne načine za premostitev te dihotomije. Vendar pa, kot je razvidno iz članka, pravo vprašanje ni, kako premostiti dihotomijo, temveč ali dihotomija sploh obstaja. Poleg tega članek predlaga spremembo smeri prihodnjih raziskav estetike vsakdanjega življenja in osredotočenje na odtenke, ki obstajajo na spektru rutina–karizma in karizma–rutina, kar je podprto z akademskimi raziskavami in osebnim pričevanjem avtorice članka o umetniškem projektu. Poleg tega posledice tega premika presegajo meje estetike vsakdanjega življenja.

## About the Author

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# Bilingualism: Mental Well-Being and Learners' Cognitive Abilities

## 1 Introduction

Six decades ago, both common opinion and scientific data agreed that exposing children to many languages was potentially detrimental. Saer (1923) and Smith (1923) were the first to research the topic of how bilingualism affects the brain, and they stated that bilingual children must be undergoing "mental confusion" (p.14), while Pintner (1923) even referred to bilingualism as a language handicap when seen from the larger scale of language usage. Here, it is important to state the distinction between early or simultaneous and consecutive bilingualism, and according to Laurent and Martinot (2010) these earlier writers mostly referred to consecutive bilingualism, even though they often did not clarify this. However, these ideas were refuted by later research studies, proving that bilingualism not only does not harm one's brain but brings significant benefits. Still, it was only in the 1960s that these theories started to flourish, when Peal and Lambert (1962), in an experiment with French youngsters, proved that bilingual students had greater mental adaptability because of code-switching.

An increasing number of studies indicate that both simultaneous and consecutive types of bilingualism are linked to one's cognitive abilities and well-being. Duff (2007) and Mercer (2011) argue that second-language learning is a key factor associated with "self-related constructs (self-confidence, self-concept, self-esteem, self-efficacy, and identity)" (p.4). Oxford and Cuéllar (2014) share the same view, as they discovered that learning Chinese can support students' self-discovery and enhance pleasant feelings related to activity involvement, "relationships, meaning, and accomplishment" (p.5). To put it another way, learning a second language can be seen as a profound life experience that fosters receptivity to a new culture, its members, its history, its principles,

and its artistic representations. Additionally, highly strategic language learners may find that the experience has positive effects on their overall well-being, such as hope and resilience (Oxford, 2014, p.5). Forsman (2010) adds that because language is a means for understanding culture, students who learn a second language and immerse themselves in its culture are better able to comprehend and appreciate other cultures. As a result, bilinguals are more accepting of cultural and linguistic diversity than their monolingual counterparts. This recognition of difference and variety may help to reduce stereotypes and implicit bias between groups of individuals (p.7). Moreover, research has shown that cognitive flexibility is associated with the academic advantages of bilingual children (Bialystok et al., 2004). Besides positive effects on the brain, academic advantages, employment opportunities, cultural awareness, psychological growth, and other benefits, bilinguals have been proven to be able to learn additional languages much more easily. This is because language skills reinforce each other, and the skills in the second language do not diminish or weaken the first language (Hosoda et al., 2013). Despite these findings, the topic of bilingualism's effect on cognitive abilities and well-being is an ongoing debate. Relatively recent research, including Antoniou (2019), Bialystok (2021), and Barac et al., (2014), discussed later in this article, offer evidence that in some cases the situation is not so black and white.

The present paper presents data on cognitive abilities and well-being in bilingual and monolingual Kosovan adolescents. The scope of the study was to examine how bilingualism affects well-being and cognitive abilities or functions based on subjective assessments.

## A) Measuring Bilingualism

Most of the world's population is now bilingual or even multilingual, and more than a decade ago Baker (2011) estimated that about half to almost three-quarters of the global population are bilinguals, with internationalization in almost every sphere meaning that this number is certain to keep growing. Throughout history people have found themselves speaking two or more languages for different reasons. In order to communicate with one another among tribes, they had to speak another language rather than their own. Although at present the reasons for speaking more than one language are many and varied, one cannot deny that knowing a second language is now almost indispensable for most people, and this bilingualism can be found in every country, across all classes of society (Marian and Hayawaka, 2021).

Grosjean (1997) defines bilinguals as "those people who use two (or more) languages (or dialects) in their everyday lives" (p.164). Other researchers, for example, Peal and Lambert (1962) define them as equally fluent in two (or more) languages. However, bilingualism has no absolute measure, and "attempts to quantify an indi-

vidual as more or less bilingual using a single quotient are therefore meaningless without specifying a particular dimension of interest" (Marian and Hayawaka, 2021, p. 6). Despite this, scholars have set some boundaries in their studies, such as one parent having another nationality to that of the country they are living in and addressing their child or children in their own mother tongue, as well as daily communication in a second language (Kovacs, 2009). The latter is in line with the current study, since dual language learners are considered to be bilinguals (Barac et al., 2014).

## B) Mental Well-Being of Bilingual Learners

Mental well-being is a broad term, and scholars have had a hard time finding a consensus on what might be considered well-being and how can be viewed. According to Rayan and Deci (2001), optimal psychological experiences and functioning are referred to as well-being. The first perspective on well-being, referred to as the hedonic view or hedonism, contends that happiness and pleasure are what constitute well-being (Kahneman et al., 1999). The second view is the eudaimonic one, according to which well-being is determined by factors other than happiness. Many researchers – supporters of the hedonic view – have relied on what is called subjective well-being (SWB) to measure the quality of life in terms of happiness and pleasure (Diener et al., 1997). SWB takes into consideration the subjective perspectives of individuals and how they perceive well-being. This paper follows this approach as well, considering that, according to SWB, it is rather subjective. In Ferizaj, where this research was conducted, all students are of Kosovan nationality, but since Kosovo is a multiethnic country it is home to many different nationalities. Moreover, with globalization English is viewed as a *lingua franca*, with youngsters using it fluently, and it has also served as a bridge language in Kosovo since the 1999 conflict between Kosovo and Serbia (France 24, 2019).

## C) Cognitive Abilities of Bilingual Learners

How bilingualism helps brain development and how it affects cognitive ability are topics of particular interest to both linguists and neuroscientists, especially over the last few decades, and there is an ongoing debate with plenty of data presented for both sides. Executive function is a collection of critical mental skills, with the three main areas being working memory, flexible thinking, and inhibitory control. (1) Working memory is the ability to recall and use information. On an English test, for example, a student might use this skill to read a text, retain the information, and then apply it to answer questions. (2) The ability to think about a topic in many ways is known as cognitive flexibility. This ability could be used by a student to find linkages between concepts or to solve a problem in two different ways. (3) Inhibitory control is the ability to filter out extraneous information from a distracting

stimulus (Belsky, n.d.). The terms "cognitive control", and "executive control" are frequently used interchangeably. Research has shown that cognitive flexibility is associated with the academic advantages of bilingual children (Forsman, 2007). However, this is not a settled issue, since there is an ongoing debate that will be highlighted below.

Cognitive abilities refer (but are not limited) to the use of language, thinking, remembering, and the ability to learn (Crosby & Prescod, 2009, p. 18). Chinnsuwamy (2015) claims that bilingualism significantly impacts cognitive functions, which roughly include the way we think, see the world, solve problems, and make decisions. Bilingualism has also been shown to influence brain development. Pliatsikas et al.'s (2020) study, which included a large dataset of individuals aged three to 21 years old, found that bilinguals had more grey matter or less developmental loss during late childhood and adolescence in comparison to monolinguals, and concluded that the bilingual brain does indeed differ from the monolingual brain, and this difference can be seen even in the early stages of development. Later studies also suggest that people who speak two languages have more grey matter in the executive control region of the brain. Although bilingualism has been shown to benefit grey and white matter in adult brains in prior research, Ullman et al. (2020) was the first to show conclusive evidence for similar benefits in children and adolescents

None of these research papers claim that bilinguals suffer from mental overload or that speaking two languages leads them to process information inefficiently. Indeed, the very fact that so many people are bilingual suggests that the human brain evolved to be able to communicate in numerous languages. Bialystok (2011) adopts the Stroop task, which is generally considered a classic test of executive control, and finds that monolinguals required more time to complete, or resolve, the task than bilinguals in both age groups (p.231). Similarly, in another study by Friesen et al. (2014), young adults, both bilingual and monolingual, completed a visual search task in which they had to determine whether a target shape was present among distractor shapes. The findings show that although monolinguals and bilinguals performed equally on the feature searches, bilinguals were considerably quicker than their monolingual counterparts "in identifying the target in the more difficult conjunction search, providing evidence for better control of visual attention in bilinguals" (p.1). Likewise, Bialystok et al. (2012) found that bilingual children were superior on most tests, specifically those that required symbol manipulation and reorganization (Biyalstok et al., 2012, p.240). The bilinguals thus outperformed monolinguals in both tests.

Bialystok (2021) maintains that executive control in children is crucial for academic achievement, and academic success is a key indicator of long-term health and well-being. Earlier work by Bialystok et al. (2014) also indicated the influence of bilingualism on working memory. Moreover, Mishra (2018) states "alerting, orienting, and executive control networks appear to differently subserve cognitive control in bi-

linguals. However, it is hard to say based on current findings whether these networks develop in bilingual children differently or if there is a different maturational time course compared with monolinguals" (p.33-34). She adds that children learn to direct their attention to important stimuli and to dismiss their attention as necessary.

Sefedini (2018) conducted a study with Kosovan students and measured their language achievement with regard to a foreign language, with forty of the students attending a public school and not involved in any formal bilingual process, and the other forty students attending a private institution and being taught in both Albanian and English. The students in both groups were given the identical evaluation tool, which was used to examine differences in terms of misspellings, grammar errors, repetition, learning strategies, and expression of thought. The author found that the bilingual students had better results on executive control, communication, creativity, awareness, learning strategy, and time management, and showed more positivity and self-confidence. The present study took into account the impact of bilingualism on the cognitive abilities and well-being of young learners, without differentiation, and targeted another age group of students, 13-18 years old. This was done with reference to Antoniou (2019) and the ongoing debate on such issues, age is a crucial factor when it comes to bilingual advantage, as such the claimed benefits cannot be generalized due to research bias and other issues, this is the reason the evidence is not clear in some studies. More specifically, several studies – such as Gathercole et al. (2014), de Bruin et al. (2015), and Paap and Greenberg (2013) – have not succeeded in finding a positive relationship between bilingualism and cognitive advantages.

## I.  Methodology

### A)      Participants

Voluntary responses were drawn from four different elementary and high schools in Ferizaj municipality. In total, 200 Albanian teenagers participated in this study (Table I). The participants' ages ranged from 13-18 years old, with the majority (54%) being 15 or 16 years old. There were also more females (59%) than males. In addition, most of the participants were bilinguals (67%), with their second language being English. In order to prove the level of bilingualism, either teachers or parents had to bring written proof that the student is capable of understanding, writing, and communicating without problems in the second/foreign language. On the other hand, monolingual participants were self-declared sole Albanian speakers, who do not speak any other language. In order to prove this, the LEAP-Q test was used. Most of the bilinguals were exposed to the English language from the early stages of development (from birth on), but 21 participants were exposed to the English language only between the ages of eight to 12.

## B)     Procedure

The initial plan was to include eight schools from the Ferizaj municipality, but in practice the study could only be carried out in four schools. The schools that participated in this study are the elementary schools "Gjon Serreqi" and "Jeronim de Rada", and the gymnasiums "Kuvendi i Arberit" and "Shaban Jashari". The researcher met with one teacher in each school and asked them to inform the students about the study and its purpose, then those students who were either bilingual or monolingual and wanted to participate presented themselves to the teacher and received this information. Consent was obtained from each of the voluntary participants and their parents. The researchers then agreed a time with the participants, and a classroom was provided by each school in which to administer the questionnaires.  All measures were translated into the Albanian language with the procedure of translation and back-translation. It took approximately 30 minutes to complete the questionnaires.

## C)     Measures

*Cognitive Failures Questionnaire* (CFQ; Broadbent et al., 1982) is a self-reported measure that aims to assess a person's cognitive failures, including those related to perception, memory, and motor function. CFQ consists of 25 items and each item is scored on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from cognitive mistakes never (0) happening to very often (4) in the past six months.  Higher scores reflect lower cognitive performance, concentration problems, memory loss, and decreased perception, and *vice versa*. As Rast et al. (2008) noted, CFQ consists of three factors: Distractibility, Forgetfulness, and False Triggering.

*The Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire* (LEAP-Q; Marian et al., 2007) is a self-reported questionnaire aimed at gathering data about the proficiency and experience of bilinguals and multilinguals. LEAP-Q was adapted for this study with three items being left out (e.g., data on immigration to the US). The number of items depended on whether the participants were bilinguals or multilinguals. LEAP-Q measures self-reported levels of proficiency in speaking, understanding, and reading the second or third language. A proficiency rating of 3 (on a 10-point Likert scale) or below on an individual item contributed to identifying participants as monolinguals, while an overall rating of 4 or above confirmed that the participants as bilinguals . Furthermore, the monolingual group included those students who reported Albanian as their L1 and dominant language, and we also took into consideration the letter from the teachers (as described earlier) and the fact that they were not exposed to L2 or did not use it.

LEAP-Q also gathered data about factors that contributed to learning a second or third language or the exposure to that language at the present. Each item was scored on an 11-point scale with 0 being never, any, or not a contributor, and 11 being perfect, always, and the most important contributor.

*The Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Well-Being Scale* (WEMWBS; Tennant et al., 2007) is a self-reported, brief, and psychometrically reliable scale that assesses the mental well-being of participants. This scale consists of 14 items measuring affective-emotional aspects, cognitive-evaluative dimensions, and the psychological function-ing of a person. Participants ranked each item (e.g., 'I've been feeling useful') on a 5-point scale ranging from none of the time (1) to all of the time (5). Higher scores indicated better mental well-being.

## D) Statistical Analysis

At the beginning, descriptive statistical values for the main variables were calculated. Next, one-
way ANOVA was conducted to check if there are differences between bilinguals and monolinguals regarding cognitive skills and mental well-being for each group. Fi-nally, correlational analyses were executed to investigate the relationship between the level of proficiency of the learners' second language and their cognitive abilities and mental well-being. Statistical analyses were conducted with the help of the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) and Mplus.

## I. Results

Table 1: Study Participants' Demographic Characteristics.

| Gender and Age | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N | Percentage | N of bilinguals | N of monolinguals |
| Gender | Male | 82 | 41 | 53 | 29 |
| | Female | 118 | 59 | 81 | 37 |
| Age | 13-14 | 58 | 29 | 44 | 14 |
| | 15-16 | 109 | 54 | 72 | 37 |
| | 17-18 | 33 | 16 | 18 | 15 |

The one-way ANOVA results show that there was a statistically significant differ-ence between groups regarding Mental Well-Being (F (1,19) = 22.02, p = .000) and Cognitive Failures (F (1,19) = 118.83, p= .000).

Table II shows the results of One-Way ANOVA regarding three constructs of the Cognitive Failures Questionnaire: Forgetfulness, Distractibility, and False Triggering, and there is a statistically significant difference between the two groups for all of these.

Table 2: The Results of One-Way ANOVA for Forgetfulness, Distractibility, and False Triggering

| ANOVA | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Sig. |
| Forgetfulness | Between Groups | 5,412.364 | 1 | 5,412.364 | 102.958 | .000 |
| | Within Groups | 10,303.500 | 196 | 52.569 | | |
| | Total | 15,715.864 | 197 | | | |
| Distractibility | Between Groups | 5,823.576 | 1 | 5,823.576 | 116.637 | .000 |
| | Within Groups | 9,686.240 | 194 | 49.929 | | |
| | Total | 15,509.816 | 195 | | | |
| False Triggering | Between Groups | 5,456.818 | 1 | 5,456.818 | 101.812 | .000 |
| | Within Groups | 10,505.045 | 196 | 53.597 | | |
| | Total | 15,961.864 | 197 | | | |

The Pearson correlation coefficient was computed to assess the linear relationship between English proficiency level, cognitive abilities, and mental well-being. The results in Table III show that the correlation between the level of proficiency and cognitive failures was negative, moderate in strength, and statistically significant [r (131) = -.61, p=.000]. In addition, there was a positive relationship between the level of proficiency and mental well-being, which was also moderate in strength and statistically significant [r (131) = .64, p=.000].

Table 3: Correlations

| Correlations | | Level_of_ Proficiency | Cognitive_ Failures | Mental Well-being |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Level of Proficiency | Pearson Correlation | 1 | -.611** | .641** |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | | .000 | .000 |
| | N | 133 | 131 | 131 |
| Cognitive Failures | Pearson Correlation | -.611** | 1 | -.441** |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .000 | | .000 |
| | N | 131 | 198 | 196 |
| Mental Well-Being | Pearson Correlation | .641** | -.441** | 1 |
| | Sig. (2-tailed) | .000 | .000 | |
| | N | 131 | 196 | 198 |
| **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). | | | | |

## II. Discussion of Findings

This study is the first to explore Kosovan adolescents who are bilinguals and monolinguals and the relation between their language proficiency and their mental well-being and cognitive abilities.

Most of the adolescents in this study were bilinguals. This result is in line with previous studies such as Marian and Hayawaka (2021), which states that bilingualism is present in every country, as well as Baker (2011), which claims that the majority of the global population are bilinguals.

One of the two main findings of this study is that the bilingual adolescents reported better cognitive abilities than their monolingual counterparts. Moreover, the monolinguals, compared to bilinguals, tended to forget information quicker, were more easily distracted or absentminded, and had more interrupted processing of sequences of cognitive and motor actions. These findings are in accordance with those reported by Foresman (2010) and Chinnuswamy (2015) stating that the advantages for bilingual children include greater cognitive flexibility and brain power.

The second main finding of the present study is that bilinguals showed better mental well-being, meaning more positive emotions, greater life satisfaction, better relationships with others, and a sense of more personal control and life purpose. These results are in accordance with the findings described previously in this paper. Moreover, Sefedini (2018) stated that bilingual students showed better results in terms of positivity and self-confidence.

Another very important finding is that the more proficient bilinguals had better cognitive abilities or were less likely to have cognitive failures. Moreover, the level of proficiency is positively related to mental well-being, which means that the more adolescents understood and were proficient in their second language, the better their mental well-being was.

A) *Strengths, limitations, and future directions*

This study is the first of its kind in Kosovo and as such it offers insights into the impact that learning a second language has on the development, overall well-being, and functioning of a person, especially during adolescence when mental well-being is crucial. We hope that this study will encourage initiatives and projects specifically to teach new languages, especially in those places in Kosovo where learning new languages is limited.

Despite the strengths of this study, some limitations have to be acknowledged. First of all, this study was conducted only in one city in Kosovo. That said, the wide sample of this study includes a lot of demographically diverse adolescents. Moreover, all of the bilingual participants of this study had English as their second language, because it was not possible to find students that understood or spoke another language.

For this reason, future studies should focus on Kosovan adolescents who speak a second language other than English and compare the results, taking into consideration that the features of the native-speakers can impact the personality traits of L2 speakers (Dewaele, 2012).

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## Dvojezičnost: duševno blagostanje in kognitivne sposobnosti učencev

**Ključne besede:** dvojezičnost, kognitivne sposobnosti, blagostanje

Obstaja vedno večji »trend« dvojezičnosti in dvojezični posamezniki so že zdavnaj presegli enojezične, kar je vodilo v različne razprave in polemike. Prispevek preučuje vpliv dvojezičnosti na blagostanje in kognitivne sposobnosti kosovskih mladostnikov. Vzorec 200 kosovskih mladostnikov je bil ocenjen z uporabo Vprašalnika o jezikovnih izkušnjah in znanju (LEAP-Q), Vprašalnika o kognitivnih napakah (CFQ) in Warwick-Edinburške lestvice duševnega blagostanja (WEMWBS). Podatki so bili zbrani s pomočjo anketnega vprašalnika v šolah. Od 200 udeležencev (starost: 13-18) je bilo 82 (41 %) moških in 118 žensk (59 %). Rezultati potrjujejo, da so imeli dvojezični ljudje boljše kognitivne sposobnosti, manj kognitivnih napak in boljše duševno blagostanje. Poleg tega je bila raven znanja drugega jezika v pozitivni korelaciji z duševnim blagostanjem in v negativni korelaciji s kognitivnimi napakami. Obe razmerji sta bili statistično pomembni. V prispevku so obravnavane tudi prednosti, omejitve in prihodnje raziskovalne usmeritve.

## Bilingualism: Mental Well-Being and Learners' Cognitive Abilities

**Keywords:** bilingualism, cognitive abilities, well-being

There is an ever-growing "trend" of bilingualism, and bilingual individuals long ago outnumbered monolinguals, which has led to different discussions and debates. This paper studies the impact of bilingualism on the well-being and cognitive abilities of Kosovan adolescents. A sample of 200 Kosovan adolescents was assessed using the Language Experience and Proficiency Questionnaire (LEAP-Q), Cognitive Failures Questionnaire (CFQ), and The Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Well-being Scale (WEMWBS). Data were collected through the physical administration of questionnaires in schools. Of the 200 participants (age: 13-18), 82 (41%) were males and 118 were females (59%). The results confirm that bilinguals had better cognitive abilities, fewer cognitive failures, and better mental well-being. Moreover, the level of proficiency in the second language was positively correlated with mental well-being and negatively correlated with cognitive failures. Both of these relationships were statistically significant. Strengths, limitations, and future research directions are also discussed.

## O avtoricah

**Rezarta Ramadani** je doktorica znanosti s področja uporabnega jezikoslovja. Trenutno dela kot asistentka na Oddelku za angleški jezik in književnost Univerze »Ukshin Hoti« v Prizrenu na Kosovu. Je avtorica več znanstvenih člankov in sodeluje v mednarodnih projektih, katerih namen je prepoznavanje in izboljšanje razmer na kosovskih visokošolskih institucijah.

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*Recenzije/Reviews*

Rebeka Vidrih
*Univerza v Ljubljani*

# Ian Verstegen, *The New Vienna School of Art History Fulfilling the Promise of Analytic Holism*

Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023, 368 strani

Verstegnova študija t. i. nove dunajske umetnostnozgodovinske šole iz tridesetih let 20. stoletja ni povsem običajna historiografska predstavitev ključnih predstavnikov t. i. strukturne analize (*Strukturanalyse*), naslednikov velikih dunajskih umetnostnih zgodovinarjev z Aloisom Rieglom in Maxom Dvořákom na čelu, temveč je njen namen ambicioznejši. S svojo študijo teoretskih postavk in konceptov Hansa Sedlmayrja in Otta Pächta se Verstegen namreč vključuje v razpravo o pomenu, zastavkih in potencialnih usmeritvah sodobne umetnostnozgodovinske discipline.

Poleg uvodnega in zaključnega poglavja je knjiga, v precejšnji meri sestavljena iz že objavljenih študij v obliki posameznih znanstvenih člankov, razdeljena v dva dela. Tri poglavja prvega dela so posvečena predstavitvi teorije in metodologije te, s Sedlmayrjevimi besedami, »striktnejše umetnostne znanosti« oziroma »interpretaciji in teoretskemu zagovoru metode *Strukturforschung*« (103), metode strukturnega raziskovanja. V drugem delu pa Verstegen to teorijo predstavi »v praksi«; v štirih poglavjih obravnava ključne predstavnike tega pristopa in njihove po njegovem mnenju najbolj reprezentativne tekste, njihove »mojstrovine« (7): Sedlmayrjevo »briljantno« (109) študijo o Borrominijevi arhitekturi iz leta 1930, Pächtov prispevek o nacionalnih konstantah poznogotskega slikarstva iz leta 1933, Wildejevo študijo Michelangelove poslikave Sikstinske kapele iz leta 1958 in Demusovo razpravo o bizantinskih mozaičnih ciklih iz leta 1948.

V prvem delu si torej Verstegen prizadeva razjasniti in uporabiti ta zelo »mogočni« pristop, to novo zgodovinsko znanost *Strukturforschung*, ki sta ga »veliki metodolog« Sedlmayr in »prava zvezda te knjige« Pächt razvila oziroma izdelala skupaj; prizadeva si natančneje razložiti, zakaj točno meni, da »je bila ta šola tako zanimiva, tako produktivna, zakaj, skratka, je bila njena zgodovina tako dobra« (7, 14, 22). Prepričana, da se mora umetnostna zgodovina vrniti k svojim osnovam, ugotavlja Verstegen (17), sta Sedlmayr in Pächt segla nazaj k Rieglu in zgodnjemu Dvořáku, da bi obnovila »avtentični« dunajski glas, obenem pa sta zaslutila uglašenost svojih premislekov z berlinsko

psihološko šolo Gestalt (12, 31). In ta spoj senzibilne formalistične analize dunajskih pionirjev s sodobno berlinsko psihološko teorijo je točno tisto, kar je po Verstegnovem prepričanju najbolj zanimivo in najbolj produktivno (6).

S svojim poudarkom na posameznem umetniškem delu (17, 102), na njegovi objektivnosti in integriteti (59, 45), z zanimanjem ne za diahroni razvoj, temveč za sinhrono individualnost (102), je strukturna analiza, zakoreninjena v formalnih značilnostih vizualne podobe (22), v tistem obdobju veljala za legitimno in relevantno alternativo hamburški šoli ikonologije Erwina Panofskega, ki je na umetnostnozgodovinskem prizorišču končno vendarle prevladala. Strukturna analiza se s svojim programatičnim formalizmom prvenstveno zanima za način, kako je umetniško delo izoblikovano (*gestaltet*, 112). Poudarjeno se osredotoča na bazično konfiguracijo umetniškega dela, si prizadeva izpostaviti njegovo načelo izoblikovanosti (*Gestaltungsprinzip*) oziroma strukture (*Strukturprinzip*), ki je tudi pravi predmet umetniškega dela, njegovo pravo jedro (18, 10, 8). Verstegnu se strukturna analiza zdi zanimiva in produktivna in dobra zato, ker ponuja presenetljivo sofisticirano teorijo, ki jo je treba razlikovati od običajnega formalizma (49). S svojo postavko, da je najprej treba razumeti temeljno strukturo in naravo umetniškega dela, preden si prizadevamo razumeti njegovo zgodovino (47), ga slogovno ali ikonografsko umestiti in interpretirati (196), strukturna analiza vztraja pri zelo natančnem opazovanju in analiziranju vsakega posameznega umetniškega dela. Analitični holizem, ki ga Verstegen v naslovu knjige izpostavlja kot bistveno prednost tega pristopa, temelji na zavedanju, da je celota vselej nekaj več kot zgolj vsota ali skupek delov, je način analize, ki razbira in določa dele celote na način, ki celoto ohranja in spoštuje (32).

Verstegen skupaj s Sedlmayrjem poudarja, da je najprej treba opraviti obsežno preliminarno delo natančne analize neke umetniške celote, preden lahko pridobimo vpogled v umetniško delo (20): potrebna je metoda, ki bo izpodrinila skrite geometrične sisteme in obskurne ikonološke pomene v korist preprostih, zaznavnih dejavnikov, ki jih je mogoče demonstrirati (133). Najprej je treba izboljšati oziroma sploh razviti ustrezna formalna orodja za vizualno analizo umetniških del, preden lahko nadaljujemo s postavljanjem takih ali drugačnih interpretacij (196, 207).

Točno ta spretnost natančne analize je tista, ki je po Verstegnovem mnenju v sodobni umetnostni zgodovini primanjkuje. Krivdo za izgubo te spretnosti (*de-skilling*, 21) pripisuje »zarotništvu« med empiricizmom na eni in postmodernizmom na drugi strani s skupnim nezaupanjem do velikih zgodb, ki sta prevladovala v umetnostni zgodovini zadnji dve desetletji (21), in v tem smislu strukturno analizo postavlja za »dragocen model za nas dandanes« (211). Verstegen svojo knjigo predstavlja kot afirmativni projekt, ki je namesto neskončnega kritiziranja pomanjkljivosti predhodne vednosti raje usmerjen v produciranje nove, pozitivne vednosti (5). Toda Verstegen vendarle ostane na ravni historiografske prezentacije. Sedlmayrjeve in Pächtove

strukturne analize ne razvija naprej, z namenom, da bi ustrezala tudi dandanašnjim standardom, temveč jo ponuja v obstoječi obliki, zgolj kot navdih, ki ga pospremi z zgolj namigom, da tak, temeljit opis umetniškega dela, ki ga zmore zagotoviti strukturna analiza, lahko konec koncev dobro oziroma bolje služi za nadaljnjo kontekstualizacijo, predstavlja »nekaj takega kot kompatibilnost praškega strukturalizma z marksizmom« (20).

Da pa bi o strukturni analizi lahko sploh začeli razmišljati kot o izhodišču za sodobno umetnostnozgodovinsko teorijo in prakso, mora Verstegen najprej obračunati z najbolj problematično, najbolj bolečo točko nove dunajske šole, z dejstvom, da je bil Sedlmayr član nacistične stranke. To dejstvo je namreč poglavitni razlog, da je nova dunajska umetnostnozgodovinska šola v umetnostnozgodovinski historiografiji še vedno zelo zapostavljena. Izbor tekstov s kritičnim uvodom Christopherja Wooda iz leta 2000, na katerega se Verstegen s svojo študijo pravzaprav odziva, je še vedno temeljno oziroma edino delo, posvečeno tej šoli.[1]

Verstegen se s to problematično točko spopade tako, da Sedlmayrjevo vodilno pozicijo znotraj *Strukturforschung* ter njegovo nacistično preteklost na neki način relativizira, z dvema potezama. Ne samo, da Verstegen večkrat poudari Sedlmayrjevo in Pächtovo sodelovanje pri skupnem projektu izoblikovanja metode strukturne analize (njunemu poznejšemu osebnemu razhodu navkljub, ravno zaradi Sedlmayrjeve politične usmerjenosti, ki je Pächt, židovskega rodu, ni mogel sprejeti), še več, v svojo obravnavo strukturne analize vpotegne tudi Johannesa Wildeja in Otta Demusa, ki nista bila nikoli člana strukturalistične skupine (170). Verstegen ju vključi na postavki, da ju s Sedlmayrjem in Pächtom vežejo sorodni cilji, čeprav nista eksplicitno potrdila teoretskega temelja zgodnje Sedlmayr-Pächtove metode in se sama nista nikoli dejansko opredelila za predstavnika strukturne analize (185, 210).

Drugič, z nekoliko preveč lahkotno potezo vprašanje Sedlmayrjeve nacističnosti preprosto postavi na stran, izpusti iz svoje zgodbe (39). Poudari sicer, da si s svojo knjigo nikakor ne prizadeva za Sedlmayrjevo rehabilitacijo, četudi jo bo marsikdo najbrž razumel na prav tak način (6), vendar odločno vztraja pri jasnem razlikovanju med dvema fazama v Sedlmayrjevem opusu. Sedlmayrjeva zgodnja dela razume kot fundamentalno drugačna od njegovih poznejših del: prvotno analitični in historični formalist, trdi Verstegen, se je okoli leta 1934 obrnil k ikonologiji, opustil Gestaltteoretsko platformo in šele v poznejših delih zavzel konservativnejše stališče (7, 22, 39, 45). V bistvu sta Sedlmayrja dva, trdi Verstegen, kratkoživega kozmopolitskega Sedlmayrja je nasledil poznejši diagnostični in hermenevtični Sedlmayr, in teh dveh karier ne bi smeli obravnavati kot enotno celoto (45,

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1 Christopher S. Wood (ur.), The Vienna School Reader. Politics and Art Historical Method in the 1930s, New York 2000. Šele prav pred kratkim je bil Sedlmayr deležen monografske obravnave, sicer so novi dunajski šoli oziroma njenim posameznim vidikom posvečeni predvsem nekateri znanstveni članki oziroma je obravnavana kot eno izmed poglavij v okviru obsežnejših historiografskih pregledov.

39). Zato se Verstegen upira konflaciji Sedlmayrjeve kozmopolitske, progresivne raziskovalne platforme strukturne analize z njegovim članstvom v nacistični stranki (38, 39), ki ga Verstegen sicer interpretira v prvi vrsti kot (zgolj) pragmatično, oportunistično potezo.

Kljub svojim pomanjkljivostim je Verstegnov »interpretativni pregled« (133) strukturne analize lahko uporaben pripomoček za neko bodočo raziskavo obsega in načina vpliva dunajske strukturne analize na slovensko umetnostnozgodovinsko stroko. Strinjamo se z Verstegnovim pozivom k natančnejši in bolj metodični formalni analizi umetniških del kot temelju za vse nadaljnje obravnave, čeprav vprašanje, ali je res ravno strukturna analiza za to najprimernejši vzor, ostaja odprto. Končno pa knjigo razumemo kot dobro priložnost za vzpostavitev resnejše in temeljitejše razprave o problematičnih političnih nazorih umetnostnih zgodovinarjev.

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