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PROBLEMATIKA ODTUJEVANJA PREMIČNE KULTURNE DEDIŠČINE ISTRSKEGA PROSTORA S POUDARKOM NA PIRANU V LETIH 1940–1954

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IZVLEČEK

Avtor v prispevku razgrinja problematiko in usodo premične kulturne dediščine na območju današnje slovenske Istre, zlasti Pirana z vrsto umetnin, ki so nekdaj krasile piransko stolnico oziroma župno cerkev sv. Jurija, krstilnico, samostan sv. Frančiška, kot nekatere cerkve, bolnišnico ter mestno hišo. V širšem kontekstu upravno-političnih sistemov Avstrijskega Primorja, kasneje pa Julijske krajine ter njune spomeniško-varstvene zakonodaje, na podlagi nekaterih še neobjavljenih arhivskih virov in literature, spremlja problematiko, zlasti pa razloge in posledice odtujevanja premične kulturne dediščine s tega območja. Hkrati s tem sta v prispevku razvidna »odisejada« in današnje nahajališče posameznih umetnin, prizadevanja oziroma zahteve povojnih oblasti za njihovo vrnitev ter nekatera razhajanja italijanske in slovenske stroke ob ocenah in aktualnih pogledih na navedeno problematiko.

Ključne besede: kulturna dediščina, spomeniško-varstveni sistemi, evakuacija umetnin, Mestni muzej Piran

LA PROBLEMATICA DELL'ALIENAZIONE DEL PATRIMONIO CULTURALE MOBILE DELLA REGIONE ISTRIANA, CON PARTICOLARE RIGUARDO A PIRANO NEGLI ANNI TRA IL 1940 E 1954

SINTESI

Il contributo espone le problematiche e il destino dei beni culturali mobili originari dell'area dell'odierna Istria slovena, in modo specifico Pirano, sull'esempio di una serie di opere d'arte che un tempo ornavano il complesso della cattedrale di Pirano, ossia la chiesa parrocchiale di San Giorgio, il Battistero e il Monastero di San Francesco, oltre ad alcune altre chiese della città, all'Ospedale e al Municipio. Attraverso la consultazione della letteratura esistente e l'esame di alcune fonti archivistiche inedite, l'articolo esplora questo problema nel contesto più ampio dei sistemi amministrativi e politici del Litorale Austriaco e, successivamente, della Venezia Giulia, e delle rispettive leggi di tutela dei monumenti. In particolare, si indaga sulle ragioni che hanno portato all'alienazione del patrimonio culturale mobile da quest'area e sulle sue conseguenze. Allo stesso tempo il contributo descrive «l'odissea» e la collocazione odierna delle singole opere d'arte, gli sforzi e le richieste di restituzione avanzate dalle autorità del dopoguerra, nonché alcune delle divergenze tra gli studiosi italiani e sloveni in merito alla valutazione e alle opinioni attuali sulla questione.

Parole chiave: patrimonio culturale, sistemi di protezione dei monumenti, evacuazione delle opere d'arte, Museo di Pirano

UVOD

Med strokovnjaki, zlasti pa med umetnostnimi zgodovinarji širšega obmejnega območja, je vedno znova posebno vlogo igral proces simboličnega opredeljevanja oziroma prilaščanja tukajšnje kulturne dediščine s ciljem, da bi z njo na določen način določili in zaokrožili tudi njen nacionalni okvir in značaj oziroma sledili njenemu prenašanju ter odtujevanju izven območja njenega nastanka, kakor tudi zahtevam po njeni vrnitvi.

Simboličnim prilaščanjem kulturne dediščine, njeni instrumentalizaciji in posledicam, sledimo na območju Istre in Dalmacije že tja od preloma 19. in 20. stoletja, zlasti pa od izbruha prve svetovne vojne in vzpostavitve rapalske meje leta 1920, ko so se italijanske meje na vzhodu razširile na znaten del nekdanjega Avstrijskega Primorja s pretežno slovenskim in hrvaškim prebivalstvom. Do vidnejših in masovnejših evakuacij premične kulturne dediščine v globji italijanski prostor (Vila Manin pri Passarianu) je prišlo zlasti ob vstopu Italije v drugo svetovno vojno leta 1940, njeni kapitulaciji 8. septembra 1943 ter postopnemu vračanju umetnin na izvorna mesta, zlasti po vzpostavitvi Okupacijske cone Jadranskega primorja. Hkrati v tem obdobju sledimo še evakuaciji arhivov in dragocenejših knjižnih zbirk (1944), do povsem obratnih teženj pa je prihajalo z vzpostavitvijo novih političnih meja leta 1945 oziroma nove »ljudske oblasti« v času diplomatske borbe za pripadnost tega ozemlja od Pariške mirovne pogodbe leta 1947 do Londonskega memoranduma leta 1954. V prvem povojnem obdobju oziroma po letu 1954, ko se je zaključila diplomatska borba za določitev nove razmejitve med Italijo in Jugoslavijo in je v njen okvir prišlo območje nekdanje cone B Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja (STO), sledimo obratnim prizadevanjem in procesom, ki so bila v skladu s principom provenience usmerjena v restitucijo oziroma vračanje umetnin in arhivov v kraje njihovega nastanka, bodisi v okviru meddržavnih pogodb in sporazumov, kot tudi ob angažiranju stroke pri pripravi prvih preglednih razstav beneške umetnosti oziroma strokovnih srečanj pri obravnavi umetnostnih tokov tukajšnjega prostora v beneškem obdobju.[1]

Glede na kasnejše dileme in razhajanja, tako znotraj stroke kot politike, so bile pomenljive misli, ki jih je v svojem uvodnem nagovoru ob prvem mednarodnem srečanju umetnostnih zgodovinarjev v koprskem Pokrajinskem muzeju (14. in 15. april 1971) izrekel tedanji predsednik Skupščine občine Koper, Miro Kocjan, ko je naglasil »pomen umetnostne zgodovine kot kulturne zvrsti, ki ob odgovornem, objektivnem analiziranju zgodovinskih obdobij in dogajanja v preteklosti, krepi napore za nove, še bolj intenzivne in permanentne stike tudi v bodoče«:

> *Letošnje srečanje poteka na območju, ki je kar najbolj odprto. Gre za območje, ki ga je zgodovina označila kot enega najbolj eksponiranih, območje, ki je bilo prizorišče raznovrstnih tokov, teženj in spopadov, ta zgodovinska značilnost in izkušnja pa nam danes omogoča zatrditi, da smo široko odprto in zanimivo stičišče* […] *Koper je ponosen, da je bil tokrat izbran kot sedež srečanja. Nad tem sta ponosni obe narodnosti, ki složno živita na tem območju, saj italijanska narodnostna skupnost uživa pri nas vse tiste pravice kot večinska skupnost.* (Mikuž, 1972b, 4)

Udeleženci srečanja, med katerimi so bili s slovenske strani dr. Emilijan in Anica Cevc, dr. Milko Kos, France Stelè, Ksenija Rozman, Janez Mesesnel, Aleksander Bassin, Marjan Zadnikar in nekateri drugi, med italijanskimi Giancarlo Menis, Michelangelo Muraro, Aldo Rizzi, Giusepe Bergamini, s hrvaške pa Vanda Ekl, Branko Fučić in Kruno Prijatelj, so obiskali tudi Piran, kjer so si ogledali na novo restavrirano cerkev Marije Snežne, ob tem pa se je med prisotnimi razvila živahna razprava o atribuciji posameznih umetnin, delo pa so nadaljevali v dvorani tedanje občinske skupščine s koreferatom Michelangela Murara o Carpaccievem delovanju v Kopru in Piranu. Ob tej priložnosti je ugledni italijanski strokovnjak predlagal, da se slike, ki so bile med vojno odnešene v Italijo, zlasti Carpaccieva dela, vrnejo v slovenska obalna mesta, predstavnik Avstrije, dr. Walter Frodl, pa je ob zaključku spregovoril o potrebi takih srečanj in izmenjavi delovnih izkušenj. Ob tem je naglasil, da je nad številnimi umetninami tega širšega območja nemogoča podrobnejša kontrola, zato je predlagal osnovanje centralnega kataloga, metodološki pristop za njegovo pripravo pa naj bi bil predmet prihodnjega srečanja v Gradcu. Giancarlo Menis, ki je kot predsednik sveta Videmskih muzejev zastopal odsotnega dr. Alda Rizzija, je sporočil, da je avtonomna pokrajina Furlanija – Julijska krajina že pripravila zakonski predlog o popisu umetnostno-zgodovinskih spomenikov ter predvidela vrsto možnosti za uspešno delo na tem področju. Eno teh je videl v osnovanju

1 Do prvega, dokaj obetavnega in plodnega mednarodnega srečanja umetnostnih zgodovinarjev obmejnega prostora je prišlo v Kopru 14. in 15. aprila 1971. V koprskem Pokrajinskem muzeju so se zbrali umetnostni zgodovinarji Slovenije, Furlanije–Julijske krajine in Koroške, leto kasneje pa je izšel tudi zbornik razprav z naslovom *Srečanje umetnostnih zgodovinarjev treh dežel na temo: Slikarstvo, kiparstvo in urbanizem ter arhitektura v slovenski Istri, v Kopru 14. in 15. aprila 1971* (prim. Mikuž, 1972b).

»Mednarodnega centra za umetnostno-zgodovinske študije«, s čimer bi nastali pogoji, da bi se razvilo skupno delo, ki bi se lahko odvijalo v Vili Manin v Passarianu, kar je pozdravila tudi slovenska delegacija pod vodstvom dr. E. Cevca (Mikuž, 1972b, 7). Žal je ostalo zgolj pri obetih in dobrih željah, saj iz obstoječe dokumentacije ni razvidno, da bi se taka srečanja odvijala še kdaj kasneje, še manj pa, da bi se formiral skupni dokumentacijski center v Vili Manin, pač pa se je formiral zgolj za območje Furlanije – Julijske krajine.

V letih 2000–2006 je bil v okviru Evropskega sklada za regionalni razvoj izdelan projekt, katerega izsledki so zajeti v publikaciji z naslovom *Mem Art/Memorie d'Arte tra Venezia e Istria/Umetnostna pričevanja med Benetkami in Istro. Muzeji na beneškem območju in vzdolž slovenske obale*, v kateri je vrsta avtorjev pripravila pregled umetnostnih muzejev Benečije in Slovenske Istre, v uvodnem tekstu pa je F. Gava, deželni odbornik za Furlanijo – Julijsko krajino, naglasil, da »pregled galerij, pinakotek, muzejev sakralne umetnosti in ostalih podobnih ustanov, nedvomno predstavlja dokaj koristen element za shematski prikaz in katološki pregled teh ustanov na obeh območjih, ne glede na njihovo ozemeljsko oziroma administrativno pripadnost« (Gava, 2008, 7).[2]

Navedeni problematiki, zlasti raziskovanjem premične in nepremične kulturne dediščine širšega istrskega prostora, se je sicer doslej posvečala vrsta uglednih strokovnjakov z obeh strani meje. Z italijanske strani predvsem v delih uglednega umetnostnega zgodovinarja Adolfa Venturija, ki so nastajala že v času prve svetovne vojne in pri katerem zaznavamo težnje po dokazovanju italijanskega značaja kulturne dediščine dalmatinskega in istrskega prostora. V tem kontekstu sledimo tudi delom Tomasa Sillanija, Giuseppeja Prezzolinija, Pompea Molmentija in drugih, na istrskih tleh pa zlasti delom Giuseppeja Caprina, Antonia Leissa-Alisija in Attilia Tamara. Ob njihovih delih gre opozoriti tudi na eno temeljnih del s področja istrske umetnosti, in sicer delo Francesca Semija, *L'arte in Istria*, izdano leta 1937 na pobudo tedanje *Società Istriana di Archeologia e Storia Patria* (Semi, 2020). Ob delu Giuseppeja Caprina, *L'Istria Nobilissima*, ki je izšlo v Trstu leta 1905 in doživelo ponatis leta 1968 (Caprin, 1968), je leta 1997 v Trstu pod uredništvom Marie Walcher izšel ponatis pomembnega dela Antonia Alisija *Istria. Città minori* (Alisi, 1997), ki je nato dve leti kasneje pod uredništvom Giuseppeja Pavanella in Marie Walcher doživel še znatno razširjeno in kompleksnejšo predstavitev v delu *Istria. Città maggiori. Capodistria, Parenzo, Pirano, Pola. Opere d'arte dal Medioevo all'Ottocento* (Pavanello & Walcher Casotti, 2001). V letu 2020 je prišlo tudi do ponatisa Semijevega dela, ki pa ga lahko že umestimo v kontekst prizadevanj tedanjega italijanskega Ministrstva za kulturno dediščino po predstavitvi nekaterih pomembnejših istrskih umetnin, ki so bile leta 1940 odpeljane v Vilo Manin, nato pa dolga leta v kletnih prostorih Beneške palače v Rimu čakale, da so jih »ponovno odkrili« in predstavili širši javnosti. V letih 2004/2005 so jih končno razstavili v Trstu v tamkajšnjem Civico Museo Revoltella, s spremnimi študijami, restavratorskimi elaborati in ekspertizami pa so dostojno predstavljena v razstavnem katalogu z naslovom *HISTRIA. Opere d'arte: da Paolo Veneziano a Tiepolo* (Castellani & Casadio, 2005). Danes so večinoma razstavljena v Museo Sartorio v Trstu.

Na slovenski strani prav gotovo temeljno študijo še vedno predstavlja delo Franceta Stelèta, *Umetnost v Primorju*, izšlo pri Slovenski matici leta 1960, čeprav je prvi koncept, kot pravi avtor, nastal že leta 1939 (Stelè, 1960). Bil je plod njegovih nagibov do tega obmejnega prostora, kamor se je kot »kranjski konservator« vračal tja do prve svetovne vojne, pa tudi po njej, oziroma v času med obema vojnama. V svojem delu je prvič orisal tudi glavne umetniške tokove beneškega slikarstva ter navedel do tedaj slovenski umetnostno-zgodovinski stroki neznane italijanske vire in literaturo, kratko poglavje pa namenil tudi najpomembnejšim slikarjem in slikarskim šolam, ki so zapustili svoja dela v vseh treh obalnih mestih. Prezirljivemu odnosu novih italijanskih oblasti do »spomeniškega značaja« Julijske krajine, je želel s tem delom postaviti ogledalo, uvod vanj pa je izšel leta 1940 pri tedanji Akademski založbi v Ljubljani. V povojnem času si je z večletno distanco, ko so se znova radikalno spremenile tudi upravno-politične meje tega območja, zastavil temeljno vprašanje – prisotno tudi v pričujoči študiji – ali je možno primorski predel slovenskega nacionalnega prostora obravnavati zgolj kot geografsko enoto, ali pa kot

2 Predstavitev primorskih muzejev in galerij sta pripravila M. Guštin in V. Kamin Kajfež (2008, 162–183). Ob tem naglašata, da se je v obalnih mestih, čvrsto povezanih s Serenissimo, skozi stoletja zlasti v sakralnih objektih, nabralo veliko število slikarskih in kiparskih del, ki so jih italijanske oblasti leta 1940 zaradi vojne nevarnosti preventivno evakuirale, sprva v Vilo Manin v Passarianu, kasneje pa v Rim. Zaradi vzpostavitve nove meddržavne meje umetnine niso bile nikoli vrnjene na svoja izvorna mesta, poskusi vrnitve ali vsaj predstavitve teh del pa so bili neuspešni vse do leta 2005, ko so jih predstavili na razstavi *Histria. Opere d'arte restaurate da Paolo Veneziano a Tiepolo*, v Museo Revoltella v Trstu. Kljub temu je v likovni opremi stolnice v Kopru in cerkve sv. Jurija v Piranu potrebno opozoriti na tri pomembne likovne zbirke z deli 16., 17. in 18. stoletja: pinakoteko v sklopu minoritskega samostana sv. Frančiška v Piranu, zbirko v Pokrajinskem muzeju v Kopru ter zbirko Pomorskega muzeja v Piranu. Le-ta skupaj z ostalo zbirko hrani tudi nekaj kvalitetnih del z motiviko tihožitja ter nedvomno delo najvišje kvalitete *Marija z otrokom in piranskimi mestnimi očeti* Domenica Tintoretta (Guštin & Kamin Kajfež, 2008, 32–34).

enoten kulturni prostor s svojimi posebnostmi? Ob tem avtor odgovarja, da je značaj Primorja takšen, da povsem opravičuje samostojno obravnavo, saj le-ta obeta izsledke širšega pomena za slovensko umetnostno zgodovino. Slovensko primorje z Istro namreč geografsko in kulturno predstavlja zgolj variacijo širšega mediteranskega prostora. Povezanost Istre s Slovenijo je kljub njenim posebnostim in povezanostjo z italijanskim in hrvaškim kulturnim prostorom tolikšna, da bi bila brez upoštevanja teh razlik njena umetnostno-zgodovinska podoba okrnjena.

Od teh, nekoliko splošnih opredelitev, je v kasnejših študijah prvo temeljno raziskavo slikarskega gradiva opravil Tomaž Brejc in ga strnil v delu *Slikarstvo od 15. do 19. stoletja na Slovenski obali. Topografsko gradivo*, izšlo leta 1983 pri Medobčinskem zavodu za spomeniško varstvo v Piranu in Založbi Lipa v Kopru (Brejc, 1983). Ob tem uvodoma naglaša, da se je tekom stoletij, zlasti pa v obdobju od 1940 do 1954 to gradivo precej osiromašilo, saj je bilo odpeljanih v Italijo veliko kvalitetnih del, tja od poliptiha Paola Veneziana pa do Tiepolovih del. Klub temu za obalna mesta in njihovo umetnostno bogastvo ostaja optimističen, saj je tudi umetninam, ki so ostala, pripisal dovolj visoko raven, kljub temu, da so ponovno zaživela šele po opravljenih restavratorskih posegih.

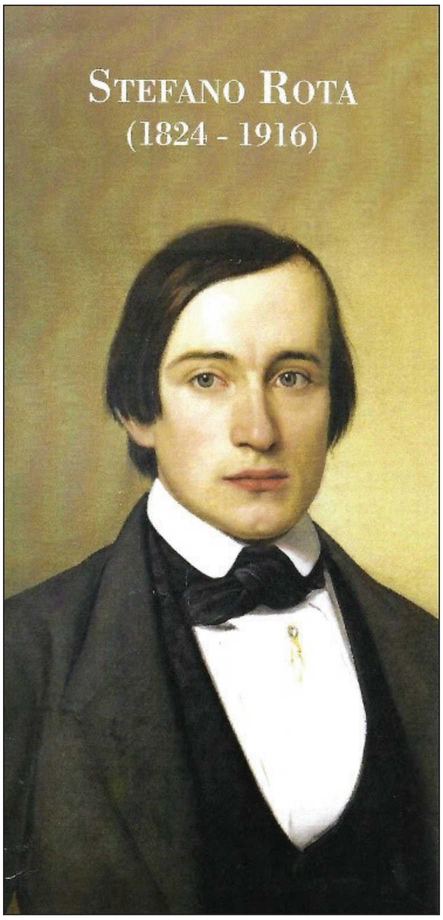
Do prvih preglednejših razstav slikarstva 16. in 17. stoletja, ki ji je sledila še razstava 18. stoletja, je prišlo v prostorih koprskega Pokrajinskega muzeja jeseni leta 1964 oziroma od junija do oktobra 1967. V spremnem katalogu je avtor, Janez Mikuž, poudaril, da je bilo dokaj težko pripraviti takšen izbor slikovnega gradiva, ki bi lahko dostojno predstavil celoten slikarski opus navedenih stoletij, saj manjka vrsta del, ki so bila odpeljana v Italijo in za katera »vprašanje resitucije še ni rešeno« in jih lahko zasledimo zgolj v literaturi. Nekaj mojstrov na prehodu iz 15. v 16. stoletje tako ni bilo moč predstaviti, ker njihova dela niso dostopna. Na razstavi del iz obdobja 18. stoletja je avtor pritegnil tudi nekatera dela s piranskega območja in sicer s cerkve Marije Tolažnice, Minoritskega samostana sv. Frančiška, župne cerkve sv. Jurija, cerkve sv. Štefana in nekaterih drugih, ki bodo predmet podrobnejše predstavitve tudi v pričujočem prispevku (Mikuž, 1967, 4).

V tem okviru so bile pomembne tudi razstave, ki so se v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih zvrstile v Narodni galeriji v Ljubljani ob sodelovanju prof. Federica Zerija, umetnostnega zgodovinarja in enega največjih poznavalcev italijanskega slikarstva, ter Ksenije Rozman, soavtorice katalogov in organizatorko razstav o evropskem slikarstvu iz slovenskih zbirk, postavljenih v letih 1983, 1989 in 1993 v Narodni galeriji v Ljubljani. V predgovoru h katalogu je pripomnila, da bi bila razstava *Evropskih slikarjev iz slovenskih zbirk* še obširnejša in bogatejša, če bi bila vanjo vključena še dela s Primorske, zlasti iz Kopra in Pirana, kot npr. poliptih Cima da Conegliana, poliptih Paola Veneziana, tabelne slike Alviseja Vivarinija, oljnih del Gerolama da Santa Croceja, Vittoreja in Benedetta Carpaccia in drugih. Zadnje sledi za temi umetninami, vsaj za nekaterimi, je možno razbrati iz »*verbale del ritiro*«, za mnogimi pa ni ostalo ničesar. Ta dela so bila namreč po vojni zapisana na seznamih umetnin, arhivskega gradiva in arheoloških predmetov, ki naj bi bili vrnjeni na izvorna mesta po končanih pogajanjih o restituciji med Italijo in Jugoslavijo. Pogajanja so bila, kot pravi:

> *v petdesetih letih uspešna vsaj za nas študente – namreč predavanja prof. Stelèta so zaradi njegove prisotnosti na pogajanjih v Rimu, neštetokrat odpadla. O teh dragocenih umetninah se širi glas, da so še pri dobrem zdravju, ene tičijo v zabojih, druge v restavratorskih delavnicah, tretje , kdo ve kje, kot se spodobi za govorice. Medtem, ko je povojna tuja umetnostnozgodovinska literatura vztrajno navajala podatke originalnih nahajališč, je John Steer zapisal: »Zdi se, da je sedanje nahajališče teh del italijanska državna skrivnost.*

»Le ena želja je«, zaključuje K. Rozman: »da bi ljubitelji umetnosti in strokovnjaki končno mogli videti te umetnine – zaenkrat kjerkoli, vendar pa tudi za nas velja: Naj prvi vrže kamen ..., ki je brez greha« (Zeri & Rozman, 1993, 9).

K novim spoznanjem o likovnih delih na današnjem območju slovenske Istre pa so poleg zgoraj navedenih avtorjev pripomogle tudi študije nekaterih hrvaških avtorjev, npr. K. Prijatelja, G. Gamulina, I. Petriciolija, L. Karamana, C. Fiskovića, V. Ekl in drugih, ki so objavili številne študije o mojstrih beneškega slikarstva in predstavljajo dragoceno primerjalno gradivo ob raziskavah in prezentacijah tukajšnjih likovnih del. Med posameznimi strokovnjaki, poznavalci piranske kulturne dediščine, se je na to temo sicer šele leta 1990 odzval zgodovinar Alberto Pucer in v kratkem prispevku (Pucer, 1990) podal oris nekaterih umetnin, ki so nekdaj krasile piranske cerkve, samostane in nekatere posvetne stavbe ter so na različne načine zapuščale Piran, ni pa ne pri njem, ne pri drugih strokovnjakih s tega področja, zaslediti kakšne kritične ocene ali komentarjev o navedeni problematiki. Tega vprašanja so se sicer v okviru svojih ustanov dotaknili strokovni delavci piranskega Pomorskega muzeja »Sergej Mašera«, zlasti D. Žitko, z Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine, Območne enote Piran, v prvi vrsti S. Hoyer, M.



Slika 1 in 2: Pietro Kandler (1804–1872), zgodovinar in arheolog, za svoje zasluge proglašen za častnega meščana Pirana, leta 1851 (levo); Stefano Rota (1824–1916), učenjak, latinist, skladatelj, zaslužen za razvoj piranske mestne knjižnice in arhiva (desno).

Kovač in D. Milotti-Bertoni, v novejšem času tudi nekateri udeleženci mednarodnega znanstvenega simpozija *Carpaccio v Piranu/Carpaccio a Pirano* decembra 2018. Nenazadnje je s tem namenom tudi K. Knez pripravil in objavil svoj obsežen, pregleden in tehten prispevek z naslovom *La pittura cinquecentesca di Pirano* z nekaterimi novimi, kritičnimi pogledi in ocenami piranske umetniške ustvarjalnosti v tedanjem času in v tem kontekstu načel tudi vprašanje odnašanja dragocenih umetnin in predmetov kulturne dediščine iz Pirana (Knez, 2003, 257–318).

Za razliko od Kopra, se je v Piranu domala v celoti ohranil stari mestni arhiv (*Archivio civico antico*), ustanovljen leta 1877, ki pa ga leta 1940 niso odpeljali, domnevno po zaslugi učitelja in bibliotekarja Antonia Petronia. Leta 1887 je bila po mnogih selitvah v prostore občinske palače prenesena tudi mestna knjižnica, ki jo je že v 18. stoletju ustanovila tedanja *Accademia degli Intricati*. Za razmah arhiva in knjižnice je bil zaslužen zlasti grof Stefano Rota (1824–1916), humanist in erudit, globoko navezan na domači Piran. Pri vodenju arhivske ustanove je bil dokaj aktiven in uspešen ter so njegovemu vzoru sledili številni kraji po Istri. Po njem so bili pri vodenju knjižnice zaslužni Domenico Vatta, Pietro de Castro in do leta 1952 Antonio Petronio (Mestna knjižnica Piran, 2006). Leta 1954 je prišel arhiv v sestav tedaj ustanovljenega Mestnega muzeja, vendar se je kmalu osamosvojil kot posebna ustanova in bil leta 1974 vključen v Pokrajinski arhiv Koper. Kot najstarejši arhiv v Sloveniji zelo zgovorno priča o bogati in razgibani zgodovini Pirana, številni dokumenti pa so tudi avtorju tega prispevka služili za nazoren prikaz nastajanja in vloge dragocene kulturne dediščine samega mesta, ki se dandanes hranijo v njegovih kulturnih ustanovah oziroma cerkvah in samostanih, ali pa so bila odtujena v preteklih stoletjih. V še večji meri se nanašajo na prizadevanja oziroma na zahteve povojnih posvetnih in cerkvenih oblasti po vrnitvi umetnin in predmetov kulturne dediščine.

NASTAJANJE IN USODA UMETNIN TER LIKOVNIH ZBIRK V PIRANSKIH CERKVENIH IN POSVETNIH USTANOVAH V PRETEKLIH STOLETJIH

V pričujočem prispevku, v katerem odmerjamo precejšnjo pozornost zlasti Carpaccievemu delu, ki je nekdaj krasilo cerkev sv. Frančiška Asiškega v Piranu,[3] je seveda zajet mnogo širši seznam umetnin oziroma predmetov kulturne dediščine, ki so nastajala skozi stoletja, a so bila odtujena v različnih zgodovinskih obdobjih in se danes nahajajo na znanih, pogosto pa tudi povsem neznanih lokacijah ter jih poznamo zgolj po nekaterih kasnejših reprodukcijah in fotografskih posnetkih. To velja predvsem za znamenito delo Domenica Tintoretta (1560–1635), *Bitka pri Savudriji 1177*, ki je do leta 1801/1802 krasila veliko dvorano piranskega Mestnega sveta, meščani pa so bili nanjo zelo navezani, saj so jo cenili kot uprizoritev ene najslavnejših pomorskih zmag Beneške republike, ki se je zgodila v bližini njihovega mesta. K sreči se je ohranilo drugo, ravno tako monumentalno delo istega avtorja z naslovom *Marija z otrokom in piranski mestni očetje* iz leta 1578, ki tudi prikazuje veduto tedanjega Pirana, ter je bila že v preteklosti predmet nekaterih podrobnejših predstavitev.[4]

Šele 700-letnica ustanovitve Minoritskega samostana v Piranu (1301–2001) je nudila tudi priložnost, da je bil zbran, pregledan, ovrednoten in objavljen celoten slikarski fond, ki je nekdaj krasil samostansko cerkev sv. Frančiška in samostanski kompleks, s tem da je bilo 29 slikarskih del leta 1954 prenesenih v tedanji Mestni muzej v Piranu (današnji Pomorski muzej »Sergej Mašera« Piran), od tam pa so pet del odpeljali v Pokrajinski muzej v Kopru, kjer so umeščena v njegovo stalno zbirko (prim. Žitko, 2001). Trojica del, ki so jih italijanske oblasti junija 1940 iz dragocene zbirke likovnih del minoritskega samostana oziroma cerkve sv. Frančiška – že ob koncu 19. stoletja poimenovane »Pinacoteca Minorum«, uvrstile v seznam za evakuacijo, so bila: že omenjeno delo Vittoreja Carpaccia *Marija z otrokom in svetniki* iz leta 1518, kopija po Sassoferratu *Marija pri molitvi* in delo neznanega avtorja z naslovom *Ugrabitev Evrope*. Poleg navedenih je bilo iz občinske palače v Piranu odtujeno še delo Benedetta Carpaccia, *Marija na prestolu z otrokom med sv. Jurijem in sv. Lucijo* (1541), ki je nekdaj krasilo cerkev sv. Lucije pri Portorožu, iz Mestne knjižnice inkunabula *Dunus Scotus, Quaestiones Quolibetales* (1477). Iz piranske župnijske cerkve sv. Jurija sta izvirali deli Paola Veneziana, *Marija s svetniki* (1355) in *Križanje* (14. stol.), delo Giuseppeja Angelija *Rožnovenska Marija* iz stranskega oltarja in lesena gotska poslikana omara s podobami svetnikov (15. stol.). Iz podružnične cerkve sv. Štefana je bilo odpeljano delo bolonjske šole *Križanje* in Mattea Ponzonija ali Jacopa Palme ml., *Oznanjenje*, iz podružnične cerkve Marije Tolažnice delo Giambattiste Tiepola, *Marija s pasom*, iz prostorov bolnišnice (*Pia casa di ricovero*) leseni doprsni kip z naslovom *Ecce homo* (1411) in bronasti kip Melchiorja Caffàja, pripisan tudi Alessandru Algardiju, *Kristusov krst*. Potrdila o umiku navedenih del obstajajo v obliki zapisov, ki sta jih po vojni za potrebe restitucijske komisije sestavljala župnik Egidio Malusà in Giorgio Lugnani iz minoritskega samostana (Hoyer, 2005b, 22–29).

Slika 3: Domenico Tintoretto, detajl s podobo Pirana na sliki Madona z otrokom in piranski mestni očetje, 1578, občinska palača (Foto: J. Jeraša).

Carpaccievemu delu, ki se danes nahaja v samostanu sv. Antona v Padovi, je bil ob njegovi prvi javni predstavitvi, 18. maja 2000, posvečen manjši seminar oziroma strokovno posvetovanje, do znanstvenega srečanja na to temo pa je prišlo šele v Piranu, in sicer v dneh 3. in 4. decembra 2018

3 Gre za znano Carpaccievo delo *Marija z otrokom in svetniki* (1518), ki se danes nahaja v samostanu sv. Antona v Padovi (*Museo Antoniano*) in so mu decembra 2018 posvetili mednarodni znanstveni simpozij ob 500-letnici navedene Carpaccieve oltarne pale in 700-letnici posvetitve cerkve sv. Frančiška. Prispevki so zbrani in objavljeni v zborniku *Carpaccio a Pirano/Carpaccio v Piranu, Convegno internazionale di studi/Mednarodni znanstveni simpozij* (Baldissin Molli & Caburlotto, 2021).

4 O navedenem delu je objavljena vrsta člankov in razprav, v slovenskem jeziku posebej zanimiv prispevek J. Mikuža, *Domnevni Domenico Tintoretto v piranskem Pomorskem muzeju* (Mikuž, 1972a, 21–25); tudi *La grande tela di Domenico Tintoretto, dedicata alla Vergine Maria con bambino ed i padri cittadini nuovamente esposta nel palazzo del Comune di Pirano* (Žitko, 1997).

ob 500-letnici nastanka umetnine in 700-letnici posvetitve cerkve sv. Frančiška Asiškega. O njeni vrnitvi iz Italije je bilo sicer govora že oktobra leta 1996 ob vrnitvi samostana minoritskemu redu in pričetku prenovitvenih del, obenem pa je stekla akcija *Piranski umetniki za Carpaccia,* v okviru katere je sodelovalo 48 umetnikov in je bil celoten izkupiček namenjen obnovi renesančne edikule v cerkvi sv. Frančiška, kjer je nekdaj viselo znamenito Carpaccievo delo. Kot je možno razbrati iz samostanske kronike z naslovom *Novi prispevki za kroniko samostana sv. Frančiška v Piranu*, Piran--Pirano, 1998, so piranski minoriti že tedaj trdno verjeli in se veselili vrnitve znamenitega Carpaccievega dela iz Padove ter zapisali, da »gre za izjemno pomemben del kulturne dediščine, ki se od 10. junija 1940 nahaja v Italiji, njena vrnitev pa predstavlja prvi tovrstni primer v naši državi«. Pričakovanja so dosegla višek ob srečanju osmih predsednikov srednjeevropske pobude, ko sta bila samostan in cerkev sv. Frančiška Asiškega v petek, 6. junija 1997, za nekaj ur »središče Evrope«. Med gosti je bil tudi tedanji italijanski predsednik Oscar Luigi Scalfaro, ki je bil dan kasneje skupaj s svojim spremstvom in predstavniki Italijanske skupnosti pri sveti maši. Ko je italijanski predsednik zapuščal cerkev, je sam opazil, da v renesančni edikuli nekaj manjka; pogovori in dogovori o Carpacciu in vrnitvi njegove umetnine v renesančno edikulo so bili obetavni in na najvišji ravni. »Dejstva in upanje ostajajo ...« so tedaj zapisali (Šamperl, 1998, 41).

V mesecu novembru 2018 se je tudi v Kopru odvijal simpozij v organizaciji Slovenskega umetnostno-zgodovinskega društva z naslovom *Umetnost istrskih obalnih mest/Arte e architettura delle città istriane*, kjer so se nekateri udeleženci dotaknili problematike, povezane s piransko kulturno dediščino.[5] Drugačno sporočilo veje iz obeležitve 200-letnice rojstva slikarja piranskega rodu Cesara Dell'Acqua (1821–1905), ko so ustanove oziroma nekatera društva italijanske narodne skupnosti iz Pirana in Kopra pripravile razstavo in izdale katalog z nekaterimi njegovimi deli ter se s tem poklonile enemu največjih in najuglednejših istrskih slikarjev moderne dobe. Ob tem so naglasili, da so takšni jubileji obenem priložnost in sredstvo za promocijo pomembne zgodovinske, kulturne in umetniške dediščine, zlasti ko gre za rojake, ki so cenjeni in uveljavljeni tudi prek meja matične domovine. Obeležitev 200-letnice umetnikovega rojstva, kot v katalogu naglaša Andrea Bartole,

Slika 4: Vittore Carpaccio, Madona na prestolu in svetniki, 1518, Padova, Museo Antoniano (Baldissin Molli & Caburlotto, 2021, 137).

predsednik Samoupravne skupnosti italijanske narodnosti iz Pirana:

> *mora tako nositi v sebi sporočilnost, ki sega veliko dlje od slikarjevega rojstnega Pirana oziroma Kopra; gre za dogodek državnega in čezmejnega značaja, ki ga mora pospeševati in vzpodbujati prav tisti evropski duh, kot ga je ob koncu 19. stoletja izkusil umetnik sam in ki kljub temu, da živimo v združeni Evropi, včasih ne sega prek nacionalnih meja, temveč pogosto ostaja ujet v razpravnih ali muzejskih dvoranah.* (Dell'Acqua et al., 2021, 5; prim. Dell'Acqua, 2021)

Seveda pa so bile in ostajajo najbolj odmevne okrogle obletnice rojstva oziroma smrti ter odkritja spomenika velikega piranskega violinskega virtuoza

5 Gre za prispevke: K. Bernardi, Nekdanji cerkveni kompleks sv. Antona opata v Piranu; E. Cozzi, La pittura gotica nell'Istria slovena e il polittico di Pirano di Paolo Veneziano; M. M. Kovač, Bonfante Torre. Il tagliapietra veneziano e la sua bottega a Pirano; R. de Feo, Presenze neoclassiche a Pirano: gli scultori Antonio e Francesco Bosa; R. Fabiani, Pietro Nobile a Pirano. Progetti per la chiesa di San Pietro; N. Kudiš, Dolgo 17. stoletje v Kopru, Izoli in Piranu: pozno renesančna in beneška slikarska dediščina (prim. Slovensko umetnostnozgodovinsko društvo, 2018).

Slika 5 in 6: Del pohištvene opreme Tartinijeve sobe in njegove zapuščine v prostorih nekdanjega Mestnega muzeja, danes Pomorskega muzeja »Sergej Mašera« v Piranu (Pahor & Mikeln, 1972, 58).

in skladatelja, Giuseppeja Tartinija (1692–1770). Očitno noben zgodovinski oziroma kulturno-zgodovinski oris Pirana ni zaobšel Tartinija in njegove vloge v kulturnem razvoju mesta, pa tudi mnogi istrski glasbeniki, literati in likovniki so svoje navdušenje in spoštovanje do slavnega violinista in skladatelja izrazili v svojih delih.

Ob tem sta bila pomembna ustanovitev in dejavnost Pomorskega muzeja »Sergej Mašera« s sedežem v palači Gabrielli-De Castro, ki je bil sprva – torej leta 1954, kot omenjeno – ustanovljen kot Mestni muzej, leta 1959 pa je začel zbirati slovensko pomorsko gradivo ter se od leta 1976 posveča predvsem pomorstvu. Sprva je bila v eni od sob predstavljena Tartinijeva zbirka z baročno spalnico, rokopisi, tiski, posmrtno masko in znamenito Amatijevo violino – zbirko so leta 2001 prenesli v obnovljeno Tartinijevo hišo, ki je ob 300-letnici skladateljevega rojstva dobila tudi monografsko delo S. A. Hoyer z naslovom *Hiša Tartini/Casa Tartini* (Hoyer, 1992), ki je poleg *Inventarja zbirke/Inventario della collezione Giuseppe Tartini 1654–1951*, sicer delo A. Pucerja (1993), predstavljalo osrednji slovenski prispevek ob 300-letnici velikega piranskega virtuoza in skladatelja. Leta 2020 pa je bilo ob slovenskem kulturnem prazniku skupaj z ogledom nove muzejske zbirke v Tartinijevi rojstni hiši predstavljeno tudi delo D. Žitko z naslovom *El Tartini in piassa. Zgodba o spomeniku/Storia del monumento (Žitko, 2019)*, ki je dopolnila in obogatila delo S. Simiča-Sime in D. Žitko *Giuseppe Tartini* iz leta 2000 (Žitko & Simič, 2000). Najnovejša publikacija z naslovom *Giuseppe Tartini med Piranom, Strunjanom in Koprom*, je pri Italijanskem središču »Carlo Combi« v Kopru v sodelovanju s Pomorskim muzejem »Sergej Mašera« v Piranu in Pokrajinskim muzejem v Kopru, izšla ob 330-letnici skladateljevega rojstva (Knez, Vincoletto & Žitko, 2022).

Sicer pa pravo bogastvo piranske muzejske zbirke dandanes predstavlja že omenjeno delo Domenica Tintoretta iz leta 1578 z naslovom *Marija z otrokom in piranskimi mestnimi očeti*, ki je med letoma 1954 do 1997 krasilo zbirke Pomorskega muzeja v Piranu, od leta 1997 pa je ponovno v dvorani mestne hiše. Med velike dragocenosti muzeja sodi tudi zbirka *ex voto* – votivne podobe

Slika 7: Vhodno stopnišče nekdanje palače Gabrielli de Castro, po letu 1954 sedeža Mestnega muzeja, z letom 1967 pa Pomorskega muzeja »Sergej Mašera« v Piranu (Petek & Žitko, 1986, 79).

Slika 8 in 9: Gruberjev model avstrijske bojne ladje »Cesar Karel VI.« (1770–1785) in ena od ladijskih polen iz 19. stoletja, v zbirkah Pomorskega muzeja v Piranu (Limoncin-Toth, Milotti-Bertoni & Vorano, 2015, 47).

pomorcev, zbirka marinističnega slikarstva druge polovice 19. in prve polovice 20. stoletja (prim. Žitko, 1992; 1999), ladijski modeli G. Gruberja iz 18. stoletja (Pahor, 1981, 11–40), ter nenazadnje, znameniti pomorski kodeks izolskega kartografa Pietra Coppa, ki predstavlja neke vrste svetovni unikat in največjo dragocenost celotnega kodeksa z naslovom *De summa totius orbis* (1524–1526) (Bonin et al., 2006).

Nekaj dragocenih umetnin krasi tudi župno cerkev sv. Jurija, z doslej najstarejšo poznano veduto Pirana iz druge polovice 15. stoletja, ki jo je zaznati v delu *Sv. Trojica* neznanega beneškega mojstra. V prezbiteriju stolne cerkve pa se nahaja tudi delo Čudež sv. Jurija, Angela de Costerja iz leta 1706, ki so jo naročili člani Bratovščine sv. Jurija.[6]

Posebno področje piranske kulturne dediščine predstavlja heraldično in epigrafsko gradivo, se pravi grbi, pripisani mestni komuni kot mestnemu zaščitniku sv. Juriju, izklesanim reliefom s podobo beneškega leva ter številnim grbom in napisnim ploščam plemiških družin, ki krasijo javne zgradbe, nekdanja mestna vrata, ostanke obzidja in nekdanje plemiške palače (prim. Cigui, 2002).

V lasti cerkve sv. Jurija je bila tudi dragocena slonokoščena skrinjica, ki so jo našli leta 1592 pod oltarjem sv. Katarine device in mučencev in jo sredi 19. stoletja prenesli v cerkveno oziroma župnijsko zakladnico. Leta 1884 so jo podarili dunajskemu dvoru, ki jo je umestil v Umetnostnozgodovinski muzej na Dunaju. Po prvi svetovni vojni so jo ob drugih umetninah, kot bomo videli kasneje, italijanske oblasti zahtevale nazaj in jo prepustile puljskemu arheološkemu muzeju. S tem je piranska župnijska cerkev žal ostala brez tega dragocenega muzejskega eksponata, ki ga še vedno hrani Arheološki muzej v Pulju pod inv. št. S/344 (Golob, 2005, 205–224).

V kapiteljskem arhivu cerkve sv. Jurija se je do današnjega časa ohranil lesen model cerkvene stavbe, ki po vsej verjetnosti ponazarja župno cerkev v njeni gotski podobi (Kovač, 2010, 387–388). Domnevno je bil model izdelan kot osnova za enega od možnih načrtov njene obnove. Ker ne vemo, kakšna je bila gotska podoba cerkve sv. Jurija, ki je bila posvečena leta 1334, predstavlja ohranjeni leseni model izredno pomemben podatek oziroma materialni dokaz za študij tedanjega stanja pred baročno prenovo (Guček, 2000, 109–111).

Ob arheoloških raziskavah v ž. c. sv. Jurija leta 1991, so ob ostankih antične in predromanske arhitekture arheologi izkopali tudi večje število keramičnih in kovinskih najdb, med razmeroma skromnimi kovinskimi najdbami pa izstopa bronasta fibula v obliki pava, izdelana med 5. in 7. stoletjem. Gre za dragoceno najdbo s krščanskim simbolnim pomenom in za italski obrtni izdelek, verjetno iz ravenske delavnice pod bizantinskim vplivom (Snoj, 1993, 67–72). Ravno tako so izkopavanja v cerkvi sv. Jurija jeseni 1991 oziroma spomladi 1992 privedla do odkritja srednjeveške grobnice z ostanki skeletov, novcev, zlasti pa 22 bronastih svetinjic, ki so bile izraz religioznosti in spomina na kakšno božjo pot, saj so bili romarji prepričani, da so te podobice čudodelne, prav tako pa tudi svetniki, ki so bili upodobljeni na njih. Svetinjice so ostale v Narodnem

6 Pomembni posredniki pri prenosu slikarskih idej med Benetkami in Piranom so bili predvsem člani bratovščine sv. Rešnjega telesa, ki so bili zaslužni za velika umetnostna naročila za župnijsko cerkev sv. Jurija. Ta bratovščina je Angelu de Costerju v prvih letih 18. stoletja (1705) tudi naročila sliko s prizorom *Maše v Bolseni* in ne bratovščina sv. Jurija, kot je doslej zmotno veljalo med umetnostnimi zgodovinarji. Dokončno plačilo so člani bratovščine izvedli leta 1707 in slikarju plačali 124 lir (Kamin Kajfež, 2012a, 77–84; Kamin Kajfež, 2012b, 63–80; Pobežin, 2012, 85–92).

Slika 10: Angelo de Coster, Čudež sv. Jurija, 1706, Piran, župna cerkev sv. Jurija (Kovač, 2005, 37).

muzeju v Ljubljani, kjer so jih očistili, konzervirali in dokumentirali ter so bile predmet nadaljnje strokovne obdelave (Knez, 1994, 65–72).

Glede same literature novejšega datuma, ki obravnava piransko kulturno dediščino, zlasti umetnostno gradivo, bi v prvi vrsti navedli že omenjeni pregled, ki ga je pripravil K. Knez v svojem prispevku z obširno bibliografijo, za opis slikarskih del v piranski župni cerkvi sv. Jurija je zaslužna predvsem V. Kamin-Kajfež, kot je razvidno iz opomb in citirane literature, med splošnejšimi pregledi pa naj navedemo zlasti že omenjeno delo T. Brejca, *Slikarstvo od 15. do 19. stoletja na Slovenski obali. Topografsko gradivo* (Brejc, 1983).

Celovit prikaz piranske kulturne dediščine, tako arhitekture, kot slikarskih in kiparskih del ter ostale opreme, ki krasijo župno cerkev sv. Jurija in ostale sakralne objekte, predvsem cerkev in samostan sv. Frančiška, se nahaja v delu *Istria. Città magiori. Capodistria, Parenzo, Pirano, Pola. Opere d'arte dal Medioevo all'Ottocento* (Pavanello & Walcher Casotti, 2001, 187–268). Med novejšimi, ilustrativno prikupnimi in obširnejšimi prikazi celotne istrske kulturne dediščine in njenih zakladov je tudi delo *Tesori dell'Istria* (Limoncin-Toth, Milotti-Bertoni & Vorano, 2015) z dokaj izčrpnim orisom Pirana izpod peresa Daniele Milotti Bertoni. Številnim navedbam in orisom posameznih umetnin sledimo seveda že v delu Giuseppeja Caprina, *L'Istria nobilissima* (Caprin, 1968), kasneje pa v delih Antonia Alisija, Attilia Tamara, Francesca Semija, zlasti v njegovem delu *L'arte in Istria* (ponatis iz leta 1937, Semi, 2020), Silvia Mitisa, Almeriga Apollonia in mnogih drugih. Krajši pregled piranskih umetnin se nahaja tudi v delu Ignazia Domina, *Vita istriana. Pagine di storia e di arte* (Domino, 1929). Dragocene podatke različnih avtorjev o piranski arhitekturi, kiparskih in slikarskih delih, prinaša tudi zajetni razstavni katalog z naslovom *Dioecesis Justinopolitana, spomeniki gotske umetnosti na območju koprske škofije*

Slika 11: Slonokoščena skrinjica s piranske župne cerkve sv. Jurija (10./11. stol.), danes v Arheološkem muzeju v Pulju (Limoncin-Toth, Milotti-Bertoni & Vorano, 2015, 50).

(Štefanac et al, 2000).

ODTUJEVANJE UMETNIŠKIH DEL IN PREDMETOV KULTURNE DEDIŠČINE S PIRANSKEGA OBMOČJA

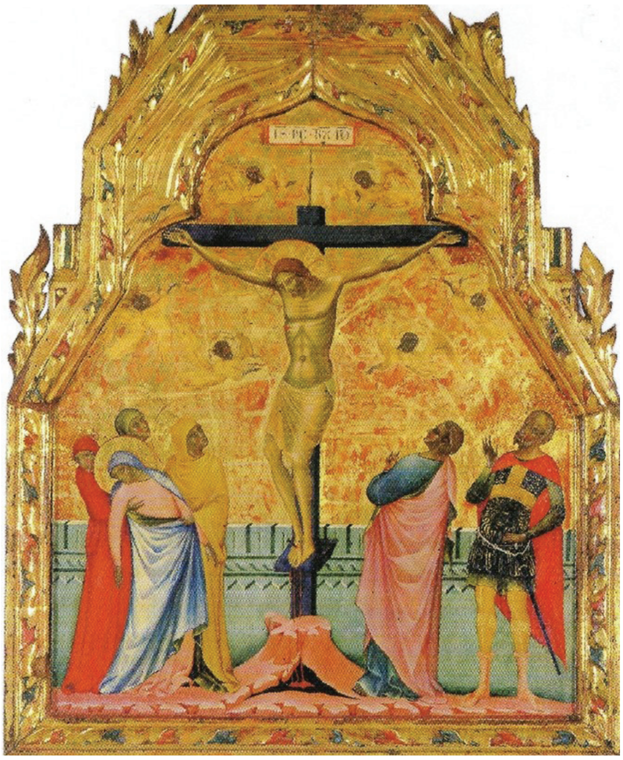
Če se vrnemo k premični kulturni dediščini in umetniškim delom piranskega območja, ki so nastala večinoma v zrelem in poznem beneškem obdobju, ne gre prezreti dejstva, da je veliko teh del med 19. in 20. stoletjem na takšen ali drugačen način začelo zapuščati mesto. To obdobje seveda ni bilo naključno, saj je bilo širše piransko območje do konca prve svetovne vojne (1918) vpeto v tedanje Avstrijsko Primorje, v času med obema vojnama oziroma do leta 1943 pa v Kraljevino Italijo z imenom Julijska krajina (*Venezia Giulia*). Kot mejno in etnično mešano območje je doživljalo nekatere radikalne družbeno-politične, upravne in demografske spremembe, ki so same po sebi vplivale tudi na kulturno podobo tega prostora oziroma na njegovo kulturno dediščino. Le-ta je ob etnični pripadnosti in jeziku, skupaj z urbano podobo obalnih mest in njihovim mediteranskim značajem, predstavljala enega od ključnih elementov za prepoznavanje identitete tega prostora, ki je skozi stoletja v svoji dihotomiji med mesti in podeželjem kazal svoj multikulturni, multietnični in večjezični značaj, poleg tega pa je bil stoletja vpet v beneški kulturni krog, v okviru katerega je tja do izteka 18. stoletja, pa tudi kasneje, dosegel višek svoje umetniške ustvarjalnosti.

O slikarstvu v današnjih obalnih mestih v obdobju srednjega in začetku novega veka ni veliko podatkov in tudi samega spomeniškega gradiva je razmeroma malo. Lahko pa si predstavljamo, da se je ta umetnostna zvrst v obdobju gotike in renesanse v tem prostoru odvijala podobno kot v drugih mestih vzdolž vzhodne jadranske obale, ki so bila v politični in kulturni odvisnosti od Benetk. Ob Padovi so torej Benetke predstavljale tisto umetnostno središče, ki je veljalo za vzor in usmerjale okus tedanje dobe ter vzpodbujale posamezne slogovne premike. Ob tem pa se vendarle zdi, da kakšne pomembnejše ustvarjalnosti, ki bi se lahko primerjala z dejavnostjo večjih središč na območju severne Italije ali Dalmacije, mesta severozahodne Istre v tej dobi niso premogla. Za pomembnejša naročila so se tako najpogosteje obračala na Benetke, kot značilen dokaz pa služi poliptih Paola Veneziana, kot osrednje slikarske osebnosti beneškega *trečenta*, ki so ga do začetka druge svetovne vojne (1940) hranili v zakristiji župne cerkve sv. Jurija v Piranu. Sicer pa so imeli do druge svetovne vojne v piranski stolnici, kot bomo videli, še nekaj kvalitetnejših del tabelnega slikarstva, med katerimi bi bilo lahko npr. delo s podobo sv. Martina na konju z beračem, ki je bilo sekundarno vdelano v vratna krila zakristijske omare in bi ga lahko označili za domače delo iz prve polovice ali sredine 15. stoletja. Starejša pričevanja navajajo v obalnih mestih in njihovem zaledju še več slikarskih del poznega srednjega veka, ki bi nam pokazala spekter slikarstva tega območja, vendar se je sled za njimi žal izgubila (Höfler, 2000, 216).

Že Ignazio Domino, če ostanemo pri tabelnem slikarstvu, govori o dveh dragocenih slikarskih delih, hranjenih v biblioteki piranskega kapitlja, in sicer o poliptihu v devetih delih, sicer delo neznanega beneškega slikarja, ki ga Attilio Tamaro pripisuje Simonu iz Reggia (*Simone da Reggio*) in naj bi deloval v Piranu okoli leta 1365. Ob njem nekateri strokovnjaki navajajo še Giulielma iz Milana in Giovannija iz Padove, ki sta v letih 1345/46 delovala v kolegiatni cerkvi sv. Jurija v Piranu, vendar se je od vsega tega do danes ohranilo le malo.[7]

Od sredine 15. stoletja lahko sicer kontinuirano sledimo nakupom takih del, predvsem večdelnih oltarnih slik beneških mojstrov, saj so bile ravno Benetke v največji meri usmerjene v izdelavo poliptihov, ki so variirali v slikarstvu od 14. stoletja dalje. Na podlagi tega je povsem logično, da je bil navedeni standardizirani tip slike dokaj blizu tako naročnikom kot širši javnosti v mestih ob Jadranu. V okviru ponudbe in povpraševanja so bile možnosti, ki so jih ponujale Benetke, mnogo večje in bolj raznolike od tistih v Zadru in je bila zato usmerjenost severno jadranskih naročnikov na območje beneške lagune povsem razumljiva. Tudi najstarejše slike na teh otokih, ki izhajajo

7 Simona iz Reggia povezujejo z deli »bolonjske šole« iz 14. stoletja, konkretno s slikarjem iz Emilije, imenovanim »Simone dei Crocifissi« in naj bi bil v Piranu znan kot Simone da Reggio iz druge polovice 14. stoletja (Höfler, 2000, 216–221; Casadio, 2005, 110).



Slika 12 in 13: Paolo Veneziano, Madona na prestolu z otrokom in angeloma, 1355; Križanje, Piran, detajl poliptiha (Luparia & Savio, 2005, 105).

iz 14. stoletja, so delo zgolj beneških mojstrov s podobami Matere božje, ali pa poliptihi Paola Veneziana in njegovih sodobnikov na otoku Rabu, Krku ter v Kopru in Piranu. Slike so praviloma hranili v škofijskih središčih, a z njihovim nakupom v beneških delavnicah so cerkvene in posvetne oblasti potrjevale svojo versko in posvetno kulturno pripadnost, ki so jo dosegle in negovale (Tomić, 2019, 55–78).

V Piranu gre torej za znani poliptih Paola Veneziana, ki ga je objavil že G. Caprin (Caprin, 1968, 58–59), kasneje pa tudi vrsta drugih raziskovalcev istrske umetnosti. Prvotno so ga pripisovali »piranskemu mojstru«; med prvimi ga je A. Alisi uvrstil v leto 1355, A. Santangelo v leto 1354, L. Testi v svoji temeljni študiji o beneškem slikarstvu pa v leto 1372. Isto letnico navaja tudi F. Semi, hkrati pa sta oba v njem videla elemente gotizacije rafiniranega in spretnega slikarstva, ki zapušča bizantinske predloge. Tudi po mnenju G. Fiocca je piranski poliptih dokaz Venezianovega bizantinizma, medtem ko se je V. Lazarev postavil na povsem nasprotno stališče, in sicer, da gre pri njem za tisto modificiranje oblik v smeri gotike, ki velja za najpomembnejši kriterij pri atribuciji in datiranju del P. Veneziana in njegove delavnice, sam piranski poliptih pa po mnenju T. Brejca nedvomno predstavlja pomemben umetnostni dokument (Brejc, 1983, 13).

Izčrpnejša predstavitev navedenega dela *Madona na prestolu z otrokom, dvema angeloma in svetniki* (1355, tempera na lesu), se nahaja v katalogu *HISTRIA. Opere d'arte restaurate: da Paolo Veneziano a Tiepolo* (Luparia & Savio, 2005). Delo naj bi bilo po zadnjih restavratorskih posegih (2002) mnogo bolj čitljivo kot v preteklosti (Gallone, 2005, 191–196). Določeno nerazpoznavnost predstavlja le v spodnjem delu, kjer naj bi bil tudi podpis slikarja in so ta detajl očitno predelali v času, ko so poliptih razstavili in naj bi po Alisijevem pričevanju po »primitivno izvedenih restavratorskih posegih« nadomestili spodnje kasete z avtorjevim podpisom z drugimi grobo poslikanimi v zeleni barvi. Še pomenljivejša je navedba, da naj v skladu z zgodovinskim dogajanjem piranski poliptih *ab origine* ne bi bil namenjen stolnici, saj na njem ni upodobljen sv. Jurij, ki mu je bila stolnica sicer posvečena (24. aprila 1343). V njej je bilo prvotno sedem oltarjev, od katerih so bili trije posvečeni sv. Marku, sv. Katarini in sv. Antonu.[8] Noben od navedenih svetnikov, upodobljenih na poliptihu, nima dominantnega položaja, saj se ne nahaja neposredno ob Materi Božji.

8 O župni cerkvi sv. Jurija in njenih oltarjih, podrobneje Kovač (2010, 385–408).

Po temeljiti prenovi piranske stolnice in njeni posvetitvi leta 1637 so med štirinajstimi oltarji osrednje mesto namenili oltarju sv. Jurija, noben od oltarjev pa ni bil posvečen kakemu od svetnikov, upodobljenih na poliptihu, razen če ta ni bil posvečen Devici Mariji, na kar nakazuje napis »*de Dio e de la Vergine Maria*«. Pač pa bi figura sv. Janeza Krstnika, ki se nahaja takoj ob liku Device Marije na prestolu, lahko dala misliti, da je bil poliptih sprva namenjen okrasu krstilnice, posvečene sv. Janezu Krstniku. Kot vemo, je bila krstilnica prvotno nameščena pred stolnico, vendar so jo v prvi polovici 17. stoletja nadomestili z novo zgradbo istih oblik za njo (prim. Mihelič, 1992, 257–265; Kovač, 2007, 47–64; Brglez, 2005, 77–86). Ob apostolski vizitaciji Agostina Valierja, 5. in 6. februarja 1580, namreč ni nikjer posebej omenjeno kako slikarsko delo, ki bi krasilo krstilnico, pač pa je omenjen zgolj oltar »*ornatum necesariis ornamentis*«, P. Naldini pa navaja, da so prenovljeno krstilnico krasili trije oltarji, med katerimi je bil osrednji posvečen sv. Janezu Krstniku.[9] Morda so v času gradnje nove krstilnice poliptih odstranili in ga prenesli v župno cerkev sv. Jurija, vsekakor pa se vsaj od začetka 19. stoletja ni več nahajal v sami cerkvi, pač pa v njeni zakristiji, kot je navedeno v Inventarju (Santangelo, 1935, 149) oziroma v neki sobi ob zakristiji. Morda je bil prenos poliptiha v stolnico pogojen s prenovo krstilnice in so poliptih od tam odstranili.

Po zaslugi dnevnika C. Somede de Marca spoznavamo tudi »potovanje« tega dragocenega dela (Someda De Marco, 2021, 164–169). Med drugim E. Gardina ugotavlja, da mu ni uspelo ugotoviti, zakaj so se z otoka Krk, kjer se je delo nahajalo, koprskemu muzeju predali dragoceni poliptih v varstvo, čeprav naj bi za to odločitvijo stalo tedanje Tržaško nadzorništvo, ki je pooblastilo A. Santangela, da umetnino preda koprskemu muzeju (Gardina, 2002, 71). Poliptih naj bi bil po navedbah I. Fiskovića leta 1912 restavriran na Dunaju, od koder naj bi ga prepeljali v Koper in se je tu nahajal do leta 1940, ko so ga skupaj z ostalimi deli odpeljali v zbirni center v Vilo Manin pri Passarianu. Poliptih so 24. januarja 1944 iz zbirnega centra premestili v cerkev sv. Tomaža v Majanu pri kraju San Daniele del Friuli, nato pa ga je po večkratnih intervencijah tržaški nadzornik F. Franco izročil škofiji na Krku. Zanimiv je tudi podatek, da je bil poliptih leta 2002/3 najprej na razstavi v Riminiju, 2004 pa na razstavi v Zagrebu z naslovom *Paolo Veneziano, stoljeće gotike na Jadranu* (Hoyer, 2005b, 17).

Najnovejšo študijo o poliptihu Paola Veneziana je pripravila Enrica Cozzi (2020, 207–221), kjer avtorica naglaša, da gre za emblematičen primer ter se posveča zlasti njegovi usodi v času med obema vojnama oziroma vodenju dokumentacije o tem pomembnem delu, ki je v veliki meri še neobjavljena ter jo hranijo v arhivu Tržaškega nadzorništva. Zahvaljujoč se tej dokumentaciji lahko namreč rekonstruiramo etape in faze selitve omenjenega poliptiha v prvi polovici prejšnjega stoletja, potem ko so ga leta 1912 prenesli na Dunaj z namenom, da ga restavrirajo. Restavratorske posege je opravil slikar Hans Viertelberger, ki je sicer restavriral nekatere stenske slikarije v Istri v času A. Gnirsa. Po prvi svetovni vojni so delo prenesli v Mestni muzej v Trstu. O obdobju preden so ga premestili v Koper, obstaja dokaj zajetna dokumentacija, zlasti za leta 1930–1936. V pismu z dne 28. avgusta 1930, ki ga je Roberto Paribeni z Ministrstva za nacionalno vzgojo (*Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale*) poslal na Generalno direkcijo za starožitnosti in likovno umetnost (*Antichità e Belle Arti*), lahko preberemo, da:

> *so na navedenem ministrstvu odločili, da bi ne bilo primerno, da poliptih z otoka Krka predstavijo javnosti ter bi s tem preprečili morebitno priložnost jugoslovanski vladi, da bi bile razstavljene umetnine, ki so nekdaj pripadale Trstu in niso bile nikoli vrnjene, predmet njenih zahtev po vrnitvi.*[10] *V pismu z dne 27. septembra 1935, ki ga je ing. arh. F. Forlati s Tržaškega nadzorništva poslal koprskemu podestatu Ninu Derinu, pa je navedeno, da me je častiti gospod Giovanni de Madonizza, ki je pred nekaj meseci preurejal naš Mestni muzej in z vso naklonjenostjo spremlja njegov razvoj, seznanil s tem, da se v koprski muzej prenese celotno srednjeveško gradivo in arheološki material iz Pulja. Kar zadeva našo ustanovo, opravičuje tudi mnenje ing. Madonizze in nimam nič proti vašim načrtom, s pomočjo katerih bi dejansko dokaj ustrezno rešili nekoliko kaotično stanje istrske umetnosti. Upam, da bo vaša ideja zmagala in da boste uspešno zaključili zadane naloge.* (Cozzi, 2020, 213)

9 P. Naldini krstilnico omenja kot moderno, iz čvrstega kamna izdelano stavbo s tremi prelepimi oltarji, sredi nje pa stoji krstni kamen, izdelan iz starega marmorja, ki pa bi moral biti zaradi usklajenosti oblike z vsebino, lepše okrašen (Naldini & Darovec, 2001, 200).

10 V času, ko se je poliptih Paola Veneziana zaradi restavratorskih posegov nahajal na Dunaju (1918), so po prvi svetovni vojni italijanske čete začasno zasedle tudi otok Krk, Italija pa je med drugimi umetninami zadržala v svojih rokah tudi znameniti poliptih. Kasneje (z rapalsko pogodbo 1920) je otok Krk prišel pod jugoslovansko suverenost, zato je razumljivo, da si je krška škofija prizadevala, da se znameniti poliptih vrne na njen sedež. V ta namen se je obrnila na jugoslovansko vlado, da bi se pri italijanskih oblasteh zavzela za njegovo vrnitev. Med italijansko in jugoslovansko vlado so potekala dokaj intenzivna diplomatska pogajanja, vendar do vrnitve ni prišlo in je delo še naprej ostalo v italijanskih rokah vse do leta 1944 (Cozzi, 2020, 221, op. 30).

Končno je v pismu z dne 22. junija 1936 koprski podestat glede poliptiha potrdil, da ga bo zaupal v varstvo koprskemu Mestnemu muzeju in izrazil prepričanje, da bo navedeno delo Paola Veneziana v širši javnosti nedvomno vzbudilo velik interes in občudovanje, tako med domačini kot med tujimi obiskovalci. V dopisu Ministrstva za nacionalno vzgojo v Rimu, z dne 14. julija 1936, končno preberemo, da se strinjajo s tem, da bo poliptih Paola Veneziana začasno razstavljen v Mestnem muzeju v Kopru. Poliptih so prenesli v Koper 28. avgusta 1936, muzeju pa ga je izročil A. Santangelo, inšpektor pri Nadzorništvu v Trstu, skupaj s celotno dokumentacijo. Razstavili so ga v glavni muzejski dvorani, a še vedno ni našel pravega miru, saj so ga od tu že leta 1940, kot omenjeno, prepeljali v zbirni center v Vili Manin. Tu je ostal do leta 1944, ko so ga na zahtevo nemške komande vrnili na otok Krk.[11]

Drugo delo, po mnenju I. Domina, naj bi bil fragment poliptiha s podobami štirih svetnikov. Iz novejšega obdobja je v kapiteljski biblioteki zaslediti podobo Križanega iz 15. stoletja, ki naj bi nekdaj pripadal bratovščini sv. Štefana in naj bi imela sedež v istoimenski cerkvi. Gre za delo s podobo Marije z detetom, ki ga pripisujejo Padovaninu.[12] Tu je seveda lahko govora le o Paolu Venezianu, saj T. Brejc navaja, da njegovo avtorstvo oziroma avtorstvo njegovega kroga potrjujejo dela, ki jih je nadziral neposredno mojster sam, žal pa so že prvi opisovalci piranskega poliptiha ugotavljali njegovo slabo ohranjenost, kar je onemogočalo trdnejšo atribucijo. Piranski poliptih naj bi hkrati nastal v času, ko je bila delavnica Paola Veneziana zasuta z naročili in mojster ni imel več jasnega pregleda nad celotno produkcijo. Čeprav je res, da sodi piranski poliptih časovno že v obdobje zatona njegove ustvarjalnosti, pa ni mogoče pristati na tezo, da se je njegova umetniška kvaliteta spustila na raven slabo obvladane obrtniške produkcije. Vsi najboljši poznavalci njegovega opusa so brez omahovanja sprejeli tezo, da gre tudi pri sceni Križanja in z njim povezanih svetniških likov za še vedno dovolj subtilno zasnovane detajle, ki pa so že vključeni v novi izrazni slog: novi »bizantinizem« eshatoloških vizij, ki so se v beneškem prostoru po pustošenju kuge v letih 1347–1348 pojavile v beneški umetnosti in sicer v strogem, brezosebnem, ponižnem in poenostavljenem slogu, v katerem ravno piranski poliptih predstavlja pomembno umetnostno prelomnico (Brejc, 1983, 13).

Dve pomembnejši deli, ki sta bili tudi odtujeni s piranskega območja, sta pripadali vidnejšima slikarjema tistega časa: Alviseju Vivariniju (1447–1503) z delom *Marija z otrokom in muziciraj očima angeloma* (1489) ter Domenicu Tintorettu (1518–1594) z delom *Savudrijska bitka*. Prvo delo, pripisano Alviseju Vivariniju, je do leta 1802/3 krasilo notranjščino cerkvice frančiškanov observantov na Bernardinu pri Portorožu (Oter Gorenčič, 2013, 31–54). Delo je bilo datirano in signirano: *ALVISIUS VIVARINVS DE MURIANO P. MCCCCLXXXVIII* in so ga leta 1802 na zahtevo barona Carnea-Steffanea, tedanjega dvornega komisarja za Istro, Dalmacijo in Albanijo, prenesli na Dunaj, kot darilo cesarju Francu II. Ta ga je vključil v svojo dvorno pinakoteko na Belvederu, kjer je ostalo vse do leta 1920, ko je bilo po določilih saintgermainske pogodbe vrnjeno v tedanji Mestni muzej za zgodovino in umetnost v Kopru. O tem je podrobneje spregovoril A. Pogatschnig in v svojem obširnejšem prispevku osvetlil dejanski potek odvzema dragocenega Vivarinijevega dela in njegovo nadomestilo z drugim, podobnim delom manj znanega slikarja Huberta Maurerja (1738–1818), ki je samostansko cerkvico na Bernardinu krasilo do leta 1806, ko je bil red razpuščen, večji del inventarja pa so patri prenesli v cerkev sv. Ane v Kopru (Pogatschnig, 1913, 213–229).

O tem govori tudi G. Pusterla v rokopisu *I tesori d'arte in Capo d'Istria*,[13] kjer ob orisu umetnin oziroma oltarnih slik v samostanski cerkvi sv. Ane v Kopru navaja, da je v oltarju Brezmadežnega spočetja (*altare della Concezione*) obstajalo delo Giovannija Bellinija. Na osnovi neobjavljenih spominov minorita M. Cargnattija naj bi leta 1802 na priporočilo barona Francesca Marie di Carnea Steffanea, dvornega svetnika za Istro, Dalmacijo in Albanijo, to delo poslali v poklon cesarju Francu II., ki pa je prišlo na Dunaj precej poškodovano zaradi neustrezne embalaže in transporta. Nadomestili so ga z delom Huberta (Uberta) Maurerja, in ga kasneje prepeljali v cerkev sv. Ane, ko so leta 1806 ukinili samostan in cerkev na Bernardinu. V spodnjem delu Vivarinijevega dela, ki je romalo na Dunaj, pa lahko preberemo napis:

> *Ex munificentia Imp. Caes. Francisci II Aug. A. MDCCC. Ab picturam Ab. Aloise Vivarinis Veneto de Muriano an. 1489 pictam Per Fran. Mariam S. R. S. L. Bar. Et Dom. A Carnea Steffaneo ecc. Commissarium Aulium*

11 Dne 27. oktobra 1944 je dr. Walter Frodl obvestil Carla Somedo de Marca, odgovornega za zbirni center umetnin v Vili Manin v Passarianu, da bo nemško poveljstvo nadzorniku Faustu Francu izročilo poliptih sv. Lucije škofu na otoku Krku (Someda De Marco, 2021, 222–223).

12 Alessandro Varotari, imenovan Padovanino, 1580–1650, ki mu, kot je razvidno iz teh letnic, nikakor ne moremo pripisati omenjenega dela (Domino, 1929, 96; Semi, 2020, 210).

13 SI-PAK-294, I tesori d'arte in Capo d'Istria. Memorie storiche di Gedeone Pusterla (prepis rokopisa A. Cernaz).

Slika 14: Zgornje nadstropje samostana sv. Klare z vrsto dragocenih slikarskih del iz XV. in XVI. stoletja v času Prve istrske pokrajinske razstave v Kopru leta 1910 (Krmac, 2010, 15).

Plenipotentiarium Histriae Dalmatie et Epiri Ab Ecclesia II. Franciscanarum quae Pirano in Portu Rosae est Imp. Caesari en 1802 dono datam clementissime acceptam, ejusque justem in Pinacotheca Caes. Quae Vindobonae in suburbano palatio Eugenii est posita.[14]

Po prvi svetovni vojni oziroma razpadu Avstro-Ogrske so italijanske oblasti v skladu s saintgermainsko pogodbo zahtevale vrnitev umetnin in predmetov kulturne dediščine z območja nekdanjega Avstrijskega Primorja. Na seznamu se je znašlo tudi Vivarinijevo delo, ki je avstrijsko prestolnico zapustilo leta 1919, nato pa je bilo sprva na ogled v Milanu in Rimu, potem pa vrnjeno v Istro. Ker Piran v obdobju med obema vojnama še ni imel muzejske ustanove, so ga vključili v tedanji Mestni muzej za zgodovino in umetnost v Kopru, ki je v času po prvi svetovni vojni dobil ustrezne prostore v nekdanji palači Belgramoni-Tacco (Gardina, 2002, 47–74; Gardina, 2010). Tedanja koprska občina se je dejansko v tistem času pojavljala kot lastnica umetnin, ki jih je morala nekdanja cesarska Avstrija vrniti Italiji po prvi svetovni vojni. Ettore Modigliani, ki je v imenu Kraljevine Italije prevzemal restitucijsko gradivo, je 3. marca 1922 obvestil koprski muzej, da je Vivarinijevo delo trenutno v Breri v Milanu in ga bodo prenesli v Rim v zvezi z razstavo vrnjenih umetnin, občina pa je hkrati obvestila muzej, da bo po rimski razstavi poskrbela za vrnitev Vivarinijevega dela v njegove zbirke (Gardina, 2002, 59). V času, ko je muzejsko ustanovo vodil Antonio Alisi (1925–1931), so večino najpomembnejših del, med njimi zlasti Carpaccieva, pa tudi Vivarinijevo delo, prenesli v glavno muzejsko dvorano, kjer so ostala do leta 1940. Med deli, ki so jih 20. junija 1940 evakuirali oziroma odpeljali iz muzeja, je bilo torej tudi Vivarinijevo delo, kar je razvidno iz primopredajnega zapisnika oziroma reverza, ki ga je v imenu Tržaškega načelništva za spomenike in galerije (*Soprintendenza ai monumenti e alle gallerie Trieste*) podpisal Romano Rossini.[15] V naslednjih letih je najprej v zbirnem centru v Vili Manin, nato pa v kraju San Daniele del Friuli, delilo usodo z ostalimi odpeljanimi deli iz Istre in bilo leta 1972 prepeljano na Nadzorništvo v Beneško palačo v Rimu, kjer so ga ob ostalih, leta 1990 inventarizirali in katalogizirali. Maja 2002 se je znašlo na razstavi *Spet najdeni zakladi – mojstrovine iz Istre* v Rimu in bilo za razstavo v Trstu, ki se je v prostorih Muzeja Revoltella odvijala v času od 23. junija 2005 do 6. januarja 2006, tudi

14 G. Pusterla navaja, da je v navedenem oltarju predhodno obstajalo delo Giovannija Bellinija, ki naj bi po pričevanju M. Cargnattija predstavljalo Marijin rodovnik, vendar iz seznamov nekdanjih del, ki so krasile notranjost cerkve s. Ane, ni razvidno, da bi šlo za navedeno delo G. Bellinija, pač pa za delo A. Vivarinija (prim. L'Occaso, 2005, 87). Tudi iz seznama umetniških del v cerkvi in samostanu sv. Ane v Kopru, ki ga je leta 1954 sestavil pater Rupert, kako Bellinijevo delo ni razvidno (prim. Hoyer, 2005a, 125).

15 Na omenjenem zapisniku, ki nosi datum 20. junij 1940, se Vivarinijevo delo nahaja pod zaporedno št. 11 (arhiv Pokrajinskega muzeja Koper, objava v Pokrajinski muzej Koper, 2002, 75).

Slika 15: Bitka pri Savudriji 1177, D. Tintoretto, okoli 1605 (Bojić, Crnobori & Apollonio, 2018, 21).

restavrirano in predstavljeno v katalogu z naslovom: *Histria, opere d'arte restaurate: da Paolo Veneziano a Tiepolo* (Castellani & Casadio, 2005, 120–122).

Avtorica prispevka, Elisabetta Francescutti naglaša, da je zlasti pomenljiva »odisejada« tega pomembnega Vivarinijevega dela, nastalega za frančiškane observante v cerkvici sv. Bernardina pri Portorožu. Sicer pa tudi sama v svojem prispevku ponovi zgodbo o njegovi odtujitvi leta 1802, na njenem mestu pa se je do ukinitve samostana (1806) znašlo delo Huberta Maurerja z naslovom *Brezmadežno spočetje* (*Immacolata Concezione*). Vivarinijevo delo je prispelo na Dunaj leta 1803 in bilo umeščeno v cesarsko galerijo na Belvederu, kjer je ostalo do leta 1891, ko so ga prestavili v Umetniško galerijo (*Gemälde Galerie*) ob Giorgionejevo delo *Trije filozofi* (*Tre filosofi*). Po prvi svetovni vojni je bilo, kot omenjeno, v skladu s saintgermainsko mirovno pogodbo in ob neumornih prizadevanjih Ettora Modiglianija in Antonia Morassija, vrnjeno Italiji. Najprej je bilo na ogled v *Museo Poldi Pezzoli* v Milanu, nato pa v Rimu v Beneški palači (*Palazzo Venezia*). Ker je bila samostanska cerkvica sv. Bernardina že od leta 1806 zapuščena in v propadajočem stanju, so Vivarinijevo delo predali, kot že omenjeno, v hrambo koprskemu Mestnemu muzeju za zgodovino in umetnost, kjer je ostalo do 20. junija 1940.

V nadaljevanju avtorica podaja pregled različnih strokovnih ekspertiz in opredelitev posameznih strokovnjakov, ki so prihajali v stik z navedenim delom. Ob skoraj enoglasnem mnenju, da gre za izvirno in eno najboljših Vivarinijevih del, je v preteklosti zgolj nemški umetnostni zgodovinar in dober poznavalec beneškega slikarstva, Detlev Freiherr von Hadeln (1878–1935), izrazil prepričanje, da gre za repliko iz njegove delavnice v zakristiji cerkve sv. Odrešenika v Benetkah. Ob poglobljeni stilni analizi samega dela je podan tudi obširnejši komentar Paola Casadia k restavratorskim posegom, ki jih je opravljal Gianfranco Mingardi v Brescii v letu 2003/4 (Francescutti, 2005, 120–122).

Drugo delo, ki je tudi izviralo iz cerkvice na Bernardinu in je pripisano Alviseju Vivariniju, je portret sv. Bernardina Sienskega. Tudi to delo so po razpustitvi samostana observanti prenesli v samostan sv. Ane v Kopru. Slika je verjetno fragment večje celote in je v preteklosti doživela več atribucij. Pripisovali so jo tako Alviseju Vivariniju, kot na splošno sienski šoli oziroma anonimnemu vivarinijevskemu mojstru (krog Bartolomea Vivarinija) med letoma 1450–60. F. Semi naglaša, da je sicer glede avtorstva precej neznank. Nedvomno je viden beneški vpliv in delo pripisuje krogu med Giovannijem Boccalijem in Gerolamom di Benvenutom, ki sta delovala med letoma 1445 in 1480 (Semi, 2020, 155). Leta 1940 je bilo uvrščeno v seznam del za evakuacijo v Vilo Manin pri Passarianu, danes pa se nahaja v samostanu sv. Antona v Huminu (Gemona) v sosednji Furlaniji.

Tudi delo *Bitka pri Savudriji*, Domenica Tintoretta (1518–1594), je nekdaj pripadalo piranskemu Solnemu uradu, kasneje pa je krasilo dvorano Mestnega sveta tja do propada Beneške republike (1797) oziroma prve avstrijske vladavine v Istri (1798–1805). O razlogih za njegovo odtujitev iz Pirana je več pričevanj in razlag, prevladuje pa mnenje, da ga je baron Francesco Maria di Carnea Steffaneo želel pokloniti cesarju Francu II. Tako A. Apollonio navaja, da je bilo navedeno delo morda le osnutek za znamenito Tintorettovo fresko, ki je krasila doževo palačo v Benetkah. Stara piranska plemiška klika naj bi se ravno s poklonitvijo tega znamenitega dela pogajala z dunajskim dvorom, oziroma z baronom Steffaneom, ter dosegla ponovno vzpostavitev nekdanjih pravic Mestnega sveta z izločitvijo »vsiljivcev«. O tem govorijo številni dokumenti in zapleti pri pogajanjih, ko naj bi baron Steffaneo končno popustil zahtevam ter 4. novembra 1801 sklical stari Mestni svet v nekdanji sejni dvorani, ta pa se mu je oddolžil z donacijo znamenitega Tintorettovega dela, ki naj bi romalo na Dunaj.[16]

Kratek komentar v zvezi s to problematiko zasledimo v delu *Pirano un'immagine* pod uredništvom S. Luse (1994), kjer ob omembi slavne edikole V. Carpaccia iz leta 1518, ki so jo iz frančiškanske cerkve v Piranu umaknili leta 1940 z namenom, »da bi jo zaščitili pred vojnimi nevarnostmi«, avtor pripominja, da je s tem tudi nepričakovano izginila ter da upa v njeno čudežno vrnitev oziroma ponovno »prikazanje«. Hkrati tudi dodaja, da imamo v Piranu tudi »grdo predhodno izkušnjo« z nekaterimi drugimi umetniškimi deli, ki so izginila, kot npr. Tintorettovo delo z motivom »savudrijske bitke«, ki je stoletja krasilo dvorano Velikega sveta in so ga leta 1801 podarili avstrijskemu cesarju, a je kaj kmalu izginilo iz cesarske galerije na Dunaju (Lusa & Apollonio, 1994, 65).

V svojem delu *Srečanja z morjem/Incontri con il mare* D. Žitko navaja, da sta v Pomorskem muzeju ohranjeni zgolj dve fotografiji grafične upodobitve bitke pri Savudriji, ki jo je sicer izdelal Domenico Rossetti (papir, 44,5 x 58,5 cm) in je bila v sedemdesetih letih žal ukradena (Žitko, 1999).

Pod fotografijama je podnapis, ki pojasnjuje: *La Battaglia di Salvore. Doge Sebastiano Ziani contro Ottone figlio di Federico Barbarossa epoca nel maggio 1177. …Vittoria ….a Pirano per la Serenissima Republica di Venezia contro Ottone figlio dell'imperatore Federico Barbarossa nella Sala del Gran Consiglio.*

Epoca nel maggio 1177.

Doge Sebastiano Ziani.

Tintorettovo monumentalno delo, *Bitka pri Savudriji*, naslikano v spomin na velik in prelomen zgodovinski dogodek, ki se je odvijal v piranskem zalivu, je torej več kot dve stoletji krasilo veliko dvorano piranskega Mestnega sveta (*Sala del Consiglio*). Po obsegu je bilo celo nekoliko večje kot Domenicu Tintorettu pripisano delo *Marija z otrokom in piranskimi mestnimi očeti* (1578), ki se od leta 1997 znova nahaja na svojem prvotnem mestu, med letoma 1954 do 1997 pa je bilo v zbirkah Pomorskega muzeja v Piranu. Sama velikost dela s prizorom savudrijske bitke hkrati spodbija tezo, da bi bila zgolj osnutek za Tintorettovo delo v doževi palači v Benetkah (Žitko, 1999, 32).

Novejšo, obširnejšo študijo, tako bitki pri Savudriji, kot njenim različnim upodobitvam, posvečata tudi L. De Luca in E. Biasiolo (2018, 17–26). Avtorici sta svoje delo zasnovali na podlagi rokopisa, ki ga hranijo v biblioteki muzeja Correr v Benetkah pod signaturo *Correr 1497* in govori o prihodu papeža Aleksandra III. v Benetke ter mirovne pogodbe s cesarjem Friderikom Barbarosso ob posredništvu doža Sebastjana Zianija. Rokopis dopolnjuje 11 dragocenih miniatur, ki ilustrirajo sam dogodek, kakor tudi bitko pri Savudriji. S pomočjo skrbne in kritične raziskave virov in literature sta avtorici lahko oblikovali dokaj realen historiografski kontekst »mita o savudrijski bitki« in njenih upodobitev. Pri tem navajata, da zlasti razprava Line Padoan Urban z naslovom *La festa della Sensa nelle arti e nell'iconografia* (Padoan Urban, 1968) vsebuje mnoge dragocene informacije o upodobitvah navedene bitke, ki so se pojavljale in izginjale oziroma prikazovale prihod papeža Aleksandra III. v Benetke, samo savudrijsko bitko in mirovno pogodbo s Friderikom Barbarosso. Z naslonitvijo na omenjeno razpravo in druge strokovne članke sta lahko pripravili krajšo rekonstrukcijo slikarskih upodobitev navedenih dogodkov. Prve upodobitve so se tako pojavile že leta 1229, leta 1319 pa je beneška *Signoria* v času vladanja doža Giovannija Soranza naročila ciklus komemorativnih freskantskih upodobitev, s katerimi naj bi obeležili

16 Repertorium Rerum Notabilium Communitatis Pirani, zapisnik navedene seje Mestnega sveta v listinah 256/v in 257/r (Apollonio, 1993, 9–121).

Slika 16: Piranski mandrač iz leta 1894 (Humar, 2021, 55).

mirovno pogodbo iz leta 1177 v kapeli sv. Nikolaja v doževi palači. Zahvaljujoč podatkom o prvih restavratorskih posegih na omenjenih poslikavah, naj bi že okoli leta 1400 povsem zbledele, leta 1483 pa naj bi jih dokončno uničil požar. O poslikavah se ni ohranilo ničesar, niti skice oziroma risarske podloge.

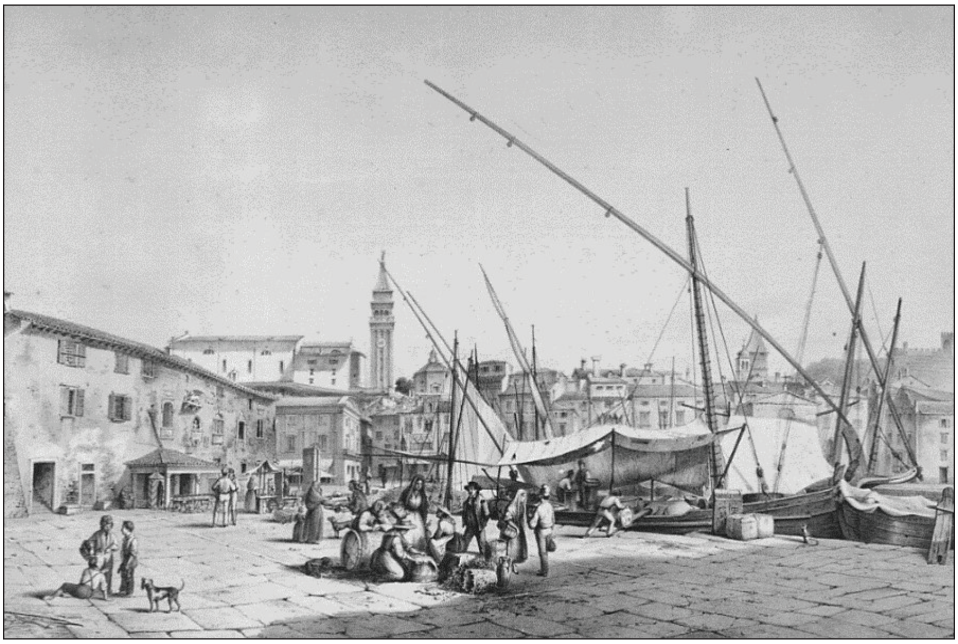
Ko so leta 1340 pričeli z gradnjo dvorane Velikega sveta (*Sala del Maggior Consiglio*), so nekaj let zatem odredili izdelavo druge serije poslikav velikih dimenzij – najprej so jo zaupali padovanskemu slikarju Guarientu, zatem pa Gentileju da Fabrianu in Pisanellu v 15. stoletju. Poslikave so znova povsem zbledele že do leta 1456 in sta jih restavrirala brata Gentile in Giovanni Bellini, kasneje pa tudi Tizian leta 1479. Freske je znova uničil požar, ki je doževo palačo prizadel leta 1577. Podoba dvorane Velikega sveta pred požarom se je sicer ohranila na dveh grafičnih upodobitvah, ohranjenih v biblioteki Marciani oziroma muzeju Correr. Eno je izdelal Paolo Furlano iz Verone, druga pa je delo neznanega mojstra. Razen tega so se ohranili opisi v latinskem jeziku, ki se hranijo v Državnem arhivu v Benetkah (De Luca & Biasiolo, 2018, 22).

Po požaru leta 1577 so dvorano Velikega sveta znatno preuredili in predvideli tudi novo poslikavo. Od novih platen, ki so krasile stene od leta 1587 dalje, jih je bilo le 12 posvečenih zgoraj navedenemu dogajanju iz leta 1177, med njimi sedmo platno, na katerem je Tintoretto upodobil bitko pri Savudriji. Zunaj Benetk je bilo to dogajanje upodobljeno le na ciklusu slik v Sieni in v cerkvi S. Giovanni v Lateranu, pa tudi v *Sala Regia* v Vatikanskih muzejih, sicer pa Lina Padoan Urban ne omenja nastanka tega Tintorettovega dela v Piranu.

Zgodba o odtujitvi navedenega dela je torej dokaj enigmatična in zapletena in so se z njo ukvarjali številni zgodovinarji in raziskovalci piranske kulturne dediščine. Iz različnih dokumentov in prispevkov je moč razbrati, da so bili Pirančani nanjo zelo navezani, saj so jo cenili zaradi same tematike – se pravi slavne pomorske zmage Beneške republike v piranskih vodah, pa tudi zaradi avtorja, beneškega mojstra Domenica Tintoretta.[17]

Do odtujitve njegovega monumentalnega dela je vsekakor prišlo po padcu Beneške republike oziroma v času prve avstrijske zasedbe Istre leta 1797, ko je Istro na čelu avstrijskih vojaških enot začel zasedati opolnomočeni komisar za nove province, grof Raimond Thurn. V cesarskem imenu je na čelo istrske province postavil »c. k. Provizorično pokrajinsko vlado« (*Cesareo-regio governo provinciale provvisorio dell'Istria veneta*) s sedežem v Kopru in pokrajinsko upravo poveril baronu Franzu Filipu de Rothu. Nekdanja beneška komunska uprava je doživela nekaj sprememb, saj je pod avstrijsko upravo postala bolj demokratična. Pri tem je v Piranu in Rovinju nova avstrijska oblast ohranila nekdanje mestne svete, s tem, da je imenovala svojega

17 L. Menaše v obsežnem *Evropskem umetnostno-zgodovinskem leksikonu*, omenja zgolj Jacopa Tintoretta (1515/19–1594) z vzdevkom Jacopo Robusti (Menaše, 1971, 2146). Tudi T. Brejc D. Tintoretta le bežno omenja, več pozornosti mu namenja le J. Mikuž v prispevku *Domnevni Domenico Tintoretto v piranskem Pomorskem muzeju* (Mikuž, 1972a, 21–25), s tam navedeno literaturo.



Slika 17: August Tischbein, Pogled na Piran s trgom ob mandraču leta 1842 (Tischbein & Selb, 1842).

političnega načelnika (*direttore politico*), sicer pa je magistratom prepustila vse nekdanje statutarne funkcije, ki so jih nekoč opravljali mestni sveti.

Grof Thurn je ob svojem prihodu v mesta nekdanje beneške Istre, na sedežu Mestnega sveta v Piranu, opazil tudi Tintorettovo monumentalno delo s prizorom savudrijske bitke. Dne 11. avgusta 1797 je v zvezi s tem pisal cesarskemu opolnomočenemu predsedniku pokrajinske vlade, baronu F. von Rothu[18], da se v:

> *dvorani Mestnega sveta v Piranu, glede na sedanje okoliščine, nahaja dokaj neprimerno delo, saj predstavlja znameniti poraz, ki ga je beneška mornarica prizadejala cesarski floti pod Barbarosso, ki jo je vodil njegov sin Oton in celo padel v ujetništvo ravno na območju savudrijskega rta. Ker gre za ponižanje in osramotitev cesarskih pomorskih sil, kar je dokaj očitno razpoznavno tudi na navedenem delu, ki je iz njega izpuhtevalo vsa stoletja beneške nadvlade, predlagam, da bi ga mimo oči javnosti predal v vaše roke in bi lahko z jamstvom piranskih oblasti opravili njegov sprejem*. (Benussi, 1921, 224)

Ker grof Thurn od barona von Rotha ni prejel nobenega odgovora, se je takoj po svojem prihodu v Zadar nanj ponovno obrnil z dopisom, v katerem je želel izvedeti, ali se navedeno delo še vedno nahaja v dvorani Mestnega sveta?

Že 11. avgusta 1797 se je tudi dr. Jacopo Panzani, novi politični načelnik Pirana, obrnil na piranski Mestni svet z željo, da bi njegovi predstavniki sprejeli sklep o donaciji Tinorettovega dela avstrijskemu cesarju Francu II., vendar so se piranski meščani odločno postavili po robu temu predlogu in naglasili, da lahko avstrijske oblasti njegovo odstranitev opravijo le s silo; enakega mnenja je bil tudi Panzani. Kategorična zavrnitev piranskega meščanstva o donaciji dragocene Tintorettove umetnine ni bila zgolj odraz spoštovanja do navedenega umetniškega dela, ki je ponazarjalo stoletno pripadnost in navezanost Pirana do *Serenissime*, pač pa je omenjeno delo predstavljalo tudi nekakšno idealno vez, ki se je stkala med Benetkami in Piranom, katerega čustvena navezanost na mesto v laguni naj bi rasla še naprej v jutrišnji dan po njenem dokončnem zatonu (Knez, 2003, 268).

Predstavniki Pirana so bili odločeni, da bodo vztrajali pri svojem stališču vse dotlej, dokler ne bodo dobili zagotovil o tem, kje bo nova lokacija Tintorettove slike, saj tudi znano in dragoceno Vivarinijevo delo, ki je nekdaj krasilo cerkvico na Bernardinu pri Piranu, naj ne bi nikoli prišlo na dunajski dvor (sic!). V nadaljevanju je 22. avgusta

18 Podrobneje v poglavju *Filippo von Roth, responsabile del Governo provvisorio, un funzionario riformatore di impronta »Giuseppina«* (Apollonio, 1998, 143).

1797 von Roth ponovno pisal grofu Thurnu, rekoč, »da je vse do tega dne čakal na prihod omenjene umetnine, ki pa ga ni dočakal zaradi odklonilnega stališča dr. Panzanija«; v pismu ne manjka prezira in zaničevanja do Pirančanov oziroma do Istranov na splošno. Grof Thurn je hkrati doumel, da v trenutnih okoliščinah ni bilo možno odvzeti navedenega dela brez uporabe sile in da je bilo bolje počakati, da se položaj umiri (Apollonio, 1998, 141, op. 15).

Položaj se je dejansko spremenil šele po prihodu novega generalnega komisarja, furlanskega plemenitaša barona Francesca Marie di Carnea Steffanea, ki je v razglasu z dne 1. oktobra 1801 napovedal obsežne spremembe na upravnem področju in Istranom obljubil novo in stabilnejšo upravno strukturo, s tem da se je kot tipičen konzervativec pri krepitvi mestnih svetov odločil za vračanje pristojnosti, ki so jih le-ti že imeli pod *Serenissimo*. Novost je bila tudi v tem, da je precej razširil število članov mestnih svetov s pritegnitvijo bogatega meščanstva pa tudi predstavnikov iz vrst popularov. Kot politik »povrnitve starega reda« je dejansko želel vse mestne svete oblikovati iz različnih slojev prebivalstva, po drugi strani pa je, kot že navedeno, v Piranu in Rovinju zaviral pobudo za dosego enakosti in ravno v Piranu sklenil »kupčijo«, da ustreže nekdanji plemiški oligarhiji in ohrani sestavo nekdanjega Mestnega sveta, v katerega bi lahko meščani prišli le na podlagi premoženjskega cenzusa, v zameno za to uslugo pa so mu člani sveta predali dragoceno Tintorettovo delo, ki je s tem lahko končno romalo na cesarski dvor na Dunaju (Apollonio, 1993, 26).

To dejanje je zabeležilo tudi uradno glasilo *L'Osservatore Triestino*, ki med drugim navaja: »V dvorani našega Mestnega sveta visi veliko platno, ki predstavlja pomorsko bitko [...] v vodah našega okrožja in sicer blizu savudrijskega rta. To delo [...] je tistega večera služilo kot predmet javne zahvale, ki je bila spontano izrečena njegovi visokosti baronu de Carnea-Steffaneu« (L'Osservatore Triestino, 16. 11. 1801, 1616). V zapisniku zasedanja piranskega Mestnega sveta je med drugim navedeno, da:

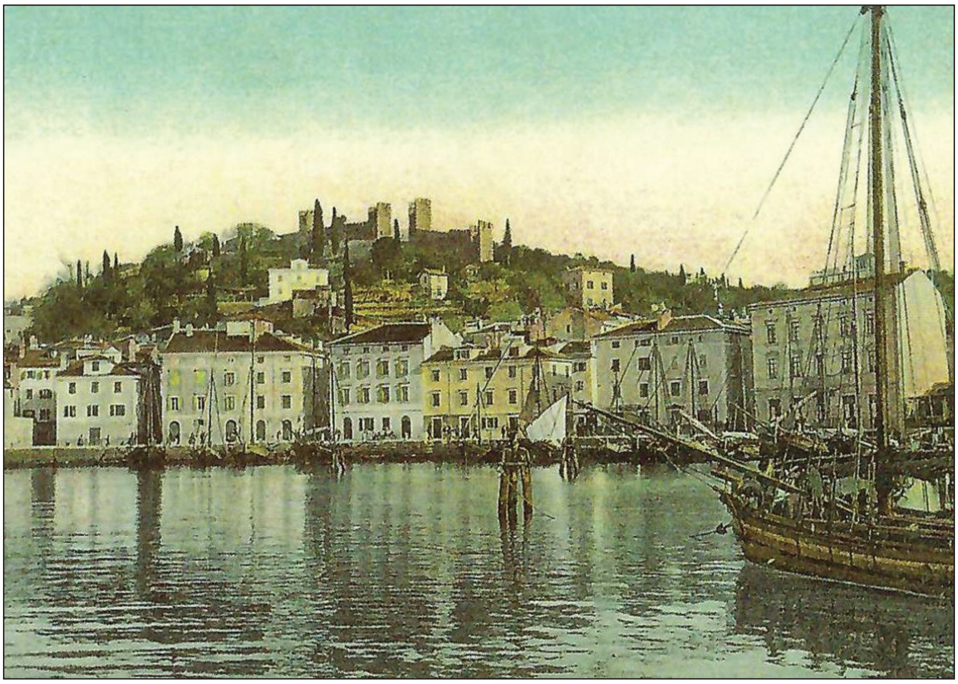
> *bi bilo navedeno platno prav gotovo bolj primerno za okras cesarske galerije na Dunaju in ga člani starega piranskega sveta s posredovanjem barona Steffanea – v vlogi »angela miru« [Angelo di Pace], končno poklanjajo avstrijskemu cesarju, potem ko so ga toliko časa skrbno čuvali. Omenjeno je tudi, da bo Tintorettovo delo umeščeno v dunajsko cesarsko zbirko šele potem, ko bo Steffaneo prejel nakazilo v višini nekaj tisoč tolarjev, hkrati pa naj bi v zameno Steffaneo za Piran pridobil platno večjih dimenzij s podobo cesarja Franca II. in njegovega sina Ferdinanda v znak cesarjeve zahvale za »spontano donacijo« Pirančanov.* (Knez, 2003, 270)

V nekem pismu barona Steffanea z dne 31. decembra 1801, ki ga je naslovil na piranski Mestni svet, lahko tudi razberemo, da »so se poglavarji starih patricijskih rodbin, ki so ga sestavljale, dejansko enoglasno odločili, da platno predajo opolnomočenemu komisarju«, s tem pa je bila piranska komuna dejansko ogoljufana, in kot navaja A. Apollonio, »dvoumna igra« ni bila nikoli pojasnjena (Apollonio, 1993, 172).

Dne 2. junija 1803 je piranska delegacija v Kopru od guvernerja F. de Rotha prevzela obljubljeni cesarjev portret, o čemer je znova poročal *L'Osservatore Triestino*, spomladi 1805 pa še portret princa prestolonaslednika Ferdinanda, vendar iz dela *Inventario degli oggetti d'arte d'Italia*, v zvezku, ki je bil namenjen Istri, ni zaslediti nobene informacije o obeh cesarskih portretih. Že leta 1913 pa naj bi A. Gnirs, c. k. konzervator za Avstrijsko Primorje s sedežem v Pulju, poročal Centralni komisiji za spomeniško varstvo na Dunaju, da je omenjena portreta, ob ukinitvi Konzorcija soli leta 1913, prevzelo c. k. Namestništvo v Trstu, saj v Piranu zanju, po Gnirsovem mnenju, ni bilo ustreznih prostorov, kjer bi ju dostojno hranili in razstavili. Dne 27. aprila 1913 so ju prepeljali v Trst, kjer sta odslej krasila sejno dvorano c. k. namestništva (Mader, 2000, 91).

POVOJNE RAZMERE V PIRANU IN PRIZADEVANJA ZA VRNITEV NJEGOVE KULTURNE DEDIŠČINE

Z vojaško zasedbo severozahodne Istre, 1. maja 1945, je bila nekdanja Julijska krajina z Morganovo črto razdeljena na cono A (zahodni del Julijske krajine) in cono B (vzhodni del Julijske krajine do rapalske meje), kjer se je znašel tudi Piran. Za njegovo prebivalstvo se je pričelo obdobje precejšnje negotovosti, saj mu politični in gospodarski ukrepi Vojne uprave jugoslovanske armade (VUJA) niso vlivali upanja za boljšo prihodnost. Uvedba jugolire je oteževala vzdrževanje tradicionalnih vezi s Trstom in s tem prizadela zlasti gospodarsko razvitejši sloj, ki je že pod avstrijsko vladavino tvoril jedro iredentističnega gibanja, v obdobju med obema vojnama, torej pod Kraljevino Italijo, pa je bil v močno oporo fašističnemu režimu. Zaplembe premoženja, nacionalizacija, odprava kolonata in agrarna reforma, so zelo prizadeli višje sloje, epuracijske komisije pa so ogrožale tudi nižje sloje. Najhujši ekonomski udarec za prebivalstvo italijanske narodnosti pa je sledil po Pariškem mirovnem sporazumu leta 1947, ko so zaradi negotove prihodnosti pričeli z deportacijo industrijske oziroma strojne opreme, motornih ladij in podobno. Število mestnega prebivalstva je začelo naglo padati. Tako je v samem Piranu ostalo 5.855 prebivalcev, v mestnem zaledju oziroma v vaseh nad Dragonjo pa 1.279. Spodbujanje migracije s strani političnih oblasti po letu 1950, zlasti



Slika 18: Piran na začetku 20. stoletja (zasebna zbirka).

pa leta 1952, ko beležimo prvi večji val izselitev, se je število prebivalstva znižalo na 4.300 in je še nadalje padalo vse do leta 1956, ko je doseglo najnižje število, in sicer 1.452 v samem mestnem jedru in 894 v okolici. Tolikšen odliv prebivalstva se je odražal tudi na šolskih ustanovah, ki so zabeležile izrazit upad vpisanih učencev in dijakov oziroma njihov prehod v slovenske šole. Z odločitvijo Ljudskega odbora občine Piran so bili s šolskim letom 1955/56 italijanski osnovni šoli dodeljeni novi prostori v palači Bartole – Fonda, v šolskem letu 1959/60 pa je tu zaživela tudi Srednja ekonomska šola z italijanskim učnim jezikom (Ginnasio Antonio Sema, 2015, 111).

Če se torej povrnemo v leto 1945, naj najprej navedemo, da je bila z odlokom predsedstva SNOS že maja tistega leta ustanovljena Komisija za ugotovitev škode na kulturno-zgodovinskih predmetih Slovenije, ki je dobila nalogo zbrati podatke o nastali škodi v vojnem obdobju in predlagati, kako bi se odneseni kulturno-zgodovinski predmeti vrnili domov. Poleg tega je morala komisija sestaviti sezname vseh posvetnih, se pravi necerkvenih umetniških del, bodisi v zasebni kot javni lasti, ki so bila uničena ali odnesena. V dopisu Prosvetnega odseka Okrožnega narodnoosvobodilnega odbora za Tržaško okrožje okrajnim prosvetnim referentom in okrajnim komisijam za ugotovitev okupatorjevih zločinov, z dne 15. maja 1945, je bilo potrebno še posebej navesti tudi vso škodo na kulturno-zgodovinskih predmetih in umetninah, ki jo je povzročil italijanski okupator od leta 1918 dalje do izbruha druge svetovne vojne. To je veljalo zlasti za knjižnice s starejšimi tiski, za kulturne domove ter šole, posebno pozornost pa so morali posvetiti seznamom uničenih ali prepovedanih knjig, ki jih italijanske okupatorske oblasti niso dovolile tiskati ali razširjati. Iz seznama kulturno-zgodovinskih predmetov, ki naj bi jih zaplenili, če bi bili še v rokah tujcev ali domačih izdajalcev, nekdanjih okupatorskih društev in ustanov, so bili pomembni predvsem:

- umetnine in umetniški pripomočki,
- starine (npr. narodopisne in zgodovinske znamenitosti, staro pohištvo, umetnoobrtni izdelki, filatelistične zbirke, zbirke starega denarja itd.),
- knjige, časopisi, arhivi in fotografije,
- znanstveni pripomočki,
- različni predmeti, ki so spadali k opremi šol, društev in cerkva,
- javni spomeniki ter starinske zgradbe,
- prirodne znamenitosti (npr. botanični in zoološki vrtovi, podzemne jame s kapniki itd.).

Posebej je bilo potrebno paziti na večje zbirke (galerije slik, muzejske zbirke, knjižnice, večje znanstvene laboratorije) ter zgradbe, v katerih so te zbirke hranili (umetnostne galerije, muzeje, gradove, samostane, gledališča, knjižnice in druge znanstvene in kulturne ustanove in cerkve).

Na podlagi odredbe je Odsek za prosveto 10. oktobra 1945 pripravil take sezname tudi za območje Okrajnega ljudskega odbora Koper. Pripravljen je bil splošni seznam rokopisov in knjig, ki so pripadale nekdanji Občinski knjižnici (*Biblioteca Comunale*) s pripombo, da so bile knjige po odredbi Višjega knjižnega nadzorstva (dejansko pa Ministrstva za izobraževanje – *Ministero dell'Educazione Nazionale*) odpeljane v Benetke, da bi jih »obvarovali pred morebitnimi zračnimi napadi«. Seznam knjig je vseboval:

- knjige mesta Koper,
- zgodovinske spise srednjega veka,
- občinske akte,
- dokumente občinske administracije,
- pergamene in druge dokumente, zakonike in mestne statute,
- rokopise družine Carli,
- akte, ki so povezani s francosko vladavino (1806 – 1813/14),
- akte, ki so povezani s prvim obdobjem avstrijske vladavine (1797 – 1805/6),
- dokumente, pisma in razne akte, ki so predstavljali obdobje italijanskega *risorgimenta*,
- knjige, od katerih je bilo kakšnih 10 del, pripisanih koprskemu humanistu in eruditu Girolamu Muziu in nekaj časopisov.

Pod seznamom je pripomba, da strokovni delavci v Kopru »ne znajo oceniti teh zgodovinskih vrednosti«, lahko pa bi jih zahtevali nazaj od Višjega knjižničnega nadzorstva v Benetkah.[19]

Pripravljen je bil tudi seznam umetniških predmetov, ki so bili, kot smo videli, po naročilu »Višjega nadzorstva za spomenike in galerije Julijske krajine in Furlanije«, odpeljani iz koprskega muzeja in nekaterih cerkva. V seznamu so navedena dela A. Vivarinija, B. in V. Carpaccia, P. Veneziana, G. B. Piazzette in nekaterih drugih ter tolkača Taccove in Borisijeve palače. Dodan je bil tudi kratek opis gledališča Ristori in že porušenega spomenika Nazaria Saura, medtem ko je bil za Piran pripravljen seznam slik in oltarjev župne cerkve sv. Jurija, samostanske cerkve sv. Frančiška in cerkve Marije Tolažnice. Gre torej za prve sezname, ki so kasneje sestavljali restitucijske zahteve Socialistične federativne Republike Jugoslavije do Italije, vendar sta jih obe državi začeli resneje reševati šele po sklenitvi Osimskih sporazumov (prim. Škorjanec, 2007).

USTANOVITEV KOMISIJE ZA SPOMENIŠKO VARSTVO IN MESTNEGA MUZEJA V PIRANU

Posebno za Piran je v tistih letih predstavljala veliko pridobitev ustanovitev tedanjega Mestnega muzeja, ki je šele kasneje prerasel v Pomorski muzej »Sergej Mašera« Piran, hkrati pa tudi Komisije za spomeniško varstvo, kjer je ključno vlogo že od samega začetka igral Miroslav Pahor, ki je pred tem vodil Mestno knjižnico v Kopru (Pahor, 1979, 53–75). Ker je v začetni fazi vodil navedeno komisijo, je imel dokaj dober vpogled v stanje premične kulturne dediščine na območju mesta, ki jih je želelo zlasti italijansko prebivalstvo ob svojem odhodu odpeljati s seboj. S hitrim posredovanjem je preprečil, da se ni izgubila sled za njimi oziroma, da niso bili uničeni, saj so ravno številni predmeti kasneje služili za osnovni fond kasnejše muzejske zbirke. Tako je bila v tedanjem Mestnem muzeju kmalu na ogled Tartinijeva zbirka, zbirka orožja in meščanske materialne kulture, pa tudi predmeti iz nekdanje piranske steklarne in nekaj predmetov o solinarstvu. Ravno tako so pomembno mesto dobile nekatere arheološke najdbe in lapidarij, sčasoma pa je Pahor načrtoval tudi odprtje pomorske zbirke, saj so bili pomorstvo, ladjedelništvo, solinarstvo in ribištvo sestavni del preteklosti Pirana in njegovega ožjega zaledja (Terčon, 2022).

Pisna dokumentacija z zahtevki po vrnitvi umetniških del in predmetov kulturne dediščine je sicer začela nastajati že takoj po koncu druge svetovne vojne oziroma po vojaški zasedbi obalnega pasu v okviru VUJA, kasneje pa zlasti cone B STO. Pomembno prelomnico predstavlja leto 1954, ko je bil z Londonskim memorandumom nekdanji Okraj Koper vključen v Republiko Slovenijo, okraj Buje pa v Republiko Hrvatsko.

Seznami odtujenih oziroma odpeljanih umetnin so za piransko območje, ki je delovalo v okviru Okraja Koper, nastajali sprva v okviru slovenske spomeniškovarstvene službe na osnovi poročil, ki jih je po letu 1954, ko je prevzel vodenje tedanjega Mestnega muzeja v Piranu, kot omenjeno, zbiral Miroslav Pahor na osnovi poročil piranskega župnika Egidija Malusàja in Giorgia Lugnanija iz minoritskega samostana.

V arhivu nekdanjega Zavoda za varstvo in znanstveno preučevanje kulturnih spomenikov in naravnih znamenitosti Ljudske republike Slovenije (LRS) v Ljubljani, kjer je delovala restitucijska komisija, so hranili pisno korespondenco z dr. Francetom Stelètom, ki je iz Rima o restitucijski problematiki poročal ravnatelju spomeniškega zavoda LRS Edu Turnherju. Le-ta mu je odgovarjal, da so bili iz Beograda restitucijski zahtevki že poslani v Rim, če je zanje obstajala zadostna dokumentacija (prim. Hoyer, 2005b, 14–30; Žitko, 2005, 30–35).

Frančiškani v Ljubljani so takoj po prevzemu koprskega samostana pod svojo upravo sprožili postopek za vrnitev samostanskih liturgičnih predmetov, oblačil, prtov, slik itd., ki so jih italijanski redovniki leta 1947 odnesli iz Kopra v Italijo, šele leta 1954 pa so koprski frančiškani sestavili seznam

19 SI-PAK-24, Okrajni ljudski odbor Koper, 1945, 3.

Slika 19 in 20: G. Tiepolo, Madona s pasom in svetniki, 1730 (levo); G. Angeli, Rožnovenska Marija med sv. Dominikom in sv. Rozo (desno). Deli sta krasili cerkev Marije Tolažnice in župno cerkev sv. Jurija (Luparia & Savio, 2005, 177 in 183).

umetniških del, ki so jih pogrešali zlasti v cerkvi in samostanu sv. Ane. V dopisih, kjer so prosili za vrnitev cerkvenega posodja, oblačil in prtov, so ves čas opozarjali, da so njihova umetniška dela v depojih pri italijanskih državnih institucijah, ki so jih v začetku druge svetovne vojne prevzele od samostana, in da naj zato njihovo vrnitev zahteva jugoslovanska država. Takšen poziv so že 10. junija 1955 naslovili na Zavod za spomeniško varstvo LRS, od koder je bil poslan naprej v Beograd na ministrstvo za zunanje zadeve (Hoyer, 2005b, 19).

Mestni ljudski odbor v Piranu (*Comitato poplare cittadino Pirano*) je tako že 26. marca 1947 pripravil dopis oziroma seznam del, ki jih je Tržaško nadzorništvo odpeljalo v zbirni center v Vilo Manin 20. junija 1940 in so bila v lasti tedanje občine Piran oziroma bolnišnice. V prvi skupini so našteta umetniška dela oziroma stari tiski:

1. Benedetto Carpaccio, Marija na prestolu z otrokom med sv. Jurijem in sv. Lucijo, 1541,
2. Inkunabula Duns Scotus Quolibetales, XV. stoletje,
3. Statut Pirana,
4. Rokopis iz XIV. stoletja in knjiga piranskih družin,
5. Kodeks iz XVI. stoletja.

V drugi skupini iz bolnišnice (*Pia casa di Ricovero*) pa:

1. Melchiore Caffà, Kristusov krst,
2. *Ecce homo*, leseni doprsni kip.

Drugi seznam z dne 1. aprila 1947, ki ga je pripravila župnija Piran (*Collegiata e parrocchia S. Giorgio Martire, Pirano*), pa vključuje še:

1. Madona in svetniki, poliptih na lesu, P. Veneziano,
2. Križanje, tempera na les, P. Veneziano,
a). Lesena gotska poslikana omara – štirje naslikani svetniki, beneško slikarstvo, XV. stoletje,
3. Rožnovenska Marija – platno G. Angelija,
4. Misal z inicialko, XV. stol.,
5. Kodeks z inicialkami, bolonjska šola, 1294,

Cerkev Marije Tolažnice (*Chiesa della Consolazione*)

6. Marija s pasom, G. B. Tiepola,

Cerkev sv. Štefana (*Chiesa di S. Stefano*)

7. Križanje – tempera na lesu, XIV. stol., bolonjska šola,
8. Oznanjenje Palme ml.[20]

Dokaj pomenljiv je v zvezi s pripravo seznamov odtujenih umetnin dopis Mestnega ljudskega odbora Piran (seznami in dopisi so deloma v italijanskem, deloma pa v slovenskem jeziku) z dne 29. aprila 1947, ki sta ga podpisala sekretar Libero Schiavuzzi in predsednik Pietro Fonda ter ga naslovila na Okrajno disciplinsko komisijo v Kopru (*Commissione Distrettuale di Disciplina-Capodistria*). Dopis se nanaša na odnos oziroma postopanje nekdanjega sekretarja Maria Bartola do nalog, ki bi jih moral izvrševati. Iz poročila je namreč razviden njegov indiferenten odnos, nezainteresiranost do izvrševanja nalog, nenehno bojkotiranje, zamujanje pri pošiljanju pomembnih dopisov, npr.: postopkov v zvezi z vračanjem umetniških del, ki so bila odpeljana med vojno s strani Tržaškega nadzorništva, zamolčevanje podatkov o pomembnejših umetniških delih, ki so jih med vojno skrili nekateri vidnejši mestni funkcionarji (sic!) in predmetov, ki so jih odkrili meseca januarja tega leta (1947), za kar bi se moral predsednik Mestnega ljudskega odbora tov. Pietro Fonda zahvaliti nekemu neznancu. Glede na to,

> *da je bil tov. Mario Bartole edini, ki je vedel za te predmete, in je to raje zamolčal ter ni seznanil navedenega ljudskega odbora, s svojim zamolčanjem pa napravil veliko škodo, je Mestni ljudski odbor s svoje strani podprl razrešnico, ki jo je zanj predlagala Komisija za razrešitve in je svojo odločitev vrnila v pristojnost Okrajni disciplinski komisiji in Javnemu tožilstvu, da bi o tej zadevi sporočili svoje mnenje.*[21]

V Piranu je minoritski samostan pravni službi Okrajnega ljudskega odbora v Kopru že 7. septembra 1954 poslal dopis, v katerem sporoča, da je njihova posebna komisija pregledala in popisala vse knjige, umetnine in zgodovinske spomenike v samostanu in ugotovila sledeče:

- Knjižnica in arhiv samostana sta nameščena v prvem nadstropju v sobah, ki se dotikajo cerkve. Tako knjižnica kot arhiv sta v slabem stanju in nimata niti inventarja, niti kakega drugega popisa, iz katerega bi bilo razvidno sedanje stanje. Glede na prazne police sklepajo, da je bilo odpeljanih precej knjig, kar pa je težko dokazati.
- Pogled na zunanjo podobo knjižnice dokazuje, da jo je komisija našla v precejšnjem neredu. Knjižnica je tudi polna prahu in slabo vzdrževana ter obstaja resna nevarnost, da v kratkem propade, saj se mnoge knjige ne bodo mogle niti restavrirati, ker manjkajo naslovne oziroma notranje strani. Takih knjig je najmanj 100 in jih je morala komisija izločiti.
- Po vsebini je knjižnica v glavnem teološkega značaja, veliko pa je tudi del s področja rimske klasike, filozofije, zgodovine, nekaj tudi naravoslovnih in ostalih. Zastopan je tudi lokalni tisk. Komisija je našla tudi tri inkunabule, okrog 40 tiskov iz XVI. stoletja, pa tudi tiske iz obdobja od XVII. do XIX. stoletja, ter nekaj dobrih tiskov iz XX. stoletja. Prevladujejo tiski iz XVIII. stoletja in sicer iz Benetk, Bassana in Padove. Piranska knjižnica tako dopolnjuje frančiškanski knjižnici v Kopru in Izoli ter bi bilo v tem pogledu škodljivo, da bi knjižnico pustili na sedanjem kraju, ali pa da bi jo prepustili minoritom, ki bi jo morali v tem primeru premestiti v pritličje in bi jo s tem uničili.
- Komisija je pregledala tudi samostanski arhiv, ki naj bi vseboval nekaj pridig in cerkvenih govorov, pa tudi računske knjige samostana od XVIII. stoletja dalje. Ob tem so v arhivu tudi različne pravde, nekatere celo od XV. stoletja dalje ter dokumenti, ki se nanašajo na samostansko imovino, tako v samem mestu kot zunaj njega. Ob tem je najti še podatke o gvardijanih in o sami zgodovini Pirana. Sledi popis knjižničnega in arhivskega gradiva.[22]

Kmalu po sklenitvi Londonskega sporazuma (5. oktobra 1954) je Okrajni muzej Koper takratnemu

20 SI-PAK-36, kat. V, Mestni ljudski odbor Piran.
21 SI-PAK-36, n. 952, 29. april 1947, informativno poročilo.
22 SI-PAK-36, n. 1348/14, Svet za prosveto in kulturo.

Tajništvu za prosveto in kulturo Mestnega ljudskega odbora Piran poslal dopis (15. oktober 1954) z obrazložitvijo, da so po sklenitvi navedenega sporazuma na tržaškem ozemlju predvideni tudi diplomatski razgovori glede restitucije kulturne dediščine, ki je bila odpeljana v Italijo. Muzejska ustanova zato prosi, da na piranskem območju

> *zberejo ves potrebni material, zlasti vso dokumentacijo za uveljavljanje naših restitucijskih zahtev. Vse tozadevne sezname z navedbo dokumentacij in točno označbo, kje so sedaj posamezni spomeniški objekti, ki so bili odpeljani v Trst oziroma v Italijo, predložite v najkrajšem času ravnateljstvu Okrajnega muzeja v Kopru, ki bo v sporazumu z Zavodom za spomeniško varstvo LRS ukrenil vse potrebno, da bodo odpeljani predmeti vrnjeni. Prosimo, da nemudoma pričnete z delom!*[23]

Že 13. oktobra 1954 je Ljudski odbor Mestne občine Piran (*Comitato Popolare del Comune della Città di Pirano*) Zavodu za varstvo kulturnih in umetnostnih spomenikov v Ljubljani poslal dopis, v katerem pojasnjuje, da jim je po dolgem iskanju uspelo najti nekatere dokumente o umetnostnih in kulturnih spomenikih, ki so jih italijanske oblasti leta 1940 odpeljale iz Pirana. Tržaško nadzorništvo naj bi, kot navajajo, 20. junija 1940 odpeljalo vsaj tri zaboje, ki so vsebovali eno sliko, leseni doprsni kip in dva rokopisa. Nato navajajo vsebino zabojev, ki je navedena v potrdilu o prevzemu, in sicer:

1. V prvem zaboju je bila slika B. Carpaccia, Marija na prestolu z otrokom med sv. Jurijem in sv. Lucijo, 1541.
2. Inkunabula *Duns Scotus Quaestiones Quolibetales*, XV. stoletje.
3. V četrtem zaboju so bili statuti Pirana in rokopisa iz XIV. in XV. stoletja ter knjiga piranskih plemiških družin, kodeks iz XVI. stol.
4. V drugem zaboju je bilo leseno poprsje, last piranske bolnišnice.

Ob tem so v dopisu navedli, da sta bili številki četrtega in drugega zaboja popravljeni s peresom, tretji zaboj pa popolnoma prečrtan in popravljen na št. 2, medtem ko je tretji zaboj vseboval: delo Tintorettovega kroga *Madona in svetniki*. Te slike, pripominjajo, v Piranu ni najti in so jo verjetno odpeljali nekoliko po omenjenem datumu.[24]

Izgleda tudi, da je bila inkunabula *Duns Scotus* v posebnem zaboju, ne pa skupaj s Carpaccievo sliko. Tako bi iz Pirana odpeljali štiri zaboje. Z dne 10. junija 1940 naj bi v pismu piranskega župnišča z oznako »*riservata*« župnik Egidio Malusà prosil občino, naj pokrije stroške prevoza, embalaže in vsega ostalega za vse umetnine, ki jih je Tržaško nadzorništvo označilo oziroma določilo za prevoz v notranjost Italije. Pismu je priložen tudi seznam sledečih umetnin:

Župna cerkev sv. Jurija (*Chiesa collegiata*)

1. Madona s svetniki – poliptih tempera na lesu, P. Veneziana,
2. Križanje – tempera na lesu, P. Veneziana,
3. Lesena gotska poslikana omara (na dvojnih vratih in na stranicah so naslikani štirje svetniki),
4. Rožnovenska Marija,
5. Misal z inicialkami, XV. stol.,
6. Kodeks z inicijalkami, 1294.

Cerkev Marije tolažnice (*Chiesa della Consolazione*)

1. Madona s pasom, G. B. Tiepolo.

Cerkev sv. Štefana (*Chiesa si S. Stefano*)

1. Poslikani križ, XIV. stol.,
2. Oznanjenje Palme ml.

Torej, sedem slik, dve knjigi, trije rokopisi, ena omarica, eno leseno poprsje iz bolnišnice (*Pia casa di Ricovero*). To pa še ni vse. V Piranu manjkajo še drugi umetnostni predmeti, med katere spadajo:

- Marija pri molitvi (*Madonna orante*), kopija po Sassoferratu, ki se je nahajala v minoritskem samostanu),
- *Ecce homo* (kip iz leta 1411, last palače Trevisini),
- Neznani avtor, ugrabitev Evrope (nahajala se je v minoritskem samostanu),
- Kristusov krst, bronasti kip, last bolnišnice.

V dopisu, s podpisom Plinia Tomasina nadalje beremo, kako mnogi prebivalci Pirana trdijo, da so bila ta dela odpeljana v Italijo skupaj z ostalimi. Če prištejemo še Tintorettovo *Madono s svetniki*, manjka v Piranu enajst slik, trije rokopisi, dve knjigi, ena omarica s podobo štirih svetnikov, eno leseno poprsje, en bronasti kip. Skupaj torej 19 umetnin. To so najboljše umetnine iz Pirana, ki jih naša občina želi dobiti nazaj, da jih izroči zakonitim lastnikom in muzeju. Prosimo vas, da nam čimprej sporočite, kaj naj ukrenemo in na koga naj se obrnemo, da bodo prišle omenjene stvari v

23 SI-PAK-36, zap. št. 92/54, Okrajni muzej Koper.

24 SI-PAK-36, Občinski ljudski odbor Piran, št. 1939/54. O navedem delu Tintorettovega kroga žal ni razpoložljivih podatkov. Iz seznama umetnin, ki ga je 25. januarja 1955 pripravil Svet za prosveto in kulturo v Piranu je razvidno, da je v potrdilu, ki ga je izdalo Tržaško nadzorništvo prečrtano delo »Madona s svetniki«, pripisano Tintorettovemu krogu, saj tega dela v Piranu ni bilo več po letu 1940, drugih potrdil o njem pa ni bilo na voljo, ravno tako ni bilo na voljo fotografskih posnetkov, priče pa se ravno tako tega dela niso spominjale (SI-PAK-36, Občinski ljudski odbor Piran, št. 138/55, Piran 25. I. 1955).

najkrajšem času nazaj. Obenem prosimo, da sporočite, kdo je predstavnik vašega zavoda v Piranu? Če ga še ni, vas prosimo, da ga imenujete. Občinski ljudski odbor je imenoval komisijo za zaščito, ki je sestavljena iz sledečih članov:

1. Pahor Miroslav – predsednik
2. Prinčič Alojz – član
3. Lenarčič Erika – član
4. La Pasquala Guido – član
5. Fonda Attilio – član

Prosimo, da to komisijo potrdite in ji pošljete navodila za delo. Potrebno bi bilo tudi, da včasih obiščete naše mesto, da bi preprečili, da se ne bi kakšen spomenik nehote poškodoval in nam delite nasvete za varstvo. O vseh stvareh nam blagovolite sporočiti vaše mnenje in nam pošljite navodila za ukrepanje.[25]

V odgovor na dopis iz Pirana, je ravnatelj Zavoda za spomeniško varstvo LRS iz Ljubljane, Edo Turnher, 25. oktobra 1954 sporočil, da bo o vračanju

našega kulturnega patrimonija, ki je bil med vojno odpeljan v Italijo, razpravljala posebna mednarodna komisija. Za njo je pa treba pripraviti vso dokumentacijo. Predvsem čimprej ugotovite, kje so sedaj odpeljani predmeti in skrbno zberite vse dokumente, ki se nanašajo na odpeljano gradivo, če teh ni pa naj se zaslišijo priče, ki jim je zadeva znana.

P.S. Po vsej verjetnosti se bomo oglasili v Piranu prihodnji torek 2. novembra 1954 in bomo tedaj razpravljali s postavljenim odborom odnosno komisijo za spomeniško varstvo o aktualnih problemih.[26]

Končno je 4. decembra 1954 Tajništvo za prosveto in kulturo Okrajnega ljudskega odbora Koper (podpisana načelnica Živa Beltram) na podlagi 2. člena Odredbe komandanta Vojaške uprave JLA št. 12/53 in 3. člena zakona LR Slovenije o varstvu kulturnih spomenikov in naravnih znamenitosti, ki je bil razširjen na območje koprskega okraja, izdalo naslednjo odločbo : umetniške slike, pohištvo, arhivi in knjige, ki se nahajajo v frančiškanskem samostanu v Piranu in so popisani v ločenih seznamih, naj se izročijo v varstvo Mestni knjižnici in muzeju v Piranu. V utemeljitvi so navedli, da Okrajni ljudski odbor v Kopru izvaja varstvo nad vsemi spomeniki in znamenitostmi na svojem območju, ne glede na to, v čigavi lasti, upravljanju ali posesti so, in sicer na osnovi odredbe komandanta bivše Vojaške uprave JLA, s katero je bil na koprski okraj razširjen zakon LR Slovenije o varstvu kulturnih spomenikov in naravnih znamenitosti.

Iz dopisa Sveta za prosveto in kulturo Ljudskega odbora mestne občine Piran z dne 7. septembra 1954, št. 1378/54 je namreč razvidno, da je posebna, za to imenovana komisija, pregledala in popisala vse umetniške predmete v frančiškanskem samostanu v Piranu in ugotovila, da se nahajajo v zelo slabem stanju, zlasti pa knjižnica in arhiv. Posledično se mnoge slike in knjige ne dajo več restavrirati, v enako slabem stanju pa se nahaja tudi samostanski arhiv, ki je prizadet od vlage in knjižnih moljev. Ker je s tem podana očitna nevarnost, da se ti predmeti uničijo, je bilo potrebno odrediti, da se predajo v varstvo Mestni knjižnici v Piranu. S predajo teh zgodovinsko pomembnih predmetov bo omogočeno njihovo očuvanje in restavriranje, s tem pa tudi možnost za znanstveno preučevanje in raziskovanje. Ti predmeti pa ostanejo še naprej v lasti dosedanjega lastnika. Vsi predmeti, ki so navedeni v prilogi, morajo biti komisijsko prevzeti po seznamih, ki so sestavni del te odločbe.[27]

V skladu z zgoraj navedenim zakonom o varstvu kulturnih spomenikov št. 12/53 se je Komisija za varstvo dediščine v mesecu decembru 1954 s prvo podpisanim Miroslavom Pahorjem odločila, da tudi v podstrešne prostore palače Trevisini pošlje komisijo in pregleda zapuščino duhovnika Giuseppeja Fonde. Ker je bilo podstrešje zaprto, so v njegove prostore vstopili v prisotnosti tedanjih pripadnikov Ljudske milice in v podstrešni sobi naleteli na vrsto predmetov, ki so jih popisali in jih dodelili v upravljanje tedanjemu Mestnemu muzeju in knjižnici. Hkrati s tem so pripravili tudi odločbo, v kateri so navedli, da se v varstvo tedanjemu Mestnemu muzeju oziroma Mestni knjižnici predajo vsi zgodovinsko vredni predmeti, vse knjige, ki imajo zgodovinsko in bibliofilsko vrednost, vse arhivalije in morebitne slike ter drugi umetnostni predmeti.[28]

Znova se je Ljudskemu odboru mestne občine Piran iz Zavoda za spomeniško varstvo LRS oglasil Edo Turnher in ga v dopisu z dne 6. januarja 1955 zaprosil, da nemudoma pošlje prepise potrdil oziroma dokumentov, iz katerih naj bi bilo razvidno, da je Tržaško nadzorništvo iz Pirana odpeljalo predmete, ki jih je Ljudski odbor iz Pirana sicer že poimensko navedel v svojem dopisu z dne 13. oktobra 1954. Ob tem je E. Turnher obrazložil, da ta potrdila potrebuje jugoslovanska delegacija za restitucijo, ki naj bi teden dni kasneje v Rimu nadaljevala z razgovori z italijansko stranjo, pri tem pa še navedel, da naj bi slovenski član te delegacije, dr. France Stelè, v Italijo odpotoval 11. januarja

25 SI-PAK-36, Občinski ljudski odbor Piran, št. 1939/54, Predsedstvo, 13. X. 1954

26 SI-PAK-36, Občinski ljudski odbor Piran, št. 213/8 – 54, Ljudski odbor mestne občine Piran, restitucija kulturnih spomenikov iz Italije.

27 SI-PAK-36, Občinski ljudski odbor Piran, št. 4432/5, Koper, 4. XII. 1954

28 SI-PAK-36, Občinski ljudski odbor Piran, št. 2350/54, palača Trevisini, 17. XII. 1954.

Slika 21 in 22: Notranjost cerkve Marije Snežne, 1404 in cerkve sv. Frančiška v baročni preobleki (Foto: S. Simič).

1955 in bi zaprošene prepise vzel s seboj. Hkrati Turnher tudi prosi, da mu iz Pirana sporočijo, če so morda v tem času odkrili še katere druge predmete, ki sodijo pod zakon o varstvu kulturne dediščine in še niso bili navedeni v citiranem dopisu.[29]

Končno je piranski Svet za prosveto in kulturo Zavodu za spomeniško varstvo LRS poslal seznam vseh predmetov, ki so bili odpeljani v Italijo. V dopisu z dne 25. januarja 1955 so pojasnili, da gre za seznam umetnin in drugih predmetov kulturne dediščine, ki so bili odpeljani v letih 1940 do 1947 oziroma do 1952. Seznamu so priložili nekatere dokumente in 4 fotografije, za zamudo pa navedli zavlačevanje piranskega župnišča pri pripravi potrdil o prevzemu oziroma so si pomagali s potrdili, ki jih je pripravil nekdanji župnik Egidio Malusà. Ob tem jih je novi župnik opozoril, da je potrdila o prevzemu cerkvenih umetnin zahteval tudi ljubljanski škof. Dopis so zaključili v upanju, da bo republiški Zavod za spomeniško varstvo storil vse, da bodo umetnine in ostali predmeti kulturne dediščine čimprej vrnjeni.[30]

V priloženem seznamu, ki vključuje 19 umetnin oziroma predmetov kulturne dediščine in arhivalij, so se naslonili med drugim na Tamarovo delo o Piranu (Tamaro, 1910) in nekatere dokumente o obstoju teh del in umetnin v Piranu ter na dve pismi piranskega župnišča, na podlagi katerih je bilo možno dokazati, da so bile nekatere umetnine iz seznama v lasti piranskih cerkva. Na koncu seznama so še pripisali, da v Mestnem arhivu manjkajo trije zaboji arhivalij, in sicer je bil prvi pogrešan od leta 1946, v času, ko je republiška komisija pod vodstvom dr. Frana Zwittra obiskala vse knjižnice in arhive v coni B STO.[31] Ostala dva zaboja so pogrešali od leta 1946 oziroma 1952, torej v času ko je Mestno knjižnico vodil učitelj Antonio Petronio. O vseh teh zabojih naj ne bi imeli nobenih potrdil, zato sumijo, da so jih na skrivaj odpeljali v Trst. Prvi zaboj naj bi vseboval listine pred letom 1300, ostala dva pa naj bi vsebovala material kasnejših obdobij, verjetno iz 15.–16. stoletja.

Na koncu člani Sveta za prosveto in kulturo še navajajo, da če prištejejo še delo »*Ecce homo*« iz leta 1411, ki se je nahajalo v palači Trevisini, a o katerem nimajo nobenih potrdil ali drugih dokumentov, razen tega kar je Tamaro zapisal v svoji knjigi, v Piranu pogrešajo skupno 11 slik, 3 inkunabile, 3 rokopise, 2 kiparski deli (les, bron),

29 SI-PAK-36, Občinski ljudski odbor Piran, št. 43/55, 8. 1. 1955.

30 SI-PAK-36, Občinski ljudski odbor Piran, št. 138/55, Piran, 25. I. 1955.

31 Komisija strokovnjakov pri Ministrstvu za znanost in kulturo FLRJ za pregled zgodovinskih arhivov in knjižnic v coni B STO, ki so jo sestavljali dr. F. Zwitter, M. Rojnić, dr. V. Melik in M. Brant, sicer ni imela naloge, da bi iskala sledi za manjkajočimi umetniškimi predmeti, vendar je kljub temu ugotovila, da ima obalno območje bogato umetniško dediščino, a da je bilo veliko umetniških del odnešenih, tako iz javnih ustanov kot iz zasebnih zbirk. Ker je bilo gradivo koprskega arhiva odnešeno v Italijo, je komisija predlagala, da je potrebno postaviti vprašanje tako njegove restitucije kot tudi restitucije drugih odnešenih kulturnih dragocenosti, knjig in umetniških predmetov, s pripombo, da bi bilo za nekatere predmete potrebno še ugotoviti, kaj je bilo resnično odnešeno, sicer pa bi morali v cono B STO takoj poslati strokovnjaka za zgodovino umetnosti, ki bi lahko na podlagi strokovne literature in osebnih informacij sestavil zanesljiv seznam predmetov umetniške vrednosti na tem območju (PMK, Izveštaj komisije stručnjaka ministarstva za nauku i kulturu FNRJ za pregled istorijskih arhiva i biblioteka u zoni Vojne uprave JA za STT, 1949).

Slika 23: Hiša Tartini, soba z arhitekturnimi capricci (Sala dei capricci architettonici) po obnovi v letih 1988–1992 (Hoyer, 1992).

poslikano omarico in 3 zaboje arhivalij. Za večji del tega gradiva obstajajo potrdila o prevzemu oziroma različni dokumenti, zlasti za tekoče št. 17, 18 in 19, ki pa je zajeta tudi v Tamarovi knjigi o Piranu (Tamaro, 1910).

Iz navedenih seznamov in dopisov je torej možno razbrati vso kompleksnost problematike, povezane s kulturno dediščino piranskega območja, verjetno pa tudi kadrovske, materialne in druge težave pri vzpostavljanju temeljev takratnega Mestnega muzeja pri pridobivanju gradiva in razmejevanju pristojnosti med muzejsko, arhivsko in knjižnično ustanovo. V ta okvir je potrebno vključiti še težavna razmerja med tedanjimi cerkvenimi in državnimi oblastmi ter seveda s pripadniki italijanske narodnosti.

Zlasti se ta napeta razmerja kažejo v ocenah in stališčih Miroslava Pahorja do tedanjega piranskega župnika Egidia Malusàja, urednika sicer dragocenega dela Antonia Alisija, *Pirano. La sua chiesa. La sua storia*, ki je izšlo postumno. Zanj se je Malusàju zahvalil tedanji tržaško-koprski škof Antonio Santin, ki naj bi v svojem predgovoru »razseljene in verne Pirančane« spomnil na »preteklost in lepote Pirana«. Že to dejstvo je bilo za Pahorja znak, da je bil do Alisijevega dela dokaj kritičen in nezaupljiv. Ob tem tudi omenja, da mu je leta 1955 podaril Alisijev v Portorožu živeči nečak enega od pomembnejših rokopisov z naslovom *Chiese minori. Conventi e Confraternite di Pirano*. V nadaljevanju Pahor naglaša, da je Malusà v Alisijevem delu izpustil veliko s trudom zbranih in zabeleženih podatkov o manjših piranskih cerkvah, z izjemo frančiškanske cerkve in je s tem, po njegovem, Alisijevo delo oropala za veliko dragocenih umetnostno-zgodovinskih in zgodovinskih podatkov. Popolnoma naj bi tudi zanemaril »podeželske« cerkve v Portorožu, Strunjanu in Sečovljah, odnosno na savudrijskem polotoku. Pahor se ob tem sprašuje o razlogih za Malusàjevo početje in postavlja domnevo, da je morda prezrl podeželske cerkve, ker »niso predstavljale kake visoke umetnosti«, ali pa zaradi podeželskega prebivalstva, ki ga Malusà ni prišteval med Pirančane? Nagiba se k drugemu razlogu, saj npr. Malusà ne navaja, da je imela cerkev v Kaštelu pravico do slovanskega bogoslužja in naj bi bili tam tudi ohranjeni glagolski misali oziroma glagolske obredne knjige in se je torej v tistem okolju versko življenje odvijalo povsem drugače kot v Piranu. Če bi to zabeležil, bi moral namreč priznati, da je v samem Piranu ravno tako živelo slovansko prebivalstvo, čemur pa se je hotel izogniti. A to bi mu Pahor še nekako spregledal, saj se po njegovem na stara leta pač ni mogel spremeniti, ni pa mu mogel odpustiti, da je v cerkvi sv. Štefana spregledal Furlanettovo sliko, da je v frančiškanski cerkvi spregledal portrete štirih papežev, delo domačega mojstra Mateja Furiana iz 17. stoletja in vrsto drugih del, ki so pravi biseri umetnosti.[32]

Pahor nadalje ugotavlja, da je Malusà nekatere Alisijeve podatke dopolnil z izsledki Attilija Tamara, za katere pa meni, da niso ravno točni oziroma znanstveno dokazani, in si naj bi urednik, po njegovem, dovolil popravke rokopisa, ki niso ne smotrni, ne dovoljeni. Pri tem pa se sprašuje, zakaj ni vnašal tudi podatkov o novih, povojnih najdbah? Očitno ga je najbolj vznemirilo dejstvo, da je Malusà prezrl delo *Križanje* iz cerkve Marije Snežne oziroma veliko *Križanje* iz krstilnice, kjer so prvotni poliptih osvobodili »vseh kasnejših dodatkov«, ter se sprašuje, ali res ni omembe vredno? Pri tem pa skuša biti do Alisija vendarle spoštljiv, saj le-ta tega ni mogel vedeti, glede na to, da je umrl leta 1954, torej veliko prej, preden je bilo to delo restavrirano. Še bolj kritičen je do Malusàja v primeru slikarskih del iz cerkve sv. Frančiška, npr. do replike po Sassoferratu, ki je po njegovem eno njegovih najboljših del in do dela *Ugrabitev Evrope*, ravno tako delo visokih umetniških kvalitet. Tu je še nekaj umetnin, ki jih je Alisi obravnaval in poskušal ovrednotiti, vendar jih Malusà ni zajel. Izpustil je npr. dela iz cerkve Marije Tolažnice, ki jih je Alisi pripisal Fontebassu ali pa njegovi šoli, ravno tako so izpuščena dela v cerkvi Marije Snežne. Na njenih stenah so visela dela, ki jih je Alisi pripisal domačinu Tomažu Gregolinu, tudi avtorju del v Strunjanu, a vsega tega v Malusàjevi redakciji ni zaslediti, zato se Pahor ponovno sprašuje, ali so te pomanjkljivosti sploh opravičljive, posebno še, če vemo, da obstaja rokopis, ki ni šel skozi Malusàjevo redakcijo?

Ob koncu svoje kritične ocene se Pahor obrača na samega Alisija in tudi njemu očita, da navaja gotova zgodovinska dejstva, ki jih ni poznal, oziroma si jih je napačno razlagal. Ob tem omenja primere družine De Castro oziroma njihov izvor in naselitev v Piranu, spore med piransko duhovščino in koprskimi škofi, poglavja o reformaciji in socialnih bojih v Piranu, židovskem prebivalstvu, zlasti pa o procesu proti Giovanniju Battisti Goineu, o katerem sicer govori Morteani in drugi avtorji. Pahor ob tem zatrjuje, da je bil protestantizem v Piranu mnogo bolj zasidran, kot to domneva Alisi, saj se to iz Morteanijevih spisov in seznamov procesov proti luterancem nedvomno potrjuje. Omalovaževanje protestantizma v času, ko so se nekako že osveščale vrste piranskih popularov, je po Pahorjevem mnenju pomenilo, da Alisi ni dovolj poznal tega pomembnega poglavja piranske zgodovine. Brez argumentov je zato podestatu Giovanniju Battisti Mariniju pripisoval zasluge, da mu je »uspelo obnoviti mir« in da je »združil Pirančane« v času zidave nove cerkve sv. Jurija, prezrl pa naj bi vse nadaljnje boje piranskih popularov.[33]

Po Pahorju naj bi Alisi popolnoma zanemaril tudi gospodarsko življenje samega mesta, trgovske odnose z Benetkami in zaledjem ter samo mestno življenje. Ob tem naj bi prezrl, da je bil status »podeželana« v piranskem komunu enak statusu meščana, kar je najbrž privedlo tudi Malusàja, da je piransko podeželje povsem zanemaril in izpustil.

Ko se ob koncu svoje kritične ocene znova vrača na umetnostno-zgodovinsko področje pač poudarja, da je zanj vsekakor potreben določen zgodovinski okvir, če želimo prikazati celosten zgodovinski prerez nekega območja, ob tem pa pristavlja, da je Alisi v nekaterih svojih drugih delih vendarle pokazal veliko več kritičnosti in objektivnosti, kot pri orisu Pirana. Zato se sprašuje, ali morda krivda leži na Malusàju, saj iz zaključnega poglavja sklepa, da si je vzel pri formuliranju zaključne redakcije mnogo več pravic, kot bi si jih smel. Alisi v svojem delu naj namreč ne bi prekoračil 18. stoletja, saj naj bi se 19. stoletje po Malusàjevi redakciji začelo s tem, da je zatrlo cerkve, samostane, bratovščine in laične šole ter da je podržavilo njihovo premoženje ter nepremičnine, umetniška dela neprecenljive vrednosti pa postavilo na dražbo in tako za vedno obubožalo celotno pokrajino. To so besede, meni Pahor, ki jih Alisi nikakor ni mogel napisati, saj je vendar vedel, da je tudi 19. stoletje ustvarilo nova, kvalitetna umetniška dela, ki jih ni moč prezreti. Sledi še Pahorjev komentar k zadnjemu odstavku v knjigi, kjer je govora »o čudovitem sožitju med Pirančani in njihovim klerom skozi vsa stoletja«, kar si razlaga s kritičnim oziroma sovražnim Malusàjevim pogledom na čas po drugi svetovni vojni. Po njegovem naj bi jugoslovanska oblast predstavljala zgolj »sovražni oblak«, ki se je zgrnil nad Piranom in so pripadniki nove oblasti tisti, ki uničujejo »neprecenljive zaklade človeškega uma«. S tem naj bi Malusà, meni Pahor, le dokazal, da ga ni zanimalo, kaj je bilo v Piranu storjenega na

32 Navedena dela z vsemi potrebnimi podatki in slikovnim gradivom se nahajajo v katalogu, ki ga je pripravila D. Žitko v prispevku »*Pinacotheca minorum* « v Piranu. Likovna dela minoritskega samostana sv. Frančiška v Piranu (Žitko, 2001, 229–306).

33 Navedeno problematiko je M. Pahor kasneje v obliki doktorske disertacije zagovarjal leta 1965 na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani in jo objavil v delu *Socialni boji v občini Piran od XV. do XVIII. stoletja* (Pahor, 1972).

področju umetnostno-zgodovinske valorizacije celotne kulturne dediščine. Prezrl je nove najdbe, restavratorske posege na spomenikih in umetninah, prezrl pa tudi skrb za nove spomenike. Ob Malusàjevem sklicevanju na arhivske dokumente oziroma številne listine se je na koncu dotaknil tudi tega področja in mu oponesel, da so po drugi svetovni vojni mnoge listine izginile, a jih niso odpeljale ne italijanske, ne jugoslovanske oblasti, pač pa predstavniki lokalne cerkve. Skratka, Malusà je želel nepopolno, idealizirano, vendar pa s trudom napisano Alisijevo delo uporabiti za sovražno propagando proti novim oblastem, tako v Piranu kot celotni Istri. S tem pa je, po Pahorjevem mnenju, le popolnoma razvrednotil Alisijevo delo (Pahor, 1977, 205–215).

SKLEPNE MISLI

Morda ni naključje, da so tuji opazovalci, pa tudi domači izobraženci in razumniki, ki so se ob pomembnih manifestacijah v preteklosti soočili z istrsko stvarnostjo oziroma z vprašanjem identitete tega prostora, prišli do nekaterih temeljnih ugotovitev in spoznanj, ki so jih k sreči ne le izrekli, temveč tudi zapisali in so se s tem ohranila do današnjega časa. Nekako prvi med njimi je bil avstrijski nadvojvoda Ludvig Salvator, znan kot vnet obiskovalec svetovnih razstav, popotnik, pa tudi dober poznavalec Istre in eden pomembnejših obiskovalcev *Prve istrske pokrajinske razstave* v Kopru leta 1910, ki je v polni meri pokazala razklanost in sovraštvo med obema nacionalnima komponentama v Istri. V svojih zapiskih, natisnjenih leta 1911 pod naslovom *Nekaj o svetovnih razstavah,* je utemeljeval koristnost tovrstnih razstav, saj je v njih videl »rast znanja« v izobraževalnem procesu in s tem prispevek k splošnemu »širjenju obzorja«. Kot ena njegovih ključnih misli pa je ta, »da dobro medsebojno spoznavanje različnih narodov« na takih razstavah pomeni »izredno vrednoto« in ustvarja celo »podlago za tako zaželeni mir med narodi«, saj bi »mnoge apriorne sodbe, kot so npr. predsodki… ob poznavanju drugih narodov… izginile; prepričan je bil tudi, »da se narodi, če bi bolje poznali drug drugega, tudi ne bi med seboj sovražili« (Mader, 2002, 37).

Vsekakor je bila *Prva istrska pokrajinska razstava* (1910) priložnost za pregled in predstavitev tako sakralne kot profane istrske umetnosti z nekaterimi kapitalnimi deli velikih renesančnih in baročnih mojstrov, med katerimi jih je bilo tudi nekaj iz Pirana. Veliko teh del je kmalu zatem oziroma v času med obema vojnama tudi tvorilo jedro novo osnovanega Muzeja za zgodovino in umetnost v Kopru. Ob njegovem formiranju je prvi ravnatelj in velik strokovnjak za istrsko sakralno umetnost, Antonio Leiss-Alisi, izrekel pomenljivo misel, da lahko muzeji postanejo prava »pokopališča«, če vanje umeščamo umetnostne predmete in kulturne spomenike, ki ne izhajajo iz njegovega naravnega okolja in se zato ravno to okolje lahko počuti zapostavljeno in osiromašeno. Bližajoča se druga svetovna vojna in nevarnost zračnih napadov je leta 1940 privedla do množične evakuacije umetnin in dragocenih predmetov kulturne dediščine iz Kopra, Izole in Pirana v Vilo Manin v Passarianu, s tem pa tudi ob velikih političnih spremembah in novo začrtanih mejah na območju nekdanje Julijske krajine po letu 1945 do tega, da so ostale na italijanskih tleh, v povojnem času pa do zahtev in prizadevanj novih oblasti po njihovi vrnitvi na izvorna mesta. Odseljevanje pretežno italijanskega prebivalstva iz obalnih mest v letih 1945 do 1954/55, pritok slovenskega življa in strokovnih kadrov, sta omogočila pospešen razvoj gospodarskih panog pa tudi družbenih dejavnosti ter preoblikovanje kulturnih ustanov v skladu z novimi, modernimi oblikami delovanja in multikulturnim ter večjezičnim značajem same pokrajine. Zlasti za Piran je bila pomembna ustanovitev Pomorskega muzeja »Sergej Mašera« in Medobčinskega zavoda za spomeniško varstvo, ki sta omogočala tudi večjo skrb za dragoceno premično in nepremično kulturno dediščino širšega piranskega območja.

Neločljivo je z zgodovino in kulturno dediščino Pirana povezano tudi ime Diega de Castra, uglednega diplomata, intelektualca, strokovnjaka za statistiko in zgodovinarja. Zlasti v tem svojstvu je kot avtor monumentalnega dela *La questione di Trieste. L'azione politica e diplomatica italiana dal 1943 al 1954* (de Castro, 1981) sledil tudi številnim knjižnim novostim, ki so se nanašale na Istro in Trst skozi daljša časovna obdobja. Bil je tudi avtor mnogih uvodnih tekstov navedenih del, npr. ponatisa Kandlerjevega dela o Piranu iz leta 1879. Ob tem de Castro omenja A. Tamara, kakor tudi tedanjo Mestno knjižnico in arhiv ter seveda pomembno vlogo grofa Stefana Rote, odličnega latinista in muzikologa. Ko omenja piranski arhiv, de Castro naglaša pogum nekaterih meščanov, da po njihovi zaslugi ni bil odpeljan oziroma uničen, omenja pa tudi njihovo »odločno voljo«, da so obdržali svoje »domoznansko gradivo« v času druge svetovne vojne s tem, da so pod stopniščem mestne palače skrili večji del najstarejšega arhivskega gradiva, kakor tudi Tartinijevo violino in druge dragocenosti, raje kot bi privolili, da bi ti pomembni materialni dokazi zapustili mesto ter bi jih odpeljali drugam (Knez, 2011, 233–250).

Ob tem vendarle dvomimo, da Diego de Castro kot izobraženec, pozoren raziskovalec in razgledan diplomat, ne bi vedel za evakuacijo znatnega dela umetnin in nekaterih dragocenih knjižnih izdaj, ki so bila v letih 1940 do 1944 odtujena iz Pirana in se vanj niso nikoli vrnila. Glede na to, da je bil

Slika 24: Pogled na piranski mandrač, Tartinijev trg in župno cerkev sv. Jurija (Foto: J. Jeraša).

po rodu Pirančan, ni znano, da bi se podobno kot Francesco Semi, po rodu Koprčan, zavzemal za vrnitev piranskih umetnin na svoja izvorna mesta. Vsekakor pa je hvalevredno njegovo volilo, s katerim je Skupnosti Italijanov »Giuseppe Tartini« iz Pirana zapustil svojo bogato osebno knjižnico, saj specifični knjižni fond velike bibliografske vrednosti odstira tudi njegovo osebnost, afinitete in interese, hkrati pa skrbno zbiranje besedil, virov in gradiva, povezanega z vprašanjem Julijske krajine, pričajo o njegovem velikem zanimanju za zgodovino tega območja v razponu skoraj šestdesetih let (Petronio & Štoka, 2011, 274).

Pomenljive so tudi misli, ki jih je v tem kontekstu izrazil L. Caburlotto v zaključnem delu zbornika *Carpaccio a Pirano/Carpaccio v Piranu*, Padova. Centro Studi Antoniani, 2021 (Caburlotto, 2021, 205–216). Avtor med drugim, ko omenja predavanje koprskega literata Bruna Maierja v liceju Carlo Combi v času druge svetovne vojne (20. marca 1942) in se je nanašalo na Carpaccieva dela, izraža upanje, da bo možno o njih izreči objektivnejšo kritiko, ko se bodo vrnila na kraj svojega nastanka, saj se je moral doslej zadovoljiti zgolj s fotografskimi posnetki teh del. V tem času, nadaljuje avtor, sta Koper in Piran, stoletna podanika Beneške republike in kot dva »dragulja« posesti *Stato da mar*, skozi daljša obdobja tranzicije od padca Avstro-Ogrske po prvi svetovni vojni, prišla pod nadoblast Kraljevine Italije in s tem pod njen fašistični režim, v času druge svetovne vojne po kapitulaciji Italije, 8. septembra 1943, pa pod nemško Operacijsko cono Jadransko primorje. V povojnem času je bilo to območje vključeno v cono B STO, po letu 1954 pa pod tedanjo Socialistično federativno Republiko Jugoslavijo oziroma Republiko Slovenijo.

V tem časovnem okviru je bil minoritski samostan v Piranu, nadaljuje avtor, neposreden očividec vojnega dogajanja na tem območju s tem, da je bilo Carpaccievo delo po navodilih Tržaškega nadzorništva določeno za evakuacijo, sam samostan pa v prvem povojnem obdobju podvržen nacionalizaciji s strani »tedanjega komunističnega režima«, ki ga je začasno spremenil v bolnišnico, a so se vanj kasneje lahko vrnili patri minoriti, ne pa tudi njihovo najdragocenejše delo: oltarna pala V. Carpaccia iz leta 1518. Ko se avtor ponovno vrača na predavanje B. Maierja, naglaša, da je po drugi svetovni vojni obmejno območje v določenem pogledu postalo »žrtev« novih geopolitičnih sprememb in Carpaccieva oltarna pala se je na istem mestu pojavila zgolj v fotografski reprodukciji. Prispevki v zborniku, ki je izšel po znanstvenem simpoziju in se je odvijal v piranskem minoritskem samostanu leta 2018, skušajo torej rekonstruirati nastanek omenjenega dela, zlasti pa celotno dogajanje naslednjih let do evakuacije leta 1940 oziroma njegovega prenosa v Padovo leta 1943. S tem želi omenjeni zbornik tudi osvetliti celotno problematiko, ob kateri naj bi Italija kot »lastnica oziroma imetnica« omenjenih del, kakor tudi piranske oltarne pale, dolgo časa to problematiko prikrivala. Tembolj je zato pomemben nastop patra J. Šamperla s piranskega minoritskega samostana na omenjenem simpoziju, saj naj bi s tem redovniki obeh samostanov obnovili nekdanje vezi v veri in skupnih kulturnih prizadevanjih oziroma globoki privrženosti do dragocenega Carpaccievega dela (Caburlotto, 2021, 211).

Problematika vračanja umetnin in arhivov iz Italije vsekakor, v nekoliko drugačnem kontekstu, ostaja sestavni del univerzalnih vrednot, a tudi del medsosedskih odnosov, novih spoznanj, dozorevanja in medsebojnega spoštovanja obeh sosednjih narodov. Tako kljub »dokončni rešitvi« ostaja v okviru bilateralnih odnosov med obema državama še naprej odprta in aktualna. V tem okviru ostaja Piran »referenčna točka«, tem bolj zato, ker je bil ob obisku predsednikov srednjeevropske pobude, 6. junija 1997 v prostorih obnovljenega minoritskega samostana, ki ga je nekoč krasila Carpaccieva slika, prisoten tudi tedanji predsednik Republike Italije, Oscar Luigi Scalfaro in je bil z navedeno problematiko seznanjen in soočen sam italijanski politični vrh. Ponovno je o tej Carpaccievi umetnini, kot uvodoma omenjeno, pogovor stekel ob mednarodnem znanstvenem simpoziju, ki se je v minoritskem samostanu sv. Frančiška Asiškega v Piranu odvijal v dneh 3. in 4. decembra 2018 ob 500-letnici Carpaccieve oltarne pale in 700-letnici posvetitve same cerkve. Ob tej priliki je prišlo tudi do otvoritve stalne razstave 18-ih restavriranih slik, ki so se pridružile nekdanji *Pinacotheca Minorum*, ki so bile že od leta 1997 razstavljene v samostanski pinakoteki. Z leti je Piran veliko pozornosti, zlasti s formiranjem Obalnih galerij, posvečal tudi zbirkam slikarskih del v Piranu rojenih ali živečih slikarjev in kiparjev, kakršni so bili npr. Herman Pečarič, Janez Lenassi, Lojze Spacal in mnogi drugi. Ob obstoječih kulturnih ustanovah se je leta 2016 formiral Inštitut za arheologijo in dediščino Sredozemlja UP ZRS, na ljubiteljski ravni in kot izraz privrženosti novih generacij do sakralne umetnosti in s tem do dragocene dediščine samega mesta je zaživelo *Društvo prijateljev zakladov sv. Jurija*. Veliko pridobitev je predstavljala celotna prenova Minoritskega samostana sv. Frančiška s tamkajšnjo pinakoteko, posebej za umetnostno-zgodovinsko stroko in tamkajšnji minoritski red pa obeležitev 500-letnice nastanka znamenitega Carpaccievega dela *Marija z otrokom in svetniki* iz leta 1518. Če povzamemo misli Daniele Tomšič, nekdanje vodje Območne enote Piran Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine Slovenije, naj bi vrnitev Carpaccieve pale znova odprla vprašanje ovrednotenja in pomena umetnine tako za Piran, kot celoten slovenski nacionalni prostor, tako v preteklosti kot danes. Pomen umetnine kot kulturne dediščine, po njenem mnenju, izhaja iz njenega celovitega vrednotenja v trajnostnem kontekstu, ki ga sestavljajo okoljski faktorji: človek – prostor – čas. Holistična kvaliteta dediščine je odvisna od ravnovesja med omenjenimi faktorji, saj samo uravnovešenost omogoča implementacijo kulturne dediščine kot civilizacijske kreacije. Vrednost piranske slike za različna okolja je možno ugotoviti s pomočjo posebne metodologije, ki izhaja iz vrednot umetnine kot subjekta okolja in kot objekta posameznih okoljskih faktorjev. Holistično vrednotenje omogoča objektivno nadgradnjo vrednot Carpaccieve slike glede na njene egocentrične, integralne in kontekstualne vsebine, posledično pa je možno razbrati optimalni kraj namestitve slike v prostoru in času ob upoštevanju kompleksnosti njene zgodovinske usode (Tomšič, 2021, 94).

To seveda velja tudi za ostala dela iz Pirana, odtujena večinoma junija 1940, ki so do danes ostala na italijanskih tleh, a morda predvsem Carpaccievo delo utrjuje prepričanje, da je vprašanje restitucije umetnin iz Italije sčasoma iz pravne kategorije preraslo v obče človeško oziroma etično-moralno kategorijo. Odprta meja, dobrososedski odnosi, civilizacijska raven obeh sosednjih narodov in bolj ali manj poenoteno mnenje stroke na obeh straneh meje, ki se zavzema za vrnitev odpeljanih umetnin na izvorna mesta, narekujejo politični sferi in najvišjim državnim institucijam onstran meje nekoliko drugačen pristop k reševanju navedenega vprašanja, kakršnemu smo priča dandanes. Prazne stene in oltarji ter knjižne police, brez slik, dragocenih tiskov in inkunabul, ter nepripravljenost italijanske strani po spoštovanju in upoštevanju principa provenience pri vračanju umetnin in arhivov, ter s tem tudi do upoštevanja pravic italijanske skupnosti v obalnih mestih, ostajajo ne le slepa pega v zgodovinskem spominu in zavesti obalnega prostora v njegovi tisočletni zgodovini, temveč odprta rana v duhovnem življenju današnjih generacij obeh narodnosti.

ZAHVALA

Ob snovanju in pripravi svojega dela se zahvaljujem tako ustanovam kot posameznikom, ki so mi nudili koristne informacije in nasvete, arhivsko in slikovno gradivo, v prvi vrsti Danieli Milotti-Bertoni, nekdanji strokovni sodelavki Zavoda za kulturno dediščino, Enota Piran, ravnatelju Pomorskega muzeja »Sergej Mašera« Piran, Francu Juriju in strokovnemu osebju muzeja, arhivskim delavcem Pokrajinskega arhiva Koper – Enota Piran, Vinku Oblaku, jadralcu, poznavalcu in raziskovalcu starih plovil, navtične preteklosti in piranske kulturne dediščine ter dr. Brigitti Mader, dobri poznavalki nekdanje c. k. spomeniško-varstvene službe na tleh Avstrijskega Primorja.

THE ISSUE OF ALIENATION OF THE MOVABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE ISTRIAN REGION, WITH AN EMPHASIS ON PIRAN IN THE YEARS 1940–1954

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SUMMARY

Given their incorporation into varying sociopolitical systems from the turn of the 20th century to 1954, as well as their varied ethnic composition, the regions of Istria and Dalmatia have experienced frequent instances of symbolic appropriation of movable culture and related subsequent demands for the restitution of the latter to the land of origin. In the paper, the author expounds upon the problem and fate of the movable cultural heritage of the area of today's Slovenian Istria, in particular Piran, through a series of works that once adorned the complex of Piran's cathedral, i.e., the Parish Church of St. George, the baptistery, the monastery of St. Francis, as well as a number of other churches in the town, the hospital and the town hall. Based on the existing literature and several unpublished archival sources, the paper explores the problem within the broader context of the administrative and political systems of the Austrian Littoral and, later, the Julian March, and within their respective heritage protection laws, examining in particular the reasons for the alienation of movable cultural heritage from this area and its consequences. It traces the fate of individual works of art removed from the churches, monastic buildings and secular institutions in the Piran area, some as early as the 19th century, but most of them in June 1940, when artworks were evacuated en masse from Koper, Izola, and Piran, and follows their transfer, first to Villa Manin in Passariano, then, in 1943, to San Daniele del Friuli and, after the war, to Rome. The author illustrates the "odysseys" of individual works of art, identifying their current locations, while also relating of the efforts or demands for their restitution on the part of the post-war authorities, and some of the divergences in the assessment and current views of this issue among Italian and Slovene scholars. Considerable attention is paid to the post-war situation, as well as to the establishment of the Museum of Piran (now called the Piran Maritime Museum) and the work of the Commission for the Protection of Monuments, which were both initially headed by Miroslav Pahor, who, at the time, was also in charge of the reorganisation and coordination of the old town library and archives.

Keywords: cultural heritage, cultural heritage protection systems, evacuation of artwork, Museum of Piran

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REFORMACIJA U ISTRI – 500 GODINA MATIJE VLAČIĆA ILIRIKA

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ABSTRACT

On the occasion of the quincentenary of the birth of the Istrian reformers, the famous Protestant theologian Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1575) and Stephanus Consul Pinguentinus, Histrianus (1521–1579?), first translator of the New Testament into the Croatian language, analyzing the monographs of the Istrian polymath Mijo Mirković (1898–1963) dedicated to Flacius, the author elaborates in this essay the activity of the Istrian Protestants (Croatians, Slovenians and Italians) who, thanks to the emergence of "print capitalism" and "printed" languages, have contributed significantly to the spread of literacy and culture and to the creation of modern collective identities and "imagined communities". By presenting the multicultural and cosmopolitan character of the legacy of the Istrian reformers, the importance of international project cooperation in researching the phenomenon of reformation in Istria and in valorising the common European heritage was underlined.

Keywords: Matija Vlačić Ilirik, Mijo Mirković, Reformation, print capitalism, imagined communities, Istria

LA RIFORMA PROTESTANTE IN ISTRIA – 500 ANNI DI MATTIA FLACIO ILLIRICO

SINTESI

In occasione del cinquecentesimo anniversario della nascita dei riformatori istriani, il famoso teologo protestante Mattia Flacio Illirico (1520–1575) e Stefano Console Istriano (1521–1579?), primo traduttore del Nuovo Testamento in lingua croata, analizzando le monografie del poliedrico istriano Mijo Mirković (1898–1963) dedicate a Flacio, l'autrice elabora in questo saggio l'attività dei protestanti istriani (croati, sloveni e italiani) che, grazie all'emergere del "capitalismo della stampa" e delle lingue "stampate", hanno contribuito in modo significativo alla diffusione dell'alfabetizzazione e della cultura e alla creazione di moderne identità collettive e "comunità immaginate". Presentando il carattere multiculturale e cosmopolita dell'eredità dei riformatori istriani, è stata sottolineata l'importanza della cooperazione progettuale internazionale nella ricerca del fenomeno della riforma in Istria e nella valorizzazione del comune patrimonio europeo.

Parole chiave: riforma protestante, Istria, Mattia Flacio Illirico, Mijo Mirković, capitalismo di stampa, comunità immaginate

UVOD

Nakon obilježavanja petstote obljetnice reformacije, koja je ovaj fenomen postavila u samo središte europskih historijskih istraživanja, temu reformacije u Istri aktualizirale su petstote godišnjice rođenja istarskih reformatora, znamenitog protestantskog teologa Matije Vlačića Ilirika (Labin, 1520.–Frankfurt na Majni, 1575.) i Stipana Konzula Istrijana (Buzet, 1521.–Željezno, 1579.), prvog prevoditelja *Novog zavjeta* na hrvatski jezik. Razdoblje reformacije, odnosno pet desetljeća između Lutherova izopćenja (1520./1521.) i onoga engleske kraljice Elizabete I. godine 1570. obilježile su ključne promjene, od kojih je najveću praktičnu ulogu imala uporaba pomičnog sloga, koji je omogućio jeftiniji tisak i time izazvao komunikacijsku revoluciju širokom distribucijom vijesti, učenih i vjerskih sadržaja te svekolikog propagandnog materijala. Kako ukazuje Marina Schumann (2017, 44), tiskana riječ preplavila je Europu i zauvijek izvela zainteresiranog pojedinca iz informacijske i misaone izolacije, a zahvaljujući transnacionalnom transferu reformacijskih tekstova i praksi (i djelovanju tiskare u Urachu), Biblija i nabožna literatura na narodnom jeziku i raznim pismima postale su dostupne i čitateljima s naših prostora.

Hrvatska reformacija (uključujući i stvaralaštvo istarskih protestanata) mogla bi se konceptualizirati kao egzemplarni fenomen ranonovovjekovnog kulturnog transfera i konfesionalne mobilnosti, jer se povijesno realizirala kao proces simboličke i materijalne razmjene i posredovanja strukturno i razvojno različitih etnokulturnih i vjerskih domena: njemačkoga centra s pripadnošću zapadnom kršćanstvu te slavenske periferije pod sve većim pritiskom osmanlijskih osvajanja, smatra Zrinka Blažević. Za razliku od razvijenijeg i bogatijeg njemačkog centra, hrvatske su povijesne zemlje kao vrsta kontaktne zone bile poprište brojnih etnoreligijskih migracija i kulturne hibridizacije u dugome povijesnom trajanju, što je utjecalo na razvoj transakcijskih identitetskih modela i praksi, procese transfera reformacijskih tekstova, diskursa, objekata i praksi između kulturnih zona, kao i specifične obrasce njihove selekcije, kreativne recepcije i adaptacije u hrvatskim zemljama. Kroz transnacionalnu mrežu europskih humanista, talijanske i njemačke protonacionalne ideologije, reformacija je, kao kulturni fenomen 16. stoljeća utjecala i na kreiranje modernih nacionalnih identiteta, iako to nije bio ni brz ni direktan proces. Uz historijsku imagologiju, koja omogućuje istraživanje konstrukcija, reprezentacija i upotreba modela konfesionalnog identiteta i alteriteta (Blažević, 2018, 48–60), ističe se velik potencijal inovativnih metodoloških pristupa komparativne impostacije, poput intermedijalnih studija, teorije komunikacije i historijske imagologije u analizi kompleksnog međudjelovanja slika, diskursa, institucija, znanja i moći tokom „komunikacijske revolucije“ koja je obilježila pojavu „javne sfere“ tijekom konfesionalnog razdoblja.

Prema Blažević, kreativna fuzija teorije kulturnih transfera i historijske analize mreža mogla bi biti izuzetno korisna u elaboraciji književne proizvodnje Biblijskoga zavoda u Urachu, kao i u slučaju složene konfiguracije mreže njemačkih, slovenskih, ugarskih i hrvatskih reformatora koji su bili uključeni u ambiciozan i višedimenzionalan projekt evangelizacije čitave Jugoistočne Europe (Jambrek, 2013, 91–94). U širenju reformacije na istarsko-kranjsko-hrvatskom području, uz evangeličke tradicije iz tri centra: Wittenberga, Stuttgarta (Uracha) i Magdeburga, ključan utjecaj imali su vojvodstvo Württemberg i vojvoda Kristof Württemberški, koji su uvelike utjecali na djelovanje i usmjerenje reformatora okupljenih u Biblijskom zavodu u Urachu, posebno na izbor djela za prevođenje i tisak. Početkom 1555. u Urachu je usuglašena vizija i utvrđen strateški plan za prijevod i tisak Biblije i reformacijske literature na hrvatskom jeziku za širenje reformacije na jugoistok Europe, sve do Carigrada. Urašku tiskaru pokrenuo je i novčano podupirao zemaljski kapetan Štajerske i veliki župan varaždinski barun Hans (Ivan) Ungnad, u dvorcu Amandenhof, koji mu je darovao Vojvoda Kristof od Württemberga, u sklopu programa i vizije širenja reformacije prevođenjem i tiskanjem Biblije na slavenski jezik o čemu su, gotovo u isto vrijeme, promišljali Matija Vlačić Ilirik, Primož Trubar i Petar Pavao Vergerije ml. Poticaj za projekt prevođenja Biblije na slovenski i hrvatski jezik dao je 1555. Vergerije, za vrijeme susreta u Ulmu s Primožem Trubarom. Viziju evangelizacije i prosvjećivanja te pomoći kršćanima pod osmanskom vlašću, sve do Carigrada, u posvetama i predgovorima uraških izdanja često su ponavljali Trubar, Konzul i Dalmatin. Reformatori su deset godina (1555.–1565.) sustavno radili na ostvarenju vizije – evangelizacije jugoistočne Europe, prijevodu Biblije i reformatorskih spisa na hrvatski jezik, organiziranju tiskare te evangeličkih crkvenih općina prema wurttemberškom obredniku (Jambrek, 2013, 364). Strateški plan uspjeli su ostvariti tek djelomično, zbog prerane smrti Ivana Ungnada. U Biblijskom zavodu u Urachu tiskano je 40 djela, ukoliko im se pribroje dva djela fra Balda Lupetine i Senjaninovo *Razgovaranje*, raspolažemo s malom ali vrlo vrijednom knjižnicom od četvrdeset i tri djela hrvatskih reformatora djelatnih na istarsko-kranjsko-hrvatskom području, ukazuje Stanko Jambrek u najkompletnijoj recentnoj sintezi o reformaciji u hrvatskim zemljama (Jambrek, 2013, 465). Izdanja su većinom prijevodi spisa vodećih europskih reformatora ili vjeroispovijesti, a izdavačkim planom okupljena su djela za opismenjavanje ili početnice, Sveto pismo, djela za

Slika 1: Dvorac Amandenhof u Urachu sa spomenikom Primožu Truboru, voditelju južnoslavenske tiskare (Foto: Nataša Urošević).

temeljnu pouku u vjeri djece i odraslih, temeljna teološka i vjeroispovjedna djela, zbirke propovijedi, djela za evangelizaciju i liturgijski priručnici. Za hrvatsku kulturnu povijest bitno je što je evangelički *Novi testament* objavljen 1562./63. prvi Novi zavjet tiskan na hrvatskom jeziku. U prevođenju Biblije u Biblijskom zavodu sudjelovalo je nekoliko prevodilaca, tako da je to i prvi timski prijevod Biblije na hrvatski jezik.

Ovu uzbudljivu epizodu hrvatske kulturne povijesti, na temelju korespondencije suradnika Uraške tiskare između 1561. i 1563., rekonstruirao je 1874. Ivan Kostrenčić i kasnije obradio Franjo Bučar u *Povijesti hrvatske protestantske književnosti za reformacije* (1910). S Franjom Fancevom Bučar je 1938. objavio i *Bibliografiju hrvatske protestantske književnosti za reformacije* (Bučar, 1938). Polemizirajući s Franjom Fancevom i nastavljajući istraživanja *reformacije među Hrvatima po Istri*, Bučarovim i Kostrenčićevim tragom, koristeći bogatu biografsku građu (Preger, Ritter, Twesten itd.), Mijo Mirković (1898.–1963.) otkrio je hrvatskoj javnosti u monografiji *Flacius* 1938. Matiju Vlačića Ilirika. Nakon romansirane biografije *Matija Vlačić*, objavljene u Beogradu (Mirković, 1957), po kojoj je trebao biti snimljen film o Vlačiću, posvetio mu je i kapitalnu monografiju na 600 stranica – *Matija Vlačić Ilirik* (Zagreb, 1960.). U tom hibridnom djelu, na temelju iscrpnih istraživanja u austrijskim, njemačkim, švicarskim, francuskim i poljskim arhivima, ali i građe Sveučilišne knjižnice u Puli te podataka iz labinskih i dubrovačkih arhiva, istarski polihistor detaljno obrađuje Vlačićev život i djelo te aktivnosti istarskih (hrvatskih, slovenskih i talijanskih) protestanata, koji su znatno doprinijeli širenju pismenosti i kulture na narodnom jeziku, posebno u Istri kao specifičnom multikulturnom prostoru. Mirkovićeve interpretacije *Vlačićevih* koncepcija tvorbe zavičajnog identiteta aktualne su i danas. Usto, Mirković je Vlačiću atribuirao i prvi čakavski protestantski tekst *Razgovaranje* *meju Papistu i jednim Luteran* iz 1555., „stampan v Padove Miseca Setembra M.D.L.V." te hrvatski katekizam u *Otročjoj bibliji*.[1] Mirkovićeva atribucija *Razgovaranja*, koju su potvrdili akademik Josip Bratulić (1976; 1987) i njemačka slavistica Beatrix Schmidt (1976), izazvala je zanimljivu raspravu koja do danas nije zaključena (Čupković, 2018). Stanko Jambrek i Alojz Jembrih objavili su 2005. pretisak *Razgovaranja*, omogućivši time novim generacijama istraživača nastavak istraživanja autorstva, jezika i funkcije ovog važnog teksta.

Mirkovićeva su istraživanja bila poticaj za više znanstvenih skupova Susreta na dragom kamenu posvećenih Vlačiću, prije svega labinskog 1970. pod nazivom *Značenje Matije Vlačića u kulturnoj revoluciji Europe i njegova važnost danas*. Flaciusovom ostavštinom danas se najviše bavi međunarodni znanstveni skup u Labinu[2] (Miladinov, 2008; Dingel, Hund & Ilić, 2018), a njegovi koordinatori, Luka Ilić i Marina Schumann, autori su recentnih monografija, koje s teološkog (Ilić, 2014; 2021) odnosno historiografskog aspekta (Schumann, 2017), analiziraju Vlačićevo stvaralaštvo. Ključan doprinos jednog od najvećih znanstvenika, humanista i bibliofila svog vremena, koji je sudjelovao u razvoju sekularne političke teorije, crkvene politike, pa čak i engleske pripovijetke (Olson, 2010, 18) obradio je Oliver Olson, u izuzetno informativnoj monografiji, posvetivši mu i rad koji se bavi njegovim mogućim sudjelovanjem u aktivnostima Uraške tiskare (Olson, 2008). Uz akademika Josipa Bratulića, rad istarskih reformatora u egzilu, urašku baštinu i posebno djelatnost Stipana Konzula Istranina istraživao je sustavno Alojz Jembrih (2007).

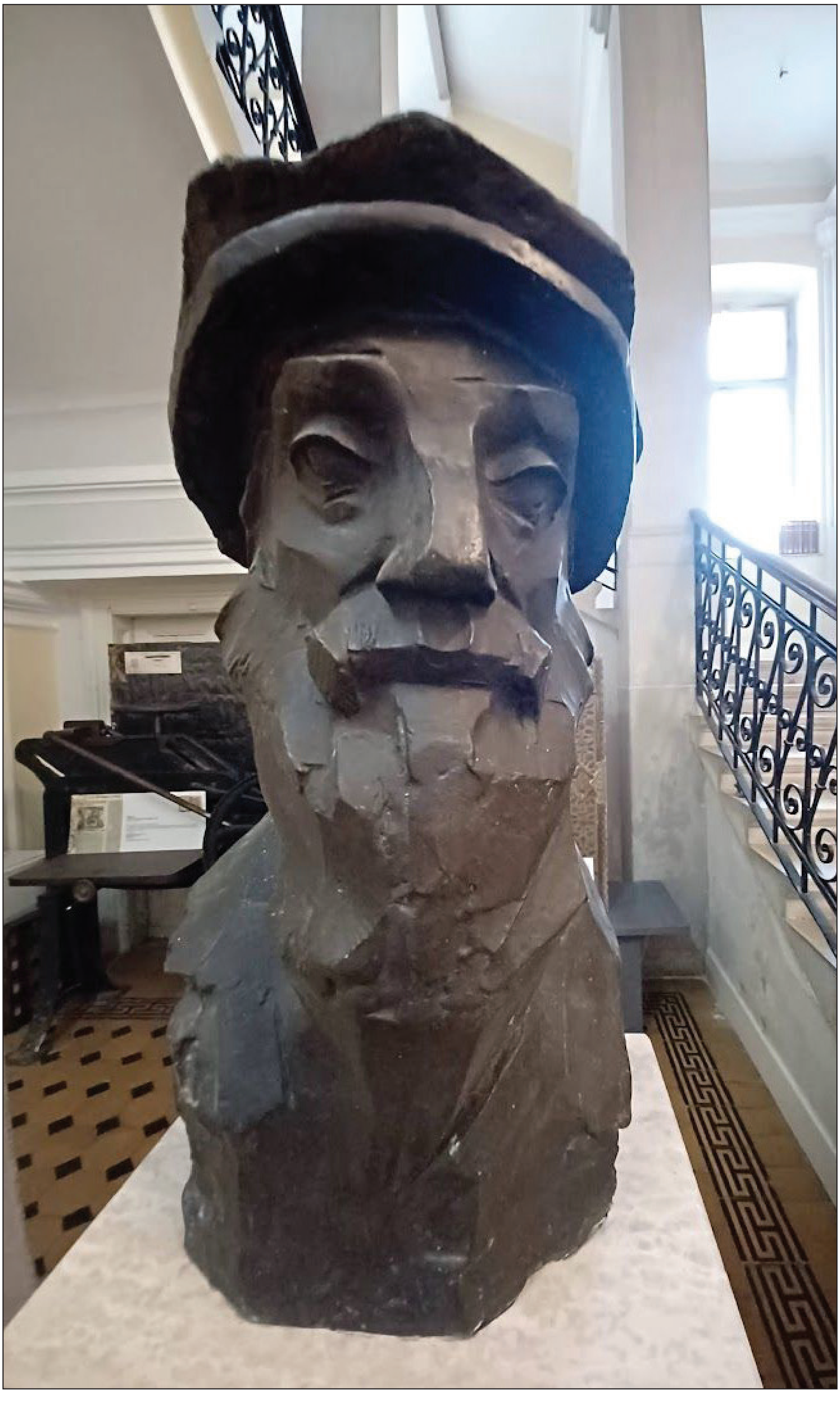
Reformacijom u Istri bavio se Antonio Miculian (2006), koji daje pregled inkvizitorskih procesa na istarskom poluotoku od 1545. do 1764. protiv 161 Istrana (ponajviše iz Kopra, Pirana, Pule, Vodnjana i Labina) kao značajnih dokumentarnih vrela, dok je Maja Ćutić Gorup istraživala širenje reformacije u Pazinskoj knežiji i stvaralaštvo istarskih glagoljaša (Ćutić Gorup, 2015; 2019). Nakon nekoliko važnih projekata i konferencija te publikacija objavljenih povodom petstote obljetnice reformacije (Blažević, Jambrek & Štefanec, 2015; Marinović & Markešić, 2018), na pulskom sveučilištu 2020. i 2021. održani su skupovi posvećeni petstotim obljetnicama Vlačićeva i Konzulova rođenja, na kojima je ukazano na važnost međunarodne projektne suradnje u istraživanju fenomena reformacije u Istri (Urošević, 2022). U tom kontekstu, u ovom radu elaborira se aktualnost Mirkovićevih istraživanja Vlačićevog stvaralaštva i reformacijske baštine Istre i Hrvatske. Kulturološkom analizom tri Mirkovićeve monografije posvećene Vlačiću, uz primjenu modela kulturne povijesti i socijalne povijesti medija, ukazano je da je tvorbu modernih kolektivnih identiteta i „zamišljenih zajednica" omogućila pojava „tiskarskog kapitalizma" i „tiskanih" jezika, koji su već u doba reformacije postavili temelje za širenje nacionalne svijesti i stvaranje nacionalnih jezika i književnosti. Uz analizu Mirkovićevih interpretacije pojma domovine kod Vlačića, testirana je teza da je razdoblje protestantske reformacije ključno obilježilo razvoj hrvatske kulture i njenih autohtonih sastavnica, koje su postale prepoznatljivi elementi nacionalnog identiteta i zajedničke europske baštine, odnosno da su istarski protestantski pisci prvi u hrvatskoj kulturnoj povijesti radili na stvaranju jedinstvenog književnog jezika i jedinstvenog pravopisa ne samo za sve Hrvate, nego i za sve južne Slavene.

KOMUNIKACIJSKA REVOLUCIJA REFORMACIJE I TISKARSKOG KAPITALIZMA

Primjenom modela kulturne povijesti i socijalne povijesti medija moguće je i na istarskom primjeru pokazati kako je artikulaciju (rano)modernih kolektivnih identiteta i „zamišljenih zajednica" kroz pripovijesti omogućila pojava „tiskarskog kapitalizma" i „tiskanih" jezika, koji su u doba reformacije postavili temelje za širenje nacionalne svijesti i stvaranje nacionalnih jezika i književnosti. Ranonovovjekovno razdoblje, koje je trajalo od „tiskarske revolucije" do Francuske i industrijske revolucije (Briggs & Burke, 2011, 23), kao „doba inkubacije moderne" (Schulze, 2016, 11), započelo je s reformacijom, koja je kao komunikacijska revolucija promijenila religijsku, kulturnu, političku i gospodarsku sliku Europe, afirmirajući pismenost i tiskarsko umijeće (Jambrek, 2013, 237).

Velik doprinos reformaciji dali su humanisti kritičkim izdanjima Biblije i crkvenih otaca, koja su doživjela brojna izdanja zahvaljujući uporabi tiskarskog stroja. Bili su vrlo kritični prema velikom dijelu crkvenog života tog doba. Erazmo Roterdamski svojom je knjigom *Pohvala ludosti* ismijavao zloporabe u Crkvi, zgražao se nad praznovjerjem pučke pobožnosti te pozivao na povratak jednostavnoj i čistoj vjeri evanđelja. Njegov prijevod Novog zavjeta s grčkog izvornika na latinski iz 1516. postao je najznačajnije i najutjecajnije izdanje Novoga zavjeta na latinskom jeziku početkom 16. stoljeća, koje je i Luther koristio kao temeljni tekst za prijevod Novog zavjeta na njemački, a u njemu je našao i osnovu za izravan napad na praksu prodaje i podjele oproštajnica (Jambrek, 2013, 26).

1 Takvu atribuciju potvrđuju i recentni njemački izvori (prim. Koschmal & Unger-Fischer, 2014).
2 Povodom 500. obljetnice rođenja Vlačić je dobio i vrlo informativnu web-stranicu https://flacius.info/.



Slika 2: Matija Vlačić Ilirik u pulskoj Sveučilišnoj knjižnici – rad kipara Mate Čvrljka (Foto: Nataša Urošević).

Svojevrsnu komunikacijsku revoluciju koju je izazvala simbioza reformacije i tiska obradili su Briggs i Burke u *Socijalnoj povijesti medija* (2011). Nacija je moderna pojava, ukazuje Benedict Anderson, naglašavajući ulogu "tiskarskog" kapitalizma u širenju i jačanju nacionalnih programa. Zamišljanje nacija i buđenje nacionalizma u 18. stoljeću rezultat je jačanja modernističke prosvjetiteljske paradigme i slabljenja religijskog vjerovanja, svjetovni pokušaj nove građanske klase da sudbinu pretvori u kontinuitet i da slučaju da smisao, ukratko da kolektivnom identitetu stvori novi ideološki okvir (Anderson, 1990). Kultura, književnost i jezik pritom funkcioniraju kao temeljni identifikacijski mehanizmi potrebni za stvaranje i održavanje sociokulturne kohezije u grupi ljudi čija se većina pripadnika nikada neće međusobno niti vidjeti, a kamoli upoznati. Takva homogenizacijska funkcija književnosti pridaje ulogu sredstva za ispisivanje nekog kolektivnog identiteta u društvenu stvarnost i ujedno definiranja kulturne i političke granice prema susjednoj zajednici koja se iz nekih razloga želi percipirati kao različita. Ekonomičnost i masovnost velike su prednosti književnosti u funkciji posredovanja ideologije zajedništva. Jezik koji, kao i nacionalni identitet, funkcionira kao specifičan simbolički znakovni sustav, jedno je od osnovnih sredstava nacionalne homogenizacije, naročito ukoliko je nacionalni korpus teritorijalno razjedinjen, te vjerski i etnički nehomogen (Škiljan, 2002, 147). Određivanje idioma koji će grupa nacionalnih ideologa („socio-semiotičkih poduzetnika") standardizacijom pokušati uzdignuti na razinu nacionalnoga jezika pritom je prije svega politički postupak (Šabić, 2004, 61).

Začetke nacionalne svijesti Anderson traži u razvoju tiska kao „robe široke potrošnje". Tek tada su naime zajednice „horizontalnog svjetovnog" tipa, „poprečnog u odnosu na vrijeme" postale moguće. Kao jedan od ranijih oblika kapitalističkog poduzetništva, nakladništvo, koje je cvalo širom Europe u razdoblju od 1500. do 1550., već je tada iskusilo svu nesmirenost potrage kapitalizma za tržištem. Bila je to velika industrija pod kontrolom imućnih kapitalista, knjižare su u prvom redu bile zainteresirane za stvaranje profita i za prodaju, pa su ponajprije tražile ona djela koja bi zanimala što veći broj njihovih suvremenika. Nakon što se zasitio uzak sloj poznavatelja latinskog, koji su činili prvo elitno tržište pismene Europe, „prema logici kapitalizma", nakladnici su se okrenuli ogromnom potencijalnom tržištu jednojezičnih masa. Bio je to začetak književnosti na narodnim jezicima. Daljnji poticaj revolucionarnom proboju vernakulara pod utjecajem kapitalizma dala je reformacija, koja istovremeno velik dio uspjeha duguje upravo tiskarskom kapitalizmu. Izum tiskarskog stroja omogućio je širenje protestantskih ideja. Prije pet stoljeća u Europi se dakle stvara, prvi put, pravo masovno čitateljstvo i popularna književnost na dohvat svakome, a Luther je postao prvi autor bestselera. Tako je započeo vjerski propagandni rat kolosalnih razmjera, a savez protestantizma i tiskarskog kapitalizma, koristeći jeftina popularna izdanja, brzo stvara novu, široku čitalačku publiku, ponajviše među trgovcima i ženama, ujedno ih pridobivajući i za svoje političko-vjerske ciljeve (Anderson, 1990, 42–45).

Udruženi, reformacija i tiskarski kapitalizam ozbiljno su ugrozili dotad premoćni latinski te doveli do širenja nacionalnih jezika i stvaranja zamišljenih nacionalnih zajednica: „Ono što je u pozitivnom smislu omogućilo zamišljanje novih zajednica bila je dijelom nehotična, ali burna interakcija između sistema proizvodnje i proizvodnih odnosa (kapitalizma), tehnologije komunikacija (tiska) te neumitne raznovrsnosti ljudskih jezika" (Anderson, 1990, 47). Posljedice širenja pismenosti i njenog sve dubljeg prodora u svakodnevni život bile su mnogobrojne i mnogovrsne, uključujući razvoj kritičkog, privatnog i kreativnog čitanja. Sve učestalija upotreba narodnih jezika u literarne svrhe išla je ukorak s njihovom standardizacijom i kodifikacijom, procesima potpomognutima tiskom (Briggs & Burke, 2011, 40).

Prije pojave tiska u Evropi, i ostatku svijeta, raznovrsnost govornih jezika bila je ogromna, „tako ogromna da bi se kapitalizam bio slabo razvio da je kojim slučajem pokušao iskoristiti potencijalno tržište svakog pojedinog govornog jezika. Međutim, ti su se različiti govori u određenim granicama mogli okupiti u mnogo manji broj tiskarskih jezika", ukazuje Anderson (1990, 47). Upravo je kapitalizam najviše pridonio okupljanju srodnih jezika i kultura, stvorivši mehanički reproducirane tiskane jezike koji su se zatim mogli širiti tržištem. Dostupnost i masovno širenje knjiga, pamfleta i časopisa te učestalnost javnih polemika pridonijeli su usponu kritičkog mišljenja i javnog mnijenja, omogućivši prvi veći ideološki sukob u kojem je tiskana građa imala vodeću ulogu (Briggs & Burke, 2011, 78).

Tiskani su jezici postavili temelje nacionalne svijesti na tri načina: stvorili su unificirana polja razmjena i komunikacija ispod latinskog, a iznad vernakulara, a govornici velikog broja različitih vernakulara, koji bi se u razgovoru teško razumjeli, dobili su priliku razumjeti jedni druge putem tiska i papira, sačinjavajući tako zametak nacionalno zamišljene zajednice. Tiskarski je kapitalizam učvrstio jezik, što je pridonijelo stvaranju predodžbe drevnosti i jačanju subjektivnog poimanja nacije. Zaključno, tiskarski je kapitalizam stvorio službene „jezike vlasti", koji su se s vremenom pretvorili u standard, na račun hendikepiranih dijalekata koji nisu dobili tiskanu varijantu. Anderson zaključuje: „stjecaj kapitalizma, tiskarske tehnologije i neumitne raznovrsnosti ljudskog jezika omogućio je stvaranje novog oblika zamišljene zajednice, koja je svojom osnovnom morfologijom postavila scenu za suvremenu naciju" (Anderson, 1990, 48–49).

Uočivši primjenjivost Andersonovog modela na hrvatsku kulturnu povijest, u radu se prate procesi zamišljanja nacije na istarskom i širem hrvatskom prostoru. Mirkovićeva monografska „trilogija", slično Andersonu, kroz raskošnu kulturnu panoramu nudi model suvremene reinterpretacije hrvatske kulturne povijesti u širem europskom kontekstu. Analizom Mirkovićevih monografija posvećenih Vlačiću, uz primjenu modela kulturne povijesti i društvene povijesti medija, ukazat će se da je tvorbu modernih kolektivnih identiteta i „zamišljenih zajednica" i na našem prostoru omogućila pojava tiska i „tiskanih" jezika, koji su već u doba reformacije postavili temelje za širenje nacionalne svijesti i stvaranje nacionalnih jezika i književnosti. Prvi hrvatski „tiskarski jezik" bila je istarsko-primorska i dalmatinska čakavština s primjesama štokavštine, jer su hrvatski protestanti željeli da im jezik bude dostupan što širem krugu, tražeći u isto vrijeme osnovu za formiranje zajedničkog, općeslavenskog književnog jezika. Knjige su tiskali glagoljicom, ćirilicom i latinicom, a u poslu su sudjelovali istarski svećenici glagoljaši kao prevoditelji, redaktori i korektori.

HISTORIOGRAFSKA PRIPOVIJEST O MATIJI VLAČIĆU

Mirkovićevu prvu monografiju *Flacius* iz 1938., koju dio kritike, prvenstveno zbog širine zahvata i minuciozne analize, s pravom smatra najboljim Mirkovićevim proznim djelom (Prosperov Novak, 2003, 361), možemo usporediti i s Andersonovim modelom, kao priču o zamišljanju hrvatske nacije, odnosno pripovijest koja nastoji povezati hrvatski mikrokozmos s europskim makrokozmom. Naime, i Mirković, smještajući Vlačića u povijesni kontekst, spajanjem kulturno-povijesne s ekonomskom analizom povezuje procese stvaranja moderne Europe s pojavom tiska i kapitalizma (odnosno „tiskarskog kapitalizma") koji je omogućio okupljanje srodnih jezika i kultura, te komunikaciju „ispod latinskog a iznad vernakulara", stvarajući zametke nacionalno zamišljenih zajednica. Kulturno-povijesnu analizu u *Flaciusu* iz 1938. Mirković započinje upravo tim ključnim razdobljem, ukazujući da je otkriće tiska i novih kontinenata koje je stvorilo akumulaciju bogatstva u europskim gradovima omogućilo jačanje građanstva i novih kapitalističkih odnosa, oslobađanje od feudalnih veza i crkvenih dogmi te stvaranje nove duhovne konstelacije koja je, nakon humanizma i renesanse na jugu, dovela do razvoja reformacije u sjevernim zemljama: „Granicu između zapadno-europskoga srednjega i novoga vijeka čine puščani prah i stalna plaćenička vojska, mašina za proizvodnju papira i pokretna slova koja se mogu slagati i sa njima štampati, otkrića novih kontinenata i novih putova po oceanima, nagomilavanje bogatstva u gradovima koje se počinje pretvarati u veći trgovački i početni industrijski kapital i povećavanje gradskoga stanovništva, prelaz od malih gradskih autonomija na centralistički upravljane veće teritorijalne države, prenos središta historijskog zbivanja sa Sredozemnog mora na unutrašnju kontinentalnu Evropu i na Atlantski ocean, početak prelaza iz naturalne u novčanu privredu i oslobođenje duha čovjekovog od višestoljetne skučenosti i okamenjelosti (Mirković, 1938, 25).

Različiti uvjeti razvoja zemalja Istočne i Zapadne Europe doveli su do kasnijih znatnih razlika u stupnju razvijenosti, ukazuje autor. Dok je zapadna Europa zaposlena u stvaranju bogatstva i nove kulture što dolazi s tim bogatstvom, na ekspanziji u nove prekomorske zemlje, mala još preostala Hrvatska brani svaki grad, svaku utvrdu i svaku stopu zemlje od Turaka:

„Vlačićev život (1520–1575) pada u u ono burno vrijeme kad je zapadna Evropa krenula da osvoji i podijeli zemaljsku kuglu, a istočna je u najvećoj mjeri u strahu i nesigurnosti, ugrožena napadima Turaka i sva još u svakodnevnoj obrani od njih" (Mirković, 1938, 26). I dok se u europskim gradovima stvara nova građanska klasa, kojoj srebro i zlato koje pristiže iz kolonija omogućava nove investicije, a razvoj znanosti na prvim europskim sveučilištima stvara sve jasniju granicu između vjerovanja i znanstvene spoznaje, omogućavajući razvoj kritičkog mišljenja i individualizma, dok se budi na svima stranama osjećanje pripadnosti narodu i njegovanje narodnog jezika, „pritisnuti sa svih strana, hrvatski feudalci i hrvatski narod gube zajedno poziciju za pozicijom prema Talijanima, Nijemcima, Madžarima, Turcima" (Mirković, 1938, 26). Zbog toga mogu malo sudjelovati u gospodarskom i kulturnom stvaranju Zapada, gdje je upravo reformacija doprinijela formiranju religiozne etike naroda, izgradnji znanosti, tehnike, komercijalnog duha poduzetništva, individualističkog osjećanja i osjećanja odgovornosti za vlastiti život i rad, saznajemo u drugom poglavlju *Hrvatski mikrokozam*, u kojem je 55 godina Vlačićeva života kontekstualizirano u dramatični okvir osmanlijskih osvajanja. Njemački gradovi, s očuvanim autonomijama, razvijenim obrtima i trgovinom, počecima bankarstva i industrije, novim sveučilištima i tiskarama, predstavljaju, s druge strane, perspektivnu sredinu stabilnog rasta, u koju devetnaestogodišnji Matija

Vlačić stiže „sa istarskog kamena i žute mršave labinske ilovače, ostavivši za sobom zauvijek sunčanu lijepu Italiju, ostavivši po strani krvava hrvatska zbivanja...“ (Mirković, 1938, 51). U narednim poglavljima (*Vlačićeva životna sudbina, Vlačićevo djelo, Vlačićev karakter*) Vlačićev se životni put i borba za opstanak reformacije (borba protiv Interima, povijesni radovi, teološki radovi, Vlačićeva filozofija) analiziraju paralelno s razvojem hrvatske kulture i pismenosti u širem europskom i svjetskom konktekstu. Mirkoviću je pritom bilo bitno dokazati da je Vlačić bio Hrvat i po porijeklu i po svojem osjećaju (Mirković, 1938, 147–148).

U zaključnom poglavlju *O protestantizmu, posebno hrvatskom*, Mirković se bavi poviješću reformacije i crkvenim raskolom, ukazujući da univerzalnosti katoličke crkve nestaje kad počinju promjene u gospodarskim odnosima, odnosno „kad su Fuggeri u Augsburgu postali bogatiji od fiorentinskih Medicija“, „kad su engleski, holandski, njemački, francuski, češki gradovi počeli da bivaju bogatiji od talijanskih, kad centar svijeta više nije Sredozemno more, nego Atlantski ocean“... kad je u unutrašnjosti Evrope nastao brojan građanski stalež, slobodan, imućan, samosvjestan, kad su se osilili teritorijalni gospodari, univerzalizam rimske crkve, njena svjetovna i crkvena svemoć i univerzalizam katoličke kulture više nije bilo tako lako održati (Mirković, 1938, 180). Iako je sama Italija prva napuštala latinski jezik (pa tako i Dante, Vlačićev svjedok istine, na prijelomu 13. i 14. stoljeća piše narodnim, živim talijanskim jezikom), univerzalnost kulture kidali su, više nego jezik, posebni politički i ekonomski interesi na jednoj strani te nove društvene prilike i potreba stvaranja novih ideala na drugoj.

Mirković ukazuje da je reformacija omogućila oslobođenje individualnih snaga čovjeka:

> *Rasputavanje ličnosti i sloboda ličnosti, jednakost ljudi po prirodnom pravu, stvaraju na zapadu grandiozne historijske tvorevine: novo građansko društvo, individualističku privredu sa sistemom konkurencije, sistematsku nauku, kakvu povijest nije do tada poznavala, specijalizaciju, prosvjećenje masa, bogatstvo i visoki životni standard masa, ali kao posljedicu svega toga, ipak, kaotične prilike u proizvodnji, nevjeru masa, društvene suprotnosti, klasnu podjelu i klasne borbe. Relativizam i pragmatizam u vjerskim stvarima, velike mogućnosti napretka nauke i materijalne kulture, stvorili su vjeru u neprestani napredak privrede, društva, znanja i kulture... Kršćanska etika je postala poslovna etika kapitalističke klase.* (Mirković, 1938, 186–187)

Na samom kraju monografije, na temelju korespondencije suradnika uraške tiskare, Mirković analizira odnose hrvatskih, slovenskih, talijanskih i njemačkih protestanata, ukazujući na razloge koji su Vlačića spriječili da aktivnije sudjeluje u radu Uraške tiskare (Mirković, 1938, 208–209). Zaključuje, slažući se s Matijom Murkom, da je reformacija imala važnu ulogu u povijesti kulture i književnosti na narodnom jeziku: „Ono što je od hrvatskog protestantizma ostalo, ipak je od zamašnog kulturnog značaja. Hrvatski protestanti počeli su da izdaju knjige na narodnom jeziku. Taj je jezik bio istarsko-primorska čakavština sa primjesama štokavštine. Ali su oni u isto vrijeme tražili i osnovu za formiranje jednog književnog jezika“. Reformacija je imala ulogu jačanja nacionalne svijesti, vjere u sebe i samopouzdanja: „Bilo je bitno da li će Hrvati usvojiti naprednije suvremene idejne pravce, koji u svijetu vladaju, i od njih stvoriti sastavne elemente svoje kulture. Sve je zavisilo od toga i tada“ (Mirković, 1938, 211–213).

FLACIUS KAO METAFORA EUROPSKE KULTURNE REVOLUCIJE

U *Flaciusu* iz 1938. Mirković posebno ističe značaj reformacijskog pokreta (kao prethodnika ilirizma) u buđenju nacionalne svijesti i afirmiranju narodnog jezika u književnosti, te općenito u procesu nacionalne i kulturne afirmacije u širim europskim okvirima. Slaže se s Fancevom da „u hrvatskoj književnosti ima malo protestantskih tradicija“, ukazujući da je pokret u Hrvatskoj bio unaprijed osuđen na duhovno-povijesni i socijalno-politički neuspjeh, ne samo zbog protureformacije, koja je „spaljivanjem knjiga, fizičkim mučenjem, prijetnjama“ (Mirković, 1938, 197) uspjela iskorijeniti reformaciju u Hrvatskoj, već i zato što je:

> *u hrvatskom protestantskom pokretu bilo premalo jedinstva, premalo plana, premalo originalnog duha i samostalnosti. Središta protestantskih akcija u narodu bila su malena, raspršena, provincijska i međusobno nepovezana: Istra, sjeverno hrvatsko priobalno područje, Karlovac, Međimurje. Historijske prilike bile su nepovoljne. I kod toga prevodioci su subalterni popovi glagoljaši, najveća sirotinja s dobrom voljom koja je veća od njihovog znanja i moći.* (Mirković, 1938, 212)

Treba istaknuti da moderna hrvatska recepcija Vlačića ima korijene u istraživanjima hrvatske protestantske književnosti, koja su se intenzivirala nacionalno-ideološkim impulsima hrvatskog nacionalnog preporoda. Mirković u predgovoru prvom izdanju monografije *Flacius* iz 1938. ističe: „Od ilirizma... do danas, u ovih sto godina, bilo je dosta vremena da se među nama oživi Vlačićev lik i da uskrsne njegova misao", pojašnjavajući da je:

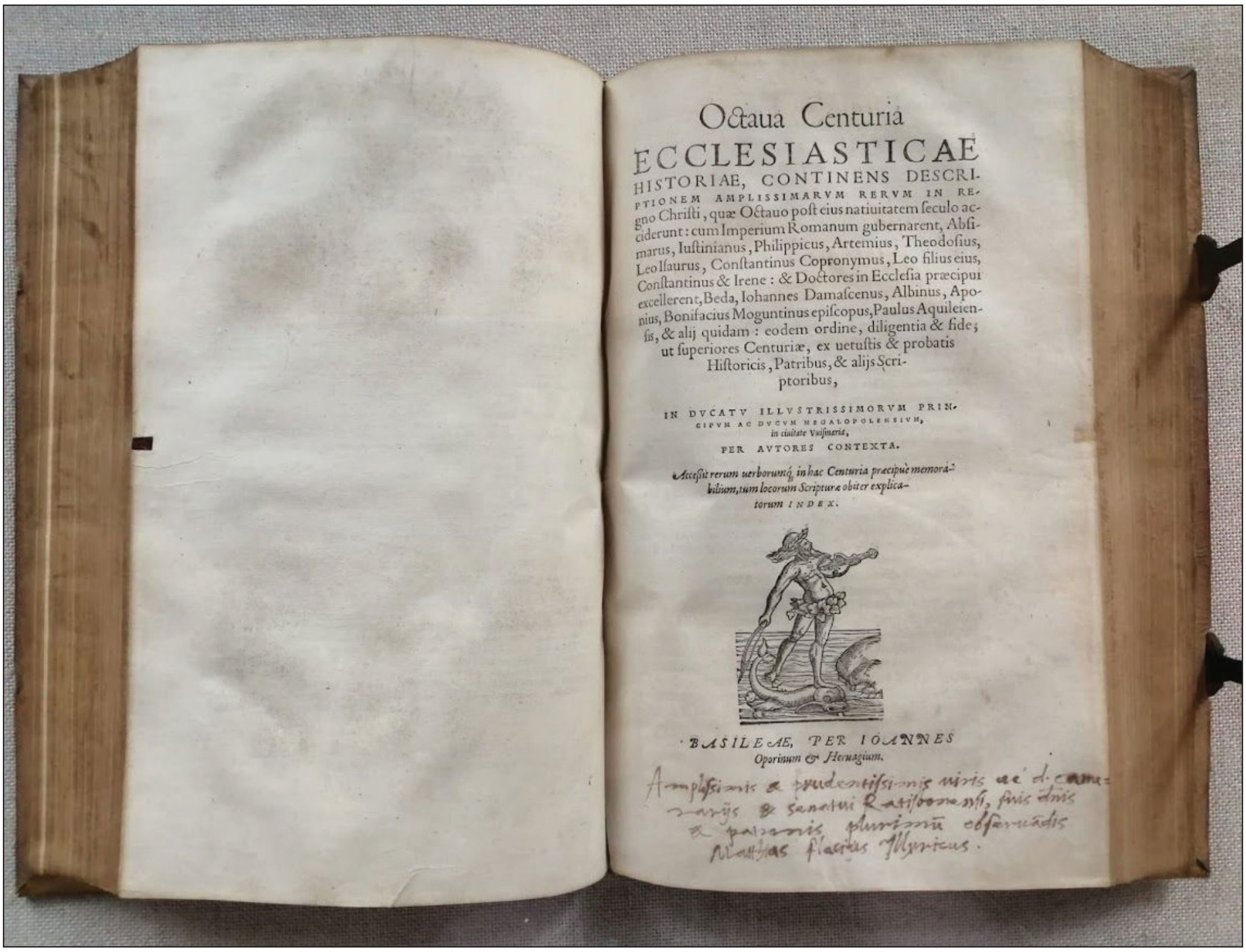
> *od prvih gimnazijskih dana na narodno ugroženom istarskom tlu u Vlačiću vidio daleko usamljeno svjetlo u našim kulturnim naporima i kristalno čist lik, prkosan, jak, neukrotiv, najljepši lik što ga je Istra mogla dati. U Vlačiću kao da su utjelovljene najbolje i najjače osobine našega naroda u Istri: radinost do iscrpljenja, odanost stvari, vjernost ideji.* (Mirković, 1938, VIII–IX)

Prvu monografiju posvećenu Matiji Vlačiću pod naslovom *Flacius* Mirković je objavio 1938. u Zagrebu, nakon prvih ozbiljnijih istraživanja, koje je podupirao i Krleža, naručivši za časopis "Danas" 1933. godine prilog o Vlačiću. Krleža je pročitao i tekst *Flaciusa,* i pomogao da on bude tiskan. Osim kao doprinos povijesti reformacije u Hrvatskoj, možemo ju čitati i kao metaforu kulturne reforme, odnosno kao pokušaj reinterpretacije hrvatske kulturne povijesti s lijevih, antifašističkih pozicija. Kako ukazuje i Josip Bratulić, uoči Drugog svjetskoga rata naša je lijevo orijentirana inteligencija u protestantizmu gledala ideološko suprostavljanje fašizmu (Bratulić, 1980, 11).

Prema Franji Zenku, ideološka motivacija Mirkovićeva bavljenja Vlačićem najjasnije se očituje upravo u predgovoru *Flaciusu*, u kojem autor tadašnju situaciju Hrvatske opisuje kao da se zemlja ponovo nalazi pred izborom da se odluči za reformaciju ili protureformaciju, a na koju ju prisiljava „izuzetno nepovoljna međunarodna srednjoeuropska konstelacija". Ovdje protureformacija predstavlja zapravo metaforu totalitarnih režima i međunarodne reakcije uperene protiv cjelokupnog bloka progresivnih političkih društvenih i kulturnih snaga. U tom je novom kontekstu hrvatski protestantizam, odnosno njegov glavni lik i simbol Vlačić, funkcionirao kao metafora kulturnog revolucionarstva koje je neposredno prije izbijanja Drugog svjetskog rata trebalo steći priznanje kao retrospektivno nanovo otkriveno karakteristično svojstvo cjelokupne hrvatske duhovne povijesti, ali i kao dalekovidni uvid u vezi sa socijalnom, političkom i kulturnom ideologijom hrvatskih lijevo orijentiranih liberala i marksista okupljenih u krugu oko Krleže, sa čijeg se stajališta, po Mirkovićevu mišljenju, cjelokupna hrvatska književnost, kultura i hrvatska politika, programatski trebala (re)interpretirati (Zenko, 1991).

Istraživanje povijesti protestantske književnosti i posebno uloge Vlačićeva djela početkom i naročito tridesetih godina 20. stoljeća poprimilo je ideološko obilježje: dio javnosti smatrao je da ta nastojanja ugrožavaju tradicionalno, tj. katolički intonirano tumačenje cjelokupne hrvatske duhovne povijesti. S druge strane, lijevo-liberalno i marksistički orijentirani intelektualci poduzimali su radikalne interpretacije hrvatske povijesti književnosti, kulturne i duhovne povijesti, pri čemu je, pored hrvatske glagoljaške književnosti i bosanskih bogumila hrvatski protestantizam trebao predstavljati jedan od glavnih oslonaca novog samorazumijevanja cjelokupne hrvatske kulture i duhovne povijesti (Zenko, 1991, 913). Među hrvatskim povjesničarima književnosti i kulture, Mirkovićem suvremenicima, postojala su proturječna tumačenja značenja, važnosti i utjecaja protestantizma na duhovni život i kulturni napredak Hrvata. Franjo Bučar tako ukazuje da se, usprkos „prerevnoj inkviziciji" koja je „iskorijenila reformaciju iz sviju mletačkih zemalja po Istri i ondje, gdje je imala crkvenu jurisdikciju, te je bez dvojbe pazila i na importovanje hrvatskih glagolskih protestantskih knjiga, kojima se nastojalo iz susjedne Kranjske i Hrvatske širiti reformaciju po Istri", na tom području razvila značajna protestantska glagoljaška književnost koja je znatno utjecala na razvoj hrvatske književnosti, posebno one crkvene. Ipak, zbog velikog pritiska protureformacije, „niti jedno stoljeće nije se održala reformacija u Istri" i na taj način „nestalo je i novosvjetskog književnog pokreta među tamošnjim glagolašima Hrvatima..." (Bučar, 1918, 7–26). Franjo Fancev je, s druge strane, smatrao da su važnost i utjecaj protestantizma u kulturnoj povijesti Hrvata precijenjeni (Fancev, 1938, 2). Suvremeni istraživači, među njima i Josip Bratulić, ističu da je protestantizam „bez svake sumnje imao odjeka kod nas, posebice u krajevima koji su bili pod jačim njemačkim upravno-političkim i društvenim utjecajem (Slovenija, Istra, Vojna granica), a i u krajevima pod vlašću Venecije koja se kolebala između protestantizma i katolicizma" (Bratulić, 1980).

U poslijeratnom razdoblju Mirković je svoja istraživanja produbio i nastavio uz pokroviteljstvo Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti, rezultat čega je i kapitalna monografija od 600 stranica. Nakon etabliranja „znanstvenog socijalizma" marksističke provenijencije, koji se uvriježio kao novi svjetovni interpretacijski horizont, Vlačićev „protestantski duh" objašnjava se na geografsko-politički, antropološki, sociološko-politički, regionalno i nacionalno duhovno-povijesni, dakle „multikauzalno-naturalistički način i to u suprotnosti spram uobičajenog teološkog tumačenja", smatra Zenko (1991, 914). Zahvaljujući uvelike upravo Mirkovićevim istraživanjima, znameniti Labinjan, utjecajni teolog, filolog, filozof i crkveni povjesničar koji je svojim obimnim i pionirskim djelom zadužio njemačku i europsku kulturnu povijest, danas se smatra zaslužnim za opstanak Lutherove reforme



Slika 3: U Državnoj knjižnici u Regensburgu čuvaju se Centurije s Vlačićevom posvetom (Foto: Nataša Urošević).

(Olson, 2010), ali i postavljanje temelja suvremenoj hermeneutici, lingvistici i strukturalizmu (Filipović, 1971) te osmišljavanje prve moderne međunarodne znanstveno-istraživačke mreže kroz projekt *Magdeburških centurija*.

Osim želje da selekcionira i artikulira autentičan doprinos istarske kulturne povijesti naprednim humanističkim pokretima u europskoj i hrvatskoj kulturi, Mirković svojom monografijom o Vlačiću prije svega želi približiti Istru Hrvatskoj, i Hrvatsku Istri:

> *Pisac je više od četvrt stoljeća tragao za stopama Matije Vlačića, uživljavao se u njegove misli i njegove borbe, proučavao je njegove latinske tekstove, tražio u njima ono što je lično Vlačićevo, hrvatsko i jugoslavensko, napredno i savremeno ne samo zbog historijskog značaja Vlačićeve ličnost, borbe i naučnih rezultata, nego i poradi toga što je čitavog života osjećao Matiju Vlačića kao svoga.* (Mirković, 1960, XIII–XIX)

POJAM DOMOVINE

U trećoj, najopsežnijoj monografiji, koja je i njegovo životno djelo, Mirković je primijenio „historijsko načelo i historijsku perspektivu“, u namjeri da Vlačića prikaže kao historiografa te da „pronađe, istraži, obradi i prikaže ono što je suvremeno, korisno i upotrebljivo, blisko suvremenim pokoljenjima, što je bilo na liniji napretka i razvitka i što je unapređivalo znanstvenu spoznaju“ (Mirković, 1960, XV). Na gotovo 600 stranica, s prilozima i obimnom znanstvenom aparaturom, Mirković je obradio Vlačićev život, njegovo bogato i raznoliko djelo, te posebno njegov odnos prema domovini, uključivši i projekte pokušaja otvaranja sveučilišta za južne Slavene, Čehe i Talijane u Regensburgu i Celovcu (Klagenfurtu). U nastavku će se, elaboracijom Mirkovićevih interpretacija pojma domovine kod Vlačića, prodiskutirati proces artikulacije ranomodernih identiteta i pripadnosti.

Prvi dio monografije *Matija Vlačić Ilirik* (1960), Život, obrađuje *Djetinjstvo, mladost i prve škole* (1520.–1539.) u Labinu i Veneciji, s naglaskom na Vlačićevo humanističko obrazovanje (Mirković, 1960, 26–31); *Studije na Sveučilištu* (1539.–1544.) u Baselu i dolazak u Wittenberg te susret s Lutherom. *Prva sveučilišna profesura* (1544.–1549.) u Wittenbergu, odnosi s Melanchthonom nakon Lutherove smrti i odlazak iz Wittenberga nakon interima; *Borba i uspon u Magdeburgu* (1549.–1557.) kao vrhunac karijere i idejna pobjeda; *Druga sveučilišna profesura* (Jena, 1557.–1561.) kao najtragičnije razdoblje Vlačićeva života obilježeno polemikama i disputacijama; *Djelatnost i sudari u Regensburgu* (1562.–1566.), uključujući rad na najvećem djelu, sistematskom enciklopedijskom *Ključu svetog pisma* objavljenog u dva velika dijela 1567. kod Oporina u Baselu; *Borbe i stradanja u Strasbourgu* (1567.–1573.), uključujući zaoštravanje spora o istočnom grijehu i rad na *Glosama*, posljednjem Vlačićevom velikom djelu te *Smrt prognanika* (1575). u Frankfurtu na Majni.

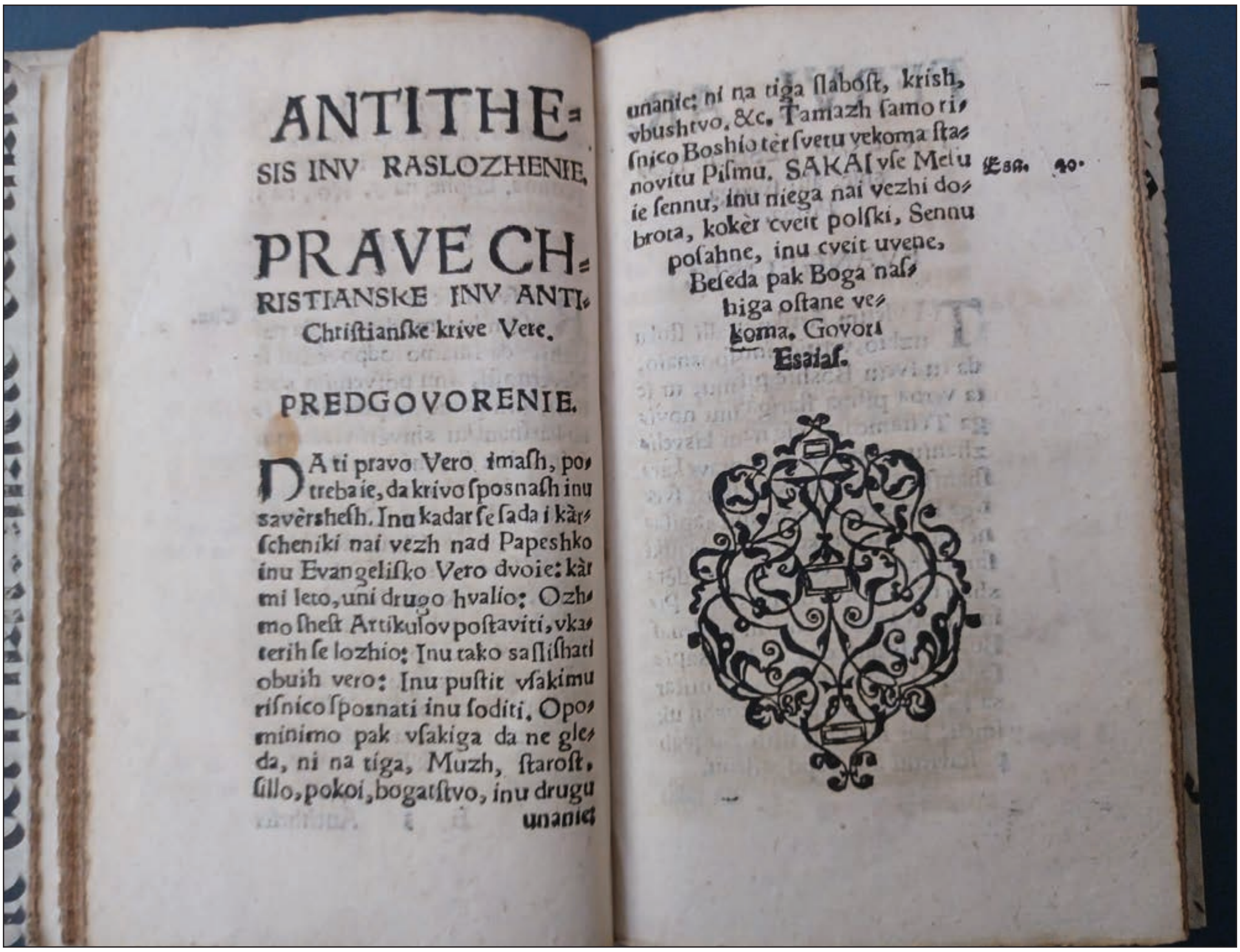
U prvom dijelu Život prikazuje Vlačićev životni put, ali i njegov osjećaj pripadnosti zavičaju i rodnom gradu, nastojeći na temelju arhivske građe osvijetliti Vlačićevo porijeklo, labinsku sredinu, obiteljske prilike, školovanje i formiranje njegove ličnosti u Labinu i Veneciji prije odlaska u Njemačku. Ukazuje pritom da je Vlačićev intelektualni profil posebno obilježila pripadnost mediteranskom kulturnom krugu. Slikama primorskog i jadranskog krajolika, simbolima punih jedara i ribarskih svijeća artikuliraju se kulturološke specifičnosti zavičajnog i mediteranskog identiteta. Karakteristični su opisi Mirkoviću poznatog primorskog krajolika, slike svakodnevnog života, te simbolika punih jedara i svjetla u mraku (koje Vlačić spominje u *De voce et re fidei* i *Ključu svetog pisma*):

> *Sa Fortice i ispred Kaštela pružao se vidik na široki Kvarner i na Cres, na brodove, što su na Kvarneru plovili, široko razapetih i punih jedara. Na brodovima su bili kapetani i mornari, što su znali za smjer, kojim brod plovi, što su vladali morem i umijećem jedrenja. To 'jedrenje punim jedrima' ostat će Matiji Vlačiću jedan od dubokih doživljaja, divna estetska slika i najviše simbolična vizija. On će tu sliku i usporedbu upotrebljavati u muževnom životu i u književnom radu tamo, gdje bude htio izraziti ono, što čovjek može najviše da postigne u životu, da jedri punim jedrima, vjerujući u sigurnost stvari, za koju radi i živi vjerujući u sigurnost puta kojim ide. Noću iz Labina i iz mraka, mogle su se gledati ribarske vatre, što su gorjele na rešetkama ispred pramca čamaca iznad mora…Te udaljene vatre na moru javljale su se sad kao one sitne svjetiljčice ljudskog razuma na pučini nedokučivih strasti, sad kao slike ljudske stvaralačke snage, ljudskog rada i ljudskog napora, ljudske kulture ili naprosto prisustva ljudi, sad kao simboli nade…* (Mirković, 1960, 16)

Elemente primorskog i mediteranskog krajolika, ponovo na simboličnoj razini, uspoređuje s biblijskim motivima: „Više nego igdje drugdje mogao je baš u Labinu i na Labinštini osjetiti i spoznati, da u životu stvara sve pozitivne rezultate samo pošten i uporan rad, koji savlađuje sve. Lijepo je, kaže se u Pismu, doći u Vinograd gospodnji, spavati pod svojom smokvom i pod svojom lozom na otvorenom i u prirodi za toplih mediteranskih noći, punih mirisa i glasova. On je baš te slike iz Pisma zahvatio, ponavljao i isticao, jer su to bile ne samo palestinske, nego i labinske slike" (Mirković, 1960, 17). Na više se mjesta ukazuje na Vlačićevo uspoređivanje biblijskih motiva (odnosno života u Palestini) s načinom života i privređivanja u Istri, od prehrane i uzgoja pojedinih kultura, do sličnosti poljoprivrednih zanimanja na Mediteranu. Upravo je kao Mediteranac Vlačić mogao shvatiti prilike u Palestini, što mu je uvelike pomoglo u teološkim raspravama. Detaljno se opisuje i karakter čakavaca labinskog kraja (i nekih Vlačića posebno) koji su tvrdoglavi, imaju fiksne ideje o ispravnosti svoga gledišta i radije propadaju i umiru, nego što od njih odstupaju:

> *I još jednu sliku ponio je Vlačić sa sobom iz Labinštine: sliku ljudi, od kojih je potekao, tih njegovih Ilira, Hrvata, Vlaha i Slavena, kako ih on naziva: ljudi iskonskih, realnih, upornih i uspješnih; ljudi, što od nepovoljnih uslova prirode stvaraju povoljne; ljudi odvažnih i neposrednih, što ne strepe ni pred čime, nego se sa svim nepogodnostima, nesrećama i nezgodama hrabro i realno hvataju u koštac; ljudi, što krmilo vlastitog života i sudbine drže čvrsto u vlastitim rukama; ljudi, što mogu izdržati, što nitko drugi ne može: na pržini, na kamenu, u suši, na vjetru, u slamom pokrivenom ovčjem dvoru, spavajući uz ovce, odjeveni, s nabijenom puškom pored sebe. Ljudi, koji cijene iznad svega slobodu, nezavisnost i ljudsko dostojanstvo. Slavenski, prastari ljudi. Neodoljivi ljudi.* (Mirković, 1960, 18)

Drugi dio *Djelo* podijeljen je na četiri poglavlja: prvo se, ukazujući na važnost Vlačića kao historičara i njegova kritičkog postupka pri izboru, ocjeni i upotrebi izvora, bavi ključnim historijskim



ANTITHE-
SIS INV RASLOZHENIE,
PRAVE CH-
RISTIANSKE INV ANTI-
Chriſtianſke krive Vere.

PREDGOVORENIE.

DA ti pravo Vero imaſh, po-
trebaie, da krivo ſposnaſh inu
savèrsheſh. Inu kadar ſe ſada i kàr-
ſcheniki nai vezh nad Papeshko
inu Evangeliſko Vero dvoie: kàr
mi leto, uni drugo hvalio: Ozh-
mo ſheſt Artikulov poſtaviti, vka-
terih ſe lozhio: Inu tako saſliſhati
obuih vero: Inu puſtit vſakimu
riſnico ſposnati inu ſoditi. Opo-
minimo pak vſakiga da ne gle-
da, ni na tiga, Muzh, ſtaroſt,
ſillo, pokoi, bogatſtvo, inu drugu
unanie

unanie, ni na tiga ſlaboſt, kriſh,
vbushtvo, &c. Tamazh ſamo ri-
ſnico Boshio ter ſvetu vekoma ſta-
novitu Piſmu. SAKAI vſe Meſu Esa. 40.
ie ſennu, inu niega nai vezhi do-
brota, kokèr cveit polſki, Sennu
poſahne, inu cveit uvene,
Beſeda pak Boga naſ-
higa oſtane ve-
koma. Govori
Esaias.

Slika 4: Mirković Vlačiću pripisuje autorstvo hrvatskog katekizma i polemičke rasprave Antithesis u Otročjoj bibilji (na slici primjerak iz British Library u Londonu, foto: Nataša Urošević).

radovima, *Katalogom svjedoka istine* i *Magdeburškim centurijama*, velikom crkvenom poviješću nastalom sistematskim kritičkim istraživanjem povijesnih izvora i međunarodnom suradnjom centurijatora – prve moderne znanstveno-istraživačke mreže i objavljenom u trinaest svezaka u Baselu od 1559. do 1564., koju Mirković smatra početkom europske kulturne povijesti (1960, 330), te drugim historijskim spisima, uključujući najstariji njemački književni spomenik *Otfridi evangeliorum liber* (Mirković, 1960, 341). Drugo poglavlje analizira teološko-filozofsku spoznaju, uključujući lingvistiku kao pomoćno sredstvo teološke spoznaje. U trećem poglavlju o geografskoj i antropogeografskoj spoznaji, elaboracijom Vlačićeve ekonomsko-geografske obrade Judeje iz *Ključa* analizira se način života i privređivanja te naravi ljudi (mentaliteti) na Mediteranu, uspoređujući ekonomsko-geografske uvjete europskog sjevera i juga, što po Mirkoviću vodi antropogeografskoj spoznaji. Polazeći od Vlačićevih konstatacija o prirodi mjesta i neba, on ga prikazuje kao autentičan karakter koji je produkt arhaične istarske, hrvatske i mediteranske sredine. U posljednjem poglavlju Mirković na temelju arhivskih istraživanja daje pregled Vlačićeve rukopisne ostavštine u Beču, Weimaru, Regensburgu, Strasburgu, Baselu, Magdeburgu, Wittenbergu i Stuttgartu te izdanja uraške tiskare, koja se čuvaju u Beču, Regensburgu, Wolfenbüttelu, Tübingenu, Münchenu, Weimaru i Stuttgartu (Mirković, 1960, 396–435).

U trećem i zaključnom dijelu monografije, *Odnosi prema domovini*, Mirković elaborira Vlačićeve koncepte domovine i modele artikulacije kulturnog identiteta u ranim procesima zamišljanja nacije, obrađujući Vlačićeve dodire s Dubrovnikom, pojam domovine i odnose prema njoj te pokušaj osnivanja sveučilišta za južne Slavene u Regensburgu, a knjigu zaključuje *sudom povijesti* odnosno suvremenom recepcijom Vlačićeve ostavštine. Uz iscrpan sažetak na njemačkom, monografiji su priloženi primjeri Vlačićevih rukopisa, njegova upisnica na Sveučilište u Baselu, dva glagoljska svjedočanstva o hrvatskim protestantskim knjigama iz 1563., pretisak *Razgovaranja* iz 1555. te *Katehismus Hervatski* iz *Otročje biblije* 1566.

Slično kao i Vlačić, i Mirković Istru vidi kao zajednički zavičaj i multikulturnu „domovinu" svih njenih žitelja, diskutirajuću u poglavlju *Pojam domovine* moguće varijante „institucionalizacije" suživota kroz pregled Vlačićeve tri koncepcije domovine i osjećaja pripadnosti. „U Vlačićevim djelima, spisima i pismima javljaju se tri pojma njegove domovine, svaki sa svojim posebnim sadržajem. Jedan je najuži i označava njegov rodni grad Labin, drugi je širi i označava zemlju Istru i sve tri narodnosti u njoj, treći je najširi i označava Iliriju, koja je geografski pojam, zemlja, gdje prebivaju Hrvati, ali je također jezik i narodnost" (Mirković, 1960, 438).

Za svoju „najužu" domovinu Vlačić je smatrao rodni grad Labin, čije ime na narodnom jeziku navodi u prvom rječničkom dijelu *Ključa*. Kao potvrdu pripadnosti svojoj „najužoj" domovini, Vlačić od 1567. dodaje naziv „Labinjanin" svojem književnom imenu, prvi put u drugom dijelu *Ključa*, zatim u *Glosi* i na kraju u svojim velikim komentarima *Starog zavjeta*. Pripadnost gradu, odnosno osjećaj urbanog identiteta u Vlačićevo je doba fenomen karakterističan i za mediteranske kulture i za razvijena društva sjeverne i zapadne Europe.

> *Druga domovina je Vlačiću Istra. To je ona mediteranska zemlja, koja ima toliko prirodnih i klimatskih srodnosti s Palestinom: geografija je ista ili slična, životinje su iste, biljni pokrivač sličan, stoka su goveda, ovce i magarci tu i tamo, oskudica paše sili seljake da ograniče broj tegleće stoke, tako da u Istri, kao i u Palestini, iako ne kao pravilo, biva, da se pod isti plug i jaram upregne s jedne strane krava, a s druge strane magarac. Ne samo što su Istrani bliski Palestincima u poslu, u oruđima, u proizvodnim postupcima, nego uživaju istu ili sličnu hranu.* (Mirković, 1960, 440)

Sličnost u „prirodi mjesta i neba" i u „prirodi stvari" čini, da bude bliska i srodna i „priroda ljudi", da i „naravi ljudi" budu slične, ukazuje Mirković, uvodeći ponovo elemente mediteranskog diskursa: „Stari i Novi zavjet, apostolske poslanice pisali su ljudi sa Sredozemnoga mora za isto takve ljude, koji žive u životnim uvjetima Sredozemnoga mora. Takvi su i Istrani, njegovi (Vlačićevi) zemljaci, takva je zemlja Istra, njegova *„najslađa domovina"* (Mirković, 1960, 411). U ovom dijelu možemo zapaziti elemente konstrukcije zavičajnog narativa u širem mediteranskom kontekstu.

Kroz koncept Istre kao zajedničke domovine Hrvata, Talijana i Slovenaca, Mirković uvodi elemente multikulturalnog diskursa: u predgovoru *Ključa Svetoga pisma* iz 1567. Vlačić uz Jerolima svojim zemljakom naziva i Petra Pavla Vergerija, jer im je Istra zajednička domovina, iako nisu iste narodnosti.

> *Posve je prirodno za Vlačića, da on Hrvat i Vergerij Talijan, oba Istrana, imaju u Istri zajedničku domovinu. Koncepcija domovine Istre je prema Vlačiću koncepcija zajedničke domovine Hrvata i Talijana. Vlačić to piše u ono isto vrijeme, kad i hrvatsko Razgovaranje meju Papistu i jednim Luteran (1555), s dodatkom u njemu Vergerijeve molitve na talijanskom, te posebne na slovenskom. Tako je Istra zajednička domovina ne samo Hrvata i Talijana, nego i Slovenaca.* (Mirković, 1960, 442)

Prema *Razgovaranju*, koje Mirković atribuira Vlačiću, takva koncepcija domovine obuhvaća osim Istre, još i Rijeku i Hrvatsko primorje, te kvarnerske otoke. Takvu ideju Vlačić ne smatra samo prirodnom činjenicom, već i korisnom pretpostavkom za misaoni razvitak i napredak kulture.

Treći i najširi Vlačićev pojam domovine čini Ilirija, koja istovremeno označava geografsko područje, dakle zemlju, zatim jezik i narodnost. Svoju pripadnost toj domovini Vlačić, koji sebe smatra „Ilirikom", izrazio je potpisujući se tako u svim svojim djelima. Termin označava stanovnika Ilirije, Ilirika po narodnosti i Ilira po jeziku. Mirković citira mjesta iz prvog izdanja *Kataloga svjedoka istine* u kojima Vlačić isti termin koristi za Dubrovčane i vojvođanske Hrvate, za hrvatske crkve, hrvatski jezik i za Ćirilova brata Metoda. U ovom su dijelu posebno zamjetni elementi elaboracije ranonovovjekovnog ilirskog ideologema (Blažević, 2008) u funkciji simbolične konfiguracije kulturnog, odnosno nacionalnog identiteta.

Kao zemlja i geografsko područje, Vlačićeva Ilirija je vrlo prostrana i uopće nema čvrstih granica. Ona se na Jadranu proteže od Istre, do Dubrovnika i još južnije od Dubrovnika... Vlačić u *Centurijama* iznosi da su Hrvati, Dalmatinci i Istrani naselili zemlje, u kojima prebivaju, oko 600. godine i da u njegovo vrijeme govore istim i svima zajedničkim (hrvatskim) jezikom i smatra to kao dokaz, da je njihovo porijeklo isto. Mirkoviću je „najviše interesantna Vlačićeva tvrdnja o ilirskom jeziku, za koji kaže da je jedan od četiri glavna jezika u njegovo doba i koji stavlja pored grčkog, latinskog i njemačkog i u toj hijerarhiji ispred talijanskog, francuskog ili španjolskog, koje i ne spominje..." (Mirković, 1960, 443).

Vlačić je „izdizanje" ilirskog jezika, kao jednog od četiri najvažnija jezika svoga doba, temeljio isključivo na njegovom crkveno-historijskom značaju i utjecaju. Kao i grčki i latinski, ilirski jezik imao je svoje glagoljsko pismo, i tim pismom i jezikom prvo su pisane, a zatim i štampane crkvene knjige, ukazuje istarski polihistor:

> *S pronalaskom i primjenom tiska i taj je jezik oživio, ušao više u upotrebu ne samo u crkvama nego i korespondenciji svjetovnih ljudi i u svjetovnim stvarima, u poslovima, u notarskim knjigama, u feudalnom računovodstvu. U reformaciji u 16. stoljeću taj je jezik sa svojim pismom opet izbio na čelo i imao je, onda kad je Vlačić tu rečenicu napisao, poslije njemačkog jezika najviše vjerskih knjiga, štampanih na tome jeziku.* (Mirković, 1960, 444)

Mirković dalje navodi da je od 1555., kad je tiskano *Razgovaranje*, do 1566. i tiskanja *Katehismusa Hervatskog*, na hrvatskom jeziku „pred Vlačićevim očima i uz njegovu aktivnu suradnju", tiskano 12 hrvatskih spisa, od njih sedam u dva pisma, glagoljicom i ćirilicom, te dva i na latinici, dok je nekoliko knjiga štampano samo latinicom. „Ukupna naklada svih tih hrvatskih izdanja (1555–1566) iznosila je oko 22.000 komada. U planu sa Sveučilištem u Regensburgu Vlačić kaže, da namjerava da pomogne prevođenje knjiga na ilirski i da tamo prenese slavensku tiskaru, tj. hrvatsku tiskaru s glagolskim i ćirilskim slovima" (Mirković, 1960, 444).

U istom, 14. poglavlju monografije *Matija Vlačić Ilirik* (*Pojam domovine i odnosi prema njoj*), Mirković je analitičkom komparacijom atribuirao Vlačiću prvi čakavski protestantski tekst *Razgovaranje meju Papistu i jednim Luteran* iz 1555, „stampan v Padove Miseca Setembra M.D.L.V.". Vjeruje da je pseudonimom Antuna Senjanina Vlačić, „tada konspirativan na području Venecije i Istre", zapravo htio prikriti da je on pisac *Razgovaranja*:

> *I to mu je posve uspjelo, jer se bez čitanja velikog broja Vlačićevih drugih spisa i znanja o sadržaju i načinu njegova pisanja, o slikovitosti, stilu i ismjehivanju i grđenju njegovu ne bi moglo doći na to, da je baš on pisac, mada labinski govor Razgovaranja upućuje na to, da je pisac Labinjanin, dakle ili Vlačić ili Lupetina. Vlačićeve ideje i Vlačićev stil, kao i kombinacija sa tekstovima Trubara i Vergerija odaju Vlačića.* (Mirković, 1960, 450)

Prema Mirkoviću, u ovom kratkom spisu na četiri jezika: hrvatskom, slovenskom, talijanskom i latinskom vrlo su jasno izražena sva osnovna pitanja Vlačićeve teološke spoznaje iz perioda 1554.–1555.:

> *Razgovaranje je najviše samostalan, najviše borbeni, spoznajno najviše produbljen spis jugoslavenske protestantske književnosti, ne samo hrvatske, nego i slovenske. U njemu su u diskusionoj formi u dijalogu između papiste i karstijanina iznesena sva bitna luteranska učenja u Vlačićevoj formulaciji u književnom obliku, živo i skoro dramatski, popularno i u narodnom govoru, s mnogo slika i usporedaba, a da misao nije nigdje oštećena...* (Mirković, 1960, 448)

Mirkovićevu atribuciju potvrdila je i njemačka slavistica Beatrix Schmidt (1976), nakon čega ju je prihvatio i akademik Josip Bratulić (1976, 1987), no pitanje autorstva prvog hrvatskog protestantskog teksta (kao i Vlačićeva sudjelovanja u aktivnostima Uraške tiskare) i dalje je otvoreno. Iako je, kao svakako najobrazovaniji od istarskih reformatora u egzilu i izvrstan organizator i vizionar, planirao osnivanje sveučilišta (u Regensburgu i Celovcu) i tiskara na narodnom jeziku za potrebe evangelizacije i narodne prosvjete u južnoslavenskim zemljama, zbog radikalnih stavova i predvođenja 'nepodobne' flacijanističke struje nažalost nije imao aktivan pristup radu Uraške tiskare i morao je objavljivati pod brojnim pseudonimima. Iako je većina ranijih proučavatelja reformacije bila sklona, na Bučarovom tragu, *Razgovaranje* atribuirati Vergeriju (Mikolič, 1999; Senjanin, 2005), iz raspoložive korespondencije razvidno je da Vergerije nije dovoljno znao hrvatski da bi mogao biti autor (Trubar, primjerice, tvrdi da Vergerije ne zna ni hrvatski ni slovenski, pa da stoga ne može biti koristan u Uraškom izdavačkom projektu). Bučar je otvorenom ostavio mogućnost da je autor i netko drugi, primjerice Matija Grbac koji je u to vrijeme radio kao profesor u Tübingenu. Stanko Jambrek smatra da je *Razgovaranje* (pred)evangelizacijski priručnik (Jambrek, 2013, 251–256). Ipak, neke karakteristični elementi u jeziku, stilu i sadržaju, godina izdanja i činjenica da su djelatnici Uraške tiskare s kojima je Vlačić surađivao i koji su anonimno prevodili Vlačićeva djela (primjerice njegov prvi znanstveni rad "*De Vocabulo Fidei*", *Propovjed o vjeri*, s Melachtonovim predgovorom, u kojoj je i Vlačićeva poslanica Vergeriju s kojim se tada već dulje dopisivao; koju je najprije Primož Trubar preveo iz predloška Matije Vlačića Ilirika i uvrstio ju u svoj slovenski *Katekizam* iz 1550. bez da je spomenuo Vlačićevo ime, jer je flacijanizam bio zabranjen u Würtembergu, a koja je dodana glagoljskom *Katekizmu* iz 1561. i latiničkom iz 1564. (Jembrih, 1992, 17), da su visoko cijenili njegovo znanje i sud i tražili od njega savjet i pomoć radi revizije i aprobacije svojih djela ("jer nema u Njemačkoj čovjeka, govorili su oni, koji bi bolje poznavao Sv. Pismo"; Bučar, 1910, 64), a uz

Slika 5: Wittenberg – istraživanja se nastavljaju i nakon svečanog obilježavanja 500 godina reformacije (Foto: Nataša Urošević).

hebrejski, latinski i grčki, njemački i talijanski, dobro je znao i hrvatski, "bijaše vješt ne samo glagolici nego pače i ćirilici" (Kostrenčić, 1874), ukazuju na mogućnost je Vlačić autor nekih izdanja ove tiskare. U svakom slučaju, iako je kao humanist i reformator najviše objavljivao na latinskom i dao najveći doprinos njemačkoj kulturi – između ostalog, kako navodi Mirković, pred kraj života izdao je prvi put najstariji njemački književni spomenik – *Otfridi evangeliorum liber* (Mirković, 1938, 128); posredno je, kroz obimnu znanstvenu ostavštinu i suradnju s istarskim reformatorima, utjecao i na širenje slavenskog tiska i pismenosti, kao i na „zamišljenje" velike slavenske zajednice. Posebno su zanimljivi i važni odnosi Vlačića sa slovenskim reformatorima i njegov utjecaj na slovensku reformaciju, koji je moguće pratiti kroz suradnju na „Otročjoj bibliji", peterojezičnom katekizmu tiskanom 1566. u Regensburgu (Mirković, 1960, 450–455).

OD GLAGOLJAŠKE KULTURE DO VERNAKULARNOG KOZMOPOLITIZMA

Kako ističu autori *Knjige o Istri* (1968), uz glagoljašku kulturu, razdoblje protestantske reformacije ključno je obilježilo razvoj hrvatske kulture i njenih autohtonih sastavnica, koje su postale prepoznatljivi elementi nacionalnog identiteta (glagoljica kao posebno pismo i čakavština kao poseban govor) i zajedničkog europskog nasljeđa. Pokazali smo kako Anderson i Mirković na sličan način povezuju procese stvaranja protonacionalnih identiteta s pojavom tiska i „tiskarskog kapitalizma“, koji su omogućili okupljanje srodnih jezika i kultura, kao i komunikaciju „ispod latinskog a iznad vernakulara“, stvarajući zametke nacionalno zamišljenih zajednica. U radu je, analizom Mirkovićevih djela posvećenih povijesti reformacije u Istri i Hrvatskoj, ukazano da su istarski reformatori, u okvirima šireg europskog pokreta, prvi u hrvatskoj kulturnoj povijesti radili na stvaranju jedinstvenog književnog jezika i jedinstvenog pravopisa ne samo za sve Hrvate nego i za sve južne Slavene. I Mirković je isticao značaj reformacijskog pokreta (kao prethodnika ilirizma) u buđenju nacionalne svijesti i afirmiranju narodnog jezika u književnosti, te općenito u procesu nacionalne i kulturne afirmacije u širim europskim okvirima. Mirkovićevu *Flacianu* možemo čitali smo i kao pokušaj kulturne kritike, reinterpretacije i reartikulacije hrvatske kulturne povijesti s pozicija suvremenog europskog humanizma, antifašizma i kozmopolitizma.

Prvi hrvatski „tiskarski jezik“ bila je istarsko--primorska i dalmatinska čakavština s primjesama štokavštine, jer su hrvatski protestanti, odgojeni na tradicijama hrvatske redakcije staroslavenskog jezika, željeli da im jezik bude dostupan što širem krugu, tražeći u isto vrijeme osnovu za formiranje zajedničkog, općeslavenskog književnog jezika. Knjige su tiskali glagoljicom, ćirilicom i latinicom, a u poslu su sudjelovali i istarski svećenici glagoljaši kao prevodioci, redaktori i korektori (izdavane su i knjige na talijanskom jeziku, što predstavlja jedan od najranijih oblika kulturne suradnje). Kako ukazuju priređivači *Knjige o Istri* (1968), po stavu da je materinski jezik pred Bogom ravnopravan s latinskim i grčkim jezikom, istarski su protestanti nastavljači demokratske misli glagoljaša i njihovih prethodnika, svete braće Ćirila i Metoda, a po preuzimanju i širenju ideje o potrebi pismenosti najširih narodnih slojeva, koji imaju pravo da bez posrednika proučavaju i tumače Bibliju, oni su prvi zastupnici općeobrazovne osnovne škole. Najprivlačnija strana protestantizma bilo je naglo širenje i dostupnost glagoljskih knjiga, tako da se u našim krajevima više radilo o kulturnoj težnji za knjigama na svojem, narodnom jeziku, nego vjerskom pokretu (Peruško, 1968, 144).

Kao Mirković, i Grgo Gamulin, koji u manifestu „mediteranskog regionalizma“ (Gamulin, 2005, 107) ukazuje na diskontinuitet razvoja hrvatske kulture („Mi što smo odrasli u sjeni mediteranskih zvonika znamo, kako je kobno osjećati ispod sebe prazninu od nekoliko vjekova, sve tamo do petrarkista, renesansne pastorale i humanizma kojeg je ugušila takozvana protureformacija negdje u 17. stoljeću…“), i Zvane Črnja kao reinterpretator hrvatske kulturne povijesti (Črnja, 1978) i jedan od tvoraca suvremenog kulturnog identiteta Istre, žali što je:

> *sudbina čakavštine kao mogućega hrvatskog književnog jezika i kao jezika moderne civilizacije definitivno zapečaćena pobjedom protureformacije nad protestantizmom, kad je napokon otpala mogućnost da čakavska Istra sa svojim tada vrlo istaknutim intelektualnim krugom i sa svojom jednako tako istaknutom ulogom u središtima europske luteranske pobune, postane glavno idejno ishodište kretanjima kojima bi se bile anticipirale mnoge odluke što su ih najzad morali riješiti tek Ilirci.* (Črnja, 1971, 236)

ZAKLJUČAK

U mnogim svojim aspektima protestantska reformacija bila je prva opća europska društvena i kulturna revolucija. Južnoslavenske je zemlje protestantizam zahvatio samo periferno – na sjeverozapadu. Uz slovenske zemlje, gdje je Primož Trubar, ključna figura slovenske kulturne povijesti i voditelj južnoslavenske tiskare u Urachu, objavivši prve knjige na narodnom jeziku, utemeljio slovenski književni jezik, reformacija se širila u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj i posebno mletačkoj Istri, zahvaljujući i djelovanju biskupa u humanističkim centrima Kopru i Piranu, kao i stvaralaštvu istarsko-primorske glagoljaško-protestantske grupe, koja je u uraškoj tiskari u egzilu postavila temelje zajedničkom književnom jeziku koji će biti razumljiv čitateljima u svim južnoslavenskim krajevima (Črnja, 1978, 107–119). Reformatori s hrvatskog povijesnog prostora tijekom reformacije objavili su više od četiristo djela na hrvatskom (glagoljicom, latinicom i ćirilicom), latinskom, njemačkom, mađarskom engleskom, slovenskom i talijanskom jeziku te se aktivno uključili u europsku reformaciju (Jambrek, 2013). Iako je od 30.000 primjeraka 30 vjerskih izdanja Uraške tiskare na narodnom jeziku preostalo samo 300 rijetkih knjiga, koje se čuvaju u europskim knjižnicama, između razdoblja protureformacije i prosvjetiteljstva nastavljen je nezaustavljiv proces vernakularizacije javne komunikacije, opismenjavanja, gramatikalizacije, politizacije i teritorijalizacije vernakulara, odnosno njegova uvođenja u javnu upotrebu u granicama nacionalnih država (Škiljan, 2002, 117). Trebalo je proći još nekoliko stoljeća da bi se pojavio dovoljno moćan nositelj političkog projekta kojem bi jezik bio potreban kao simbolički indikator zacrtanog nacionalnog prostora i ideološkom intencijom obuhvaćenog kolektiva: začeci nove građanske klase kojoj će biti potrebno jedinstveno tržište i zajednički jezik. Težnje Iliraca nastavljene su u periodu narodnog preporoda nacionalno-integracijskim paradigmama južnoslavizma i kroatocentrizma. Nakon što su za hrvatski standard izabrani najrasprostranjeniji novoštokavski govori, jadransko čakavsko područje, koje je usprkos konstantnoj inojezičnoj upravi, u vrlo nepovoljnim uvjetima denacionalizacije sačuvalo svoj kulturni identitet, svojevrsnu književnu i kulturološku renesansu doživljava s novočakavskim pokretom „mediteranskog regionalizma“ između dva rata, koji je, kao i Mirkovićev *Flacius*, najavio skorašnju nacionalnu, kulturnu, političku i socijalnu emancipaciju i pobjedu „vernakularnog kozmopolitizma“ nad totalitarnim ideologijama.

Kako ukazuje Drago Roksandić, hrvatska ranonovovjekovna baština, kao baština civilizacijskog višegraničja, *par excellence* je europska, a na hrvatskim povjesničarima je da je kao takvu učine europski prepoznatljivom (Roksandić, 2016, 5). Obilježavanje petstote obljetnice rođenja istarskih reformatora bila je prilika da se podsjetimo na važno zajedničko europsko nasljeđe istarskih protestanata. Mirkovićeva cjeloživotna istraživanja, Vlačićevim tragom, doprinijela su znatno poznavanju doprinosa istarskih humanista i reformatora europskoj kulturnoj povijesti. Analizom njegovih monografija o Matiji Vlačiću Iliriku predstavljeni su ujedno modeli reprezentacije i artikulacije multikulturnog regionalnog identiteta.

REFORMACIJA V ISTRI – 500 LET MATIJE VLAČIĆA ILIRIKA

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POVZETEK

Ob petstoletnici rojstva istrskih reformatorjev, znamenitih protestantskih teologov Matije Vlačića Ilirika (1520–1575) in Štefana Konzula Istrana (1521–1579?), prvega prevajalca Nove zaveze v hrvaški jezik, avtorica v prispevku skozi analizo monografij istrskega polihistorika Mije Mirkovića (1898–1963), posvečenih Vlačiću, razkriva delovanje istrskih (hrvaških, slovenskih in italijanskih) protestantov, ki so zahvaljujoč pojavu »tiskarskega kapitalizma« in »tiskanih« jezikov v času reformacije postavili temelje za širjenje narodne zavesti in ustvarjanje narodnega jezika in književnosti ter oblikovanja sodobnih kolektivnih identitet in »zamišljenih skupnosti«. V tem kontekstu je za ta prostor izjemno pomembno sodelovanje istrskih reformatorjev, Matije Vlačića Ilirika in Štefana Konzula Istrana s Petrom Pavlom Vergerijem (1498–1565) in Primožem Trubarjem (1508–1586). Mijo Mirković se je veliko ukvarjal z delom in sodelovanjem istrskih reformatorjev, zlasti Matije Vlačića, ki mu je posvetil tri monografije (Flacius, Zagreb 1938, Matija Vlačić, Beograd, 1957, Matija Vlačić Ilirik, Zagreb, 1960). V hibridnem znanstveno-literarnem delu je raziskoval delovanje istrskih (hrvaških, slovenskih in italijanskih) protestantov, ki so pomembno prispevali k širjenju pismenosti in kulture v teh krajih, predvsem pa v Istri kot specifičnem večkulturnem prostoru. S predstavitvijo izredno večkulturnega in svetovljanskega značaja dediščine istrskih reformatorjev avtorica opozarja na pomen mednarodnega projektnega sodelovanja pri raziskovanju fenomena reformacije v Istri in valorizaciji skupne evropske dediščine.

Ključne besede: Matija Vlačić Ilirik, Mijo Mirković, reformacija, Istra, tiskarski kapitalizem, zamišljene skupnosti

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ZA PEST ČEŠENJ – MAŠČEVANJE ZA ZASEDBO PLUMBERKA. PRIMER MEDSTANOVSKE SOVRAŽNOSTI NA ŠTAJERSKEM V POZNEM 17. STOLETJU

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IZVLEČEK

Leta 1681, v izteku najhujše epidemije kuge, ki je prizadela zgodnjenovoveško Spodnjo Štajersko, je v nasilje prerasel spor med žalskim trškim svétnikom Janezom Krištofom Pilpachom in Ferdinandom baronom Migliem, lastnikom Žalcu bližnjega dvorca Plumberk. Tržan Pilpach je s pomočjo vojakov, ki jih je pridobil od grofov Strassoldov iz Krškega, dvorec med nasprotnikovo odsotnostjo zasedel in oplenil, za kar se mu je plemič maščeval z oboroženim vdorom in oplenitvijo njegove hiše v trgu. Članek precej neobičajno, aktivno sovražnost med statusno neenakima nasprotnikoma analizira skozi tradicionalne prakse vodenja ter reševanja sporov, kar omogoča tudi vpogled v siceršnje družbene odnose med glavnimi akterji spora.

Ključne besede: sovražnost, fajda, maščevanje, nasilje, reševanje sporov, Pilpach, Miglio, Žalec, Plumberk, tržani, plemstvo, epidemije kuge, Štajerska, 17. stoletje

PER UN PUGNO DI CILIEGIE – VENDETTA PER L'OCCUPAZIONE DI PLUMBERK. UN CASO DI INIMICIZIA FRA CETI NELLA STIRIA DELLA FINE DEL XVII SECOLO

SINTESI

Nel 1681, verso la fine della peggiore epidemia di peste che colpì la Bassa Stiria nella prima età moderna, il conflitto tra il consigliere comunale della città di mercato di Žalec, Johann Christoph Pilpach, e il Barone Ferdinand Miglio del vicino palazzo di Plumberk, si trasformò in violenza. Con l'aiuto dei soldati che aveva acquisito dai Conti di Strassoldo di Krško in Carniola, il borghese occupò il palazzo durante l'assenza del suo avversario e lo saccheggiò, per cui il nobiluomo si vendicò irrompendo armato nella casa di Pilpach a Žalec, saccheggiandola a sua volta. Questo saggio analizza l'inimicizia alquanto insolita e accesa tra due avversari piuttosto ineguali, attraverso le pratiche tradizionali di condurre e risolvere le controversie, consentendoci inoltre di osservare le ulteriori relazioni sociali tra i principali attori di questo conflitto.

Parole chiave: inimicizia, faida, vendetta, violenza, risoluzione dei conflitti, Pilpach, Miglio, Žalec, Plumberk, borghesi delle città di mercato, nobiltà, epidemie di peste, Stiria, secolo XVII

NASILJE V ČASU KUGE[1]

[P]onos domače nam štajerske zemlje,
kužni je démon zvihràl in smrt v tisočeri podobi.
Jurij Hauptmanič, ok. 1680
(prev. Sovré, 1933, 199)

Leta 1679 je na Spodnjem Štajerskem izbruhnila najhujša epidemija kuge, ki je v novem veku prizadela slovenske dežele. V naslednjih štirih letih je v več različno močnih valovih razsajala po podeželskih in urbanih skupnostih, pri čemer je, recimo, Maribor v drugi polovici leta 1680 izgubil ok. tretjino prebivalcev, Središče ob Dravi pa v naslednjih dveh letih skoraj vse (Travner, 1934, 113–125). Opustošenje, v katerem so lahko izgubili veliko sosedov ali celo vse sorodnike, s tem pa temeljno družbeno in ekonomsko omrežje, ljudem ni zgolj predočilo konca sveta, temveč je marsikoga pahnilo na ali čez rob preživetja, četudi so okužbo preboleli ali se ji uspeli izogniti. To je veljalo zlasti za revnejše, ki so bili najbolj na udaru epidemije, saj so se premožnejši lahko umaknili iz mest in najbolj prizadetih krajev. To in dejstvo, da se bolezen ni ozirala na statusne razlike, s čimer je delovala kot »veliki izenačevalec«, je dodatno zamajalo zaupanje v avtoritete, s tem pa tudi v uveljavljeno obredje reševanja sporov. Véliko umiranje, nad katerim je tožil župnik Hauptmanič s Hajdine pri Ptuju, zato ni vodilo le v porast števila moralnih prekrškov in »običajnega« kriminala (Travner, 1934, 66), temveč je množilo ter zaostrovalo tudi vsakdanje spore med preživelimi sosedi, sorodniki in družbenimi sloji. Zaupanje v družbeni red je spodjedalo še dvoje. Prisotnost vojaštva, ki je nadzorovalo zaradi epidemije zaprte poti (Travner, 1934, 113–114), je na podeželju bržkone osvežila spomin na zatrtje kmečkega upora leta 1635. Prav tako je prepoved gibanja še posebej prizadela vse, ki so tako ali drugače in bolj ali manj dobesedno živeli od trgovanja, zato so jo mnogi kršili (prim. Rose, 2016, 203), s čimer so prispevali k nezaupanju do ukrepov in k širjenju bolezni.

Čeprav pomanjkanje sodnih virov onemogoča natančno analizo posledic vélike epidemije za družbeni red na Spodnjem Štajerskem, raziskave z drugih koncev tedanje Evrope nudijo koristne primerjave. Denimo, Colin Rose je nedavno na primeru Bologne pokazal, da je po uničujoči epidemiji v letih 1630–31, ki je terjala življenje petine do četrtine prebivalcev mesta in njegovega podeželja, prišlo do izrednega porasta medosebnega nasilja, vključno z uboji, ki je pogosteje prehajalo tudi družbene ločnice. Zaradi velikega števila mrtvih so se preživelim odprle možnosti za izboljšanje lastnega materialnega oziroma družbenega položaja in s tem preživetja, zato so se sosedje ter sorodniki vseh stanov dajali za opustela zemljišča in zapuščene hiše. Zaradi pomanjkanja delovne sile so opustela dodatna polja, kar je zlasti med revnejšimi vodilo v strah pred lakoto, ki je lahko prepire za koščék hrane ali prgišče semen zaostril v vprašanje življenja in smrti. Družine, ki so ostale brez hranilcev, so svoje sovražnike obtoževale širjenja bolezni, notranji spori so po prezgodnji smrti družinskih poglavarjev laže izbruhnili v nasilje. Hkrati je upad zaupanja v družbeni red in tradicionalno obredje pomiritve obnovil nekdanje sovražnosti ali vanje zaostril rivalstva med sosedi, množil in krepil konflikte med družbeno neenakimi, pa tudi napade na predstavnike oblasti (Rose, 2016, 194–223).

Primerljive posledice je po hujših epidemijah pričakovati tudi drugod. Na Spodnjem Štajerskem je do enega večjih primerov nasilnega poskusa izkoriščanja posledic epidemije na račun sosedov prišlo v letih 1627–31, med gospostvoma Slivnica in Fram pri Mariboru. Tedaj je spor med framsko gospo, gospo Uršulo Kohler, in slivniškim gospodom, Hansom Jakobom baronom Herbersteinom, oziroma med njunimi podložniki prerasel v nasilje, ker so si slivniški prilaščali sicer deljeno varovanje proščenja pri tamkajšnji župnijski cerkvi, ki je odpadlo zaradi epidemije kuge v letih 1623–25 (prim. Travner, 1934, 102). Vrhunec sovražnosti je bil spopad na binkošti 1631, ko iz Frama za sovarovanje proščenja niso poslali le treh ali štirih ljudi kot običajno, temveč je Uršulin mož, gospod Wolf Sigmund Kohler, v Slivnico povedel baje več kot sto oboroženih podložnikov, ki so k cerkvi Marijinega rojstva prišli s pisanim truščem bobnov in plapolajočih zastav, kot majhna vojska. Začelo se je izzivanje, ki je nato preraslo v spopad, kjer je bil ubit v virih anonimni Herbersteinov oskrbnik (Oman, 2021, 115–116).

Žalec je vélika epidemija pol stoletja kasneje najmočneje udarila v drugi polovici leta 1683, ko je drugod večinoma že prešla. Bolezen je hitro okužila polovico trškega prebivalstva in terjala ok. 90 življenj[2]

1 Članek je rezultat raziskave, ki je nastala v okviru podoktorskega projekta Z6-3223: *Reševanje sporov med nižjimi sloji v baročni Notranji Avstriji: med fajdo in kazenskim pravom* ter raziskovalnega programa P6-0435: *Prakse reševanja sporov med običajnim in postavljenim pravom na območju današnje Slovenije in sosednjih dežel*, ki ju (so)financira Javna agencija za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARIS). Poloni Vidmar se zahvaljujem, da me je ob srečanju v Štajerskem deželnem arhivu v Gradcu opozorila na ta primer. Njej, Matjažu Grahorniku in Borutu Holcmanu ter anonimnima recenzentoma se zahvaljujem za komentar razprave in specialistične nasvete.

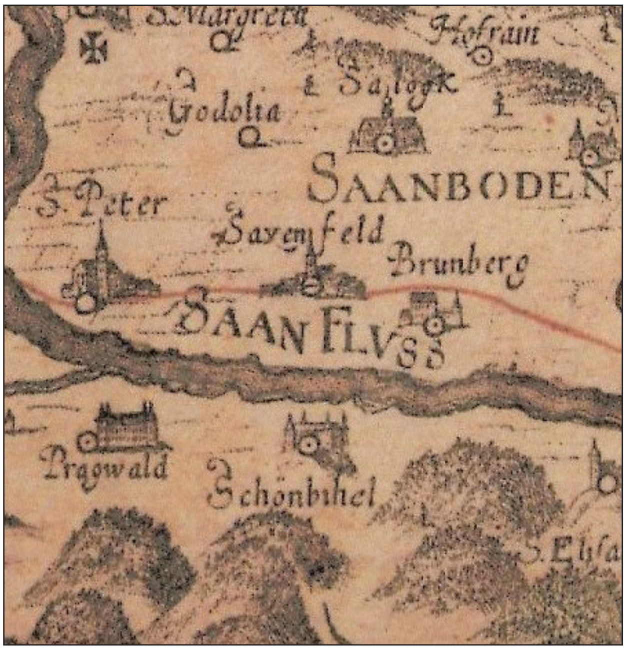
2 Leta 1705 je bilo v trgu 26 celih domcev, 21 polovičnih, 17 kočarjev in trije gostači, skupaj največ 67 gospodinjstev (Pirchegger, 1962, 183). Ker velja vsaj k družinam (npr. starša s tremi otroki) v celih domcih prišteti še služinčad, najmanj hlapca in/ali deklo, k obrtnikom pa (še) pomočnika in/ali vajenca, bi lahko imel trg tedaj tudi do 500 prebivalcev. To pomeni, da jih je epidemija leta 1683 lahko vzela petino, morda pa še večji delež. Za primerjavo, sredi 18. stoletja je imela žalska župnija ok. 2.000 prebivalcev (Volčjak, 2017, 353).

(Travner, 1934, 124). Do eskalacije spora med tržanom Janezom Krištofom Pilpachom in Ferdinandom baronom Migliem s Plumberka[3] je torej prišlo dve leti, preden je epidemija dosegla trg ob Savinji. Čeprav so viri preskopi, da bi omogočali trditve glede vzroka spora, velja pri razumevanju njegove zaostritve v precej neobičajno, aktivno sovražnost med stanovsko neenakima nasprotnikoma upoštevati, da bi lahko šlo tudi za posledico zamajanega družbenega reda in ravnotežja moči zaradi kuge, ki je v deželi razsajala že dve leti. Mogoče je eden izmed nasprotnikov v tem videl priložnost, da si na račun drugega izboljša svoj materialni oziroma družbeni položaj.

MEDSTANOVSKE SOVRAŽNOSTI

Večina ob omembi medstanovskih sovražnosti v zgodnjem novem veku najbrž pomisli na kmečke, rudarske ali meščanske upore, vendar so lahko bili konflikti tudi bolj osebni. V zgodnjem novem veku, predvsem v mestih, jih je v nasilje mdr. zaostrovala okrepljena družbena mobilnost, ki je spodjedala uveljavljena znamenja spoštovanja oziroma časti, kot so bili stanu primeren pozdrav, oblačila, prednost poti, sedež v cerkvi itd. Prav tako je, kljub prepovedi maščevanja oziroma fajde ob koncu srednjega veka, reševanje sporov z bolj ali manj omejenim nasiljem v pravni kulturi še globoko v zgodnji novi vek obdržalo široko legitimnost. Sodišča so tudi za uboj praviloma raje dosodila (začasni) izgon, ki je preprečil maščevanje in pospešil pomiritev storilca z družino žrtve ter njegovo reintegracijo v skupnost, vsaj če je bilo dejanje mogoče utemeljiti kot obrambo življenja, časti ali pravic (Carroll, 2017a, 438; 2020, 664–666).

V srednjeveški in zgodnjenovoveški Evropi sovražnost (lat. *inimicitia*, nem. *Feindschaft* itd.) ni označevala zgolj čustva jeze ali sovraštva (npr. lat. *ira* in *odium*, nem. *Zorn* in *Haß*), čeprav je bila z njima tesno povezana,[4] temveč predvsem formaliziran javni odnos vzajemnega nasprotja oziroma spora med posamezniki, rodbinskimi idr. skupinami. V tradicionalnem reševanju sporov je bil koncept sovražnosti tesno povezan z nasilnim povračilom za krivico, torej z maščevanjem v ožjem pomenu. Starogermanski izraz za ta odnos



Slika 1: Žalec (Saxenfeld) in Plumberk (Brunberg) na zemljevidu Štajerske. Georg Matthäus Vischer, Styriae Ducatus Fertilitsimi Nova Geographica Descriptio, 1678, izrez (Wikimedia Commons).

je bil fajda (lat. *faida*, nem. *Fehde*). Tudi krvno maščevanje, namreč za uboj, hude telesne poškodbe, posilstvo ipd., je bilo v več jezikih opredeljeno kot naglavna ali smrtna sovražnost, vendar sodobniki med to in siceršnjo sovražnostjo niso vlekli ostrih ločnic. Sovražnost v tem pomenu je nastopila, če za javno naznanjeno krivico ni bilo dano primerno oziroma častno zadoščenje ali pa je nasilno povračilo veljalo za ustreznejši odziv na krivico kot (takojšnje) plačilo odškodnine, zlasti za uboj. Obredje maščevanja je narekovalo uravnoteženo (častno) povračilo (menjavo) za dejanje, ki je bilo tudi v širši družbi (prim. Shklar, 1990, 7–8) dojeto kot krivično oziroma sramotno. Povračilo naj bi pridobilo ali izsililo zadoščenje,[5] oškodovani strani povrnilo čast in s tem zagotovilo pravico – tudi s fizičnim nasiljem, ki je moralo biti približno sorazmerno krivici, že v poznem srednjem veku pa vse bolj tudi s tožbo. Za pridobitev zadoščenja je sicer pogosto zadostovala že grožnja s

3 Dvorec Plumberk (Brunnberg) je bil zgrajen na posesti škofije Krka (Gurk) v 16. stoletju in porušen sredi 18. stoletja. Stal je na mestu kasnejšega gospodarskega poslopja baročnega dvorca Novo Celje, ki ga je dal v letih 1754–60 zgraditi novi lastnik Plumberka, Anton grof Gaisruck. Posest je kupil leta 1752, po izumrtju moške linije Migliev (Orožen, 1880, 376; Pirchegger, 1962, 182; Stopar, 1992, 100). Podrobneje o obeh dvorcih in njunih lastnikih kmalu v monografiji Polone Vidmar o Novem Celju.

4 Zato lahko besede, ki so sicer opredeljevale zlasti čustveno stanje, v virih izpričujejo tudi stanje sovražnosti, npr. *alter grollen* ali *verzogte haas* (StLA, Rothenfels, K. 116/H. 363, 30. 9. 1620, fol. 26r–27v; StLA, Rothenfels, K. 117/H. 364, 1. 11. 1727, s.p.). Najnovejša primerjalna študija medosebnih sovražnosti v zgodnjenovoveški Evropi, ki bo do objave tega članka že izšla, je Carroll (2023).

5 Koncept zadoščenja je bil prevzet iz rimskega prava. Dati zadoščenje je pomenilo narediti dovolj, da se jezna, tj. oškodovana, stran ni maščevala: *satisfactio est tantum facere quantum satis est irato ad vindictam* (Bossy, 2004, 107). V srednjem veku je bil pojem tesno povezan s pokoro, vendar je obdržal tudi posvetni pomen kompenzacije, povračila in izpolnitve obvez.

povračilom, zato vsaka sovražnost ni prešla v fizično nasilje.[6] Nasploh se je pritisk praviloma stopnjeval od verbalnega k fizičnemu nasilju, zato nasilen odziv na krivico nikakor ni bil vselej zgolj afekt. Stanje sovražnosti, ki so ga lahko prekinjala premirja, je trajalo, dokler ni bil med sprtimi stranmi sklenjen mir, pri čemer je imelo ključno vlogo posredovanje skupnosti in njenih starešin oziroma (lokalnih) oblasti, kar je pomagalo vzdrževati družbeni red in ravnotežje moči. Posledično maščevanje v »starem režimu« nikoli ni bilo popolnoma zasebno. Naštete značilnosti so obredju maščevanja še globoko v novi vek zagotavljale široko družbeno legitimnost, ki so jo pogosto morale upoštevati tudi osrednje oblasti. Z javno prisego sklenjen mir je obnovil čast sprtih strani in med njimi bodisi vzpostavil bodisi obnovil nov družbeni odnos: formalizirana sovražnost je prešla v formalizirano prijateljstvo ali dobro sosedstvo oziroma v ljubezen ali sorodstvo (Oman, 2021, 31–33, 36, 38–39).

Toda kljub dolgi legitimnosti reševanja sporov z nasiljem so bile sovražnosti med pripadniki različnih stanov v strogo stanovsko razdeljeni družbi za tiste nižjega stanu vselej tvegane, še posebej, če so bile razlike velike. Najbolj znan primer, zlasti zaradi Kleistove (1810) literarizacije, je najbrž fajda brandenburškega meščana Hansa Kohlhaseja zoper nižjeplemiško družino Zaschwitz in »*vso deželo Saško*« (1534–40). Čeprav je bil trgovec sprva kar uspešen, je nazadnje terjal preveč, predvsem pa zavračal poskuse pomiritve; zaradi svoje »trme« pri iskanju pravice je bil nazadnje usmrčen na mučilnem kolesu (Reinle, 2003, 177–187).

Vendar tveganje v medstanovskih sovražnostih ni obstajalo le zato, ker so lahko bili nasprotniki nižjega stanu ožigosani za predrzneže ali upornike, ki kršijo družbeni oziroma Božji red (prim. Jerše, 2017, 12–13), in ustrezno kaznovani, ali zaradi občutnih razlik v zavezništvih ter sredstvih, ki sta jih imeli sprti strani na razpolago. Tveganje je obstajalo tudi zato, ker so občutne stanovske ločnice lahko vsebovale kritične razlike v jeziku in gestah vodenja ter reševanja sporov, kar je konflikte lahko zaostrilo ali otežilo pomiritev. Denimo, kar je bila za plemiča zadržanost, ki je vabila k pomiritvi, si je podložnik lahko razlagal kot vzvišenost in izzivanje (Beuke, 2004, 127). Še posebej tvegana je bila raba fizičnega nasilja, saj so ga sodišča po uradni dolžnosti preganjala zlasti, kadar je ogrožalo ali kršilo družbeni red. Podložniške sovražnosti so bile že v poznem srednjem veku marsikje v Svetem rimskem cesarstvu podvržene zakonskim prepovedim, kar je bila tudi posledica švicarskih in husitskih vojn ter strahu meščanov in plemstva pred upori (Reinle, 2003, 112–122), čeprav so fajde kmetje praviloma vodili med seboj. Podobno tudi posamezni meščani načeloma niso vodili sovražnosti s plemiči. Drugače je bilo v Brandenburgu, kjer so določeno legitimnost še vsaj v zgodnje 17. stoletje obdržale celo fajde podložnikov zoper svoje junkerje, vendar se je tudi tam kazenski pregon začel, če je napovedi sovražnosti (nem. *Absage*), s ciljem doseči oziroma izsiliti pravico, sledilo fizično nasilje (Mommertz, 2003). Največ možnosti za prejem zadoščenja in odškodnine za krivico so socialno in ekonomsko šibkejši v sporih s precej močnejšimi tekmeci imeli z javnim verbalnim napadom na njihovo čast (Beuke, 2004, 123, op. 18), tj. z obtožbo za neko dejanje pred pričami na ulici ali trgu, pred cerkvijo ipd. Če to ni zaleglo, je bil naslednji korak praviloma obtožba pred sodišči, ki so zlasti v mestih že v poznem srednjem veku postala uspešen forum vodenja sovražnosti (Smail, 2003). Skozenj so se v reševanju sporov v zgodnjem novem veku vse bolj uveljavljale tako lokalne kot osrednje oblasti, npr. z nadzorom nad notarji in izbiro razsodnikov, določanjem dostopa do mehanizmov pomiritve, predvsem pa s sankcioniranjem kršitev mirovnih priseg (Broggio, 2021, 360–361). Pri tem je cilj novoveškega pravdanja ostala poravnava za krivico in ohranitev ugleda oziroma časti sprtih strani, ne iskanje resnice, kar je podpiralo tudi pravosodje, ki si je enako kot izvensodno obredje prizadevalo zlasti za hitro sklenitev miru ter varovanje družbenega reda in ravnotežja moči v skupnosti (Povolo, 2015, 215–218). V sporih med stanovsko neenakimi je bil ta sistem pretežno v prid tistim višjega stanu, kar so ti tudi pričakovali, kot mdr. kažejo pogoste pritožbe čez dosojene poravnave in odškodnine tistim nižjega stanu (Beuke, 2004, 129). Tožnikom nižjega stanu je bilo marsikje, sploh v Cesarstvu, v prid predvsem veliko število različnih sodišč, pri čemer so se vsi sloji posluževali tistih, ki so jim bila bolj naklonjena (npr. Reinle, 2003, 124–133) ali pa so bila vsaj manj naklonjena njihovim sovražnikom.

Drugače je bilo, če je nasprotnik nižjega stanu v sporu uporabil nasilje, četudi kot odziv na razžalitev, saj se je napad na nekoga višjega stanu praviloma končal s strogim kaznovanjem napadalca, obratne primere pa je bilo laže poravnati po običaju – s plačilom odškodnine, če razlika ni bila prevelika, pa še z javnim opravičilom in obnovo časti, prijateljstva ter dobrega sosedstva. Na Spodnjem Štajerskem v 17. stoletju je tak primer po običaju poravnan uboj podložnika Luka Pajnkiherja, ki ga je na Ptuju leta 1654 ubil nižji plemič Fermo Qualandro v sovražnosti s svojim nečakom Simonom Mosconom (Oman, 2021, 121–141). Nasproten primer je uboj Jurija Günterja grofa Herbersteina z Vurberka leta 1677, ko se je gospostvo Ravno polje s svojimi ljudmi, večidel

6 Kljub temu je v sovražnosti vselej grozilo fizično nasilje, zato so posvetne in cerkvene oblasti tudi na Štajerskem od ljudi terjale, da jih naznanijo, da bi jih lahko pomagale pomiriti. Trški red za zgornještajerski (Bad) Aussee iz leta 1568 je npr. določal, da sodnik in svet ne smeta trpeti nobene *wissentliche veindschaft* (Mell & Müller, 1913, 12), sinodalni vprašalniki pa so župnikom še v pozno 18. stoletje nalagali, da morajo vizitatorjem poročati o sovraštvu (*odium*) med posamezniki ter rodbinami v svojih farah (Ožinger, 1993, 76). Vsaj iz Spodnje Savinjske doline o tem tedaj niso poročali (Volčjak, 2017), kar pa še ne pomeni, da jih ni bilo.

podložniki, postavilo v bran še enemu od grofovih pogostih vpadov. Čeprav sta grofa ubila med upravičeno obrambo gospostva, je le šlo za pripadnika zelo vplivne družine, in po več letih životarjenja v ječi je bil oskrbnik Matija Golob dosmrtno izgnan iz dežele, podložnika Jurija Kreušla pa so poslali na dosmrtno prisilno delo (Radovanovič & Vidmar, 2002, 21–71; Grahornik, 2021, 255–257). Podobno je bilo v bolj vsakdanjih sporih. Podložnik je zaradi razžalitve lahko udaril, k pretepu izzval ali s hladnim orožjem (mečem ipd., zlasti neizvlečenim) zagrozil drugemu podložniku in potencialno še pripadniku urbanih nižjih slojev ter ostal v okviru družbeno sprejemljive rabe nasilja kot varovanja časti, vsaj če ni bilo hujših poškodb ali mrtvih (Nowosadtko, 2004, 15). Podobno je veljalo med meščani (Eibach, 2007, 14–19). Ni pa se podložnik, kot tudi ne vsaj povprečni tržan ali meščan, mogel enako odzvati na plemičevo nasilje ali siceršnjo razžalitev. Tudi zato, ker za plemiča niso bili enakovredni (časti-vredni) nasprotniki – če bi jih obravnaval kot take, bi se ponižal na njihovo raven oziroma, simbolno, na njihov stan (prim. Beuke, 2004, 124). Načelno neprepustnost stanovskih ločnic v medosebnih sporih je leta 1744 spoznal tudi Jurij Lužar, sogornik na Koglu, ko je s cepcem v roki »*na korajžo*« pozval gorskega gospoda, upravitelja dolenjskega gospostva Klevevž in kostanjeviškega patra Danijela iz baronske rodbine Mordax, ker ga je ta zaradi žaljivk »rahlo« udaril. Zaradi Lužarjevega posledičnega izzivanja k spopadu in groženj s smrtjo je gorska veča njegov vinograd dodelila cisterci. Če bi se znesel nad kom istega stanu, bi zahtevala le plačilo globe in oba pozvala k pomiritvi (Dolenc, 1925–26, 227; 1935, 448; 1940, 84, 168).

Navedeno kaže, da je spor, obravnavan v tem članku, precej neobičajen. Ne le zato, ker se je med stanovsko neenakima nasprotnikoma zaostril v aktivno, z vzajemnim nasiljem vodeno sovražnost ali fajdo, ampak tudi zato, ker je bila, kot vse kaže, ta pomirjena po običaju, vsekakor pa brez strogega kaznovanja napadalca iz nižjega stanu.

VDOR …

Ograjno sodišče v Gradcu, pristojno za pripadnike štajerskih deželnih stanov,[7] je pozimi 1682–83 obravnavalo eskalacijo spora, v katerega sta se zapletla žalski trški svétnik Janez Krištof Pilpach[8] in Ferdinand[9] baron Miglio[10] s Plumberka, lastnik istoimenskega dvorca, ki je stal kak kilometer vzhodno od Žalca. Izvor in začetek spora med statusno neenakima »sosedoma« nista znana, le njegova zaostritev, torej sovražnost v ožjem pomenu, kar je v virih prej pravilo kot izjema.

Tožbo je najkasneje 26. oktobra 1681 prvi vložil Pilpach, ker naj bi Miglio 12. septembra (petek) zvečer ali ponoči z nasiljem in na »*v deželi najstrožje prepovedan način*«[11] z izvlečenima pištolama vdrl v njegovo hišo v Žalcu, v spremstvu oskrbnika Plumberka, Jakoba Galiča, sicer žalskega tržana (NŠAM, Župnija Žalec,

7 Tudi deželna pravda ali deželna ograja. Predsedoval ji je deželni upravnik kot namestnik deželnega glavarja, tvorile pa so jo t. i. prava deželna pravda, dvorna pravda in sumarna pravda. Za razžalitve je bila pristojna prava deželna pravda, za fizično nasilje pa dvorna pravda (Spreitzhofer et al., 1988, 66–69).

8 Ni znano, kako oziroma če so bili žalski Pilpachi v sorodstvu z v širšem celjskem prostoru izpričanimi Pilpachi, od katerih je bila vsaj ena veja poplemenitena že v 17. stoletju (prim. Naschenweng, 2020, [889], [1004]).

9 Mlajši sin Karla (Carlo) Miglia in njegove žene Hieronime (Gieroloma), roj. Casanova. Ferdinand je Plumberk ob svoji polnoletnosti enkrat do leta 1681 prevzel od starejšega brata Tulija, ki je bil skrbnik očetove zapuščine. Spomladi 1690 je Ferdinand padel v »delirij«, nakar je bival zlasti v Gradcu pod skrbništvom dr. Petra Lukrecija Ignaca Apostelna pl. Apostolisa, gospostvo pa je vsaj do marca 1697 vodil oskrbnik Jakob Galič. Ferdinand si ni več opomogel, enkrat pred 22. majem 1708 je umrl neporočen in brez otrok. Po lokalni legendi, zabeleženi ob vizitaciji leta 1760, naj bi se sicer želel poročiti z neko grofico Schrattenbach, vendar ga je zavrnila, zato je ostal samski (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Pojasnilo Ferdinanda barona Miglio štajerskemu deželnemu glavarju glede oporoke svojega očeta, prejeto 23. 5. 1682, s.l.; StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, dr. Peter Lukrecij Apostelen pl. Apostolis štajerskemu deželnemu glavarju, 14. 8. 1690, Celje; StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, dr. Matija Ignacij Wildoner štajerskemu deželnemu glavarju, 9. 3. 1697; StLA, LR 723/2, Oporoka Karla Miglia z dne 26. septembra 1664, kolacioniran prepis, 22. 5. 1708, Dunaj; Volčjak, 2017, 358).

10 Ferdinandov oče Karel (roj. ok. leta 1614) in njegov sorodnik (*vetter*) Tulij (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 1, Zaslišanje prič v sporu med vdovo in dediči Tulija Miglia in dediči Matija Qualandra, 21. februar 1653, s.l.) naj bi v Notranjo Avstrijo prišla iz Milana. Najprej sta se ustalila na Ptuju. Na Štajerskem sta izpričana kot trgovca z živino in žitom, trgovala pa sta zlasti z madžarskim (ogrskim) prostorom ter Vojno krajino (Gestrin, 1981, 233). Tulij je Plumberk 10. julija 1639 kupil od Hansa Schauerja (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 1, Inventar po Tuliju Migliu, 3. 3. 1642, s.l.), svojega nekdanjega trgovskega partnerja, ptujskega meščana in deželnostanovskega uslužbenca ter zeta poplemenitenega ptujskega trgovca Matija Qualandra (Valentinitsch, 1973, 70, 75; 1998, 106; Gestrin, 1986, 420). Po Tulijevi smrti, enkrat pred 3. marcem 1642, so Plumberk prevzeli njegova vdova Marjeta – ne Otilija (prim. Naschenweng, 2020, [1612]) – in drugi dediči (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 1, Mnenje v zadevi Lenarta Galiča z vdovo Marjeto Miglio in drugimi Tulijevimi dediči, 27. 7. 1648, s.l.). Pet let po Tulijevi smrti je škofija Krka fevdno pismo za Plumberk izdala neki gospe Seyfried, vdovi Cordon (Gordon?) (Pirchegger, 1962, 100), morda kateri od njegovih štirih hčera. Ni znano, kdaj je gospostvo prevzel Ferdinandov oče Karel. Do leta 1656 je Karla poplemenitil cesar Ferdinand III., ki mu je tisto leto izboljšal grb. Leta 1658 je morda že bil štajerski deželan, vsekakor pa leto zatem goriški. Na Goriško naj bi Karel prišel iz Španske Nizozemske, kamor je očitno odšel iz Notranje Avstrije. Leta 1663 je bil povzdignjen v notranjeavstrijski viteški stan in postal še koroški deželan, nakar ga je 16. aprila 1664 cesar Leopold I. povzdignil v barona s predikatom *s Plumberka*. Najkasneje tedaj je bil tudi cesarski svétnik in tajni dvorni plačilni mojster. Umrl je konec septembra istega leta (Naschenweng, 2020, [1612]).

11 [*I*]*n landt hochverbottener weis* (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Zapisnik prvega dne pravde Janeza Krištofa Pilpacha proti Ferdinandu baronu Migliu, s.d., s.l.).

Krstna matična knjiga (KMK) 1661–1683, s.p.), ter po dveh služabnikov in duhovnikov.[12] Plemič je hišo zasedel, tržanu odvzel pet konj, od njegovih otrok in služinčadi pa zahteval oskrbo zase, za svoje ljudi in konje. Ker mu niso ustregli, naj bi si jim drznil kaznivo (*sträfflichen*) groziti, tržanu pa dal poklati purane in razdejati krmo. Pilpach je Miglievo ravnanje opredelil za hudo razžalitev z dejanjem (*grosse realinjuri*), tj. s fizičnim nasiljem (Beuke, 2004, 130), in terjal odškodnino vsaj 200 dukatov v zlatu. Tržan je trdil, da je barona po vdoru zakonito in prijateljsko pozval (*rechtmessig* […] *in der güete ersuecht*) h koncu spora ter k zadoščenju (*guettmachung*, *satisfaction*), češ da naj se v 14 dneh z njim poravna za škodo oziroma razžalitev. Še enkrat je izpostavil, da se je bil pripravljen zadovoljiti z zadoščenjem, toda ker ga ni prejel, je pravico moral iskati po sodni poti (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Zapisnik prvega dne pravde Janeza Krištofa Pilpacha proti Ferdinandu baronu Migliu, s.d., s.l.; StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Glavni dokazni člen Ferdinanda barona Miglia zoper Janeza Krištofa Pilpacha glede tožbe zaradi razžalitve z dejanjem z dne 26. oktobra 1681, s.d., s.l.).

Pilpachov poudarek predhodnega poskusa izvensodne poravnave, torej po običaju, je bil pomemben signal tako sodišču kot nasprotniku, saj se tega ni spodobilo tožiti, dokler niso bile izčrpane vse »prijateljske« rešitve spora, tj. brez sodnega postopka. Tudi zato, ker je lahko bila tožba brez predhodnih poskusov poravnave pojmovana kot (nova) krivica in izraz sovražnosti (prim. Smail, 2003, 11–12), v danem primeru kot eskalacija že obstoječe. Hkrati je opredelitev sovražnosti ali napada za »v deželi najstrožje prepovedano« dejanje tipična za primere, ki so pred sodišče prišli v zgodnjem novem veku. Vsaj če je bila približno enakega stanu kot napadalec, napadena stran (vsaj med plemstvom in meščanstvom) nasilja načeloma ni delegitimirala z obtožbo, da je proti njej vodena prepovedana fajda, temveč da je nasprotnik kršil deželni mir. Predvidoma, ker je to, vsaj dokler konflikt ni bil zaostren do skrajnosti, omogočilo častno rešitev spora, ki je kriminalizacija in morebitna usmrtitev nasprotnika nista mogli. Zlasti usmrtitev kot »maščevanje po rablju« bi lahko vodila v sovražnost z družino usmrčenega ali jo zaostrila. Tožbe so oškodovane strani podkrepile s trditvami, da je bila kršitev nenadna, skrivna, neizzvana ali dejanje »rojenega nasilneža«, obtožene pa so se sklicevale na silobran in obrambo gospostva (Oman, 2021, 73, 113–116).

Pilpach v obtožbi ni bil tako neposreden, čeprav bi imel dober argument, kajti vdor v dom (nem. *Heimsuchung*, *Hausbruch* ipd.) je bil kot huda kršitev temeljnega območja miru kriminaliziran že v srednjem veku (Reinle, 2003, 18, 78, 105).[13]

Tržan je v podporo svojim obtožbam ograjnemu sodišču predlagal priče, ki jih je to potrdilo 19. januarja 1683. Pričali naj bi nekdanji žalski trški sodnik Jakob Jugovic ali Jugovič (*Jugouiz*, *Jugouitsch*), trški svétnik Andrej Sprang, Pilpachova nekdanja hlapca Janez Sprachman in Matej, vsi sodeči pod žalsko jurisdikcijo, pa tudi Miglievi ljudje: Galič ter dva jezdna hlapca ali konjarja (*reitkhnecht*), gotovo tista, ki sta skupaj z baronom vdrla k svétniku. Pilpach je želel dokazati, da mu je Miglio med nočnim vdorom, ko so baron oziroma njegovi ljudje iz hiše tudi streljali (ogrožali vse tržane), iz hleva ukradel pet konj, preostale pa spodil, ter da je od njegove služinčadi in otrok, namreč hčerke Elizabete Rozman, nasilno in pod grožnjo z udarci zahteval, naj oskrbijo njega, njegove ljudi in konje. Pri tem naj bi za Elizabeto po hiši hodil z izvlečenima pištolama, nasprotnikovi[14] ljudje pa so tržanu poklali purane in razdejali krmo v sosednjem poslopju (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Glavni dokazni člen Janeza Krištofa Pilpacha zoper Ferdinanda barona Miglia zaradi razžalitve z dejanjem, s.d., s.l.).

Dikcija tožbe kaže, da svétnik in njegova žena, Uršula Elizabeta, ob vdoru nista bila doma, za hišo, služinčad ter mlajše sorojence, vsaj za trinajstletno Ano Rozalijo (krščena 2. junija 1668),[15] pa je skrbela njuna hči Elizabeta, žena tržana Gregorja Rozmana. Ob njej sta v očetovi hiši mogoče bila tudi njena otroka, še ne štiriletna Marija Konstanca (krščena 22. decembra 1677) in manj kot leto in pol stari Maksimilijan (krščen 31. julija 1680) (NŠAM, Župnija Žalec, KMK 1661–1683, s.p.). »Nasprotniki«, ki so s

12 Ni jasno, kaj sta med napadalci počela duhovnika. Kot baronova človeka sta bila najverjetneje povezana z žalsko podružnično in romarsko cerkvijo Obiskanja Device Marije v Petrovčah, s katero so bili Miglii povezani. Ferdinand naj bi še v zadnjem letu življenja prispeval za njeno opremo in razširitev (Volčjak, 2017, 358), družina Miglio pa je imela tam tudi družinsko grobnico (Orožen, 1880, 365, 369–370).

13 Za notranjeavstrijske primere, vključno s slovenskim prostorom, gl. npr. Oman (2021, 64, 130, 158, op. 705).

14 *Gegenthaill*. Besedo bi v danem kontekstu veljalo brati tudi ostreje – sovražnik. Podobno je besedi uporabila notranjeavstrijska vlada, ko je septembra 1642 od ptujskega župnika zahtevala, naj od Hansa Sigmunda Khockerla izve ime njegovega sovražnika (*feindt*) oziroma zoprnika ali nasprotnika (*widersacher*), preden ju pobota in naredi za dobra prijatelja (StLA, IÖReg, Kopijalni protokol za leto 1642, K in P, s.p.).

15 Ostali bi lahko bili enajstletni Mihael Rudolf (krščen 24. aprila 1670), devetletni Frančišek Feliks (krščen 4. septembra 1672) in štiriletna Marija Frančiška (krščen 23. marca 1677). Ker so žalske mrliške (in poročne) matice za tisto obdobje zelo pomanjkljive, ni znano, če so našteti in Marija Konstanca Rozman v času vdora še živeli, zlasti upoštevaje epidemijo. Ob Maksimilijanu Rozmanu in Ani Rozaliji Pilpach je tedaj živel tudi njen brat Janez Krištof ml. (krščen 2. decembra 1653) (NŠAM, Župnija Žalec, KMK 1646–1658, s.p.; NŠAM, Župnija Žalec, KMK 1661–1683, s.p.; NŠAM, Župnija Žalec, KMK 1684–1702, s.p.). V besedilu sicer manjka dikcija o »malih nevzgojenih otrocih«, tipična ob omembi nedoletnih, sploh mlajših otrok.

svojim strahom, če ne kar paniko, morda še okrepili baronov »pogum« in nasilnost. Najverjetneje je Miglio tudi vedel, da tržana ni doma.

Vendar vdor ni bil zadnje dejanje plemičevega nasilja. Kmalu zatem je Pilpach po eni septembrski nedeljski maši svojo zahtevo za zadoščenje (*notturfft*)[16] baronu poslal po celjskem zaprisežanem slu,[17] ki je službo opravljal že 40 let. V skladu z obredjem reševanja sporov, kjer je bila soudeležba pri maši eden ključnih izrazov medsosedske sloge (Bossy, 1983) in sprave med nekdanjimi sovražniki (Oman, 2021, 47), je bil čas načeloma dobro izbran, vendar se ni izšlo po tržanovih pričakovanjih. Ko je sel prispel k Migliu, je ta »*ubogega starca*« z neko z železom obito gorjačo (*drembl*) namreč tako »*nekrščansko*« pretepel, da je »*napol mrtev*« za dolgo časa obležal v postelji, ker mu je plemič razbil glavo in mu, ko je padel, polomil še roke – najbrž, ko se je želel zaščititi pred novimi udarci. Kljub ključnemu pomenu mediacije v tradicionalnem reševanju sporov (Darovec, 2017, 659) nasilje nad sli ni bilo nujno redko, saj je celo posredovanje po običaju (nem. *Beschickung*) lahko vsebovalo tveganje, da bo še tako ugleden posrednik obravnavan kot nasprotnikov človek, zlasti v zelo ostrih sporih (Beuke, 2004, 152). Vsekakor tržanovega poziva nihče ni več hotel predati baronu, odkar je ta starca tako »*okrutno pretepel*« – to in epidemija najverjetneje pojasnita pozno sodno potrditev prič. Ker pa je bila zaradi tega strahu preprečena »ljuba« pravica (*die liebe Justitia gespiert wurde*), je Pilpach prosil deželnega upravnika, naj zahtevo plemiču preda dežela (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Prošnja Janeza Krištofa Pilpacha štajerskemu deželnemu upravniku itd. v zadevi zoper Ferdinanda barona Miglia, 23. 9. 1682, s.l.).

Ni jasno, katerega septembra je prišlo do napada na sla. Ker oziroma če je šlo za zahtevo za zadoščenje, verjetno že po prvi nedeljski maši po baronovem vdoru v tržanovo hišo (14. september).

Tržanova prošnja pri deželnem upravniku sicer ni naletela na gluha ušesa, vendar jo je dr. Jakob Sauer, Migliev odvetnik (*aduocat*) oziroma skrbnik v sodnih zadevah (*curator ad lites*), v pritožbi cesarju zavrnil, češ da je tržan ravnal zoper stare deželne pravice in prakse (*alte rechten vnnd praxim*). Kajti nek zgolj v »deželi bivajoči« (*in lanndt wohnhaft*), tj. nedeželan, ne more od barona terjati prevzema zahteve, niti prevzema naprtiti njegovemu odvetniku, temveč se mora držati reda (postopka). Zoper »*zlega nasprotnika*«, s čimer je Sauer morda povzel Pilpachov opis barona, pa naj se kazensko ukrepa (*mandata poenalia*) ali z njegovim ravnanjem seznani deželo, torej vloži tožbo pred ograjnim sodiščem (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, dr. Jakob Sauer cesarju itd. glede Janeza Krištofa Pilpacha, s.d., s.l.). Iz pravnikovih besed je razviden razlog za Miglievo okrutno ravnanje s slom – poskus vročitve zahteve je bila skrajna predrznost navadnega tržana! Sploh po njegovem ravnanju na Plumberku.

Tajni svet kot najvišja notranjeavstrijska sodna in apelacijska instanca (Spreitzhofer et al., 1988, 65) je sicer podprl odvetnika in pozval Pilpacha, naj se drži reda, deželnemu glavarju Juriju Kristijanu grofu Saurauu pa vendarle naložil, da je treba tovrstno (baronovo) samovoljo (*aigenthättigkeiten*) preprečiti, zato naj poskrbi, da bo Miglio poziv sprejel, v nasprotnem primeru pa naj ga zgrabi deželni profos[18] in ustrezno obravnava (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Cesarski tajni svétniki štajerskemu deželnemu glavarju Juriju Kristijanu grofu Saurauu glede Pilpacha in Miglia, 30. 10. 1682, s.l.).

Vsaj teden dni potem, ko je ograjno sodišče potrdilo Pilpachove priče, je proti Migliu svoje dokaze želela predstaviti še nekdanja oskrbnica Plumberka,[19] Ana Frazioli. Kaže, da je že dober teden dni po plemičevem vdoru k Pilpachu, 23. septembra 1681 (torek), prišlo do nekega prerivanja ali nereda (*walzrunden tumult*), ki ga je Ana imela za razžalitev z dejanjem. O tem je poročala že po prazniku vseh svetih (1681 ali 1682) in nato 26. januarja 1683, pri čemer je želela dokazati, da do nereda ali *walzrmahen* ni prišlo v dvorcu, temveč na cesti proti Žalcu, kot naj bi potrdilo več kot dvajset

16 Izraz *Notdurft* je mdr. opredeljeval dejanje, ki je bilo potrebno oziroma nujno za obrambo neke pravne zadeve ali komu pripadajoče jurisdikcije ali pravice (*was zur vertheidigung einer rechtssache erforderlich ist, sowie die einem zustehende rechtsbefugnis und rechtswolthat*) (Notdurft, 1d), pa tudi kot utemeljitev pravde (Wolf, 1860, 1106). V danem primeru ga kaže razumeti zlasti kot zahtevo za zadoščenje oziroma pravico ali kot sodni poziv.

17 Najbrž je šlo za sla celjske četrti, v službi celjskega vicedoma in glavarja.

18 V poznem 17. stoletju so ga deželni stanovi le še predlagali in plačevali, sicer pa je bil deželnoknežji organ, ki je imel tudi določene sodne pristojnosti. Skrbeti je moral za vzdrževanje deželnega miru, zlasti s pregonom t. i. dela zmožnih beračev, klateških vojakov, divjega lova in tihotapstva (Mell, 1929, 499–501).

19 Ana se je kot vdova Waaß leta 1675 poročila z Lovrencem Fraziolijem (Orožen, 1880, 390), s katerim sta bila oskrbnika Plumberka vsaj v letih 1677–80, nakar sta ju najkasneje jeseni 1680 zamenjala žalski tržan Jakob Galič in njegova žena Magdalena (NŠAM, Župnija Žalec, KMK 1661–1683, s.p.).

prič[20] (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Glavni dokazni člen Ane Frazioli zoper Ferdinanda barona Miglia glede razžalitve z dejanjem dne 23. septembra 1681, s.d., s.l.). Ni znano, kak »nered« je Ana Frazioli očitala Migliu, toda glede na to, da je želela dokazati razžalitev z dejanjem, je mogoče fizično napadel njo ali njene ljudi. Sodeč po legi tega dokumenta med ostalimi, bi lahko bili njeni dokazi tudi v podkrepitev Pilpachove tožbe, morebiti z namenom, da nasprotnika pred sodiščem dodatno očrni. Verjetneje pa je bil za tem spor zakoncev Frazioli z Migliem, s katerim se je nekdanji plumberški oskrbnik Lovrenc še več let po baronovi sovražnosti s Pilpachom dajal zaradi svojega oskrbniškega obračuna, Ana pa zaradi nekih premičnin (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Poročilo štajerskemu deželnemu glavarju glede spora med Ferdinandom Migliem in Lovrencem Fraziolijem, prejem 28. 6. 1687, s.l.; StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Poročilo deželnemu glavarju glede spora med Ferdinandom Migliem in Lovrencem Fraziolijem, prejem 20. 10. 1687, s.l.).

Toda baron je imel za svoje ravnanje v Žalcu drugačno razlago.

… KOT MAŠČEVANJE

Miglio je po vmesni (*interlocutori*) razsodbi ograjnega sodišča 19. januarja 1683 priznal, da je vdrl k tržanu, vendar je sodišču želel – in moral – dokazati, da je imel za to upravičene razloge (*genugsambe vrsach*), saj je dejansko šlo za sicer prepovedano maščevanje. Trdil je, da je imel za svoje ravnanje upravičen razlog, ker je Pilpach kmalu po njegovem odhodu v Furlanijo svojega zeta Gregorja Rozmana poslal v Krško h grofom Strassoldom, od katerih mu je uspelo pridobiti nekaj vojakov. Morda iz njihovega polka (prim. Dimitz, 1875, 416)? Trški svétnik naj bi vojake nato »*zvabil*« pred Plumberk, šel v izvidnico in jim pokazal, kako priti v »grad« (*gschloß*). Z dikcijo, da sta tržana vojake zvabila pred dvorec, je Miglio mogoče želel izpostaviti, da za dogodek ni neposredno krivil Strassoldov, katerih vojaki naj bi zgolj nasedli tržanoma. Kakor koli, Pilpach naj bi pred dvorcem zahteval brodnika Primoža Brusa (*Wruß*), ki je vojake najbrž pod prisilo prepeljal čez »vodo« pri dvorcu. Omemba brodnika kaže, da so z juga prečkali Savinjo, ne nekdanjega potoka Zgornja Ložnica, ki je tekel ob meji med žalskim pomirjem in plumberškim gospostvom (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Zapis prvega dne tožbe žalskega trškega sodnika in sveta proti Karlu Rajmundu baronu Migliu zaradi nasilja avgusta 1712, s.d., s.l.), torej v Žalec niso prispeli skozi Celje oziroma čez celjski most. Mogoče zaradi zapor poti zaradi epidemije ali le zato, da na svoj prihod ne bi pravočasno opozorili plumberškega oskrbnika in hlapcev, morda pa tudi deželnih oblasti. Če je bila razlog tajnost, jim je uspelo. Po prečkanju reke so vojaki, ki jih je vodil praporščak Paravicini, dvorec namreč brez opozorila pregazili (*ÿberrumpelt*) – zasedli na presenečenje oskrbnika in poslov. Svoje ravnanje v Žalcu je baron nadalje upravičeval s tem, da so mu vojaki med očitno večdnevno zasedbo dvorca poklali vso perjad ter oplenili shrambe in kleti, Pilpach pa je iz dvorca nagnal oskrbnika Jakoba in Magdaleno Galič. Še prej naj bi tržan baronovim ljudem pokazal »*za pest krogel*« in z zobmi (jezno) zaškrtal (*gerrint*) (Grinnen), da so te »*češnje na uslugo*«[21] baronu ter da jih bo moralo vsaj dvajset umreti (napadalcev), preden bi Miglio uspel priti v dvorec. Preden je zakonca vrgel s Plumberka, naj bi Pilpach oskrbnici še zabrusil, »*naj drži gobec*«, sicer bo najprej ustrelil njenega moža, ko ga je vprašala, kako naj ta v tej zmedi (*confusion*) vodi posle. Naj je tržan te grožnje s smrtjo izrekel ali ne, so baronu vsekakor pomagale upravičiti njegov odziv. Nadalje je Miglio trdil, da je Paraviciniju sicer izstavil reverz (račun) za kruh, meso in vino, vendar naj bi zahteval kvečjemu poplačilo enodnevne količine tistega, kar so vojaki zapravili vsak dan. Prav tako naj bi Pilpach Galiču odvzel vse ključe od shramb in kleti, nato pa iz Celja poklical ključarja, ki mu je odprl še vse ostalo, kar je bilo pod ključem; najbrž Hansa, pomočnika celjskega mojstra Primoža Schlosserja, ki je omenjen med baronovimi pričami. Pilpach je odklenjeno premetal, nakar naj bi še različne »tujce« vabil v dvorec »*žreti in piti*«. Ko se je Miglio vrnil in videl, da so dvorec zasedli, naj bi Paravicinija prosil, naj mu vsaj za pol ali četrt ure dovoli vstopiti, da vzame nujne stvari, vendar je Pilpach protestiral in mu to preprečil. O nakazani vljudnosti baronove prošnje velja dvomiti ne le zaradi njegovega zelo verjetnega in razumljivega besa, temveč tudi zato, ker je najbrž šlo le

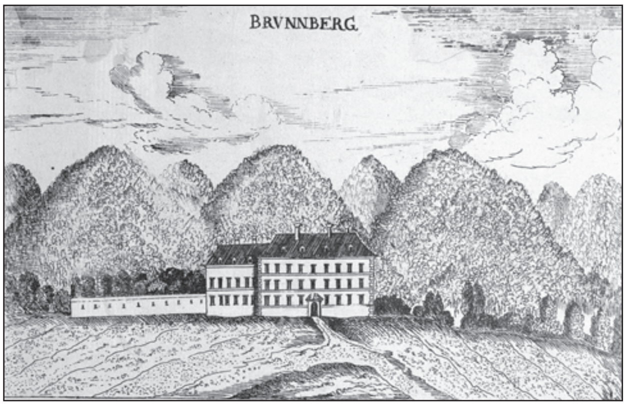
20 Oskrbnik Plumberka Jakob Galič, plumberški uradnik (*amtman*) Jakob R., žalski tržan Andrej Pauletius, neka baronova človeka (konjarja?) Andrej in Hans ter njegov komorni strežaj (*cammerdiener*), zaradi dela v dvorcu tam prisotni mlatič Peter iz Drešinje vasi, neki Anton iz urada Št. Ilj pri Velenju, še dva, katerih imen Ana ni poznala, nadalje vsi kmetje, ki so bili ob »neredu« na ulici, oskrbnikova hlapca Martin in še en iz kraja *Prug* (verjetno bližnji Zidani Most, mogoče bolj oddaljeno Mostečno pri Slovenski Bistrici ali Zagaj pri Bizeljskem; prim. Blaznik & Mihelič, 1989, 136–137), žalski trški svétnik (Janez) Krištof Pilpach in njegova dekla Helena, ki je Ano spremljala v Žalec, Marinca, sestra baronovega viničarja, dekla celjskega meščana Talingerja in nek moški, pod celjski grad sodeča premožna gostilničarka Marina Schantl iz neugotovljenega kraja *Horndorf*, celjski meščan Poserhan in kravji pastir Jurij (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Glavni dokazni člen Ane Frazioli zoper Ferdinanda barona Miglia glede razžalitve z dejanjem, s.d., s.l.).

21 [*D*]*ise kherschen zu meinen diensten währen* (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Glavni dokazni člen Ferdinanda barona Miglia zoper Janeza Krištofa Pilpacha glede tožbe zaradi razžalitve z dejanjem z dne 26. oktobra 1681, s.d., s.l.). Podobno je poldrugo stoletje kasneje Nikolaj (ukr. Mikola) Gogolj (1908, 21) pisal o »*svinčenih slivah*«, s katerimi je njegov zaporoški protagonist hotel »*pogostiti*« poljsko-litovsko vojsko.

za dikcijo, s katero naj bi sodišče prepričal o svoji miroljubnosti – tudi kot »dokaz«, da kasnejši vdor k tržanu ni bil posledica nebrzdane jeze, temveč časten, uravnotežen odziv na krivico (prim. Pohl-Zucker, 2018). Nazadnje naj bi Pilpach nahujskal še (Lovrenca) Fraziolija, nekdanjega oskrbnika Plumberka, naj Migliu vzame najboljšega konja in z njim odjezdi, kar je ta tudi storil; bržkone zaradi svojega siceršnjega spora s plemičem. Baron je sodišču predlagal dvanajst prič,[22] ki naj bi vse našteto potrdile (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Glavni dokazni člen Ferdinanda barona Miglia zoper Janeza Krištofa Pilpacha glede tožbe zaradi razžalitve z dejanjem z dne 26. oktobra 1681, s.d., s.l.).

Ni jasno, kakšno vlogo so v spopadu igrali Strassoldi ter kaj je grofico Magdaleno oziroma njenega tedaj 24-letnega sina grofa Orfeja (Golec, 2014a, 46, op. 86), člana pomembne notranjeavstrijske visokoplemiške rodbine (Naschenweng, 2020, [1390]), prepričalo, da sta Rozmanu in Pilpachu, tržanoma iz sosednje dežele, na razpolago dala svoje vojake. Mogoče so kako posredniško vlogo pri tem imeli baroni Valvasorji, kajti del rodbine je bil (vsaj kasneje) tesno povezan s Strassoldi,[23] predvsem pa v krvnem sorodstvu z žalskimi Pilpachi. Z Mihaelom Ferdinandom Pilpachom, čigar točno sorodstveno razmerje z Janezom Krištofom ni znano, se je 26. februarja 1680 namreč omožila Ana Marija pl. Valvasor, kar kaže na velik ugled in nemajhno premoženje Pilpachov. Ana Marija je bila prvorojenka Janeza Ditriha (*Dietrich*), najstarejšega pravega brata slavnega polihistorja, in Katarine Gaber, ključarice na gradu Ojstrica. V času hčerine poroke je bil Janez Ditrih lastnik kmečke posesti Končevo, kjer je danes kmetija Košenina na Gorjakovem pri Kapli v Savinjski dolini, dobrih 12 kilometrov zahodno od Žalca. Kljub poroki z žensko nizkega stanu je Janez Ditrih ostal plemič, enako kot njegovi otroci, ga je pa njegova mati zaradi mezalianse razdedinila in mogoče je tudi Janez Vajkard iz enakega razloga napol »prikrival« bratov obstoj. Vendar je Janez Ditrih ostal v dobrih odnosih vsaj z delom kranjskih sorodnikov. Mihael Ferdinand in Ana Marija Pilpach sta v času Miglievega vdora v hišo Janeza Krištofa še živela v Žalcu, kmalu zatem pa se v virih sled za njima izgubi (Golec, 2017, 375–385).

Druga možnost je, da so Strassoldi pomoč poslali zaradi kakega lastnega spora z Miglii, v katerem bi, recimo, lahko bili kot goriški sodeželani (Schiviz von Schivizhofen, 1904, 505). Še eno možnost, in



Slika 2: Dvorec Plumberk. Georg Matthäus Vischer, Topographia Ducatus Stiriae, 1681 (Wikimedia Commons). Ignacij Orožen je zaradi na bakrorezu upodobljenega terena sumil, da bi lahko bilo namesto Plumberka (Brunnberg) upodobljeno Ostrožno (Bromberg) pri Celju, saj v neposredni bližini Novega Celja ni gričev (Pirchegger, 1962, 182, op. 12).

sicer Rozmanove morebitne vezi z grofi, morda nudijo krstne matične knjige žalske župnije sv. Miklavža. Krstni boter njegovega sina Maksimilijana je bil 31. julija 1680 namreč vojak (*milite*) Simon Karbelski (NŠAM, Župnija Žalec, KMK 1661–1683, s.p.). Mogoče sta kdaj skupaj služila pod Strassoldi, morebiti hkrati s Paravicinijem, ali pa je prisotnost vojaka ob krstu celo znak, da je bil spor med tržanom(a) in baronom zaostren že tedaj. Če ne gre zgolj za slučajnost, saj bi se s Karbelskijem lahko spoprijateljili tudi kot s članom kake posadke, ki je v bližini varovala poti in prehode, zaprte zaradi epidemije.

Obenem je treba upoštevati še vezi, ki bi jih Janez Krištof Pilpach lahko imel s poplemeniteno vejo Pilpachov s Celjskega, čeprav se ta v relevantnih virih ne pojavlja.

Če je Miglio podal svoje razloge za vdor k Pilpachu, pa vzrok tržanove zasedbe dvorca in njunega spora ostaja neznan. Morda je sovražnost izšla iz spora Fraziolijev z baronom ali s predhodnimi oskrbniki Galiči, če ne kar iz kake zamere med ambicioznimi tržani Pilpachi in Galiči. Vsako sovražnost je sprožilo dejanje, ki je bilo dojeto kot krivično oziroma kot razžalitev. Načeloma ni bila nikoli popolnoma neizzvana, temveč je temeljila na že obstoječih nesoglasjih, ki so mdr.

22 Žalski tržan Gregor Rozman, brodnik in preboldski (pod grofi Schrattenbachi) podložnik Primož Brus, žalski tržan Jakob Malgaj (*Maligaÿ*) in Migliev oskrbnik Jakob Galič, njegovi dekli Uršula Klowitzer in Agnes (Neža?) Obstrauch ter hlapec Martin Preÿau, nekdanji oskrbnik Jurij, tedaj viničar Matija Peka v Celju, Hans, pomočnik mojstra Primoža Schlosserja v Celju, oskrbnica Magdalena Galič, grajski uradnik Jakob Sitar in baronov konjar Andrej Klamprer (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 2, Glavni dokazni člen Ferdinanda barona Miglia zoper Janeza Krištofa Pilpacha glede tožbe zaradi razžalitve z dejanjem z dne 26. oktobra 1681, s.d., s.l.).

23 Orfej je bil leta 1691 krstni boter Wolfgangu Karlu Jožefu, sinu Janeza Karla Valvasorja in vnuku Karla, polbrata Janeza Vajkarda (Schiviz von Schivizhofen, 1905, 33; Golec, 2014b, 205, 212).

izhajala iz frustracij, zamer ali zavisti zaradi ekonomskega, političnega ali siceršnjega družbenega uspeha tekmecev, sosedov ali sorodnikov, ki so jih lahko okrepili neugodni zunanji dejavniki, kot je bila epidemija (Oman, 2021, 37). Pri tem bi bilo spore zaradi časti zgrešeno opredeliti za malenkostne, saj so bili tesno povezani z ohranjanjem in pridobivanjem družbenega položaja, neločljivega od zagotavljanja fizičnega obstoja ter preživetja posameznikov, rodbinskih in drugih skupnosti, torej tudi s premoženjem oziroma lastnino (Carroll, 2017b, 40). Posledično je veljalo tudi obratno: ker je bila lastnina neločljivo povezana s preživetjem in ugledom, so sovražnost in nasilje lahko sprožili neporavnani dolgovi, razhajanja okoli dediščine, zmerjanje s tatom, posek drevesa ob nejasni meji ali košnja zaplate spornega travnika. Tozadevno bi v danem primeru lahko izvorno šlo tudi za konflikt zaradi sporne posesti ali pravic, ki sta si jih lastila tržan in baron ali njuni zavezniki. Mogoče tudi v okviru mejnih sporov med Žalcem in Plumberkom, ki so se vlekli še vsaj v zgodnje 18. stoletje, ali kake posledice nekdanjega miglievskega zakupa pravice[24] do potrjevanja žalskega trškega sodnika in svétnikov. Pilpachov »rubež« v Miglievem dvorcu sicer verjetno prej kaže, da je sovražnost izbruhnila zaradi kakih dolgov, ki bi si jih baron zlahka nabral pri premožnem tržanu zaradi vzdrževanja svojega družbenega položaja oziroma vzpenjanja po družbeni lestvici.

Kakor koli, pomenljivo je, da je Miglio pri upravičevanju svojega vdora, groženj s strelnim orožjem in siceršnjim nasiljem, zahtev po oskrbi svojih ljudi, pokola perjadi, uničenja krme in odtujitve konj skoraj do potankosti upošteval v družbi uveljavljeno obredje vodenja sovražnosti oziroma maščevanja kot uravnotežene menjave dejanj (Oman, 2021, 16) – praktično enako je baronu in njegovim ljudem prizadejal Pilpach. Je bilo to namerno ali slučajnost? Še več, ker je tržanova zasedba trajala več dni in je bila škoda obsežnejša, obenem pa je baronu in njegovim ljudem s svinčenimi »češnjami« grozil še s smrtjo, se je Miglio lahko prikazal ne le kot upravičen do povračila, temveč tudi kot bolj oškodovana stran. Z odzivom, ki je bil »blažji« od nasprotnikovega nasilja, pa še kot bolj razsodna, častna ter miroljubna. Pri tem mu je na roko šel še njegov stan. Tudi če bi bil že tedaj »deliričen«, vse kaže, da je Miglio (ali njegov odvetnik) pri upravičevanju svojega dejanja upošteval uveljavljene norme vodenja in reševanja sporov.

ISKANJE POMIRITVE

Zaradi slabo ohranjenega gradiva, kar je v tovrstnih primerih pogosto, ni znano le, zakaj in kako se je spor med tržanom in baronom začel, ampak tudi, kako se je končal. Očitno primer ni prišel pred notranjeavstrijsko vlado v Gradcu kot revizijsko instanco za kazenske sodbe deželnoglavarskih in deželskih sodišč ter nadzorni organ za deželnoknežja mesta in trge (Spreitzhofer et al., 1988, 66); vsaj v vladnih kopijalnih protokolih (StLA, IÖReg) ga ni najti.

K spravi bi lahko prispevalo dvoje: epidemija v Žalcu oziroma osmansko obleganje Dunaja leta 1683, bodisi zaradi strahu pred enim oziroma drugim bodisi iz veselja po prestani nevarnosti – obleganje je bilo prebito natanko dve leti po baronovem vdoru k tržanu. Na Žalskem se sicer zdi verjetnejši neposreden strah pred epidemijo, ki jo je duhovščina hkrati uspešno predstavljala kot Božjo kazen za grešno življenje. To je vključevalo tudi nasilje oziroma naglavni greh jeze in nasploh »nekrščanske« spore (npr. Travner, 1934, 54 sl.), navsezadnje je odpuščanje sovražnikom oziroma ljubezen do njih krščanski imperativ (Mt 5,44), čeprav so ljudje neredko imeli težave že z ljubeznijo do bližnjih (Mr 12,31). Posledično bi k pomiritvi obravnavane sovražnosti lahko prispevala kaka v strahu pred onostranskim peklom dana zaobljuba k spravi, če bo prestan tuzemski.

Ugibanja na stran; datum pomiritve pomagajo vsaj približno določiti žalske krstne matične knjige. Dan po svečnici leta 1684 sta bila Uršula (Elizabeta) Pilpach in plumberški oskrbnik Jakob Galič krstna botra Agati, hčerki Petra in Helene Dušic ali Dušič (*Duschiz*) (NŠAM, Župnija Žalec, KMK 1661–1683, s.p.). To kaže, da je bila sovražnost že končana ali vsaj blizu poravnave. Nasploh so prizadevanja za reševanje sporov pogosto načrtno sovpadla s krsti. Ker je bil krst simbolni trenutek osvoboditve grehov in sprave z Bogom ter s skupnostjo, so ljudje veselje in dobro voljo, ki ju je prineslo novo življenje, radi izkoristili za pomiritev s sovražniki (Butler, 2022). Sprava z Galiči, ki sta že zaradi Pilpachovega ravnanja na Plumberku imela dovolj razlogov za sovražnost s sotržanoma, hkrati kaže, da se je dotlej končala tudi Pilpachova z Migliem, saj je pomiritev načeloma zajela »vse ljudi« sprtih strani: sorodnike, prijatelje, uslužbence, posle itd. Torej je do sklenitve miru ali vsaj priprav nanjo (posredovanje, pogajanja) prišlo kmalu po koncu epidemije ali še med njo.

24 Tulij Miglio in njegovi dediči so to pravico v sicer deželnoknežjem trgu začasno imeli ali si jo lastili najkasneje do leta 1674, ko je s Hansom Baltazarjem grofom Schrattenbachom prešla na Žalcu sosednje gospostvo Gotovlje. Pravica je sprva spadala pod gospostvo Žovnek, po izumrtju grofov Celjskih leta 1456 pa pod celjski vicedomski urad oziroma pod različna gospostva. Ni znano, kdaj je pravico od Hansa Sigmunda Wagna pl. Wagensperga za tisoč goldinarjev in par volov kupil Matija Qualandro (u. 1636; Oman, 2021, 123), po njegovih dedičih pa jo je očitno pridobil ali si jo lastil Tulij (StLA, LR, K. 723/H. 1, Izjava žalskega župnika v zadevi med dediči Tulija Miglia in dediči Mihaela Moffrina glede druge instance v Žalcu, 15. 5. 1659, Žalec; Pirchegger, 1962, 183).

Toda kljub skupnemu botrstvu in pomiritvi kaže, da se odnosi med Pilpachi in Galiči niso vrnili na predhodno raven. Pred sovražnostjo z Migliem sta bila zakonca Pilpach botra dvema otrokoma Jakoba in Magdalene: Uršula Elizabeta 27. januarja 1677 Mariji Katarini, Janez Krištof pa 13. februarja 1679 Frančišku Galiču (NŠAM, Župnija Žalec, KMK 1661–1683, s.p.). To izpričuje obstoj prijateljskih ali zavezniških vezi oziroma duhovnega sorodstva, ki ga je botrstvo med družinami izražalo ali vzpostavilo (Bossy, 1973, 132–135; prim. Vidali, 2022). Nakar po zasedbi Plumberka nova botrstva med družinama, upoštevaje še Rozmane, kljub pomiritvi in novim otrokom niso več izpričana, le nekaj skupnih botrstev tretjim družinam, kar bržkone kaže na določeno ohladitev odnosov. Na siceršnjem ugledu Janeza Krištofa sovražnost vsaj v Žalcu sicer ni pustila trajnejših posledic, saj je 11. oktobra 1684 izpričan kot trški sodnik (NŠAM, Župnija Žalec, KMK 1684–1702, s.p.). To tudi priča, da za svoje nasilje nad baronovimi ljudmi in posestjo ni bil ostro kaznovan. Nenazadnje je na *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* iz leta 1532 naslonjeni (Kambič, 2005, 209) izboljšani Štajerski red za deželska in krvna sodišča, pod katera je sodil tržan Pilpach, za vodenje fajde predpisoval obglavljenje z mečem (LGSt 1638, I § 94, fol. 21v). Očitno je med sovražnikoma prišlo do prijateljske poravnave po običaju. Sodeč po sočasnih primerih (npr. Oman, 2021, 138–139, 186–192) s plačilom odškodnine, ob ustreznih gestah in besedah pomiritve.

Pomenljivo je tudi, da baron v ohranjeni dokumentaciji, sploh pri upravičevanju vdora k Pilpachu, nikjer ni poudaril stanovskih razlik med njima ali zasedbe Plumberka skušal predstaviti kot kršitev družbenega reda, čeprav je šlo za precej neobičajen primer nasilja pripadnika nižjega sloja nad pripadnikom precej višjega. Vsekakor bi bilo nenavadno, če bi mu Miglio pripisal stereotipno nagnjenost nižjih slojev k (iracionalnemu) nasilju (npr. Medick, 2019, 350–351; Pelc, 2013, 78–82), saj so jo izobraženske in siceršnje elite pripisovale zlasti »neumnim« kmetom (prim. Pagden, 1986, 97), Pilpach pa je bil član urbane – čeprav trške – elite in posredno še v krvnem sorodstvu z Valvasorji. Po drugi strani rodbina Miglio še ni bila dolgo poplemenitena in kljub strmemu vzponu Ferdinandovega očeta ga mlajši sin po pomenu ni dohajal, tudi preden se mu je omračil um. Kaže, da so bile razlike med nasprotnikoma nasploh bolj formalne kot dejanske, navsezadnje je tržanu za svoje namene nekako uspelo pridobiti oboroženo pomoč od grofov Strassoldov. Kot vselej (npr. Darovec, 2016, 38), so razmerje moči med sovražnikoma tudi v tem primeru pomembno sodoločala njuna zavezniška omrežja. Nenazadnje pa je tržanova »enakopravnost« v sovražnosti z baronom najbrž okrepila Pilpachov ugled (prim. Carroll, 2020, 675) in morebitne težnje po višjem statusu.

SKLEP

Zaradi zelo fragmentarno ohranjenega gradiva o sporu med trškim svétnikom Pilpachom in baronom Migliem ni znanega kaj več kot njegova eskalacija v aktivno sovražnost, ki je bolj ali manj neposredno zajela še tedanje ter nekdanje plumberške oskrbnike Galiče in Fraziolije. Skromno sodno gradivo deloma premoščajo matične knjige žalske župnije, ki omogočajo vsaj približno datacijo pomiritve, pa tudi vpogled v siceršnje spremembe družbenih odnosov zaradi sovražnosti – zlasti določeno ohladitev med sotržani Pilpachi in Galiči kljub sklenitvi miru. Nasploh obravnavani primer še enkrat pokaže, da je za razumevanje posamičnih konfliktov in pravne kulture nekega časa treba stopiti onkraj normativnih predpisov in se poglobiti v širši družbeni kontekst vodenja ter reševanja sporov. Da tako resnemu nasilju oziroma skrajni predrznosti – Pilpachovega sla naj bi Miglio skoraj ubil, ker mu je želel vročiti zahtevo za zadoščenje –, kot je bila tržanova zasedba plemičevega dvorca, ni sledilo ne hujše baronovo maščevanje ne ostre kazni, temveč je bil spor očitno poravnan po običaju, gre pripisati več dejavnikom. Najprej dejstvu, da so bile formalne razlike med glavnima nasprotnikoma večje od dejanskih, utemeljenih tudi na pomembnih zavezništvih, kar je bržčas prispevalo k baronovi pripravljenosti na pomiritev s sovražnikom nižjega stanu oziroma tega obvarovalo pred strožjo kaznijo. K temu je do neke mere najbrž prispevalo še, da nasprotnika drug drugega nista eksplicitno obtožila vodenja prepovedane sovražnosti, čeprav je bilo sodnim oblastem gotovo jasno, za kaj gre. Nazadnje pa je k spravi med tržanom in baronom, vsaj sodeč po približnem datumu pomiritve, na nek način verjetno prispevala še (prestana) epidemija.

FOR A FISTFUL OF CHERRIES – VENGEANCE FOR THE OCCUPATION OF PLUMBERK. THE CASE OF AN INTER-ESTATE ENMITY IN LATE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY STYRIA

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SUMMARY

In the Autumn of 1681, towards the close of the worst plague epidemic to hit early modern Lower Styria, a dispute between the Žalec market-town councillor Johann Christoph Pilpach and Ferdinand Baron Miglio from the nearby Plumberk manor erupted into violence. With the help of soldiers whom Pilpach acquired from the Counts of Strassoldo from Krško in Carniola, he raided Miglio's manor during his absence, threatening to serve him lead 'cherries' (bullets), for which the nobleman avenged himself by ransacking the market-burgher's house in Žalec. This paper analyses the rather unusual, active enmity between two socially unequal adversaries through traditional practices of conducting and settling disputes, which also enables a look at other social relations among this conflict's main actors. Due to very fragmentary sources, it is unknown what set it off, although Pilpach's ransacking of the manor suggests that it might have been due to Miglio's debts to the affluent market-burgher. Perhaps their dispute was connected to the one between the baron and the Fraziolis, the former administrators of his manor, or to a dispute the Fraziolis or Pilpachs might have had with the Žalec market-burgher family Galič (Galitsch), the new administrators of Plumberk. The ensuing violence is better documented. Pilpach's raid on Plumberk manor was co-organised by his son-in-law, Gregor Rozman, who sought help from the Strassoldos. While the exact nature of their relationship with the counts is obscure, it had to be close for an important noble family to lend its soldiers to two market-burghers. Maybe the Strassoldos' help was also related to disputes they themselves might have had with Miglio. Pilpach's social capital was quite possibly further predicated on the marriage of a lesser line of the Valvasor noble family to the Pilpachs from Žalec in early 1680. These connections most likely levelled the field once the market-burgher's dispute with the baron broke out into violence. Miglio's response in September 1681 essentially mirrored Pilpach's actions: ransacking his home under arms, threats with violence and death, stealing his horses, killing his poultry, etc. Maybe the equal response was completely by chance, but, conceivably, the expected reciprocity of violence in enmities also played a role. In the end, Miglio had to justify his actions in court as a measured response to an affront. The violence was exacerbated when Pilpach opted for a recourse to law, after failing to obtain satisfaction (restitution of honour and damages) from Miglio for the attack. Pilpach's attempt to serve a writ to the baron ended with Miglio almost cudgelling the messenger to death, rejecting the attempt as insolence. Despite going to court, the settlement of their dispute or at least the violence seems to have been extra-curial, as was common in enmities among the elite. Likewise, the only intervention by princely authorities seems to have been a demand that Miglio accept the writ, even though violent enmities or feuds broke the provincial (and Imperial) peace and, which was even more critical, attacks on the socially superior upset the social order. There were certainly no grave consequences for Pilpach, who is attested as the Žalec market-town judge in 1684. All of this suggests that the social differences between him and Miglio were formal rather than factual, underpinned by Pilpach's close connections to influential noble families and, probably, also by the fact that the Miglios' rise to nobility was rather recent. His 'equality' with the baron in their enmity probably also helped Pilpach to improve his social standing. Although it is unknown when exactly peace between the baron and Pilpach was made, the plague that decimated Žalec in 1683 seems as a plausible mitigating factor. In any case, in early 1684, Pilpach's wife Ursula Elisabeth and his former enemy Jakob Galič, Miglio's administrator of Plumberk, became godparents to a child of one of their market-town neighbours. This indicates that their enmity was over, most likely following or as part of the peace made between Pilpach and Miglio, since settlement generally included 'all the people' of the conflicting parties.

Keywords: enmity, feud, vengeance, violence, dispute settlement, Pilpach, Miglio, Žalec, Plumberk, market-town burghers, nobility, plague epidemics, Styria, seventeenth century

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THE NON-UNIFORMITY OF THE CHURCH: LANGUAGE DIVERSITY AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DIOCESES IN LATE HABSBURG AUSTRIA

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ABSTRACT

The Roman Catholic Church is often spoken of in the singular. This article argues that this was not applicable for language politics. The many dioceses in late Habsburg Austria approached the organization of language use differently, whether it be the internal language use, the ordinariate language, or the daily language use in the many parishes. The reasons for this varied organization were mixed: so called historical traditions, but most importantly, individuals acting, on top bishops. Beside, many priests actively took part in local (nationalist) language discourse, and bishops judged their activity differently.

Keywords: Roman Catholic Church, austrian history, language diversity, nationalism

LA INCONSISTENZA DELLA CHIESA: ETEROGENEITÀ LINGUISTICA E DIOCESI CATTOLICHE NELL'AUSTRIA DEL TARDO PERIODO ASBURGICO

SINTESI

La Chiesa cattolica romana viene spesso definita al singolare. Questo articolo sostiene come ciò non sia corretto, se si guarda alle politiche linguistiche. Le molte diocesi nell'Austria del tardo periodo asburgico affrontavano la gestione dell'utilizzo della lingua in modo differente, sia per quanto riguardava l'uso interno, ovvero la cosiddetta la lingua dell'ordinariato, sia in relazione all'idioma adoperato nelle singole parrocchie. Le ragioni di questa mancanza di uniformità erano molteplici e dipendevano in primo luogo da tradizioni storiche, ma anche, soprattutto, da decisioni individuali, in particolare da parte dei vescovi. Inoltre, molti sacerdoti partecipavano attivamente al discorso linguistico (e nazionalistico) locale e i vescovi non giudicavano questa attività in maniera omogenea.

Parole chiave: Chiesa cattolica romana, storia austriaca, diversità linguistica, nazionalismo

INTRODUCTION

> *For the time being, Slavonic does not seem to be the provincially recognized language in heaven. Rieger and his comrades should urgently insist the Czech language to be introduced by compulsory decree as exclusive language of daily use in communication with the heavenly hosts.* (N.N., 21.08.1883, 4)

The introductory quote is taken from a short newspaper commentary about the emperor's birthday festivities in August 1883. It was printed in *Mährisches Tagblatt*, a German-language newspaper located in the bilingual (German and Czech) province of Moravia. The report targeted the language use during a celebration of the »local Slavic« military veterans' association[1]. The author argued that during the street parade on the way to church a »Slavic« march had been played. Only afterwards, in the church, a »German hymn« would have been sung. The author described the scenery for his reading audience in a cynical way. He criticized that German was not exclusively used. Recently, Christa Hämmerle called this kind of rhetoric to be of »German hegemonic« character and a »cultural-imperialist gesture« (Hämmerle, 2022, 513, 519). It was often applied by German nationalists in Austria when another language was used or more precisely when both locally recognized languages were used equally. The author also called on František Ladislav Rieger in a polemical way. He should ensure that not only in the Austrian state, but also in heaven, Czech should become the exclusive language of daily use. Rieger, born in 1818 in Bohemian Semil/Semily[2], was elected member of the Bohemian Diet and the *Abgeordnetenhaus* (Lower House) of the Austrian parliament, the *Reichsrat*. From 1897 he was also appointed member of the latter's Upper House (*Herrenhaus*) which meant designated by the emperor. Rieger was, of course, a national activist politician but in a way that his engagement for Czech representation within the Austrian state administration was seemingly finally ennobled.

The opening quotation involved wordplay on language administration in Habsburg Austria. Terms were used that contemporary readers were familiar with. The author, for example, used the term *Umgangssprache,* a term used in the Austrian census instead of mother tongue (Brix, 1982, 102f.). However, the author neglected that there might have been city dwellers involved who wanted to have both *landesübliche* (provincially recognized) languages used during the festivity. Overall, efforts to include all locally recognized languages during public state festivities, which the emperor's birthday was, was a regular practice all over the monarchy (van Drunen, 2019, 244–268). The opening comment demonstrates that especially in bi- and multilingual regions attention was paid on language use – who used when which language in a certain context and when not – regardless if the event took place in a state, private association or religious context.

The Austrian Roman Catholic (arch)dioceses (from here onwards referred to only as dioceses to ease reading) between 1867 and 1914 stretched from Lemberg/Lviv/Lwów, Krakow in the North and East, to Capodistria/Koper and Triest(e)/Trst in the South (Werner, 1888; Gottsmann, 2010). In most Austrian dioceses, (arch) bishops (from here onwards referred to only as bishops to ease reading) decided for the bulk autonomously when it came to the language use within their territory. What the correspondence among bishops and the bureaucratic work of ordinariates from across Habsburg Austria reveal is that diversity of language took an important place not only in the overall organization, but in the daily pastoral care in the parishes, hospitals, prisons and schools. Of course, not everywhere the same way. There were some dioceses that administered territories in which the population was more or less monolingual or better in the respective province only one language was recognized as *landesüblich*.

This article focuses on Habsburg Austria in Dualist times (1867–1914) and analyses how language diversity was administered and debated in the many dioceses and by the respective bishops and their ordinariates. It will show that they followed different approaches in recognizing languages, and that there was no uniform procedure established. I have separated this article into two major spheres: the language use in the administration of a diocese, and human resources.

LANGUAGE DIVERSITY AND THE ORGANISATION OF DIOCESES

Austrian provincial authorities were bound to legal regulations when it came to the recognition of languages in administrative affairs. In general, Article 19 of the fundamental law of the Austrian Constitution from 1867 granted citizens the right to use their language before state institutions (RGBl., 1867, 396). However, provincial constitutions limited this general right. First of all, the language had to be recognized locally. German had the status of a so called *landesübliche* language in almost all parts of Habsburg Austrian: Lower and Upper Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Salzburg, Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Trieste, Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Bukovina and Galicia. On the other hand, it had no such status in Dalmatia, Gorizia and Istria. Czech was one of the provincial languages in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia,

1 Cole gives a concise insight into the military veteran associations, not only into members, approach and organisational structures but also in what ways they appeared and were discussed in the public (Cole, 2014).

2 Place names appear in all provincially recognized languages at all times in alphabetical order.

Polish in Galicia and Silesia, Ruthenian in Galicia and Bukovina, Slovene in Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Trieste, Gorizia and Istria, Italian in Trieste, Gorizia, Tyrol, Istria and Dalmatia, Serbo-Croatian in Dalmatia and Istria and Romanian in Bukovina (Hugelmann & Boehm, 1934, 60; Brix, 1982). Second, a recognized language had to reach twenty percent of speakers in a community to be recognized. In addition, the implementation was characterized by many shortcomings. Citizens were regularly hindered in the use their language or to be understood (properly) by state authorities. Beside the practical side, the meaning of language use changed in the late nineteenth century. Historian Peter Urbanitsch is right when summing up that »language was no longer the primary means of communication, but rather a distinguishing feature for a group [that] desired to distinguish itself from the others« (Urbanitsch, 2011, 65).

According to Article 15 of the Austrian constitution's fundamental law, the language use within a diocese was an »internal affair« (RGBl., 1867, 396). Therefore, although Roman Catholic institutions were not addressed by Article 19, the politicization of language use affected the organization of spiritual life. However, the state, at least in my period of investigation, had a decisive say in some ecclesiastical matters, and many of them were (co-)decided by the emperor and his subordinated ministerial and provincial authorities. The Austrian Ministry for Religion and Education on top, after having consulted the provincial governors, was involved in payments from the religious funds (*Religionsfonds*) and in appointments of clergy to state institutions such as schools. Most appointments of bishops not only needed an imperial approval, but the emperor chose from a shortlist of three (Mischler & Ulbrich, 1905, 627). With regard to the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the state, Laurence Cole summed up that nineteenth century liberalism aiming at restricting the church, at the same time granted far reaching autonomy in some matters (Cole, 2000, 221). Therefore, not bound to Article 19, the Roman Catholic Church had to take the legal framework into account in order to avoid conflict with state authorities, and not to be accused by parishioners of neglecting their rights even more than the heavily criticized state. Many dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church were dependent on imperial, ministerial as well as provincial rules, and always had to consider the local debate on language use.

Language use in diocesan administration was multifaceted. Like the Austrian provincial administration, dioceses often distinguished between *innere* and *äußere Amtssprache*, the officially established internal and outgoing administrative language (Stourzh, 1985; Hugelmann & Boehm, 1934, 150–151). The term used in the Roman Catholic dioceses was language of the ordinariate.[3] Among the dioceses were some that at least officially recognized only one such as Linz, Salzburg and Vienna. All administered a territory located in provinces that recognized only one provincial language, German. There were also those, such as Bressanone/Brixen and Celovec/Klagenfurt, that recognized only one, although being part of bilingual provinces, Tyrol (German and Italian) and Carinthia (German and Slovene). Dioceses that recognized two ordinariate languages were Olomouc/Olmütz (Czech and German) and Trento/Trento (German and Italian) both stretching over bilingual provinces, Moravia (Czech and German), and Tyrol.[4] The latter used as administrative teminus technicus *Anteil* (partition/share).[5] These *Anteile* can be interpreted either as a bifurcation of the diocese by language or as a public demonstration of the equal status of both predominant languages within the diocesan territory.

In some cases, dioceses with only one ordinariate language became bilingual. This was the case for Marburg/Maribor, and Laibach/Ljubljana. Both used only German and only later introduced Slovene as second. When a diocese recognized more than one they had to take them into account in many areas of administration, including corresponding with hundreds of priests in that language, or accepting applications of young men to join the seminaries. This shift in the dominant language is clearly visible in the archival documents of the Marburg/Maribor diocese. When Slovene became allowed to be used in internal and official correspondence, from one month to another the overwhelmingly used language turned from German to Slovene. Language use in applications to join the seminary from the years 1882 and 1899 in comparison reveal that most letters were now addressed in Slovene and no longer in German (NAM-74 and NAM-33). In the period concerned there was even a debate to establish an entirely new diocese aiming at separating a so called monolingual territory from an otherwise bilingual area. The idea's *spiritus rector* was the papal nuncio in Vienna, who suggested to found a diocese of Cheb/Eger that should exclusively be of German language. This proposal met with fierce resistance from the Moravian and Bohemian bishops. Bishop Edvard Jan Brynych (Hradec Králové/Königgrätz) rejected the idea with the argument that dioceses should only be created out of pastoral needs, and not of national (Jonová, 2010, 76–85; Jonová 2015a, 161–173; Jonová, 2013, 35–43).

Recognizing more than one ordinariate language meant to take them into account in many areas of administration beside internal correspondence. Inscriptions and information signage on buildings and walls certainly had most publicity. Many former inscriptions on Roman

3 When the language use of the parishioners was targeted, regardless if it was *Ordinariatssprache* or not, the term *Volkssprache*, language of the people, was often used (cf. Gottsmann, 2010, 10).

4 DL, Bi/A9, Sch. 5, Fasz. 10a-c, Johannes Maria Gföllner, Participants of the Bishop Council in 1912.

5 As one example for the practice of *Anteil* (cf. Trienter Dioecesan-Blatt für den deutschen Antheil, Nr. 19, 1881).

Catholic facilities are no longer visible and can be traced only through annotations in sources or on images. I highlight here one example which is still visible. It is two signs on the parish church in Moravian Ostrau/Ostrava. On the left above the main entrance, the inscription in German with a Czech equivalent below reads: The construction of this church began on October 4, 1883. On the right side above the main entrance, the inscription continues, but now first in Czech, with German below: Completed and consecrated on March 3, 1889. In comparable cases, when public institutions had to decide upon language use on buildings, often the decision-making process was accompanied by a public debate (Scheer, 2022, 232–234). The more linguistically mixed a place was, the more frequently such negotiation processes might have occurred.

Outgoing printed material such as gazettes, circulars for priests, parish registers as well as public announcements such as posters on church walls and cemeteries also reflected the language use of a diocese. The diocesan newsletters and gazettes are particularly worthy of mention here. The languages used for the text clarify that there was no uniform approach.[6] In each diocese, authorities were running their own system, which sometimes changed during the investigated period. There were diocesan ordinariates that printed two versions, one edition in this language, one in the other. There were also dioceses where it seemed to have been decided not to divide the readership according to language use, and therefore to use both languages in a joint edition. The question arises of what was given more prominence, because it was always used first or above the other. Finally, a bilingual edition meant for the diocese that many more pages had to be printed and then sent to the entire diocesan area. These editions are usually twice as heavy as the others, which resulted in higher postal charges. In the archive of the Triest(e)/Trst announcements can be found that were published in even four languages. The bishop's pastoral letter from 1899 had a Croatian, German, Italian and Slovene version.[7] Archbishop Friedrich Egon von Fürstenberg (Olmütz/Olomouc) published his pastorals in what was seen as the most neutral language, Latin, but also in Czech and German (Jonová, 2015b, 116–117).

In addition to the use of languages, it is of interest if the content dealt with the diversity of languages, and if so, in which context. Historian Pieter M. Judson, who studied nationalisms in the late Habsburg Monarchy and their dynamics and actors, concludes about printed media: »Printed media sources tell the historian far more about their producers than about their subjects« (Judson, 2006, 182). This argument can also be applied to diocesan press products. An analysis of the diocesan press reveals that the topic has not been similarly prominent in all of them, not even among those overlooking linguistically mixed areas. In addition to personnel news and legal provisions, gazettes reported about conferences and provided texts for use in the parishes. In order to ensure, for example, that important contents were correctly reproduced according to episcopal decisions by all parish priests, texts to be read from the pulpit were often sent out in more than one language to ensure all versions were correct. For example, a pastoral letter issued by the ordinariate that addressed the clergy of the diocese of Budějovice/Budweis ended with the note: »This pastoral letter, written in both provincial languages, is not intended to be read to the people from the pulpit; it should, however, be communicated to the more educated laity.«[8] The use of language was also a repeated theme in the announcement of events and festivities. It is important whether there had always been equivalent events offered in the other language(s) and if, in the same number, or if there were official religious events that excluded the speakers of other language(s). For example, when in 1908 the Ordinariate Gazette of the above mentioned diocese announced spiritual exercises in its German edition, the offer targeted »priests of German language« and »men and male youth of German language« (N.N., 1908, 3). In contrast to many other comparable events of that time, where German priests and German men were usually addressed, it is noticeable that this formulation is more vague. It can be interpreted as referring to men who either speak German as their mother tongue or as a second language. If this wording was chosen intentionally, it could apply not only to persons of German nationality, but to all who spoke German.

The diocesan publications reveal that believers' language diversity was also a recurring theme. For example, the Bishop of Triest(e)/Trst-Capodistria/Koper, Andrej Šterk, took up the theme in his pastoral letter of 1899 and addressed it in four languages: »But where is this love and this holy peace today? We see hatred, discord and disunity, defamation and persecution among individuals, among families and among nations: people hate each other without knowing each other, for no other reason than because the other was born of a mother who spoke a different language.«[9]

Beside addressing an already ongoing conflict within their diocese that was connected to language use, publications reported about the events that either focused on the diversity or dealt with it to a certain degree. In 1898, a pastoral conference dealt with this topic: »How should the priest do pastoral care in nationally and confessionally mixed parishes?« The editors from the ordinariate of the diocese of Budějovice/Budweis showed a certain sensitivity for the theme when it was expressed at the beginning: »It is not easy to say which of the two sub-questions is more difficult, which more

6 A comparative analysis has been made easier since the Austrian National Library has digitised many of them: https://alex.onb.ac.at/
7 ADTC-AGPO, Fasc. 18, Pastoral of Bishop Andrej Maria Šterk, 1899.
8 AES-R, B 11, 9, II B 61, No. 19, »*Erlass des bischöflichen Ordinariates von Budweis an den Klerus der Diöcese*«, Pastorals, 8.7.1868.
9 ADTC-AGPO, Fasc. 18, Pastoral Letter of Bishop Andrej Maria Šterk, 1899.

important: for, on the one hand, agitation, passion and sensitivity make the national question an extremely delicate one, while, on the other hand, pastoral work in confessionally mixed parishes places the greatest conceivable demands on the priest.« This shows that the first question was not seen exclusively as one of ecclesiastical politics. It testifies to a certain pragmatism, but presupposed that the priests were also open to such an approach, because it was further stated:

> *How should the priest behave in nationally mixed parishes? With the exception of the hypocrite, the outward behaviour of every human being is an outflow of the inner attitude. The priest who has formed a correct view of himself and his relationship to the nationally mixed parish entrusted to him, in accordance with divine law, will therefore behave correctly in his pastoral work.* (N.N., 1899, 122–127)

The question arises, however, because it was so explicitly emphasized, whether this behavior was expected only in »nationally mixed« parishes or also in monolingual ones. Were priests in the latter allowed to devote more space to the national question or, to his own national convictions, according to his »inner attitude«? Overall, it is important to emphasize that the diversity of a diocese and its parishioners was not equally problematized everywhere at equal number and in the same way. It was less contentious in monolingual areas, but there is also difference between dioceses in multilingual provinces. The language diversity of believers was regularly brought up in, for example, Triest(e)/Trst and Olmütz/Olomouc, and almost never in Bressanone/Brixen and Celovec/Klagenfurt dioceses.

The diocese of Bressanone/Brixen is worth having a closer look. Here, the non-German language groups (beside Italian, also Ladin) were often marginalized (also intentionally), although this was often not done first hand by the highest church authorities, on top the bishops. This diocese stretched over the province of Tyrol that recognized German and Italian. There was another diocese located in the more Italian speaking parts of Tyrol, Trento/Trient, but also the Bressanone/Brixen territory was linguistically mixed. When large festivities were to take place, organizers from both dioceses had to ask the provincial governor in Innsbruck/Isprucco for permission. In 1909, the head of the committee successfully addressed governor Markus von Spiegelfeld to accept the announcement poster for the *Tiroler Landeskatholikentage* (Tyrolean Catholic Days). While the poster suggested – there was only a German version submitted – that it would be a joint Tyrolean event, in the internal letter the organisers made clear that the poster should only be used in *Deutsch-Tirol* (German-Tyrol). *Deutsch-Tirol* was not a term officially recognized by the state, but often used by German speaking organizers to refer to these parts headed by the diocese of Bressanone/Brixen, while Trento/Trient was responsible for so called *Welsch-Tirol* (the term Welsch refers to the Italian speaking population of Tyrol). Although both terms, Deutsch-Tirol and Welsch-Tirol, were often used in that period also in public, they totally neglected that in most places the population was mixed. The approved poster for the alleged joint *Tiroler Landeskatholikentage* therefore deliberately excluded Italian and Ladin Tyroleans of Roman Catholic faith. While the event itself was not organized by a diocese, bishops and many priests then appeared as honorary guests and lecturers during the days. The entire official program, also approved by the province, ended up in German language.[10] The *Tiroler Katholikentage* show that during religious festivities inclusion and exclusion were not at all only of diocesan responsibility, rather often an interplay between religious associations run by their members and the clergy. Similar to Tyrol, also the so called *Gesamtösterreichische Katholikentage* (All Austrian Catholic Days) were dominated by the German language.

Finally, even in the neighbouring German Empire authors recognized that the *Gesamtösterreichische Katholikentage* were »a fiction« and not joint at all, rather dominated by Catholics of German language. The other »nations« would have been only »indicated in welcoming speeches« held exclusively in German (Eckhardt, 1910, 229–230). In 1910 one of these, then called *Allgemeiner Katholikentag* (General Catholic Day), took place in Innsbruck/Isprucco with a tight program. There were bishops and delegates attending from outside Tyrol, among them from Gorica/Gorizia/Görz, Lemberg/Lviv/Lwow, Brno/Brünn and Linz. However, although there were plenty of lecturers invited, including Switzerland and Germany, there was seemingly only one official speech given in another language than German. It was the bishops' delegate from Laibach/Ljubljana, the priest Ignacij Žitnik, who gave his speech in German and in Slovene.[11] Approaches as recurrently demonstrated Roman Catholics all over Austria-Hungary not to be universal community, rather to consist of two separate groups with only a bishop in common.

To sum up: there was no uniformity in how Austrian dioceses dealt with language diversity, and how the other language group(s) were represented. The correspondence among bishops reveals that this was also not intended, neither informally nor that it has to be brought up during the regular meetings of the Austrian *Bischofskonferenz* (Episcopal Conference), a public cor-

10 TL-STV, Präs, 1909, box 787, Zl 2552, *Generalsekretär* Dominikus Dietrich to *Statthalterei*, 26. 04. 1909, as well as *Statthalter* Markus von Spiegelfeld, approval, 28. 04. 1909.

11 TL-STV, Präs, 1910, box 813, Zl 5734, *Allgemeiner Katholikentag*.

poration that existed since 1849. The *Bischofskonferenz*, however, when going through the minutes of the regular gatherings, reveal that handling linguistic diversity was only brought up rarely and was usually part of other issues such as school reform.[12] The correspondence among bishops reveals many of them were convinced that dioceses across Austria faced unparallel situations when it came to language use. In his letter to the archbishop of Olomouc, the archbishop of Prague argued for joint action within a *Bischofskonferenz*-meeting, because they would share comparable difficulties, »the North and the South« would not understand.[13] Only from the letters' context it becomes obvious that they two bishops were talking about language diversity. With North they probably meant Polish dominated Galicia, and with the south, in their view, the German dominated dioceses of Styria, Carinthia, and even Carniola, although all three held a large proportion of parishioners of Slovene mother tongue, and in the last they made up the overwhelming majority. The *Bischofskonferenz* was therefore also by its bishops not to be seen as the forum where to discuss – and even less agree – a joint agenda when it comes to the language use.

LANGUAGE DIVERSITY AND THE CLERGY

In the late 19th century, the staff of a diocese, when it came to higher and educated positions, consisted almost exclusively of priests. Priests worked in various spheres of a diocese and were able to exercise inclusion and exclusion of the other language group on a daily basis: in the administrative offices of the ordinariate, in the many parishes, schools, prisons, the military etc. It is therefore important how they were designated. The already discussed examples had in common that very often how the language policy of a diocese appeared in public was strongly related not only to the respective bishops, but on daily practice of the many priests.

The gazette of the Budějovice/Budweis diocese already cited earlier left no doubt what some bishops of linguistically diverse dioceses expected from their clergy: they should act as intermediaries between episcopal interests and the parishioners. When it comes to language disputes priests were seen to have the opportunity to either calm down and take over a unifying approach, or to become nationalist activists and therefore propagate dissimilarity. However, bishops were also priests about whom the emperor had a clear standpoint of how they should act and deal with language diversity. Finally, it was him who chose for most dioceses from a shortlist of three. Before such a shortlist was presented, the procedure to come to this final three names usually already started months ago, and went through many hands. In places where more than one language was used, this appointment process often met with a debate. Before the candidates were presented to the emperor, the Austrian Minister for Religion and Education worked on the proposal of the provincial governor. For this report, the provincial governor usually collected proposals from bishops of neighbouring dioceses. He was also responsible for collecting information about proposed candidates from police authorities. To these proposals often the phrase »political irreproachable and loyal conduct« was added to candidates' biographies.[14] Most often – when reading between the lines – the focus on this conduct was if someone had acted in a nationalist way. There was therefore already a selection process very early, so that what was usually sent to the ministry was only »politically correct« candidates.

Archival documents reveal that in linguistically diverse dioceses the question of a candidate's mother tongue and language skills dominated considerations of the suitable character of the candidate. When a new bishop for the diocese of Parenzo/Poreč-Pola/Pula was needed in 1913, the bishop of Laibach/Ljubljana, Anton Jeglić, addressed the head of the provincial government, Konrad Hohenlohe:

> *However, since a very Italian-minded priest has held the episcopal seat in Parenzo* [Poreč] *for 28 years, no injustice would be done to the Italians of this diocese, who make up only one third of the population, if a Slav were to be appointed. If, however, for any reason, the afore mentioned gentlemen* [his other proposals] *would not be acceptable, I take the liberty of proposing a pious, energetic and politically highly correct priest of my diocese, who is proficient in the Italian language, namely Dr. Franz Ušeničnik, professor of pastoral theology in Ljubljana.*[15]

Another example of how important the nationality issue and language skills were in the appointment of a bishop is that of Franz Xaver Nagl, later cardinal and archbishop of Vienna, whose first episcopal appointment was of multilingual Triest(e)/Trst-Capod'Istria/Koper. The k.k. Minister of Education and Religion, Wilhelm von Hartel, argued to Nagl as follows:

12 In the diocesan archives, the debates of the *Bischofskonferenz* can be usually found in the correspondence of the bishops and are not separated from other material. There is to be found the debate before a meeting when bishops came up with topics for discussion, the debate itself and the printed minutes afterwards.

13 ZAOPO-AO, Inv. c. 3566, BA 27, box 1550, Correspondence 1857–1915, Franz Schönborn, archbishop of Prague, to Friedrich Fürstenberg, archbishop of Olmütz/Olomouc, 03. 11. 1888, 16.

14 ÖSTA-AVA-NK, Sg. 11, Kt. 111, Dioceses in Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Littoral, Istria, Trieste and the archdiocese of Gorica/Gorizia/Görz (1888–1918), Konv. »*Domherren Capodistria*«, governor of Triest(e)/Trst to Minister of Religious and Educational Affairs, 21. 11. 1987.

15 NAL-ABJ, 331, 4, Jeglič to Hohenlohe, 18. 01. 1913.

On the other hand, I am still of the opinion that Your Reverence, because of Their German origin and the fact that They do not belong to or are not beholden to any of the parties represented in this diocese, but can take a complete and unbiased position on all claims, would safeguard the highly important interests of the Catholic Church in the administration of this diocese to an extent that would not be the case with the other priests who are eligible for this office.[16]

By parties, exclusively nationalities defined by language use and those who claimed to be their representatives, are targeted, and not, for example, internal church differences, as Péter Techet describes them in his book. In his introduction, Techet gives an example of the same diocese, but from the experience of another bishop who complained that he faced complaints from all sides – the Croats accused him of favouring the Italians and vice versa (Techet, 2021, 19). Thus, Hartel's fears were not groundless. Since Nagl spoke only German and Italian of the four predominant languages, Hartel informed him simultaneously with the emperor's decision that his appointment would be made only on condition that »Your Reverence submits a request to the Holy See to appoint an auxiliary bishop of Slavic nationality.«[17] In one of his replies, however, Nagl pointed out that the appointment of an auxiliary bishop or vicar on grounds of nationality »would possibly entail the danger of a division of the diocese into two parts.«[18] The appointments of bishops show clearly that, especially in dioceses of more than one language, all those involved were highly aware of how sensitive the selection had to be: language skills were taken into consideration, but also a candidate's (supposed to be) nationality.

Since the clergy dominated in the implementation of episcopal (political) interests, it is of interest how attempts were made in linguistically diverse dioceses to ensure having sufficient priests with language skills available. Archival research has shown that many bishops were generally keen to make already their seminarians multilingual so that the priests could be then deployed anywhere after ordination. Jitka Jonová describes the organization of Bohemian and Moravian seminaries and the Bohemian College in Rome. She points out special rules for internal communication. The young men were obliged to communicate only in German on one day of the week and in Czech on another by adding Latin as a third colloquial language (Jonová, 2021, 82–98). This seems to have been a cautious maneuver due to local language diversity, an effort not to marginalize one language and to ensure enough priests available who were language skilled. However, there were also dioceses where parishioners were bilingual, which did not seem to pursue such a policy. This was drastically demonstrated after the First World War and the plebiscite of 1920 when many Slovene speaking priests no longer lived in Austrian but became Yugoslav citizens (Grafenauer, 2019, 121–141). The correspondence between the head of the seminary and the bishop reveals that suddenly there was a shortage of priests who spoke Slovene in addition to German. It was made clear more than once that before 1918 no attempt was made to offer obligatory Slovene courses in the seminary,[19] not to mention a system as highlighted above for Moravian and Bohemian dioceses.

Even those dioceses that recognized only one language had to deal with other domestic languages on their territory, although they were not provincially recognized, sometimes in increasing numbers. The language use of the population changed, in some cases drastically, in the course of the late 19th century, most often due to strong internal labor migration (Steidl, 2015, 379). Ultimately, these dioceses had to ensure that sufficient pastoral care was provided for the newly arrived. Beside parishioners, also clergy migrated. From time to time there were shortages in priests, why bishops accepted clergy from other dioceses. Borut Klabjan points to Moravian and Bohemian priests of Czech native tongue employed in Istria (Klabjan, 2022, 1059). German native speakers changed territory too. In any way, some of these priests brought their often locally influenced prejudices towards other languages to another province. Therefore, bishops also tried to sort out those who were already seem to have an unwelcomed national behaviour. However, how bishops judged language patriotism and nationalism was very different. In any case, national behavior of priests was given space in the argumentation for acceptance and refusal, although their language skills were (often desperately) needed. The correspondence between the minister for Religion and Education and the Bishop of Linz, Ernst Maria Müller, shows this. The latter rejected the proposal to appoint the rector of the so called German national church Santa Maria dell'Anima in Rome, the Bohemian-born Karel Jaenig (in German language sources referred to as Karl Jänig), as parish priest in a Czech-speaking parish in Linz, arguing:

I must not fail to mention that there is a small Bohemian parish in Linz with the church of St. Martin; so far there has been peace between

16 AEW-BN, Hartel to Nagl, undated.
17 AEW-BN, Hartel to Nagl, 08. 01. 1902.
18 AEW-BN, Nagl to Hartel, 11. 02. 1902.
19 ADG-S, 102, Konv. Priesterhaus, Slowenische Sprachkurse, 1920–1921.

> *Germans and Bohemians, although recently there has been no lack of attempts by Czech intruders from afar to stir up the peaceful Linz Bohemians by forming a Czech national association and the like. If Monsignor Jänig should come to Linz, it is reasonable to assume that, overcome by his well-known national feeling, he would want to lay claim to this community in a way that would certainly not serve peace and consequences would be regrettable in any case.*[20]

Jaenig did not get the job. He was appointed to a parish next to Prague after his post in Rome had ended (Scheer, 2020, 71–72). As with the considerations of other situations, however, it must always be kept in mind that disputes and conflicts are far less common in the sources than the probably countless other situations in which no friction occurred. Therefore, it is important to mention these unrecorded situations in the analysis as well.

What happened to priests who refused to use the other language for nationalist reasons is of additional interest. Beside parishioners' complaints sent to the bishops and their ordinariates or reports in the local press (of which diocesan archives hold strong record, see recently analysed by: Techet, 2022), there was a moment in diocesan events that could have revealed such behavior in large scale, the *Visitationes*. The servant of the Viennese archbishop Gottfried Marschall meticulously recorded in his diary his bishop's visitation in monolingual Lower Austrian parishes. The many situations on the occasion of these episcopal visits to their territory show clearly the importance of language use – were it the speeches given by the local elite, the bishop's addresses, or the language used during the accompanying interrogation of the local children (Loidl, 1978; Sonnleitner, 2014, 122). These reports, depending on the bishops, were sometimes very lengthy. Jan Bernot mentioned the ones of bishop Jeglič (Laibach/Ljubljana) who meticulously differentiated between the political and social situation of a parish's locality (Bernot, 2016, 19–21). In the case of multilingual parishes, the question of language domination and marginalization had been of much greater importance, not only through the language use of those acting on the spot during the visitation, but also whether parishioners approached the bishop with complaints. However, the parishioners often had a great say in accepting or refusing a proposed parish priest suggested by the bishop. Parishes often belonged to estate owners, municipalities or even state institutions. Locals therefore often occupied important financial and organisational posts, including, for example, the church patrons, usually a landowner or landlord on whose property the parish was located, and the church fathers, an elected or appointed representative of the parish, who, together with the parish priest, were responsible for overlooking the property, collecting revenue and disbursing expenditure, as well as keeping the accounts (Loidl, 1978, 8). Techet in his micro historical study analyses meticulously how parishioners in the multilingual Austrian Littoral tried to get rid of unwanted priests, who had been already appointed by their bishops to take over a parish (Techet, 2021). It was therefore of importance, how carefully a bishop designated a priest, and if he fitted into the local language situation.

Priests came from a broad social and political spectrum, reflecting all shades of opinion: from »nationally indifferent«, who did not associate their own nationality with all decisions and often tended to treat all languages equally, often speaking more than one language themselves, to »nationalist activists« who, for example, openly refused to learn another language or provide pastoral care in another language, even though they spoke it (Judson, 2006; Zahra, 2010, 93–199). Regardless of their political opinion, Roman Catholic clergy often found themselves already at the forefront of a local language discourse. Even more, many among the Roman Catholic clergy did not focus only on spiritual work in the parishes, rather were very active in politics and therefore visible in the Habsburg Austrian public sphere. They took part in the public political discourse, because many of them were elected delegates in the provincial diets or even in the *Reichsrat*. In one of the new mass parties, the Christian Socialist, overwhelmingly dominated by members of German nationality, priests had been at the forefront and they often followed a German nationalistic rhetoric (Cole, 2000, 184). From the many examples of political clergy, I highlight here only two who stemmed from neighbouring regions: Ignacij Žitnik and Lambert Ehrlich. Žitnik was a member of the Lower House of the *Reichsrat*. He was already mentioned earlier, as having been the only delegate who gave his speech in another language than German at the *Katholikentag*. Of Slovenian nationality, he publicly advocated that German remain the lingua franca in the Austro-Hungarian army (Stergar, 2020, 217–233). Also of Slovene nationality was Lambert Ehrlich (diocese of Gurk/Krka-Celovec/Klagenfurt), who openly advocated the Slovene nation and published writings, including, for example, the anonymously published »*Aus dem Wilajet Kärnten*« (From the Vilajet of Carinthia, 1913 together with the Carniolan politician Janko Brejc). With the meaningful title, the authors, according to historian Marija Wakounig, alluded to »Ottoman conditions in Carinthia, degrading the Habsburg crown land to an Ottoman province« and thus hinting at foreign rule (Wakounig, 2020, 197). However, these two, although both of Slovene native tongue, looked back on a totally

20 ÖSTA-HHSTA-MDÄ-AR, F26, Nationalinstitute, Konv. Anima in Rom, Letter from Ernst Maria Müller, bishop of Linz, to Austrian minister of educational and religious affairs, 28. 01. 1887.

different socialisation within their dioceses' territories. Slovene native speakers dominated Carniola, while in Carinthia Slovene speakers were often marginalized by provincial administration and the diocese alike. »Ottoman conditions« allude to that, they allude to the fact that linguistic rights guaranteed by Article 19 were habitually ignored in Carinthia.

An analysis of the clergy's biographies and their arguments advocated in the public reveals that a unifying approach expected by some of the bishops was not shared by all of them. This became even more apparent, because of their status as part of the local intelligentsia and urban notables, i.p. because religion played an important role in the everyday life of the population. Especially in rural areas and smaller towns, much of social life took place in or with the participation of church institutions or the many religious associations that were often divided along language lines. The diocesan archive of Gurk/Krka-Celovec/Klagenfurt holds strong records of religiously connected associational live in the second half of the nineteenth century from all over Carinthia. They show that most of these efforts had been divided along language lines, there was a publishing house closely connected to the diocese that published in German, and later one was founded that focused on Slovene. Seemingly, one of the few associations that aimed at including both languages equally, was the *Abstinenzverein im Priesterseminar* (the Seminary's Abstinence Club).[21] Especially in smaller villages with only a limited number of associations, if one was unable to participate or contribute because one did not speak the language or the priest refused to use the other language, one was excluded from pastoral care and often from social life as a result. Laurence Cole, however, provides many examples for Tyrolean parishes where the population expected that kind of politicization from their priests, not only in diverse but also in linguistically more homogenous regions (Cole, 2000). In general, and this becomes obvious in each diocese, regardless if there was one or more languages recognized. Blurred were the lines between what was praising someone's own culture and its achievements, and when it became nationalistic.

The distinctive line between what was referred to in German language to be *Heimatliebe* (love of the homeland) and nationalism was blurred between a diocese's official standpoint in regard of the language use, and the priests' behavior in the public. Under the pretext of the term *Heimat* (homeland) many priests of German nationality published and became well known novelists and poets. An illustrious figure, although he met with others from other nationality background, was the well-known so called *Heimatdichter* Bruder Willram which was finally a nom de plume for the priest Anton Müller (born 1870 in Tyrolean Bruneck/Brunico).[22] His poems, sermons, speeches, publications, even postcard texts, used German excessively when they were about the Tyrolean population, history and culture. He used it to such an extent that it suggested to readers that there had been no autochthonous Italian- and Ladin-speaking Tyroleans in that period (Schnaiter, 2002). Finally, it was up to the bishops to judge whether this kind of rhetoric and engagement was living one's own culture or already stretched in nationalism. But even these priests who were not openly following such an approach, meaning to openly highlight the value of their own language whenever possible, often mentioned language use in their publications. They did not only in a religious/pastoral context, but also what role their native tongue played in the general and in the regional Habsburg nationality discourse (Scheer, 2022).

CONCLUSION

Many Austrian Roman Catholic bishops looked on more than one language spoken within their territories, and had to find a way of how to administer this diversity fairly. What became apparent is that there was no uniform approach. It is therefore not possible to speak of *the* Roman Catholic Church. Language politics differed on all levels: from the internal language use, the so called ordinariate language, that was applied in a diocese's official correspondence, to publications like gazettes and pastorals, and signage on buildings. When it came to provide enough linguistically skilled priests in the many parishes, dioceses also followed different approaches. They ranged from bilingual seminaries to not even offer language classes in the other language. However, bishops had to carefully avoid complaints about grievances, which in the worst case became open conflicts, got out of hand.

There was more than one reason for the variety of the Roman Catholic Church in Habsburg Austria when it stressed language politics. Beside so called historical traditions to use only one local language, most importantly it was individuals acting. On top were the bishops. Most Austrian bishops were chosen from a shortlist of three by the emperor, who carefully watched over a candidate's linguistic suitability (was it native tongue or later acquired skills), and his political reliability (mostly connected to nationalism). However, it usually were local bishops who first came up with candidates. Beside bishops, it was, however, the many priests who actively took part in local (nationalist) language discourse. Bishops often judged their activity differently. What was in one diocese seen to be language nationalism, was in the other downplayed to be only *Heimatliebe*.

21 ADG-S, Konv. Büchereiwesen/Akademie-Eröffnung, Presse, Alumna, Statuten des Abstinenzvereins im Priesterseminar zu Klagenfurt, 08. 03. 1914.

22 The *Forschungsinstitut-Brennerarchiv* at University of Innsbruck holds a comprehensive collection of Bruder Willram's writings, including sermons and speeches.

NEENOTNOST CERKVE: JEZIKOVNA RAZNOLIKOST V RIMOKATOLIŠKIH ŠKOFIJAH ZADNJEGA OBDOBJA HABSBURŠKE AVSTRIJE

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POVZETEK

Mnogi avstrijski rimokatoliški škofje so na ozemlju svojih škofij imeli opravka z več kot enim jezikom in so morali najti način, kako pravično upravljati to raznolikost. Seveda enotnega pristopa ni bilo in ga tudi ni moglo biti. Jezikovna politika v rimokatoliških škofijah se je hkrati oblikovala na več ravneh, in ne samo na ravni notranjejezikovne rabe tako imenovanega škofijskega jezika, ki so ga uporabljali v uradni korespondenci škofije (npr. v škofijskih publikacijah ter oznakah na stavbah). Tudi ko je bilo treba v številnih župnijah zagotoviti dovolj jezikovno usposobljenih duhovnikov, so škofije sledile različnim pristopom – od upravljanja dvojezičnih semenišč do tega, da se določena škofija ni ozirala na večjezičnost in torej ni niti ponujala jezikovnih tečajev v drugem jeziku za semeniščnike, duhovnike idr. Pri tem so morali škofje paziti, da nezadovoljstvo, ki je v najslabšem primeru preraslo v odprti konflikt, ne bi ušlo izpod nadzora. Ko govorimo o jezikovni politiki, lahko naštejemo več razlogov za neenotne prakse rimokatoliške cerkve v habsburški Avstriji. Poleg tradicionalne uporabe samo enega lokalnega jezika, so veliko vlogo odigrale odločitve določenih posameznikov, predvsem škofov, ki jih je iz ožjega nabora treh izbral cesar. Poleg škofov pa so v cerkvi seveda delovali tudi številni duhovniki, ki so prav tako uvajali in sodelovali v različnih jezikovnih praksah.

Ključne besede: rimokatoliška cerkev, Avstrija, jezikovna raznolikost, nacionalizem

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»A CARNIOLAN ALSO LEARNS LATIN AND FRENCH AT GRAMMAR SCHOOL«: FRANCE IN THE LIGHT OF THE ARTICLES OF THE LJUBLJANA GERMAN WEEKLY NEWSPAPER FOR BENEFIT AND AMUSEMENT

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ABSTRACT

This article deals with the Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, the weekly for »benefit and amusement« which was published in German in Ljubljana from 1804 to 1810 and from 1814 to 1818, and focuses on how France was represented in the articles. The analysis examines the period before the establishment of the Illyrian provinces in the autumn of 1809 and the publications after the end of the Illyrian provinces and the fall of Napoleon. We are interested in how much interest there was in French culture before the French interregnum and after the territory came back under Austrian rule, and how this was reflected in the publications in the newspaper under consideration.

Keywords: *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, Illyrian provinces, Georg Stadelmann, Franz Xaver Richter, Napoleon Bonaparte, France in newspaper articles

»AL GINNASIO, I CARNIOLINI IMPARANO ANCHE IL LATINO E IL FRANCESE«: LA FRANCIA ALLA LUCE DEGLI ARTICOLI DEL SETTIMANALE TEDESCO LUBIANESE DELL'UTILE E DEL DILETTEVOLE

SINTESI

Il contributo presenta il settimanale dell'utile e dilettevole Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, pubblicato a Ljubljana in tedesco tra il 1804 e il 1810 e ancora dal 1814 al 1818, concentrandosi sulla presentazione della Francia negli articoli. L'analisi si focalizza sul periodo prima dell'istituzione delle Province Illiriche nell'autunno del 1809 e dopo la fine delle Province Illiriche e dopo la caduta di Napoleone. Più precisamente, l'obiettivo è di verificare l'interesse per la cultura francese prima dell'interregno francese e dopo, quando il territorio passò nuovamente sotto il dominio austriaco, e come tale interesse si riflettesse sugli articoli pubblicati nel detto settimanale.

Parole chiave: *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, Province Illiriche, Georg Stadelmann, Franz Xaver Richter, Napoleone Bonaparte, la Francia negli articoli di giornale

INTRODUCTION[1]

The *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* (Ljubljana Weekly for Benefit and Amusement) appeared in Ljubljana between 1804 and 1810 as a cultural and literary supplement to the official German newspaper *Laibacher Zeitung* (Ljubljana Newspaper). It was discontinued during the Napoleonic Illyrian provinces, but then reappeared in 1814. It was printed under this name until the end of 1818, when it was replaced by a new newspaper called *Illyrisches Blatt* (Illyrian Magazine), which was also an educational and entertaining supplement to the *Laibacher Zeitung*, and was published until 1849. When the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was launched in 1804, it was the first newspaper of its kind in Ljubljana that did not publish political news, but rather texts on domestic issues, culture, literature, theatre as well as educational and entertainment content, mostly biographical sketches of important personalities and various anecdotes of a more or less amusing nature. The specific content of the newspaper makes it an interesting source for cultural, historical, comparative, literary-historical, Germanistic and other research.[2] In the present work, the focus of interest is on those articles in the »Ljubljana Weekly for Benefit and Amusement« that are in some way related to French culture and society, and we are particularly interested in how the weekly wrote about France, the French language, famous or illustrious personalities, and other topics related to France, in the period before the establishment of the Illyrian provinces and after 1813, when the end of Napoleon was drawing ever closer.

The period in which the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was published was marked by the French interregnum. The Illyrian provinces were established on October 14, 1809 by a decree of Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821) and included the present-day Tyrol, western Carinthia, part of Dalmatia, the so-called »Military Frontier«, Carniola, Gorizia, Trieste and Istria, territories that had previously belonged to the Austrian Empire. The governor general of the provinces was based in Ljubljana, which also became the capital of the provinces (cf. Kalc, 2010; Šumrada, 2010). The new French rule brought many changes. With regard to newspapers, for example, it meant that German newspapers stopped publishing and were replaced by French ones. The attitude of the local population towards the French occupation varied from province to province. The upper class and the educated elite in Carniola welcomed the arrival of the French, mainly because they respected cultural autonomy and the Slovene language; the peasants, who suffered considerable loss of income with this change, made no secret of their disappointment; and the bourgeoisie quickly became accustomed to the new social customs and were enthusiastic about the occasional parades, boat trips on the Ljubljanica, French language and culture, and the care that was shown for the urban poor (Šumrada, 2010, 24–29). The Enlightenment poet, priest, translator, teacher, and editor Valentin Vodnik (1758–1819) is also known for welcoming the establishment of the provinces with his poem *Ilirija oživljena* (*Ilirija Revived*).

After the defeat of France, the Illyrian provinces were reincorporated into the Austrian Empire at the Congress of Vienna in 1814 and – with the exception of Dalmatia and part of Croatia – formed their own administrative unit, the Kingdom of Illyria (*Königreich Illyrien*), between 1816 and 1849. The *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen in Vergnügen*, which had stopped in 1810, was then published once again.

JOURNALISM IN LJUBLJANA IN THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 19TH CENTURY

To put the appearance of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* in a temporal context, it should be mentioned that the first printed newspaper to reach its readers in Slovene was the *Lublanske Novize* (Ljubljana News), which was published between 1797 and 1800 by Valentin Vodnik (Vidmar, 2023, 34–39; on the history of Slovene newspaper publishing, cf. Vatovec, 1961; Amon & Erjavec, 2011; Nežmah, 2012). German periodicals, however, were published in Ljubljana even before that. The first German newspaper of informative character, the *Wochentliche Ordinari – Laybacher Zeitungen* (Weekly Ordinary – Ljubljana Newspapers), was printed as early as 1707–1709 in the printing house of Johann Georg Mayr (c. 1675–1733). The newspaper appeared irregularly, as news arrived late in Ljubljana, and by the time it was finally printed it was already very outdated (Vatovec, 1961, 53–54). In the second half of the 18th century, in 1765, the tradition of Mayr's printing house in Ljubljana was continued by Johann Friedrich Eger (c. 1735–1799). In 1775 and 1776, the weekly newspaper of the Carniola Agricultural Society, the *Wochentliches Kundschaftsblatt des Herzogthum Krain* (Weekly Reporter of the Duchy of Carniola), was printed by Eger and probably edited by Baltazar Hacquet (c. 1735–1815), a French-born naturalist, physician and ethnologist (Žigon, 2003; Žigon, 2023). At the end of the 18th century several new printing houses were opened in Ljubljana,

1 The authors acknowledge the financial support from the Slovenian Research Agency (research core funding No. P6-0265).

2 For more on French views on the cultural, economic, and artistic development and contacts between the Eastern Adriatic Slavs in the 18th and 19th centuries, see, for example, Scandola (2020, 379–396); for problems of translation for specific purposes see, for example, Udovič (2023).

I

Laibacher Wochenblatt.

Zum Nutzen und Vergnügen.

Als Zugabe zur Edel von Kleinmayerschen Laibacher Zeitung.

Geschichte eines Wassermanns in ältern Zeiten.

ey Gelegenheit einer Aufforderung im patriotischen Tageblatte.

Der bey seiner Gefangennehmung unbekannt ebliebene, bey seiner Entwischung aber berühmt ewordene junge Wassermann im Neusiedler-e dessen physische Existenz zwar durch glaub-ürdige Zeugnisse außer Zweifel gesetzt wurde, essen organische Beschaffenheit aber erst dann cientifisch beschrieben werden wird, wenn man hn zum drittenmale fängt, erregte wie billig ie größte Verwunderung aller Gläubigen (d. . die an ihn glaubten, denn trotz dem sceptischem Tageblattscorresondenten wollen wir uns vor der Hand noch nicht leichtgläubig schelten assen) und machte selbst den Ungläubigen ihr Kopfschütteln doch sehr bedenklich.

Es ist deßwegen sehr zu verwundern, daß bisher noch keine Geschichte der Wassermänner wenigstens in nuce ans Licht getreten ist, denn auf dem weitem Erdenrunde geschieht sonst heut zu Tage nichts neues, wo nicht ein Polyhistor (Registerleser, Bücherwurm) irgend eine leichtauszulegende Paralellstelle aufspürte, und ad paginam et lineam citirte, daß es schon einmahl da gewesen. Vorzüglich ist es die Pflicht emsiger Journalisten, so wie etwas ungewöhnliches einiges Aufsehen erregt, die Register lebendiger, und todter Chroniken zu Rathe zu ziehen, und alles was auf diesen Gegenstand nur entfernten Bezug hat, ihren Lesern als frische Originalkost aufzutischen. So gierig sonst auch diese Herren über jede Gelegenheit herfallen, das gegenwärtige hübsch obenhin mit dem vergangenen vergleichen zu können, (z. B. bey einigen schönen Tägen zur Winterszeit gleich an den Fingern herzuzählen, anno tali sey die Witterung die nähmliche gewesen) so unterließen sie es bey der Wassermannsgeschichte dennoch gänzlich, ältere Beyspiele auch nur von der entferntesten Ähnlichkeit aufzuführen. Niemand wollte etwas von Wassermännern gehört, oder gelesen haben, und bereits wäre dieser Phoenix von einem menschlichen Amphybium vergessen, hätte nicht ein Corresondent des patriotischen Tageblattes den glücklichen Einfall gehabt, belesene und gereiste *) Naturforscher aufzufordern, die Sache scientivisch zu behandeln, und durch genaue Beschreibung und Abbildung das Thier quaestionis bekannt zu machen, indem er nähmlich glaubt, daß diese Geschichte uns im Auslande prostituiren werde. Klug gesprochen! um eine genaue scientivische Beschreibung und Abbildung

*) Wie weit muß man denn in der Fremde herum gewandert seyn, um als ein gereister Mann von Wassermännern sprechen zu können?

Figure 1: Front page of the first issue of the first volume of the Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, published on March 1, 1804 (DLiB, 2023a).

namely those of Kleinmayr, Merk and Degotardi (on this, cf. Dular, 2002, 91–184). In 1783, Ignaz Alois Kleinmayr (1745–1802) began publishing the *Wöchentlicher Auszug von Zeitungen* (Weekly Excerpt from Newspapers), which was renamed *Laibacher Zeitung* the following year and appeared until the end of World War I, with the last issue printed on October 28, 1918. It should be noted that at the beginning of the 19th century Kleinmayr's publication was not the only newspaper in the city that published daily and political news. Similar newspapers printed by Kleinmayr's competitors also appeared in Ljubljana, but the printers simply called their newspapers *Laibacher Zeitung*, adding only their own names before the title: the *Merkische Laibacher Zeitung* (1788–1797), the *Degotardische Laibacher Zeitung* (1799–1800), and the *Leopold Egerische Laibacher Zeitung* (1800–1807). In 1807, Kleinmayr and Eger joined forces and published a joint newspaper under the title *Vereinigte Edel von Kleinmayr'sche und Leopold Eger'sche Laibacher Zeitung*. In 1810, in view of the establishment of the Illyrian provinces, this was renamed *Vereinigte Laibacher Zeitung* (United Ljubljana Newspaper), with the title *Illyrische Provinz* (Illyrian Province) stretched above this (on competing editions, cf. Žigon, 2011, 297–316). The editor of the renamed newspaper was Franc Peesenegger (c. 1762–1841), a pro-French schoolmaster from Bavaria. However, even though the newspaper was pro-French, its days were numbered by the turn of the year 1811. The French began publishing their own public information paper, the *Télégraphe officiel des Provinces illyriennes*[3] (Official Telegraph of the Illyrian Provinces), but since they could not attract enough subscribers the *Laibacher Zeitung* was simply discontinued (Tavzes, 1929, 12). It was only after the end of the Napoleonic Wars that the newspaper regained its readership and finally became the *Laibacher Zeitung* in 1821, printed in Kleinmayr's workshops.

At the beginning of the 19th century, two German newspapers with the same name of *Laibacher Zeitung* were published in Ljubljana, the first in Eger's printing house and the second in Kleinmayr's. In 1804, Kleinmayr's newspaper received its own supplement, the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*,[4] a newspaper for »benefit and amusement«. Eger's newspaper had a similar literary supplement, the *Anhang der Laibacher Zeitung* (Appendix to the Ljubljana Newspaper), which had some similarities to Kleinmayr's weekly, but there are only a few surviving issues, mostly from 1807.[5]

GEORG STADELMANN AND THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF THE *WOCHENBLATT*

Georg Stadelmann (c. 1780–1879), who was not from Carniola, became editor and publisher of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*. He was born in Bregenz on Lake Constance, received his education in Constance and Innsbruck (Supantschitsch, 1807, n.p.), and came to Ljubljana from Graz, where he had previously studied, edited the literary supplement of a newspaper for Inner Austria, and had been a trainee in the Lyceum Library since April 1802 (Wurzbach, 1878, 321). We know nothing about his earlier activity as a book printer, but he probably devoted himself more to the book trade than to printing (Berčič, 1968, 81), and he also collected incunabula, woodcuts, and compiled lists of old prints from Ljubljana (Supantschitsch, 1807, n.p.; Kidrič, 1929–1938, 385; Logar, 2013). A series of coincidences ensured that Stadelmann came to Ljubljana at the right time: Kleinmayr's wife, Tekla Kleinmayr, born Lieber (Berčič, 1968, 74), to whom her deceased husband left the management of the print shop in the mid-1790s, was looking for a tenant for the print shop and found him in Stadelmann. She entrusted him with the business at the beginning of 1804 and, after his early death in 1807, briefly took the management back into her own hands.

When Stadelmann became the tenant of the printing house, he also took over the editorship of the *Laibacher Zeitung* and began publishing its supplement *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* in March. The young Stadelmann hoped to gain new subscribers from this, and the decision to publish a supplement was certainly also related to the fact that Stadelmann was literarily gifted and, according to Wurzbach (1878, 322), had already published at least one book, and that he had experience producing a newspaper from his time in Graz. The *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was a kind of literary-scientific supplement to the politically tinged *Laibacher Zeitung*, which pursued enlightenment goals: it imparted knowledge to readers, brought them closer to important events and personalities from local history as well as from abroad, while at the same time the

3 The *Télégraphe officiel des Provinces illyriennes* appeared in French, alongside it in Italian and later in German, while the planned Illyrian edition was apparently never printed (Gaudillere, 2006, 386–388).

4 Some volumes of the newspaper, namely 1804–1805 and 1814–1818, are freely accessible in the Digital Library of Slovenia (DLiB), while the remaining volumes are kept in the library of the National Museum of Slovenia (call no. 1837), but some of them are incomplete, as are those in the DLiB.

5 The preserved issues are kept in the library of the National Museum in Ljubljana and are attached to the 1807 volume of Eger's newspaper.

texts sought to entertain the readership with short, biting epigrams, aphorisms and anecdotes. Stadelmann also pursued the goal of publishing local history articles from Carniola and the wider Austrian region.[6]

Stadelmann also quickly made friends with figures from the Slovene revival in Ljubljana, including Johann Anton Suppantschitsch (1785–1833), professor of history, geography, mathematics, natural sciences, physics, and Greek at the grammar school in Celje, as well as a writer, historian, and travel writer (more on him in Janko, 1999, 59–68). Suppantschitsch soon became a contributor to Stadelmann's newspaper, and he was joined by Franz Anton Breckerfeld (1740–1807), who collected lexical material (Slovene names of plants, birds, and fish), Slovene proverbs, and expressions for various occupations, e.g., weaving, ploughing, etc. (Grum, 2013), and together with Suppantschitsch they published a series of articles in instalments in the first volume of the paper under the joint title *Fragmente aus der Geschichte von Krain* (Fragments from the History of Carniola). Stadelmann's correspondence also reveals that Baron Žiga (Sigismundus) Zois and Valentin Vodnik influenced the content of his weekly (Kidrič, 1929–1938, 385; on the content of the supplement, cf. Žigon, 2001, 77–78).

Stadelmann, of course, did not only publish texts on local, Carniolan topics. As early as the first issue of 1804, he had his newspaper print a rejoinder to an article in the Prague newspaper *Prager Zeitung* about how to make friends with neighbouring peoples while learning their languages. The author of the Prague article suggested that the best measure would be for neighbouring nations to exchange their children with each other so that they could quickly learn a foreign language in both school and daily communication. He cited examples on the Czech-German border and in Switzerland as good practice. Stadelmann states that he finds the idea morally reprehensible, since it raises the question of how old the exchanged children would be, how the families with whom they would live would be chosen, what would happen to children who desperately needed parents, etc., but concludes that a German father could not care less whether his French or German child is returned to him, and that such fraternisation could only mean turning both peoples into characterless hermaphrodites (Stadelmann, 1804, n.p.). Stadelmann, who in the article proves to be a strong advocate of Austrian and German patriotism, concludes his reflections with an ironic rhetorical question by saying that Carniola borders on Italy and Croatia, and therefore asks the Prague author with which nation the Carniolans should exchange their youth with (Stadelmann, 1804, n.p.).

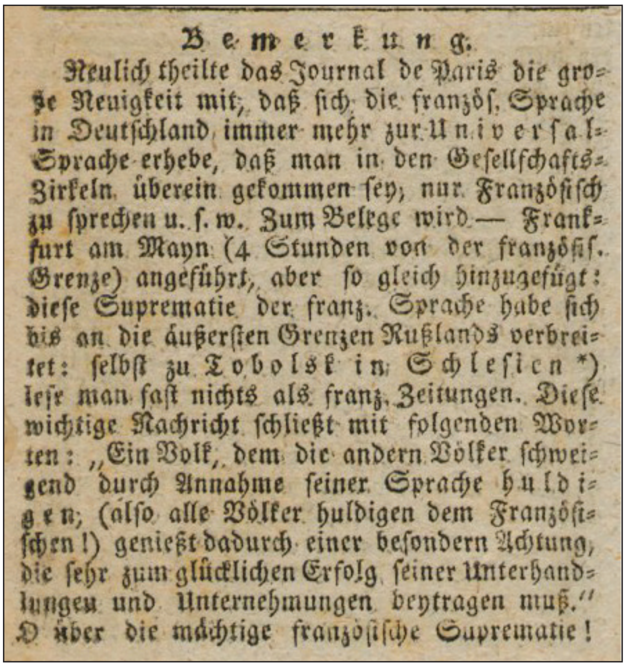
In the tenth issue of the first volume of the paper, an unsigned author, perhaps the editor Stadelmann himself, presented a book by Joseph Rohrer (1769–1828) on the Slavic population of the Danube Monarchy (Rohrer, 1804) under the title *Völkerbeschreibung der* österreichischen *Monarchie* (Description of the Peoples of the Austrian Monarchy). This article was a kind of review, which was continued in the following three issues. In his review, the reviewer specifically presented those chapters from Rohrer's book that dealt with Carniola and its inhabitants. He agreed with Rohrer, who wrote that the Carniolans were among the most industrious and hard-working Slavs in the monarchy, that they were primarily farmers and vintners, but also engaged in mining, lumbering, and crafts, and were considered the most skilled merchants in Inner Austria. Above all, as the author of the article also summarises Rohrer, the Carniolans are distinguished by their good knowledge of languages, because from an early age they speak »the Carniolan dialect of the Slavic language«,[7] in school German is added, and because of the proximity to Italy and trade many of them also speak Italian. He adds that »a Carniolan also learns Latin and French in grammar school and with the help of home teachers«,[8] so that on average Carniolans speak at least five languages. In this respect, we read, the Carniolans are no different from other Slavs, whether they live in Prague, Lviv, Krakow or Ljubljana, as they can always easily learn foreign languages. Rohrer's descriptions, summarised in the Ljubljana weekly, sometimes border on stereotyping (on the imagological aspects, cf. Smolej, 1999, 313–322; Smolej, 2021, 11–21), but nevertheless it cannot be overlooked that he also emphasises the knowledge of French, which, of course, was not typical of the simple and often illiterate population of the time,[9] but more of the intelligentsia in Carniola, whose languages of communication and correspondence, like those of all

6 For Slovene cultural and literary history, the supplement contains especially valuable contributions on literary novelties and on events at the German Estates Theatre in Ljubljana (*Das Ständische Theater in Laibach*), in addition to geographical, historical, and topographical topics, even though Stadelmann did not publish such reports continuously and sometimes seems to discuss them completely unsystematically and without heads or tails.

7 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 1 (1804), 10: Völkerbeschreibung der österreichischen Monarchie, n.p.

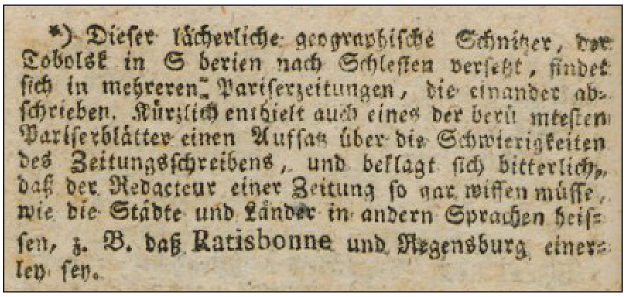
8 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 1 (1804), 10: Völkerbeschreibung der österreichischen Monarchie, n.p.

9 The literacy rate in Slovenia in the 18th century probably did not exceed 3%. Only when compulsory education was introduced by the General School Code in 1774 did the number of illiterates begin to decline, especially among the young, although compulsory education by no means meant that all children of school age actually attended school. Around 1810, every seventh child in the Slovene lands attended school, and on the eve of the March Revolution in 1847, the figure was as high as one in three (Melik, 1981, 515; Schmidt, 1988, 136–139).



Bemerkung.

Neulich theilte das Journal de Paris die große Neuigkeit mit, daß sich die französ. Sprache in Deutschland immer mehr zur Universal-Sprache erhebe, daß man in den Gesellschafts-Zirkeln überein gekommen sey, nur Französisch zu sprechen u. s. w. Zum Belege wird — Frankfurt am Mayn (4 Stunden von der französis. Grenze) angeführt, aber so gleich hinzugefügt: diese Suprematie der franz. Sprache habe sich bis an die äußersten Grenzen Rußlands verbreitet: selbst zu Tobolsk in Schlesien *) lese man fast nichts als franz. Zeitungen. Diese wichtige Nachricht schließt mit folgenden Worten: „Ein Volk, dem die andern Völker schweigend durch Annahme seiner Sprache huldigen; (also alle Völker huldigen dem Französischen!) genießt dadurch einer besondern Achtung, die sehr zum glücklichen Erfolg seiner Unterhandlungen und Unternehmungen beytragen muß.“ O über die mächtige französische Suprematie!



*) Dieser lächerliche geographische Schnitzer, der Tobolsk in S berien nach Schlesien versetzt, findet sich in mehreren Pariserzeitungen, die einander abschrieben. Kürzlich enthielt auch eines der berü mtesten Pariserblätter einen Aufsatz über die Schwierigkeiten des Zeitungsschreibens, und beklagt sich bitterlich, daß der Redacteur einer Zeitung so gar wissen müsse, wie die Städte und Länder in andern Sprachen heissen, z. B. daß Ratisbonne und Regensburg einerley sey.

Figures 2 and 3: A published rejoinder to the claim in the Journal de Paris that French was becoming the universal language in the German lands, and an editorial comment on the poor French knowledge of geography (DLiB, 2023b).

educated people of the time, were German, Italian, and French.[10]

In addition, Stadelmann's newspaper frequently engaged with texts that were published in the *Journal de Paris*. In issue 15 of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt*, he responds to an article from the French journal, according to which French is becoming more and more the universal language in Germany, French is the most spoken language in society, and the predominance of the French language has even reached the borders of Russia, citing the city of Tobolsk, but mistakenly locating it in Silesia. The editor Stadelmann, a native of Austria, naturally could not agree with this generalisation of the *Journal de Paris*, made in the light of Napoleon's rise, and in a footnote made fun of the author's apparent ignorance of geography and of this report in the *Journal de Paris* in general.[11]

During his three years as editor, Stadelmann also continuously published various news stories from France in the *Französische Miszellen* (French Miscellanies), in which he wrote about science, new books, agriculture, and many other topics. In issue 44 of 1805, for example, he summarises a news item from Toulouse in Occitania, in which an unnamed correspondent reports that the people are living peacefully and without much want, having plenty to eat, although all food and drink except wine is very expensive, and that overall the people are happy. He also notes that many have lost their possessions, while others have become rich during the war. Among other things, he writes a very timely thought: »But I want peace because I believe it is good for all people, at least for those who are good, for I am not interested in the few who have been enriched by war.«[12] In addition to such notes, the weekly often carried news about the latest fashions in Paris, which Stadelmann published under the heading *Pariser-Moden* (Paris Fashions).

In the third year of its publication, 1806, Stadelmann's weekly, in a series of articles on famous personalities, first published a biography of King Louis XIV of France (1638–1715) in issues 10 and 11, followed by brief notes on Napoleon's brother, Louis Bonaparte (1778–1846), in issue 31, who was King of the Netherlands from 1806 to 1810, and on the bishop, politician, and diplomat Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754–1838), who became close to Napoleon during the wars in northern Italy (1796–1797). Issues 33 and 34 contain a biographical sketch of Prince Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte (1763–1844), whom we meet on December 2, 1805, exactly one year after Napoleon's coronation in Paris, along with the other generals appointed Maréchal d'Empire by Napoleon in one of the most famous battles of the Napoleonic Wars, the Battle of Austerlitz. In early July 1809, Bernadotte fought alongside Napoleon at the Battle of Wagram near Vienna, where the

10 For example, we know that Žiga Zois (1747–1819) also visited France during his travels through Central Europe, continuously improved his knowledge of French, and was made a Knight of the French Legion of Honour (*Légion d'honneur*) in 1813 (Valenčič et al., 2013). The poet and supporter of the Enlightenment Marin Kuralt (1757–1845) was a Francophile and already enthusiastic about Napoleon and his idea of a universal monarchy (Pirjevec, 2013), while Anton Tomaž Linhart (1756–1795) adapted Beaumarchais's French pre-revolutionary play *La folle journée, ou Le mariage de Figaro* (The Mad Day, or The Marriage of Figaro) and translated it into Slovene.

11 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 1 (1804), 15: Bemerkung, n.p.

12 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 2 (1805), 44: Französische Miszellen, n.p.

French army defeated the Austrians and ended the Fifth Coalition War. In issues 23, 24, and 27, the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* discussed the similarities between the English and French navies in light of the Coalition Wars, and other topics also found their way into the weekly. For example, in issues 25, 26, and 27, there was an account of a wild girl from Champagne who was found by a nobleman hunting in the woods in 1731, floating naked in the river without feeling ashamed. Such accounts of abandoned or lost children surviving in the wilderness, living with animals and then, when found by chance, the attempts made to socialise them, were not uncommon in the newspapers and even scientific debates of the time (cf. Institut für Heilkunde an der Universität zu Wien, 1820, 112).

Moreover, Stadelmann made no secret of his sympathy for the Germans during his time as editor and was not a supporter of the French Revolution (cf., e.g., Stadelmann [?], 1806, n.p.), although he never wrote obscenely or insultingly about Napoleon in his weekly. This is perhaps best illustrated by an article in a double issue in late 1806 that appeared two weeks before Stadelmann's death. The unsigned article states that there was no sense of war in Paris, with only newspaper reports and the absence of the Guard in the city as reminders of the conflict, but that otherwise silver coins were plentiful, no public works ordered by the emperor had ceased, and there was no shortage of food. It is Napoleon who, by his great deeds, ensures that the name of France will forever go down in history and that Paris will be the most beautiful city in the world. The article concludes with a comparison of Napoleon to the Roman Emperor Augustus, who once said that he had turned a city of bricks into one of marble, and would bequeath it to future generations. And that is exactly what will one day be true of Napoleon, we read in Stadelmann's paper.[13]

FROM THE DEATH OF STADELMANN (1807) TO THE END OF THE NEWSPAPER (1810)

When Georg Stadelmann died on January 15, 1807, the editorship was taken over by Maximilian Wurzbach (1781–1854), the father of Constant von Wurzbach (1818–1893), the author of the *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaisertums Oesterreich* (Biographical Lexicon of the Austrian Empire) (Kidrič, 1929–1938, 387). Under Wurzbach, the newspaper seems to have lost Stadelmann's zeal, as well as its enthusiasm for local history, because the new editor mainly reprinted texts from German entertainment newspapers, and Slovene-tinged local history articles were rare (e.g., Zois' article on the proteus – or »human fish« – which appeared in issue 29 of July 18, 1807). This went so far that in 1808 even Žiga Zois, the central figure of the Slovene revival, seems to have stopped subscribing to the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, as we learn from Kopitar's letter of December 23, 1808 (Kidrič, 1929–1938, 387).[14]

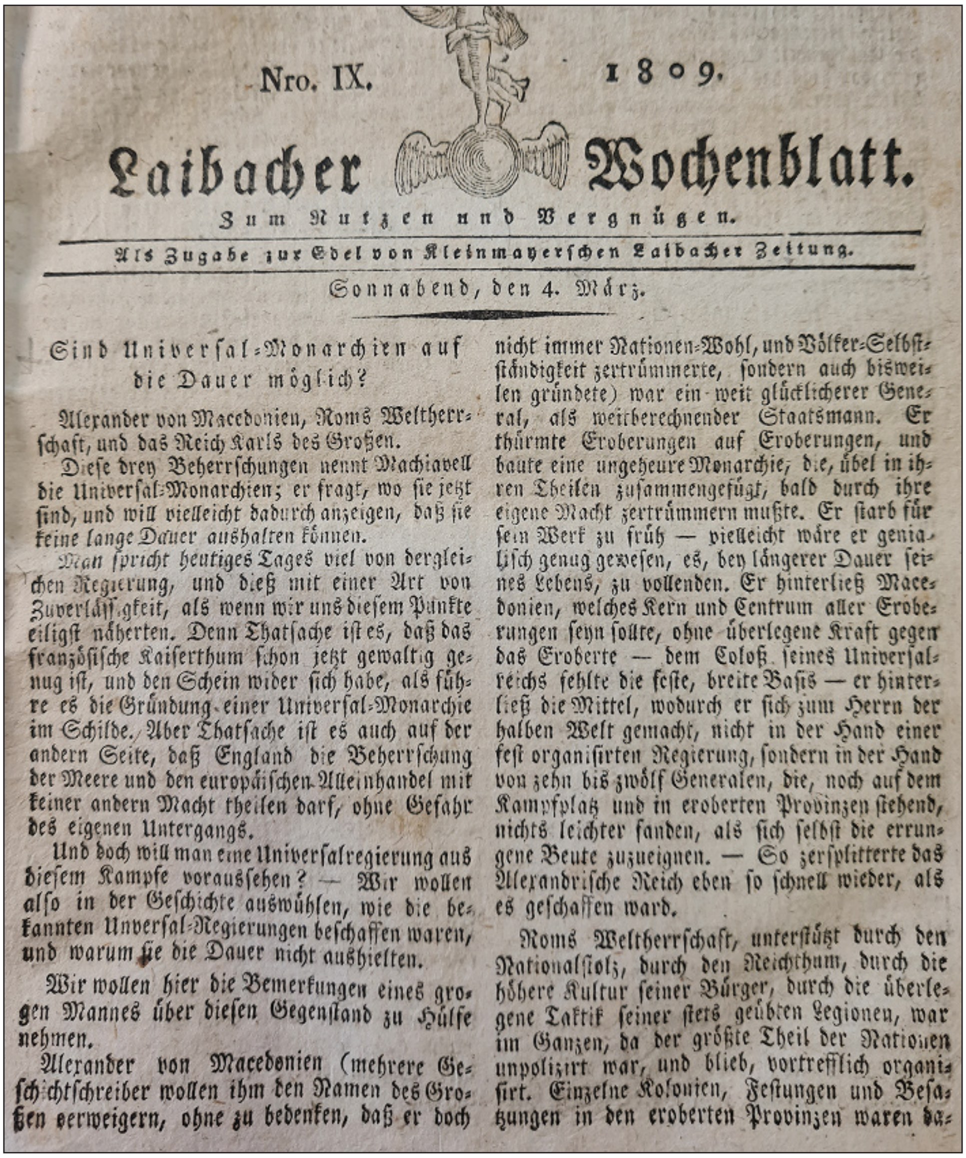
The weekly also contained less and less French content. In the first and second issues of the fourth volume (1807), news from France appeared again, as in previous years, for example, about the Paris Institute for the Deaf and Dumb (*Das Taubstummen-Institut in Paris*) or about Parisian fashions that had come to Paris from the Orient during the Crusades (*Moden der französischen Vorzeit*). In the tenth issue, readers could learn about the latest, somewhat unusual etiquette at the French court, where everything was subordinated to Napoleon's security (*Einige Merkwürdigkeiten von der gegenwärtigen Etikette am französisch-kaiserl. Hofe*), in the 25th issue about the latest Parisian fashions (*Neueste Pariser Moden*), while the 38th issue, dated September 19, 1807,[15] included an anonymous author's notes about a trip through southern France in 1802 (*Bruchstücke einier Reise durch das südliche Frankreich im Jahre 1802*).

No French-related content was initially published in the fifth volume, and only in the 12th issue, on March 19, 1808, did a short story appear, an adaptation by the now lesser-known French writer and translator Antoine-François Prévost d'Exiles (1697–1763), entitled *Der stumme Artz* (The Dumb Doctor). Issue 23 of August 6, 1808, printed a story about the unusual fate of a manuscript (*Sonderbares Schicksal eines Manuscripts*) based on Prévost; Wurzbach published an anecdote from the life of Molière in issue 42 of October 15, 1808; and stories on Parisian fashion still appeared here and there. Even in the sixth year of publication, not much had changed, but the publication of individual articles gave the impression that the editor was not a supporter of France and Napoleon, but rather of the German side. In the fifth issue, dated February 4, 1809, he published in the masthead a poem entitled *Germania* as the opening motto, in which he urged Germans to remain loyal to their fatherland and not to despair of it, since German

13 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 3 (1806), 51–52: Verschönerung von Paris, n.p.

14 The 1809 volume is the most incomplete in the National Museum library; the last surviving issue is dated May 13, 1809, and subsequent issues date only from 1810.

15 The dating of the individual issues does not begin until 1807; under Stadelmann's editorship, only the number of the issue was written on the first page.



Nro. IX. 1809.

Laibacher Wochenblatt.

Zum Nutzen und Vergnügen.

Als Zugabe zur Edel von Kleinmayerschen Laibacher Zeitung.

Sonnabend, den 4. März.

Sind Universal-Monarchien auf die Dauer möglich?

Alexander von Macedonien, Roms Weltherrschaft, und das Reich Karls des Großen.

Diese drey Beherrschungen nennt Machiavell die Universal-Monarchien; er fragt, wo sie jetzt sind, und will vielleicht dadurch anzeigen, daß sie keine lange Dauer aushalten können.

Man spricht heutiges Tages viel von dergleichen Regierung, und dieß mit einer Art von Zuverlässigkeit, als wenn wir uns diesem Punkte eiligst näherten. Denn Thatsache ist es, daß das französische Kaiserthum schon jetzt gewaltig genug ist, und den Schein wider sich habe, als führe es die Gründung einer Universal-Monarchie im Schilde. Aber Thatsache ist es auch auf der andern Seite, daß England die Beherrschung der Meere und den europäischen Alleinhandel mit keiner andern Macht theilen darf, ohne Gefahr des eigenen Untergangs.

Und doch will man eine Universalregierung aus diesem Kampfe voraussehen? — Wir wollen also in der Geschichte auswühlen, wie die bekannten Unversal-Regierungen beschaffen waren, und warum sie die Dauer nicht aushielten.

Wir wollen hier die Bemerkungen eines großen Mannes über diesen Gegenstand zu Hülfe nehmen.

Alexander von Macedonien (mehrere Geschichtschreiber wollen ihm den Namen des Großen verweigern, ohne zu bedenken, daß er doch nicht immer Nationen-Wohl, und Völker-Selbstständigkeit zertrümmerte, sondern auch bisweilen gründete) war ein weit glücklicherer General, als weitberechnender Staatsmann. Er thürmte Eroberungen auf Eroberungen, und baute eine ungeheure Monarchie, die, übel in ihren Theilen zusammengefügt, bald durch ihre eigene Macht zertrümmern mußte. Er starb für sein Werk zu früh — vielleicht wäre er genialisch genug gewesen, es, bey längerer Dauer seines Lebens, zu vollenden. Er hinterließ Macedonien, welches Kern und Centrum aller Eroberungen seyn sollte, ohne überlegene Kraft gegen das Eroberte — dem Coloß seines Universalreichs fehlte die feste, breite Basis — er hinterließ die Mittel, wodurch er sich zum Herrn der halben Welt gemacht, nicht in der Hand einer fest organisirten Regierung, sondern in der Hand von zehn bis zwölf Generalen, die, noch auf dem Kampfplatz und in eroberten Provinzen stehend, nichts leichter fanden, als sich selbst die errungene Beute zuzueignen. — So zersplitterte das Alexandrische Reich eben so schnell wieder, als es geschaffen ward.

Roms Weltherrschaft, unterstützt durch den Nationalstolz, durch den Reichthum, durch die höhere Kultur seiner Bürger, durch die überlegene Taktik seiner stets geübten Legionen, war im Ganzen, da der größte Theil der Nationen unpolizirt war, und blieb, vortrefflich organisirt. Einzelne Kolonien, Festungen und Besatzungen in den eroberten Provinzen waren da-

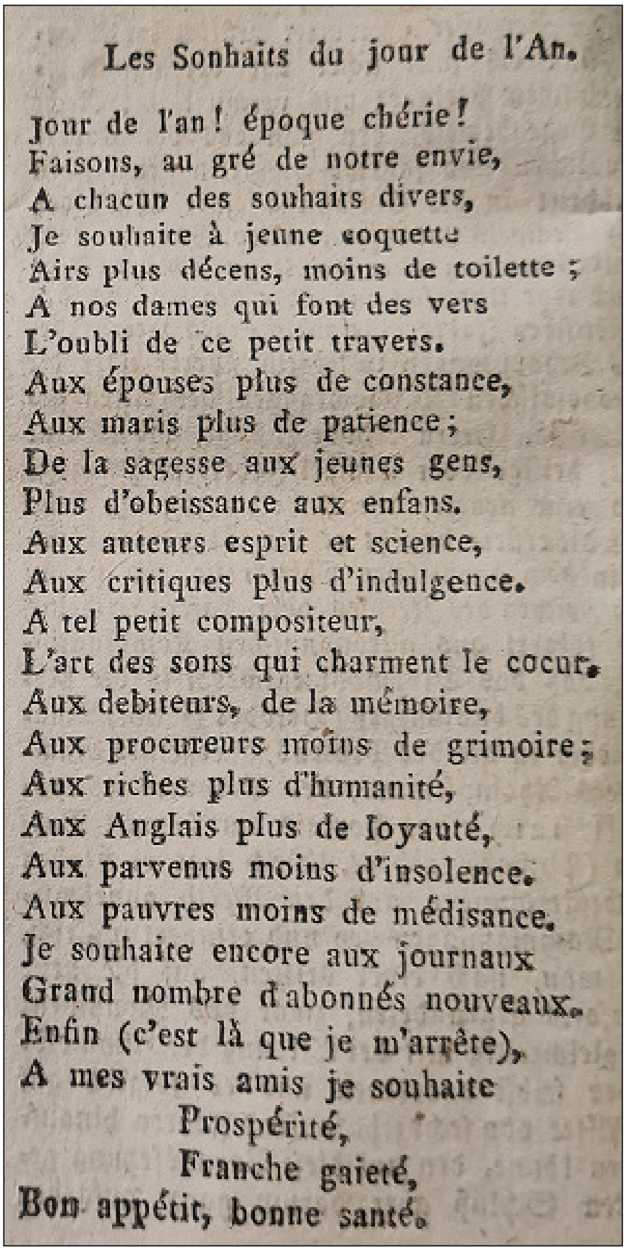
Figure 4: An article in the ninth issue of the sixth volume, March 4, 1809, in which the unsigned author wonders if Napoleon might face a fate similar to that of all great emperors up to that time (NMS Laibacher, volume 1809, call no. 1837).

strength guaranteed it a glorious future. The ninth issue of March 4, 1809, then printed an article on Napoleon's idea of a universal monarchy entitled *Sind Universal-Monarchien auf die Dauer möglich?* (Are Universal Monarchies Possible in the Long Run?). This discussed Napoleon's idea, which resembled that of great emperors such as Alexander the Great and Charlemagne, who had, however, failed in implementing their plans.

In the 13th issue, dated April 15, 1809, two more poems similar to the above-mentioned *Germania* were published, namely *Aufruf an Carnioliens Heldensöhne* (An Appeal to the Carniolan Sons of Heroes), signed by a certain K…r, and an unsigned poem *An Se. König. Hoheit den Erzherzog Ferdinand* (To His Imperial Highness Archduke Ferdinand), which speaks of the Austrian peoples being a united nation despite their different languages and dress, especially when threatened by an enemy. Napoleon's presence in Europe was thus increasingly felt in the Ljubljana *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, and the authorities in the capital of the Illyrian provinces were, as one can imagine, less and less satisfied with such publications.

The *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* ushered in the New Year in 1810 with a greeting in five stanzas (*Neujahrs-Gesang*/New Year's Song), which was not signed by the author, but was probably a rhyme that was also reprinted by other German newspapers. Interestingly, on the back of the second issue of the seventh volume, dated January 12, 1810, a similar greeting was published again, this time in French. The author is not signed, but it is possible to decipher the authorship.[16] It is the poem *Les souhaits du jour de l'An* (New Year's Wishes), published the year before, on January 1, 1809, in the *Journal de Paris* (Coupart, 1809a, 7) and signed by the playwright and chansonnier Antoine-Marie Coupart (1780–1864).[17] Among his New Year's wishes, Coupart (1809a, 7) lists the following in light of the times: to the young coquette he wishes a more decent appearance and fewer dresses; to the ladies who write verse, that this vice be overlooked; to wives, more steadfastness, and to husbands, more patience; to youth, more wisdom; to children, more obedience; to authors, more spirit and science; to critics, forbearance; to composers, the art of sound that captivates the heart; to debtors, settlement; to prosecutors, less punishment; to the rich, more humanity; to Englishmen, more loyalty; to upstarts, less insolence; to the poor, less slander; to newspapers, many new subscribers; and to true friends, prosperity, open cheerfulness, good appetite and good health! Thus, especially in the second part of the poem, it becomes clear that this is the time of Napoleon, when the French longed in vain for an English alliance and the desire for peace and prosperity was in the air as a result of the wars.[18]

The year 1810 also brought some obvious changes. Although the newspaper does not name an editor, it is possible that Wurzbach was replaced by the Francophile Franz Peesenegger (c. 1762–1841),[19] who was entrusted by the French in 1811 with the editorship of their bulletin, the *Télégraphe officiel*, after the *Laibacher Zeitung* and its supplement, the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, had been discontinued. The articles on the history of Carniola almost completely disappeared from the *Laibacher Wochenblatt* and were replaced by descriptions of foreign lands, longer articles on the history of Illyria,[20] and even a reprint of the same article on the rules of conduct at the French court that had already appeared in the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* in 1807, without



Les Sonhaits du jour de l'An.

Jour de l'an! époque chérie!
Faisons, au gré de notre envie,
A chacun des souhaits divers,
Je souhaite à jeune coquette
Airs plus décens, moins de toilette ;
A nos dames qui font des vers
L'oubli de ce petit travers.
Aux épouses plus de constance,
Aux maris plus de patience ;
De la sagesse aux jeunes gens,
Plus d'obeissance aux enfans.
Aux auteurs esprit et science,
Aux critiques plus d'indulgence.
A tel petit compositeur,
L'art des sons qui charment le coeur.
Aux debiteurs, de la mémoire,
Aux procureurs moins de grimoire ;
Aux riches plus d'humanité,
Aux Anglais plus de loyauté,
Aux parvenus moins d'insolence.
Aux pauvres moins de médisance.
Je souhaite encore aux journaux
Grand nombre d'abonnés nouveaux.
Enfin (c'est là que je m'arrête),
A mes vrais amis je souhaite
Prospérité,
Franche gaieté,
Bon appétit, bonne santé.

Figure 5: The poem Les souhaits du jour de l'An, published on January 12, 1810 in the Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen (NMS Laibacher, no. 2, 12. 1. 1810, n.p.; call no. 1837).

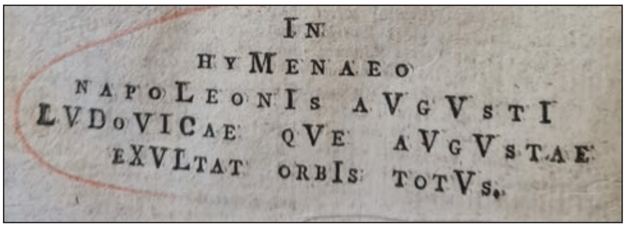
16 The authors thank Prof. Dr. Tone Smolej for his help in finding the author of the poem.

17 Coupart worked in the military transport administration in Paris and Liège at the end of the 18th century before moving to the newspaper and theatre office and the police ministry (Fétis, 1837, 205), which suggests a proximity to Napoleon.

18 The poem was apparently reprinted in its original form in German newspapers and found its way not only into the Ljubljana weekly *Laibacher Wochenblatt*, but was also published, for example, in the Berlin newspaper for fashion, entertainment and art, *Zeitung für die elegante Welt* (Newspaper for the Elegant World), on January 13, 1809 (Coupart, 1809b, 71).

19 Peesenegger came from Bavaria and was appointed professor of rhetoric at the grammar school in Ljubljana by imperial decree in 1792. He was a connoisseur of Greek and Latin classics, and a lover of the French language and its literature (Kidrič, 2013).

20 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 2. 3. 1810: Geschichte Illyriens, n.p.



IN
HYMENAEO
NAPOLEONIS AVGVSTI
LVDOVICAE QVE AVGVSTAE
EXVLTAT ORBIS TOTVS.

Figure 6: Latin inscription under the report on the wedding festivities in Vienna on March 11, 1810, in which a chronogram is hidden (NMS Laibacher, no. 11, 16. 3. 1810, n.p.; call no. 1837).

Nro. XII. 1810.

Laibacher Wochenblatt.

Zum Nutzen und Vergnügen.

Als Zugabe zur Edel von Kleinmayerschen Laibacher Zeitung.

Freytag, den 23. März.

Schilderung der Feyerlichkeiten
welche zu Wien bey der hohen Vermählungs-Feyer statt hatten.
(Fortsetzung.)

Der 9. März war zur feyerlichen Renuntiation Ihrer kaiserl. Hoheit der Erzherzogin Marie Luise bestimmt. Nachmittags um 1 Uhr fuhr der kaiserl. Französische Herr Großbothschafter, Fürst von Neuschatel, mit drey sechsspännigen ... rie Luise als Braut Sr. Majestät des Kaisers der Franzosen und Königs von Italien, diesen Renuntiations-Eid in Gegenwart der hier als Zeugen zusammenberufenen und versammelten obersten Hofämter, der Chefs der Hofkanz-

Figure 7: Report on the festivities on the occasion of the wedding of Napoleon and Marie Louise of Austria in Vienna on March 11, 1810 (NMS Laibacher, no. 12, 23. 3. 1810, n.p.; call no. 1837).

even changing the title in the new edition.[21] In mid-March 1810, the pages of the Ljubljana weekly were flooded with praise for Napoleon's wedding to the not quite nineteen-year-old Marie Louise of Austria (1791–1847), the eldest daughter of Emperor Franz I of Austria (1768–1835). Since the celebrations took place in several stages, such articles appeared in the newspaper from March 9 to mid-April 1810. First, on the front page of the tenth issue of the newspaper, a tribute to Napoleon and his future wife was published in Italian, wishing them both that their souls may become one, that two hearts may become one, that ardent love may awaken in both of them, and that he may live in her and she in him. Two days later, on March 11, 1810, the wedding took place in the Augustinian Church in Vienna in Napoleon's absence. Napoleon was represented by Archduke Charles (1771–1841), who not long ago had been Napoleon's opponent in the Franco-Austrian War of 1809. Issues 11, 12, and 13 then described the Vienna celebrations in detail,[22] and issue 11 published a Latin inscription at the end of the report on the festivities that translated as: »On the marriage of the sublime Napoleon and the sublime Ludovica the world rejoices.«[23] A chronogram (see Figure 6) was also hidden in the Latin text, with the underlined letters standing for the year of the wedding, 1810.

Subsequent issues also reported on the wedding ceremonies held in Paris on April 1 and 2, 1810.[24] In addition, news of Parisian fashions was published from time to time in the seventh volume; issue 25, dated June 22, 1810, contained a description of Paris and its environs (*Paris und seine Umgebung*) by an unknown author, while issue 32, dated August 24, 1810, contained on its front page an ode to the emperor in French on the occasion of his birthday on August 15 (*Ode. A l'occasion du jour de Fête et de Naissance De sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi. Célébré à Laybach le 15 Août 1810*).

But soon the days of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* were numbered, together with those of the *Laibacher Zeitung*. With the turn of the year 1811, both the official gazette and the supplement for benefit and amusement were discontinued. In the 75th issue of the *Vereinigte Laibacher Zeitung* by Kleinmayr and Eger, the French authorities in the Illyrian provinces announced that as of January 1, 1811, the *Laibacher Zeitung* would be combined with the *Télégraphe officiel* edited by Mr. Peesenegger (Vereinigte Laibacher Zeitung, 11. 12. 1810, n.p.).

THE END OF THE ILLYRIAN PROVINCES AND THE RELAUNCH OF A WEEKLY NEWSPAPER FOR BENEFIT AND AMUSEMENT

After the departure of the French, the official *Laibacher Zeitung* was re-established in Ljubljana in October 1813. In the Kleinmayr printing house, which printed the *Laibacher Zeitung* and whose tenant since January 1809 was Josef Sassenberg (1773–1849) (Berčič, 1968, 75), the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was revived in the new year of 1814 as a supplement to the official newspaper. Sassenberg had some poor luck in choosing the editor,

21 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 9. 3. 1810: Einige Merkwürdigkeiten von der gegenwärtigen Etikette am französisch-kaiserl. Hofe, n.p.

22 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 16., 23. and 30. 3. 1810: Schilderung der Feierlichkeiten, welche zu Wien bey der hohen Vermählungsfeier statt hatten, n.p.

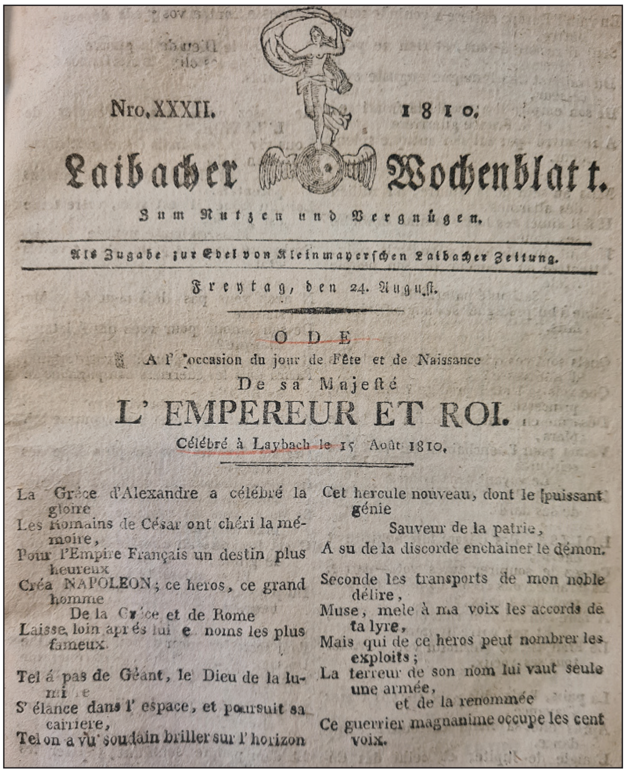
23 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 16. 3. 1810: Schilderung der Feierlichkeiten, welche zu Wien bey der hohen Vermählungsfeier statt hatten, n.p. The authors thank Prof. Dr. Matej Hriberšek for the translation.

24 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 27. 4. 1810 and 4. 5. 1810: Schilderung der Vermählungs-Feyerlichkeiten zu Paris, n.p.

and Kleinmayr's typesetter Pavel Deinzer (1786–1835) took over (Kidrič, 1929–1938, 632).

Deinzer did not understand that it was a Carniolan local history paper, but in view of the new political situation in Europe he thought it useful to contribute with his work to the consolidation of the new regime in Illyria and to support the Austrian government to the best of his ability. The paper thus included anecdotes that ridiculed Napoleon, e.g., *Anekdote aus der Zeitgeschichte* (Anecdote from Contemporary History) in issue 7 of February 15, 1814, and had high praise for the Bourbons who ruled post-revolutionary France between 1814 and 1830, e.g., in the article *Das Haus Bourbon* (The House of Bourbon), which appeared in several instalments in late May 1814. Even earlier, in early May, after Napoleon's expulsion to the island of Elba, the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* published two articles on geographical statistics on Elba (*Geographisch-statistische Nachrichten von der Insel Elba*) in issues 18 (3. 5. 1814) and 19 (10. 5. 1814); in issue 37 of October 4, 1814, the newspaper summarised the negative judgement of Napoleon according to François-René de Chateaubriand, who had joined the Bourbons after Napoleon's fall, and titled the text *Ruhiges Urtheil* über *die Bonapartes vermeintliche Größe* (Calm Judgement of Bonaparte's Supposed Greatness).

The following volumes did not bring anything new. In the 15th issue, dated April 12, 1816, the editor published an anecdote from the time of Napoleon's campaign in 1815, which was intended to show readers the French leader's ruthless nature. The story goes that in July 1815, a prisoner was brought to Napoleon with a medal in his buttonhole. He explained to Napoleon that he had received it as an award for his participation in the wars of 1813 and 1814, and that it had been cast from the brass of French cannon. Napoleon then angrily told him that he would make crosses for his fallen soldiers from the bones of prisoners.[25] In the 18th issue of May 3, 1816, readers could read how Napoleon's trip to the island of St. Helena went, as described by the English military surgeon who accompanied him. One of the most widely read articles, however, as one might imagine, was the interview with Napoleon and one of his companions on St. Helena, conducted by a Mr. Tyder, the senior surgeon of an English regiment, and published in two instalments in late June and early July 1816. On his way back from a trip to the East Indies, he stopped on St. Helena to talk with the former French emperor.[26] Tyder asked Napoleon, among other things, whether the long journey into exile had affected his health and whether he had adapted well to the climate. Bonaparte replied almost smugly that nature had given him an iron body and soul that had been strengthened by his enemies. Napoleon did not rest in exile but had busy days, as recounted by one of his followers: »When the day dawns, Bonaparte rises and works on his mathematics until breakfast, then writes his historical-political treatise, eats lunch at 2 p.m., then takes a long walk, later teaches Italian to Miss Sophie, eats dinner, and then distracts himself with various games.«[27] There are no other articles related to France, but the editor Deinzer also published in the newspaper bad jokes and unfunny riddles and stories, as well as his geographical, ethnographic, and cultural-historical descriptions of faraway, exotic places, from Spain, Corsica, Transylvania, and Sierra Leone in Africa to the East Indies and China. Since he apparently also lacked contributors, he had no choice but to list the names of famous German poets and writers, especially Austrian ones, and to print their texts in the newspaper in order to provide his readers with at least some literary texts (for more on this, cf. Žigon, 2001, 83–85; cf. also Kidrič, 1929–1938, 631–635).


Nro. XXXII. 1810.

Laibacher Wochenblatt.

Zum Nutzen und Vergnügen.

Als Zugabe zur Edel von Kleinmayerschen Laibacher Zeitung.

Freytag, den 24. August.

ODE

A l'occasion du jour de Fête et de Naissance

De sa Majesté

L' EMPEREUR ET ROI.

Célébré à Laybach le 15 Août 1810.

La Grèce d'Alexandre a célébré la gloire
Les Romains de César ont chéri la mémoire,
Pour l'Empire Français un destin plus heureux
Créa NAPOLEON; ce heros, ce grand homme
De la Grèce et de Rome
Laisse, loin aprés lui [illegible] noms les plus fameux.

Tel á pas de Géant, le Dieu de la lumiére
S' élance dans l' espace, et poursuit sa carriere,
Tel on a vû soudain briller sur l' horizon
Cet hercule nouveau, dont le puissant génie
Sauveur de la patrie,
A su de la discorde enchainer le démon.

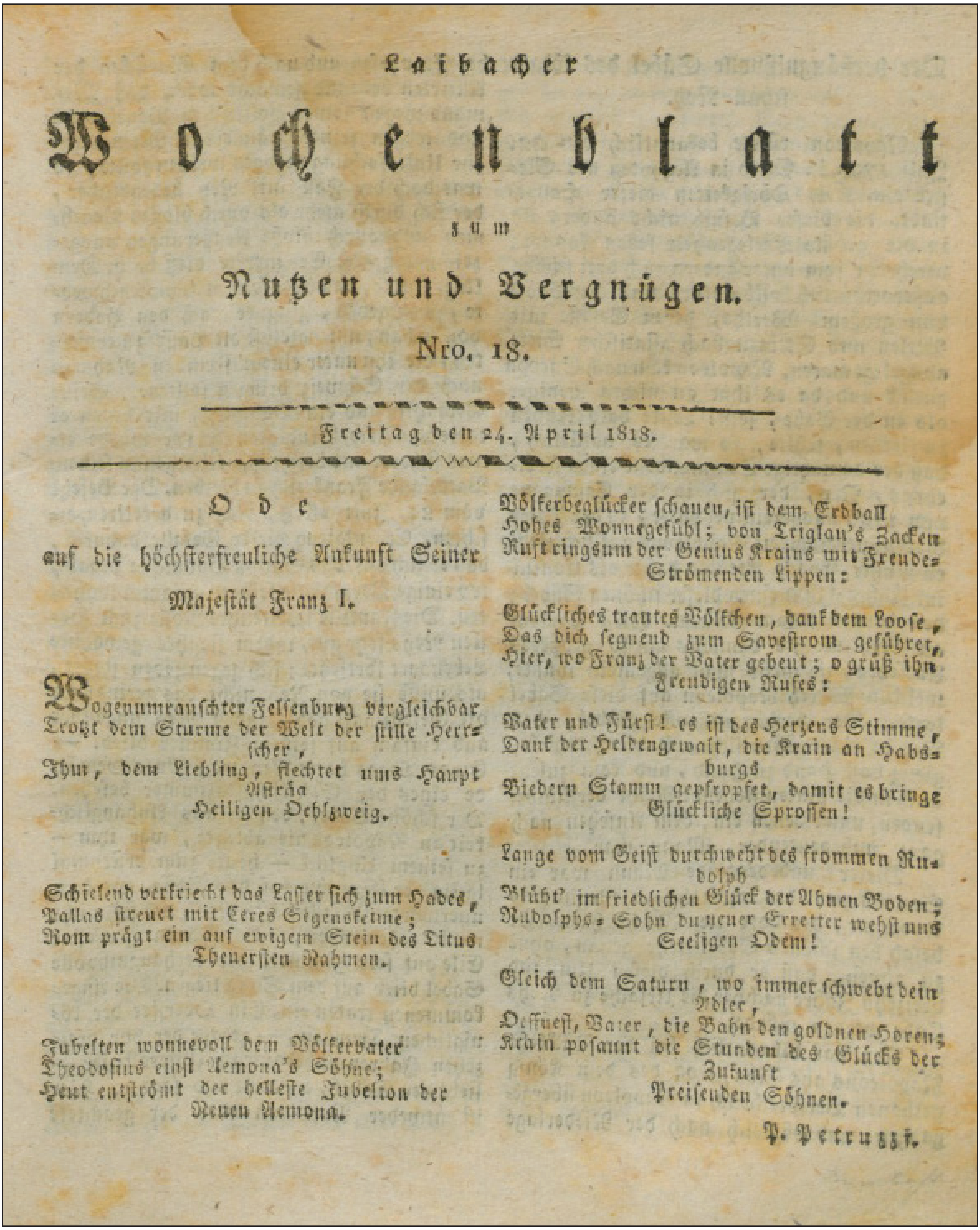
Seconde les transports de mon noble délire,
Muse, mele à ma voix les accords de ta lyre,
Mais qui de ce heros peut nombrer les exploits;
La terreur de son nom lui vaut seule une armée,
et de la renommée
Ce guerrier magnanime occupe les cent voix.

Figure 8: Ode to Napoleon, written in Ljubljana on the occasion of the celebration of his birthday on August 15, 1810, printed in the 32nd issue of the newspaper (NMS Laibacher, no. 32, 24. 8. 1810, n.p.; call no. 1837).

25 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 12. 4. 1816: Anekdote aus dem letzen Feldzuge, n.p.

26 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 28. 6. and 5. 7. 1816: Unterredung der Herrn Tyder, Ober-Chirurgus eines englischen Regiments, auf seiner Reise aus Ostindien, mit Napoleon Bonaparte auf St. Helena, n.p.

27 Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, 28. 6. and 5. 7. 1816: Unterredung der Herrn Tyder, Ober-Chirurgus eines englischen Regiments, auf seiner Reise aus Ostindien, mit Napoleon Bonaparte auf St. Helena, n.p.



Laibacher

Wochenblatt

zum

Nutzen und Vergnügen.

Nro. 18.

Freitag den 24. April 1818.

Ode

auf die höchsterfreuliche Ankunft Seiner

Majestät Franz I.

Wogenumrauschter Felsenburg vergleichbar
Trotzt dem Sturme der Welt der stille Herrscher,
Ihm, dem Liebling, flechtet ums Haupt Asträa
Heiligen Oehlzweig.

Schleichend verkriecht das Laster sich zum Hades,
Pallas streuet mit Ceres Segenskeime;
Rom prägt ein auf ewigem Stein des Titus
Theuersten Nahmen.

Jubelten wonnevoll dem Völkervater
Theodosius einst Aemona's Söhne;
Heut entströmt der helleste Jubelton der
Neuen Aemona.

Völkerbeglücker schauen, ist dem Erdball
Hohes Wonnegefühl; von Triglau's Zacken
Ruft ringsum der Genius Krains mit Freude-
Strömenden Lippen:

Glückliches trautes Völkchen, dank dem Loose,
Das dich segnend zum Savestrom geführet,
Hier, wo Franz der Vater gebeut; o grüß ihn
Freudigen Rufes:

Vater und Fürst! es ist des Herzens Stimme,
Dank der Heldengewalt, die Krain an Habsburgs
Biedern Stamm gepfropfet, damit es bringe
Glückliche Sprossen!

Lange vom Geist durchwebt des frommen Rudolph
Blüht' im friedlichen Glück der Ahnen Boden;
Rudolphs-Sohn du neuer Erretter wehst uns
Seeligen Odem!

Gleich dem Saturn, wo immer schwebt dein Adler,
Oeffnest, Vater, die Bahn den goldnen Horen;
Krain posaunt die Stunden des Glücks der Zukunft
Preisenden Söhnen.

P. Petruzzi.

Figure 9: Petruzzi's ode to Emperor Franz I, who came to Carniola in April 1818 to revisit the natural attraction of the Postojna Cave. The ode was printed in Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen on April 24, 1881 (DLiB, 2023c).

In the first half of 1817, people in Ljubljana were very dissatisfied with the newspaper, as it did not cover anything related to local history. Franz Xaver Richter (1783–1856), a Silesian (Austria) born schoolmaster and history professor with a talent for languages, took the unenviable situation into his own hands. He had a special fondness for French and carefully cultivated this language. At first, he studied philosophy in Olomouc, but after the early death of his father the family's fortunes deteriorated to such an extent that Richter had to earn his own living, and turned to theology instead of studying medicine (Gspan, 2013; Wurzbach, 1874, 46–48). When the professorship at the Lyceum was advertised in Ljubljana on April 28, 1815 (Vereinigte Laibacher Zeitung, 28. 4. 1815, n.p.), he came to Carniola and took the chair of general history in the fall of 1815, and remained there until 1823/24, when he returned to Olomouc (Gspan, 2013). Richter had already collaborated with Deinzer as editor of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* in 1816, signing the historical sketch in the 46th issue of December 6, 1816. He adapted this text from the writings of Johann Georg Thalnitscher von Thalberg (1655–1719), and gave it the title *Was sich 1716 oder vor hundert Jahren in Laibach zugetragen* (What Was Happening in Ljubljana in 1716 or 100 Years Ago) (Richter, 1816, n.p.). Then, on October 31, 1817, in issue 44, Richter published his proposal for a redesign of the newspaper (Richter, 1817, n.p.; more on this in Žigon, 2001, 85–89), which returned to its original focus on local history in 1818 under his editorial direction. The newspaper's new concept also meant that unusual and exotic topics, including of course French topics and especially Napoleon Bonaparte, slowly disappeared from the newspaper columns. Instead of hymns of praise to the French emperor, the newspaper pages were filled with texts that were important for the Slovene revival (Kidrič, 1929–1938, 635–639) and, of course, with others about loyalty to the Habsburg imperial house. This was particularly evident on the front page of the newspaper during important events, such as the visit of Emperor Franz I to Carniola in April 1818, when he came to Postojna for the second time and visited famous cave.[28] On this occasion, the linguist and historian Peter Petruzzi (1799–1875) wrote an ode praising the joyful arrival of His Majesty Franz I in Carniola (Petruzzi, 1818, n.p.).

CONCLUSION

The importance of the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, the first literary and entertaining weekly newspaper in Ljubljana, can generally be attributed to its enlightening and educational function and to the fact that it attempted to be a newspaper created by Carniolan artists for the Carniola people. However, this paper is not concerned with the enlightening function of the newspaper and its importance for Slovene cultural, journalistic and literary creation, but with the question of the appearance of French themes, texts about France, life in France, especially in Paris, and of course Napoleon Bonaparte in a newspaper that appeared in German in Ljubljana from 1804 to 1810 and from 1814 to 1818. Since the appearance of this weekly supplement of the official German newspaper *Laibacher Zeitung* coincided with the rise and fall of Napoleon and, in particular, with the establishment of the Illyrian provinces (1809–1813), we took a closer look at the extent to which there was an interest in French culture before the French interregnum and after the return of the conquered French territory to Austrian rule, and how this was reflected in the newspaper in question.

Despite the non-political orientation of the weekly, both the choice of topics and the way they were presented showed that events on the political scene influenced the content of the newspaper. Major political and historical events and personalities such as Napoleon Bonaparte undoubtedly shaped the media landscape. Even though the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was not concerned with reporting on political and current events in Europe, it is clear that France was the focus of interest. The French Revolution had shaken old Europe to its foundations, and the impact of the related events on the political scene was also reflected in this Ljubljana weekly. Prior to the establishment of the Illyrian provinces, the paper published articles on the French language, customs, Parisian fashions and travel, but after the establishment of the Illyrian provinces in 1809, and coinciding with Napoleon's greater military successes, the paper transformed into a pro-French paper that increasingly praised the emperor.

After the abolition of the Illyrian provinces and the fall of Napoleon, and especially from 1817, the newspaper no longer seems to have reported on events in France, or even on Parisian fashions. Instead the figure of the defeated Napoleon, on the one hand, and the positive image of Austria and the Austrian emperor, on the other, came to the fore. The reversal was not only the result of editorial policy, but also of the power relations in Europe at that time, which also found their echo in Carniola. This once again confirms the well-known fact that what happens around us influences our perception of the world. Even though the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* was a non-political entertainment newspaper, political events unintentionally had a strong influence and (co-)shaped the choice of content selected by the editorial staff and printed in the newspaper.

28 Franz I had already visited Postojna Cave on May 16, 1816 (Costa, 1858, 14); at that time, the *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen* printed a poem about the feelings of the Carniolans on the occasion of the visit of the much-loved monarch to the region (Fellinger, 1816, n.p.).

»KRANJEC SE V GIMNAZIJI UČI ŠE LATINSKO IN FRANCOSKO«: FRANCIJA V LUČI PRISPEVKOV LJUBLJANSKEGA NEMŠKEGA TEDNIKA ZA KORIST IN ZABAVO

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POVZETEK

V prispevku je v ospredju vprašanje, kakšna je pojavnost francosko obarvanih tem, besedil, ki zadevajo Francijo, življenje na Francoskem, še posebno v Parizu, in seveda francoskega cesarja Napoleona, v časopisu Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen, ki je v Ljubljani v nemškem jeziku izhajal v letih od 1804 do 1810 in od 1814 do 1818. Časopis je bil tedenska razvedrilna priloga uradnega nemškega časopisa Laibacher Zeitung, njegovo izhajanje pa sovpada z Napoleonovim vzponom in padcem, predvsem pa z ustanovitvijo Ilirskih provinc. V prispevku je zato podrobneje predstavljeno, kolikšno je bilo zanimanje za francosko kulturo pred francoskim medvladjem in po tem, ko je osvojeno francosko ozemlje spet prišlo pod avstrijsko oblast, in kako se je to kazalo v objavah v obravnavanem časopisu. Analiza je pokazala, da se kljub nepolitični naravnanosti tednika tako pri izboru tem kot tudi pri načinu njihovega podajanja lepo pokaže, kakšna so bila kulturno-politična razmerja v tedanjem evropskem prostoru: francoska revolucija je namreč v tem času že zamajala temelje stare Evrope, vpliv dogajanja na političnem parketu pa je našel svoj odsev tudi v ljubljanskem tedniku za korist in zabavo. Medtem ko so bili prispevki o Franciji, Parizu, pariški modi itd. stalnica v prvih letih izhajanja in je Laibacher Wochenblatt še leta 1810 budno spremljal in pozdravljal poroko Napoleona z avstrijsko Mario Luizo, se je način poročanja že leta 1814 spremenil. Napoleon je bil poraženec in o njem se je naenkrat pisalo le še v nevtralnih, včasih celo negativnih tonih, dokler njegova prisotnost iz časopisa ni izginila in se umaknila hvalnicam avstrijski cesarski hiši.

Ključne besede: *Laibacher Wochenblatt zum Nutzen und Vergnügen*, Ilirske province, Georg Stadelmann, Franz Xaver Richter, Napoleon Bonaparte, Francija v časopisnih prispevkih

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THE BEGINNINGS OF SLOVENE GERMANIC PHILOLOGY: THE FIRST PROFESSORS AND THE SOCIAL PROFILE OF THE FIRST STUDENTS FROM THE LITTORAL

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ABSTRACT

This article seeks to shed light on the beginnings of Germanic philology in the Slovene lands, concentrating both on the leading figure of Dr Jakob Kelemina (1882–1957), who established Germanic philology in the Slovene academic space and dominated it for many years, and on the profile of his students from the Slovene, Italian, and Croatian littoral. The findings, which are based on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of archive sources, lecture lists and student records, and on Bourdieu's classification of education opportunities by economic and cultural capital, show that students from the coastal regions made up 17% of the 916 students of both sexes who attended lectures on Germanic philology up until the end of the Second World War; of these, 54% were women. The students' social origin was found to have had considerable influence on their decision to take up such studies, as the large majority came from the middle and upper strata of the population.

Keywords: Germanic philology, Jakob Kelemina, student profile, students from the Littoral, history of Germanic philology 1919–1945, cultural capital

GLI INIZI DELLA GERMANISTICA IN SLOVENIA: I PRIMI PROFESSORI E LA STRUTTURA SOCIALE DEI PRIMI STUDENTI DEL LITORALE

SINTESI

Lo scopo del presente contributo è di far luce sugli inizi degli studi di germanistica nel territorio sloveno, con particolare attenzione sia al pluriennale direttore di dipartimento, il prof. Jakob Kelemina (1882–1957), il quale ha introdotto la filologia tedesca nel mondo accademico sloveno, sia alla struttura degli studenti e delle studentesse provenienti dalle regioni litoranee slovena, italiana e croata. I risultati del contributo, basato sull'analisi quantitativa e qualitativa di fonti d'archivio, liste di corsi e documenti personali, nonché sulla classificazione di Bourdieu delle opportunità educative in base al capitale economico e culturale, mostrano che tra i 916 studenti iscritti ai corsi di filologia tedesca fino alla fine della seconda guerra mondiale, la quota di quelli provenienti dal Litorale è del 17%, e tra di essi il 54% sono donne. È emerso inoltre che la decisione riguardo agli studi è soggetta soprattutto all'influsso del contesto sociale dei futuri studenti, poiché la maggior parte proviene dalle classi medie e alte della popolazione, soprattutto da ambienti con un alto capitale culturale.

Parole chiave: studi di germanistica, Jakob Kelemina, struttura degli studenti, studenti del Litorale, storia della germanistica 1919–1945, capitale culturale

INTRODUCTION

Providing a detailed study of the first phase of development of Germanic philology as a scientific discipline in the Slovene lands, this article first situates the Ljubljana Germanists in their broader European context, with particular attention to Germanic philology in Graz, which produced Dr Jakob Kelemina (1882–1957), the leading Germanist in the Slovene lands.[1] The first part of the article is devoted to Kelemina: as the holder of the chair and for years the only faculty member, he laid the foundations for the development of Germanic philology and left his mark on the entire field, from its establishment to the Second World War. The second part concentrates on the profile of the students of Germanic philology in Ljubljana. The empirical research focuses on students from the Littoral (Slovene: Primorska),[2] Istria, Dalmatia, and the Montenegrin Littoral. Here we explore the share of such students in the total, the gender ratio, their social origins and (self-declared) nationality. We employed a quantitative research method, utilizing student records obtained from the university archives. Specifically, we focused on students who indicated Littoral as their birthplace and pursued German studies as either their main, subsidiary, or elective subject. Subsequently, the collected data underwent qualitative evaluation and analysis, drawing upon the theses of Bourdieu & Passeron (1979), that the chances of accessing higher education can be viewed as the outcome of a selection process characterized by varying levels of stringency, depending on the student 's social origin. In our study, the social origin of the students, as far as this can be deduced from the father' s profession, proved to be of significant importance, albeit not to the same extent as observed in France. Finally, we trace the career paths of some students of interest from this area.

The beginnings of institutionalized Germanic philology in the Slovene lands coincide with the 1919 establishment of the University of Ljubljana. As was customary for modern institutions of higher education at the time, it started with five faculties: Law, Medicine, Theology, Engineering, and Arts. The latter was initially composed of three chairs: of mathematics, Slavic philology, and Slovene language. In the following months, the founding chairs were joined by others, including the chair in Germanic philology (Smolej, 2019, 89). Slovenes thus set up Germanic philology a little more than a 100 years after it became established as a science in Germany (Sparnaay, 1948, 19)[3] and 17 years after Germanist chairs started to appear in the larger cities of the Habsburg Monarchy: first in Vienna, Prague, and Krakow, and in 1851 also at the University of Graz (Kramberger & Samide, 2021, 161–162). On the one hand, these were to meet the national and political interests of the multi-national state; on the other, to meet the need for adequate teachers in secondary education (Michler & Schmidt-Dengler, 2003, 193–228), which was a concern all over Europe at the time. After the great reform of secondary schools and universities based on Wilhelm von Humboldt's model – in Germany at the beginning of the 19th century, in the Habsburg Monarchy in 1848/49 – the need arose for qualified teachers of German in the reformed secondary school for humanities (the *Gymnasium*), and at the beginning this was not at all an easy task. In the first phase of the development of Germanic philology, the phase of consolidation, many European universities, faced with a lack of academically trained scholars of German, filled university chairs with assistant professors (*Privatdozenten*) or with scholars from other academic fields: for example, on the initiative of Count Leo Thun-Hohenstein (1811–1888), the minister of education and religion, Germanic philology in Vienna came in 1850 to be headed by the philosopher, self-taught Germanist and Viennese court librarian Theodor Georg von Karajan (1810–1873) (Samide, 2019, 131–132). The first real Germanist scholars, Karl Tomaschek (1828–1878) and Wilhelm Scherer (1841–1886), would only obtain their chairs in Germanic philology in 1868, and only from then on can we talk about "the first generation of professional Germanists" (Michler & Schmidt-Dengler, 2003, 199). In this regard, Germanic philology at the University of Graz had a privileged position, even though it counted as one of the less important universities in the German-speaking area in the mid-19th century (Leitner, 1973, 3) and

1 This article was produced within the framework of the research programme »Intercultural Literary Studies (*Medkulturne literarnovedne študije*)« (ARIS P6-0265), co-funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency.

2 In this context, it is important to note that since the beginning of the 19th century, the lands along the north-eastern shores of the Adriatic Sea and their immediate hinterland, Gorizia with Gradisca, Istria, and Trieste, have been referred to by various names. The most common names used include Primorje (Littoral in English, Küstenland in German, Litorale in Italian), Austrian Primorje, or Primorska. However, it should be noted that these names do not indicate a unified territory in terms of administration, ethnicity, or historical context (Marušič, 1995, 343). Following the First World War, during the period covered by this study, the term Primorska was employed by the Slovene public "to denote locations in Italy, including those that were annexed to Italy from the former Carniola Region such as Idrija, the upper Vipava Valley, parts of the Karst, the Pivka region, and the Bistrica region. It is important to mention that Istria was not encompassed within this designation" (Marušič, 1995, 346).

3 The first professorship in German language and literature (1810) went to Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen (1780–1856) at the then recently established University of Berlin.

was also geographically remote from the centres of German intellectual life (Müller-Kampel), since academically trained Germanists had taught there from its inception in 1851. At the start of the summer semester on 17 April 1851, and again on minister Thun-Hohenstein's initiative, the university of the Styrian capital officially hired the Silesian medievalist Karl Weinhold (1823–1901) (Leitner, 1973, 8–12). In Weinhold, the University of Graz undoubtedly gained "the most important scholar of the German language and literature at Austrian universities of that era" (Höflechner, 2006, 277). He held the chair in Germanic philology until 1861, when he accepted an invitation from the University of Kiel. His seat was taken by the Germanist Karl Tomaschek, who not only devoted himself to Old German philology like his predecessor, but made sure that the curriculum also included recent literary history in equal measure (Höflechner, 2006, 277; Leitner, 1973, 26–28, 35). After Tomaschek was called to Vienna in 1868, he was succeeded by Richard Heinzel (1838–1905), who again brought Old German philology to the fore, and then returned to Vienna in 1873. In Graz, the discipline first flowered under the Germanist and medievalist Anton Emanuel Schönbach (1848–1911), who hailed from northern Czechia and is considered the true father of the chair in Germanic philology at the University of Graz (Müller-Kampel). Schönbach, who would hold the chair in Old German until he died, was a well-versed lecturer in many fields who demanded much of his students. With his rhetorical abilities and lively lectures, however, he also knew how to excite their enthusiasm for science and motivate them for their own scientific production. Apart from being a talented speaker, he was also an excellent organizer and the author of quite a few important contributions to the field (cf. Leitner, 1973, 53–67, 233–234). In 1886, he was joined in Graz by Bernhard Seuffert (1853–1938), who taught modern German language and literature and made a name for himself as an expert on the Enlightenment writer Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813), and his work as an editor is still highly regarded (Höflechner, 2006, 279). During the harmonious 25-year collaboration and vigorous interaction of these two leading Germanists, Graz gained a position in Germanic philology on the European level. Indeed, under Seuffert's leadership the chair in modern German philology became the centre of modern German literature for the entire Habsburg Monarchy (Leitner, 1973, 234).

From the Graz school of Germanists also sprung the first – and long the only – professor of Germanic philology in Ljubljana, Dr Jakob Kelemina. The two Germanists discussed above left their mark not only on Kelemina's studies, but also on his further academic career and life.

GERMANIC PHILOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF LJUBLJANA

Jakob Kelemina: education and academic career

Jakob Kelemina, born 19 July 1882 in humble Slovene provincial surroundings, in the small village of Vinski Vrh near Ormož, came from a poor winegrower's home (Križaj, 2008, 10). As we can see from the archival materials, from 1889 to 1894 he attended the four-year primary school at Sv. Miklavž near Ormož;[4] in 1895 he enrolled at the Imperial & Royal (I&R) Maribor State Secondary School (*Gymnasium*), where he attended the first five years and first encountered German.[5] After a one-year hiatus (1900/01), he continued his education at the I&R First Ljubljana Secondary School (sixth grade).[6] Hoping to support himself more easily by tutoring in Pula, which was then the main harbour of the Austro-Hungarian navy, he spent his last two school years at the I&R State Secondary School there, and graduated with distinction (*mit Auszeichnung*) on 8 July 1904.[7] It is clear from Kelemina's preserved report cards that he had considerable difficulty with German at the beginning of his schooling.[8] His decision to pursue the study of Germanic philology, at a time of peak national differentiation in the Habsburg Monarchy, was thus hardly an obvious one.[9]

4 Private archive of Doris Križaj, school report card.
5 SI-PAM 739, TE 230, Maribor Classical Secondary School, registration form 1895/96. The authors thank Jure Maček for his kind and professional help with locating the materials.
6 Private archive of Doris Križaj, secondary-school report card; UAG, DA, 671, *Doktoratsakt* Jakob Kelemina, Vita.
7 Private archive of Doris Križaj, *matura* exam report card, Pula, July 8, 1904.
8 The reason no doubt lies in the fact that he came from the Slovene peasant countryside and was therefore ill-placed to compete with his urban schoolmates, who spoke German at home as well. Most years, therefore, he only received a "satisfactory" (*befriedigend*) grade in German; in eighth grade and later at the *matura* exam, his knowledge of German language and literature earned him a "praiseworthy" (*lobenswert*), but he never got the highest grade for excellence in this subject, *vorzüglich* (private archive of Doris Križaj, secondary-school report card).
9 As related by his daughter Doris Križaj, he first wished to study chemistry, but soon realized that this study was reserved for students from wealthy families, as the students had to buy all the equipment themselves. Kelemina, who made his living mostly by tutoring, could not afford to do so (Križaj, 2008, 10). The financial situation of families naturally played a significant role in the decision to pursue university studies. Urška Bratož (2022) explores the available social transfer options in Istria and Trieste during the Habsburg era.

Zahl 7

Maturitäts-Zeugnis.

Kelemina Jakob,

geboren am 19. Juli 1882 zu Weinberg

in Steiermark, katholischer Religion, hat die Gymnasialstudien

u.zw. die 1. bis 5. Klasse am k.k. St. Gymn. in Marburg, dann nach einjähriger Unterbrechung (1900/1) die 6. Klasse am k.k. St. Gymn. in Laibach, die 7. und 8. Klasse am k.k. St. Gymnasium in Pola, in 9 Jahren

beendigt und sich der Maturitätsprüfung vor der unterzeichneten Prüfungs-Kommission zum erstenmale unterzogen.

Auf Grund dieser Prüfung wird ihm nachstehendes Zeugnis ausgestellt:

Sittliches Betragen: lobenswert

Leistungen in den einzelnen Prüfungsgegenständen:

Religionslehre:	vorzüglich
Lateinische Sprache:	Mit Erlassung der mündlichen Prüfung: lobenswert
Griechische Sprache:	lobenswert

Form. 38, für Gymnasien. — Preis 6 h. Wien. K. K. Schulbücher-Verlag — Buchdruckerei Karl Gorischek.

Figure 1: Jakob Kelemina's matura report card, Pula, 8 July 1904 (private archive of Doris Križaj).

Jakob Kelemina enrolled at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Charles and Francis in Graz on 8 October 1904 and devoted himself to the study of languages. The lists of lectures and seminars he attended in the course of his studies,[10] as recorded in his sign-up forms, testify to his curiosity and devotion to literature. Central throughout his eight semesters were the seminars and lectures on Old German and German literature that he attended under professors Anton Emanuel Schönbach and Bernhard Seuffert. His interests also extended to other fields, and he registered for individual lectures and seminars in philosophy, pedagogy, and classical and English philology. He followed lectures on historical English grammar and English literature, another field to which he devoted part of his academic career, by the noted Viennese-born scholar of English, Karl Luick (1865–1935), who also held the chair in English philology.

Kelemina's dissertation, titled *Zur Quelle von Eilharts Tristrant*, which was written under Schönbach's supervision and dealt with the sources of Eilhart's *Tristrant*, was assessed by Seuffert as well as by his supervisor. In their assessments, which seen through today's eyes were surprisingly critical, they concluded that the dissertation was not fit to publish, although it contained some good conclusions. This enabled Kelemina to take his *Rigorosum* doctoral exam (Kramberger & Samide, 2021, 184–186). He thus became a Doctor of Philosophy on 1 May 1909 at the Faculty of Arts, University of Graz. On 28 January 1911 he went on to pass the state (teacher) exam with German as his main subject and classical philology as a side subject, which allowed him to teach these two subjects in secondary schools with German and Slovene as the languages of instruction, with the restriction that he could only teach German in those schools where the language of instruction was not exclusively German.[11] This kind of provision was probably one of the reasons – though certainly not the only one – why so few Slovenes decided to study German. It is not surprising, then, that the nationally conscious Jakob Kelemina was directed to a school on the periphery: on July 3, 1911, he was appointed assistant teacher at the general secondary school in Novo Mesto (Jahresbericht, 1912), where he taught German, Latin, and an introduction to philosophy. Kelemina advanced rapidly and became a so-called proper teacher on 1 September 1912; only two years later, in 1914, he was appointed *Professor* (here meaning secondary-school teacher; Jahresbericht, 1915). In the summer semester of 1915, he was conscripted to the Austrian army, where he did clerical work, but already the next academic year saw him return to the school. The fact that he was officially transferred to the First State Secondary School in Ljubljana on 1 September 1919 was an indication of his rising career. Then, on 29 January 1920, Kelemina was appointed assistant professor (*docent*) in Germanic philology at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana.[12]

The main orientations and development of Germanic philology

The appointment of Dr Jakob Kelemina to the chair of Germanic philology was not a surprising move. There were in fact only three Slovenes in 1919 who could boast a doctorate in Germanic philology, and since nationality was such an important factor at the time, the only theoretically available candidates beside Kelemina were Matija Murko (1861–1952), who had completed his German and Slavic studies at the Faculty of Arts in Vienna in 1886, and Janko Bezjak (1862–1935), who had obtained his doctorate in 1888 at the Faculty of Arts of Charles and Francis University in Graz.[13] In 1919, Janko Bezjak was a commissary in the Education Department of the Provincial Administration in Ljubljana and a senior school supervisor (Žižić, 2013), whereas Murko – although his extensive dissertation had dealt intensively with Old German (Samide, 2019, 139)[14] – had already established himself as a Slavicist of international repute. While he too had been one of the candidates for the literary-studies chair in Slavic philology in Ljubljana in 1919 (Pogačnik, 1994, 356), he preferred to stay out of the competitive domestic scene and instead accepted an invitation from Charles University in Prague, where he became one of the founders of the chair in South Slavic languages and literatures.

Kelemina devoted himself to his task with great zeal and commitment.[15] His rapid career rise – he was ap-

10 UAG, Phil. Nat., 1811– SS 1967, Sign up forms of Faculty of Arts, *Jakob Kelemina*, winter semester 1904/05 – summer semester 1908.

11 UAW, Lehramtsprüfungsakte: Jakob Kelemina.

12 UAL IV, 86/1149, personal folder: Jakob Kelemina.

13 Beside Murko, Bezjak, and Kelemina, Viennese German philology in 1903 also produced another doctor, the later noted scholar of dialects, historical linguistics and onomastics Primus Lessiak (1878–1937); though his parents were of Slovene descent and Slovenes recognize him as an important fellow national from Carinthia (Jakopin, 1992, 148), he consistently indicated German as his mother tongue on his registration forms each semester (UAW, Phil. Nat. 177, 906, Sign-up forms of Faculty of Arts, *Primus Lessiak,* winter semester 1898/99); in addition, he clearly accepted the so-called Windisch theory (Kramberger & Samide, 2022, 46–47), making him quite unacceptable at the University of Ljubljana.

14 The title of the dissertation, which was highly praised by his supervisor Richard Heinzl, a respected Viennese professor of ancient German language and literature, was *Das Adam-Glossar*. *Bruchstücke eines Beitrages zur Kenntnis der altdeutschen Glossographie* [The Adam glossary: fragments of a contribution to knowledge of Old German glossography].

15 "He was an exceptionally hard-working and neat person. I remember him spending whole days at work at his desk, which was always kept tidy" (Križaj, 2008, 9).

pointed associate professor on 14 August 1923 and full professor on 2 August 1928 – testifies to his academic ambitions and dedication to research and teaching.

Kelemina's teaching of Germanic philology started in the second part of the 1919/20 winter semester, probably immediately following his habilitation as assistant professor. As was typical for recently established Germanic philology chairs, in Ljubljana the first years and decades were focused primarily on the Old German language and literature. In the 1919/20 summer semester, German historical grammar made up a full five hours a week, but in the following years Kelemina limited himself to three hours a week, covering each chapter (e.g. verbs, morphology, syntax) separately. In this first phase (as well as a few decades later) both Germanists and students of other subjects who audited lectures in Germanic philology – particularly Slavicists and students of comparative literature[16] – attended all the lectures together, so the material was never repeated. This does not mean that the Germanists learned too little, since they had to demonstrate their knowledge in wide-ranging graduation exams that covered all German historical grammar, German language, phonetics, and literature, and translation too played an important role.[17]

During the first decade, Germanic philology as a rule offered seven contact hours a week.[18] Beside historical grammar, Kelemina very soon began to include other topics and materials. In choosing the topics for his lectures and seminars, he followed three basic guidelines: beside offering a solid foundation in historical grammar, he and his students would go over various periods and authors from the entire history of German literature, including relatively modern ones, as well as several chapters of literary theory, partly in order to prepare them for the profession of a secondary-school German teacher. The importance he placed on this task is also clear from the graduation records, where the tasks for the final written exam as well as oral examination often involved topics from 19th-century literature, especially from German Weimar Classicism. At the same time, however, Kelemina also adhered to Wilhelm von Humboldt's principle that university professors should bring their research work into their teaching. His monograph on the study of literature (*Literarna veda*), which appeared in 1927, is a product both of his reflections on literary studies, which he intensively developed and published piecemeal in *Ljubljanski zvon* and *Dom in svet*,[19] and of the lectures and seminars he held in Germanic philology in Ljubljana. He held his first seminar on a topic from literary studies – the theory of the novel – in the 1921/22 winter semester; a year later, in the 1922/23 summer semester, he held a seminar on the study of literature, which he developed in the 1925/26 summer semester with a lecture and seminar titled "Introduction to the Study of Literature".[20]

Although the students knew German very well during the first years of Kelemina's employment, thanks to their Austro-Hungarian high-school education, this would change over time. In the following decades, therefore, practical language teachers who taught the students modern German played an important role. These were Henrik Baerent, Franz Hille, and Oton Drüner. Apart from German philology in the narrow sense, English was also slowly developing. In the 1922/23 winter semester, Kelemina offered his first lectures on English philology, under the title "Introduction to Anglo-Saxon", followed by literary seminars in which the students read old English texts, especially *Beowulf* (WS 1922/23).[21] The first teaching hours in English had in fact started a year earlier, when the English language teacher Fanny Copeland (1872–1970) started teaching at the Faculty of Arts;[22] she played a very important role not only by teaching English, but also as the long-time driving force behind the *Društvo za proučevanje angleškega jezika* (Society

16 The system of studies – the categorization of different studies, i.e. the grouping of the sciences, the possibilities for combining different courses of study, and the classification of the various disciplines into main discipline A, discipline B and auxiliary subjects – changed several times during the first quarter-century of the University of Ljubljana, so it is sometimes hard to determine which subjects within German philology could be audited by – or were even required for – students of other scientific disciplines, but it is a fact that Kelemina's lectures were always open to more than one study programme. Although a chair in general literature and literary theory had already been envisaged when the university was founded, comparative literature became a separate course of study only in 1930; until then, lectures on comparative literature had taken place within the framework of Slavic philology (as they partly continue to do), and had been held by Jakob Kelemina as well as by the Slavicists France Kidrič in Ivan Prijatelj (Dolinar, 2013, 273; Šlibar, 2020, 15–27).

17 Red za državni diplomski izpit na Filozofski fakulteti v Ljubljani (1920). Ljubljana, University of Ljubljana.

18 The exceptions are the 1921/22 summer semester, when professor Kelemina had nine hours of lectures, and the 1925/26 winter semester, when he only had five hours.

19 A complete bibliography of Kelemina's works was published by Bezlaj in a contribution celebrating Kelemina on his 70th anniversary (Bezlaj, 1954).

20 Cf. Seznam predavanj na univerzi Kraljevine Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev v Ljubljani (List of lectures at the university of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Ljubljana). Ljubljana, University of Ljubljana, for each semester.

21 Jakob Kelemina dedicated himself to English literature not only in his lectures but also in his publishing endeavours. One of his notable areas of expertise was Shakespeare (Jurak, 2007).

22 Fanny Susannah Copeland-Barkworth, born in Ireland in 1872, was a highly educated cosmopolitan, translator, musician, linguist, writer, alpinist, and for twenty years, a teacher of English language and literature at the University of Ljubljana. On her life and work, cf. Mikša & Vehar, 2013; Batagelj, 2007, 125–128.

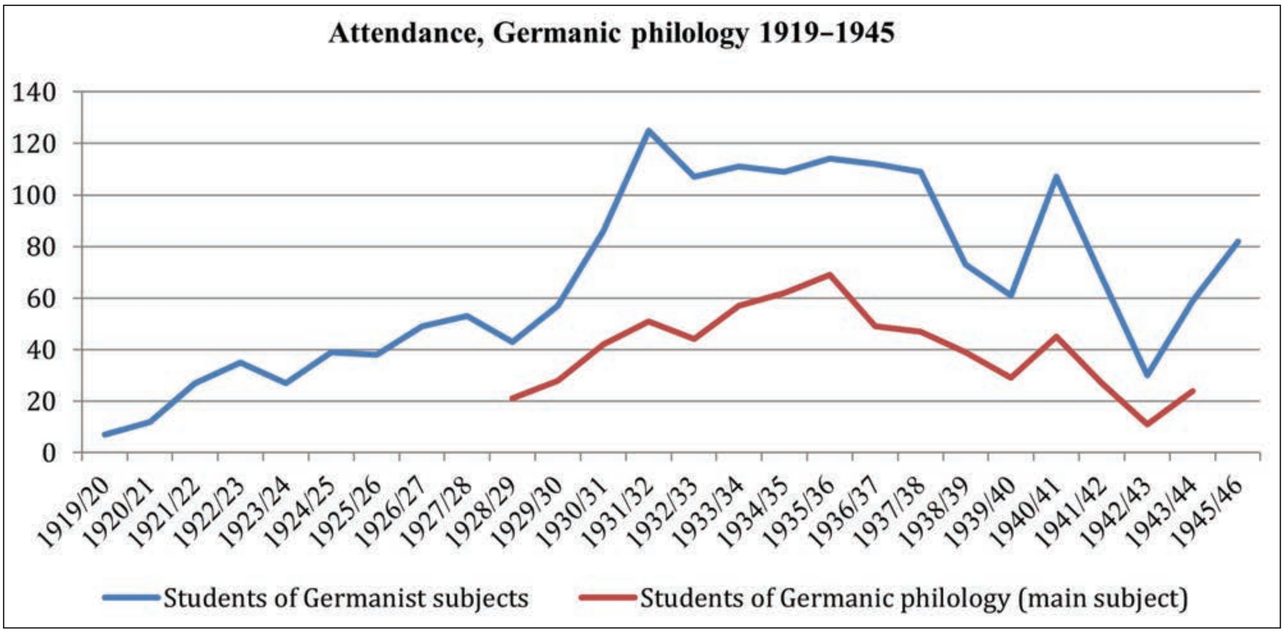

Chart 1: The number of students of Germanic philology (main subject) and all persons attending Germanist subjects (main, subsidiary and elective subject C) in the winter semesters 1919–1945.

for Study of the English Language, est. 1922), and as an indefatigable translator and cultural mediator (about the role of cultural mediators in cultural diplomacy cf. Udovič et al., 2023). Beside her mother tongue, Copeland had excellent knowledge of Slovene, Serbo-Croat, German, and Italian, and also communicated in French, Russian, Bulgarian, Norwegian, and Danish. In 1941 she was "forcibly dismissed from work by the Italian occupiers" and placed "in confinement".[23]

THE FIRST STUDENTS

In the first semester, the 1919/20 winter semester, which only started on 3 December 1919 with an introductory lecture by the linguist Dr Fran Ramovš (1890–1952) and lasted until April 1920, six male students and one female student signed up for Kelemina's lectures on the historical grammar of the German language. Anyone who had passed their secondary-school *matura* exam could enrol at the university, and the first year also saw the enrolment of many students who had previously studied at other universities. This was also the case for the Germanists: six of them had already completed their first semesters of study in Vienna, Graz, Zagreb or Belgrade, and only one completed the entire course of study in Ljubljana. It was the faculty council that decided on the recognition of their previously completed requirements.[24]

Enrolment figures

In the 1920 summer semester, the number of Germanic philology students grew from the initial seven to 10, and the next year to 12. Despite our systematic review of all personal records, the inadequate, inconsistent, and even arbitrary recording of the main discipline and the wide freedom of choice make it practically impossible to determine how many students actually signed up for Germanic philology as their main subject. It is only after the amended examination rules (*Izpitni predpisi*) in 1928, which drew up a stricter plan for the organization of studies, that the information in the student records becomes more reliable and tangible. These figures still cannot be taken at face value, since some students did not record their field of study or failed to record it properly; moreover, it would be unfair to distinguish strictly between the main and subsidiary subject, since the number of hours spent attending one or the other was often quite similar. The only truly exact information, therefore, comes from the so-called inscriptions, i.e. the professors' signatures, which the students collected in their personal records and which clearly show who attended a particular subject in a given semester. The figures in the following chart, which include all the records in the winter semesters from 1919 to 1945, are informative in this regard.

23 Certificate of employment for Fanny S. Copeland dated 24th May 1954 (UAL IV, 6/92, personal folder: Fanny S. Copeland).

24 Guide to inscription in the University of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Ljubljana. In: Seznam predavanj na univerzi kraljestva Srbov, Hrvatov in Slovencev v Ljubljani za letni semester 1920 (1920). Ljubljana, University of Ljubljana.

In the 1922/23 winter semester, more than 30 students signed up for Germanist subjects.[25] With minor fluctuations, their number kept growing until the mid-1930s. At the beginning of the 1930s we see a pronounced jump in the numbers auditing seminars, lectures, and exercises in Germanist subjects as a subsidiary or elective subject C (usually alongside Romance or Slavic philology, pedagogics, and philosophy; on the organization of the lectures cf. Šlibar, 2020, 19–28), after Jakob Kelemina was joined by Henrik Baerent, a contract teacher of modern German. This talented Russian of German descent had studied in St Petersburg for four semesters, and then continued his Germanist studies in Ljubljana, graduating in 1926 and obtaining Yugoslav citizenship in 1928. Employed by the University of Ljubljana, he held exercises in German grammar and translation (German–Slovene and Slovene–German) and in German style and composition. At the beginning of the 1941/42 winter semester, he suddenly quit and joined the *Deutsche Wehrmacht*, after which all trace of him is lost (Maslo, 2021, 39–40). With his arrival, the number of students signed up for Germanist subjects grew from 57 in 1929/30 to 86 in 1930/31, and as many as 125 in 1930/31. The 1930s can therefore rightly be called "the golden age of Germanic philology" (Šlibar, 2020, 28). Towards the end of the 1930s attendance declined, and in 1939/49 the Germanist subjects were audited only by 61 students; only 29 students chose Germanic philology, or German, as their main subject. The reason for the astounding 75% leap to 107 participants in 1940/41 is unclear: some may have wanted to finish their studies as soon as possible, but it may also be a sign of stronger German national tendencies. On 3 May 1941, in accordance with the agreement between Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the whole Province of Ljubljana was annexed by Italy. Hence it is not surprising that enrolment in Germanic philology dwindled: in the 1942/43 winter semester, only 30 students continued to attend Germanist subjects, which is nearly equivalent to the number of students two years after the start of university studies.[26] After Italy capitulated, in November 1943, on the order of General Rupnik, the head of the provincial administration, the university abolished the lectures entirely and only continued to carry out exams and doctoral exams[27], hence there is no data for those two years. After the liberation, the university resumed activities and in the 1945/46 winter semester Kelemina held his last lecture on historical grammar, attended mainly by a large number of English students, a subject undergoing intensive growth at the time. As Kelemina was also an English scholar and never neglected this field in research or teaching (Kramberger & Samide, 2022, 39–40, 50–51), he was able to shift his entire teaching to English subjects over time. From 1946 to 1950 there was thus not a single subject taught in German at the Faculty of Arts.[28]

Students from the coastal regions

Students from the coastal regions make up a marginal share of the present-day German students,[29] and German as a foreign language is also less widespread in schools in the Gorizia, Coastal–Karst, and Littoral–Inner Carniola region than other foreign languages, particularly Italian and Spanish. It is only in the last ten years that the role of German has grown in these regions, partly due to various initiatives that promote multi-linguality and draw on memories of Austro-Hungarian times.[30] As there were three important high schools with humanities or classics programmes and German as the language of instruction in the Littoral–Istrian area under the Habsburg Monarchy, in Trieste, Gorica, and Pula,[31] it is certainly a very relevant question how many pupils from this area went on to the University of Ljubljana to advance their knowledge of German language and literature.

25 UAL I, 235, personal records for winter semester 1922/23.

26 UAL I, 234 and UAL I, 269, personal records for winter semester 1921/22 and winter semester 1942/43.

27 UAL IV, 217, Regulation on the Abolition of Lectures at the University of Ljubljana, 1943.

28 After the war, it was understandably challenging to reestablish German studies as a scientific discipline focusing on the German language and literature. There was a shortage of qualified teachers, particularly after 1957 when Jakob Kelemina passed away. Therefore, it proved to be particularly valuable that both German states, both the FRG and the GDR, sent a lecturer to Ljubljana. The lecturers made a significant contribution to the development of German studies in Ljubljana and served as a paradigmatic example of the importance of the relations between Germany and Slovenia throughout the decades leading up to Slovenia's independence. For more information on German-Slovenian relations, see the article by Boštjan Udovič (2022).

29 In the past five academic years (from 2018/19 to 2022/23) 241 students have enrolled in German Studies at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana; of these, only 22 come from the Littoral (a little over 9%). The gender ratio among all students from the coastal region was 16 female and six male students, with female students thus accounting for nearly 73% of the total (VIS FF UL).

30 Here we may mention, for example, the activities of the Kulturhaus Görz Society, whose promotion of a multi-cultural and multi-lingual town (Gorizia, Görz, Gorica, Gurize) is also bringing German to the fore again (https://www.kulturhaus-go.it/). A comprehensive overview of association's activities in this region during the Habsburg Monarchy is given by Branko Marušič (1999).

31 Additionally, Koper had the renowned I&R Upper Secondary School, where Italian became the language of instruction in all subjects in 1868, whereas German and Slovene were only obligatory for pupils of German and Slovene nationality. The state secondary school in Gorica introduced a parallel class with Slovene as the language of instruction in 1910, and in 1913/14 the school was officially divided in three: Slovene, German, and Italian. However, it ceased activities due to the First World War.

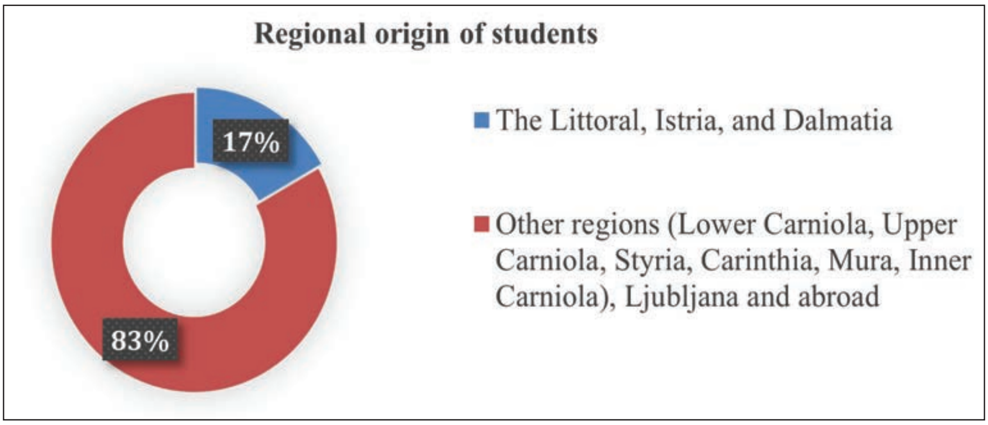

Chart 2: Regional origin of students signed up for Germanist subjects, 1919–1945.

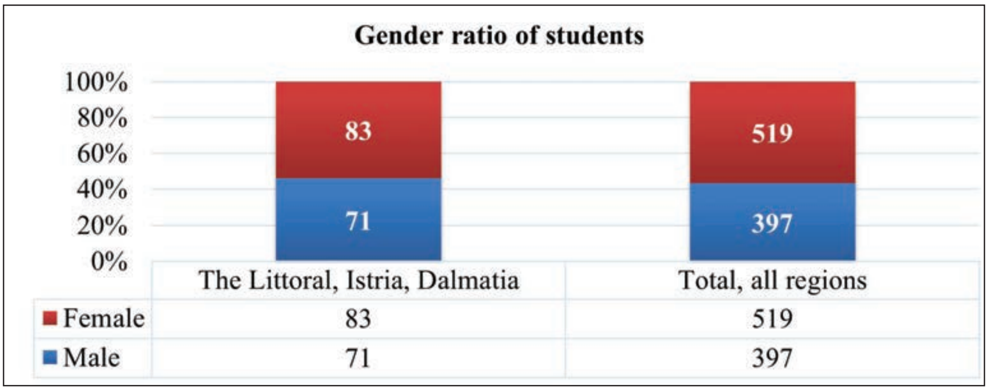

Chart 3: Share of male and female students enrolled in Germanist subjects, 1919–1945.

Out of the 916 students who signed up for at least one Germanist subject in the 1919–1945 period, 154 came from the Littoral, Istria, Dalmatia, and the Montenegrin Littoral, making up nearly 17% of the total.

The fact that nearly half of these students came from Trieste, Gorica and their surroundings is not surprising: After the dissolution of Austria–Hungary and the signing of the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920, many Slovenes left Trieste due to the political conditions, forced Italianization, and rise of Fascism. It was thus probably a natural choice for them to opt for the University of Ljubljana. It should be mentioned that a University of Trieste was established in 1924, but it started out with only two faculties, Law and Economics, and the faculty of Philology and Philosophy was established only in 1943. That nearly all these students were Slovenes is clear not only from their Slovene-sounding names, but also from their national self-identification, for everyone declared their own nationality in their student records, and except for two female students (whose names were unambiguously Italian), they all declared themselves Slovenes or Yugoslavs.

The gender ratio among students from the coastal regions is similar to the full picture: out of a total of 154 students there were 83 female and 71 male students, or 54% women. Looking at the full population, in the university's first 25 years lectures in Germanic philology were attended by 519 female students and 397 males, or 57% women.

The preponderance of women may at first glance seem surprising, considering that we are exploring the first quarter-century of the university's activities, so let us explain two points. First, we should stress that the gender ratio was highly unbalanced during the first years, mainly due to the fact that in Austro-Hungarian times it was very difficult for women to attend secondary school or complete their *matura* school-leaving exam, which was a precondition for going to university. The first female *matura* graduate in the Slovene lands was the Trieste-born Medea Norsa (1877–1952), who took the exam in 1900 at the Koper Upper Secondary School. It was only after 1910 – and still subject to restrictions – that girls could begin to attend the general secondary and technical secondary schools (*gimnazije*, *realke*) in

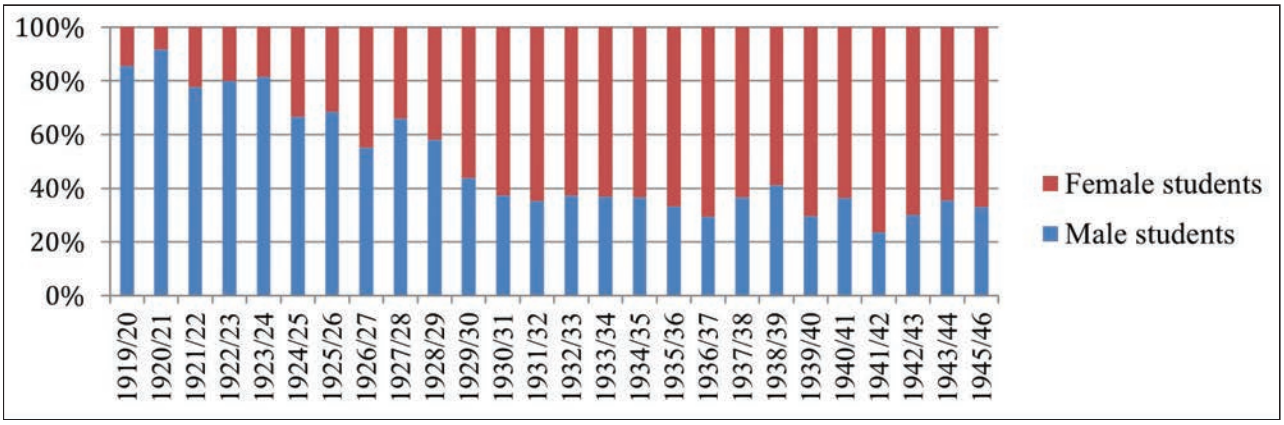

Chart 4: Gender ratio among students auditing Germanist subjects, 1919–1945 (for all regions).

full (for more on the education of women in the Slovene lands cf. Demšar, 2021). As shown in Chart 4, until 1925 the share of female students of Germanist subjects ranged between 10 and 20%, and then began to grow continuously. In the first decade, then, women made up between a third and at most half of the student total, while after 1930 they formed the majority, and up to the end of the Second World War they made up about two thirds of all those studying.

Second, already in the 1960s empirical studies of the French education system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979) found that gender did not play the decisive role in access to university education, but social origin did. There was merciless selection throughout the education system, and among the most underprivileged classes – industrial workers with no financial or cultural capital – one could even speak of elimination, they asserted (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, 2). They calculated that the son of a senior executive was 80 times more likely to go to university than a farm worker's son, 40 times more than the son of an industrial worker, and still twice more than the son of a lower-rank executive. In the 1960s, on this account, children of the most underprivileged classes still had only a symbolic chance that their parents might send them to university, and only 5% went. The share of children from certain segments of the middle class (clerical workers, proprietors, artisans, and shopkeepers) that went to university was 10–15%, while nearly 60% of children of senior executives did so, and nearly 80% of children of parents in artistic, intellectual, and liberal professions entered university studies. The difference reflected not only the traditional division into social classes (upper, middle and lower class), but also divisions within the upper stratum itself: those endowed with financial capital rated lower in this regard than those with cultural capital, i.e., the intellectuals. Decisive factors in the decision to go to university included their childhood environment; the social bonds, including those outside the family, that they naturally formed; and the social practices characteristic of everyday life in a given milieu (theatre-going, cultural events, newspaper-reading, flexibility, etc.). Working-class children had to scrape together all their cultural capital themselves, and were thus subtly underprivileged compared with the children of intellectuals, who showed their knowledge with a certain off-hand ease as a matter of course (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, 12). That is why, of all the differentiating factors, "social origin is doubtless the one whose influence bears most strongly on the student world, more strongly, at any rate, that sex or age [...]" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, 8).

We have taken the data for our study from the personal records in which students in the 1930s started entering their father's profession, and in part we have also relied on the biographies of some of the more prominent students. We find that we can draw similar, if less radical conclusions for Germanist students as well. We should note that our findings are merely indicative, since the period under study is relatively short (10 years) because the recording of the father's profession started only in the 1933/34 winter semester, and the number of students processed in this way (77) makes up less than 10% of all students of Germanic philology in the interwar period and cannot be considered representative. It is also often hard to determine from the recorded professions what status a person enjoyed or what social class they could be placed in (for example, a "merchant" could be a businessman, a wholesaler, or just a small shopkeeper). However, we do find that the father's profession was listed as farm worker or farmer only four times out of 77, and in two of these cases we may conclude that they were large landowners. The largest share of profes-

Table 1: Social origin of students from Littoral, Istria, and Dalmatia.

Field	Men	Women	Total
Farm workers and farmers	4	0	4
Crafts and industry	3	1	4
Railways	5	8	13
Trade	3	3	6
Public administration, finance, banking, clerical workers	4	13	17
Military, police, customs	4	9	13
Mail and telegram services	1	1	2
Law	0	3	3
Healthcare (pharmacist)	0	1	1
Education	4	9	13
Culture and media (editor)	0	1	1
The profession of the father not given	77		

sions (about 50%) was made up of so-called "lower managerial" positions (primary teachers, public servants, clerical workers, lower-rank executives); a large share (about 20%) was also made up of the professions that Bourdieu and Passeron classed as possessing the most cultural capital, i.e., senior executives or professionals (supervisors, administrators, school administrators, university professors, liberal professions, and lawyers). Some 25% were industrial workers and lower ranked clerical workers (railway conductors, ticket collectors, guards, etc.), and 5% were farmers or farm workers. Based on these figures, we find that the childhood social environment played a large role for students from the Littoral, too, as most of the students came from the upper strata of society. Still, a relatively high 25% share was also made up of members of the lower middle class, whom the French research accorded considerably lower chances of entering academia. The reasons why the difference is less pronounced than in France can probably be found in the narrower stratification of Slovene society in the interwar period: since the first university in the Slovene lands was established only in 1919, the parents of students from this period would have had significantly less access to education than later generations. The picture we get of the students' social origin based on their fathers' fields of work is quite telling, as seen in the following table.

Since we have data on the father's profession only for the decade 1933–1943, the considerably larger share of women (63%) is notable. This only confirms the well-known thesis that women opted primarily for the humanities and men for natural sciences and engineering, clearly reflecting the influence of the traditional model of the division of labour (and the distribution of "gifts", "ability") between the genders (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, 6). We also find that male students were significantly more likely to be the sons of fathers from the categories "farmers, crafts and industry", whereas female students were to a much greater extent the daughters of fathers from the categories "public administration and education". We may thus conclude that the female students from the Littoral stood a better chance that their families would support their decision to study German at the university when the fathers also came from an educational background. On the other hand, this finding confirms the thesis that "females are more often consigned to the Arts or Science faculties, which train them for a career in teaching" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1979, 6). Many female Germanist graduates did indeed find employment in education, most successfully Ada or Adela Žgur (1909–1992), though she did not come from a teacher's family. She was born in Komen in the family of a non-commissioned officer in the gendarmes, went to the classical secondary school in Kranj, and studied Germanic philology in Ljubljana from 1928 to 1932. She graduated in German and English on 30 June 1932 and went on to teach in several secondary schools, and during the war she also worked as a translator during the preparations for the Paris Peace Conference. She thus kept using her foreign-language competences very actively, and for a while (from 1949 to 1950) she was also inspector for foreign languages at the Ministry of Education. In the autumn of 1950, she took a position as practical German teacher at the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures, where she would impart practical knowledge of German to the students as the only teacher for nearly a decade (Stanonik, 2013). She published several textbooks for both English and German, compiled a selection of modern German literary texts together with the Idria-born **Melita Počkar** (1909–1984),[32] and remains appreciated by today's German students for her *Nemška slovnica* or *Deutsche Grammatik* (German grammar), which has been reprinted many times since it first appeared in 1958. Five years after Ada Žgur, another Germanist graduate from the Littoral was **Valter Braz** (1914–1988), who worked as a practical German teacher at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana. Braz was born in Trieste, went to technical secondary school in Celje and then enrolled in the study of German language and literature in Ljubljana (Krevs Birk, 2013). Until his appointment at the Faculty of Arts in 1961, he worked as a secondary-school teacher and headmaster, so it is not surprising that he is best known for his very successful secondary-school German textbooks. Among the university professors, the most eminent was the literary theorist, comparativist, critic, essayist, and editor **Anton Ocvirk** (1907–1980), who was born in Gorica and studied Slavic philology and comparative literature, and who also attended Kelemina's lectures on German historical grammar in 1928/29 and 1929/30 (Jan, 2013). Among the well-known students from the Littoral who attended lectures in Germanic philology we should also mention **Ferdo Delak** (1905–1968), who made a name for himself in theatre and film, but was also a translator and publicist (Šlibar, 2020, 46); **Branka Jurca** (1914–1999), a popular author of books for children and young adults; **Silvira Tomasini** (1913–1942) from Trieste, who graduated in 1938 and is considered a national heroine: active in social and cultural work, she organized women in the national liberation struggle (Šlibar, 2020, 47); and the poet, thinker and publicist **Srečko Kosovel** (1904–1926), who attended Kelemina's lectures in the 1925/26 summer semester. Despite studying Slavic and Romance philology and attending only one of Kelemina' s lectures, German held great significance for Kosovel and served various purposes, including as a language of mediation. As noted by Vanda Srebotnjak in her study (2021, 166), he even read Benedetto Croce in German.

CONCLUSION

The period from the establishment of the University of Ljubljana in 1919 to the Second World War was the pioneering phase in the development of Slovene Germanic philology. In content, structure, and main activities, it was entirely in line with Germanic philology in Europe at the time. Jakob Kelemina, who was the first to head the Department of German Studies and for a long time its only academic member of staff, also put it on the European map by cleaving to Humboldt's principle of bringing scientific research together with university teaching. Humboldt, as we know, not only discovered the formula for the modern research and teaching university, but has also remained an uncontested authority in matters concerning the ideal relationship between the university and the state: academic production in his view goes far better if the state does not meddle with it, but only ensures adequate working conditions in academic institutions. Pierre Bourdieu, on whom we have relied several times in this article, took a similar view 150 years later; in *Homo academicus* he explains why resistance is not only legitimate but necessary when academic autonomy faces pressure from industry, trade, or politics: "As *authorities*, whose position in social space depends principally on the possession of cultural capital, a subordinate form of capital, university professors are situated rather on the side of the subordinate pole of the field of power and are clearly opposed in this respect to the managers of industry and business" (Bourdieu, 1988, 36). Jakob Kelemina was no exception in this regard. Although he clearly sided with the national liberation movement during the Second World War, he always remained faithful to his autonomous, sovereign academic stance, and for this reason – as the long-time president of the English club in Ljubljana – he was imprisoned just after the war (Mole, 1970, 506). At the same time, he was always aware of the social responsibility that came with the professorship, and did not lock himself in the ivory tower of a university professor focusing on his narrow scientific field of Old German language and literature, but rather acted as a *homo academicus* in the true sense of the term: he engaged in the most varied cultural-historical, literary, ethnographic, etymological,

32 Melita Počkar (born Pirc) completed her studies in German language and literature and Old German, comparative literature with literary theory, and the history of South Slavic literature and Slovene language at the Faculty of Arts in Ljubljana in 1933. From 1958 on (until her retirement in 1978), she was employed by the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures of the Faculty of Arts first as a practical language teacher and later as instructor in German (Šlibar, 2020, 57).

and linguistic questions, published scientific and professional articles in numerous journals, was a prolific translator, and was socially engaged. How different and how socially appreciated the role of university professors once was can also be seen from the Prešeren Prize Kelemina was awarded in 1954 for his life's work in literary studies.

Much the same went for the students as for the professors: going to university was not at all an obvious choice in the 1920s and 1930s, and these decisions were not only connected with intellectual abilities, but depended on a range of other factors. As we have shown, based on Bourdieu's classification of education opportunities by economic and cultural capital, and on empirical studies of data on the students in the first generation of Slovene Germanists, one of the main factors was the social origin of the potential students: children from environments rich in cultural capital had, and probably still have, far better chances of entering academia than those from families with a low level of such capital. This study has shown that there were far more students enrolling in Germanic philology from the whole area of the Littoral, Istria, and Dalmatia than today. Predominantly, they were the children of public servants, teachers, lawyers, and other professions that can be classed as possessing a high level of cultural capital. There can be no doubt that German had considerably more of a presence in this area – in part due to its historical role, of course – than it has today. Moreover, numerous students who either enrolled in the study of German language and literature or only attended individual lectures in the field of Germanic philology went on to leave their mark on Slovene society.

ZAČETKI SLOVENSKE GERMANISTIKE: PRVI PROFESORJI IN DRUŽBENA STRUKTURA PRVIH ŠTUDENTOV S PRIMORSKE

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POVZETEK

Prispevek osvetljuje začetke germanistike na Slovenskem, ki sovpadajo z ustanovitvijo Univerze v Ljubljani, in se pri tem osredinja zlasti na strukturo študentov in študentk s slovenskega, italijanskega in hrvaškega primorja. Germanistika na ljubljanski Filozofski fakulteti, katere dolgoletni predstojnik je bil prof. dr. Jakob Kelemina (1882–1957), se je kot ena od ustanovnih ved hitro uveljavila in pridobivala na ugledu: do konca druge svetovne vojne je predavanja na germanski filologiji obiskovalo skupno 916 študentov in študentk. S kvantitativno in kvalitativno analizo arhivskih virov, seznamov predavanj in osebnih izkazov ter na podlagi Bourdieujeve klasifikacije izobraževalnih možnosti glede na ekonomski in kulturni kapital prispevek ugotavlja, kolikšen delež zavzemajo študentje z mediteranskega območja, kakšno je razmerje med spoloma, kakšna je korelacija med družbeno-socialnim okoljem, iz katerega izvirajo, ter izbiro študija, kako se nacionalno (samo)opredeljujejo in kako je izbira študijskih vsebin vplivala na njihovo karierno pot: med njimi najdemo tako univerzitetne profesorje kot uveljavljene pisatelje, prevajalce, kulturne delavce, umetnike, pravnike, publiciste in številne druge, ki so pomembno sooblikovali slovensko družbo. Izsledki kažejo, da predstavljajo študentje s Primorske 17-odstotni delež vseh študentov, od tega je 54 odstotkov žensk, kar je primerljivo s povprečjem za celotno populacijo. Ob tem se je tudi izkazalo, da družbeno-socialno okolje pomembno vpliva na odločitev za študij, saj večina študentov izhaja iz srednjega in višjega sloja prebivalstva, ki je izobraževanju bolj naklonjeno.

Ključne besede: študij germanistike, Jakob Kelemina, struktura študentov, primorski študentje, zgodovina germanistike 1919–1945, kulturni kapital

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REPRESENTATION OF THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE SLOVENIAN TRANSLATIONS OF KARL MAY'S *ORIENTZYKLUS*

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ABSTRACT

The present article addresses how the Middle East was portrayed in two Slovenian translations of Karl May's Orientzyklus. *This series of novels was translated during the interwar period, when the Slovenian ethnic territory was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and the re-translations were published during Slovenia's socialist era. By means of a textual comparison, the extent of the ideological interventions that occurred in the portrayal of the Middle East in the translations is established. Furthermore, the article discusses how the different contemporary socio-political circumstances in Slovenia may have influenced how the region in question was represented.*

Keywords: Karl May, Middle East, *Orientzyklus*, German literature, translation, ideology, xenophobia

RAFFIGURAZIONE DEL MEDIO ORIENTE NELLE TRADUZIONI SLOVENE DELL'*ORIENTZYKLUS* DI KARL MAY

SINTESI

Il presente articolo affronta il modo in cui viene descritto il Medio Oriente in due traduzioni dell'Orientzykus di Karl May. Questa serie di romanzi fu tradotta nel periodo interbellico, quando il territorio sloveno etnico faceva parte del regno di Jugoslavia, e le nuove traduzioni furono pubblicate durante l'epoca socialista slovena. Il confronto di testi ha permesso di determinare la portata degli interventi ideologici operati nella rappresentazione del Medio Oriente nelle traduzioni. L'articolo affronta inoltre il modo in cui le diverse circostanze sociopolitiche contemporanee della Slovenia abbiano potuto influenzare il modo di rappresentare la regione in questione.

Parole chiave: Karl May, Medio Oriente, *Orientzyklus*, letteratura tedesca, traduzione, ideologia, xenofobia

INTRODUCTION

Karl May (1842–1912), one of the best-selling German writers of all time, published the hexalogy titled *Orientzyklus* (Orient Cycle) in 1892. The first three novels of the series, i.e. *Durch die Wüste* (Through the Desert), *Durchs wilde Kurdistan* (Through Wild Kurdistan) and *Von Bagdad nach Stambul* (From Baghdad to Istanbul), are predominantly set in the region which – from a Eurocentric perspective – is nowadays usually referred to as the Middle East.[1] The material for these three novels was originally serialized from 1881 to 1884, i.e., in the decade after the formation of the German Empire (1871); during that time, the state was on the brink of becoming a colonial power – the German Colonial Empire was ultimately established in 1884. As Friedhelm Pedde (2015, 21) notes, these developments awakened the nation's interest in far-away lands. Germany had no colonies in the Middle East, and very few Germans living at that time had any direct contact with people from that region; therefore, their perception of the "Orient" was primarily shaped by reading (Bach, 2010, 3).[2] Although May has now long been most famous for his novels taking place in the American Old West, his stories set in the ''Orient'' were immensely popular during his lifetime (dpa [Deutsche Presse-Agentur], 2022), which is also evidenced by the fact that the *Orientzyklus* was published as the first six volumes of his collected works in 1913. Because of the popularity of his literary works, May has influenced several generations of readers' perception of the Orient and the religion of Islam (Pflitsch, 2004; Bach, 2010, 62, 65; Pedde, 2015, 23; dpa, 2022).

It was during the time when most of the territory which today constitutes the Republic of Slovenia was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia that the Catholic publishing house Tiskarna sv. Cirila commissioned a translation of the *Orientzyklus*: the series was published in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The first and third novel were translated anonymously, while the translation of *Durchs wilde Kurdistan* is credited to Catholic priest and theologian Anton Jehart (1881–1948).[3] The re-translations of the novels were done by writer and translator Ludvik Mrzel (1904–1971) and were published in the early 1970s by the largest Slovenian publishing house Mladinska knjiga; during that time, Slovenia was one of the republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The Slovenian nation had little direct contact with most nations from the Middle East for much of its history – except with the Ottoman Turks; while the Slovenian territory was never part of the Ottoman Empire, it suffered from frequent Turkish incursions in the 15th and 16th centuries, which influenced the traditional Slovenian perception of the ''Turk'' as an ''Other''. However, by the first decades of the 20th century, the majority of Slovenians had no direct dealings with the Turkish people, and mostly formed an opinion about this nation from what they heard or read about it. Since Karl May was a popular writer in Slovenia until almost the end of the 20th century (Trupej, 2017a, 124), it can be presumed that one of the sources that influenced many readers' opinions about the Middle East was the *Orientzyklus*.

A certain literary work is more likely to be translated and published in a particular target culture if it affirms that culture's norms and values (Venuti, 1998, 127–140). In accordance with the currently dominant ideology, a cultural policy is established that promotes the translation of politically desirable literature (Bajt, 1997, 43). Especially in societies with authoritarian or totalitarian political systems, frequent interventions in texts occur during the translation process in order to ensure compliance with dominant ideologies – André Lefevere (1992) termed this activity *rewriting*. Kitty M. van Leuven-Zwart (1989) demonstrated that constant *shifts*[4] on the microstructural level (the phrase, clause and sentence level) of a translated text can cause shifts on the macrostructural level (events, characterization, relationships between characters, etc.), and she developed an elaborate categorization of shifts (van Leuven-Zwart, 1989, 1990). However, for the analysis at hand, only *mutations* – as the most radical of shifts (Onič, 2004) – will be relevant; these include *deletion*, *addition* and *radical change of meaning* (van Lueven-Zwart, 1990, 86).

The present article will analyse whether and to what extent shifts occurred in the portrayal of the Middle East in two Slovenian translations of the

1 According to the *Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary*, the term ''Middle East'' is "usually considered to include the countries extending from Libya on the west to Afghanistan on the east". In English, this term replaced ''Near East'' as the most commonly used term for the region; however, the latter term is still used in German (i.e. *Naher Osten*) and Slovenian (i.e. *Bližnji vzhod*). Since this article is written in English, the term Middle East will be used.

2 In May's time, there were different perceptions of what territories the term ''Orient'' encompassed, but what is nowadays considered the Middle Eastern region was generally included (Berman, 1996, 16–18).

3 Jehart may also have translated the other two works in question, since he is credited as the translator of *In den Schluchten des Balkan* and *Der Schut* (the fourth and sixth novels of the *Orientzyklus*, respectively), but this could not be confirmed.

4 A way to define shifts is "changes which occur or may occur in the process of translating" (Bakker et al., 2009, 269) or "[a]ll that appears as new with respect to the original, or fails to appear where it might have been expected" (Popovič, 1970, qtd. in Bakker et al., 2009, 271).

Orientzyklus, and afterwards discuss how the different contemporary socio-political circumstances in the same ethnic territory may have influenced how the region in question was represented.[5] In order to have a frame of reference, an overview of May's portrayal of the Middle East in the original novels will be discussed before commencing the analysis.

KARL MAY'S PORTRAYAL OF THE "ORIENTAL" OTHER

In recent decades, there has been lively discussion about May's portrayal of the Other, including in the *Orientzyklus*. Stefan Börnchen (2022, 60) claims that this series "is a striking example of an orientalist narrative as described by Edward W. Said."[6] In his influential work *Orientalism*, Said (2003 [1978], 1) referred to the Orient as "almost a European invention"; similarly, Tom Reiss (2013, 29) – in an article about May's "Orient" stories – claims that "the orientalist travelogues describe the Orient by creating it", while Olcay Akyıldız (2009, 128) remarks that May created the "Orient" in his imagination.[7]

Although May awakened readers' interest in the Middle Eastern region, the nations living there and their religion(s), he also perpetuated stereotypes about them and portrayed Western culture as superior (Pflitsch, 2004; dpa, 2022). A symbolic representation of this is the German protagonist of May's stories, his literary *alter ego* serving as the first-person re-teller, who uses the *nom de guerre* Kara Ben Nemsi while travelling through the "Orient": he is characterized as almost all-knowing and all-powerful, as numerous scholars point out (Berman, 1996, 85–95; Pflitsch, 2004; Akyıldız, 2009, 128, 130–131, 133–134; Bach, 2010, 38–39; Roussel, 2013, 72; Börnchen, 2022, 49). Nina Berman (1998, 60–63) notes that in the *Orientzyklus,* the protagonist frequently displays a condescending attitude towards "Oriental" interlocutors; she further claims that Kara Ben Nemsi "teaches the reader how to think and act like a colonizer, a Eurocentrist, and a racist" (Berman 1998, 56; cf. Berman, 1996, 37), as well as that he "is a self-appointed master and judge, who derives his legitimacy from belonging to Western culture" (Berman, 1998, 62; cf. Berman, 1996, 50).

Kara Ben Nemsi often has a patronizing attitude even towards his trusted "sidekick" Hadschi Halef Omar (Reiss, 2013, 31); Börnchen (2022, 49–50; cf. Berman, 1996, 75–76) states that the latter is characterized as effeminate, while Berman (1996, 81–82; 1998, 59) remarks that May portrays him as physically unimpressive as well as slightly ignorant, and she furthermore claims the dynamic between him and his master can be understood as a symbolic representation of the relationship between the Middle East and Europe.[8] Similarly, Akyıldız, (2009, 131) states that Kara ben Nemsi seems to represent European (particularly German) and Christian virtues in general and their advantages over those of the "Orient", which "begs the question, whether the purpose was to tell of the 'Other' or maybe not rather to confirm one's own superiority by means of strangers".

Despite the criticism that May's works have been subjected to, Lorenza Rega (1996, 55) gives him credit for propagating tolerance among people regardless of their religion or ethnicity. Similarly, Martin Lowsky (1987, 59) claims, that – despite his prejudices – May generally upvalued foreign nations. Svenja Bach (2010, 24, 28–29, 47–48, 63) expresses the opinion that the portrayal of Islam in the *Orientzyklus* is not as negative as some scholars make it out to be, but that in several passages, May expressed respect for and a tolerant attitude towards this religion, although he made it clear that it was not on the same level as Christianity. Furthermore, this author asserts that May does not give the religion of Islam as the reason for the negative characters being the way they are (Bach 2010, 34–35, 44, 63). Lowsky (1987, 86–87) reported that because of May's advocating for the Kurds, his novel *Durchs wilde Kurdistan* was banned in Turkey. Despite all the derogatory statements about the Turkish people in the *Orientzyklus* (Berman, 1996, 133–135), Lowsky (1987, 87) also stated that May portrayed them not as inherently bad but rather as victims of European imperialism and of the conditions in the deteriorating Ottoman Empire.

ANALYSIS OF THE FIRST TRANSLATIONS

In the late 19th century, most of the Middle Eastern territories in which the *Orientzyklus* is set were still part of the Ottoman Empire, and references to the Turkish people and Turkish rule are thus ever-present in the narrative. A comparison of the originals and the first Slovenian translations showed that not only were virtually all disdainful remarks about the "Turks" translated with no interventions to soften the sentiment, but that negative attitudes

5 The translation of the *Orientzyklus* that was serialized in the Slovenian American newspaper *Glas naroda* from 1908 to 1910 under the title *V padišahovej senci* [In the Padishah's Shadow] will not be included in this comparison because it was published in a different cultural sphere, i.e. in the United States.

6 All quoted passages not originally in English were translated by the author of this article.

7 May used travelogues written by Claudius James Rich (1787–1821), Austen Henry Layard (1817–1894), Richard Francis Burton (1821–1890) and others to provide a setting for his travel novels (Lowsky, 1987, 47, 58; Pedde, 2015, 21–22).

8 Bach (2010, 37–38) notes that, as an "Oriental", Halef cannot quite reach the level of Kara Ben Nemsi – despite the positive influence the latter has on him. Berman (1996, 129, 145–151) goes so far as to liken Halef to the collaborationist Arabs who helped the colonial powers against the Ottoman Empire.

were sometimes intensified or even added where there were none in the original.

Such additions are present from the beginning of the story, even before the protagonist reaches the Middle Eastern region; when travelling through Ottoman Tunisia, Kara Ben Nemsi and his two companions arrive in the town of Kbilli (i.e. Kebili), where they are ill-received by the *wekil* (governor): he eventually gives orders to have them all bastinadoed and Kara Ben Nemsi's belongings confiscated. The narrator comments that he was not afraid of this Turkish official and his soldiers (May, 1892a, 60), while the translator prefaces this statement with the following added sentence: "Na srečo pa sem razmere v tedanji trhli Turčiji prav dobro poznal in posebej še tudi ljudi njegove vrste"[9] (May, 1928–1930, 61).[10] A similarly dismissive short statement was added to a passage about the protagonist's travelling party stopping at a canal in the vicinity of Baghdad (May, 1892c, 248). In the translation, the passage is somewhat rewritten and the irrigation system that the ancient Babylonians had built utilizing the Tigris River is referred to; the translator added the following remark by the narrator: "Malomarni Turki so namakanje opustili, kanali so usahnili in deloma razpadli" (May, 1930–1931, 208).[11] The same translator later made another textual intervention to point out the supposed laziness of the Turkish people; in the original, the narrator makes the following comment in the context of the conditions in Baghdad that cause frequent outbreaks of the plague: "Der Moslem zeigt auch solchen Fällen gegenüber seine unheilbringende Indolenz" (May, 1892c, 302–303).[12] In the translated version, the narrator does not refer to Muslims but specifically to Turkish people instead, and the latter part of the sentence is also somewhat changed: "Do vsega tega pa kaže Turek svojo po vsem svetu znano indolenco in malomarnost" (May, 1930–1931, 271).[13]

In the translation of *Von Bagdad nach Stambul*, some passages on the history of Baghdad and the wider region are expanded to express even more scathing condemnation of Turkish rule; the first such example – an added passage from the beginning of the novel (May, 1892c, 1) – will be quoted *in extenso*:

> *In potem je minilo skoraj tisoč let in novi narodi so se od jugozapada priselili v mezopotamsko ravnino, Arabci, ki so na konici meča nosili vero svojega preroka Mohameda. Kalifi so zagospodarili nad Mezopotamijo, vstal je sijajni Bagdad, mesto kalifov, mesto »Tisoč in ene noči«, dolga stoletja središče moči in bogastva, vede in umetnosti.* [/][14] *In spet je pridivjalo, topot od severovzhoda, novo ljudstvo v Mezopotamijo. Osmanski Turki so prevzeli politično dedščino (*sic*) kalifov, stambulski sultani so zavladali nad Mezopotamijo. Po njihovi malomarnosti je dežela propadla, slavni Bagdad je izgubil svoj sijaj, ljudstvo je obubožalo pod nasiljem in izžemanjem turških pašev in njihovih namestnikov, nekdaj rodovitna dežela se je spremenila v pustinjo in puščavo.*[15] (May, 1930–1931, 5–6)

A later passage in which the narrator discusses the history of Baghdad (May, 1892c, 302) is also rewritten and vastly expanded in the translation; it represents a severe condemnation of what – according to the translator – happened after the Ottoman Turks captured this important city in 1638. The following sentences are among those added:

> *Od tistega časa je Bagdad in vsa Mezopotamija del osmanskoturške države, sultanov mutasarrif, namestnik, je gospodar Bagdada. Od tistega*

9 *Fortunately, I was quite familiar with the situation in the rotten Turkey of that time, and especially with his kind of people.*

10 Lowsky (1987, 4) notes that several volumes of May's collected works were heavily edited but does not mention the *Orientzyklus* among them, whereas Berman (1996, 61) reports that this series was edited, but does not elaborate on the type of editing that was done. While the first book editions (1892) of the novels – which are freely available online – will be cited in this article, in an attempt to make sure a particular added or radically changed element was not present in one of the other versions of a certain text, the following editions were also checked: the serialized stories that were published in the magazine *Deutscher Hausschatz in Wort und Bild* (1881–1884), the last book editions published during May's lifetime and overseen by him (1909), and the book editions from May's collected works (1913). The differences between the editions with regard to the compared passages are limited to orthography, while no changes regarding the representation of the Middle East were found.

11 *The careless Turks abandoned irrigation, the canals dried up and partly fell apart.*

12 *The Muslim shows his disastrous indolence in such cases too.*

13 *To all of this, the Turk shows indolence and carelessness, for which he is known all across the world.*

14 The slash sign [/] represents the end of a paragraph.

15 *And then almost a thousand years passed and new peoples immigrated to the Mesopotamian plain from the southwest – the Arabs, who carried the creed of their Prophet Muhammad at the point of the sword. Caliphs began to rule over Mesopotamia, there rose the brilliant Baghdad, the city of the caliphs, the city of the "One Thousand and One Nights", which for many centuries was the centre of power and wealth, science and art. [/] And again, a new people came rushing to Mesopotamia, stamping from the northeast. The Ottoman Turks took over the political legacy of the caliphs, the sultans from Istanbul began to rule over Mesopotamia. Owing to their negligence, the land fell into ruin, the famed Baghdad lost its splendour, people became impoverished under the violence and extortion of the Turkish pashas and their deputies, the once fertile land turned into a wasteland and desert.*

časa vlada v Bagdadu mir – pa tudi nevzdržno propadanje. [/] *Vlada Abbasidov pomeni za Bagdad višek slave in sijaja. Kruti orientalski despoti so bili, pa svoj dvor so znali obdajati s sijajem vede, umetnosti in pesništva.*[16] (May, 1930–1931, 271)

In the original, the narrator also acknowledges that the period during which Baghdad and much of the Middle East was part of the Abbasid Caliphate represented the height of glory for the region, but he points out the deficiencies of the former rulers as well. For instance, Harun al-Rashid – the Abbasid caliph who spent part of his reign in Baghdad and is widely regarded as the first ruler during the Islamic Golden Age – is described by the narrator as "ein hinterlistiger Tyrann" [a deceitful tyrant] (May, 1892c, 301). This description is expanded into a full sentence in the translation: "Krvoločen okrutnež je bil, zvijačen in zahrbten, tiran, kakor vsi njegovi predniki"[17] (May, 1930–1931, 269).

However, most of the negative sentiment expressed during the travels by May's fictional counterpart through Mesopotamia is not directed at its former overlords but instead at the contemporary ones. For instance, when Kara Ben Nemsi is among an Arab tribe named the Haddedihn (i.e. Hadidiyin or Hadi) near the Tigris River, the passage in which the narrator describes the history of the region (May, 1892a, 459–460) is rewritten in the translation – it ends with a statement lamenting the fact that the lands are part of the Ottoman Empire: "Carigrajski sultan vlada zgrda in zlepa po pustih planotah Tigrisa. [/] Pa še vedno čaka pustinja, da jo kdo zdrami iz peska in prahu k nekdanji plodnosti —. [/] Kdo jo bo zbudil k življenju —?"[18] (May, 1928–1930, 132). The last sentence, which may be interpreted as hope that some other conqueror would supplant the Ottoman Turks in the territory, is not surprising, considering the sentiment expressed in an earlier passage of the translation from the time when the protagonist is travelling through the region that is now northern Iraq. In the original, the Turkish people are not explicitly blamed for the poor state of affairs described by the narrator (May, 1892a, 544–545), while in the translation, the passage is rewritten – the following sentence is among those not present in the original: "Nad deželo pa vlada Turek, izmozgava in izsesava ljudstvo do zadnje kaplje krvi, preganja vse, kar ni mohamedansko, pleni, ropa, požiga in preliva potoke krvi"[19] (May, 1928–1930, 51).

Neither is the city of Istanbul described in favourable manner. The narrator alleges that some time ago an English nobleman chose to look at Istanbul only from afar, i.e. from aboard his yacht, and decided not to enter it because he did not want to spoil his overall impression of the city with "garstigen Einzelnheiten" (*sic*) [ugly details] (May, 1892c, 463). In the translation, the adjectives ''nesnažne'' [filthy] and ''odurne'' [repulsive] (May, 1930–1931, 446) are used instead of one negative adjective.

The Chaldean followers of the Nestorian creed are also not portrayed in a much more favourable light than the Turkish people – this is sometimes even more true in Slovenian translation. For instance, at one point, the protagonist and his travelling companion Sir David Lindsay are ambushed and captured by members of this Christian sect, but they soon manage to escape with little resistance from their captors, regarding which the narrator offers the following commentary in the original: "Das Abenteuer hatte seit dem Augenblick unserer Gefangennehmung einen beinahe komischen Verlauf genommen; es bildete einen sehr überzeugenden Beleg dazu, daß die Tyrannei im stande (*sic*) ist, ein Volk zu entnerven"[20] (May, 1892b, 471). In the translation, this dismissive statement is considerably expanded: "Ves doživljaj je bil skorajda smešen. Prepričevalno pa je dokazoval, da suženjstvo posameznіku in celemu narodu spremeni značaj, mu vzame vso možatost in odločnost in ga naredi za hlapca in sužnja"[21] (May, 1930, 389). Later in the narrative, when the protagonist is in another Nestorian village, he laments the prospects of a young girl named Ingdscha – who had been kind to him and his servant Halef – with the following words: "Dabei strahlte ihr Angesicht so lieb und gut, daß mich ein aufrichtiges und warmes Bedauern überkam, indem ich an das einförmige, freudenlose Leben dachte,

16 *Since then, Baghdad and all of Mesopotamia have been part of the Ottoman-Turkish state, and the sultan's mutasarrif, i.e. deputy, is the master of Baghdad. Since then, there has been peace in Baghdad – along with unbearable decay.* [/] *The reign of the Abbasids represented the height of glory and splendour for Baghdad. They were cruel Oriental despots, but they knew how to surround their court with the splendour of science, art and poetry.*

17 *He was a bloodthirsty brute, cunning and treacherous, a tyrant like all his ancestors.*

18 *The sultan of Istanbul reigns over the desolate plateaus of the Tigris by fair means or foul.* [/] *But the desert is still waiting for someone to awaken it from the sand and dust to its former fruitfulness.* [/] *Who will bring it back to life?*

19 *And the Turks rule over the land, wearing out the people and bleeding them completely dry, persecuting everyone who is not Mohammedan, pillaging, robbing, burning and shedding streams of blood.*

20 *The adventure had taken an almost comic course from the moment of our capture; it provided very convincing evidence that tyranny is capable of enervating a people.*

21 *The whole experience was almost ridiculous. However, it convincingly proved that slavery changes the character of an individual and a whole nation, takes away all of its manliness and resoluteness, and turns it into a menial and a slave.*

welches ihrer in diesem Lande wartete"[22] (May, 1892b, 585). This statement is also expanded in the translation, making it significantly more derogatory: "Res škoda je bilo dobrega, lepega dekleta, sem si mislil. Enolično življenje brez veselja jo je čakalo v samotni kurdijski (*sic*) vasi, v deželi, kjer je ženska brezpravno in prezirano bitje, vkljub temu da so Nestorijanci kristjani, kjer mora delati in garati od zore do mraka, mož pa lenari ali pa hodi na poboje —"[23] (May, 1930, 495–496).

While the Nestorians were a minor sect in the region, the protagonist encounters Islam at every step of his journey through the Middle East, and sometimes makes negative statements related to this religion. For instance, when describing Damascus, the narrator makes the following remark: "Kein Moslem, selbst der Mekkaner nicht, ist so fanatisch wie der Damaskese"[24] (May, 1892c, 350). In the translation, several extremely disparaging sentences about the Damascenes are added:

> *Niti Mekkanec ni tako fanatičen kakor damaščanski musliman. Razkričani so tudi po svoji sirovosti in nevljudnosti. Poleg svojega fanatizma pa je damaščanski musliman še tudi neveden. Že od nekdaj je veljal Damask za najimenitnejše mesto vsega sveta, kulturni stiki z Evropo pa so tudi Damaščanu prinesli prepričanje, da ga kultura zapada nadkriljuje. Toda mesto da bi se od zapada učil, vztraja trdovratno pri svoji starokopitnosti, sovraži zapad in posebno še kristjane in jim da ob vsaki priliki okusiti svoje fanatično sovraštvo.*[25] (May, 1930–1931, 326)

Other characters also express derogatory opinions about Islam sometimes. For instance, during a discussion with Kara Ben Nemsi, Persian nobleman Hassan Ardschir Mirza admits that the West is superior to the ''Orient'' – and blames the Prophet Muhammad for the state of affairs in the region. The following is one of his remarks: "Ich weiß, daß in deinem Lande ein Knabe kenntnisreicher ist, als bei uns ein Mann; daß ihr in Gütern schwelgt, deren Namen wir nicht einmal kennen"[26] (May, 1892c, 204). In the translation, this statement is somewhat expanded: "Vem, da vaši otroci več vejo ko (*sic*) pri nas ljudje, ki se imenujejo učene. Vem, da imate pri vas šole, da uživate dobrote iznajdb, ki vam lajšajo in lepšajo življenje"[27] (May, 1930–1931, 149).

On the other hand, the non-Muslim Yezidi people are generally described in a more positive manner. For instance, when Ifra, a Turkish quartermaster in Kara Ben Nemsi's travelling party, is allowed to sit at table with Yezidi leader Ali Bey, the first-person narrator makes the following observation: "Daß er, der Untergebene, mit dem Bey zu Tische sitzen durfte, zeigte mir von neuem, wie patriarchalisch die Dschesidi untereinander leben"[28] (May, 1892a, 588). In the translation, the remark is changed in a way that paints a more favourable picture of the Yezidis (and at the same time slights the Turkish people): "Da je on, navaden vojak in še Turek povrh, smel z bejem pri eni mizi sedeti, to mi je bil nov dokaz za izredno gostoljubnost in za svobodoljubno, prav demokratično mišljenje Jezidov"[29] (May, 1928–1930, 84).

Sometimes no connection is made between religion and cultural difference. For instance, the first-person re-teller makes the following observation about something as mundane as the consumption of salt: "Welch ein kostbarer Artikel das Salz ist, lernt man erst dann erkennen, wenn man es monatelang entbehren muß. Die meisten Beduinen und auch viele Kurden sind nicht an seinen Genuß gewöhnt"[30] (May, 1892c, 72). While in the original statement, there are no explicitly negative remarks about the Middle East, this is not the case in the

22 *In doing so, her face beamed so sweetly and kindly that I was overcome with a sincere and warm regret as I thought of the monotonous, joyless life that awaited her in this land.*

23 *I thought what a real pity it was for this kind, beautiful girl. A monotonous, joyless life in a lonely Kurdish (sic) village awaited her, in a land where – despite Nestorians being Christians – a woman is a disfranchised and despised being, and has to work and toil from dawn to dusk, while her husband lies idle or goes off to kill.*

24 *No Muslim, not even the Meccan is as fanatical as the Damascene.*

25 *Even the Meccans are not as fanatical as the Damascene Muslims. They are also notorious for their crudeness and rudeness. In addition to their fanaticism, the Damascene Muslims are ignorant. Since time immemorial, Damascus has been considered the most exquisite city in the world; however, cultural contacts with Europe convinced even the Damascenes that Western culture is superior. But instead of learning from the West, Damascenes stubbornly insist on their old-fashionedness, hate the West and especially Christians, and give them a taste of their fanatical hatred at every opportunity*

26 *I know that in your land a boy is more knowledgeable than a man in ours; that you revel in commodities whose names we do not even know.*

27 *I know that your children know more than our people who are called learned. I know you have schools, that you enjoy the goodness of inventions to make your life easier and more beautiful.*

28 *The fact that he, the subordinate, was allowed to sit at table with the Bey showed me once again how patriarchally the Yezidis lived amongst each other.*

29 *The fact that he, an ordinary soldier and a Turk on top of that, was allowed to sit at table with the bey, was new proof to me of the extraordinary hospitality and of the freedom-loving, very democratic thinking of the Yezidis.*

30 *One only realizes what a valuable article salt is when one has to go without it for months. Most Bedouins and also many Kurds are not accustomed to consuming it.*

first of the two sentences in the translation, where the distinction between cultured people and semi-savages is made: "Kaka dragocenost da je sol, tega se zave kulturni človek šele na potovanju med poldivjimi narodi, kjer mora včasi po cele mesece živeti brez soli. Večina beduinskih rodov in tudi nekateri kurdijski rodovi namreč niso vajeni soli"[31] (May, 1930–1931, 25–26).

May occasionally also makes generally positive remarks about the ''Orient'' – which in the Slovenian versions of the texts tend to become less positive. For instance, when Kara Ben Nemsi is contemplating a visit to Mecca (which, being a Christian, he is forbidden to enter), he makes a rather appreciative observation about the ''Orient'':

> *Dem Christen, welcher sich nach Mekka oder Medina wagt, droht der Tod; so steht es in den Büchern zu lesen.* […] *Ich hatte überhaupt den Orient in vielen, vielen Beziehungen ganz anders, und zwar nüchterner gefunden, als man sich ihn gewöhnlich vorzustellen pflegt, und konnte gar nicht recht glauben, daß ein kurzer, vielleicht nur stundenlanger Besuch in Mekka wirklich so furchtbar gefährlich sei.*[32] (May, 1892a, 184)

In the translation, textual interventions were made: "Kristjanu je prepovedano, stopiti v Mekko in Medino. Če ga spoznajo, ga kratkomalo obsodijo na smrt, ako ga razjarjeni, fanatični muslimani že prej ne ubijejo. Tako stoji v knjigah. […] Nisem verjel da bi bil kratek čas, par ur trajajoč obisk v »sveti« Mekki res tako smrtno nevaren —"[33] (May, 1928–1930, 15). The part about the Orient being more ''sober'' than Westerners usually imagine it to be is deleted from the translation; instead, the Meccans are characterized as enraged and fanatical people, who would simply lynch an ''infidel'' if they discovered one among them. Furthermore, the designation ''holy'' is added in front of ''Mecca'', but since it is in quotation marks, it actually disparages the holiest city in the Islamic world.

In the translations, there are numerous other instances where various adjectives and/or nouns are added on the phrase or sentence level to shed an unfavourable light upon different ethnic groups in the Middle East or ''Orientals'' in general, describing them as: *semi-savage* or *savage* (May, 1892a/May, 1928–1930, 555/559; May, 1892c/May, 1930–1931, 68/19; 147/97, 150/100, 289/255, 339/310), *fanatical* (May, 1892b/May, 1928–1930, 2/117; May, 1892c/May, 1930–1931, 188/133, 305/274), *robbers* (May, 1892c/May, 1930–1931, 94/46, 287/254, 288/254), *thieves* (May, 1892b/May, 1930, 374/304; May, 1892c/May, 1930–1931, 94/46), *ignorant* (May, 1892a/May, 1928–1930, 85/84; May, 1892c/May, 1930–1931, 369/352), *cowardly* (May, 1892a/May, 1928–1930, 388/72), *heartless* (May, 1892a/May, 1928–1930, 456/129), *not used to cleanliness* (May, 1892a/May, 1928–1930, 212/36), *exploiters* (May, 1892a/May, 1928–1930, 504/13), *unreliable* (May, 1892c/May, 1930–1931, 457/441), *acquisitive* (May, 1892a/May, 1928–1930, 90/89), *braggadocious* (May, 1892a/May, 1928–1930, 85/84), etc.

Furthermore, in several footnotes, the anonymous translator of *Von Bagdad nach Stambul* expressed a favourable opinion about the developments in Syria and Iraq once–in the aftermath of World War I – they came under a French and British mandate, respectively (May, 1930–1931, 6, 211, 255, 272, 328–329, 367, 396). The former rulers in the region are even directly slighted in one of the footnotes: "Po dolgih stoletjih propada pod turškim jarmom se je po vojni Damask spet dvignil"[34] (May, 1930–1931, 329).

ANALYSIS OF THE RE-TRANSLATIONS

Unlike in the first translations of the novels, in Ludvik Mrzel's re-translations there are numerous instances where negative sentiments about the ''Orient'' are softened or omitted altogether – this first and foremost holds true for discourse about the Turkish people, who bear the brunt of derogatory remarks in the original texts.

In the part of the narrative where the protagonist's travelling party arrives in a town called Amadijah (i.e. Amadiya or Amedi), the narrator makes a disparaging observation which supposedly holds true for Turkish towns in general: "Daß ich mich in einer türkischen Stadt befand, sah ich hier sehr genau; denn es lungerten wohl an die zwanzig

31 *A person of culture only realizes what a valuable thing salt is when travelling among semi-savage nations and sometimes having to go without salt for months at a time. Most Bedouin clans, as well as some Kurdish clans, are not used to salt.*

32 *A Christian who dares to visit Mecca or Medina faces death; so, it is written in books.* […] *I had found the Orient to be altogether quite different in many, many respects, more sober than one usually imagines it to be, and I could not quite believe that a short visit to Mecca, perhaps only a few hours long, would really be so terribly dangerous.*

33 *A Christian is forbidden to set foot in Mecca or Medina. If he is recognized, he is simply sentenced to death, if the enraged, fanatical Muslims do not kill him beforehand. This is written in books.* […] *I could not quite believe that a short visit to the "holy'' Mecca, perhaps only a few hours long, would really be so deadly dangerous.*

34 *After many centuries of decline under the Turkish yoke, Damascus rose again after the war.*

herrenlose Hunde auf diesem Meidan jüdschelikün herum, unter denen mehrere räudig waren"[35] (May, 1892b, 160). In the translation, the description of the town itself remains intact, but the first part of the sentence is deleted – no reference to this being typical of Turkish towns is made (May, 1970b, 126). The *mutesselim* [lieutenant-governor], who is also the commander of the prison in Amadijah, invites the protagonist and Sir David Lindsay to dinner, and at the same time asks to borrow money from them; Kara Ben Nemsi explains to the English nobleman that the sultan does not pay his officials regularly; therefore they exploit the local population, and he later adds that this is also the reason why the mutesselim asked them for money: "Aus diesem Grunde hat er jedenfalls das bekannte System aller türkischen Beamten angewandt und die hiesige Bewohnerschaft so ziemlich ausgesaugt. […] Das ist nun allerdings ganz türkisch gehandelt, und auf das Zurückerstatten darf man nicht rechnen"[36] (May, 1892b, 178). The translation is modified, making no reference to the generally exploitative practices of Turkish officials and going so far as to state that the request to borrow money was a highly uncommon one: "To je razlog, zakaj je tukajšnje prebivalstvo tako izsesal. […] To je seveda hudo nenavadno in na kakšno vračilo ne moremo računati"[37] (May, 1970b, 141).[38] When Kara Ben Nemsi and Sir David Lindsay arrive at the mutesselim's residence, the former gives baksheesh to two *mülazım* [lieutenants], which is accompanied by the following remark by the narrator: "Der türkische subalterne Offizier ist, besonders in entlegenen Garnisonen, selbst heute noch der Diener seines nächst höheren Vorgesetzten und stets gewohnt, sich als solchen betrachten zu lassen"[39] (May, 1892b, 180). Mrzel completely omitted this sentence in the translation (May, 1970b, 143).

During the protagonist's visit to the mutesselim, a Kurdish messenger enters the room. When the mutesselim asks him what message his master sent him to deliver, the Kurd replies with the following words: "Mein Herr? Ein freier Kurde hat nie einen Herrn. Er ist mein Bey, mein Anführer im Kampfe, nicht aber mein Gebieter. Dieses Wort kennen nur die Türken und Perser"[40] (May, 1892b, 193). In the translation, the last sentence is shortened to "Te besede ne poznam"[41] (May, 1970b, 152) – the Turkish and Persian people are thus not slighted. The same Kurdish man later tells the protagonist several unfavourable things about the mutesselim, including that he sold the gunpowder for the canons with which the prison is supposed to be defended – regarding this, the narrator remarks the following: "Das war also eine echt türkische Wirtschaft!"[42] (May, 1892b, 200). In the translation, the term "türkisch" [Turkish] is changed to "klavrno" [miserable] (May, 1970b, 158), thus expressing no contempt for the Turkish people. The protagonist later has some first-hand experience with the aforementioned kind of ''economy'', when the mutesselim and the former *makredsch* [chief justice] of Mosul attempt to blackmail him. After they ask him how much he would be willing to pay for his freedom, Kara Ben Nemsi counters by questioning how high a value the makredsch places on his own life. After the latter replies, the protagonist mocks him by stating the following: "Wie kommt es, daß ein Türke so sehr tief im Preise steht?"[43] (May, 1892b, 282); this sentence is deleted from the translation (May, 1970b, 222). In the continuation of the conversation, Kara Ben Nemsi rebukes the blackmailers, among other things making the following declaration: "Die Osmanly aber haben kein anderes Gesetz als ihren Geldbeutel, und darum schachern sie mit der Gerechtigkeit"[44] (May, 1892b, 283). In the translation, the sentence is radically changed to "Vidva pa tule barantata s pravico"[45] (May, 1970b, 223), which makes no negative pronouncement about the Turkish people in general. After the mutesselim opts not to search for an important prisoner who has escaped, and admits that instead he intends to report

35 *I saw quite clearly that I was in a Turkish town, because there were probably about twenty stray dogs lingering around on this Meidan jüdschelikün, several of which were mangy.*

36 *At any rate, this is the reason why he applied the well-known system of all Turkish officials and sucked the local population more or less dry.* […] *This is, of course, a totally Turkish way of acting, and one should not count on being repaid.*

37 *This is the reason why he sucked the local population so dry.* […] *This is, of course, very unusual and one should not count on being recompensed.*

38 This is one of the rare occasions where a negative remark about an ''Oriental'' was not preserved in one of the first translations – the passage was somewhat shortened in the translation and the first cited sentence was one of the elements omitted (May, 1892b, 178/May, 1930, 116).

39 *The Turkish subordinate officer, especially in remote garrisons, is even today still the servant of his next higher superior and is always accustomed to being regarded as such.*

40 *My master? A free Kurd has no master. He is my bey, my leader in battle, but not my master. Only the Turks and Persians know this word.*

41 *I don't know that word.*

42 *So, this was a truly Turkish economy!*

43 *How is it that a Turk is priced so very low?*

44 *But the Ottomans have no other law than their money-bag, and so they haggle with justice.*

45 *And here the two of you haggle with justice.*

that the prisoner has died, the protagonist remarks the following: "Das war eine echt türkische Weise, sich aus der Not zu helfen;"[46] (May, 1892b, 353). In the translation, the statement is changed in a way that makes no reference to a Turkish way of acting: "To je bil tudi eden izmed načinov, da si pomaga iz stiske"[47] (May, 1970b, 281).

In the Kurdish town of Gumri, the protagonist and his fellow travellers get invited to the house of the bey, where those present stand up to greet them – and remain standing; the protagonist then states the following: "Aber, Bey, befiehl vorher deinen Leuten, daß sie sich setzen! Sie sind nicht Türken und Perser, sondern freie Kurden, die nur zum Gruße sich zu erheben brauchen"[48] (May, 1892b, 427). In the translation, the respectful conduct towards the Kurds is preserved, while the Turkish and Persian people are not disrespected in the second sentence: "Svobodni Kurdi so, ki naj vstanejo samo za pozdrav in nič več"[49] (May, 1970b, 338). At a later point in the narrative, when one of the officials whom the protagonist's travelling party encounters does not act first and foremost in his own interest, the narrator remarks the following: "Das war denn einmal ein ehrlicher Beamter, eine Seltenheit im Reiche des Großherrn"[50] (May, 1892c, 420). In the translation, the ending of the sentence is transformed: "v takratni Turčiji" [in the Turkey of that time] (May, 1971, 322); this implies that the state of affairs in Turkey was once as described but may have changed since then.

Mrzel sometimes also made textual interventions in passages pertaining to the Kurds. One such example can be found in the part of the narrative where Kara Ben Nemsi and his companions are travelling through Kurdistan and stop in a small village, where the locals try to steal their horses. One of these men is caught in the act and admits to the deed; the narrator then remarks the following: "Dieses Geständnis war gar nicht genug beschämend (*sic*) für ihn, denn bei den Kurden gilt der Pferdediebstahl ebenso wie der offene räuberische Ueberfall für eine ritterliche That"[51] (May, 1892b, 401). In the translation, "bei den Kurden" [among the Kurds] is changed into "v teh krajih" [in these parts] (May, 1970b, 318); the sentence does thus not explicitly refer to the Kurdish people. When the same Kurdish man threatens Kara Ben Nemsi by saying "Chodih, wir werden Euch die Pferde und alles Andere nehmen, aber wir werden Euch als wackere und gute Männer ehren!"[52], the narrator remarks the following: "Das war so naiv, wie nur ein Kurde sein kann"[53] (May, 1892b, 403). In the translation, the latter sentence is radically changed into a statement expressing sympathy with the Kurdish people: "Kaj takega mi je v tem položaju lahko rekel samo pripadnik tega preganjanega in v svojem odporu divjega ljudstva"[54] (May, 1970b, 320). Furthermore, the term "halbwild" [semi-savage] is twice omitted in the translation when referring to the Kurds (May, 1892b, 271, 426; May, 1970b, 214, 338).

At a certain point when the protagonist is among the Yezidis, he makes the following observation with regard to several peoples in the ''Orient'':

> *Natürlich besaßen die gewöhnlichen Leute nicht die Klarheit der religiösen Ansicht wie Pir Kamek, aber dem falschen Griechen, dem schachernden, sittenlosen Armenier, dem rachsüchtigen Araber, dem trägen Türken, dem heuchlerischen Perser und dem raubsüchtigen Kurden gegenüber mußte ich den fälschlicherweise so übel beleumundeten »Teufelsanbeter« achten lernen.*[55] (May, 1892a, 571)

In the translation, the specific negative characteristics of particular nations are omitted: "Preprosti ljudje kajpada niso imeli tako jasnih verskih nazorov kakor pir Kamek, a spričo vseh zloglasnih lastnosti, ki govori o njih narodni sloves Grkov, Armencev, Arabcev, Turkov, Perzijcev in Kurdov, sem moral toliko klevetane ''oboževalce hudiča''

46 *That was a genuinely Turkish way of getting out of a scrape;.*

47 Th*is was also one of the ways to get out of a scrape.*

48 *But bey, first command your people to sit down! They are not Turks and Persians, but free Kurds who only need to get up for a greeting.*

49 *They are free Kurds who should only get up for a greeting and nothing more.*

50 *This, for once, was an honest official, a rarity in the empire of the sultan.*

51 *This confession was not shameful enough (sic) for him, since among the Kurds stealing a horse – and also open robbery – is regarded as a knightly deed.*

52 *Chodih, we will take your horses and everything else, but we will honour you as brave and good men!*

53 *That was as naive as only a Kurd can be.*

54 *Only a member of this oppressed people, who are ferocious in their resistance, could have said something like this to me in this situation.*

55 *Of course, the ordinary people did not have such clear religious notions as Pir Kamek, but compared to the insincere Greeks, the chaffering, immoral Armenians, the vengeful Arabs, the lazy Turks, the hypocritical Persians and the thieving Kurds, I had to learn to respect these wrongly so much slandered "devil-worshippers".*

spoštovati"[56] (May, 1970a, 458). A while later, the narrator favourably compares the behaviour of Mir Scheik Khan, the religious leader of the Yezidis, with that of Muslim religious leaders: "Auch dies war eine Bescheidenheit, welche bei den mohammedanischen Imams niemals zu finden ist"[57] (May, 1892b, 3). The reference to imams is deleted in the translation: "To je bila skromnost, kakršne ne bomo vselej našli"[58] (May, 1970b, 6).

Perhaps the most elaborate textual intervention in one of Mrzel's translations can be found in part of the description of Damascus, which reads as follows in the original:

> *Damaskus gewährt im Innern keineswegs den Anblick, welchen man von außen erwartet. Zwar fehlt es der Stadt nicht an ehrwürdigen Bauten, aber die Straßen selbst sind entsetzlich gepflastert, krumm und eng, und die meist fensterlosen, äußeren Lehmwände der Häuser sehen häßlich aus. Auch hier wird die Straßen- und Wohlfahrtspolizei, wie in den meisten orientalischen Städten, von Aasgeiern und räudigen, verkommenen Hunden besorgt. Die Wasserfülle der Stadtumgebung begünstigt die Entstehung schädlicher Miasmen, welche die Stadt der Ommijaden in einen bösen Ruf gebracht haben.*[59] (May, 1892c, 361)

In the translation, this passage was rewritten to paint a totally different picture of Damascus:

> *Skozi mesto teče samo Barada, od katere se cepijo številni prekopi in struge. Množica ljudi se gnete po znamenitih bazarjih ali po kavarnicah, ki jih hladi bambusova senca, in pijejo poživljajočo pijačo. Obilica vode v okolici mesta omogoča, da uspevajo veliki sadni gaji. Arabcu, ki si je v svoji domišljiji uredil raj kot sadni vrt, se zato zdi Damask kot odsev nebeških gajev.*[60] (May, 1971, 275)

DIRECT COMPARISON OF THE TRANSLATIONS

In the passages discussed below, different translation strategies were used in the first translation and the re-translation of a particular text, which will vividly illuminate the differences in the approaches between the two eras.

In the part of the narrative where Kara Ben Nemsi is in Egypt sailing down the Nile on a ship manned by Muslim sailors, he – in the role of narrator – makes the following observation about the moment they began to pray before running the rapids: "Ich muß gestehen, daß dieses Gebet auch mich ergriff, aber nicht aus Furcht vor der Gefahr, sondern aus Ehrfurcht vor der tief im Herzen wurzelnden Religiosität dieser halbwilden Menschen, welche nichts thun und beginnen, ohne sich dessen zu erinnern, der in dem Schwachen mächtig ist"[61] (May, 1892a, 152–153). The first translation reads as follows: "Marsikateri katoličan bi se lahko zgledoval na globokovernih mohamedanih, poldivjih in neizobraženih, ki se ob vsaki priliki spomnijo svojega Allaha, v sreči in v nesreči! Kako radi pa mi pozabimo na svojega – pravega! – Boga!"[62] (May, 1928–1930, 140). There are two additions in this translation: while in the original, the sailors are only characterized as "halbwild" [semi-savage], in the translation they are also described as "neizobraženi" [uneducated]; furthermore, in the last sentence in the translation, the narrator asserts that the Christian God is the true one, thereby indirectly slighting Islam. In the re-translation, the opposite is the case: the term ''semi-savage'' was deleted (May, 1970a, 123).

When present at one of the holy sites of the Yezidi people, the narrator contrasts their tolerant behaviour and that of their religious leader with that

56 *Of course, the ordinary people did not have such clear religious notions as Pir Kamek, but because of all the notorious characteristics of the national reputation of the Greeks, Armenians, Arabs, Turks, Persians and Kurds, I had to respect these so much slandered "devil-worshippers".*

57 *This too was a modesty never to be found among the Mohammedan imams.*

58 *This was a modesty one does not always encounter.*

59 *Inside, Damascus by no means offers the view that one expects from the outside. The city does not lack venerable buildings, but the streets themselves are paved terribly, they are crooked and narrow, and the mostly windowless, outer cob walls of the houses look ugly. Here too, as in most Oriental cities, the street and welfare police is provided by vultures and mangy, abandoned dogs. The abundance of water around the city is conducive to the emergence of harmful miasmata, which have given the city of the Umayyads a bad reputation.*

60 *Only the Barada flows through the city, from which many canals and riverbeds branch off. Crowds of people consuming invigorating drinks throng the famous bazaars or cafés cooled by the shade of bamboo trees. The abundance of water around the city allows large orchards to flourish. To the Arab, who in his imagination arranged Paradise as an orchard, Damascus therefore seems like a reflection of the heavenly groves.*

61 *I must admit that I was also moved by this prayer, not out of fear of the danger, but rather out of reverence for the deep-rooted religiosity of these semi-savage people, who do nothing and begin nothing without remembering the one who is mighty in the weak.*

62 *Many a Catholic could follow the example of the deeply devout Mohammedans, semi-savage and uneducated, who remember their Allah at every opportunity, in fortune and misfortune! But how quick we are to forget our—true—God!*

of Muslims by saying the following: "Wie sehr stach ein solches Verhalten gegen dasjenige ab, welches man bei den Mohammedanern zu beobachten hat!"[63] (May, 1892b, 2). In the first translation, the sentiment towards Islam is more explicitly negative: "Kolika razlika med temi obrekovanimi Jezidi, pa med fanatičnimi mohamedanskimi imami!"[64] (May, 1928–1930, 117). In the re-translation, the sentence is radically changed into a statement making no reference to religion whatsoever: "To je bilo razveseljivo znamenje velikodušnosti in strpnosti"[65] (May, 1970b, 6).

In the part of the narrative taking place in Damascus, Kara Ben Nemsi explains to a young Turkish woman that in his homeland, women are allowed to sing songs, to which she replies that it must be much nicer there, since women are free, unlike in her homeland, where religious authorities go so far as to claim that women have no souls.[66] The narrator then makes the following pronouncement: "Ja, der Orient schmachtet nach Erlösung aus schweren, tausendjährigen Banden"[67] (May, 1892c, 387). In the first translation, there are additions that blame Islam for conditions in the ''Orient'': "Mohamedanski Orient ječi pod verigami islama in hrepeni po odrešenju iz stoletnega suženjstva"[68] (May, 1930–1931, 371). In the re-translation, the sentence from the original cited above is translated with no interventions; however, the woman's condemnation of religious authorities is omitted (May, 1971, 295).

After an officer of the Ottoman Army decides to simply burn down the building in a seedy part of Istanbul where he had been captured by a criminal gang and held for ransom, the narrator remarks the following: "Das war eine echt muselmännische Art und Weise, mit einer nicht sehr ehrenvollen Erinnerung fertig zu werden"[69] (May, 1892c, 511). In the first translation, "muselmännische Art und Weise" [Moslem way] is replaced with "po turško" [Turkish way] (May, 1930–1931, 495), thus making the statement derogatory towards Turkish people. In the re-translation, the part of the text in question was also radically changed, but in this case so as not to disparage any Middle Eastern nation or their religion, i.e. into "najpreprostejši način" [simplest way] (May, 1971, 396).

When the protagonist encounters a man who pierced numerous parts of his body to commemorate the martyrdom of Imam Husayn ibn Ali, who was the grandson of Prophet Muhammad, the narrator remarks the following:

> *Ich hatte in Indien Büßer gesehen, welche sich auf die fabelhaftesten Weisen Schmerzen verursachten, und mit ihnen immer Mitleid gefühlt; diesem fanatisch dummen Menschen aber hätte ich wahrhaftig lieber eine Ohrfeige als ein Almosen gegeben, denn neben dem Grauen, welches sein ekelhafter Anblick erweckte, konnte ich auch den Unverstand nicht ertragen, welcher so scheußliche Martern ersinnt, um den Todestag eines doch nur sündhaften Menschen zu begehen*.[70] (May, 1892c, 305)

The latter part of the original is transformed in the first translation: "Le brezmejna, fanatična neumnost si more izmisliti take muke in z njimi še častiti smrt človeka, ki ni bil druga ko (*sic*) navaden Zemljan in ki ni imel drugih zaslug, ko da je bil 'v svaščini' s 'prerokom'"[71] (May, 1930–1931, 274). In addition to the reference to fanaticism being added, the term ''prerok'' [prophet] is in quotation marks, thereby implying that Muhammad was not a real prophet. In the re-translation, the adjectives describing the penitent as "dumm" [stupid] and the martyr as "sündhaft" [sinful] are deleted (May, 1971, 230).

After the protagonist patronizes the level of knowledge of a local doctor in Amadijah in comparison to those in the West, the narrator remarks the following: "Das war rücksichtslos und wohl auch ein wenig mutig gesprochen; aber es konnte diesen Leuten gar nicht schaden, wenn einmal einer kam, der es wagte, an ihrer Selbstherrlichkeit zu rütteln"[72] (May, 1892b, 222). Instead of "Selbstherrlichkeit" [self-aggrandisement], the terms "nevednost" [ig-

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63 *In what stark contrast such behaviour was to that observed among the Mohammedans!*

64 *What a difference between these slandered Yezidis and the fanatical Mohammedans imams!*

65 *This was an agreeable sign of generosity and tolerance.*

66 This is one of the instances when May was misinformed about Islam and disseminated this incorrect information (Bach, 2010, 25).

67 *Yes, the Orient is yearning for deliverance from a thousand years of being in heavy chains.*

68 *The Mohammedan Orient is groaning under the chains of Islam and longs for deliverance from centuries of slavery.*

69 *This was a genuinely Moslem way of dealing with a memory that was not very honourable for him.*

70 *I had seen penitents in India inflicting pain upon themselves in the most fabulous ways, and always felt pity for them; but I would really rather have given this fanatically stupid person a slap in the face instead of alms, because in addition to the horror that his disgusting sight aroused, I could not stand the ignorance that devises such horrible tortures to mark the anniversary of the death of someone who was simply a sinful person.*

71 *Only boundless, fanatical stupidity can invent such torments and even use them to honour the death of a person who was nothing more than an ordinary Earthling and had no other merits than being "related" to the "prophet".*

72 *That was a ruthless and probably also a slightly bold statement; but it could do no harm to these people if someone came along who dared to rattle their self-aggrandisement.*

norance] and "praznovernost" [superstitiousness] are used in the first translation (May, 1930, 156), while this sentence is deleted altogether in the re-translation (May, 1970b, 173).

At a certain point in the narrative, the protagonist has a falling out with two of his travelling companions, Haddedihn sheik Mohammed Emin and his son Amad el Ghandur, who do not agree with the leniency that he frequently displays towards their enemies. Subsequently, Kara Ben Nemsi returns the horse he had received from the sheik and – in his role as narrator – remarks the following: "Aber trotzdem mir der Verlust des Hengstes mehr als genug zu Herzen ging, fiel es mir gar nicht ein, meine milden Anschauungen den rachsüchtigen Gewohnheiten dieser Nomaden zu opfern"[73] (May, 1892c, 147). While the term "poldivji" [half-savage] is added to "nomadi" [nomads] in the first translation (May, 1930–1931, 97), this sentence is completely omitted in the re-translation (May, 1971, 109).

After Kara Ben Nemsi and Halef arrive in Egypt, the narrator makes the following observation about the transformation of his servant's character: "Er war jetzt außerordentlich stolz, unendlich grob und heillos aufschneiderisch geworden, und das will im Oriente viel sagen"[74] (May, 1892a, 84–85). While in the first translation the term "širokoustni" [boastful] is added to precede "Orient" (May, 1928–1930, 84), in the re-translation, Mrzel changed "Orient" into "v teh krajih" [in these parts] (May, 1970a, 70), which can be interpreted as a more local reference and not necessarily signifying that people in the ''Orient'' are boastful in general.

In the part of the narrative taking place in Kurdistan, the protagonist – in his role as narrator – makes a pronouncement on the state of affairs in those lands after observing how some local Kurdish men were looking at his horse: "Ich sah, wie sie bei dem Anblick meines Pferdes einander die Köpfe zukehrten, und so stolz mich diese Bewunderung machte, so bedenklich mußte sie mir auch sein. Ein gutes Pferd, schöne Waffen und Geld: - wer eines von diesen drei Dingen besitzt, der ist bei diesen räuberischen Völkerschaften nie sicher, es zu verlieren und das Leben dazu"[75] (May, 1892b, 374). In the first translation, the latter part of the first sentence of the original is expanded into a full sentence emphasizing the ''thieving'' nature of the Kurds: "Ponosen bi bil lahko na to občudovanje, pa med kurdijskimi konjskimi tatovi je tako občudovanje vse prej ko prijetno"[76] (May, 1930, 304). In the re-translation, "bei diesen räuberischen Völkerschaften" [among these rapacious peoples] from the original is changed to "na tem koncu sveta" [in this part of the world] (May, 1970b, 297) – a shift similar to that in the previously cited example can be observed.

CONCLUSION

The analysis of the Slovenian translations and re-translations of the first three novels of Karl May's *Orientzyklus* showed substantial differences in the strategies used for translating representations of the Middle East. The translation strategies were presumably influenced by both the norms (Toury, 2012 [1995], 61–92) prevalent in society at a certain point in time and the habitus (Simeoni, 1998) of a particular translator.

The first translations of the novels can be considered examples *par excellence* of rewriting. Negative discourse was not only consistently preserved but also added on numerous occasions; this was not limited to additions on the sentence level – full passages were rewritten or added to paint a picture more substantially unfavourable towards the Middle East as a whole, or various nations living there than was the case in May's original novels. While for centuries, colonial powers used such derogatory discourse as a pretext to expand their empires (while officially carrying out a ''civilizing mission''), nothing of the sort could apply in case of similarly xenophobic discourse in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.[77] Instead, the intensified negative representation of the ''Orient'' can perhaps be interpreted as a case of building oneself up by tearing others down (Birk, 2014, 317–322); at the time that the translations were published, Yugoslavia "was one of the poorest countries in Europe, a semi-colony economically not even halfway between the Asian colonies and metropolitan countries of Europe" (Suvin, 2016, 23). The especially intensified disdainful characterization of the Turkish people, who were the subject of most of the interventions in the translations, indicates that the traditionally hostile attitude towards the Ottoman Turks still held

73 *Although I was deeply affected by the loss of the stallion, I never even considered sacrificing my mild views to the vengeful habits of these nomads.*

74 *He was now extraordinarily proud, infinitely rude and hopelessly boastful, which is saying a lot in the Orient.*

75 *I saw them turn their heads to one another at the sight of my horse, and as proud as this admiration made me, it had to also make me apprehensive. A good horse, fine weapons and money: whoever owns one of these three things must always fear losing it along with his life when among these rapacious peoples.*

76 *I could have been proud of this admiration, but among Kurdish horse thieves, such admiration is anything but pleasant.*

77 In the first part of the 20th century, expressing racist/xenophobic views still common in Slovenian serial publications (Zajc & Polajnar, 2012, 74–84; Trupej, 2017b, 324–325).

sway, despite Slovenians not having many direct dealings with Turkish people in the interwar period anymore. The religion of Islam as a whole was also frequently denigrated more severely than in the original; the same is true for the followers of the Christian sect Nestorianism, whereas no significant shifts regarding the Yezidi people were found. Since the translations were published by a Catholic publishing house and presumably done by translators who had a favourable opinion about Christianity (the one credited translator, who may have been responsible for the two uncredited translations also, was a priest), ideological interventions that glorify Christianity while portraying Islam and a non-Catholic denomination in a more negative manner are not surprising.

While there was less rewriting in the re-translations of the *Orientzyklus*, ideological interventions were also frequent, although this time around their purpose was to achieve an effect opposite to that in the previous translations: numerous examples of derogatory discourse about the Middle East were either softened or completely omitted by radically changing the meaning of the original or by deleting full sentences, especially with regard to the Turkish and Kurdish people; the same is true for pejorative statements about Islam. However, part of the negative sentiment *was* preserved; it cannot therefore be said that the often unfavourable portrayal of the Middle East was completely ''sanitized'' in the re-translations. The translation strategy was undoubtedly influenced by the contemporary socio-political situation in the country: when the re-translations were published, Yugoslavia had close ties with several Middle Eastern countries in the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement, which had been co-founded by Yugoslavia in 1961, and the country also had quite good relations with NATO member Turkey—although not quite as good as during most of the 1950s, when Yugoslavia was one of the signatories of the Balkan Pact (1953), together with Turkey and Greece (Tahirovic, 2014, 63–65). Furthermore, Serbo-Croatian speaking Muslims were recognized as one of the ethnic groups in Yugoslavia, and on account of that, the softening of the disdainful attitudes towards Islam in the translations is also plausible. The translator of all three novels, Ludvik Mrzel, was a former political prisoner (Dolgan et al., 2014, 146–147; cf. Birk, 2014, 315) and as such, was probably wary of displeasing the powers that be; therefore, his interventions in the texts were likely a case of self-censorship.

It can thus be concluded that ideology had a profound influence on the Slovenian translations of the *Orientzyklus* in both eras in question and that the numerous shifts affected the overall portrayal of the Middle East in the Slovenian versions of the novels. Since especially in the interwar translations, ideological interventions were far more frequent than was the case for the portrayal of black people in some of May's other novels translated during the same period (Trupej, 2017a), it would be interesting to analyse the representations of other regions/peoples in the Slovenian translations of May's works and thus to contribute to translation scholarship from a post-colonial perspective.

PRIKAZ BLIŽNJEGA VZHODA V SLOVENSKIH PREVODIH SERIJE *ORIENTZYKLUS* KARLA MAYA

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POVZETEK

Analiza slovenskih prevodov prvih treh romanov iz serije Orientzyklus *[orientalski cikel] je pokazala, da so se prevajalske strategije v zvezi s podobo Bližnjega vzhoda v različnih obdobjih precej razlikovale. V prevodih, ki so izšli med letoma 1928 in 1931, negativen diskurz o Bližnjem vzhodu ni zgolj konstantno ohranjen, marveč je pogosto celo intenziviran, posledično pa je ta regija prikazana v občutno bolj negativni luči kot v izvirniku. To velja predvsem za podobo osmanskih Turkov, ki so bili med slovenskim prebivalstvom več stoletij tradicionalno dojemani kot »Drugi«. Prevodi so vrh tega izšli pri katoliški založbi, zato ne čudijo niti posegi v besedilo, s katerimi je bil islam prikazan v bolj negativni luči kot v izvirnikih. V ponovnih prevodih romanov, ko so izšli v letih 1970 in 1971, pa je bila prevajalska strategija ravno obratna: številni negativni elementi so bili izpuščeni oz. omiljeni, tako da je podoba Bližnjega vzhoda v teh slovenskih različicah manj negativna kakor v izvirnih romanih. Ti prevodi so izšli v obdobju, ko je bila Slovenija del Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije, v kateri so bili Muslimani priznani kot narod, in posledično je bil negativen diskurz o islamu do neke mere omiljen. Poleg tega je imela Jugoslavija v okviru Gibanja neuvrščenih tesne vezi z več bližnjevzhodnimi državami, v razmeroma dobrih odnosih pa je bila tudi z Republiko Turčijo, kar se je prav tako odražalo v prevodih. Mogoče je torej zaključiti, da so različne družbenopolitične okoliščine v določenem obdobju slovenske zgodovine bistveno vplivale na prikaz Bližnjega vzhoda v obravnavanih prevodih.*

Ključne besede: Karl May, Bližnji vzhod, *Orientzyklus*, nemška književnost, prevajanje, ideologija, ksenofobija

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MULTILINGUAL LANDSCAPES THROUGH THE LENS OF TRANSLATION: THE INTERPLAY OF OFFICIAL BILINGUALISM AND TOURISM IN TWO CONSERVATION AREAS IN SLOVENIA

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ABSTRACT

The ubiquitous presence of cross-cultural contact and multilingualism in the globalised world is reflected in a wide range of linguistic landscapes, and linguistic barriers are typically bridged using translation, resulting in multilingual signage. The paper explores the role of translation and the interplay of monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism in Slovenia, in the linguistic landscape of two conservation areas, one located in an officially bilingual area and the other located in the non-bilingual settings of the capital city. Analysing signage from the perspective of language use and translation, variation in approaches to bridging cross-cultural gaps is investigated.

Keywords: cross-cultural contact, signage, bilingualism, multilingualism, linguistic landscape, translation studies

PAESAGGI MULTILINGUI ATTRAVERSO LA LENTE DELLA TRADUZIONE: L'INTERAZIONE TRA BILINGUISMO UFFICIALE E TURISMO IN DUE AREE PROTETTE DELLA SLOVENIA

SINTESI

L'onnipresenza dei contatti interculturali e del multilinguismo nel mondo globalizzato è riscontrabile in una vasta gamma di paesaggi linguistici; le barriere linguistiche sono tipicamente superate con la traduzione, risultante nella presenza di segnali multilingui. L'articolo esplora il ruolo della traduzione e l'interazione tra monolinguismo, bilinguismo e multilinguismo in Slovenia, specificamente nel paesaggio linguistico di due aree protette, di cui una si trova in una zona ufficialmente bilingue e l'altra è situata nel contesto non bilingue della capitale. Analizzando la segnaletica dalla prospettiva dell'uso della lingua e della traduzione, si studia la variazione negli approcci al superamento dei divari interculturali.

Parole chiave: contatto interculturale, segnaletica, bilinguismo, multilinguismo, paesaggio linguistico, studi sulla traduzione

INTRODUCTION

The pervasiveness of cross-cultural contact and multilingualism in the globalised world is reflected in the wide range of different types of linguistic landscapes. Within the framework of linguistic landscape studies, different aspects contributing towards multilingualism, including urbanization, immigration flows, official language policy and international tourism, business and politics, etc., have received considerable research attention (cf. Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2015; Edelman, 2014; Moriarty, 2014: Vandenbroucke, 2015). Almost inevitably, cross-linguistic barriers are bridged using translation, resulting in multilingual signage, and creating translation spaces, in the sense of Cronin & Simon (2014).

The aim of this paper is to explore the role of translation and the interplay of monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism in Slovenia, in the linguistic landscape of two conservation areas recognized for their natural and cultural heritage value and associated with tourism. Specifically, we focus on the signage of *Sečovlje Salina Nature Park,* a nature park situated in the south-west of Slovenia, in an officially bilingual area, with Slovene and Italian as the official languages. To shed light on the specifics of the translation of signs a bilingual setting, the linguistic landscape of *Sečovlje Salina Nature Park* is contrasted with the *University of Ljubljana Botanical Garden,* a cultural, scientific and educational institution situated in the capital of Slovenia. Both locations are sites of natural heritage value, characterized by multilingualism inherent to tourism, but as only *Sečovlje Salina Nature Park* is situated in an officially bilingual area, it seems likely that the approaches to language use and translation differ considerably between the two settings. For the purposes of this study, signage in both settings was documented and analysed in terms of languages use, multilingual writing strategies and translation practices.

In particular, we aim to address the following research questions:

1. How is translation used to adapt the signage to a bilingual setting?
2. What are the characteristics of translation from Slovene into Italian in the linguistic landscape in the officially bilingual area?

The present study focuses on three languages, Slovene, Italian and English, each with a different cultural capital in the sense of Bourdieu (1986). Slovene is a language of approximately 2.4 million speakers (Bitenc & Kenda-Jež, 2015, 31), and a peripheral language in the sense of Heilbron (2000). Italian is a language with approximately 65 million L1 speakers and 3.1 million L2 speakers (Wikipedia, 2023) and is a semi-peripheral language (Heilbron, 2000) According to the Ethnologue (2023) webpage, English is a language with approximately 373 million L1 speakers and 1.08 billion L2 speakers, and is the hyper-central language in Heilbron's (2000) model; with its growing global dominance, it is currently the undisputed world lingua franca.

LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE OF BILINGUAL COMMUNITIES

An important area where the potential of the field of linguistic landscape has long been recognized is bilingual communities, where particular attention has been given to public visibility of minority languages. The term minority language itself is characterized by complexity: as Marten et al. (2012, 5–6) point out, the term can be applied to different types of languages in different situations, with two fundamental types of distinctions. The first is the distinction between autochthonous or 'traditional' minority languages and migrant or 'new' minority languages, and the second distinction is between the so-called 'unique' minority languages (i.e., languages which exist only as minority languages) and 'local-only' minority languages, which are majority languages in another state. It is not surprising that an extensive body of linguistic landscape research has focused on unique autochthonous minority languages (cf. Amos (2017) for Occitan; Blackwood (2015) for France's regional languages; Cenoz & Gorter (2006) for Basque and Frisian; Coupland (2012) for Welsh; Salo (2012) for Sámi, to list just a few), since, as Gorter et al. (2019, 482–483) highlight such studies can enhance the understanding of minority language communities by providing "empirical data on the presence or absence of 'languages' in the public sphere" (Gorter et al., 2019, 482), as well as address issues such as language policies and power relations between languages. However, questions of power-relations, language policies, language-rights and linguistic vitality have also been addressed in studies focusing on local-only minority languages that are not endangered, have a stable status, and do not lack prestige (cf. Marten et al., 2012). In fact, a range of linguistic landscape studies have investigated different types of multilingual communities: see, for instance, Koskinen (2012) for the linguistic landscape of Hervanta, a suburb of Tampere, Leimgruber (2017) for the linguistic landscape of Montreal's St. Catherine Street, and Vandenbroucke (2015) for the linguistic landscape of Brussels.

A specific situation arises in bilingual communities where tourism plays an important role. Tourist settings in themselves are sites of intensive language contact, in which different approaches to multilingualism are on display, as international languages interact with local majority and minority languages (cf. Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2015, 599). Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau (2009, 386) underline the role of the English language in the linguistic landscape of tourist destinations, arguing that as a lingua franca, English "enjoys a privileged position when it comes to addressing a multilingual, heterogeneous readership". The interplay of the international dimension of tourism and the national and/or local official policies of bilingualism inevitably affects the linguistic landscape of bilingual communities. Several studies have explored the impact of tourism on smaller or peripheral minority language use (cf. Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009; Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen, 2016; Lonardi, 2022; Moriarty, 2014), identifying diverse issues such as minority language promotion, commodification and even endangerment as relevant in different contexts. It seems that in officially bilingual communities with bigger, local-only minority languages a different set of complexities arises with the impact of tourism.

The status of the Italian Language in Slovenia

The Italian language has the status of a minority language in Slovenia, with parts of the coastal area of the country being officially bilingual. In reference to Marten et al.'s (2012) typology of minority languages outlined above, Italian in Slovenia is an autochthonous minority language, but obviously also a 'local-only' minority language which is a majority language in another state. However, Italian is also a language with considerable cultural capital (in the sense of Bourdieu, 1986), with a strong historical influence and literary tradition, and is, according to the Eurostat (2022) webpage, currently one of the five most studied languages in the EU in terms of general education.

The coastal area of Slovenia is historically characterized by a mixed Slovene and Italian population; the Italian language and culture historically played an important role in the area. After the end of World War II, Italy and Yugoslavia (of which Slovenia was a part) officially recognized each other's minority, and a number of bilateral agreements were signed to ensure that the rights of the official minorities are respected. However, while the implementation of such documents has been slower in Italy (cf. Tremul et al., 2015), the territory in which the Italian minority lives in Slovenia is fully committed to bilingualism. Italian is present not only in signage, at public events, on the local TV and radio station etc., but also in schools.[1] The bilingual community of this area has been studied from a range of other perspectives, including 20th century history (cf. Orlić, 2015; Ruzicic-Kessler, 2018), hybridity (cf. Baskar, 2020), economy (Novak Lukanovič, 2011), contact linguistics and code switching (cf. Umer Kljun, 2015) and ethnic identity of the minorities (cf. Sedmak, 2009), as well as education, i.e., the teaching of Italian as a first or second language in the coastal area of Slovenia (cf. Sorgo et al., 2022; Zudič Antonič & Cerkvenik, 2019; Zorman, 2021; Cavaion, 2020).

Although so far no studies have focused on the linguistic landscape of the Slovene-Italian bilingual area, there has been research published on the linguistic landscape of neighbouring bilingual areas. These include a study on the linguistic landscape of Rijeka and Pula in Croatian Istria by Bocale (2021), who notes a greater presence of Italian in the signage in Pula, an officially bilingual area, as compared to Rijeka, although the dominant language, Croatian, is clearly prevalent. Tufi's (2016) study focuses on the linguistic landscape of Trieste, located in a historically "strongly contested territory" with "multilingual and multicultural composition" (Tufi, 2016, 101). Tufi's (2016) findings show striking differences between the signage in the city centre, where speakers of Italian constitute the majority of the population, and the signage of peripheral towns, where the Slovene language is present not only in top down signs, but also in commercial signage and other settings.

METHODOLOGY

The present study is part of a larger investigation of the role of translation in the linguistic landscapes in Slovenia, and the photographic material used in this analysis forms part of a larger set of linguistic landscape data. The photographic material used in the present study comprises photos of all types of public signage found in *Sečovlje Salina Nature Park* and the *University of Ljubljana Botanical Garden*. Both locations are conservation areas, public spaces and tourist sights, attracting international visitors, where multilingual signage use is expected. Comparisons of linguistic landscapes have been successfully used in various linguistic landscape studies (cf. Cenoz & Gorter, 2006; Edelman, 2014), and our study design allows us to gain insight into the general characteristics of the linguistic landscape of conservation areas in Slovenia as opposed to specific characteristics of officially bilingual conservation areas in Slovenia.

1 Italian is taught as a second language in Slovene schools, but it is also the language of instruction in Italian minority schools, where Slovene is taught as a second language.

Sečovlje Salina Nature Park (Krajinski park Sečoveljske soline – Parco Naturale delle Saline di Sicciole) is a nature park, i.e., a type of conservation area, in southwestern Slovenia, on the Adriatic coast (KPSS, 2023). The park is a wildlife sanctuary with active saltworks, where traditional salt-making methods are used. The park is located in an officially bilingual zone, where both Slovene and Italian are official languages.

The *University of Ljubljana Botanical Garden* (Botanični vrt Univerze v Ljubljani) is one of the oldest educational institutions in Slovenia which has played an important historical role and is dedicated to conservation of endemic plant species (UBG, 2023). The institution is located in the capital of Slovenia, where Slovene is the only official language.

In terms of access, the two conservation areas share certain similarities: in *Sečovlje Salina Nature Park* there is an entrance fee payable at the gate, although access for recreational purposes (e.g., jogging) is free of charge. In the *University of Ljubljana Botanical Garden*, an entrance fee is only required for the tropical glasshouse, while no entrance fee is paid for the park.

The collection of linguistic landscape data was conducted in between 15 January and 15 March of 2023 during a number of visits to both settings, *Sečovlje Salina Nature Park* (henceforth SNP) and the *University of Ljubljana Botanical Garden* (henceforth UBG). While the signage at both sites contained verbal signs, pictograms and signs with a combination of verbal and pictographic material, only verbal signs and verbal parts of combined signs were considered in the analysis presented here. Simple plant labels (detailing the plant name and biological Latinized name with details of its genus), and price tags were excluded from the analysis. Damaged signs where the inscription was rendered partly or completely illegible (e.g., signs corroded by atmospheric conditions) were also excluded from the analysis, as were transitory texts. Multiple copies of the same sign were not counted separately. Thus, a total of 244 signs (120 in SNP and 124 in UBG) were analysed in the present study.

Backhaus's (2006, 55) broad definition of the sign as "any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame" was used in the present study, taking into account the fact that this can cover very diverse items, ranging from "handwritten stickers to huge commercial billboards" (Backhaus, 2006, 55). The signs were photographed and stored in a database. A particular issue arose in the present study in terms of quantification in those signs, where the same content was displayed on separate signs in different languages. In those cases, such signs were counted as a single sign in the present study to allow a more accurate juxtaposition of monolingual, bilingual and multilingual signage.

The signs were coded in terms of type, function, language(s) displayed, text arrangement and, in the case of multilingual signs, type of multilingualism/translation used. The categories are briefly outlined below.

The signs were classified according to type into two categories, official and commercial. As Leimgruber (2017) points out, linguistic landscape studies rely on different methodologies, although some categories are commonly used in analysis. In developing the coding scheme, the specific character of the present study needed to be taken into account: both locations analysed are conservation areas and tourist sights rather than urban public spaces, which are commonly the focus of linguistic landscape research. In urban landscapes or cityscapes, authorship is an important category in sign classification; see, for instance, Backhaus (2006, 53–54) for a discussion on the distinction between official signs, i.e., those authored by the authority, and nonofficial signs, i.e., those authored by private citizens. For the two locations used in the present study, SNP and UBG, determining the authorship of the signs is less informative, as even commercial signs are often authored by the institution. Therefore, a distinction between two types of signs, official and commercial, is more suitable for the purposes of the present study.

The categorization of sign function in the present study is based on Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen's (2016) study of the linguistic landscape of a museum of indigenous culture, Siida. In their analysis, Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen (2016, 29) identified three separate but overlapping functions of language: management of visitors, narrating the content and being on display as part of the content. In Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen's (2016) classification, visitor management signage facilitates access to the museum, as well as directs and manages the visitors; commercial signs are included in this category (cf. Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen, 2016, 32), while narration signage narrates and explains the content of the exhibitions. The third function of language covers signage displaying language as part of the exhibit; in those signs the Sámi language itself is present as artefact or the object of the exhibition (Kelly-Holmes & Pietikäinen, 2016, 33). In the present study, the signs were classified into two functional categories, visitor management and narration, as no signs with display function were identified.[2]

The signs were coded in terms of the languages displayed, the number of languages displayed and text arrangement, i.e., in this case, the order of languages. Multilingual signs were also coded using Reh's (2004) categorization of multilingual writing

2 In both locations, there were a few signs with poetic function, but as their number was very small number, it did not seem relevant to introduce a separate category.

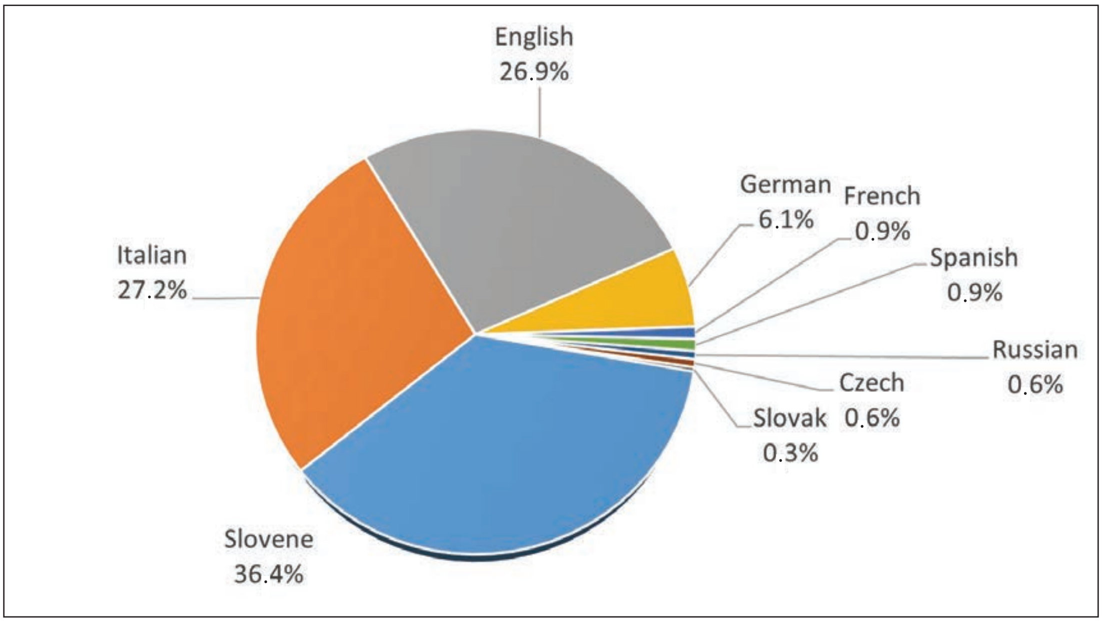

Chart 1: Shares of languages in SNP signs.

strategies. In her analysis of multilingual writing in Lira Municipality, Uganda, Reh (2004) introduces a typology that has been adopted in a number of subsequent studies (cf. Backhaus, 2006; Koskinen, 2012; Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2015; Amos, 2017, to list just a few). Reh (2004) identifies four ways of presenting multilingual information in stationary signage, duplicating, fragmentary, overlapping and complementary. The first three categories cover different types of translation.[3] In duplicating multilingual writing the same content is presented in more than one language, in fragmentary multilingual writing full information is provided in one language but only parts are translated into another language or other languages, and in overlapping multilingual writing parts of the different language versions contain the same content, while other parts of the content are only given in one of the versions. Finally, as Koskinen (2012) points out, complementary multilingual writing entails code-switching and does not constitute translation.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The results are presented and discussed in terms of languages displayed, the impact of the status of the language and the relationship between multilingualism and sign category. The results for the SNP are compared with those of UBG to gain insight into the specifics relating to a bilingual area.

Languages displayed

The first step of the analysis was the identification of the languages used in both sites. In the linguistic landscape of SNP, ten different languages were identified: Slovene, Italian, English, German, French, Spanish, Russian, Czech, Slovak and Latin (see Chart 1 for the shares of individual languages). Some of the signage also displayed a version of the text in Braille script. In UBG a total of six languages is found in the linguistic landscape: Slovene, English, German, French, Italian and Latin (see Chart 2 for the shares of individual languages).

While Latin words were used in signs at both locations, the function of Latin was clearly different from that of the other languages displayed. The function of signage in conservation areas is also to provide accurate terminology in terms of scientific names of species, which conventionally consist of two Latinized words. The terminological nature of Latin means that its function is very specific and not comparable to the use of other languages. Signs containing Latin words were therefore not considered multilingual because of the use of Latin.

3 Translation direction was not explicitly specified on most of the signs analyzed here. Yet, even in signs where details on translation are not explicitly mentioned (above all in commercial signs and/or visitor management signs), the order of languages, the type of translation strategy used and even the context in which the signs appear make it very obvious that Slovene was the source language for the vast majority of the signs, with a few notable exceptions. A comprehensive analysis of translation direction, however, is beyond the scope of the present study.

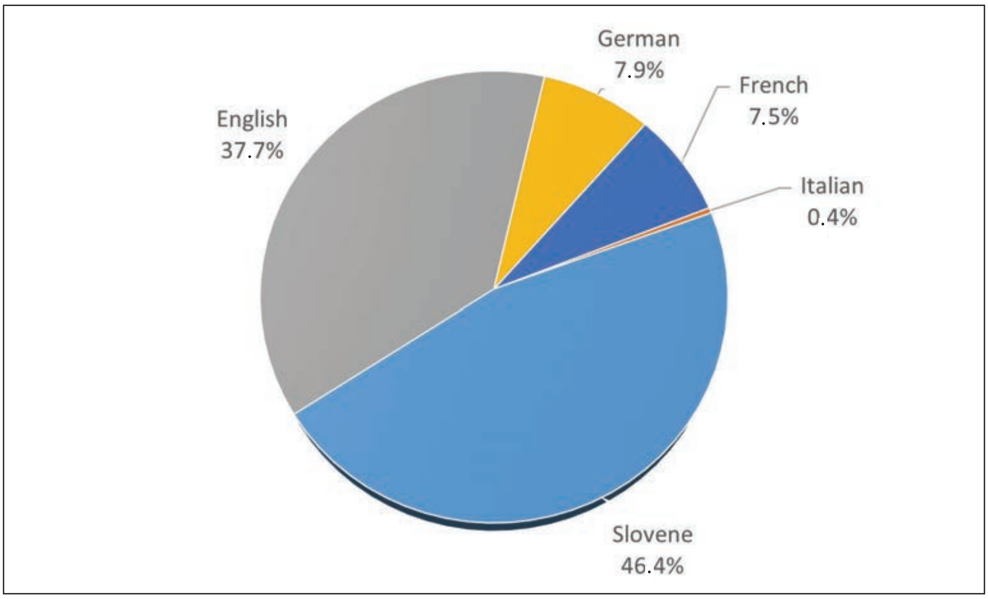

Chart 2: Shares of languages in UBG signs.

Number of languages displayed on signs

Table 1 classifies the signs according to the number of languages displayed on them, presenting the percentage of monolingual, bilingual and trilingual signs, as well as signs with more than three languages in the two locations.

Three languages, Slovene, Italian and English, prevail in the linguistic landscape of SNP. Monolingual signs constitute less than one fifth of all the signage; all but one monolingual signs displayed Slovene only, the only exception was a poster advertising an international convention in English only (the text on the sign is *Life thrives in wetlands. Wetland biodiversity matters*, *World Wetlands Day, 1 February 2020, Wetlands and biodiversity*, as well as some logos). Bilingual signs, which were relatively infrequent, displayed either Slovene and Italian (8 sings), or Slovene in English (7 signs). All the signs with more than two languages displayed Slovene and 72% of them were trilingual with Slovene, Italian and English. It is particularly noteworthy that all signs with more than three languages displayed Slovene, Italian and English in combination with other languages, most notably German.

Other language combinations were less frequent: 25% of the multilingual sings were Slovene, Italian, English and German, and in two instances respectively Slovene, Italian and English were accompanied by French or Spanish (merely for the names of sites in France and Spain). Two signs contained numerous languages, one of them eight (Slovene, Italian, English, German, French, Spanish, Russian and Czech) and the other one nine (with Slovak as the ninth language; see Figure 1).

In comparison, the signage in UBG was far less diversified in terms of the number of languages, with a clear dominance of two languages, Slovene and English. All but one[4] monolingual signs displayed Slovene only, all the bilingual signs displayed Slovene and English, and all the remaining signs also displayed Slovene and English in combination with other languages (German, Italian, French) (see Figure 2).

Order of languages

The order of languages in signage in both locations is not random, but follows a well-established pattern where Slovene is systematically displayed

Table 1: Percentage of monolingual, bilingual, trilingual and multilingual signs.

	SNP	UBG
Monolingual	18%	20%
Bilingual	14%	62%
Trilingual	49%	2%
More than three languages	19%	16%

4 The only exception was a sign containing the logo of a project, with only the English project title, “Life”.

first. In SNP, the official status of Italian is consistently reflected in its position on the signs: Italian is virtually always found immediately after Slovene, with English in the third place, and any other languages following. The only exception where English precedes Italian (but follows Slovene) is a sign showing the water level in a canal. In UBG, English almost always follows Slovene. The few exceptions include three signs containing poetry, and a few instances where the Slovene and the English versions are displayed on separate signs.

The order of importance of the languages is sometimes also shown in the way the sings are typeset. In SNP, in the exhibition hall, narrative signs have a Slovene title at the top with larger, more prominent characters, while Italian and English titles are displayed below in smaller font size (Figure 3). The display of rest of the text is the same for all three languages.

The impact of the status of the language

The presence and prominence of Italian in SNP is most likely a direct consequence of official bilingualism and legislation regulating language use in the public space of officially bilingual areas. However, as SNP is also a tourist sight, the impact of tourism on multilingual display should be taken into account as well.

The proximity of Italy to SNP suggests that Italian-speaking tourists would be an important group of international visitors to the nature park, and, in fact, the official data of the Slovene Tourist Board (2023) for 2022 offers strong support for this assumption. Italians are the second most numerous group of international tourists in the municipality of Piran within which SNP is located. However, Italians are also the second most numerous group of international tourists in Slovenia in general, and the third largest group of international visitors in the capital city of Ljubljana in particular, yet it is noteworthy that only a single sign, i.e., a trilingual poster advertising a bilateral Italian-Slovene apicultural project, displays Italian text (in addition to Slovene and English) in UGB. Furthermore, Slovene Tourist Board data shows that in all three categories, the municipality of Piran, the municipality of Ljubljana and Slovenia in general, tourists from German-speaking countries constitute the most numerous group of international tourists, yet the presence of German in both linguistic landscapes is quite limited.

The prominence of English in the linguistic landscapes of both SNP and UBG may seem to be derived entirely from its status as a global lingua franca and its consequent widespread use (cf. Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009), but the situation is in fact, more complex. In addition to the global dominance of English which obviously plays a role in its ubiquitous presence in the signage of both SNP and UBG, it should be noted that the presence of tourists from English-speaking countries should also be considered. Slovene Tourist Board data for 2022 shows that tourists from countries where English is the first language of the majority of the population, such as the UK or the USA, constitute an important group of visitors in Slovenia as well. There is, however, a pronounced difference between the areas where SNP and UBG are situated: tourists from English-speaking countries constitute the sixth largest group of international visitors in

Figure 1: A multilingual sign in SNP.

Figure 2: A double-sided sign in UBG with Slovene, English, German and French text.

the municipality of Piran, but they are the second largest group in the municipality of Ljubljana (more numerous than Italian tourists).

Two additional aspects may also play a significant role in the linguistic landscape of SNP and UBG. First, SNP is located in a wider bilingual context and any Italian visitors to the area will have encountered bilingual signage with Italian. Italian tourists visiting the coastal region, including SNP, may therefore have expectations of access to information in Italian. Italian tourists visiting Ljubljana have no such expectations when visiting UBG, as Italian is rarely used in public signage in the capital city.

Second, both SNP and UBG are visited by tourists as well as locals, but access to most of UBG is free of charge, whereas an entrance fee is charged at the gate of SNP, unless the nature of the visit is recreational. Furthermore, UBG is located in the city centre, in close proximity to several schools and residential areas, whereas the location of SNP is somewhat more peripheral and less urban. This means that locals are probably more frequent visitors in UBG than in SNP. As a consequence, some of the signs regulating visitor behaviour are specifically intended for the local community, and tend to be more pragmatic in nature (see next section). Visits to SNP are more deliberate, since an entrance fee needs to be paid. Even when most local visitors decide to enter the park, they come for the same reasons as tourists.

Multilingualism and sign category

In both locations, all multilingual signs contained translations, as there were no instances of complementary multilingual writing in the sense of Reh's (2004) classification of translations (cf. Koskinen (2012) for comparable findings). With the exception of a few signs, Reh's (2004) duplicating translation strategy was used to consistently display the same content in both languages.

SNP

The officially bilingual status of the areas is reflected at all levels of signage, from the topmost, even symbolic, officially bilingual name of the institution, *Krajinski park Sečoveljske soline – Parco Naturale delle Saline di Sicciole*, to the most trivial marginal management signs.

Most official signs in SNP are either bilingual (Slovene and Italian), or, much more frequently, trilingual (Slovene, Italian and English). Monolingual and multilingual (more than three languages) official signs are less frequent. Monolingual official signs include both visitor management signs (for instance, a poster with information on avian influenza) and narration signs (for instance, some of the exhibit labels in the visitor's centre). Official signs with more than three languages are less frequent, although all such signs are official signs. They include both visitor management and narration signs (see Figures 4 and 5).

Official Slovene-Italian bilingualism is present in official visitor management signs containing legal information such as a passage from legislation regulating alcohol consumption displayed in the gift shop next to the wine bottles showcased in wooden boxes, or an official sign with Covid19 regulations. Both of these signs display recycled, pre-existing Slovene text and its Italian translation created in another context, and subsequently displayed in SNP to ensure that the official requirements are met. Such signs are posted in different types of public spaces across the officially bilingual area, whenever applicable.

Trilingual signs with Slovene, Italian and English include both official visitor management signs (for instance, signposts) and narration signs (such as displays, panels, labels and similar), although there are also a few instances of bilingual Slovene and Italian official narration signs (for instance, labels next to 3-D models of the terrain of the park).

In a few official visitor management signs (see Figure 6), different translation approaches are used in the title and the body of the sign. While the body of the sign displays the same information in three or even four languages, the title is only displayed in Slovene and Italian. It seems possible that design issues, such as space constraint or a pre-existing bilingual template subsequently expanded to include additional languages, may have played a role in the final layout of the sign. It is, however, notable, when different approaches to translation and multilingualism are used in different parts of the sign, it is always the Italian language that is displayed along with Slovene, which probably reflects requirements for bilingual signage in the officially bilingual area.

The situation in SNP is quite distinct when it comes to commercial signs in the gift shop and at the café. Commercial signs are either monolingual (Slovene) or bilingual, but the majority of bilingual signs are Slovene and English, with only two signs containing Slovene and Italian. It thus seems that the commercial signs are intended above all for an international audience rather than the local Italian-speaking minority. The implementation of official bilingualism in commercial establishments, seems to be somewhat less rigorous than in institutional settings. On the other hand, Slovene and English commercial signs include a diverse range of sings, for instance, instructions on a coin elongation machine (penny-press) or the inscription on a bicycle frame. Of the two commercial signs with an Italian translation, one is a rather detailed commercial description of the beneficial effects of brine water, while the other is text on a van belonging to a local rowing club with headquarters in SNP. While the latter clearly targets the local bilingual population, as it is highly unlikely that tourists would enrol in a local sports club, it is much less clear why the brine water description is translated (only) into Italian, as all other commercial sings in the same location are Slovene and English.

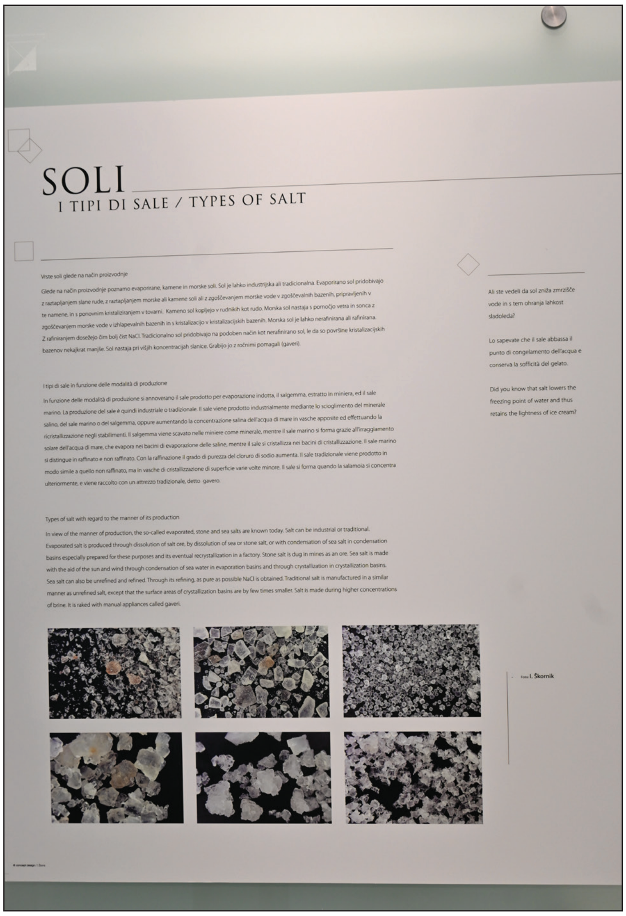

Figure 3: A narrative sign with text in three languages.

UBG

The vast majority of the signs, regardless of their type and function, in UBG are bilingual, displaying Slovene and English text. This includes most official signs, both those with visitor management function and those with narration function, as well as most commercial signs in the gift shop and the visitors' centre.

Monolingual Slovene signs are relatively infrequent, but also quite diverse. Official narration signs included a set of similar Slovene-only signs providing brief descriptions of seasonal flowering plants (for instance, the snow drop), which are probably stored away at

Figure 4: A visitor management sign with text in four languages.

the end of the season (Figure 7). While most official visitor management signs were bilingual, there were a few Slovene-only signs, for instance a sign prohibiting cycling along the garden footpaths. It seems possible that while effort was invested into regulating the visit of both Slovene and international visitors through bilingual signage, a difference between the type of behaviour that might be associated with more permanent residence (signs regulating cycling which obviously entails access to a bicycle) and general behaviour (no littering) can be observed. Only a few commercial signs (for instance, a sign specifying that a plant is not for sale) were monolingual.

All signs but one with more than two languages were official signs with narration function, most of which were part of the same exhibition (see Figure 2).

Figure 5: A narration sign with text in four languages.

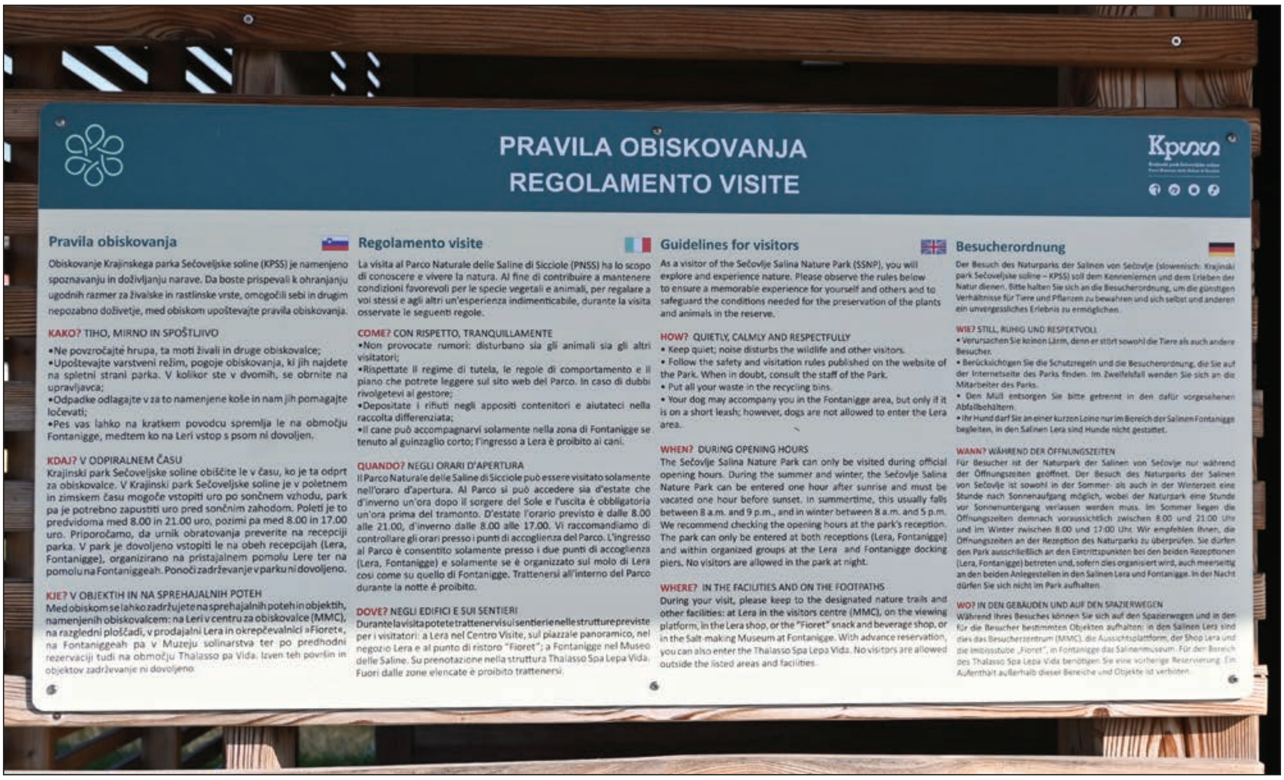

Figure 6: An official sign with text in Slovene, Italian, English and German.

The only multilingual commercial sign was a trilingual label in Slovene, English and German.

Translation strategies

While a systematic overview of translation strategies is beyond the scope of the present study, two issues arising in translation nevertheless need to be mentioned. The first is adaptation to space constraints. Although duplicating (i.e., translating the content in its entirety, see Reh (2004, 8–10 for a more detailed description) was by far the most common translation approach, fragmentary translation (cf. Reh, 2004, 10) was occasionally used. It seems, however, that this occurred mainly because of space constraints, as passages in any of the languages, including Slovene, were sometimes shortened and parts of the information were omitted or dealt with more briefly.

The second issue concerns shifts involving expressions of authorial identity in translation. Authorial identity is a complex issue as it involves a number of variables which may result in shifts in translation. These include systemic cross-linguistic variation, different rhetorical preferences, as well as translation-related phenomena, such as explicitation, interference, standardization, simplification, etc. The impact of these variables on authorial presence in translation has been explored in detail in our previous work (cf. Pahor, Smodiš & Pisanski Peterlin (2021) for an investigation of overt authorial presence and the passive voice in Slovene, English and in Slovene-English translation, and Pisanski Peterlin & Mikolič Južnič (2018) for a detailed examination of subject pronoun use in Slovene, Italian and English and in translation into Slovene). Due to the limited number of shifts in authorial identity in the translated signage analysed here, a comprehensive analysis this phenomenon is beyond the scope of the present study; nevertheless, it should be outlined as it may be of interest in potential future research.

In some of the Slovene text displayed on the signs, the first person plural is used to refer to the institution as the author of the sign or the people of Slovenia in the generic sense. It is not surprising that such first person plural expression of authorial identity referring to the institution or the local population, are often (although not always) replaced in translation by an explicit reference to Slovenia, the institution or some sort of an impersonal expression. Thus for instance, the Slovene expression *naš endemit* [our endemic species] changes into *Slovenian endemic species* in the English part of a sign from UBG.

The example below illustrates how both of these issues are reflected in different translation strategies used in the Italian and English translation of a narration sign in SNP. The Slovene text on the sign in question is provided below with the English gloss in square brackets:

Figure 7: Slovene description of the snow drop.

SLOVENE: Nekdanje delavnice ob upravni stavbi KPSS na Leri **smo preuredili** *v center za obiskovalce. V večjem prostoru je urejena dvorana za projekcijo filmov. Na voljo je 90 sedežev. Dvorana je primerna tudi za predavanja in predstavitve. [***We have converted** *former workshops next to the administration building of KPSS into a visitors' centre. The larger hall houses a cinema. There are 90 seats available. The hall is also suitable for lectures and presentations.]*

The first person plural in Slovene refers to the institution as the collective author of the text, giving it a personal note. In the Italian translation of the passage the duplicating approach is used, with all the parts of the information from the Slovene original expressed in translation. Moreover, the first person plural is retained in the Italian translation, possibly highlighting the bilingual character of the institution.

ITALIAN: ***Stiamo ristrutturando*** *un caseggiato un tempo falegnameria e officina, che si trova presso la sede amministrativa del KPSS, per farne un centro per i visitatori. Un'ampia sala è stata predisposta per la proiezione di film. È dotata di 90 posti a sedere ed è adatta anche per le conferenze. [***We are renovating** *a former carpentry and workshop building, which is located next to the administrative headquarters of KPSS, to make a visitors' centre. A large hall has been prepared for the screening of films. It has 90 seats and is also suitable for conferences.]*

In the English translation, a completely different approach is used. The English version is noticeably shorter, constituting an example of a fragmentary translation. Moreover, the first person plural conveying authorial identity has been omitted all together.

ENGLISH: A projection hall with 90 seats, also suitable for presentations and lectures, has been opened in one of the building's larger rooms.

While it is impossible to determine the reasons for such different translation approaches, it seems conceivable that they reflect the different purposes of the Italian and English versions: whereas the Italian translation caters primarily to the local Italian minority, the English translation is intended for an international audience.

If we take into consideration the points raised in this section, a range of different factors, including the official status of the languages at the two locations, the most frequent groups of international visitors and even the accessibility of the two locations, plays an important role in shaping the final version of the text displayed. It seems fairly clear that in SNP Italian is used very consistently mainly due to the officially bilingual status of Italian in the area, but the fact that Italian translations also address Italian-speaking tourists strengthens its position in SNP signs. In comparison, Italian is almost completely absent from the signage in UBG, although Italian tourists are among the most frequent visitors to the city: with the exception of an international exhibition, where four languages are used in total, communication in UBG with foreign language speaking visitors relies almost exclusively on English (cf. Bruyèl-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2009). Finally, a preliminary analysis of the translation strategies used on the signs in SNP and UBG shows that the different status of the languages (Italian and English in particular) is reflected also on the type of strategy used and in the way authorial presence is dealt with.

CONCLUSION

The aim of the paper was to address the role of translation and multilingualism in the linguistic landscape of two conservation areas in Slovenia, focusing on the potential impact of official bilingualism. Comparing linguistic landscape data from two comparable locations, one in an officially bilingual area and the other in a non-bilingual area, allowed us to gain some insight into the impact of official bilingualism. Our findings confirm that official bilingualism does in fact play a prominent role in the linguistic landscape of SNP, with extensive use of Italian in official signage, while commercial signage at SNP is very similar to that in UBG, with Slovene and English displayed in bilingual signs. The signage of UBG, not located in an officially bilingual area, exhibits a strong dominance of Slovene and English.

The first research question guiding the study was how translation was used to adapt the signage to a bilingual setting. The initial observation that there were no instances of multilingual writing in the linguistic landscapes of both SNP and UBG means that translation was used in all the signs containing more than one language. However, two specific characteristics of translations into Italian can be observed in SNP. The first is that some of the official visitor management signs with legal information in Slovene and Italian recycle pre-existing texts and translations that are used wherever applicable in public spaces in the officially bilingual area. The second is that an orientation towards a local target audience of the Italian language minority can be found in some of the signs, most notably, on the ad for a local rowing club. However, in the case of most of the signs displaying Italian, it may be argued that they are intended for two audiences, the local Italian language minority and tourists from Italy, even though international tourists are generally most commonly addressed through English at both locations. In fact, with Italian being a local-only minority language, it may even be that its prominent presence is also linked to its prestige, as it facilitates access to information for an important group of tourists.

The second research question examined the characteristics of translation from Slovene into Italian in the linguistic landscape in the officially bilingual area. As a starting point, an overview of the signs reveals a strong reliance on duplicating translation strategy (Reh 2004), where the same content is displayed in different languages in both SNP and UBG linguistic landscapes. However, a set of official visitor management signs constitutes a notable exception, as the official status of Italian is highlighted through their design, where only Slovene and Italian appear in the title, while additional languages are displayed in the body of the sign.

In considering the findings two limitations of the present study need to be taken into account. The first is the limited size of the corpus: a small, carefully collected corpus of signage means that while the results are representative of the two settings studied here, they should be interpreted with some consideration and cannot be generalized. The second limitation concerns the fact that the signage found at both locations is specific to conservation areas which means that it is not always possible to draw direct parallels with previous research into the linguistic landscapes of urban areas, tourist destinations or bilingual communities.

Finally, the findings of the present study raise several interesting directions for future research. Further studies combining linguistic landscape data with research into the process of creating the signage would yield more specific information on the reasons for multilingualism and translation approaches used the signage. Similarly, surveys collecting the opinions of the visitors would help shed light on the reception of the signage displayed.

VEČJEZIČNA KRAJINA SKOZI PERSPEKTIVO PREVODA: SOVPLIVANJE URADNE DVOJEZIČNOSTI IN TURIZMA NA DVEH ZAVAROVANIH OBMOČJIH V SLOVENIJI

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POVZETEK

Medkulturni stiki s seboj prinašajo večjezičnost, in ta je dandanes, v času izrazite globalizacije, prisotna v vseh vrstah jezikovnih krajin. Študije jezikovnih krajin zelo različnih delov sveta kažejo, da se stik med jeziki udejanja zlasti s prevajanjem, na podlagi katerega nastanejo večjezični znaki. V prispevku je razčlenjeno prepletanje enojezičnosti, dvojezičnosti in večjezičnosti v slovenskem prostoru, in sicer v jezikovni krajini dveh zavarovanih območij, od katerih se eno, Krajinski park Sečoveljske soline – Parco Naturale delle Saline di Sicciole, nahaja na uradnem slovensko-italijansko dvojezičnem ozemlju, drugo, Botanični vrt Univerze v Ljubljani, pa ne. Obe zavarovani območji sta prostora stika več kultur, saj ju obiskujejo tako domači kot tuji turisti. Zavarovano območje predstavlja specifično jezikovno krajino, v kateri se prepletajo različne funkcije, od varstva narave in ekosistemov, do ohranjanja kulturne dediščine, izobraževanja in turizma. Zasnova študije s primerjavo jezikovnih krajin dveh primerljivih lokacij, od katerih je ena uradno dvojezična, druga pa ne, daje vpogled v specifiko uradno dvojezične jezikovne krajine. Analiza znakov obeh zavarovanih območij pokaže, kako in kdaj se na znakih odraža uradna dvojezičnost, kateri jeziki se pojavljajo na znakih in kako večjezični znaki nagovarjajo tujejezične turiste. Posebna pozornost je namenjena vprašanju prevodnih strategij, ki so uporabljene v prevodih besedila na znakih, pri čemer se osredotočava zlasti na vprašanje prevodov v italijanščino in jih primerjava z drugimi prevodi.

Ključne besede: medkulturni stik, znaki, dvojezičnost, večjezičnost, jezikovna krajina, prevodoslovje

SOURCES AND LITERATURE

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TIPOGRAFSKA KULTURNA DEDIŠČINA: DIGITALIZACIJA PISAVE S STENSKIH KUHINJSKIH PRTOV

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IZVLEČEK

Namen raziskave je bilo posodobiti tipografsko kulturno dediščino, ki je bila sestavni del bivalne kulture naših prednikov, tj. vezeni stenski kuhinjski prti, prisotni v številnih gospodinjstvih od konca 19. do druge polovice 20. stoletja. Analizirali smo ohranjene vezene stenske prte s področja Podravine na Hrvaškem. Za sodobno uporabo smo oblikovali digitalizirano pisavo, katere osnova so bile ročno vezene črke na ohranjenih stenskih prtih. Sami smo oblikovali verzalke in nečrkovne znake, ki niso bili najdeni na analiziranih prtih, ter slogovno poenotili vse črkovne in nečrkovne znake. Digitalizacija lepopisne rokopisne pisave je bila zahtevno delo, da se predhodna črka povezuje z naslednjo črko.

Ključne besede: digitalizacija vezenih črk, kulturna dediščina, lepopis, stenski prti, tipografija

PATRIMONIO CULTURALE TIPOGRAFICO: DIGITALIZZAZIONE DELLE SCRITTE DELLE TOVAGLIE DA PARETE

SINTESI

La ricerca aggiorna una parte integrante del patrimonio culturale tipografico riguardante la cultura dell'abitare dei nostri antenati; le tovaglie ricamate da appendere alle pareti in cucina erano presenti in molte famiglie dalla fine del XIX secolo alla seconda metà del XX secolo. Abbiamo analizzato le tovaglie ricamate preservatesi nella Podravina in Croazia. Per l'uso moderno abbiamo creato una scrittura digitalizzata basata sulle lettere ricamate a mano. Abbiamo ideato le lettere maiuscole e i caratteri non alfabetici delle tovaglie analizzate e li abbiamo unificati stilisticamente. La digitalizzazione della bella scrittura è stata ardua, poiché le singole lettere dovevano collegarsi tra di loro.

Parole chiave: bella scrittura, digitalizzazione di lettere ricamate, patrimonio culturale, tipografia, tovaglie da parete

UVOD

Digitaliziranje starih vzorcev ali starega rokopisa, kaligrafije ali ročno izdelane tipografije (tj. črk iz lesa ali svinčeve zlitine) je primerno za ohranjanje kulturne dediščine (Lungu et al., 2021; Medved & Možina, 2007; Možina et al., 2019; Vecco, 2010). Slednje lahko prispeva k nacionalni ozaveščenosti, lokalnemu gospodarstvu ali celo k mednarodnemu priznanju (Bowitz & Ibenholt, 2009; Dalmas et al., 2015; Gantar et al., 2021; Nocerino et al., 2018; Tuan & Navrud, 2008). Digitalizacija tipografske kulturne dediščine ima pomemben vpliv na razvoj grafičnega oblikovanja in umetnosti oz. širše, na razvoj kulture (Bazzala & De Giorgi, 2016; Medved & Možina, 2007). Na primer t. i. pisava Trajan, ki je bila zasnovana na podlagi njenega digitaliziranega napisa na Trajanovem stebru v Rimu, ki je bil vklesan okoli leta 113 n. š. (Horst, 2000; Medved & Možina, 2007; Možina, 2003), je uporabljana po vsem svetu, ne samo v državi izvora, tj. Italiji. Pisavo vidimo v različnih logotipih, napisih, na vabilih, posterjih ipd. – Na slovenskem področju je znana digitalizacija vklesane pisave s Pretorske palače v Kopru. Hkrati je bil podan tudi primer uporabe digitalizirane pisave z imenom Praetoria v sodobnih, digitalnih medijih (Medved & Možina, 2007). Na področju risanih črkovnih znakov je poznana digitalizacija črk iz knjige pravljic *Makalonca* Frana Seleškega Finžgarja (1871–1963), ki jo je oblikoval in ilustriral arhitekt Jože Plečnik (1872–1967) (Možina, 2011; Možina et al., 2013). Ker je originalna rokopisna pisava vsebovala samo verzalke oziroma majuskule (tj. velike črke), je tipograf oblikoval tudi minuskule (tj. male črke). Tako je pisava z imenom Makalonca dobila dvojni nabor črkovnih znakov, ki sta od Gutenbergove iznajdbe tiska (leta 1452) nujna, da je le-ta uporabna (Baines & Haslam, 2002; Dowding, 1998). Poznani so primeri digitalizacije rokopisov književnikov (Milak, 2014; Salokar, 2014), tudi z dodajanjem dodatnih črkovnih znakov, da bi digitalizirani znaki čim bolj verno predstavljali različne rokopisne znake ene črke (Mahkovic & Možina, 2018). Za namen ohranjanja tipografske kulturne dediščine je bila digitalizirana pisava, ki jo je pomemben slovenski tiskar Jožef Blaznik (1800–1872) največkrat uporabil v izdanih tiskovinah (Možina et al., 2019).

V postopkih digitalizacije je delo zahtevnejše, če je originalna pisava klesana (v različne materiale), risana ali slikana na stene stavb, če je osnova rokopisna ali kaligrafska pisava ali če je pisava vezena ali pletena, kakor če je za osnovo digitalizacije izbrana stara tiskana pisava. Pri slednji so posamezni znaki enega črkovnega znaka enaki (lahko se razlikujejo zaradi kakovosti odtisa, oblikovno pa so isti), kar pa ne drži za črkovne znake pri ostalih napisih. Zaradi tega je nujno poseganje v originalne oblikovne rešitve, da digitalizirani znaki izkazujejo poenotene oblikovne značilnosti (Horst, 2000), kar je pogoj za dobro čitljivost, tj. uporabnost, črkovnih znakov, še posebej v daljšem besedilu. Z ustrezno čitljivostjo pisave omogočamo njeno široko uporabo in s tem ohranjanje ter tudi razširjanje tovrstne kulturne dediščine.

Vizualna komunikacija poteka na način, da opazovalec vidne simbole pretvori v pomen. Čitljivost vpliva na to, kako enostavno in hitro bo ta postopek izveden za besedilo (Galle & Kroes, 2014; Reynolds, 1988). Za bolj čitljivo besedilo je potrebno upoštevati nekatere značilnosti pisave, ne glede na vrsto medija. Na čitljivost pisave vplivajo: oblika znaka, srednji črkovni pas, ascender, descender, serifi, kontrast (podebelitev potez), širina črke, velikost pisave, razmik (tj. prazen prostor med vrsticami besedila) idr. (Gaultney, 2001; Reynolds, 1988; Tracy, 2003). Srednji črkovni pas obsega višino minuskul (tj. malih črk) brez podaljškov, npr. *a*, *m*, *r*. Ascender je podaljšek navzgor, npr. pri minuskulah *b*, *h*, *k*. Descender je podaljšek navzdol, npr. pri minuskulah *g*, *j*, *p*. Majhen nastavek pri potezi črke se imenuje serif. Serifi pri različnih pisavah so različno oblikovani. Kontrast je odvisen od razmerja med tanko in podebeljeno potezo pri posamezni črki. Širina istih črk, npr. *a*, je pri različnih pisavah istega črkovnega sloga in iste velikosti različna (Bringhurst, 2002; Možina et al., 2019). Izgled velikosti pisave je odvisen od višine srednjega črkovnega pasu; pisave z višjim srednjim črkovnim pasom so tudi pri manjših velikostih dobro čitljive (Gaultney, 2001; Legge & Bigelow, 2011; Tracy, 2003). Rahlo povečan razmik med vrsticami besedila navadno izboljša čitljivost (Bringhurst, 2002; Franken et al., 2015; Tracy, 2003). Pisave delimo v črkovne sloge glede na njihove oblikovne značilnosti. V sklop pisav, ki imajo serife in razliko v podebelitvah potez, spadajo renesančni, baročni in klasicistični slog. V drugi sklop so umeščene pisave, ki nimajo razlike v podebelitvah potez ali so le-te minimalne. Sem spadajo pisave egipčanskega in linearnega sloga. Slednje so edine, ki nimajo serifov. V samostojne črkovne sloge umeščamo rokopisne, risane in dekorativne pisave. Rokopisne pisave so posnete po klasičnih lepopisnih oz. kaligrafskih pisavah (McLean, 1980; Možina, 2003).

Namen raziskave je bilo narediti zanimivo in v sodobnosti uporabno tipografsko kulturno dediščino, ki je bila sestavni del bivalne kulture naših prednikov. Govorimo o vezenih stenskih kuhinjskih krpah oz. prtih, ki so krasili številna gospodinjstva od konca 19. do druge polovice 20. stoletja. Ker se stenskih prtov ne umešča med značilno kulturno dediščino, jih na slovenskem področju ni veliko ohranjenih. Zato smo raziskali in analizirali stenske kuhinjske prte oz. njihove vezene črke s področja Podravine na Hrvaškem, kjer jih je kar nekaj ohranjenih; tudi zaradi muzealske aktivnosti in zavzetosti posameznih zbirateljev. Vsaka vezenina izkazuje znanje, veščost in estetski občutek vezilje. Za sodobno uporabo kulturne dediščine smo

Slika 1: Primer stenskega prta iz leta 1939 avtorice Jelice Sočev.

oblikovali digitalizirano pisavo, katere osnova so bile ročno vezene črke na ohranjenih stenskih prtih. Z oblikovnimi značilnostmi digitalizirane pisave smo želeli izkazati lepopisno oblikovanje v času, iz katerega stenski prti izvirajo.

VEZENINE V PODRAVINI

Podravina obsega območje med reko Dravo na severu in Bilogorskim pogorjem oz. severnim delom Kalniškega pogorja na jugu. Vključuje področja v okolici mest Ludberg, Koprivnica in Đurđevac (Podravina, 2021).

Na tem področju so s tekstilno obrtjo izdelali večino gospodinjskih predmetov, kot so oblačila, posteljnina in okrasni predmeti. Surovine za njih so pridobivali na kmetijah, lahko so bile živalskega ali rastlinskega izvora. Zaradi potrebe po izdelavi platna, ki je bil najpogosteje uporabljen tekstilni material, sta bila še posebej razvita pridelovanje lana in konoplje. Uporabljali so tudi kupljeno bombažno prejo. V Podravini se je tradicionalna tekstilna obrt odvijala kar v domačem samooskrbnem gospodarstvu (Muraj, 1998). V zgodnjem obdobju je imela skoraj vsaka vas v Podravini tkalske mojstre, ki so po naročilu tkali pretežno golo platno, platno z enostavnimi vzorci ali posamezne tekstilije (rjuhe, brisače). Gospodinje so navadno tkale za lastne potrebe. Ne samo narodno nošo, tudi posteljno perilo so okraševale z raznobarvnim vezenjem v različnih tehnikah (Benc-Bošković, 1986).

Vezeni stenski prti so del evropske kulturne tradicije, ki so jo začeli negovati ob koncu 19. stoletja. Najprej se je pojavila v meščanskih družinah, nekoliko kasneje so jo prevzela tudi bogata podeželska gospodinjstva. Tako v mestih kot na podeželju je postala modna v tridesetih letih 20. stoletja. Najverjetneje so prvi stenski prti nastali na Nizozemskem, nato pa so se razširili po drugih evropskih deželah. Stenske prte so gospodinje izobešale nad pečjo, prostorom za pranje in vzdrževanje osebne higiene, redkeje v spalnih prostorih (Grahovac-Pražić & Vrcić-Mataija, 2010).

V mestih Podravine (in na severu Hrvaške) so obstajale delavnice, kjer so vezilje na platnu najprej izdelale predloge za vezenje. Načrte so osnovale tako, da so skico na papirju na gosto prebodle z iglo, jo položile na platno, preko nastalih luknjic potresle indigo in tako dobile vzorec za vezenje (Mesarić, 2010).

Struktura stenskih prtov

Struktura stenskih prtov je bila večinoma dvodelna; ob ilustraciji, ki je veljala za obvezni del, se je na njih pojavljalo še besedilo kot poljubni del (slika 1). Podlaga je bila navadno domače platno. Ilustracija in besedilo sta bila vezena enobarvno (navadno v modri ali rdeči barvi) ali večbarvno. Tehnike vezenja so bile različne. V Podravini sta bila prisotna dva načina vezenja: vezenje po štetju niti in vezenje po risani predlogi. Za vezenje po štetih nitih so bili uporabljeni križci ter poševni, vzorčni in ploščati vbod (Muraj, 1998; Niklsbacher-Bregar, 1982). Za vezenje po izmišljenem vzorcu ali po risani predlogi na tkanini so uporabljali stebelni, verižni, zančni in ploščati vbod (Muraj, 1998). Obrobe prtov so bile navadno okrašene z uporabo druge tkanine. Velikost stenskih prtov je bila najpogosteje okoli 700 × 500 mm, obstajajo tudi odstopanja od te velikosti (Grahovac-Pražić & Vrcić-Mataija, 2010).

Ilustracije in okrasje

Osnova stenskih prtov je bila vezena ilustracija, ki je nosila sporočilo. Pri kombiniranih prtih je bila ustvarjena močna povezava med ilustracijo in besedilom, ki sta se dopolnjevala. Redkejša je bila vrsta stenskega prta, na katerem je bilo besedilo postavljeno po diagonali prta in je bilo s tem v središču, ilustracija ob njem pa je služila zgolj za okras. Stenski prti so bili najpogosteje okvirjeni z ornamentnim okrasjem, s stiliziranimi motivi cvetja in rastlinja (Grahovac-Pražić & Vrcić-Mataija, 2010; Selan, 2020).

V ilustracijah so prevladovali motivi meščanske kuhinje z likom urejenega moškega in gospodinje, moža in žene, redkeje tudi v družbi z otrokom. Najpogostejše so bile ilustracije kuhinje, ki so prikazovale peč (kuhalni prostor) in mizo, postavljeni v osrednji prostor doma, kjer se je družina zbirala in družila. Redkejše so bile ilustracije prostorov izven kuhinje; včasih so se pojavili motivi pred hišo ali motivi podeželja. Ti so bili upodobljeni s podobami domačih živali. Stenski prti, ki so okraševali prostor za vzdrževanje osebne higiene, so imeli isti motiv z bolj ali manj stiliziranim okvirjem s cvetjem in vinsko trto, z ilustracijo umivalnika, vrča, vedra, brisače, na kateri je bil drobno izvezen napis »Dobro jutro« ali pa zgolj s posodo za umivanje in vrčem (Grahovac-Pražić & Vrcić-Mataija, 2010).

Okrasje je imelo vidno vlogo v ljudskem likovnem ustvarjanju. Ljudsko okrasje v Podravini je imelo različne korenine, npr. mitološke, krščanske, vzhodnjaške oz. turške, meščanske. Pogoste so bile rastlinske in geometrijske dekoracije, medtem ko so bile živalske redke – razen prikazovanja stiliziranih živali, najpogosteje ptic. (Grahovac-Pražić & Vrcić-Mataija, 2010; Niklsbacher-Bregar, 1982).

Besedilo in črkovni slog

Besedilo je dopolnjevalo ilustracijo, ob katero je bilo različno umeščeno. Nekatera besedila se nahajajo pod ilustracijami, druga nad njimi, tretja ob ilustracijah na levi ali desni strani. Velikost ilustracije in umestitev besedila sta pogosto določali dolžino besedila, ki se je najpogosteje pojavljalo v obliki povedi ali nekaj besed. Besedilo je navadno imelo jasno izražen moralen ali čustven prizvok. Glede na tematiko izstopajo besedila, ki se nanašajo na družinsko življenje, položaj ženske v družini, njene vsakodnevne dejavnosti, npr. kuhanje, vzdrževanje gospodinjstva, negovanje higienskih navad in vzdrževanje dobrih družinskih odnosov ter veselja vseh družinskih članov, še posebno moža. Izredno redki pa so stenski prti, ki izražajo nacionalno identiteto (Grahovac-Pražić & Vrcić-Mataija, 2010).

Na stenskih prtih je prevladovala šolska lepopisna ali rokopisna pisava (Johnston, 1994). To je slog pisanja, ki so ga učili na začetku šolanja. Navpične ali poševne, razpotegnjene ali stisnjene, drobne ali večje črke so individualen izraz vsakega posameznika. To prinaša raznolike pisave. V obdobju nastajanja stenskih prtov je bil lepopis v šolah v Podravini posebej ocenjevan. Rokopisna pisava, ki je nagnjena pod kotom v desno, je bila bolj zahtevna za vezenje kot običajne pokončne minuskule (male črke) in majuskule (velike črke). Na nekaterih stenskih prtih so bile z velikostjo, strukturo in okrašenostjo poudarjene začetne črke, tj. inicialke, kar kaže na vpliv knjižnega oblikovanja (Grahovac-Pražić & Vrcić-Mataija, 2010; Možina, 2003).

DIGITALIZACIJA PISAVE, OSNOVANE NA VEZENIH STENSKIH PRTIH

Izbor in analiza stenskih prtov

Postopek digitalizacije je potekal skozi več različnih faz:

- zbiranje stenskih prtov;
- fotografiranje in merjenje stenskih prtov;
- strukturna analiza izbranih stenskih prtov;
- tipografska analiza izbranih stenskih prtov;
- določitev parametrov za oblikovanje pisave;
- ročno načrtovanje mreže in postavljanje črk vanjo;
- risanje črk v računalniškem programu FontLab Studio 6 (ZDA).

Zbiranje in fotografiranje stenskih prtov

Želeli smo najti čim več primerov vezenih stenskih prtov s področja Podravine iz obdobja od konca 19. do prve polovice 20. stoletja. Ker se stenskih prtov ne umešča med značilno kulturno dediščino, se jih do danes ni veliko ohranilo, zato je težko najti veliko dobro ohranjenih prtov. Pri iskanju čim večjega števila lepo izvezenih stenskih prtov, ki imajo tako ilustracijo kot tudi besedilo, smo za pomoč prosili v Muzeju mesta Koprivnica, v Muzeju prehrane Podravka, slikarja Ivana Večenaja, ki ima v lasti ohranjeno »etno-hišo Večenaj« (Gola), ter družine Bogadi (Gola), Balog (Gotalovo) in Frleta (Koprivnica). Omenjene družine in Muzej mesta Koprivnica so nam svoje zbirke stenskih prtov posodili. Fotografirali smo jih na naravni sončni svetlobi. Stenske prte v »etno-hiši Večenaj« smo fotografirali na samem mestu. Zaradi neustreznih svetlobnih pogojev, kakovost teh fotografij ni vrhunska, a je še primerna za namen raziskave. Muzej prehrane Podravka zbirke stenskih prtov ni posodil. Poslali so fotografije zbirke, a so bile te preslabe kakovosti, da bi jih lahko uporabili za tipografsko analizo. Uporabili smo jih lahko za strukturno analizo prtov. Po fotografiranju stenskih prtov smo v obdelavi fotografij z njih odstranili ozadja. Po obdelavi fotografij je sledilo merjenje in beleženje značilnosti prtov (obrobje, barva vezenja, besedilo).

Preglednica 1: Vezeni stenski prti z osnovnimi podatki.

Št. vzorca	Izdelala	Leto izdelave	Kraj izdelave	Besedilo
9	Katica Bogadi	1900	Gola	Živjela naša Hrvatska mati Geslo je naše Bog i Hrvati!
2	Katica Senjan	1920	Gotalovo	Dobro jutro
13	neznano	1920	Gola	Dobro Jutro!
5	Marija Kovač	1930	Koprivnica	Obišo sam svijeta dosta, al' kod tebe mi srce osta.
3	Marija Kovač	1930	Koprivnica	Kako golub golubici guče, tako i ja ljubim moje milo luče.
10	Kata Petrović	1930	Gotalovo	Bože daj mome domu Puno svake sreče Svaki dan sve veče Nesreća nek biježi Ljubav se osviježi.
14	neznano	1930	Gola	Ispod grana jorgovana sastaju se svakog dana.
17	Terezija Lojan	1933	Gola	Majka Božja Bistrićka Moli za nas.
18	Jelica Sočev	1933	Gola	Nema veće sreće nego što je u ljubavi sklopljeni brak.
15	Jelica Sočev	1939	Gotalovo	Jedimo pijmo i Veseli budimo.
11	Jelica Sočev	1939	Gotalovo	Cvate ljubičica cvate i ruža, a ja sam još uvjek, sama bez muža.
20	Jelica Sočev	1939	Gotalovo	Za poljubce dragi vremena sad nema treba dobar ručak prvo da se sprema.
12	Slavica Selepal	1940	Gotalovo	Dobar objed mužu daj pa če biti u kući raj.
4	neznano	1940	Legrad	Mladost je kao cvijeće, prolazi a vratit se neće!
8	Kata Markušić	1940	Pešćenik	U vrtu je ružica procvjetala. Draga, dragom ljubav obečala.
1	Slava Lovković	1950	Gotalovo	Ali je lijep ovaj svijet, tu je potok tamo cvijet.
6	neznano	1950	Koprivnički Ivanec	Oj Anice dušo moja medena su usta tvoja, ljubi draga samo mene, za tobom mi srce vene.
7	neznano	1950	Koprivnički Ivanec	U mom selu najsretnija jesam ja. Kraj oca, majke i mog dragoga.
16	Slavica Živković	1950	Gotalovo	Kuharice dobro kuhaj, ali ipak novce čuvaj.
19	Slava Bogadi	1958	Gotalovo	Oj Anice dušo moja medena su usta tvoja, ljubi draga samo mene za tobom mi srce vene.

Preglednica 2: Velikosti izbranih stenskih prtov.

Št. vzorca	Velikost (mm)
9	/
2	710 × 600
13	/
5	770 × 470
3	700 × 510
10	/
14	/
17	800 × 500
18	700 × 550
15	850 × 600
11	900 × 550
20	700 × 500
12	750 × 550
4	660 × 520
8	880 × 560
1	800 × 600
6	790 × 570
7	750 × 540
16	700 × 500
19	600 × 550

Iz nabora vseh prtov smo izbrali 20 vezenih stenskih prtov. Izbrani stenski prti izvirajo iz obdobja med letoma 1900 in 1958. Vsi imajo ilustracijo in besedilo. V preglednici 1 je popis vseh izbranih stenskih prtov, od najstarejšega do najmlajšega, z njihovimi osnovnimi podatki.

Strukturna analiza vezenih stenskih prtov

Podlaga in velikost

Med analiziranjem stenskih prtov smo ugotovili, da je bila večina izdelana na kupljenem platnu, le pet analiziranih vzorcev je bilo vezenih na domačem tkanem platnu. Večina analiziranih prtov je bila v okvirih velikosti, ki jo navajajo v literaturi (Grahovac-Pražić & Vrcić-Mataija, 2010). V preglednici 2 so navedene natančne velikosti analiziranih stenskih prtov. Pri vzorcih, kjer smo razpolagali samo s fotografijami in originalnih prtov nismo imeli (tj. iz »etno-hiše Večenaj«), velikosti nismo vpisali.

Slika 2: Ploščati (levo) in stebelni (desno) vbod.

Vezenje

Na analiziranih stenskih prtih iz Podravine smo opazili uporabo nekaj značilnih vrst vezenja, ki so jih najpogosteje uporabljali. Ilustracije so vezene v kombinaciji vboda s križci, stebelnega vboda, verižnega vboda in nekoliko redkeje ploščatega vboda. Besedilo, kot dopolnilni del stenskih prtov, je bilo najpogosteje vezeno s ploščatim vbodom, v kombinaciji z verižnim in stebelnim vbodom. Verižni in zančni vbod sta bila uporabljena za vezenje tankih potez pri črkah, ploščati vbod pa za vezenje podebeljenih potez (slika 2).

Večina, tj. 14, analiziranih stenskih prtov je bila vezena v modri barvi. Vezenje v rdeči barvi je videno na dveh vzorcih. Na treh stenskih prtih je besedilo v rdeči barvi dopolnjevalo ilustracijo, ki je poleg rdeče ali modre vsebovala še zeleno, rumeno, vijolično in črno bravo vezilne niti. Vezenje s črno nitjo je bilo najdeno na enem vzorcu analiziranih stenskih prtov.

Robovi analiziranih stenskih prtov so bili okrašeni na različne načine. Našli smo obrobne trakove pri petih vzorcih, vezen rob s križci pri sedmih vzorcih, vezeno obrobo z zankami pri šestih vzorcih, dva vzorca nista imela obrobe in sta bila samo zarobljena.

Razmerje med ilustracijo in besedilom

Ilustracije na stenskih prtih imajo glavno vlogo. Obstajajo primeri stenskih prtov, ki imajo samo ilustracije, vendar ti za potrebe naše raziskave niso bili pomembni. Besedilo kot dodatni element je na vseh izbranih vzorcih stenskih prtov. Na prt je umeščeno skladno z ilustracijo. Pojavi se nad ilustracijo, pod njo, na obeh straneh ob ilustraciji, polkrožno okoli nje, najredkeje pa po diagonali prta.

Pri zbiranju stenskih prtov smo našli vzorce z različnimi kombinacijami ilustracije in besedila. Nekateri vzorci imajo isto ilustracijo, a drugačno besedilo, spet drugi imajo isto besedilo in različne ilustracije. Med istimi vzorci stenskih prtov smo izbrali najlepše izdelane.

Slika 3: Različne oblike minuskule b.

Slika 5: Različne oblike minuskule p.

Besedilna sporočila

Besedilo na stenskem prtu je pojasnjevalo ilustracijo, da ne bi prihajalo do napačne interpretacije. Zaradi slabih prevodov besedil iz tujih jezikov v hrvaškega je prihajalo do pravopisnih napak, npr. nerazlikovanje črk *č* in *ć*, uporaba *ije* oz. *je*.

Besedilna sporočila lahko skupaj z ilustracijami na analiziranih vzorcih umestimo v naslednje tematske skupine (Matijaško, 2003): verska; splošno ljubezenska; želje po sreči, zadovoljstvu in življenjskem izobilju; poveličevanje marljive žene in mame, z nasveti za dober zakon in vzgojo otrok; nasveti za čisti dom; vzdrževanje osebne higiene; hedonističen pogled na svet. Poleg naštetih tem besedil smo med analiziranimi stenskimi prti našli tudi eno domoljubno besedilo.

Analiza pisave na vezenih stenskih prtih

Na izbranih 20 vzorcih vezenih prtov smo na enem vzorcu našli pisavo s križnim vbodom in na 19 vzorcih rokopisno pisavo. Ker je bilo največ teh vzorcev, so bili primerni za tipografsko analizo rokopisne pisave za namen digitalizacije. Zaradi oblikovnih raznolikosti rokopisnih pisav z analiziranih vzorcev, smo le-te razporedili v posamezne podskupine:

- lepopis s polnilom (14 vzorcev),
- lepopis brez polnila (3 vzorci),
- kaligrafija (1 vzorec),
- običajni rokopis (1 vzorec).

Največ vzorcev ima napise vezene v lepopisni pisavi, zato smo te stenske prte vzeli za temelj nadaljnjega analiziranja. V podskupini lepopisa smo uvrstili pisave, ki imajo značilnosti pisave, ki so se jo učili pisati v šoli. Najpomembnejše značilnosti so kot nagiba črk, podebelitev potez in povezanost črkovnih znakov. Ker gre za ročna dela, smo morali upoštevati, da vse vezilje niso imele enakih ročnih spretnosti. Med analiziranimi vzorci so vidna razlikovanja v lepopisu.

Slika 4: Različni obliki minuskule j.

Slika 6: Primeri minuskule t.

Za vse analizirane stenske prte smo popisali uporabljene črkovne znake in njihovo število. Večinoma so bile uporabljene male črke. Izjema je vzorec št. 2, na katerem so vse črke verzalke in hkrati vezene s križnim vbodom. Na 19 vzorcih sta bili v povprečju na posameznem stenskem prtu izvezeni skoraj dve (1,9) verzalki. Večina besedila je bila izvezena v minuskulah. Povprečno je bilo na posameznem stenskem prtu 14 različnih črk od povprečno skupno izvezenih skoraj 40 (38,6) črk za posamezno besedilo.

V pripravah na digitalizacijo smo opravili meritve, da smo lahko določili višino srednjega črkovnega pasu, ascenderja in descenderja. Na podlagi meritev smo določili še kot naklona osi potez črk in dodatnih znakov.

Merjenje srednjega črkovnega pasu, descenderja in ascenderja smo lahko izvedli na petnajstih vzorcih, saj smo za štiri vzorce imeli samo fotografije, brez fizičnih prtov. Za vsak vzorec smo izvedli tri meritve, nato smo izračunali povprečne vrednosti.

Preglednica 3: Definirano razmerje višine srednjega črkovnega pasu, ascenderja in descenderja ter kot nagiba osnovne osi na podlagi meritev analiziranih vzorcev št. 7, 11 in 16.

Srednji črkovni pas	Ascender	Descender	Kot naklona (°)
1	0,74	0,86	25

Določeni črkovni znaki so na različnih prtih oblikovno različni. Na slikah 3–5 so primeri oblikovno različnih rešitev minuskul *b*, *j* in *p*. Pri minuskuli *b* smo našli dve različni obliki zaključne poteze (slika 3). Slednja se lahko zaključuje s potezo obrnjeno navznoter v notranji del črke ali pa z zanko, ki se povezuje proti naslednji črki. Tudi minuskula *j* se pojavlja v dveh različicah (slika 4). V prvem primeru črka sledi običajnemu lepopisu, tj. zaključna poteza je obrnjena navzgor in se lepo povezuje na naslednjo črko. V drugi oblikovni različici se zaključi v obliki loka obrnjenega navzdol; osnovni potezi je dodana dodatna poteza za povezovanje z naslednjo črko. Enaki oblikovni rešitvi smo našli tudi pri minuskuli *g*. Minuskula *p* (slika 5) je večinoma izvezena tako, da je osnovni potezi dodana okrogla poteza. Najden je bil tudi primer, ko je dodatna poteza v obliki minuskule *n*. Minuskulo *r* smo našli v različnih oblikovnih različicah. Izvezena je v dveh lepopisnih oblikah in v obliki, ki je značilna za tipografsko obliko te črke. Prva rešitev ima podobno obliko kot minuskula *n*, ki ima dodatno potezo zgoraj za povezovanje z naslednjo črko, druga lepopisna oblika minuskule *r* pa ima zgoraj levo zanko. Tipografska oblika črke se iz spodnjega dela povezuje z naslednjo črko.

Nasprotno je značilnost minuskule *t*, da je na vseh analiziranih vzorcih oblikovno enaka; desna stran prečne črte se zaključuje z dodatkom v obliki trna, obrnjenim navzdol (slika 6).

Majuskule so uporabljene samo kot začetne črke besedila oz. povedi. Oblikovna značilnost večine majuskul so okrašene začetne poteze, ki so lahko tudi podaljšane.

Določitev parametrov za oblikovanje pisave

Po preučitvi lepote in kakovosti izdelanih črkovnih znakov smo izbrali tri stenske prte (št. 7, 11 in 16), ki so služili za digitalizacijo. Povprečna višina srednjega črkovnega pasu, ascenderja in descenderja v razmerjih ter kot nagiba osnovne osi so navedeni v preglednici 3. Število različnih črk na izbranih vzorcih stenskih prtov ter obsežnost besedila (število skupno uporabljenih črk) sta v povprečju celotnega analiziranega vzorca stenskih prtov. V preglednici 4 je število uporabljenih različnih minuskulnih črk in skupno število uporabljenih minuskulnih črk na posameznem izbranem stenskem prtu.

Preglednica 4: Število izvezenih različnih črkovnih znakov in skupno število črkovnih znakov minuskul izvezenih na izbranih analiziranih vzorcih št. 7, 11 in 16.

Št. vzorca	**7**	**11**	**16**
Število različnih minuskulnih črk	15	16	16
Število minuskul	47	43	32

Izdelava pisave

Izdelava mreže in risanje črkovnih in nečrkovnih znakov

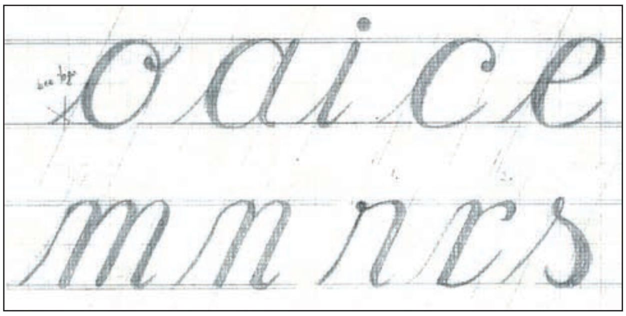
Po določitvi smernic za izdelavo pisave smo izdelali mrežo za risanje znakov. Zaradi raznolikosti in neenakosti vezenih črk si nismo mogli pomagati s prekrivanjem posameznih znakov, ki bi služilo za osnovne konstrukcije znakov. Vezene črke na prtih so nam služile kot zgled v preverjanju oblikovanja posamezne črke.

Najprej smo naredili skice minuskul (slika 7), ker smo imeli na razpolago največ vezenih minuskulnih črk. Verzalk je bilo zelo malo, zato smo si za njihove oblikovne rešitve pomagali s kaligrafsko literaturo, npr. Johnston, 1994; Manojlović, 2006.

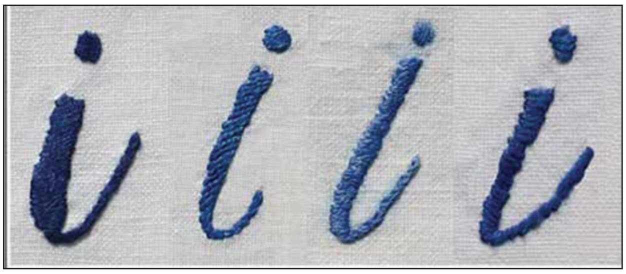
Digitalizirani črkovni in nečrkovni znaki

Po analizi vezenih črk in končanem risanju črk smo začeli z oblikovanjem črk v programu FontLab Studio 6. Med postopkom oblikovanja je nastalo več različic pisave. Črkam hrvaške abecede smo dodali še črke angleške abecede (*q*, *x*, *y*, *w*). Poleg črk smo izdelali še nečrkovne znake, tj. ločila, posebne znake in števke. Pisavo smo poimenovali *Kuhnjak*. Do imena oz. prekrivanke smo prišli s spajanjem besed »kuhinja« in »zidnjak«, ki asociirata na vezene stenske prte.

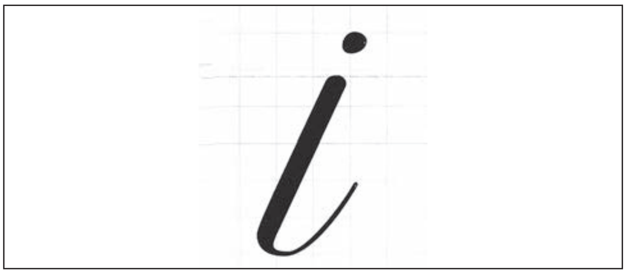
Najprej so nastale minuskule. Za minuskuli *p* in *r* smo oblikovali po dve različici zaradi možnosti lepšega



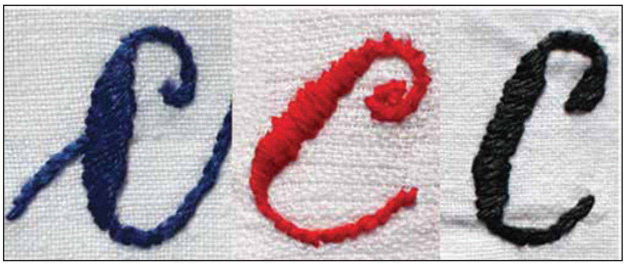
Slika 7: Primer ročno skiciranih črk.



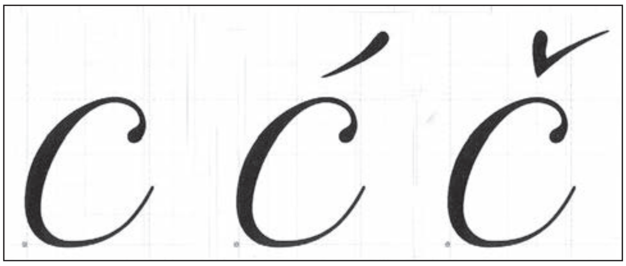
Slika 8: Primeri različnih oblik vezenih minuskul i.



Slika 9: Digitalizirana minuskula i.



Slika 10: Primeri različnih oblik vezenih minuskul c.



Slika 11: Digitalizirane minuskule c, ć in č.

kombiniranja z ostalimi črkami. Pri majuskulah so zaradi enotnosti in optične skladnosti uporabljeni isti okrasni elementi in začetne poteze pri črkah *B*, *D*, *DŽ*, *Đ*, *H*, *P*, *R*, *U*, *V*, *W*, *X*, *Y* in pri črkah *A*, *F*, *M*, *N*, *P*, *R*, *S*, *Š*, *T*, *X*. Med analiziranimi stenskimi prti smo našli samo tri ločila (piko, vejico in klicaj). Oblikovali smo vsa nujno potrebna ločila in nekaj posebnih znakov, npr. afno. Števke je bilo najtežje oblikovati, ker nismo imeli njihovih vezenih primerov. S prvo rešitvijo nismo bili zadovoljni, zato smo naredili drugo različico, ki je bila oblikovno poenotena s črkovnimi znaki.

Predstavitev končnih oblikovnih rešitev (nekaterih) črk

Ker je vseh črkovnih in nečrkovnih znakov veliko, smo izpostavili le nekaj ključnih črk ter opisali postopek njihovega nastanka ter analizirali njihovo obliko.

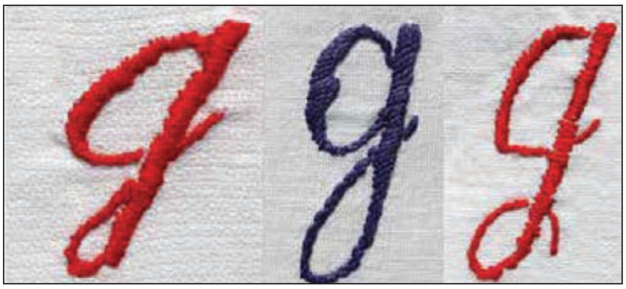
Med slogovno analizo digitaliziranih črk smo zasledili odstopanja od vezenih črk. Digitalizirane črke so poenotene podebelitve – včasih močnejše, včasih tanjše od originalnih vezenih črk. Poenotena je višina srednjega črkovnega pasu. Prav tako so vse črke in znaki nagnjeni v desno pod enakim kotom. Začetne in zaključne poteze so poenotene.

Minuskula i

Osnovna črka, s katero smo začeli digitalizacijo vezenih črk, je minuskula *i*. Oblikovno najbolj enostavna je bila osnova za oblikovanje številnih drugih črk. Na sliki 8 so primeri originalnih vezenih črk z nekaterih izbranih vzorcev stenskih prtov. Digitalizirana črka (slika 9) je sestavljena iz osnovne in t. i. povezovalne poteze, ki je hkrati tanka poteza. Ta je petkrat tanjša od osnovne poteze. Pika je nepravilne oblike, ni v obliki čistega kroga niti diamanta. Po osi naklona in podebelitvi sledi osnovni potezi podebelitve. Po obliki izkazuje morebitno nepravilnost oz. odklon od pravilne geometrijske rešitve, ki je zaznavna v vezenih izdelkih.

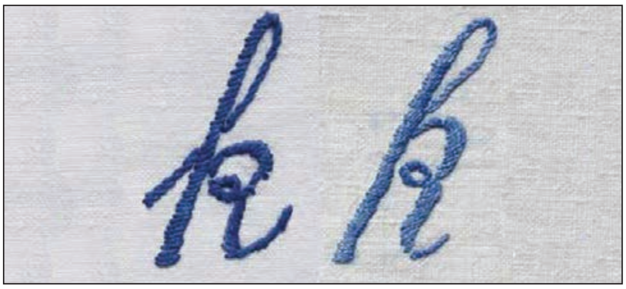
Minuskula c

V osnovi je minuskula *c* oblikovana z eno potezo, z razlikami v podebelitvi le-te. Črka se začne z začetno potezo v obliki kaplje, ki se nadaljuje levo navzdol v osnovno podebeljeno potezo in zaključi s tanko potezo obrnjeno navzgor. Ta je hkrati povezovalna poteza z naslednjo črko oz. njeno potezo (sliki 10 in 11). Na enem od vzorcev vezenih prtov ima minuskula *c* (slika 10, skrajno levo) dodatno tanko potezo na osnovni potezi, ki služi kot povezovalna poteza. Povezovalne poteze (z naslednjo črko) so navadno hkrati zaključne poteze, a v tem primeru je ta vezena na glavni potezi t. i. naslednje črke. Za črki *č* in *ć* nismo imeli dovolj vezenih vzorcev, ki bi nam lahko služili za oblikovanje črk. Posledično smo se pri oblikovanju strešice minuskule *č* odločili, da uporabimo pravilo »navzdol podebeljena poteza, navzgor tanka poteza« (kar je značilno za kaligrafijo, tj. zgoraj tanke, spodaj podebeljene poteze). Pri strešici minuskule *ć* je način obrnjen in imamo zgornji del podebeljen (poteza naj bi imela začetek zgoraj) in spodnji del tanjši. Strešici smo postavili na optično sredino notranjega dela črk z upoštevanim kotom nagiba črk (slika 11).



Slika 12: Primeri različnih oblik vezenih minuskul g.

Slika 13: Digitalizirana minuskula g.



Slika 14: Primera različnih oblik vezenih minuskul k.

Slika 15: Digitalizirana minuskula k.

Minuskula **g**

Podobno kot pri minuskuli *j* (slika 4) smo tudi pri minuskuli *g* našli dva oblikovno različna zaključka črke (slika 12). Upoštevali smo usklajenost pisave in izdelali enako rešitev za zaključno potezo kot pri minuskuli *j* (slika 13). Minuskula *g* je v zgornjem delu povzeta po minuskuli *a* in v spodnjem delu po minuskuli *j*.

Minuskula **k**

Minuskulo *k* smo našli z različnimi višinami srednjega črkovnega pasu (slika 14). Digitalizirana oblika minuskule *k* (slika 15) ima enako začetno potezo kot minuskule *b*, *f*, *h* in *l*. Desni del se začenja enako kot minuskula *n*, nižje je nato zavoj proti osnovni potezi, potem se poteza nadaljuje v tanko zaključno potezo. Ta je kot pri ostalih črkah prilagojena optimalnemu praznemu prostoru med črkami.

Minuskula **o**

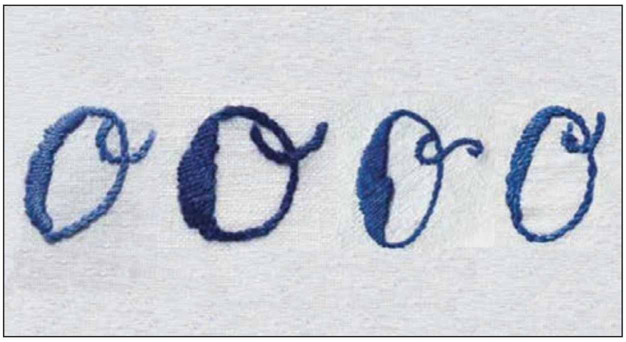
Na analiziranih vzorcih prtov smo našli več različic minuskule *o* (slika 16). Leva stran je podebeljena, desna stran okrogle poteza je tanka, kar je redka značilnost rokopisnega pisanja črke, izdelane v eni potezi. Navadno je ta minuskula, tudi kaligrafsko, izdelana v dveh potezah (leva in desna okrogla poteza). Zgoraj desno ima minuskula dodatno tanko potezo, ki služi povezovanju z naslednjo črko. Ker je tudi ta dodatek značilnost šolskega lepopisa, smo ga ohranili v digitalizirani obliki minuskule *o* (slika 17).

Minuskula **r**

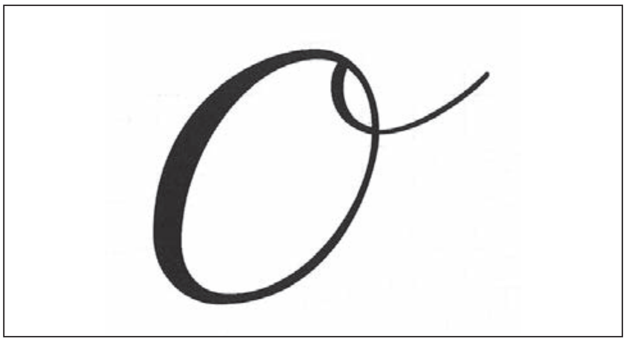
Vezeni vzorci minuskule *r* so najdeni v dveh oblikovnih različicah (slika 18). Pogosteje je bila uporabljena oblika šolskega lepopisa (slika 18, skrajno levo in skrajno desno), redkeje pa t. i. tipografska (slika 18, sredina). Slednja sicer izhaja iz klasičnih kaligrafskih rešitev te črke. Lepopisna oblika minuskule ima lepo začetno in zaključno povezovalno potezo. T. i. tipografska rešitev črke ima v spodnjem desnem delu dodano povezovalno potezo, kar je nenavadno za to obliko. Verjetno je dodatek dobila zaradi siceršnjega posnemanja lepopisnega pisanja, ki ima povezovalne poteze. Odločili smo se, da digitaliziramo obe oblikovni različici črke (slika 19). Lepopisna naj bi bila v običajni rabi. Za posebne primere, kjer bi bila primernejša, se lahko uporablja tipografska oblika črke. Slednjo smo digitalizirali brez povezovalnega dodatka.

Minuskula **s**

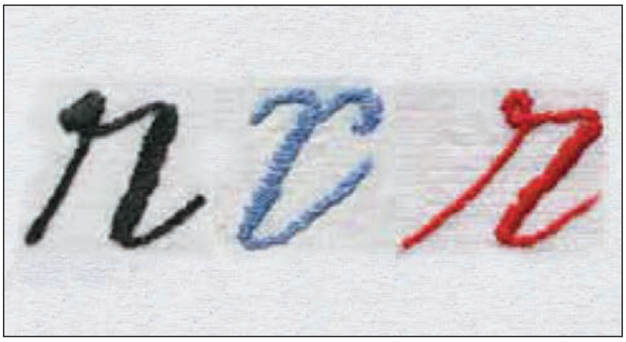
Značilnost vseh analiziranih vezenih vzorcev minuskule *s* je v zgornjem delu, ki sega preko srednje črte v prostor ascenderja (slika 20). Gre za optični popravek vrha črke, saj bi sicer črka izgledala manjša, če bi obsegala višino izključno srednjega črkovnega pasu. Za razliko od ostalih črk, minuskula *s* nima nobenega dela poteze pod kotom 25°. Minuskula nima dodatne povezovalne zaključne poteze, kar smo ohranili v digitalizirani obliki črke (slika 21). Vrh digitalizirane minuskule sega malo preko srednje črte. Strešica za minuskulo š je oblikovno enaka strešici za minuskulo *č*.



Slika 16: Primeri različnih oblik vezenih minuskul o.



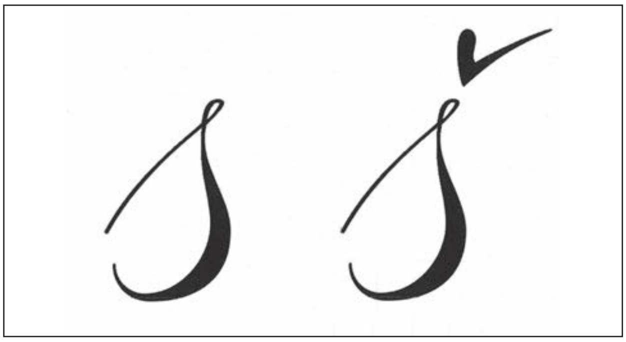
Slika 17: Digitalizirana minuskula o.



Slika 18: Primeri različnih oblik vezenih minuskul r.

Slika 19: Digitalizirani minuskuli r.

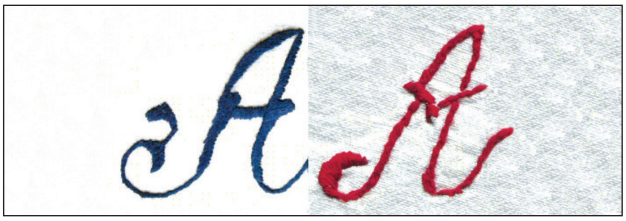
Slika 20: Primeri različnih oblik vezenih minuskul s.



Slika 21: Digitalizirani minuskuli s in š.

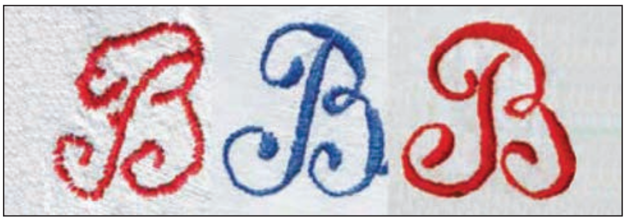
Slika 22: Primer oblike vezene majuskule I.

Slika 23: Digitalizirana majuskula I.



Slika 24: Primera različnih oblik vezenih majuskul A.

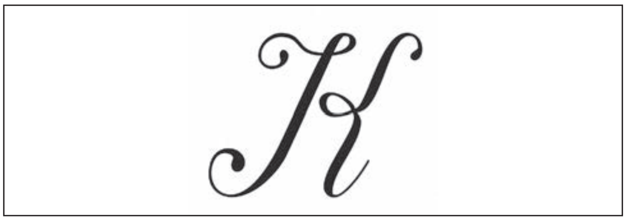
Slika 25: Digitalizirana majuskula A.



Slika 26: Primeri različnih oblik vezenih majuskul B.

Slika 27: Digitalizirana majuskula B.

Slika 28: Primeri različnih oblik vezenih majuskul K.



Slika 29: Digitalizirana majuskula K.

Slika 30: Primera različnih oblik vezenih majuskul N.

Slika 31: Digitalizirana majuskula N.

Majuskula I

Prva verzalka, ki smo jo digitalizirali, je verzalka *I*. Najdeni vzorec je lepo vezen (slika 22), kar je bila dobra osnova za izdelavo skice. Začetna in zaključna poteza sta okrašeni, v obliki kaplje. Pri digitalizirani verzalki (slika 23) smo zagotovili zadani kot naklona (25°) ter definirali podebeljeni in tanki del poteze. Na začetni potezi smo določili manjšo velikost kaplje, na zaključni potezi pa večjo.

Majuskula A

Na vezenem vzorcu verzalke *A* (slika 24, levo) vidimo na začetni potezi dodatni okrasni element, ki se razlikuje od ostalih najdenih okrasij pri vezenih črkah. Da bi ohranili poenotenje črk, smo se ravnali po definiranih upodobitvah potez. Odločili smo se, da bomo uporabili enostavnejši okrasni element (slika 25). Pri oblikovanju prečne poteze nam najdeni (štirje) primeri verzalke niso bili v pomoč (slika 24). Odločili smo se za oblikovanje enostavnejše poteze, ki le na levi strani seka vertikalno potezo (slika 25). Podebelitev potez sledi pravilu »navzdol podebeljena poteza, navzgor tanka poteza«.

Majuskula B

Majuskula *B* je bila najdena kar v treh dobro vezenih vzorcih (slika 26), zato njeno oblikovanje ni bilo težavno.

Slika 32: Nabor vseh izdelanih znakov končne različice pisave Kuhnjak.

Osnovna poteza s kotom naklona je enaka kot pri majuskuli *I*, le da se začetna poteza začne nižje in je drugačne oblike. Desno stran smo oblikovali enostavneje, kot so vezene črke vzorcev. Pri vseh treh ima zaključna poteza okrasni element. Ker je okrasnih elementov preveč, smo zaključek digitalizirane majuskule *B* poenostavili (slika 27). Črka nima dodatne povezovalne poteze, zato smo za primeren prazen prostor do naslednje črke morali poskrbeti v postopku določanja metrike oz. praznih prostorov med črkami.

Majuskula K

Vezeni vzorci majuskule *K* se oblikovno razlikujejo (slika 28). Levi del črke ima značilnosti majuskule *I*. Pri digitalizaciji (slika 29) smo v oblikovanju desnega dela črke sledili značilnostma levega in srednjega vzorca, ki sta na sliki 28. Uporabili smo element (slika 28), ki v višini srednjega črkovnega pasu tvori zanko, nato se poteza nadaljuje proti zaključni potezi. Začetna poteza desnega dela majuskule *K* ima okrasno kapljo.

Slika 33: Primer povezovanja črk v besedi.

Slika 34: Primera sodobnih kuhinjskih krp.

Majuskula N

Vezeni vzorec v modri barvi (slika 30, levo) je bil dobra osnova za oblikovanje skice. Majuskula *N* ima začetno potezo v obliki kaplje. Iz nje se nadaljuje tanka poteza navzgor, nato podebeljena navzdol in zopet tanka poteza navzgor. Ta se zopet zaključuje z okrasnim elementom, ki je tanke poteze. Pri digitalizirani majuskuli *N* (slika 31) smo zaključni potezi dodali majhno kapljo. Digitalizirana majuskula deluje zelo elegantno. Črka nima dodatne povezovalne poteze, zato smo za primeren prazen prostor do naslednje črke morali poskrbeti v postopku določanja praznih prostorov med črkami.

Vse števke, črkovne in nečrkovne znake, ki jih ni na analiziranih vzorcih, smo oblikovali nazadnje. Pri njihovem oblikovanju smo sledili značilnostim, ki smo jih dobili iz vezenih znakov. Izdelali smo tudi nekaj ligatur (kombinacij dveh črkovnih znakov skupaj), ki v običajnih pisavah ne obstajajo. Govorimo o parih črk, ki se med seboj ne bi dobro povezovale. To so minuskule *b*, *o* in *v* z zgornjimi zaključnimi potezami ter minuskule *n*, *m*, *r*, *s* in *š* s spodnjimi začetnimi potezami. Zadnja oblikovna različica vseh črkovnih in nečrkovnih znakov je prikazana na sliki 32.

Nastavitev metrike

Pomemben del v uporabnosti digitalizirane pisave je bilo določanje praznega prostora med črkami, t. i. metrika. Značilnost digitalizirane lepopisne pisave *Kuhnjak* je medsebojna povezanost črk. Zaradi tega je bilo potrebno zelo natančno določiti prazne prostore med posameznimi pari črk. Določiti je bilo potrebno prazen prostor, ki bi omogočal, da se črke med seboj lepo povezujejo, da se ne vidi prehoda med povezovalnimi potezami in da besede delujejo kot povezana celota (slika 33). Zaključne povezovalne poteze črk je bilo potrebno namestiti tako, da se povezujejo z naslednjo črko. Nekatere črke imajo tudi začetne povezovalne poteze, npr. *n*, *m*, *r* in *v*. Pri teh minuskulah smo morali prazen prostor prilagajati, da smo dobili popolne povezave. Ustrezen prazen prostor med črkami je narejen z različnimi dolžinami zaključnih potez, zato smo oblike črk morali popravljati.

Praktična uporaba digitalizirane pisave

Pomemben cilj digitalizacije pisave z vezenih stenskih prtov je bila posodobitev teh izdelkov in vrnitev v sodobne kuhinje. Zato smo ustvarili nove predmete, ki se uporabljajo danes. Predvideli smo kuhinjske krpe, predpasnike, namizne prte in pogrinjke. Oblikovali smo jih po vzoru starih vezenin. Uporabili smo besedila, ki so na starih vezenih stenskih prtih. Besedila so napisana v digitalizirani pisavi *Kuhnjak*. Dodali smo stilizirane elemente okrasja in vezenja. Izdelali smo tipografski logotip, tj. ime pisave. Na sliki 34 sta primera sodobnih kuhinjskih krp.

ZAKLJUČEK

Ne tako daleč v preteklosti so vezeni stenski prti krasili kuhinje, a so iz slovenskih sodobnih kuhinj izginili. Posodobitev tega pozabljenega področja nas morda vzpodbudi k razmišljanju o naših koreninah, navadah in vrednotah. Vezeni stenski prti s poučnimi, tudi duhovitimi napisi govorijo o življenjskih navadah naših prednikov.

Ko smo začeli raziskovati to področje, smo uvideli, da stenski prti niso bili dovolj pomembni, da bi se z njimi ukvarjali, o njih pisali ali jih zgolj shranili. Zato smo imeli težave pri zbiranju primernega števila prtov za analizo. Da bi vsaj deloma ohranili tipografsko kulturno dediščino, smo se odločili za digitalizacijo pisave in njeno uporabo v sodobnih kuhinjskih izdelkih.

Pri digitalizirani pisavi smo želeli ohraniti značilnosti vezene lepopisne pisave. Ker je vsaka vezilja imela svojo različico lepopisne pisave, smo oblikovno poenotili posamezne znake in omogočili njihovo uporabo tudi v sodobnosti. V postopku digitalizacije smo poskušali izdelati pisavo z natančno analizo originalnih črk, tj. s prekrivanjem črk. Zaradi prevelike raznolikosti izvirnikov to ni bilo mogoče. Poslužili smo se konvencionalnega risanja znakov v mrežo. Analiza najdenih vzorcev pisave je pokazala, da je končni rezultat še kako odvisen od kakovosti vezenja. V samem postopku digitalizacije so se pojavile nepričakovane težave, ki jih je bilo potrebno razrešiti. Na primer minuskuli *p* in *r* se nista lepo povezovali z drugimi črkami, zato je bilo potrebno izdelati dodatni različici črk. Minuskuli *b* in *o*, ki imata enako zaključno potezo, je bilo težko uskladiti z minuskulami *n*, *m*, *r*, *s*, *v*. Da bi dobili lepe prehode med črkami, smo se odločili za izdelavo prirezovalnih parov omenjenih črk. Največ časa smo posvetili usklajevanju povezovalnih potez med črkami, zato da so prazni prostori med črkami v besedah optično izenačeni. Lahko rečemo, da je bila digitalizacija rokopisne lepopisne pisave zahtevno delo.

Pisavo bi lahko uporabili v konvencionalnem tisku tkanine (npr. kuhinjske krpe), papirja (npr. kuharske knjige) ali v sodobnih digitalnih medijih (npr. spletna mesta, aplikacije) in s tem razširjali tipografsko kulturno dediščino (Bazzala & De Giorgi, 2016; Horst, 2000; Nocerino et al., 2018; Vecco, 2010). S pisavo smo želeli na novo oblikovanih kuhinjskih krpah in ostalih uporabnih kuhinjskih predmetih posredovati nekaj elementov iz življenja, navad in vrednot naših prednikov.

TYPOGRAPHIC CULTURAL HERITAGE: DIGITALIZATION OF WALL TABLECLOTH LETTERING

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SUMMARY

The aim of the research was to modernize the typographic cultural heritage, which was an integral part of our ancestors' living culture, i.e. embroidered wall tablecloths that adorned many households from the late 19th and to the second half of the 20th century. We analysed rare preserved embroidered wall tablecloths from the Podravina area in Croatia. For modern use, we designed a digitized typeface based on hand-embroidered letters on preserved tablecloths. The digitization process consisted of several phases: collecting embroidered tablecloths, photographing and measuring them, structural and typographic analysis, determining parameters for typeface design, the design and digitization, making appropriate metrics for modern use. From 20 samples, three were chosen with the most aesthetic and best quality embroidered letters. Numerous capital letters, digits and non-letter signs that were not found on the analysed wall tablecloths were designed by us. Stylistically, all letter and non-letter characters were unified. The most time-consuming was the coordination of linking strokes between letters, for the empty spaces between the letters in words being optically equal. The digitization of school handwriting was a demanding job. In the newly designed kitchen towels, we wanted to convey some elements from the life, habits and values of our ancestors.

Keywords: cultural heritage, digitized hand-embroidered letters, school handwriting, typography, wall tablecloths

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RESILIENCE OF WOMEN AND THEIR HOUSEHOLDS IN TIMES OF CRISIS: AN ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PRACTICES OF WOMEN IN SLOVENIA AND BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the survival strategies of women and is based on ethnographic research among women in Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina between 2016 and 2020. Results show that (1) socio-cultural and historical context plays a crucial role in the level of perceptions of crisis, (2) the first and strongest response to crisis appears as mobilization of economic resources within their households, (3) women rely heavily on social capital and informal networks, (4) cultural factors appear as crucial for successful informal networking and (5) resilience evolves as an amalgam of different configurations of economic, social and cultural capital.

Keywords: women, resilience, formal and informal practices, survival strategies, response to crisis

LA RESILIENZA DELLE DONNE E DELLE LORO FAMIGLIE IN TEMPO DI CRISI: UN'ANALISI DELLE PRATICHE SOCIALI E CULTURALI DELLE DONNE IN SLOVENIA E IN BOSNIA ED ERZEGOVINA

SINTESI

Basandosi sulle ricerche etnografiche condotte sul campo in Slovenia e in Bosnia ed Erzegovina tra il 2016 e il 2020 l'articolo è incentrato sulle strategie di sopravvivenza delle donne. Abbiamo ottenuto i seguenti risultati: (1) il contesto socio-culturale e storico svolge un ruolo chiave nella percezione della crisi; (2) nei contesti famigliari esso rappresenta nella mobilitazione delle risorse economiche la prima e la più forte risposta alla crisi; (3) c'è un forte affidamento da parte delle donne riguardo al capitale sociale e alle reti informali; (4) per un efficace integrazione informale risultano fondamentali i fattori culturali; (5) la resilienza alla crisi si sviluppa come un amalgama composto da diverse configurazioni, dal capitale economico, a quello sociale e culturale.

Parole chiave: donne, resilienza, pratiche formali e informali, strategie di sopravvivenza, risposta alla crisi

INTRODUCTION

In contemporary anthropology, the concept of resilience appears as part of a discourse on disaster mitigation, and although the term has a variety of meanings, at its core we find a "[…] concern with the reasons some groups of people and social systems manage to avoid disasters altogether or recover and even thrive in the aftermath of disasters, while others seem to face continued struggles, difficulties, and even perish" (Barrioso, 2016, 28). Resilience should therefore be understood as "the ability to survive and cope with a disaster with minimum impact and damage" (Cutter et al., 2008, 600), an ability which is key to stability and long term survival. Crisis, whether it starts as financial, social, environmental, or related to conflict, has the potential to become a disaster because of its deep and far-reaching impacts, which, if left unmanaged, soon engulf the whole of society. The development of resilience in this context is thus based on the idea of returning to a pre-crisis state, which is understood as stability.

On a macro level, societal resilience enables avoidance or reduction of loss, containment of the effects of disaster, and recovery with minimal social disruptions (Manyena, 2006; Tierney & Bruneau, 2007). Therefore, many institutions and state programs strive to develop resilient communities by integrating prevention, mitigation, vulnerability, and risk reduction capacities (Cutter et al. 2008). Individuals and organized groups, on the other hand, often start developing resilience not as a preventive strategy but rather as a result of crisis. When faced with risk and uncertainty, individuals tend not to base their decisions strictly on variances and expected values but rather on subjective evaluation of risk, which is based on the utility value of gains and losses within the contexts of their lives (Bernoulli, 1954). Often lacking knowledge and resources, the development of resilience becomes a challenge, and women appear to struggle more than men. Several authors (Ajibade, McBean & Bezner-Kerr, 2013) argue that since women and men experience socio-economic environments differently, they rely on different habits and skills and act differently in solving their problems. Traditionally, women are more connected to household contexts, which makes their social networks outside their households less extended, hindering the social mobility that could potentially be developed into resilience (Chelekis, in Thucker & Nelson, 2017). Also, households are often contexts of intergenerational cohabitation, which develop multiple intergenerational risks in times of crisis and expose women more. Studies also show gender experiences of crisis to be influenced by gender roles, class, and household structures, and women, particularly those from low-income settings, tend to be more exposed to crisis impact and recover more slowly than men (Cohen et al., 2002; Notter, MacTavish & Shamah, 2008; Ajibade et al., 2013). Women traditionally engage in gender-defined jobs, which usually include dispersed and less well-paid activities, keeping them economically restrained, while at the same time, by being less involved in both public and private sectors of the economy, remaining less flexible and more economically and socially isolated, compared to men (Halilovich, 2014). In this respect, women's resilience appears as a complex set of factors, including economic stability, social inclusion, psychological well-being, and environmental safety.

We base our analysis on Bourdieu's (1986) idea of economic, cultural and social capital. In his conception e*conomic capital* represents a traditional forms of capital, for example money, property, and other financial resources that individuals and families possess, while *cultural capital* refers to assets such as education, knowledge, skills and other forms of cultural competences. Cultural capital includes *embodied cultural capital* (knowledge and skills acquired through personal experiences and education), *objectified cultural capital* (books, artworks, and other cultural artifacts reflecting individual's cultural taste) and *institutionalized cultural capital* (qualifications and certifications like degrees and diplomas assuring social status). And lastly, *social capital* refers to durable social networks, connections and relationships individuals have, assuring them access to information, resources, and opportunities. All three forms of capital take variety of forms and are in a tight relationship enabling their acquisition, accumulation, transmission and conversion. However, to fully understand these processes a concept of symbolic capital must be added:

> [Symbolic capital] *is the form that one or another of these species (economic, social, cultural capital) takes when it is grasped through categories of perception that recognize its specific logic or, if you prefer, misrecognize the arbitrariness of its possession and accumulation.* (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, 119)

Considering all three forms of capital are of crucial importance in building a holistic analysis of resilience of women and their households. *Economic capital* is critical, for it provides a material foundation for individuals to deflect or withstand the negative impacts of crisis and the possibility of establishing stability. Economic capital presents itself as a key element of resilience (Rose, 2007). For women, it offers the possibility to escape dependent and often abusive relationships and develop resilient life trajectories toward stability and independence. S*ocial capital* is also crucial part of the resilience. Several studies confirm the potential of social capital to moderate the negative impacts of crisis (Sampson, Morenoff & Earls, 1999; Aldrich, 2012; Sadri et al., 2018; Efendic, 2020). Research shows that the transfer of knowledge, information, goods, strength and density of social networks, trust, shared norms, and reciprocity play crucial roles in survival in times of crisis. In particular, *bonding capital*, connectedness to family and neighbourhood, trust, and reciprocity are particularly important for women (MacGillivray, 2018). A study among Israeli women by Cohen et al. (2002) reported effective resilience to be based on interpersonal relations, the ability to share painful feelings, flexibility among family members, connectedness and family values, thus emphasizing the importance of social capital in building resilience. In addition to economic and social capital, *cultural capital* also plays a critical role in the development of women's resilience. According to numerous authors this form of capital emerges as inseparably tied to shared values and feelings of belonging which are crucial for well-being (cf. Ajibade et al., 2013; Barrios, 2016; Trdina, Podlogar Kunstelj & Pušnik, 2017). Cultural capital enables the application various forms of knowledge and information and is within context of transference for example through education crucial for the development of adaptive capacities (Roberts & Townsend, 2016).

Our study focuses on practices and perceptions in response to crisis among women from selected parts of Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). Our study is based on the research question (RQ) *How do women in Slovenia and BiH develop their coping strategies and resilience in times of crisis?* Our research is based on two initial assumptions: First, the global economic crisis starting in 2008 was strong enough to have a lasting impact on people's lives and, therefore, cannot be neglected in our research. This hypothesis has been tested in numerous papers, reports, policies, and intervention programs in both countries (DEP, 2009; CPU, 2012; SURS, 2015; Efendic et al., 2017). Our second assumption is that actions and practices that people adopt as adaptive responses to crisis over time evolve. They are refined, focused, and specialized, and if still present or observable after ten years, can be perceived as an essential part of resilience. Following this RQ and initial assumptions, we focus on four major areas of inquiry: mobilization of economic, social, and cultural capital, and perceptions as factors in resilience to crisis. Slovenia and BiH were selected because both countries share recent history as members of former Yugoslavia, show many cultural similarities, and are strongly socially and economically interconnected. At the same time, stark differences between Slovenia and BiH, resulting from recent historical events in the Balkans, different religious backgrounds, and economic development of both countries, present a critical context within which the issue of women's survival needs to be analysed.

METHOD AND SAMPLE

We gathered data within two research projects with compatible methodological designs and samples and a series of follow-up field trips. The first project, entitled "Life Strategies and Survival Strategies of Households and Individuals in South-East European Societies in Times of Crisis" (SSHISEE, 2016), funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation, focused on the identification and classification of survival strategies of individuals and households in Serbia, BiH, Croatia and Slovenia, emerging from the world economic crisis from 2008. Our mixed-method approach was based on a sample of adult questionnaire responses (n=1,000 per participating country), combined with 30 semi-structured follow-up individual interviews and 25 group interviews in each country. The data was gathered between 2014-2016. The second project, entitled "*INFORM – closing the gap between formal and informal institutions in the Balkans,*" was funded by the H2020 program of the European Commission. The INFORM Project focused on countries in the Western Balkans (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Albania, Croatia, and Slovenia) and interaction and gaps between formal and informal institutions within the context of EU accession. A mixed-method approach was adopted, including a survey (n=1,000 per participating country), case studies, legal documents and media reports analysis, interviews, and ethnography. The data was gathered between 2016 and 2018 (INFORM, 2016).

For the purposes of our study, we selected gender-specific subsamples from individual and group interviews conducted in Slovenia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as they were included in both projects. We based our approach and analysis on the results of Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA), which was applied within the project to develop a map of economic, social, and cultural capital and results regarding participants' employment, practices, and attitudes. Additionally, several follow-up interviews and short field trips were conducted to extend the range of our study to the crisis induced by the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 (AFI, 2020).

We based our analysis on three methods: narratives from in-depth and ethnographic interviews, participant observation, and visual notes. In-depth interviews with 89 women were selected from over 200 cases in both countries. Our sample of 89 individuals was based on 105 interviews performed within both projects. During the follow-up phase in 2020, 20 interviews were conducted with a specific focus on crisis induced by the Covid-19 pandemic. Qualified researchers performed the interviews and lasted between 90 and 160 minutes each.

Participant observation was the second method in our study, and approximately 60 events and practices were followed using this method. These included food production (such as gardening and work in the fields, domestic slaughter of animals, production of wine and brandy), everyday work (work in the forest) and production of commodities (work in a bakery, greenhouse gardening), local places of high social activities (cafes and bars) and social events (celebrations within respondents' families or periodic local events). Over 1200 hours of

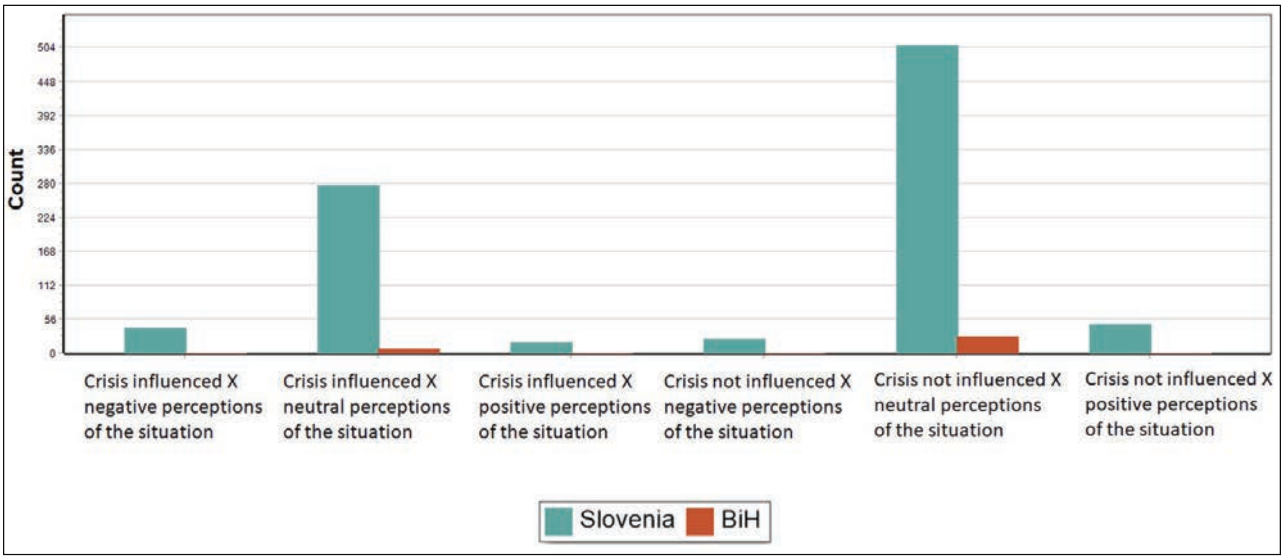

Chart 1: Perceptions of the influence of crisis (Source: Qualitative dataset merged from SSHISEE and INFORM, n=89).

participant observations were conducted in selected social settings at different times, and between 250 and 300 ethnographic interviews were performed during this phase.

We underpin our analysis and interpretations by combining approaches from Content analysis (Drisko & Maschi, 2016) and Grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006). Collected interviews were transcribed and coded using QDA Miner. Photographs were selected, linked to selected cases, and coded using a partially predesigned codebook including sections with templates of pre-developed codes and open codes. Codes within the closed sections were developed following project guidelines, research questions and our hypothesis, enabling a comparison of qualitative data with quantitative findings. Open codes were obtained during data collection or the initial coding process. Axial coding was adopted during the process of categorization of open and closed codes. Selective coding was adopted for illustration and association of interviews with visual notes. Most of the coding was performed by the authors, who participated in both data collection and interpretation.

PERCEPTUAL FACTORS OF RESILIENCE

Perceptual factors present a general psychosocial context of crisis and are the first to be analysed. Understanding these factors is crucial, as they are the basis of economic, social, and cultural practices that women adopt in response to crisis. Perceptual factors were extracted from gathered narratives, interviews, and participant observation. Altogether, 964 pieces of data (narratives and interview fragments, observed events, notes) were extracted based on the co-occurrence of the codes' *influence of crisis* and *perception of the situation*.

The results show two main patterns in response to the crisis: *rationalization* of the impact of crisis and *denial* (cf. Chart 1: Perceptions of the influence of crisis). These patterns are closely related to sociocultural idioms of causality influenced by recent historical events, particularly war in BiH. While Slovenian women perceived crisis in 2008 as a major life-changing event and their practices as undeniably related to economic recession, women from BiH perceived the crisis of 2008 as minor in comparison to the war of 1992–1995.

Chart 1 shows all gathered information axially coded with relationships to (1) the influence of crisis on all areas of life that were under study and (2) interviewees' perceptions of the results of this influence. Two immediate observations emerge from this chart, one specific for women from Slovenia and the other for women from BiH. Slovenian women recognize the crisis as real and perceive a ratio between areas impacted and not impacted by the crisis at approximately 1:2. The most significant impact of crisis they see is in decline in living standards, mostly through a decline in material and cultural consumption:

> […] *we buy everything on sale or at discount prices*. (#6, Slo, 2016)

> *We reduced everything. I even take used clothes if somebody offers. I take everything because it means I don't need to buy it. At this point, we* [she and her household members] *are either economizing or cancelling our consumption!* (#46, Slo, 2016)

Perceptions of the impact of crisis are largely neutral or even positive, indicating that women managed to either develop efficient rationalization strategies to cope with the crisis or simply got used to the new reality:

> *We changed a lot, but all is very simple – we consume less.* (#46, Slo, 2016)

> […] *why go to the restaurants, you can cook better, healthier, and cheaper at home.* (#57, Slo, 2016)

> *You know what the best [coping] strategy is – get used to the crisis!* (#41, Slo, 2016)

Negative perceptions among Slovenian women are mostly tied to those few areas of life where women did not manage to adapt. Here the crisis-induced reduction resulted in the deterioration of their living standard.

In contrast, women from BiH perceive the situation differently, and most deny any obvious impact of crisis on areas of their lives (cf. Chart 1). What they perceive as real crisis can be traced back to their experiences from the time of the civil war in BiH between 1992 and 1995. Women who survived that period witnessed the devastation of their country and the huge suffering of its people, and this profoundly impacted their perceptions. When compared to the war, the current crisis is nothing exceptional for Bosnian women:

> *The whole region of ours [BiH] is a region of crisis and it's been like this for the past 25 years, ever since that unfortunate war we had.* (#53, BiH, 2016)

> *This situation is following us from 1992, the year that war broke out… we are totally stuck in this economic crap.* (#69, BiH, 2016)

The contemporary situation is perceived as economically and socially tough, but undoubtedly better than the situation during the war. The narratives describe the prevalence of economic and social hardships and depict the day-to-day struggle for survival as common:

> *Well, we are fighting ... we've been fighting daily for the past eight or nine years… my mother is sick, so… we're fighting. My God, it's hard, but what can you do. Nothing's perfect, not even us!* (#56, BiH, 2016)

While daily struggles appear to be normal in their perceptions, the presence of the crisis appears latent and often unclear, ranging in interpretation from denial to conspiracy:

> *There is no crisis, there never was any crisis. People made this up psychologically for themselves. If you are willing to work, there cannot be any crisis for you!* (#51, BiH, 2016)

> […] *today's crisis is not fictional but fabricated with the sole intent to incite nations* [in BiH] *to start fighting among themselves.* (#49, BiH, 2016)

These results lead to our **first finding**: at the level of perceptions of the emerging crisis and possible consequences, two factors that differentiate the actions of women in two different environments are important: (1) a set of previous experiences and (2) the traditional position and expectations of women in both societies. The expectations of women are similar in both countries. However, women in Bosnia who survived the war and famine do not recognize the new crisis as greater or to the same degree of danger as they have already survived. Still, the situation feels cramped, and there is less of a tendency to spend hard-earned money. This perception is characteristic of women in both BiH and Slovenia. However, if we look at official indicators regarding the depth of the economic recession in these two countries, economic growth in Slovenia was around -8% while in BiH it was -3%. Relatively, the fall in Slovenia was higher, especially as the economic base of Slovenia is at a much higher level, all of which could affect the perceptions of women to some extent.

ECONOMIC FACTORS OF RESILIENCE

Economic status is one of the key elements of resilience (Cohen et al., 2002; Notter, MacTavish & Shamah, 2008; Ajibade et al., 2013). For our study, we adopted a relatively broad definition of economic factors: those factors that enable a material foundation for our research subjects to withstand the negative impacts of crisis and with the ability to establish stability (Rose, 2007; Notter, MacTavish & Shamah, 2008). Therefore, we focused on the economic factors that our participants mobilized to achieve resilience, ranging from diverse forms of income and work to mobilization assets.

The analysis of coded interviews and narratives shows that crisis negatively impacted the household economy. Unemployment, declining individual and household incomes, and stress resulted in reduced consumption and a struggle to maintain a living standard. This aspect of crisis forced women to adopt different practices and to mobilize various resources to develop a suitable mitigating strategy:

For Slovenian women, one of the most common responses to the crisis, apart from reduction in spending, is the emergence of self-provisioning. According to the narratives gathered, self-provisioning was already present before the crisis. However, for most women, it was a form of a traditional hobby or leisure activity and tied mostly to small-scale gardening. As the crisis intensified, many of our participants adopted some form of self-provisioning, mobilized

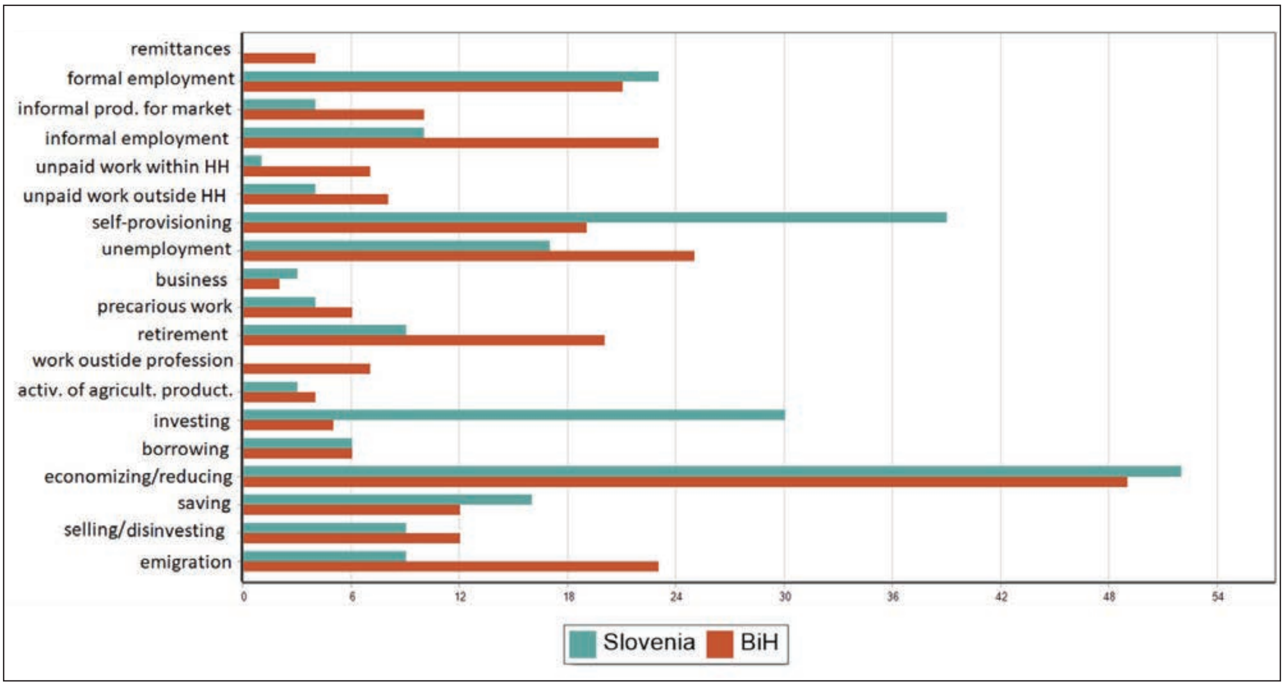

Chart 2: Economic factors of resilience (Source: Qualitative dataset merged from SSHISEE and INFORM, n=89).

previously unused resources, broadened the range of activities, and increased home-grown production. When asked to describe *self-provisioning,* these women listed different economic activities ranging from domestic production and preservation of food, drinks, bread, and brandy or wine, to repairing their own clothes, renovating their homes by themselves, and doing their own hair and nails. Since self-provisioning was already traditionally present in this milieu, furthering these economic activities seems to have happened relatively easily:

> […] *we make our bread, jams and other things… I also make some home remedies like traditional spruce buds. I do it every year, and other things to… you know, for minor illnesses.* (#6, Slo, 2016)

Complementary to a reduction in consumption and self-provisioning, women in Slovenia report an increase in the strategy of *saving* in terms of economizing and disinvesting in the sense of selling things that are perceived as unnecessary at the moment. Additionally, they also engage in targeted investing, mostly to boost the energy efficiency of houses, modernize agricultural production, to acquire assets needed for self-provisioning. However, these practices were still not fully sufficient, even in combination with formal employment, for exposure to debt remained, either in the form of bank loans or informal borrowing of money from friends and relatives.

The economic response among women from BiH appears somewhat different. Self-provisioning in BiH is traditionally present, but there was no structural increase in these activities as a response to the crisis. From the data presented in Chart 2, we identified two main economic strategies among our participants. The first intensified their involvement in formal and informal businesses and agricultural production, thus making women economically more active. The second was grounded on existing labour market legislation and involved adopting the legal status of unemployed or retired persons, thus making them less economically active to gain some short-term benefits. Both strategies produced limited positive effects but were often combined with other activities, most commonly informal production for markets:

> […] *we are striving to make money, we're selling surplus of our products, and we also go to work if somebody calls us. We spend our money for things that we cannot produce ourselves.* (#73a, 2016)

> […] *my role is to make money, and when we don't have enough money, I go scavenging for metal, aluminium, copper.* (#73b, husband, 2016)

These results lead to our **second finding**: that the first and strongest response to crisis evolves around the mobilization of economic factors. Survival practices that can be understood as part of resilience are strongly rooted in attempts to modify, supplement, or upgrade different economic resources and activities. These actions can be seen as coping strategies. Since the economy presents one of the undisputed pillars of stability for our subjects,

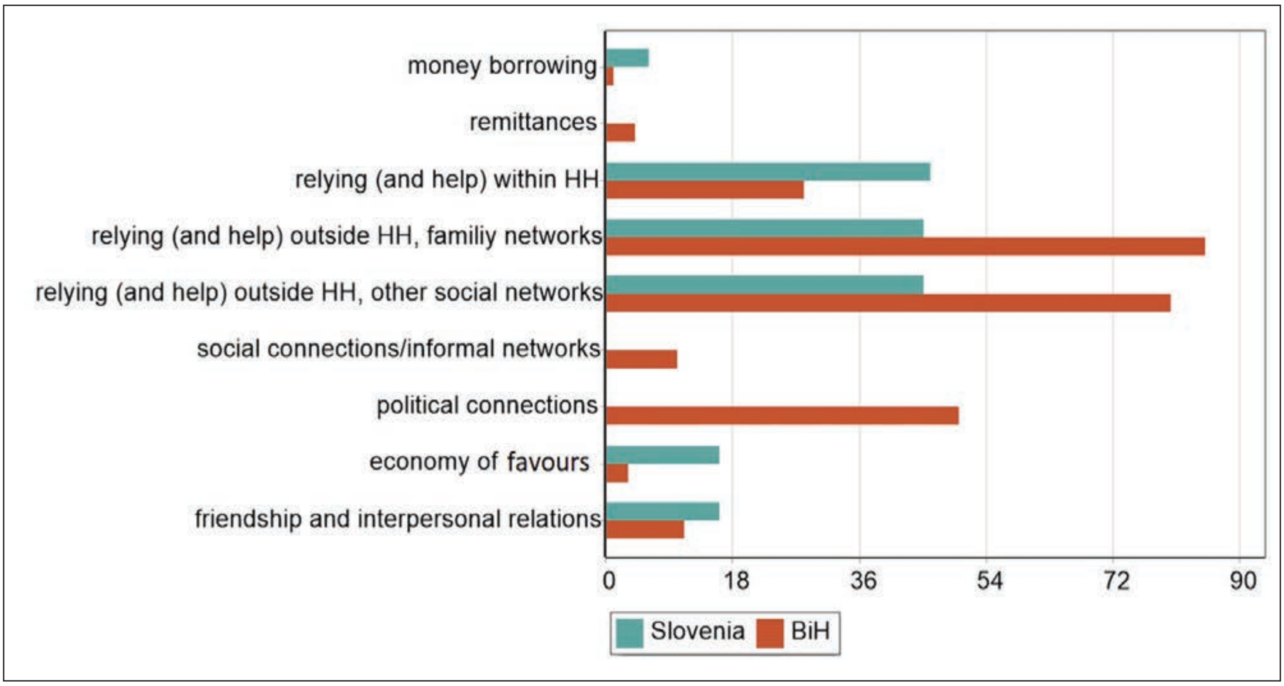

Chart 3: Social factors of resilience (Source: Qualitative dataset merged from SSHISEE and INFORM, n=89).

our second finding supports the claims of many other authors placing economic capital at the core of resilience both on a macro-societal level (Manyena, 2006; Tierney & Bruneau, 2007; Cutter et al., 2008) and the individual level (Rose, 2007). Differences in the nature and frequency of various practices of our subjects can be understood as induced by subjective evaluation of risk and feasibility within the contexts of their lives, as has been proposed by other authors (Ajibade et al., 2013). The fact that most of these practices are tied to the household has been noted by Chelekis (in Tucker & Nelson, 2017), who observes that because of the traditional position of women, the household represents their basic social context.

SOCIAL FACTORS OF RESILIENCE

Following the logic of Luthar, who in his review of resilience studies states that "resilience rests, fundamentally, on relationships" (2006, 780), we extracted social factors indicating social relationships as a response to crisis. Most of the social factors extracted from coded narratives and interviews were expressed as different forms of reliance:

While women from both countries show a relatively strong reliance on social networks, Slovenian women relied equally on members of their households, members of their extended family and on broader social networks. Reliance is mostly connected with the reorganization of household priorities and activities, which was induced by the previously mentioned economic response to crisis. Reliance on household members in most cases includes mutual help in activities of self-provisioning, economizing activities (minor house and equipment repairs), and the re-assignment or reorganization of household tasks. Apart from redistribution of workload, women from Slovenia also report that reliance on family members had a mitigating effect on stress and positively impacted connectedness with other members of their families.

Slovenian women also relied on family members outside their households. In most cases, they based this reliance on either siblings or parents, which usually takes the form of *generalized reciprocity* (Sahlins, 2017). They usually rely on siblings for occasional financial support and on parents for help with taking care of children or for domestically produced items, mostly food:

> *I have a big family. You know, growing up on a farm… you're never scared or worried about starving. There's always something to eat. And now, I can always go back home to them* […] *In Ljubljana where I live, I feel unsafe and stressed. What if I run out of money, what will we eat? What can you do? Nothing, go to Caritas or beg on the streets. I'm lucky enough to have my parents out in the country.* (#10, Slo, 2016)

However, this reliance is mutual and governed by rules of *generalized reciprocity* which "[…] refers to transactions that are putatively altruistic, transactions on the line of assistance given and, if possible and necessary, assistance returned" (Sahlins, 2017, 175). Our data shows that this mutual reliance increases the frequency and diversity of social connections and strengthens social ties.

Along with other available supportive social networks, women in Slovenia perceive their neighbours to be among their friends. Neighbours are regarded as a potential help in exceptional situations or as an emergency safety net:

> […] *if something terrible was to happen – God forbid – like fire, flood or something, I'm sure, at least six people from the village would immediately be here.* (#22, Slo, 2016)

> *You know what they say: your neighbour is your first relative! And in a way it is true. Who are you gonna turn to if something terrible happens?* (#5, Slo, 2016)

Reliance on these networks is governed by rules of balanced reciprocity which refer to fair and direct exchange (Sahlins, 2017). Data gathered from participant observation shows that this reliance is characteristic of members of groups that cooperate in other areas, such as co-workers, who frequently exchange favours or spend free time together. Thus, exchange through balanced reciprocity among these women ensures not only direct transfer of goods and favours but also establishes feelings of safety, connectedness and integration. A typical example of balanced reciprocity among women in Slovenia can be observed within practices of an *economy of favours*. Ledeneva (1998) describes a socialist "economy of favours," comprised of informal networks that serve people's regular, periodic, life-cycle needs as well as scale up to serving the needs of others. From narratives on reciprocity and data gathered with participant observation, this economy of favours serves not so much as material support as it serves in maintaining and strengthening social connections and in mitigating individual feelings of stress and social isolation:

> *Of course, we return favours* […] *we always pull together. In this respect* [the question of returning favours] *we are… there's no dispute here. We are very connected in this respect.* (#10, Slo, 2016)

Women in BiH also rely on family members outside their households and other informal networks, but less on members in their households. In contrast to women from Slovenia, their reliance on household members is somewhat lower, mainly because they perceive family members' situations to be as tough as their own. Thus they rely instead on social connections outside their families. Like Slovenian women, their reliance on family networks is focused on siblings or parents and is governed by generalized reciprocity. However, for women from BiH, it appears more robust, diverse, and generalized:

> […] *I turn to them for whatever I need. I even turn to my grandfather. For anything. And of course, when they need something, anything, they turn to me.* (#48, BiH, 2016)

Our results show that women usually rely on their parents for homegrown food and for help in taking care of children or household help. Occasionally they turn to other relatives for financial support, particularly in cases where they emigrated to more developed countries to improve their economic status:

> *I have a big family… my brothers and sisters, I can rely on them for anything… They also rely on me, even materially, but in most cases this reliance is psychological.* (#75, BiH, 2016)

Reliance on other informal networks also appears stronger, more direct and more intensive than among women from Slovenia, resulting in stronger feelings of safety, connectedness and integration:

> *I strongly rely on them. Even more in current times. I'm not alone. I have friends and neighbours, and this means a lot to me. We do everything for each other, and we do it out of mutual love.* (#57, BiH, 2016)

Surprisingly, in contrast to women from Slovenia, women from BiH show an additional strong reliance on political connections and informal networks, yet in most cases this reliance operates on a perceptual level. Our participants do not engage in politics beyond occasionally voting and thus don't possess actual links to political power. However, they perceive political power as very important:

> *You have to be a member of a political party to get ahead. And it's really sad. I'm old and not politically active, so it makes no difference for me. But for younger generations…* (#63, BiH, 2016)

> *Politics is all about clans with shared interests and nothing with political parties, their names or programs. And it makes a difference for those people who are members.* (#65, BiH, 2016)

> *Interviewer: Tell me, would you engage in politics to change the situation for yourself and your household? Why?*
> *Yes. Mostly to improve my financial status.* (#70, BiH, 2016)

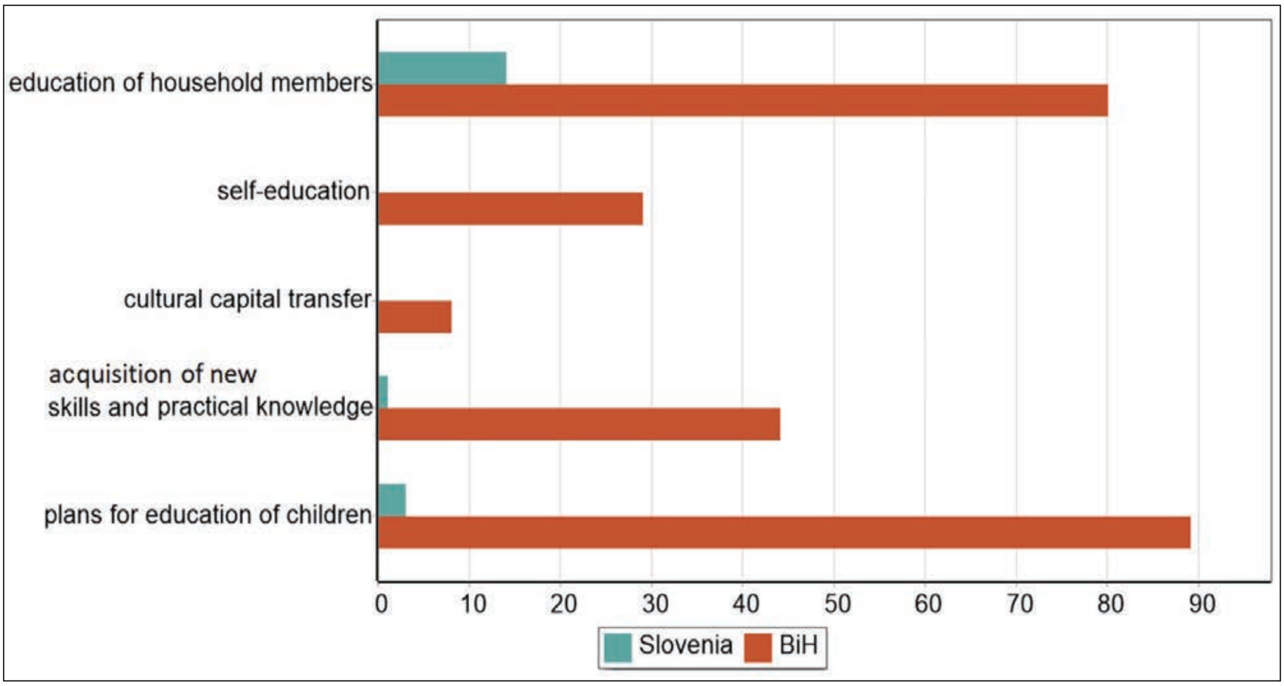

Chart 4: Cultural factors of resilience (Source: Qualitative dataset merged from SSHISEE and INFORM, n=89).

These results are the basis of our **third finding**: that women from the Western Balkans (WB) who participated in our study rely heavily on informal networks, including family members, cousins, friends, and godfathers. These networks are generally built on strong ties between members. This conclusion aligns with an INFORM (2017) quantitative survey from the region based on a sample of over 6,000 participants. According to the results of that study, 87% of respondents report their primary reliance on strong informal networks, with no difference between males and females. However, according to the report, these informal networks are still used less by women in comparison to men, as the average network size in WB sample for males is 15 members, while for women, it is 12 members. While these networks have a regular presence in the region and bring economic and other benefits to individuals, households, and entrepreneurs, Efendic and Ledeneva (2020) report that the economic costs of maintaining these networks are also substantial, both in terms of money and in terms of time invested to establish and maintain the networks. The benefits of these networks are expected to outweigh the related costs, but the net economic gains of reliance on these networks are less beneficial than one would assume at first glance. Since our results show that these networks act as a form of social capital, moderating the negative impact of crisis, they are in line with the findings of other authors (Sampson et al., 1999; Aldrich, 2012; Sadri et al., 2018; Efendic, 2020). In particular, for our participants, these networks enable the transfer of information and goods and strengthen social ties, thus improving member connectedness and resilience of women, which was confirmed by Cohen et al. (2002) and MacGillivray (2018).

CULTURAL FACTORS OF RESILIENCE

Cultural factors affecting resilience have often been recognized as crucial, yet studies focusing on these issues are relatively scarce (Wright & Masten, 2005). Within these studies, information and the ability to communicate with members of attachment networks emerge as crucial in the application of information skills and knowledge in building resilience (Longstaff & Yang, 2008). The use of knowledge as a cultural artefact should therefore be regarded as one of the keys to survival: "Knowledge […] is always man's primary guide in his relationship with the environment. […]. Without knowledge and without strict adherence to knowledge, no culture could survive. This is, then, the backbone of culture from the beginning onwards" (Malinowski, 1960, 198).

Among cultural factors that can be linked to the survival strategies of our subjects, we focused our analysis on those relating to education, use of knowledge, and cultural capital (cf. Chart 4).

An immediately discernible finding is that women in BiH regard knowledge as significantly more important in dealing with crisis than women from Slovenia. However, this finding remains tied to the *perceptions* of importance; the perceived importance of the acquisition of knowledge among our research subjects was rarely, if ever, translated into actual practice, activity, or skill that would improve their survival, such as enrolling in an educational program as a response to crisis.

Nevertheless, both groups of women perceive cultural factors as important, and these perceptions influence their behaviours. For Slovenian women, the education of household members, although important in strengthening resilience, remains unimportant compared to socio-economic factors, and is therefore only secondarily connected to the survival of the household. *Education of household members*, *plans for education of children,* and *acquisition of new skills and practical knowledge* thus appear with expectedly low frequency. Data from narratives and interviews show that among Slovenian women, cultural factors of resilience appear mostly linked to cultural consumption, usually as reading books and watching content that enables their household to be more efficient in self-provisioning.

Women from BiH place a greater emphasis on cultural factors, particularly on education. For them, formal education, although important on a nominal level, cannot mitigate the negative aspects of crisis. Regarding knowledge that could be used as a tool of survival, the knowledge that enables mobilization of other forms of capital, in particular, economic and social capital through the informal sector, is perceived as of primary importance:

> *I think (persuasive) communication is essential. It's the key for everything!* (#58, BiH, 2016)

> *Social connections are crucial [to survive]. If you want to survive you must gain knowledge of people, of business, sadly also of politics. That's killing all of us.* (#62, BiH, 2016)

> *In this situation the best skill is to learn to be a crook, to form your own social networks and to enter political party.* (#69, BiH, 2016)

> [...] *and it's all education, the knowledge of the language, knowledge of social groups and everything else [tied to informality]. It's all in vain if you don't have that knowledge.* (#75, BiH, 2016)

Informal networking thus appears to be a part of their basic survival and problem-solving strategy. Indeed, Efendic et al. (2017) reports that individuals and households with more highly developed informal networks could cope better with the economic downturn in Southeast Europe during the 2008–2009 crisis. Commonly, this informal networking takes many forms and is usually not perceived as corruption or another form of illegal activity. It is, rather, perceived as a basic survival skill:

> *What works to solve a problem or get a job done? You need skills, money, good product, but you also need štele* [social connections, networks]. *Some sort of a friend or friend of a friend who can help you. For instance, if I have a friend who needs a job in our Hotel I will go to my gazda* [boss] *and will tell him I have a good friend, who's hard working, honest, reliable… Maybe he will give her a job straight away or call her when position is available.* (#81, BiH, 2016)

In addition, informal networking appears just as important on an interpersonal level, for it represents a channel of interaction to which people are traditionally accustomed. Informal networking in the Balkans is one of the basic platforms of day-to-day interaction and problem-solving (Gordy & Efendic, 2019; Efendic & Ledeneva, 2020). However, while informal networking is relatively efficient on an interpersonal basis, the situation appears to be somewhat different in formal and semi-formal contexts. These contexts seek formal interaction and are therefore often confusing or even conflicting:

> *How informality works? I think it's everything that people do to help each other personally. Like traditionally, in old days, in the village, people helped each other to solve problems, like for survival… and this was good, and still is. But nowadays people do informal things that are totally unnecessary.* (#83, BiH, 2016)

> *What do you mean?* [interviewer]

> *In BiH, people act informally when they do not have to. For instance, old grannies go to the doctor and even before they tell him what their problem is, they give him something, money, chocolate, something… I know they want to get them* [doctors] *to help them, and I know it's tradition to be friendly and all, but these grannies are essentially poor and this gift giving is like a cultural reflex which is useless. Or for instance, people need confirmation of a document from a city office. The submit it and the office has 15 days to confirm it. People pay 20, 30 KM to the clerk, who's supposed to 'help them get the job done.' Why? It's useless, abuse of money and authority and tradition. I think people use informality the wrong way. And, it's not even corruption. Corruption is simple and obvious and bad. Informality is complicated, murky and… good, bad or both!*

However, when considering stability or the further development of small business, all respondents agree that formalization is necessary. These procedures often present considerable challenges, particularly because

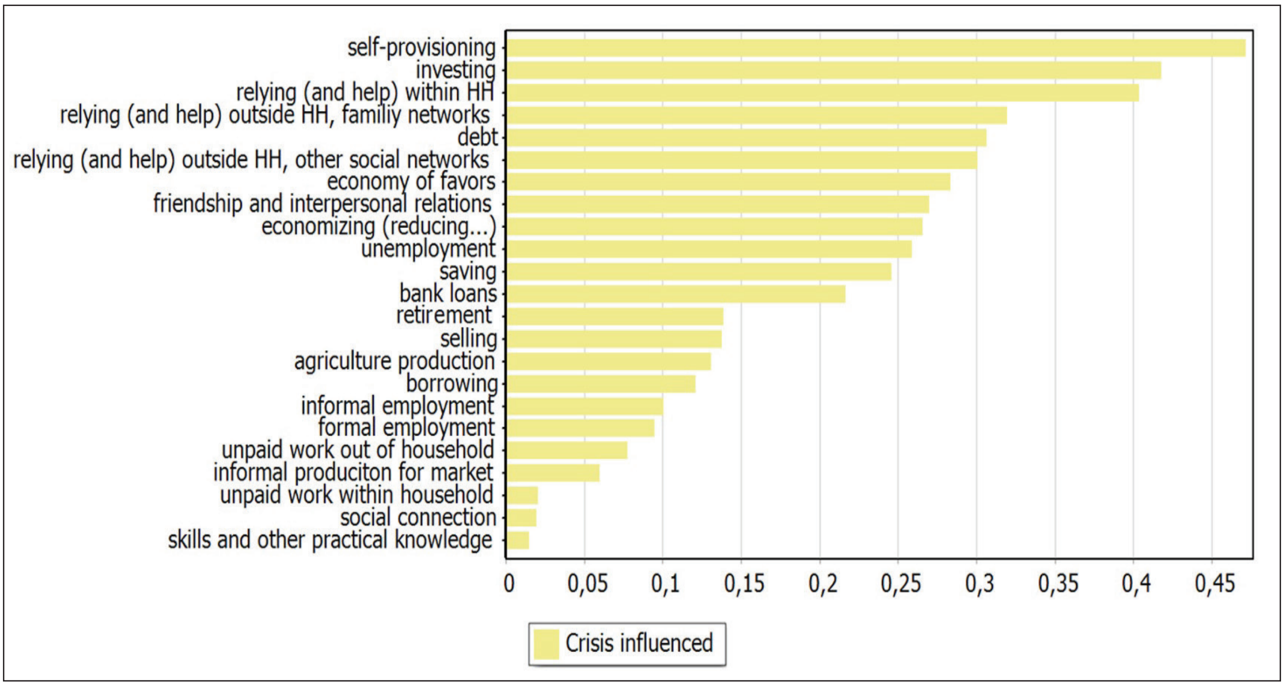

Chart 5: Proximity plot of crisis and emerged practices (Source: Qualitative dataset merged from SSHISEE and INFORM, n=89).

of limited financial resources, tough economic background, insufficient education, and informal network support:

In Bosnia women are silent rulers. I don't know how you see it [as a foreigner] or how it is in your country, but I'm telling you this as a woman. However, it is harder for women to do business compared to the men. For instance I had a business with my friend. We opened a hairdresser salon and it went great. After two years, we couldn't do it anymore, we divided our customers, closed the shop and went separate ways. (#83, BiH, 2016)

Why did you split? [interviewer]

I don't know… we had a small fight, nothing serious… but, it wouldn't work in the long run.

You said it is harder for women to do business than for men. Why? [interviewer]

I guess our social networks are different. Men go, sit down over a drink and do business. Women go, sit down over drink and talk… you know, chit-chat… Nothing comes out, no business. […] *men do business collectively and they don't take things personally. Women do business individually and take everything very personally…*

These results support our **fourth finding**: that specific cultural factors appear as a key to resilience. These factors are largely tied to the knowledge and skills of informal networking, enabling people who possess them to mobilize their social networks and thus improve their economic situation. While our findings regarding the cruciality of cultural capital in building resilience are in line with those of other authors (Ajibade et al., 2013; Roberts & Townsend, 2016), they also expand on them. Our results show that apart from conventional knowledge and education, cultural capital relies on unconventional and informal knowledge and, even more important, presents a key element in accessing informal networks and thus enabling the mobilization of social capital for purposes of resilience.

MAPPING THE COMPOSITION OF RESILIENCE

To map the general composition of resilience among women in Slovenia and BiH, we analysed the co-occurrence of codes. A proximity plot (0 = no co-occurrence, 1 = complete co-occurrence) shows observed practices in relation to the category of all practices induced or promoted by crisis (Chart 5). The practices of *self-provisioning, investing* and *relying on help from members within the household* appear closest to the time of crisis, confirming these to be the most direct responses and thus the most focused elements of resilience. Most of the practices related to crisis in this way are centred around reliance on family

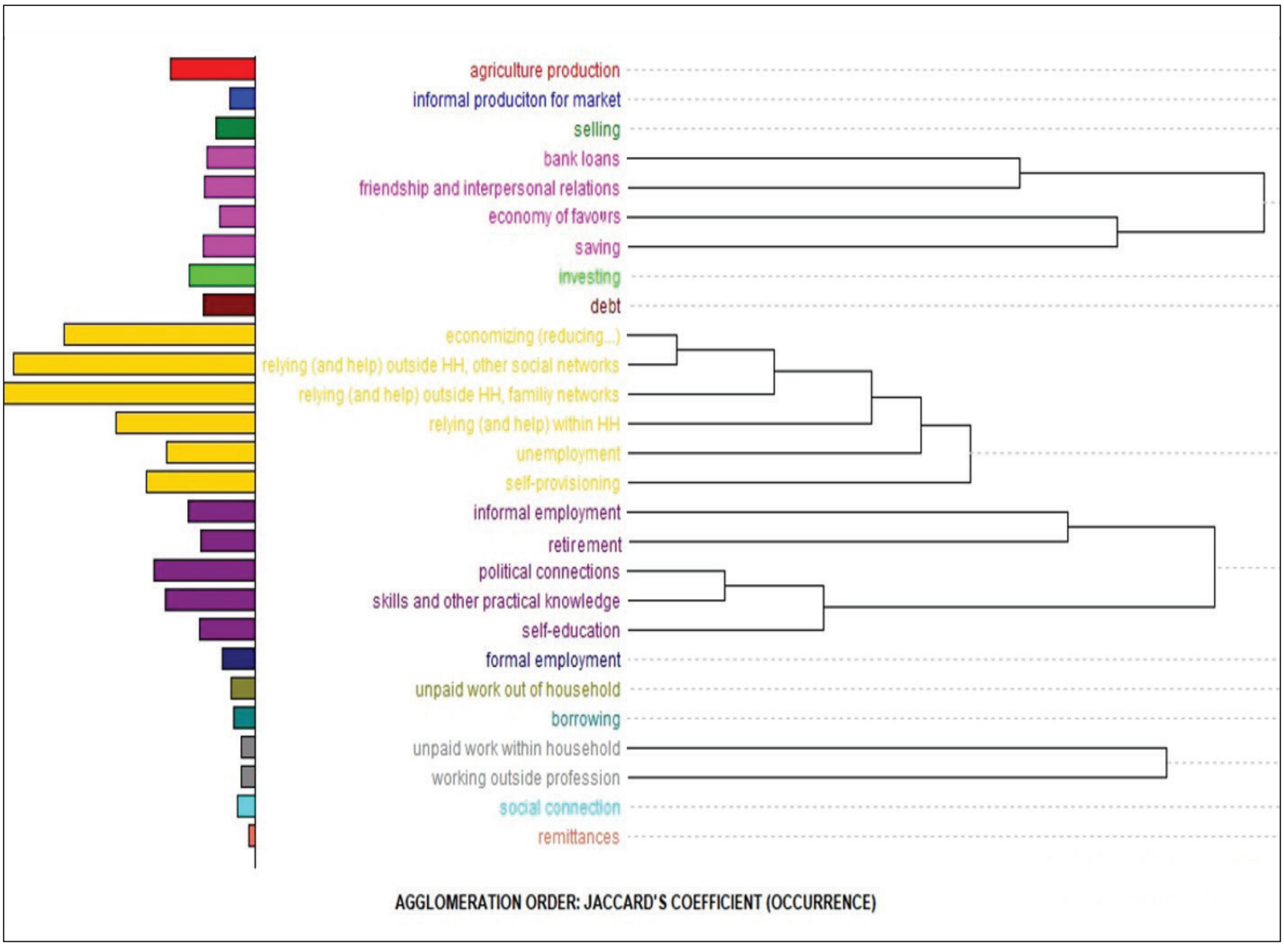

Chart 6: Cluster analysis of mitigating responses (Source: Qualitative dataset merged from SSHISEE and INFORM, n=89).

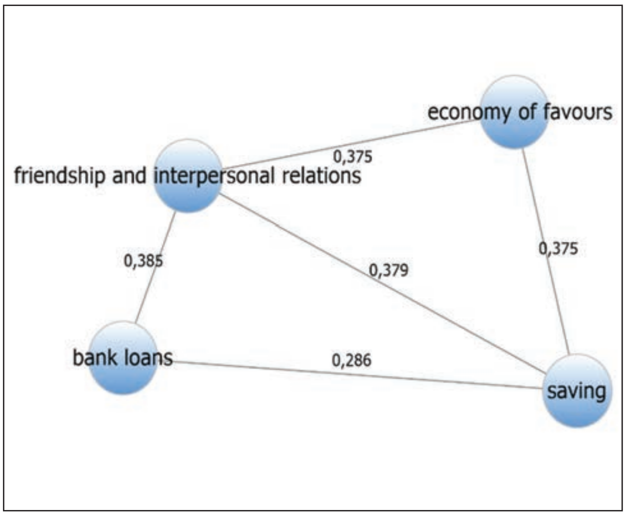

Chart 6.1: Map of type 1 resilience (Source: Authors' calculations based on qualitative dataset merged from SSHISEE and INFORM).

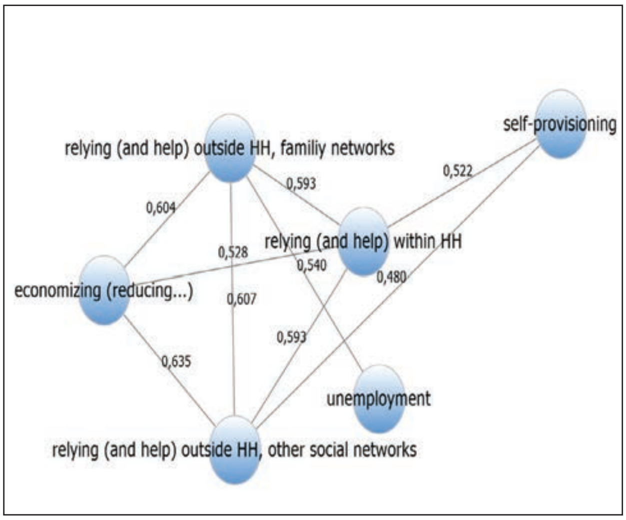

Chart 6.2: Map of type 2 resilience (Source: Authors' calculations based on qualitative dataset merged from SSHISEE and INFORM).

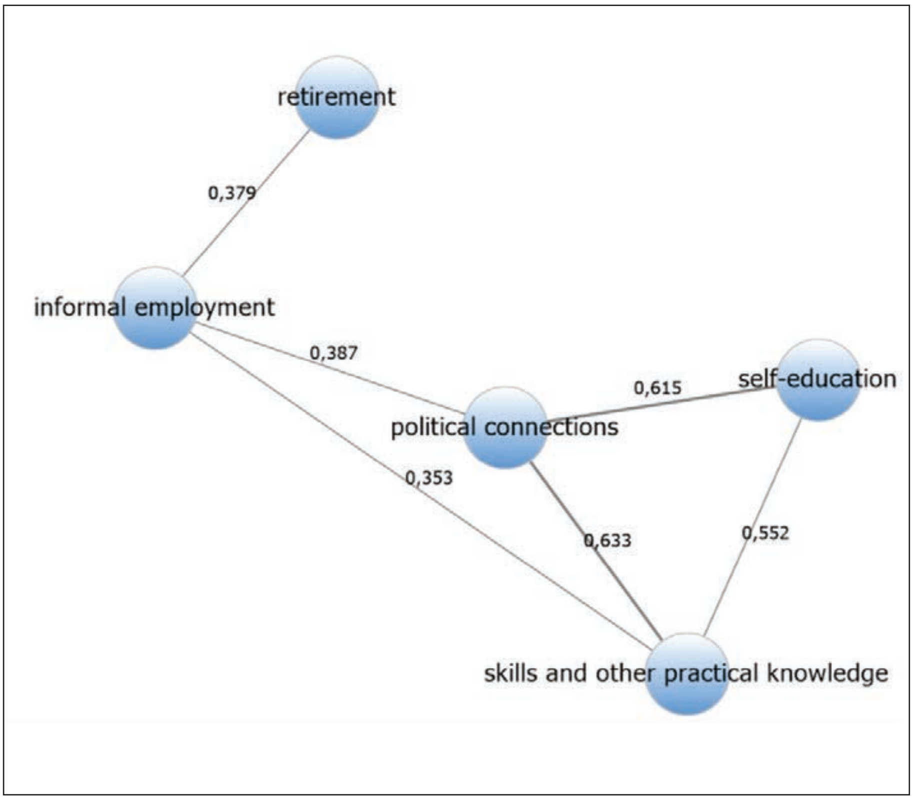

Chart 6.3: Map of type 3 resilience (Source: Authors' calculations based on qualitative dataset merged from SSHISEE and INFORM).

networks and other informal networks, the economy of favour, and friends, practices of reduction, and acquisition of debt, indicating that these practices are promoted by crisis. Somewhat less related to crisis are income from retirement, practices of selling (disinvesting), agricultural production, borrowing, and different forms of employment. The least related to crisis are *unpaid work within the household, social connections,* and *acquisition of new skills and other practical knowledge*.

Based on these results, we conducted a cluster analysis which enabled us to map different patterns of resilience. From an agglomeration order of 14 clusters, 3 distinct patterns or maps of resilience emerge:

The first cluster (Chart 6, magenta group) represents a map of resilience that includes mobilization of savings, acquisition of bank loans, reliance on friends and personal relations and activities and perceptions that are focused on an economy of favours. Link analysis between nodes shows relatively weak but equally distributed connections, indicating an absence of any obvious dominance of practice or perception within this type of resilience (Chart 6.1). This type of resilience is based equally on reliance on *friendship and interpersonal relationships* with approximately the same strength of relations to an economy of favours, mobilization of savings, and acquisition of bank loans. This finding could not be confirmed in its clear form directly in observed cases. However, it can be found as a pattern in many cases, indicating that women who tend to base their resilience on reliance on friendship and interpersonal relations also tend to perceive or even to engage in an economy of favours as a resilience strategy.

The second cluster (Chrat 6, orange group) represents another distinct map of resilience. It is based on *economizing* and reducing, relying on help from the household and other family members, and on broader informal networks, social benefits (money for unemployment) and activities of self-provisioning. Link analysis shows economizing at the core of this map with strong connections to reliance on help from social networks outside households, and on family members outside the household (Chart 6.2). At the periphery of this map is reliance on household members, activities of self-provisioning, and reliance on unemployment benefits. This finding is confirmed by many narratives in which our respondents state that their first response to the crisis came in the form of a reduction in spending and

Table 1: Composition of types of resilience.

Type of resilience	Elements of economic capital	Elements of social capital	Elements of cultural capital
Type 1 – social capital based	Bank loans	Friendship and interpersonal relations	Economy of favours
Type 2 – economic capital based	Economizing, self-provisioning, unemployment	Reliance on help within and outside HH	Reliance on social networks
Type 3 – cultural capital based	Informal employment, retirement	Political connections	Skills and practical knowledge, self-education

almost at the same time, or shortly after, actual help or reliance on help from friends and neighbours, mostly from improved or newly adopted practices of self-provisioning.

The third cluster (Chart 6, violet group) represents a map of resilience based on benefits from retirement, informal employment activities, reliance on political connections and acquisition of skills, knowledge, and self-education (Chart 6.3). Link analysis shows the strongest associations between acquisition of skills and knowledge, self-education and reliance on political connections, thus placing these in the center of the map. At the periphery are activities including informal employment connected to both reliance on political connections and acquisition of new skills, and lastly, weak connections to benefits from retirement. These finding are illustrated in cases where research subjects acquire new skills and knowledge by engaging in self-education to be able to both mobilize potential political connections and to perform better in flexible and unstable informal employment.

The results from link analysis are the basis for our **final finding**: all types of resilience appear as 3 distinct configurations of economic, social, and cultural capital amalgamated into a single strategy of resilience. This finding is in line with the conclusions of authors showing how different forms of capital act as a basis for women's resilience. Our study extends this notion by showing how these forms of capital function together as a mechanism of resilience. Based on our analysis, we conclude that type 1 resilience is based on the mobilization of social capital, type 2 on economic capital, and type 3 on cultural capital. At the same time, each type, while having an emphasis on a specific strategy, includes the other two types of capital:

Although at this stage it is not possible to completely confirm this statement, there are some indications of its solid groundedness. Further link analysis, in particular on a larger sample and in different social and cultural contexts, would generate more data to either support or refute this statement. In addition, a bigger sample would enable the analysis of the impact of different social, cultural, and historic contexts on preferred types of resilience among women.

CONCLUSION

Our analysis of the ways in which women in Slovenia and BiH develop their resilience to crisis through their survival practices shows that:

1. Socio-cultural and historical context plays a crucial role on the level of perceptions of crisis and subsequently impact practices, survival strategies and resilience.
2. The first and strongest response to crisis revolves around the mobilization of economic factors within women's households.
3. Women who participated in our study have relatively narrow social networks; however, they rely heavily on social capital and on informal networks, including family members, cousins, friends, and godfathers, and these networks include strong ties among members.
4. Cultural factors appear as a body of knowledge and skills on informal networking enabling women to mobilize social networks to improve their economic situation, and
5. Resilience evolves as a specific amalgam of different configurations of economic, social, and cultural capital.

This analysis presents an original contribution to the field in several ways. First, our study is based on original and previously unpublished empirical data, gathered in a region that is geographically, socio-culturally, and historically under-researched regarding issues specific to women's survival. Second, our analysis is performed in an innovative manner. By combining perceptual factors with factors of economic, social, and cultural capital, we analysed relatively complex practices and their place in micro, mezzo, and macro levels of social and cultural reality. Third, by using link analysis to extrapolate parts of models that can be regarded as both unified survival models and idiosyncratic cognitive schemes, we outlined core elements in different survival strategies driving different practices.

While providing new data and insights, this study also comes with several limitations. Firstly, there is a limitation in the method. Our approach is based on in-depth and ethnographic interviews, participant observations, and content analysis, which necessarily contain a component of subjectivity, both on the level of our respondents and us as researchers. Adding new methodological procedures, for instance, triangulation would undoubtedly improve the quality of our results. There is also a limitation in our sample. Our study is based on purposive sampling, a non-probability sampling method, recognized and accepted within anthropology, but known for being selective, subjective, and judgmental. Therefore, our results and conclusions appear valid only within our sample and should be handled with caution when generalizing beyond its limits. Extending the sample and adopting different sampling techniques would improve the quality of our results, in particular the quality of generalization. Thirdly, economic, social, and cultural factors that were selected for our study are limited in their range and scope. The practices we observed and analysed encompass a small selection from all practices that can be observed in real-life scenarios, and the maps described could undoubtedly be furthered by including more diverse factors. Finally, types of resilience are based on the co-occurrence of codes – a proxy based on the assumption that pieces of data that occur together with a certain frequency and in distinct patterns during data collection also function together in actual life strategies. These maps should thus be regarded as a preliminary attempt to represent key elements of resilience along with their inner relationships, and not as a blueprint for building resilience.

ODPORNOST ŽENSK IN NJIHOVIH GOSPODINJSTEV V ČASU KRIZE: ANALIZA SOCIALNIH IN KULTURNIH PRAKS ŽENSK V SLOVENIJI IN BOSNI IN HERCEGOVINI

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POVZETEK

Ženske se v sodobnih kontekstih Slovenije in Bosne in Hercegovine soočajo s številnimi izzivi, med katere velikokrat sodijo visoka brezposelnost, pomanjkanje zaposlitvenih možnosti, neugodne delovne razmere, nizko plačilo in visok socialni pritisk, da hkrati opravljajo zakonske, materinske in gospodinjske funkcije. Ženske se spopadajo z neugodnimi socialnimi in ekonomskimi razmerami skozi serijo formalnih in neformalnih podjemov, ter na ta način oblikujejo odpornost zase in za svoja gospodinjstva. Pričujoča razprava izhaja iz etnografskega terenskega dela med ženskami v Sloveniji ter Bosni in Hercegovini, ki je bilo izvedeno v okviru projektov Scopes in H2020 med letoma 2014 in 2019, ter krajšo terensko follow-up fazo v času pandemije Covid 19 v letu 2020. Pristop temelji na seriji študij primerov in terenskim delom, ki vključuje metode opazovanja z udeležbo, poglobljene intervjuje in vizualne zapiske. Glavne ugotovitve raziskave kažejo na visoko iznajdljivost, družbeno angažiranost in vztrajnost žensk, kar so tudi ključni elementi v oblikovanju preživetvenih strategij in grajenju odpornosti med udeleženkami raziskave. Na podlagi teh rezultatov so v članku predstavljeni trije osnovni tipi odpornosti in sicer (1) tip, ki pretežno temelji na socialnem kapitalu, (2) tip, ki pretežno temelji na ekonomskem kapitalu ter (3) tip, ki pretežno temelji na kulturnem kapitalu. Kljub relativno uspešnim preživetvenim strategijam, pa ženske svoj položaj še vedno dojemajo kot neugoden, med glavnimi razlogi pa so pomanjkanje ekonomskih kapacitet, socialnih veščin, socialnih mrež, poguma, izobrazbe in zaupanja.

Ključne besede: ženske, odpornost, formalne in neformalne prakse, preživetvene strategije, odgovor na krizo

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KAZALO K SLIKAM NA OVITKU

SLIKA NA NASLOVNICI: *Leo von Klenze: Pogled na pristanišče v Piranu, 1831. Slika je opremljena z letnico 1831, čeprav je najverjetneje nastala že leta 1826. Delo ni povsem zvesta podoba Pirana iz tega časa, ker je naslikano z veliko slikarjeve domišljije. Izvirnik hranijo v muzeju Thorvaldsens Museum v Kopenhagnu na Danskem, inv. Št. B124, javna domena. Fotografijo te slike je prijazno odstopil Thorvaldsens Museum* (www.thorwaldsensmuseum.dk).

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Slika 2: *Vittore Carpaccio, Madona na prestolu in svetniki, 1518, Padova, Museo Antoniano* (Baldissin Molli & Caburlotto, 2021, 137).
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Figure 1: *Angelo de Coster, The Miracle of St. George, 1706, Piran, St. George's Parish Church* (Kovač, 2005, 37).
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